

The Witness of God is Greater

1500 years of the Heavenly and Earthly Witnesses. A
Source Book.

Mike Ferrando

Updated: 4/23/2024

Mike Ferrando
Washington DC
mikeferrando@yahoo.com
<https://independent.academia.edu/MidusItis>

This paper examines the historical evidence and context of the Heavenly and Earthly Witnesses (i.e. "Johannine Comma"). All sources are given in their original language with English translations. Herein is presented the evidence and historical evidence supporting the Heavenly and Earthly Witnesses throughout Christendom for 1500 years. Christians can review this information and this evidence and with prayer and the leading of the Spirit decide for themselves. Also, with the original languages other questions and criticisms can be judged in the full light of day. Others who may be interested can experience the wealth of Christian Witnesses together with unique historical events that verify these verses of Scripture.

The Witness of God is Greater

Dedicated to my family whose love, encouragement, and prayers made this book possible.

The Witness of God is Greater

Contents

Scripture	13
Acknowledgements	14
Prologue	15
The Witness of God is Greater	16
1 John 5:6-9 : KJV : Greek : Latin	16
Contextual Note from the Compiler	17
Overview : Allusions in the Church Father's Works	19
Roman Empire : The Fathers of Carthage	21
Reading Homer in Thagaste	23
Latin New Testament	26
Acts of John (circa 150-200 AD)	28
Sermon the Hundredfold, Sixty-fold, and Thirty-fold (175-200 AD)	28
Tertullian of Carthage (155-240 AD)	32
Apollinaris Claudius (circa 101-200 AD)	34
Irenaeus (130-202 AD)	36
Clement of Alexandria (150-250 AD)	38
Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria (d. 264 AD)	38
Dionysius of Rome (d. 268 AD)	39
Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage (circa 200-258 AD)	40
Hippolytus of Rome, Bishop of Portus (circa 170-235 AD)	44
Origen of Alexandria (184–253 AD)	46
Apocritica by Macarius Magnes (circa 293-302 AD)	48
Methodius of Olympia (d. 311 AD)	50
Lucian of Antioch (240-312 AD) : Symbolum of Antioch 341	51
Saint Niphon, Bishop of Constantia, Cyprus (circa 280-337 AD)	58
Caius (180-217 AD) Presbyter of Rome	59
Heretics Corrupt the Scriptures	61
Persecution & Fire (KJVToday.com)	64
Fragmenta Frisingensia (301-700 AD)	65
Arius Speaks: A Great Fire Broke Out From This Small Spark (circa 325 AD)	68
Eusebius of Caesarea' Commission from Emperor Constantine	69
Eusebian Canon Tables : "the most successful publishing venture in all of antiquity"	70
Greek MSS. of the Anti-Homousian period	71

The Witness of God is Greater

Letter of the Synod of Antioch (325 AD)	72
Meletius of Antioch (d. 381) : Sermon at Antioch (361 AD)	72
Gaius Marius Victorinus (290-364 AD).....	74
Potamius, Bishop of Lisbon (circa 355-366 AD).....	77
Ignatius to Philipians (circa 360-380 AD) [Acacius of Caesarea (d. 366)]	81
Caesarius of Nazianzus (331 – 368 AD).....	82
Eustathius of Antioch (d. 370 AD).....	84
Eusebius of Vercelli (283-371 AD).....	85
Athanasius of Alexandria (296-373 AD).....	90
Ephrem the Syrian (306-373 AD).....	118
Isaac the Jew (circa 366-378 AD).....	121
Basil of Caesarea (329–379 AD)	123
Basil the Great letter to Julian the Apostate: Confession	127
Philopatris : A Satirical Dialogue (circa 331-363 AD)	128
De Virginitate, sive de Ascensi (circa 301-400 AD).....	133
Amphilochius of Iconium (339-403 AD).....	134
Letters of the Emperors Valentinianus and Valens (circa 375 AD).....	135
Sancti Hilarii Epistola seu Libellus (circa 385 AD).....	137
Idacius Clarus. Contra Marivadum (Varimadum) Arianum (circa 350-385 AD).....	139
Didymus the Blind (313 – 398 AD) : De Trinitate	142
Priscillian of Avila (d. 385)	143
Diodore of Tarsus (d. 390).....	146
Gregory of Nazianzus (329-390 AD).....	148
Phoebadius of Agen (d. 392)	153
Aurelius Ambrose (340–397 AD)	153
Symboli Apostolici et Athanasii Enarratio (circa 350-400 AD)	157
Synod at Constantinople 382 AD.....	159
Two Dialogues Against the Macedonians (circa 350-400 AD)	160
Contra Sabellianos (PG 28.96-121) (circa 360 AD)	161
Decimius Magnus Ausonius (310-395 AD)	167
Epiphanius of Salamis (310–403 AD)	170
Expositio fidei catholicae: Clemens Trinitas (4th or 5th century)	172
De trinitate (Migne Graeca, PG 28.1604) (4th to 5th century)	174
De trinitate : P. Naqlun inv. 46/88 (575-625 AD)	175

The Witness of God is Greater

Severian, Bishop of Gabala in Syria (d. 425)	177
Theodoret of Cyrus : De Graecarum affectionum curatione (circa 420 AD).....	179
John Chrysostom (349-407 AD)	181
Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom (circa 4th to 9th century)	184
Liturgies of Alexandria & St. James (300-600 AD)	184
Victorius Rothomagensis, Bishop of Rouen (c. 330 – c. 407 AD)	186
Niceta, Bishop of Remesiana (335-414 AD)	188
Jerome (347-420 AD)	190
Explanatio Fidei ad Cyrillum (circa 400-425 AD).....	191
Creed of Akakios, the bishop of Beroia (circa 431 AD)	192
Augustine Codex Speculum (circa 425 AD)	194
Augustine of Hippo (354-430 AD)	195
Cyril of Alexandria (376–444 AD)	196
De Trinitate Book 10, PL 62.237-334 (circa 350-450 AD)	201
Prologue to the Catholic Epistles (circa 400-450 AD)	204
Quodvultdeus (d. 450 AD)	208
Zacharias Rhetor (born c. 465 AD)	211
Julianus Pomerius (495 AD)	213
Justin Martyr : Exposition of the True Faith (5th century)	213
Fourth Oration Against the Arians (circa 401-500 AD)	216
Radegund of Thuringia (520-587 AD).....	219
Joannes Maxentius (circa 520 AD)	221
One word in Jonah	222
The Miracle of the Trisagion 447 AD	223
Constantinople : Trisagion riots (513 AD)	224
Salvian of Marseilles (d. 429)	227
Vandals Invade North Africa 429 AD (Council of Carthage 484)	228
Theodoric the Great, King of the Ostrogoths (471–526) : Italy, Gaul, and Iberia	237
Theodosius' Greek Empire. (Fergus Millar, 2006).....	238
Education: The End of the School of Antiquity	240
Restoration of the Roman Empire.....	243
Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos, Q. 139 (5th century).....	245
Pseudo-Fulgentius, De Trinitate (490-500 AD)	247
Fulgentius of Ruspe (462-533 AD)	248

The Witness of God is Greater

Faustus, Bishop of Riez (405-495 AD).....	255
Narsai (399-502 AD).....	256
Philoxenus of Mabbug (d. 523 AD)	257
Procopius of Gaza (c. 465–528 AD)	257
Eleutherius bishop of Tournai (456-531 AD).....	259
Severus of Antioch (459-538 AD)	262
Codex Fuldensis (540 AD).....	263
Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus (450-519 AD) : Contra Arrianos	269
Caesarius of Arles (468-542 AD)	271
Victor's Chronicon (d. 570) : Greek Translators of North Africa.....	274
Facundus of Hermiane (circa 546-548 AD).....	274
“Defense of the Three Chapters” Facundus Translated Greek Fathers works into Latin	279
Edictum rectae fidei (551 AD) Justinian the Great	281
Bilingual Arians : Greek, Latin, & Gothic languages.....	282
Cassiodorus (485-585 AD)	285
Canons of the Second Council of Braga (572 AD).....	289
Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila (6th century)	290
Feast of the Entrance of the Theotokos (500 to 750 AD)	291
Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus (530-609 AD).....	292
An Exposition of the Catholic and Apostolic Faith (501-799 AD).....	294
Isidore archbishop of Seville (A.D 560-636).....	296
De Trinitate PG 77.1119 : (circa 650 AD)	299
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14096 (640-660 AD)	301
Arator (6th century) : Acts of the Apostles	302
Alexandrian Pact of Union (633 AD)	304
Sixth Ecumenical Council (Constantinople) (680-681 AD)	305
Council of Constantinople II Authenticates Citations of the Fathers (680 AD).....	307
Latin African Councils”Quickly Translated to Greek”	308
Council of Chalcedon Translated into Latin by 564 AD	308
Julian of Toledo (642–690 AD)	308
León Palimpsest (Palimpsestus Legionensis) (601-700 AD).....	309
Jacob of Edessa (d. 708).....	310
Codex Guelferbytanus 99 Weissenburgensis (700-725 AD)	312
Sasanian Conquest of Jerusalem (602-628 AD).....	314

The Witness of God is Greater

The Lateran Council of 649 AD.....	315
Andrew of Crete (650-740 AD)	317
Eastern Orthodox Hymns (4th to 11th century)	318
Eastern Orthodox Hymns (4th to 11th century) : Early Manuscripts.....	321
Eastern Orthodox Hymns (4th to 11th century) : Pilgrimage of Etheria (381-386 AD)	323
John of Damascus (675-749 AD).....	327
Great Octoechos (500 to 899 AD)	333
Barlaam and Josaphat (circa 750 AD)	334
On the Triune Nature of God (circa 755 AD).....	336
Theosteriktos the Monk (d. 807) : Small Paraklesis (circa 775).....	337
Nicetas of Byzantium (circa 850 AD)	339
Carolingian Renaissance (750-900 AD).....	339
Carolingian Reform : Codex 1370 (800-850 AD)	341
Ambrose Autpert (d. 778 AD)	342
Codex Sangallensis 907 (700-799 AD).....	344
Codex Theodulphianus (circa 700-800 AD : Houghton; Lowe)	345
Eterius & Beatus (circa 730-800 AD)	346
Alcuin of York (c. 735-804 AD)	347
Michael Syncellus (ca. 760-846) : Libellus De Recta Fide	349
Joannicius the Great (762-846 AD)	350
Theodulf Bible (800-815 AD) : Add MS 24142 : Codex Hubertianus.....	352
Charlemagne's Bible (circa 830-840 AD) Add MS 10546.....	353
Codex Cavensis (circa 760-842 AD).....	354
Codex Aniciensis, Latin 4 (circa 800 AD).....	356
Codex Lemovicensis. Latin 2328 (circa 800 AD)	357
Codex Sangallensis 83 (circa 850-860)	358
Triodion : Theodore the Studite (759–826 AD)	359
Life of Saint Pancras or Pancratius (circa 800-850)	361
Al-Kindi (801-873 AD) : "All Christian parties agree..."	362
Haymo, bishop of Halberstadt (d. 853 AD)	363
Haimo of Auxerre (circa 840-860 AD).....	365
Paschasius Radbertus (785–865 AD).....	368
Metrophanes of Smyrna (circa 870).....	370
Aeneas of Paris (d. 870).....	371

The Witness of God is Greater

Joannes Scotus Erigena (c. 800 – c. 877)	373
Hincmar of Rheims (806-882 AD).....	375
Codex Ulfensis (800-899 AD)	378
The Life of St Andrew the Fool (circa 650-950 AD).....	378
Avranches BM, 87 : Speculum Augustini (9th or 10th century)	380
Vulgate : BNF, Lat. ms. 11533 (circa. 9th century C.E.).....	381
Vulgate, BL Ms. Add. 11852 (872-878 AD).....	381
Odo of Cluny (880-942 AD)	382
Codex Sangallensis 63 (800-999 AD).....	384
Codex Toletanus (900-999 AD)	384
VL 109 : The Microfilm Vault of HMML & Dr. Houghton's Discovery	385
Codex Complutensis MS 31 : VL 109 (900-999 AD)	387
Symeonis Junioris (949-1022 AD)	388
John Mauropous (1000-1070 AD).....	390
Niketas Stethatos (1005-1090 AD)	393
Acta Synodi Atrebatensis (1024 AD).....	393
Codex Cisl. 263 (1059 AD) : Plate 285	395
Humbert of Silva Candida (d. 1061 AD).....	395
Peter Damian (1007-1073 AD)	397
The Letter of Egilbert of Trier (circa 1085 AD)	398
BNF Latin 13174 (10th century).....	399
Codex 100 (1111 AD) : Plate 440	402
Euthymius Zigabenus (circa 1100 AD).....	402
Gilbert Crispin (1055-1117 AD).....	403
Bruno Astensis, Bishop of Segni (1045-1123 AD).....	404
Rupert of Deutz (1075-1129 AD)	405
Alger of Liège (1055–1131 AD)	407
Hildebert, Bishop of Le Mans (1055-1133 AD).....	407
Petrus Comestor (d. 1178) : Sermon 24	408
Peter Cellensis (c. 1115-1183)	409
Walter of Châtillon (b. 1135)	410
William of Saint-Thierry (d. 1148 AD).....	412
Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153 AD).....	414
Peter Lombard (1096-1160 AD).....	420

The Witness of God is Greater

The Armenian Catholicos to John II Comnenus (circa 1118-1143 AD)	422
Walter of Châtillon (b. 1135)	424
William Lucca (d. 1178) : Commentary on Dionysius' Celestial Hierarchy.....	426
Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179 AD) : Scivias : I John 5:6-9	428
Hildegard of Bingen & the Demon Possessed Woman (circa 1169 AD).....	437
Hugh of Amiens (d. 1164 AD)	442
Gerhoh of Reichersberg (1093-1169)	443
Arnulf of Lisieux (d. 1184 AD)	445
Henry of Marcy (1136-1189 AD)	446
Herbert of Bosham (circa 1162-1189 AD)	447
Baldwin of Forde (1125–1190 AD).....	448
Theorianus Philosophus (12th century)	449
The Glossa Ordinaria (1100-1199 AD)	451
MS Balliol 177 (12th century).....	454
Radulfus Ardens (d. 1200 AD)	457
Joachim of Fiore (1135-1202 AD).....	458
Liber figurarum, The"Book of Figures"of Abbot Gioacchino da Fiore (d. 1202 AD).....	460
Alain de Lille (1128 – 1203)	461
Sicard of Cremona (1155–1215 AD).....	462
Fourth Lateran Council 1215	464
Pope Innocent III (1160-1216 AD)	469
Innocent III to Huguccio, Bishop of Ferrara (5 March 1209).....	471
Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) : Conquest of Constantinople	476
Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) : Sack of Constantinople	477
Theophanes Kerameus (1129–1152 AD)	478
Petronilla of Aragon (1136-1173 AD)	478
Bonacursus (circa 1176-1190).....	480
Nikolaos of Otranto (1155-1235 AD).....	480
Alexander Neckam (1157-1217).....	481
Alexander of Ashby (c. 1220)	482
William of Auxerre (1140-1230 AD)	483
Jacques de Vitry (1160-1240 AD).....	484
John Halgren of Abbeville (d. 1237).....	486
Liber contra Lombardum (1200-1250 AD)	487

The Witness of God is Greater

Nikephoros Blemmydes (1197-1272 AD).....	488
Bonaventure (1217/1218-1274).....	489
Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274 AD)	491
Guillaume Durand (1230-1296 AD)	493
Albertus Magnus (d. 1280 AD).....	494
Jacobus de Varagine (1230-1298 AD).....	496
Codex Demidovianus VL 59 dem (circa 1250-1300 AD).....	498
St Theoleptos of Philadelphia [Alaşehir] (1250-1322 AD)	499
Duns Scotus (1266-1308 AD).....	500
Barlaam of Seminara (1290-1348 AD).....	501
Joseph Rhakendytès (1280-1330 AD).....	502
Armenian Councils : Sisensis (1307 AD) & Adanensis (1320 AD)	504
William of Ockham (1287–1347 AD).....	507
Bridget of Sweden (1303 – 1373 AD)	507
Macarius Chrysocephalus (1300?-1382 AD)	509
King Charles V : Charte de fondation des Célestins de Limay (1376 AD).....	510
Codex Ottobonianus 298 (1300-1399 AD).....	512
Trinitarian Kalophonikon : Constantine Asan (circa 1400).....	517
Manuel Chrysaphes (1440–1470 AD) : The Hierarchy of Christ	519
Manuel Calecas (d. 1410 AD).....	520
Joseph Bryennius (1340-1431 AD).....	521
Don Martín García (1441-1521 AD).....	524
The Fall of Constantinople (29 May 1453)	526
Şägga Zä'ab (1465-1539 AD) : Faith and Religion of the Ethiopians.....	532
Täsa Seyon (1510-1552 AD) : Aethiopum Ordo baptismi	534
George of Trebizond (d. 1486).....	537
Codex Montfortianus (15th century).....	537
Complutensian Polyglot Bible : New Testament (1514)	539
Sistine Vulgate (1590 AD)	544
Clementine Vulgate (1592 AD)	545
The Synod of Dort (1618-1619) & Dutch Authorized Version (1637).....	545
The Orthodox Confession of the Eastern Church (1643 AD)	552
Panoplia dogmatica (circa 1100 AD)	556
Nikephoros Theotokis (1731–1800 AD).....	562

The Witness of God is Greater

Epilogue.....	565
Appendix.....	566
Leo The Great (400-461 AD) : Tome to Falvian.....	566
Eucherius, bishop of Lyon, (c. 380 - c. 449 AD).....	570
Cyprian “It is written: ‘ <i>And These Three are One</i> ”.....	573
Appendix: D. Martin (1639-1721) : Invisible Allegory Refuted.....	576
Appendix: F.A. Knittel (1721–1792) : Invisible Allegory Refuted.....	578
Appendix: H.T. Armfield (1836-1898) : Invisible Allegory Refuted.....	580
Augustine : Contra Maximinum : Verse 8.....	584
Cyprian Cited at Council of Quierzy 838 AD.....	586
Gregory Nazianzus : Fifth Theological Oration (Oration 31) : Verse 7 & 8.....	590
Origen Psalm 122 : Catena Manuscripts of the 17 th & 18 th Century.....	592
Origen Psalm 122 : Codice Vind. 8 & Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq.....	592
Origen Psalm 122 : Balthasar Cordier’s 1646 Edition.....	594
Origen Psalm 122 : Vindobonensis Theol. gr. 8.....	595
Cerealis Afer of Castellum (circa 480 AD).....	599
De Trinitate (Migne Graeca, PG 89) : Scholars Debate Authorship of Didymus.....	602
1 John 5:6-9 : Three Interpretations.....	603
Gregory Thaumaturgus : A Sectional Confession of Faith (circa 330-399 AD).....	605
“In Earth”Greek Examples.....	609
Jean Hessels (1522-1566 AD) : Almost All Greek MSS read “in earth”.....	610
Apocalypsis S. Johannis (Syriac Apocalypse).....	612
Christians and the Public Archive.....	613
Translators & “Approved Greek” manuscripts.....	615
The Community of Living Witnesses.....	616
On the Incarnation and against the Arians : Theodoret & Galesius I.....	619
The Mysterious Omission of Porson.....	620
William of St. Thierry, “Faith in the Trinity” in Enigma of Faith.....	622
“Priscillianist Creed”.....	624
Synod of Antioch 341 AD : A Scripture Reference.....	628
In 1791 : Prologue found in 145 MSS.....	632
Bibliography.....	639

The Witness of God is Greater

To the Reader

The idea of this book came to me while I was praying over 1 John 5:7,8.

Over the past so many years, I have been gathering these sources and having them translated.

It is my prayer that all Christians would be able to have this information to weigh the facts for themselves.

May the Holy Spirit lead you into all truth.

The witness of God is greater.

The Witness of God is Greater

Scripture

- It is written, Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. (Matt 4:4)
- For ever, O LORD, thy word is settled in heaven. (Psalm 119:89)
- The words of the Lord are pure words: as silver tried in a furnace of earth, purified seven times. Thou shalt keep them, O Lord, thou shalt preserve them from this generation for ever. (Psalm 12:6-7)
- Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path. (Psalm 119:105)
- Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away. (Matt 24:35)
- Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled. (Matt 5:17-18)
- the Scripture cannot be broken (Jn 10:35)
- Search the scriptures (Jn 5:39)
- Then the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah, after that the king had burned the roll, and the words which Baruch wrote at the mouth of Jeremiah, saying, Take thee again another roll, and write in it all the former words that were in the first roll, which Jehoiakim the king of Judah hath burned. And thou shalt say to Jehoiakim king of Judah, Thus saith the Lord; Thou hast burned this roll, saying, Why hast thou written therein, saying, The king of Babylon shall certainly come and destroy this land, and shall cause to cease from thence man and beast? Therefore thus saith the Lord of Jehoiakim king of Judah; He shall have none to sit upon the throne of David: and his dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost. And I will punish him and his seed and his servants for their iniquity; and I will bring upon them, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and upon the men of Judah, all the evil that I have pronounced against them; but they hearkened not. Then took Jeremiah another roll, and gave it to Baruch the scribe, the son of Neriah; who wrote therein from the mouth of Jeremiah all the words of the book which Jehoiakim king of Judah had burned in the fire: and there were added besides unto them many like words. (Jeremiah 36:27-32)
- For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to the eater: 11 So shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth: it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it. (Isaiah 55:11-12)
- Seeing ye have purified your souls in obeying the truth through the Spirit unto unfeigned love of the brethren, see that ye love one another with a pure heart fervently: Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth forever. For all flesh is as grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass. The grass withereth, and the flower thereof falleth away: But the word of the Lord endureth for ever. And this is the word which by the gospel is preached unto you. (1 Pet 1:22-25)

Acknowledgements

Special thanks to those who helped me in my research and translations for this book. My heartfelt thanks to the following people:

Nikolaos Adamou
Paul Anderson
Patrick Andrist
Steven Avery <<https://purebibleforum.com/index.php>>
Ardie Bausenbach
Jeroen Beekhuizen
Averil Cameron
Cristina Cumbo
Michael Gorman
Matthew Heintzelman
Simone Horst
Hugh Houghton
Christiaan Kappes
Jack Lake
Rosalind MacLachan
Grantley McDonald
Jack Moorman
Desislava Naydenova
Roger Pearse
István Perczel
Mattia Pusceddu
Sarah Roberts
R. Alexander Robinson
Philipp Roelli
Filippo Salmeri
Nick Sayers
Lloyd Seto
Anna Sklaveniti
Natalia Smelova
James Snapp, Jr.
Lolana Thompson
Mariyana Tsibranska
Panayiotis Tzamalikos
Sarah Van der Pas
Pavlos Vasileiadis
Bert Vaux
Kristi Wermager
Tammy G. Werron
Peter Williams
Nigel Wilson
Janek Wolski
Lionel Yaceczko

Prologue

• [Michael Maynard] Walter Thiele was my professor at Tübingen. He works at the Vetus Latina Institute in Beuron, Germany. I was delighted to discover his article in 1959 where he argued against the common view of Tischendorf and Griesbach who said that Cyprian, one of the oldest Church Fathers, quoted it—What did Griesbach and Tischendorf say? They said that Cyprian was just looking at the eighth verse and he just allegorized those witnesses as heavenly ones. But Thiele in 1959 argued, “No, Cyprian did not merely allude to verse 8, he actually had a Latin manuscript in his hand which had 1 John 5:7.” So Thiele is going against the crowd. Yet Thiele is a Hort-Westcott advocate! Further, Thiele is regarded as the foremost scholar of Latin Biblical manuscripts. Yet he is in favour of the [PAGE 37] view that Cyprian actually had 1 John 5:7 in that Latin manuscript he held in his hands, although Thiele still regards the verse as an interpolation. Now I asked Dr Thiele “That was your view 30 years ago. Do you still believe this today?” He replied “Ja, aber ich bin allein” which means “Yes, I am alone.” (with respect to the view that Cyprian quoted verse 7, instead of alluding to verse 8.) Thus, when it comes to issues on Latin manuscripts, all the professors in Germany consult Thiele, but when it comes to his view on the Johannine Comma, they do not want to listen to him! But that is about all the time I have now. (Maynard, “In Defence of the Johannine Comma”, in *The Burning Bush*, Far Easter Bible College vol 3, no. 1, January 1997, p. 36-37)

The Witness of God is Greater

1 John 5:6-9 : KJV : Greek : Latin

- 6 This is he that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ; not by water only, but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth. 7 For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. 8 And there are three that bear witness in earth, the spirit, and the water, and the blood: and these three agree in one. 9 If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater: for this is the witness of God which he hath testified of his Son. (King James Version, 1616)
- **Greek:** 6 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐλθὼν δι' ὕδατος καὶ αἵματος, Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός· οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι μόνον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ὕδατι καὶ τῷ αἵματι καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμά ἐστι τὸ μαρτυροῦν, ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια. 7 ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ πατήρ, ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἐν εἰσι. 8 καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῆ, τὸ Πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα· καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν. 9 εἰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαμβάνομεν, ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ Θεοῦ μείζων ἐστίν· ὅτι αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἣν μεμαρτύρηκε περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. (Scrivener's Textus Receptus, 1894)
- **Latin:** 6 Hic est, qui venit per aquam et sanguinem, Jesus Christus : non in aqua solum, sed in aqua et sanguine. Et Spiritus est, qui testificatur quoniam Christus est veritas. 7 Quoniam tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in cælo : Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus : et hi tres unum sunt. 8 Et tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra : spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis : et hi tres unum sunt. 9 Si testimonium hominum accipimus, testimonium Dei majus est : quoniam hoc est testimonium Dei, quod majus est, quoniam testificatus est de Filio suo (Sixto-Clementine_Vulgate, 1592)

Contextual Note from the Compiler

The most important part of this journey was gathering evidence directly from the manuscripts and the historical sources. Wading through the deep waters and changing currents of the opponents' arguments through the centuries, I began to understand many of the foundational assumptions. In light of this, I offer some of my observations. In praying about the opponents' arguments, I have found some very specific weaknesses in their theory. Moreso, I believe that these points are at the heart of biblical Christainity. And I admonish those who live by the Spirit, as I attempt to give the historical and biographical context to each piece of evidence, I hope that my brothers and sisters in the Lord will ask themselves, would you be counted as one of the 460 Christians who risked their lives for the truth of Scripture.

1. **Living Community:** The theories behind the critical text, rest on the assumption that the community who produced the works and the manuscripts are no longer identifiable and/or living. As we can see, from this book, that assumption is completely untrue. There are in many cases a living community that still exists to determine which manuscripts and/or recensions are the correct copies. The 1710 edition of Euthymius' Panoplia (a Greek text) is a perfect example of a living community which produced and printed a standard edition of the work originally written by Euthymius in 1100 AD. The 1710 edition was based on Greek Orthodox manuscripts from Mt Athos and edited by Greek Orthodox scholars in Eastern Europe beyond the reach of any critical western scholar of the times. The edition was sponsored and printed by the Eastern Orthodox churches patriarchs in hopes of benefiting the world with antidotes to heresy. Euthymius Panoplia was used by the Eastern Orthodox for centuries and is well known, and used by the orthodox of the East. The 1710 edition was never revised or replaced and still to this day it stands as the standard edition of the Greek Orthodox. In that edition, 1 John 5:7,8 is printed as part of the work of Cyril of Alexandria. The critical scholars demanded to see the manuscripts, etc. of the 1710 edition to determine if the Greek Orthodox scholars and rather the entire living community had chosen the "correct" manuscripts. However, the Greek Orthodox simply ignored the critics and their demands for "proof". In many of these testimonies found herein, the same truth is seen. A living community is willing to not only face persecution, but also sacrifice their lives for the truth of Scripture which they openly confess includes 1 John 5:7,8. I ask the reader to weigh these testimonies in their historical context when prayerfully considering these evidences.

2. **Manuscripts:** Another assumption of the critical theory values manuscripts with earlier dates. But in the case of the Greek Orthodox, a living community still thriving after many centuries, manuscripts were copied by hand until the 18th century. Moreover, the community decided which manuscripts to copy knowing which manuscripts were correct. Thus, manuscripts from this group could have been copied in the 18th century, but represent a very close copy to the original because the correct manuscripts were always being copied by the living community. Therefore, manuscripts copied by the living community no matter how "late" could hardly be compared to manuscripts found by chance, discarded, and forgotten, with an unclear provenance. Eastern churches were sending their scholars, commissioned by the leaders of the church, to find printers in Europe and publish bibles in their languages. These scholars had particular manuscripts with them, known, approved, and copied from manuscripts guarded and collected by the church over the ages.

3. **Cloud of Witnesses:** The critics that reject 1 John 5:7,8 never tire of reminding us of the handful of Greek manuscripts from the first 10 centuries that omit 1 John 5:7,8. However, what they don't tell you is that there are only about 10 or so manuscripts from these first 10 centuries. More importantly, there are no Greek manuscripts between John's writing the epistle and about 400 AD that contain 1 John 5:6-9. Finally, these manuscripts the critics cite are from Egypt (i.e., one geographic area). In this book, I hope to present as much of the evidence as possible that these verses were always believed to be written by John. Gathering this evidence into one place and translating it with historical context depicts a vast landscape that stretches almost 1500 years from all over Christendom. Better still, the reader will find that the majority of these men came to Christ later in life, after a considerable education and career as a lawyer or rhetor, and living in a multilingual society and culture. The idea that because they wrote in one language Latin, or Greek render them as "Latin Fathers" and/or "Greek Fathers" is hardly an accurate picture. And moreso, when they wrote and/or translated works against theological opponents,

The Witness of God is Greater

their writings became handbooks for their region and in many cases handbooks that were used in Christendom for centuries.

- In this book, I hope to present these events as well as others and the men who used this verse to defend the persons of the Trinity. The time span of 1500 years, the widespread usage from all over Christendom, and the multitude of witnesses, should demonstrate the veracity of these verses as Scripture. And finally, encourage those, like myself, who would stand with other Christians (as the 460 did) facing persecution and even death for their conviction that these verses are written by the Holy Spirit. For our Lord said, "Heaven and Earth shall pass away, but my words shall never pass away". (Matt 24:35)

The Witness of God is Greater

Overview : Allusions in the Church Father's Works

It is my opinion based on faith and a mountain of evidence that John's first letter contained the Heavenly and Earthly Witnesses (I John 5:7,8). I have presented many facts that demonstrate this to be true. When Scripture provides truths about God in inspired words, the Christian community uses these concepts and words in their discussions and controversies. The Heavenly Witnesses can be divided into three parts: **i)** Three witnesses being the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; **ii)** "Father, Word, Spirit" (Greek: πατήρ, λόγος, πνεῦμα) as a phrase to indicate the persons of the Godhead; **iii)** and "the three are one" (Greek: οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσι).

The first part is alluded to by **Clement of Alexandria** (in Greek) found in this citation:

- Prophetic Extracts. 13.1: "**By two and three witnesses every word is established.**" **By Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, by whose witness** and help the prescribed commandments ought to be kept. (Clement of Alexandria. Prophetic Extracts. 13.1; ANF, vol 8)

- **Greek:** Πᾶν ῥῆμα ἵσταται ἐπὶ δύο καὶ τριῶν μαρτύρων, ἐπὶ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἐφ' ὧν μαρτύρων καὶ βοηθῶν αἱ ἐντολαὶ λεγόμεναι φυλάσσεσθαι ὀφείλουσιν. (Clement of Alexandria. Eclogae ex Scripturis propheticiis. 13.1; Migne Graeca PG 9.703-704)

The second part is alluded to by **John Chrysostom** (in Greek) found in this citation:

- [De Cognitione Dei et in Sancta Theophania] But, **O Father, and Word, and Spirit**, the triune being and might and will and power, deem us, who confess you as the unconfused and indivisible substance, also worthy to be the ones standing at your right hand when you come from heaven to judge the world in righteousness, for rightly yours is the glory, honor, and worship, to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, now and for always, and for eternity." (Chrysostom, About the knowledge of God and the Holy Theophanies; Translation kjvtoday.com, <www.kjvtoday.com/home/the-father-the-word-and-the-holy-ghost-in-1-john-57>)

- **Greek:** Ἄλλ', ὦ Πάτερ, καὶ Λόγε, καὶ Πνεῦμα, ἡ τρισυπόστατος οὐσία, καὶ δύναμις, καὶ θέλησις, καὶ ἐνέργεια, ἡμᾶς τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντάς σου τὰς ἀσυγχύτους καὶ ἀδιαιρέτους ὑποστάσεις, ἀξίωσον καὶ τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν σου στάσεως, ἥνικα ἔρχῃ ἐξ οὐρανῶν κρῖναι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ· ὅτι πρέπει σοι δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις, τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. (Chrysostom, De Cognitione Dei et in Sancta Theophania; Migne Graeca, PG 64.6A).

The third part alluded to by **Origen** (in Greek) is found in this citation:

- Scholia on Psalm 122:2 "Behold, as the eyes of servants look unto the hand of their masters, and as the eyes of a maiden unto the hand of her mistress." The Spirit and the body are servants to their masters (the Father and the Son); the soul is the maiden to her mistress (the Holy Spirit); and the Lord our God is the three [persons], **for the three are one**. So, the eyes of servants look at the hands of their masters while they issue orders through gestures. It could also be that the hands of the masters, who are the Father and the Son, are the angels belonging to them both, while the hands of the mistress, who is the Holy Spirit, are the powers that are proper to the Holy Spirit. . (Origenis Selecta in Psalmos CXXII)

- **Greek:** Ἰδοὺ ὡς ὀφθαλμοὶ δούλων εἰς χεῖρας τῶν κυρίων αὐτῶν, ὡς ὀφθαλμοὶ παιδίσκης εἰς χεῖρας τῆς κυρίας αὐτῆς, οὕτως οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν πρὸς Κύριον Θεὸν ἡμῶν, ἕως οὗ οἰκτερήσαι ἡμᾶς, κ. τ. ἐ. Δοῦλοι κυρίων Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ πνεῦμα καὶ σῶμα· παιδίσκη δὲ κυρίας τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἡ ψυχὴ. Τὰ δὲ τρία Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐστίν· **οἱ γὰρ τρεῖς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν**. Ὄφθαλμοι γοῦν δούλων εἰς χεῖρας κυρίων ὀρῶντες, ὅτε διὰ χειρῶν νεύοντες κελεύσουσιν. Ἡ χεῖρες κυρίων μὲν Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ οἱ ἐκατέρου ἄγγελοι· κυρίας δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος αἱ οἰκεῖαι αὐτοῦ δυνάμεις. (Origenis Selecta in Psalmos CXXII, Migne Graeca, PG 12.1633).

Sometimes we can find a combination of these unique parts:

- **Father, Word, Spirit, Trinity, one nature**,
 - Greek: Πάτερ, Λόγε καὶ πνεῦμα· Τριάς, φύσις μία
 - **Theodore the Studite** (759-826 AD) : Epigrams

The Witness of God is Greater

- <www.dbbe.ugent.be/occurrences/18874>
- <www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/3088>
- 244 COD. 100 : A.D. 1111 : Plate 440 (K. Lake, 1936, VI, p. 14)

The Witness of God is Greater

Roman Empire : The Fathers of Carthage

• **Note:** Since many of the earliest hits relate to the Old Latin version and especially the North African region, the following sources should provide the reader with some context so he can judge the next sections with erudition.

• [Joyal] A fourth century student's notebook of Greek grammar exercises: A student's notebook. P Bour 1 (= PSorb inv. 826). The Greek papyrus-notebook from which the following extracts are taken leaves little doubt that by the fourth century AD (the date of the papyrus), the way children learned the rudiments of reading and writing had not changed appreciably since the fifth century BC. The notebook, eleven pages long, begins with a column of monosyllabic words, in alphabetic sequence... The word-lists concentrate on items that would serve students in their later reading of Homer, tragedy, comedy, and historical writing... The only features that alert us to the fact that this is the work of a [PAGE 234] Christian student are the appearance of the word God (θεός), at the top of the first page, and the "christogram" (✝) at the start of each page (interlocked Greek letters "chi" (χ) and "rho" (ρ), the first two characters in the Greek word for "Christ" Χριστός). (Joyal, Greek and Roman Education, 2009, 10.1, p. 233-234)

• The Roman education system was based on the Greek system – and many of the private tutors in the Roman system were Greek slaves or freedmen. The educational methodology and curriculum used in Rome was copied in its provinces, and provided a basis for education systems throughout later Western civilization. Organized education remained relatively rare, and there are few primary sources or accounts of the Roman educational process until the 2nd century AD. At the foundation of ancient Greek education was an effective system of formal education, but in contrast, the Romans lacked such a system until the 3rd century BC.[10] Instead, at the foundation of ancient Roman education was, above all else, the home and family, from which children derived their so-called "moral education". At between nine and twelve years of age, boys from affluent families would leave their 'litterator' behind and take up study with a grammaticus, who honed his students' writing and speaking skills, versed them in the art of poetic analysis and taught them Greek if they did not yet know it.[12] Poetry analysis continued to use the same poems and poets the students were exposed to in Ludus, such as Phoenissae by Euripides.[9] Children continued their studies with the grammaticus until the age of fourteen or fifteen, at which point only the wealthiest and most promising students matriculated with a rhetor.[12] (Education in ancient Rome. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Education_in_ancient_Rome>).

• [Luxorius] Carthage itself grew in population and influence until it became one of the most flourishing of all Roman cities, in many respects second only to Rome.⁷ Destroyed by fire in the second century but rebuilt under the Antonines and the Severi, through its splendor Carthage well merited the official epithet of Felix.⁸ Salvian of Marseille (fl. A.D. 430-450) describes Carthage in these terms: I am content to speak of only one city in Africa as an example, the leader, and so to speak, the mother of all the cities in Africa. I mean the city which was always a rival of Roman might, once the competitor of Rome in war and [PAGE 5] courage, later in splendor and prestige. I speak of Carthage, both as the most formidable enemy of Rome, and now a second Rome, as it were, on African soil. She alone will do as my example and witness because she contained within herself the necessary means by which the power of a state is managed and governed anywhere in the wide world. In that city were found all the paraphernalia of public offices, in that city existed all the schools of liberal arts, in that city were the workshops of the philosophers, and finally, in that city were all the academies for instruction in languages and morals; in that city were stationed also troops and officers to command them; there was the proconsular position, there in that city was a permanent judge and governor holding indeed the name of proconsul but acting with the power of a consul; finally, in that city were all types of functionaries, differing from one another not only in rank but also in title, the supervisors, so to put it, of all the streets and crossroads, governing almost all the places of the city and all the individuals living in it. (De Gubernatione Dei 7.16.67-68 CSEL VIII) (Luxorius and Rosenblum, A Latin Poet Among the Vandals, 1961, p. 4-5).

• [Clarke] Africa was called by Juvenal (d. 50 AD) the nurse of the pleaders. One of these pleaders, Septimius Severus, from Leptis, is celebrated in a poem by Statius (d. 96 AD), and before his day another native of Leptis, Cornutus, had made a name as a writer on rhetoric as well as philosophy. 39 Africa produced in the person of Fronto (Marcus Cornelius Fronto, d. 169 AD) the leading orator of his day and the tutor of the future Emperor; at a later date the African Caelianus taught rhetoric to the Emperor Diadumenianus (d. 218 AD). African writers on rhetoric include [Gaius Marius] Victorinus

The Witness of God is Greater

and Martianus Capella, both mentioned earlier in this chapter. The great African fathers Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius and Augustine all taught rhetoric. Apart from these names there are a number of inscriptions commemorating advocates and men of eloquence which attest the existence of flourishing native schools of rhetoric. 41 The most famous rhetorical school was that of Carthage. Apuleius, who began his education there, proclaimed it as "our famous place of great renowned" ("provinciae nostrae magistra venerabilis" Apul. flor. 20). Here Augustine came at the age of sixteen, after beginning his rhetorical studies at Madaura, and remained to teach, until the rowdiness of students prompted him to move to Italy. (Clarke, *Rhetoric at Rome*, 2002, p. 145)

• [Luxorius] Carthage, a Center of Learning. 1. On the other hand, the Carthaginians, as well as the other Romans in Africa, were devoted to learning and literature.⁸³ Ever since the second century A.D., Africa had been a center of education, especially in rhetoric and law, so much so that Juvenal applied to Africa the oft-quoted epithet "to Africa the Nurse of the Advocates" (Satire 7.148: "nutricula causidicorum Africa"). 2. Schools flourished even in the smallest towns.⁸⁴ The system of education was the same as that which prevailed in the rest of the Empire; pupils learned to read, write, and count under a teacher known as a litterator or primus magister or magister ludi. Then they were [PAGE 21] taught literature, grammar, and composition by a grammaticus.⁸⁵ Among the poets of the *Anthologia Latina*, Calbulus, Coronatus, and Luxorius were grammatici. Faustus, the friend of Luxorius, was also a grammaticus. Greek was not taught to any great extent in the Western Empire in its late days but there were Greek grammatici in North Africa, plays were given in Greek, and, according to St. Augustine, Greek was taught even in small towns.⁸⁶ 3. When they reached the age of fifteen to seventeen, students who wished to continue their studies went from their native small towns to larger cities where renowned teachers (rhetores) taught. Cirta, Theveste, Madauros (modern Mdaourouch), Hadrumetum, Oea (modern Tripoli), and Leptis Magna were noted educational centers. St. Augustine, for example, went from his native Thagaste to Madauros and then to Carthage, the intellectual center of the province and the equal, if not the superior, of Rome as a seat of culture and learning.⁸⁷ 4. The intellectual fervor of Carthage is well expressed by Apuleius in the speech he made in the Theater:⁸⁸ Every one of you throughout the city is most educated; you possess every form of knowledge, which small children learn, young men display, and old men [PAGE 22] teach. Carthage, ancient teacher of our province, Carthage, heavenly Muse of Africa, Carthage, Camena of the people who wear the toga. (Luxorius and Rosenblum, *A Latin Poet Among the Vandals*, 1961, p. 20-21)

• [Luxorius : North African Scholars] Cornutus the philosopher, born in Leptis Magna ca. A.D. 20, teacher of Lucan and Persius; Septimius Severus, of the same city, friend of Statius (*Silvae* 4.5) and grandfather of the emperor, who was also a native of Africa; Publius Annius Florus, friend of Hadrian, and believed by some to have written the *Pervigilium Veneris*, sometimes identified with the historian Lucius Annaeus (or Julius) Florus;¹⁰⁰ Salvius Julianus (100-169), a great legal writer who drew up a code for Hadrian; his disciple, Caecilius Africanus (fl. 150); Fronto (ca. 96 Boissier, *L'Afrique romaine*, p. 300; Mommsen, *The Provinces*, II, 343, 100-166), a native of Cirta, orator, epistolarian, and teacher of Marcus Aurelius; Apuleius (born ca. 123 in Hadrumetum); Sulpicius Apollinaris (second century), born in Carthage, teacher of Aulus Gellius and the emperor Pertinax; Euty chius Proculus (second century) of Sicca Veneria (modern Le Kef), a grammarian; Terentianus Maurus (same century), the noted writer on meters. 11. Nemesianus of Carthage, author of the poem *Cynegetica*, and Gargilius Martialis of Numidia, who wrote on gardens, flourished in the third century. Later come Marcus Victorinus of Carthage, who opened a school of rhetoric in Rome ca. 340; Gaius Marius Victorinus (fourth century), writer on Cicero, rhetoric, and philosophy; Donatus, the celebrated grammarian of the fourth century, teacher of St. Jerome; Nonius Marcellus of Thubursicum (modern Khemissa), another grammarian of the same era; Martianus Capella of Madauros and Carthage, who wrote that strange medley of prose and verse, *Liber de Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*, between 410 and 429; Caelius Aurelianus of Sicca Veneria (fl. 420), author of medical treatises; Fabius Planciades Fulgentius, mythographer of the fifth century; the historians Victor Vitensis (of Vita) and Victor Tunnunensis (of Tunnuna), who lived and suffered under the Vandals; Dracontius, the Christian poet who was imprisoned by King Gunthamund; Priscian the grammarian, born in Caesarea in the early part of the sixth century; and Corippus, who lived in Carthage and Constantinople and wrote epic poetry shortly after the fall of the Vandals. 12. Among the Christian writers, the best known are Tertullian (160-225), who spent most of his life in Carthage; St. Cyprian (200-258), bishop of Carthage; Arnobius of Numidia (fl. 284-305), author of *Adversus Nationes*; Lactantius, his pupil (ca. 250-317), the "Christian Cicero," a native of Proconsularis; Arnobius Junior, a commentator on Biblical topics; St. Optatus (fl. 366-90)

The Witness of God is Greater

of Milevis (modern Mila), author of works against the Donatists; St. Augustine (354-430); and Verecundus (died 552), bishop of Junca in Byzacena, author of the poem *De Satisfactione Poenitentiae*. (Luxorius and Rosenblum, *A Latin Poet Among the Vandals*, 1961, p. 23)

- [Baldwin] Perfection in Greek and Latin became the hallmark of an educated man; Africa had long been a multilingual continent. Fronto shows off with a few Greek letters.³⁴ Apuleius kicks off his novel with a statement of his bilingual learning; elsewhere (*Apol.* 82; 98.8. *Flor.* 18), he boasts of his wife's Hellenism, flatters his audience about theirs, and ridicules his opponent for having no Greek. Various inscriptions emphasise the bilingualism of their subjects. Augustine laments having to learn Greek, though generously admits his sentiment is due to problems he had with foreign languages and supposes Greek boys felt the same way about Virgil (*Conf.* 13.20; 14.23). Fulgentius of Ruspe knew Homer and Menander by heart before learning Latin and so spoke Greek "so that as it were, one might think that he spent every day dwelling among Greeks" ("ut quasi cotidie inter Graecos habitare putaretur" Ferrandus, *Vita Fulg.* 1). Other late African luminaries such as Priscian and Corippus were confident enough of their Greek to go off to Constantinople to live and work. ...By the seventh century the intellectual life of Africa was still vigorous... (Baldwin, *Some Pleasures of Later Roman Literature*, 1989, p. 40)

- [Baldwin] As well as being trilingual, Africa was also, like Britain or France, a medley ("maeadoine") of regional accents and dialects. ...Roman Africa produced much history but few historians. An exception was the fourth-century Aurelius Victor. Victor did not feel the need to obtrude African details into his *De Caesaribus*, and indeed says that the country engendered few talents. But the ones it did rise to the highest level and were correspondingly honoured by their countrymen (*De Caes.* 20.6; 40.19). ...The various importances placed on language pinpoint the diverse [PAGE 42] contributions made by Africa to Latin literature, not least its abundance of philologists. Big African names include Terentianus Maurus, Nonius Marcellus, Marius Victorinus, and Priscian [Priscianus Caesariensis]. But there were many more. A good number were in the orbit of Augustine, e.g. Maximus who argued for paganism against the great man (*Epp.* 16-17) and Nebrius who went with him to Milan where he died young (*Conf.* 8.6.13). (Baldwin, *Some Pleasures of Later Roman Literature*, 1989, p. 41-42)

- [Baldwin] Around the year 200, Christian Latin literature bursts onto the scene in the powerful voice of Tertullian. Henceforth, African literature progresses in double tandem, Christian and pagan, prose and poetry, with the Christian not always outshining but eventually outlasting its rival, and this is the way we will look at it. ...Cyprian is doubly novel, being the first bishop of upper class origin and a pioneer in recording the daily life of a working cleric in a working church. [PAGE 46] His reputation was early clinched in the fourth century, when a list of his writings was placed second only to the Bible in authority. His extraordinary acceptance of dreams as divine admonition is seen by some as a feature of African Christianity that made it unique.⁹⁰ One does not have to like Augustine to appreciate his *Confessions* as (in Robert Browning's words 91) the first example of inner biography, a work which opens new paths in terms of ancient literary traditions. An early and powerful example of Gulag literature is Victor Vitensis' *History of the Vandal Persecution*, a work every bit as shattering as that of Solzhenitsyn. (Baldwin, *Some Pleasures of Later Roman Literature*, 1989, p. 45-46)

Reading Homer in Thagaste

- [Chadwick] Augustine found Greek hard; the difficulty soured even the reading of Homer whose poetic power he admired. In later life he was generally inclined to protest too much his ignorance of Greek. After his school days he did not read classical Greek texts. But he could read the language with a dictionary. In 415 in [his work] the *City of God* he makes his own translation into Latin of a piece of Plotinus, and when writing *On the Trinity* he consulted works by acknowledged masters of the Greek East. (Chadwick, *Augustine of Hippo*, 2010, p. 6)

Prelude

- [Kaster] Precisely because our most prominent sources persistently draw our attention to the great cities, it is important to remember that the local schools and teachers passed under review in these last paragraphs were by [PAGE 346] far the most numerous in antiquity. Their "typical" feature of ancient education, often overlooked amid the modern concern with pattern and regularity, and perhaps for that reason the most rewarding area for further investigation. ...Indeed, all the

The Witness of God is Greater

evidence presented in this paper is consistent with one view only: that there were throughout the Empire schools of all shapes and kinds, depending on local needs, expectations, and resources. And in a world without centralized direction of education of any sort, that is only what we should expect. (Kaster, Notes on Primary and Secondary Schools in Antiquity, 1983, p. 345-346)

• [Baldwin] We know the schools of grammar and rhetoric at Bordeaux better than any other schools in antiquity, thanks to the memoirs of Ausonius; but we are still in no position to claim with any certainty that the city was provided with a two-track system of schools: although we know that the municipal professors could take on and provide with the "elementa" even very young children marked out for a liberal education, we do not know whether private "schools of (vulgar) letters" also existed, to provide a more limited literacy to a less privileged studentry. We might suspect that, as a provincial capital and city of some consequence in its region, Bordeaux had the need and resources to support a socially differentiated pattern of schooling; but suspicions [PAGE 341] are not enough. Moreover, if we can venture so little in the case of Bordeaux, then a fortiori our hesitation must be still greater in the case of a more modest city like the Gaza of Choricus (cf. section I ad fin. and 11,1 above); and in the case of a still humbler town, like Augustine's Thagaste, the outlines of one or another neat model dissolve before our eyes (see section I,c and II,g above). If Augustine's education and early career offer any general lesson at all, the lesson does not concern some "typical" pattern of schooling, but the local variations of resources and supply. The son of a "curialis" (one of a group of elders for a Roman city) of no great means, Augustine began his schooling with the local magister litterarum, who appears to have constituted the town's entire educational apparatus; and Augustine could easily have ended his schooling with the same teacher, to be classed with his cousins Lastidianus and Rusticus among those who "remained without a proper education" ("quamvis nullum vel grammaticum passi sint" Conf 2.3.5), but for the ambitious sacrifices of his father and the favor of the local magnate Romanianus.⁶⁰ On the other hand, Romanianus' own son, Licentius, happened to begin his education when Thagaste's resources were temporarily augmented by the presence of Augustine, the budding grammaticus. But these last considerations bring me to the second reason for my earlier negative answer—a reason based on what we do know. (Baldwin, *Some Pleasures of Later Roman Literature*, 1989, p. 42)

The Case of Augustine

- [TeSelle] Jerome wrote to Augustine in 418: "You are known throughout the world; Catholics honour and esteem you as the one who has established anew the ancient Faith" Epistola 195 (TeSelle, *Augustine the Theologian*, 1970, p. 343)
- [MacCulloch] Augustine's impact on Western Christian thought can hardly be overstated; only his beloved example Paul of Tarsus, has been more influential, and Westerners have generally seen Paul through Augustine's eyes. (MacCulloch, *Christian History*, 2012, p. 106)
- Augustine of Hippo (13 November 354 – 28 August 430 AD)^[23] was a Roman African, early Christian theologian and Neoplatonic philosopher from Numidia whose writings influenced the development of the Western Church and Western philosophy, and indirectly all of Western Christianity. He was the bishop of Hippo Regius in North Africa and is viewed as one of the most important Church Fathers of the Latin Church for his writings in the Patristic Period. Among his most important works are *The City of God*, *De doctrina Christiana*, and *Confessions*. (Augustine of Hippo. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Augustine_of_Hippo>)
- Possidius (370-437 AD): Augustine was born in the African province, in the city of Tagaste of honorable Christian parents of crucial rank and was nurtured and trained under their care and attention. At their expense he was educated chiefly in secular literature, that is, was trained in all the disciplines which are called liberal. For he first taught grammar in his own town and then rhetoric at Carthage, the capitol of Africa. Subsequently [he taught] across the sea in the city of Rome and at Milan where the Emperor Valentinian the Younger had then established his court. (Possidius and Weiskotten, *Life of St. Augustine by Bishop Possidius*, 1919, p. 42)
- [Chadwick] Augustine was born on 13 November 354. He was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth. He was the child of small-town parents in Thagaste in the province of Numidia (now the large village of Souk-Ahras in Algeria not far

The Witness of God is Greater

from the Tunisian border). Thagaste lies in hilly country about 60 miles inland, south of the city of Hippo on the coast. Hardly more than a few ruins of the bath-house now survive to remind the visitor [PAGE 5] of its Roman past (unlike Hippo of which much more has been found by the French archaeologists). Augustine's father Patrick sat on the town council and had the status of a curialis, in the late empire a hard-pressed class expected by the government to keep their local community going on their personal resources. Patrick owned but a few acres. His wife Monnica bore not only Augustine but also another son and two daughters. Their relative ages are never mentioned. Monnica came from a Christian family, but Patrick remained a pagan almost until the end of his life. Monnica was regular in giving alms for the poor, devoted to the honour of the martyrs of the African churches, and daily attendant at prayers in the local church morning and evening. Her constant devotions did not make her careless, and she avoided gossip. She was often influenced by her dream-life through which she felt that God guided her. (Chadwick, Augustine of Hippo, 2010, p. 4-5)

- [Chadwick] Unlike Thagaste or Madauros, Carthage was part of the great world of high culture. From Libya to Morocco prosperous provinces of the Roman empire exported grain, wine, and olive oil. Throughout the third century there had been a recession in trade; but prosperity returned in the fourth century and Carthaginian merchants of Augustine's acquaintance enjoyed a far-flung and lucrative trade as far as India. The standard of living was often at least as high as that in many parts of Italy. Augustine records his astonishment at finding in Italy well-to-do people without a bedroom to themselves, which Africans would take for granted. The ambition of rich citizens was to be "buried in an expensive sarcophagus at a funeral attended by columns of slaves both male and female, and a procession of dependent clients". Their villas were adorned with marble and rich mosaic (such as one may see in the Bardo Museum at Tunis). (Chadwick, Augustine of Hippo, 2010, p. 9)

- [Chadwick] Augustine acquired a conversational knowledge of the patois, and never speaks of Punic language or culture with the least touch of scorn as the pagan Maximus of Madauros did. But his parents and nurses spoke to him in Latin, and education at the Thagaste school was principally in Latin language and literature, a subject which ancient men called 'grammar', taught by the grammaticus. Augustine's schoolmaster, first at Thagaste, then until his sixteenth year at nearby Madauros, appears more notable for his skill with the cane than for offering a positive education. To the end of his days Augustine can hardly refer to the life of a schoolboy without recalling the misery of cruel floggings. He would not say it did him no good, for it was a training for the far greater troubles of adult life. But 'we learn better when freely trying to satisfy our curiosity than under fear or force'. Once he had been handed Virgil's Aeneid, his young mind was kindled to excitement by the exquisite poetry. His school also made him learn Greek, a language spoken by a substantial minority of the North African population with links to Sicily and South Italy where Greek was widespread. A mere hundred miles of sea separate Sicily from the North African coast. Augustine found Greek hard; the difficulty soured even the reading of Homer whose poetic power he admired. ...Nevertheless a very Latin pride in the cultural world of Virgil, Cicero, Seneca, Terence, and his [PAGE 7] fellow-countryman Apuleius helped him to treat Greek theologians and philosophers as constructive helps rather than as authorities to be slavishly imitated. Aristotle first came before him in his early twenties when he was studying at Carthage. Except for Cicero's translation of the Timaeus, he seems to have read no Plato before he reached Milan in 384 aged 30. The standard education of the time was primarily in the art of persuasive oratory, including some logic. Looking back, he realized he had come to think a fault in speech much graver than a failure in morality. Most of the philosophy he knew he taught himself by his reading. For the contemporary professional teachers of philosophy in the Latin West, he speaks in a letter of 386 in terms of utter contempt. (Chadwick, Augustine of Hippo, 2010, p. 6-7)

- Augustine Confessions. Book I.20: But what were the causes for my strong dislike of Greek literature, which I studied from my boyhood? Even to this day I have not fully understood them. For Latin I loved exceedingly--not just the rudiments, but what the grammarians teach. For those beginner's lessons in reading, writing, and reckoning, I considered no less a burden and pain than Greek. Yet whence came this, unless from the sin and vanity of this life? For I was "but flesh, a wind that passeth away and cometh not again."²⁵ Those first lessons were better, assuredly, because they were more certain, and through them I acquired, and still retain the power of reading what I find written and of writing for myself what I will. (Augustine & Outler, Confessions, 1955 p. 42).

The Witness of God is Greater

Latin New Testament

- Augustine: Now among translations themselves the Italian (Itala) is to be preferred to the others, for it keeps closer to the words without prejudice to clearness of expression. (Doctr. Chr. II:15; NPNF1-02, p. 542)
- [Houghton] The importance of the Latin Fathers. The earliest Latin Christian authors are comparable in antiquity both to their Greek counterparts and to many of the oldest surviving New Testament manuscripts. They offer insights into the biblical texts of the third and fourth centuries, using translations which may even reach back a century earlier. Furthermore, although all versional evidence is to some extent patristic because it is mediated by a translator, in the Latin tradition the evidence of the Church Fathers is accorded special priority. The supersession of the initial Latin translations by the version which later became known as the Vulgate means that few of the Old Latin (Vetus Latina) texts are transmitted in biblical codices. Instead, these versions must usually be pieced together from quotations in the Latin Fathers. Patristic writings also offer geographical and chronological information that may serve to locate the forms of text found in surviving manuscripts. The close links between Latin and Greek speaking Christians (and the similarity of the two languages) mean that the traditions were often in contact during the formative period of Christianity. Ancient scholars revised their Latin versions of scriptural books against Greek manuscripts. The works of Greek authors, in the original language or in translation, provided another point of encounter with the biblical text. The subsequent hegemony of Latin in the western Church resulted in the transmission of a substantial body of Christian literature from the early centuries, which not only is important for the exegesis and use of the Bible but also conveys information about the nature and diffusion of the New Testament text. For example, four Latin writers supply the earliest evidence for the inclusion of the story of the adulteress in the Gospel according to John, anticipating readings which are not preserved in Greek manuscripts until four hundred years later; Cyprian knew the qualification "without cause" in Matthew 5:22 well over a century before a corrector added it in the margin of Codex Sinaiticus; Latin Fathers demonstrate that Paul's handing over his body "that I may be burnt" in 1 Corinthians 13:3 can be traced back as far as "that I may boast", despite the attestation of the latter in P46, Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus. (Houghton, "The Use of the Latin Fathers for New Testament Textual Criticism" in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*, 2012, p. 375)

Scholars Affirm

- [Kilpatrick] The earliest evidence we have for the Bible in Latin seems to be a quotation from 1 Tim. 6: 15 f. in the Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs of A.D. 180 which echo several New Testament phrases. Tertullian used an already existing translation in some of his quotations. We may infer from this and other that the Bible was translated into Latin by the mid-second century [150 AD]. (Kilpatrick, *The Itala*, 1978, p. 56)
- [Souter] The existence of a (relatively) complete New Testament in Africa first comes into clear view in the writings of Cyprian (f 258), who quotes a Latin Bible abundantly and accurately. The fact that on close study the translation used by him shows secondary characteristics 1 confirms the conclusion that in Tertullian's time a Latin New Testament already existed in Africa, and suggests that it is the result of a long period of translation commenced not later than 150. There was, however, in Cyprian's time no one official version. For instance, a Bishop Nemesianus of Tubunas (on the confines of Numidia and Mauritania), who was present at the Rebaptism Council of Carthage in A.d. 256 with Cyprian himself, uses a Latin translation which differs from that employed by him, and is probably earlier in origin.² The texts used in Africa down to about the end of the fourth century (and in some cases even later) are substantially identical with Cyprian's, though some have been subjected to revision in varying degrees. (Souter, *Text and Canon of the NT*, 1913, p. 36).
- [Everson] The term Vetus Latina or "Old Latin" (hereafter ol) is used to indicate Latin versions that were translated from the Greek and do not correspond to the Vulg. of Jerome.¹ During the first centuries of the Christian era, as Latin became increasingly common, the language of the early church became increasingly Latinate. The Passion of the Scillitan Martyrs provides the earliest testimony of a Latin Bible. According to this text, a man named Speratus (who was beheaded in AD 180) is said to have owned "the books and letters of Paul, a just man" (*Libri et epistulae Pauli, viri iusti*).² Tertullian (d. ad 220) offers further testimony from the second century, stating that Latin was the exclusive language of the church in North Africa. (Everson, "Jeremiah in the Latin", 2018, p. 1)

The Witness of God is Greater

• [Houghton] In conclusion, the adoption of Latin in the early Church was a gradual development, lasting at least a century. The origins of the translation of the New Testament are obscured by the continuing use of Greek texts by authors familiar with both languages who made ad hoc translations of their biblical quotations into Latin. Even so, a Latin translation of most if not all the books of the Bible, probably made in the first half of the third century, was used by Cyprian in North Africa. What is more, the surviving evidence for each book points to a single original translation which was subsequently revised in different ways on numerous occasions. This accounts both for peculiarities shared across the whole of Latin tradition and the diversity of texts arising from internal revision or comparison with Greek. Examples of such revision [PAGE 18] are already attested by the time of Cyprian, along with paratextual material to aid readers. Claims of a distinctive form of language in the early Church, often described as 'Christian Latin', are difficult to sustain. Nevertheless, the early biblical translations, including features from an initial period of experimentation, exert a strong and lasting influence on most Christian writing in Latin throughout its history. (Houghton, Latin New Testament, 2017, p. 17-18)

Johann David Michaelis (1717–1791 AD)

• Johann David Michaelis (27 February 1717 – 22 August 1791), a famous and eloquent Prussian biblical scholar and teacher, was a member of a family which had the chief part in maintaining that solid discipline in Hebrew and the cognate languages which distinguished the University of Halle in the period of Pietism.[1] He was a member of the Göttingen School of History. (Johann David Michaelis. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johann_David_Michaelis>).

• Johann David Michaelis: The Old Latin is the most ancient, and best, of all European Versions, of uncommon antiquity, no man of learning denies that this Version was done in the First century, except only Dr. Mill, who argues from this, that in the first century most of the Christians at Rome understood Greek." (Sects. 61-63, Travis, 2nd Edition, 1785, p. 55, fn.k)

• Johann David Michaelis: As it cannot be denied that the oldest Latin versions are of very high antiquity, notwithstanding some of their readings are false, their principal use in the criticism of the New Testament is that they lead us to a discovery of the readings that existed prior to the date of any that are not extant. Though we are left in doubt, where their testimony [PAGE 122] is different, yet, where their evidence agrees, the decision is of great authority. (Michaelis and Marsh. Introduction to the New Testament. vol 2. Ancient Versions of the N.T., Chap. 7, 1802, p. 121-122)

Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs

• The Scillitan Martyrs were a company of twelve North African Christians who were executed for their beliefs on 17 July 180 AD. The martyrs take their name from Scilla (or Scillium), a town in Numidia. The Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs are considered to be the earliest documents of the church of Africa and also the earliest specimen of Christian Latin.[1] (Scillitan Martyrs. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scillitan_Martyrs>)

• The "Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs" and the works of Tertullian demonstrate that a Latin translation was known in North Africa as early as the end of the 2nd Century (2 CE). This translation was made in Africa, was later used in a revised form in other western countries and in Italy, and is known as the "Vetus Latina" (Old Latin, also called "Itala"; its siglum is "it"). About thirty-two manuscripts are preserved, none of them a complete manuscript of the whole NT; small Latin letters are used for these in the text-critical editions. The dates of these manuscripts vary from the 5th Century to the 13th century (V to XIII CE) which shows that this translation was used into the medieval period and was completely replaced by Jerome's Vulgate only in the late Middle Ages. An old witness for the African text of the "Vetus Latina" is Codex Palatinus (e) from the 5th century (V CE), a gospel codex with readings closely related to the quotations of Cyprian and Augustine. Even older, but very fragmentary is Codex Bobbiensis (k), written ca. 400 and containing parts of the first two Gospels. The European manuscripts of the "Vetus Latina" provide us with more complete evidence, but the text type as well as the manuscripts are of a later date. (Koester, History, 1987, §7.2e, p. 33)

• Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs (180 AD): 14. Saturninus the proconsul said to Speratus: Dost thou persist in being a Christian? 15. Speratus said: I am a Christian. And with him they all agreed. 16. Saturninus the proconsul said: Will ye have a space to consider? 17. Speratus said: In a matter so straightforward there is no considering. 18. Saturninus the proconsul said: What are the things in your chest? 19. Speratus said: Books and epistles of Paul, a just man. (Acts of the

The Witness of God is Greater

Scillitan Martyrs. Documents on the Persecution of the Early Church. Bible Researcher. <www.bible-researcher.com/persecution.html#scillitan>).

Acts of John (circa 150-200 AD)

• [Attridge] To explore the phenomenon, I shall focus on the Acts of John, a work of Christian fiction written sometime in the second century, perhaps as early as the second quarter of that century. Eric Junod and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis* (CChrSA 1-2; 2 vols.; Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1983), 2:694-700, date the work to the second half of the second century, arguing that it was used by Acts of Peter, Acts of Thomas and Acts of Paul. Lalleman, *Acts of John*, 208-212, 268-270, dates the work to the second quarter of the century, arguing that it influenced the final form of the Apocryphon of John and Apocalypse of Peter, that its Christology, with its intense focus on Christ and its portrait of him as polymorphic and polyonymous, is attested for the first half of the second century, but not later, and that the kind of Gnosticism it attests is pre-Valentinian. Hill, *Johannine Corpus*, 259, dates the work to around 150. ...Most scholars agree that what can be reconstructed is a composite work with strong affinities to some of the less "orthodox" varieties of second century Christianity. Exactly how the work was composed and what the precise affinities are has been a matter of continuing discussion. (Attridge, "The Acts Of John And The Fourth Gospel". in *From Judaism to Christianity: Tradition and Transition*,, 2011, p. 256-257.)

HIT:

- Again with me say thou:
Glory be to thee, **Father**;
Glory to thee, **Word**;
Glory to thee, **Holy Ghost**.
- <gnosis.org/library/actjohn.htm>
 - **Greek:**
96. πάλιν ἔμοι λέγε
δόξα σοι **πάτερ**
δόξα σοι **λόγε**
δόξα σοι **πνεῦμα ἅγιον**
 - *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha Post Constantinum* Tischendorf Deno Edidervnt Ricardvs Adelbertvs Lipsivs Et Maximilianvs Bonnet, 1891, p. 199.

Comment:

• [Elliott] In the East the earliest unambiguous patristic attestation to the Acts of John is in Eusebius (HE 3. 25. 6 (Schwartz GCS 9.2, pp. 252f.)) who condemns the Acts of John (and of Andrew) as heretical. Epiphanius (adv. Haer. 2. 47. 1 (Holl, GCS 31, p. 216)) notes that the Acts of John (and of Andrew and of Thomas) were used by encratite groups. The Manichaean Psalm Book used it as part of a Manichaean corpus of Acts¹ about AD 340 (according to C. R. C. Allberry). Western attestation includes Augustine (Ep. 237 (253) to Ceretius, ed. A. Goldbacher, CSEL 57 (Vienna and Leipzig, 1911), pp. 526–32) who cites in Latin some ten lines of the Hymn of Christ, which Ceretius claims to have found circulating as an independent text among the Priscillianists. The Acts were also mentioned by Innocent I (Ep. 6. 7, PL 20, col. 502) and by Turribius of Astorga (Ep. ad Idacium et Ceponium 5, PL 54, cols. 693–5). The Acts in Latin were also obviously known to the editor of the *Virtutes Iohannis* in the collection of Pseudo-Abdias. The Acts were therefore known by the fourth century as a sectarian work and used by, among others, Priscillianists. (Elliott, J. K. (ed.), "The Acts of John" in *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation*, 2003, p. 303.)

Sermon the Hundredfold, Sixty-fold, and Thirty-fold (175-200 AD)

• [Daniélou] The *De centesima, sexagesima, tricesima* comes to us from the sphere of Latin Judaeo-Christian apocalyptic writing of the second century. It was first edited by Reitzenstein [1914]; who believed that it was a second century

The Witness of God is Greater

document which had, in view of the doctrine contained in it, originated in a gnostic environment. (Daniélou, *The Origins of Latin Christianity*, 1977, p. 63)

Dated Late 2nd century:

- Reitzenstein (1914) *Eine frühchristliche Schrift ZNTW*
- Daniélou (1977) *Origins of Latin Christianity*
- Rordorf and Tuilier (1978) *La Doctrine des Douze Apôtres*;

• [Hunter] For the author of this sermon, the 'hundredfold' reward was reserved for martyrs, the 'sixtyfold' for virginal ascetics (who are styled 'combatants' (*agonistae*)), and the 'thirtyfold' for married persons who had renounced sex upon receiving baptism [also known as "continent"]. Those who remained sexually active appear to have been [PAGE 115] excluded from reward altogether. Addressing married persons the author urged them to take seriously their baptismal commitment and to embrace total celibacy. ...Laced with biblical readings that echoed the *Diatesseron* of Tatian, the Acts of Paul and Thecla, and the Gospel of Thomas, the Latin sermon *The Hundredfold Reward* influenced the thought and language of later orthodox Christians, such as Cyprian of Carthage, even when they did not follow all of its radical encratite prescriptions. (Hunter, *Marriage, Celibacy, and Heresy*, 2009, p. 114-115)

• [Schanz : The three groups: martyrs, ascetics, and the continent.] They all stand in the struggle of the Spirit against the flesh, they all imitate Christ, they all suffer in the world for eternal joy, they all operate the religion, whose essence, beginning and end, is asceticism; Teaching and active morality are completely withdrawn. They all fulfill the Ten Commandments, but they fill them in various degrees, multiplying their number by different factors: **i)** the martyrs with 10 righteousness-es ($10 \times 10 = 100$), like Christ, attain the consummate perfection; **ii)** the ascetics correspond to the 6 creation angels or the 6th day, the Sabbath, and rest from all evil works ($6 \times 10 = 60$); **iii)** the *justi* follow the three witnesses to whom they are baptized, father, son and spirit ($3 \times 10 = 30$). (737d. "Pseudo-Cyprian, *Sermo centesima sexagesima tricesima*" in *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*. Von Martin Schanz, 1922, part 8, vol 3, p. 384-385)

• [Beatrice] The number 30, the reward for those who preserve continence in marriage, results from the multiplication of the ten commandments for the three witnesses of baptism, that is, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. (De cent. 33,84 [HIT #1]: "Trinitas ergo ista per decem verba adolescit, ut [Line 289] *trecesima merces compleatur*." Cf. 44,87 [HIT #2]: "Hoc est per os trium testium probari, id est per os [Line 353] *patris et filii et spiritus sancti confiteri...*") (Beatrice, "Martirio ed asceti nel sermone pseudo-cipriano" in *Paradoxos politeia*, 1979, p. 22)

HITS:

- Certainly, whoever might be so inclined to accomplish the work of those six angels, **he shall enjoy so much blessedness [fruitfulness] as the illustrious three, the Father and Son and Holy Spirit.**[1] ...Therefore you who have learnt to receive God through virtuousness, observe his promise too, which said : **Anyone not reborn from water and holy spirit, will not enter into the kingdom of heaven.** Therefore you who will long to arrive in the kingdom of heaven, do not cast out that spirit of renewal by your lustful living.[2] ...For He Himself [Christ] is a step in the ascent into heaven, for He Himself is the gate, Himself the entry into life, by whom in your redemption from the contagion of the world **you have been spiritually bound by the Three Witnesses. This Trinity, therefore, increases by the Ten Words** [i.e., multiplied by the 10 Commandments] so that the thirty-fold reward is completed. [i.e., "the sum" that is 30 (3 multiplied by 10)].[3]
 - **Latin:**
 1. *utique qui se disposuerit ad [Line 241] persequendum opus illorum angelorum sex, percipiet fructus tam praeclaros [Line 242] tres, patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum.* (Ps-Cyprian, *Sermo de centesima, sexagesima, tricesima*, edited by Reitzenstein, dans *ZNTW*, 1914, 15, p. 83, lines 240-242)
 2. *qui ergo deum per sanctimonium accipiendum didicisti, et promissum eius [Line 283] obserua, qui dixit: Si quis non renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu sancto, [Line 284] non intrabit in regnum*

The Witness of God is Greater

caelorum. qui ergo in regnum caelorum cupies [Line 285] peruenire, illum spiritum renouationis tuae lasciuie uiuendo noli expellere. (Ps-Cyprian, Sermo de centesima, sexagesima, tricesima, edited by Reitzenstein, dans ZNTW, 1914, 15, p. 84, lines 282-285)

3. ipse est enim gradus ascensionis in caelum, ipse est enim porta, ipse in- [Line 287] -troitus vitae, a quo in redemptione tua a mundi contagione **tribus testimoniis [Line 288] spiritualiter sis religatus. trinitas ergo ista per decem verba adolescit**, ut [Line 289] trecesima merces compleatur. (Ps-Cyprian, Sermo de centesima, sexagesima, tricesima, edited by Reitzenstein, dans ZNTW, 1914, 15, p. 84, lines 286-289)

- For the Law of the Lord is hard and bitter, but it makes bitterness, in order that it might reveal sweetness. For also by John this is demonstrated, when the spirit hands over the book to the angel who broke the seals, saying: "Take the book and eat it up. And it shall make thy belly bitter, but in thy mouth it shall be sweet as honey." This means: **by the mouth of three witnesses it will be proved, that is: by the mouth of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit it will be confessed**, because it is apparent that honey [Latin: mel] is written in three letters. For certainly, we also read honey [Latin: mel], constituted of three letters.
 - **Latin:** lex enim domini dura est et amara, [Line 349] <sed> amaritudinem facit, ut dulcedinem ostendat. nam et per Iohannem de- [Line 350] -monstravit, cum spiritus [PAGE 87] librum angelo sigilla soluenti traderet dicens: "Accipe [Line 351] librum et devora eum et amaritudinem faciet ventri tuo, sed in ore tuo erit [Line 352] dulce, tamquam mel." (Rev 10:9) **hoc est per os trium testium probari, id est per os [Line 353] patris et filii et spiritus sancti confiteri, quod mel tribus litteris constat scribi;** [Line 354] nam et mel quidem legimus tribus litteris statui. (Ps-Cyprian, Sermo de centesima, sexagesima, tricesima, edited by Reitzenstein, dans ZNTW, 1914, 15, p. 86-87, lines 348-354)

Translator Jeroen Beekhuizen's note: The author explains the text of Revelations 10:9 to refer to the testimony of the Trinity. The clue to this is the Latin word "mel" (honey) which he finds in the text. To the author this has a deeper meaning than "honey" alone, because this word was deliberately chosen (according to the author) for its three letters (m-e-l). At least, this is how I understand these Latin lines. (Jeroen Beekhuizen, Correspondence, 28 October 2019)

Comments:

- ...Rordorf and Tuilier (1978) [La Doctrine des Douze Apôtres] ...aduce a late second century sermon (i.e., De centesima, de sexagesima, de tricesima) as a parallel in content [to the Didache] (p. 58). (Jefford, Didache in Context, 1995, p. 90-91 fn. 15)
- [The treatise "De centesima, sexagesima, tricesima" often found among the works of Cyprian.] First published by R. Reitzenstein in 'Eine frühchristliche Schrift von den dreierlei Früchten des christlichen Lebens', ZNW 15 (1914), pp. 60-90. Reitzenstein dated this text to the end of the second century. A number of scholars disagreed with this assessment and dated it to the fourth century; so e.g., both H. Koch and G. Wohlenberg. ...J. Daniélou has demonstrated that this writing was known and used by Cyprian. Thus, it cannot be later than the mid-third century. Daniélou follows Reitzenstein in opting for the late second century. P.F. Beatrice (in A. di Berardino, (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Early Church, vol. 1, trans. A. Walford (Cambridge: Clarke & Co., 1992), p. 223) places it in the period from the late-second to the mid-third century. (Hannah, Isaiah's Vision, 1999, p. 83 fn. 9)
- [Daniélou] Certain conclusions may be drawn from our discussion of the De centesima. The treatise, which was undoubtedly known to Cyprian, in whose circle the rather primitive Latin of the text was probably corrected and improved, is a Latin Judaeo-Christian sermon from the end of the second century. It exhibits characteristically Judaeo-Christian features: freedom in the use of biblical quotations, an allegorical exegesis of the New Testament parables and an angelomorphic Christology. Tertullian, as we know, reacted strongly against all these characteristics. The author of our sermon also made use of a collection of Pauline texts which would seem to have been in large measure the same as that which: according to the information provided by Clement of Alexandria, was used by Tatian and by Cassian. In addition he may have used Tatian's Diatessaron in its Latin translation. Finally, his work is decidedly encratite in character and he

The Witness of God is Greater

bears witness to the existence of a Judaeo-Christian encratite tendency in Africa at the time of Tertullian. (Daniélou, *The Origins of Latin Christianity*, 1977, p. 92)

- [Daniélou] As for the parable which forms the object of the sermon, the hundredfold, the sixtyfold and the thirtyfold are the martyrs, the continents and the husbands ["the just" i.e., righteous] who live in continence [abstain from sexual relations]. ...Later, in the fourth century, the three categories were to be interpreted as the virgins, the widows and the husbands. (Daniélou, *The Origins of Latin Christianity*, 1977, p. 80)
- [Sellew] The homilist's interpretive key in considering the three rewards is to search the Scriptures for instances of tens, sixes, and threes, that is, numbers that can serve as multiplication factors of the Ten Commandments to produce hundreds, sixties, and thirties. His favored technique is catchword association. There are ample examples [PAGE 280] of tens and threes available in the Bible and in Christian teaching, such as the parable of the (ten) Talents (Luke 19:12), and ten psalters of Psalms 33, and an obscure reference to the blessing of "ten cities of God" in an unknown psalm. A ready instance of a symbolic three is available in the trinitarian formula, which the homilist employs in a delightful "midrash" on the bittersweet scroll swallowed by the prophetic seer. (Sellew, *Five Days of Creation?*, 1990, p. 280-281)
- [Beatrice] To obtain the numbers sixty and thirty, which serve to express the prize of the virgins and the continents respectively, the homilist uses a sort of mystical arithmology which [PAGE 228] consists in multiplying the numbers six (of the angels and the days of creation) and three (of the persons of the Holy Trinity) by the number 10 (of the divine commandments). (Cf. *De cent.* 26,82). (Beatrice, *Il sermone De centesima*, in *Augustinianum*, no. 19 1979, p. 228-229).
- [Daniélou] Certain symbolic elements in the *De centesima* also point to the early date of the document. Tobias' fish is used to symbolise Christ - its flesh is eaten for food as Christ's is. This is clearly an example of the theme of the eucharistic fish, of which there is evidence in the inscription of Abercius, the Sibylline Oracles and the frescoes of the early catacombs. [The theme of Tobias offering the fish to the angel is shown in the catacomb of Thrason - third century. The theme of the 'great fish' is also found in the Gospel in Thomas.] The reference to the theme of the fish occurs in *De cent.* 65, 35-39. F.J. Dolger has drawn attention to the importance of this theme in the *De centesima*. The gall of the fish represents the Christian law, which is bitter at first, but becomes sweet. This gives rise to a play on words between "fel" (= gall), and "mel" (= honey), which is, of course, evidence of the Latin origin of the document. A similar theme of bitterness becoming sweetness is also found in Hippolytus' "Apostolic Tradition"²¹ [PAGE 72] in a similar text and in connection with milk and honey. There is also a comparison between "fel" (= gall) and of "mel" (= honey) in the Muratorian fragment. The three letters of "fel" (= gall) and of "mel" (= honey) are also given a Trinitarian significance in the *De centesima*, the words being linked with baptism as a profession of faith in the Trinity and as "illumination" (*De cent.* 65, 41). (Daniélou, *The Origins of Latin Christianity*, 1977, p. 71)
- [Sandt] The Ps.-Cyprian treatise "*De centesima, sexagesima, tricesima*" which distinguishes three classes of Christians, yielding different quantities of fruit (hundred-fold, sixty-fold, and thirty-fold) and, in support of this view, almost literally quotes (as "Scripture") *Didache* 6.2 [cf. Reitzenstein, esp. p. 79, lines 132-135; cf. Daniélou, 173.] (Sandt, *The Didache*, 2002, p. 239)
- [Wilhite : *Didache Quoted in Sermo*] And at another place this scripture bears witness and admonishes, with words, "If you are able, son, to do all the commandments of the Lord, you will be perfect; but if only one or two commandments, love the Lord with all your heart and those like you as [yourself]." • **Latin:** et alio in loco scriptura haec [Line 133] testatur et admonet dicens: "Si potes quidem, filii, omnia praecepta domini [Line 134] facere, eris consummatus; sin autem, vel duo praecepta, amare dominum [Line 135] num ex totis praecordiis et similem tibi quasi (te ipsum)." (Wilhite and Jefford, *The Didache*, 2019, p. 18; cf. Reitzenstein, esp. p. 79, lines 132-135)
- [Draper] While the debate over the relationship between the two writings [*Didache* & Gospel of Matthew] has still not been settled, and some, myself included, would argue contrariwise for a dependence of Matthew on the *Didache*, few scholars now date the text later than the end of the first century CE or the first few decades of the second. If dependence

The Witness of God is Greater

on Matthew is ruled out, then there is little to establish the date of the text except for internal evidence, so that a number of recent studies have even argued for a very early [PAGE 3] date in the mid first century. [PAGE 6]...The survival of the Didache as an independent text is, to some extent, accidental. It presents us with a moment frozen in time, a community which still lived within the Jewish world-view and practice, competing with the successors of the Pharisees for [PAGE 7] control of the same social space. It remains focussed on the Torah and its fulfilment in practice, even though it admits Gentiles without requiring them to become Jews. It is concerned about ritual purity in baptism and eucharist. Its Christology is Davidic and it envisages a return of the Lord on the clouds, accompanied by the righteous departed, to gather them from the four winds into the kingdom (10:5, perhaps echoing Ezek 37:7-14), probably to establish it 'on earth as it is in heaven' (8:2). Its local elected leadership of bishops and deacons seems to be in contention with Spirit-inspired prophets and teachers, while apostles might present themselves at its door claiming their right to support on their journeys. This is a picture much at odds with the church as it emerged in subsequent centuries. Jewish Christian communities which tried to continue this kind of tradition were marginalized and even demonised as heretics, while few traces of their life and witness to Jesus have survived. The evidence of the Didache is thus particularly valuable as evidence of, and a witness today of, the roots of the Christian movement in Torah faithful Judaism. (Draper, The Didache, academic.edu, 2019, p. 2-3, 6-7)

Tertullian of Carthage (155-240 AD)

- Tertullian, full name Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus, c. 155 – c. 240 AD,[1] was a prolific early Christian author from Carthage in the Roman province of Africa.[2] Of Berber origin,[3][4][5][6][7] he was the first Christian author to produce an extensive corpus of Latin Christian literature. He also was an early Christian apologist and a polemicist against heresy, including contemporary Christian Gnosticism.[8] Tertullian has been called "the father of Latin Christianity"[9][10] and "the founder of Western theology." [11] Scant reliable evidence exists to inform us about Tertullian's life; most history about him comes from passing references in his own writings. Roman Africa was famous as the home of orators and this influence can be seen in his writing style with its archaisms or provincialisms, its glowing imagery and its passionate temper. He was a scholar with an excellent education. He wrote at least three books in Greek. In them he refers to himself, but none of these is extant. According to church tradition, Tertullian was raised in Carthage[15] and was thought to be the son of a Roman centurion; Tertullian has been claimed to have been a trained lawyer and an ordained priest. These assertions rely on the accounts of Eusebius of Caesarea, Church History, II, ii. 4, and Jerome's *De viris illustribus* (On famous men) chapter 53.[b] Jerome claimed that Tertullian's father held the position of *centurio proconsularis* ("aide-de-camp") in the Roman army in Africa.[16] However, it is unclear whether any such position in the Roman military ever existed.[17][18] Further, Tertullian has been thought to be a lawyer based on his use of legal analogies and an identification of him with the jurist Tertullianus, who is quoted in the *Pandects*. (Tertullian. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tertullian>.)

- Tertullian the presbyter, now regarded as chief of the Latin writers after Victor and Apollonius, was from the city of Carthage in the province of Africa, and was the son of a proconsul or Centurion, a man of keen and vigorous character, he flourished chiefly in the reign of the emperor Severus and Antoninus Caracalla and wrote many volumes which we pass by because they are well known to most. I myself have seen a certain Paul, an old man of Concordia, a town of Italy, who, while he himself was a very young man had been secretary to the blessed Cyprian who was already advanced in age. He said that he himself had seen how Cyprian was accustomed never to pass a day without reading Tertullian, and that he frequently said to him, Give me the master, meaning by this, Tertullian. He was presbyter of the church until middle life, afterwards driven by the envy and abuse of the clergy of the Roman church, he lapsed to the doctrine of Montanus, and mentions the new prophecy in many of his books. He composed, moreover, directly against the church, volumes: On modesty, On persecution, On fasts, On monogamy, six books On ecstasy, and a seventh which he wrote Against Apollonius. He is said to have lived to a decrepit old age, and to have composed many small works, which are not extant. (Jerome. On Illustrious Men. 53 Tertullian. NPNF2-03-27)

The Witness of God is Greater

• But although the Senate of the Romans rejected the proposition made in regard to our Saviour, Tiberius still retained the opinion which he had held at first, and contrived no hostile measures against Christ. These things are recorded by Tertullian, a man well versed in the laws of the Romans, and in other respects of high repute, and one of those especially distinguished in Rome. In his apology for the Christians, which was written by him in the Latin language, and has been translated into Greek, he writes as follows: "But in order that we may give an account of these laws from their origin, it was an ancient decree that no one should be consecrated a God by the emperor until the Senate had expressed its approval. Marcus Aurelius did thus concerning a certain idol, Alburnus. And this is a point in favor of our doctrine, that among you divine dignity is conferred by human decree. If a God does not please a man he is not made a God. Thus, according to this custom, it is necessary for man to be gracious to God." (Eusebius of Caesarea, Church History. Book 2. Chapter 2. How Tiberius was affected when informed by Pilate concerning Christ. NPNF2-01)

• [H. Pope] For some years Dr. Prestige has been at work on the Lexicon of Patristic Greek, portions of which have from time to time appeared in the Journal of Theological Studies. This has compelled him to make a minute study of the principal words used by the Greek Fathers when treating of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation, with the result that he has given us in the present volume a most valuable study of those doctrines as the Greeks saw them. For though he has from time to time illustrated their teaching from the writings of the Latin Fathers, it is in the main the Greeks of whom he treats, and he rightly ranks Tertullian among the Greeks though his Greek writings have for the most part perished. ...It is refreshing, too, to find Tertullian restored to his true place; "the movement for minimizing the 'juristic' character ascribed to his thought, and emphasizing its philosophical quality, needs to be still further strengthened" [Prestige, p. xxv, cf. pp. 97 ff. and In]. (Hugh Pope, Review of the book God in Patristic Thought by G.L. Prestige, 1936, p.947, 948)

HITS:

- [Against Praxeas XXV] What follows Philip's question, and the Lord's whole treatment of it, to the end of John's Gospel, continues to furnish us with statements of the same kind, distinguishing the Father and the Son, with the properties of each. Then there is the Paraclete or Comforter, also, which He promises to pray for to the Father, and to send from heaven after He had ascended to the Father. He is called "another Comforter," indeed; John 14:16 but in what way He is another we have already shown, "He shall receive of mine," says Christ, John 16:14 just as Christ Himself received of the Father's. **Thus the connection of the Father in the Son, and of the Son in the Paraclete, produces three coherent Persons, who are yet distinct One from Another. These Three are one essence, not one Person, as it is said, "I and my Father are One," John 10:30 in respect of unity of substance not singularity of number.** (ANF vol 3, p. 621)
 - **Latin:** Post Philippum, et totam substantiam quaestionis istius, quem in finem Evangelii perseverant in eodem genere sermonis, quo Pater et Filius in sua proprietate distinguuntur, Paracletum quoque a Patre se postulaturum, cum ascendisset ad Patrem, et missurum repromittit, et quidem alium, sed iam praemisimus quomodo alium, Caeterum: De meo sumet (Ioan. XVI, 4) , inquit; sicut ipse de Patris. **Ita connexus Patris in Filio, et Filii in Paracleto, tres efficit cohaerentes, alterum ex altero, qui tres unum sint, non unus. Quo modo dictum est (Ioan. X, 30): Ego et Pater unum sumus; ad substantiae unitatem, non ad numeri singularitatem.** (Migne Latina, PL 2, 0187D)
- **On Modesty 21.16** : For the very Church, properly and principally, is the Spirit Himself, in whom is the Trinity of the one Divinity, Father and Son and Holy Spirit. He assembles this Church which the Lord has specified as 'three' [OR: which the Lord has founded in Three]. And thus, from that time forward, even each number [of persons] who have united in this faith are reckoned the Church, from its Author and Sanctifier. (the Holy Ghost). (Tertullian. On Modesty. 21:16. Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, February 2020)
 - **Latin:** **Nam et ipsa ecclesia proprie et principaliter ipse est spiritus, in quo est trinitas unius diuinitatis, Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus.** Illam ecclesiam congregat quam Dominus in tribus posuit. [17] Atque ita exinde etiam numerus omnis qui in hanc fidem conspirauerint ecclesia ab auctore et consecratore censetur. (Tertullian. De Pudicitia 21.16. Migne Latina, PL 2.1026)

The Witness of God is Greater

- **On Baptism VI.:** Not that in the waters we obtain the Holy Spirit; but in the water, under (the witness of) the angel, we are cleansed, and prepared for the Holy Spirit. In this case also a type has preceded; for thus was John [the Baptist] beforehand the Lord's forerunner, "preparing His ways." Thus, too, does the angel, the witness of baptism, "make the paths straight" for the Holy Spirit, who is about to come upon us, **by the washing away of sins, which faith, sealed in (the name of) the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, obtains. For if "in the mouth of three witnesses every word shall stand:"- while, through the benediction, we have the same (three) as witnesses of our faith whom we have as sureties of our salvation too** - how much more does the number of the divine names suffice for the assurance of our hope likewise! **Moreover, after the pledging both of the attestation of faith and the promise of salvation under "three witnesses,"** there is added, of necessity, mention of the Church; inasmuch as, wherever there are three, (that is, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit,) there is the Church, which is a body of three. (ANF vol 3, p. 672)
 - **Latin:** Non quod in aquis Spiritum sanctum consequamur; sed in aqua emundati sub Angelo, Spiritui sancto praeparatur. Hic quoque figura praecessit (Matth., III) . Sic enim Ioannes ante praecursor Domini fuit, praeparans vias eius: ita et Angelus Baptismi arbiter superventuro Spiritui sancto vias dirigit ablutione delictorum, **quam fides impetrat, obsignata (Matth., XXVIII) in Patre, et Filio, et Spiritu sancto (Ibidem., XVIII). Nam si in tribus testibus stabit omne verbum, quanto magis, dum habemus per benedictionem eosdem arbitros fidei, quos et sponsores salutis,** sufficit ad fiduciam spei nostrae etiam numerus nominum divinorum? (1206C) **Cum autem sub tribus, et testatio fidei, et sponsio salutis pignerentur, necessario adiicitur Ecclesiae mentio; quoniam ubi tres, id est Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus,** ibi Ecclesia, quae trium corpus est. (Tertullian. De Baptismo VI. Migne Latina, PL 1.1206B).

Apollinaris Claudius (circa 101-200 AD)

• **Saint Apollinaris Claudius**, otherwise Apollinaris of Hierapolis or Apollinaris the Apologist, was a Christian leader and writer of the 2nd century. He was Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia and became famous for his polemical treatises against the heretics of his day, whose errors he showed to be entirely borrowed from the pagans. In 177 he published an "Apologia" for the Christians, addressed to Marcus Aurelius, and appealing to the Emperor's own experience with the "Thundering Legion", whose prayers won him the victory over the Quadi. The exact date of his death is not known, but it was probably while Marcus Aurelius was still Emperor.[1] Nothing survives of his writings except for a few extracts, the longest of which relates to the date of Passover. Eusebius makes mention of his work. His feast day is commemorated on January 8.[2] (Apollinaris Claudius. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Apollinaris_Claudius>)

• The **Chronicon Paschale** is a huge compilation, attempting a chronological list of events from the creation of Adam. The principal manuscript, the 10th-century Codex Vaticanus graecus 1941, is damaged at the beginning and end and stops short at 627. The Chronicle proper is preceded by an introduction containing reflections on Christian chronology and on the calculation of the Paschal (Easter) cycle. The so-called 'Byzantine' or 'Roman' era (which continued in use in Greek Orthodox Christianity until the end of Turkish rule as the 'Julian calendar') was adopted in the Chronicum as the foundation of chronology; in accordance with which the date of the creation is given as 21 March 5507bc.[2] The author identifies himself as a contemporary of the Emperor Heraclius (610–641), and was possibly a cleric attached to the suite of the oecumenical Patriarch Sergius. The work was probably written during the last ten years of the reign of Heraclius. (Chronicon Paschale. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chronicon_Paschale>)

HIT:

- [Chronicon Paschale : From Apollinarius, Bishop of Hierapolis, on the fact that, at the time of his Passion, the Lord did not eat the typical passover] And Apollinarius also, the most hallowed bishop of Hierapolis of Asia, who was near apostolic times, in the volume concerning the Passover taught similar

The Witness of God is Greater

things, speaking thus: "There are some, then, who raise disputes about these things through ignorance, thus suffering from a pardonable circumstance, for ignorance does not admit of accusation but rather requires further teaching; and they say that on the 14th the Lord ate the lamb with the disciples, and that on the great day of Unleavened Bread he himself suffered, and they report Matthew as speaking thus, just as they opine. Wherefore their opinion is at discord with the law, and the gospels seem to be at variance against them." And again the same man in the same volume has written likewise: "The 14th is the true Passover of the Lord, the great sacrifice, the child of God instead of the lamb, the one bound, the one who has bound the strong, and the judge who has judged living and dead; **even the one who has been delivered into the hands of sinners in order to be crucified, the unicorn lifted up on horns and pierced in his holy side, the one who had pour out from his side the two things which are cleansing again: water and blood, word and spirit; and the one buried on the day of the Passover, a stone having been placed upon the memorial.**" (Claudius Apollinaris, Fragments in Chronicon Paschale; Translated by Ben C. Smith, 2016, <earlywritings.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=2054>)

- **Greek:** Καὶ Ἀπολλινάριος δὲ ὁ ὀσιώτατος ἐπίσκοπος Ἱεραπόλεως τῆς Ἀσίας, ὁ ἐγγὺς τῶν ἀποστολικῶν χρόνων γεγονώς, ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ πάσχα λόγῳ τὰ παραπλήσια ἐδίδαξε, λέγων οὕτως· «Εἰσὶ τοίνυν οἱ δι' ἄγνοιαν φιλονεικοῦσι περὶ τούτων, συγγνωστὸν πρᾶγμα πεπονηότες· ἄγνοια γὰρ οὐ κατηγορίαν ἀναδέχεται, ἀλλὰ διδασχῆς προσδεῖται· καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι τῇ ἰδ' τὸ πρόβατον μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν ἔφαγεν ὁ κύριος, τῇ δὲ μεγάλη ἡμέρα τῶν ἀζύμων αὐτὸς ἔπαθεν, καὶ διηγοῦνται Ματθαῖον οὕτω λέγειν ὡς νενοήκασιν· ὅθεν ἀσύμφωνός τε νόμῳ ἢ νόησις αὐτῶν καὶ στασιάζειν δοκεῖ κατ' αὐτοὺς τὰ εὐαγγέλια.» Καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ γέγραφεν αὕτως· «Ἡ ἰδ' τὸ ἀληθινὸν τοῦ κυρίου πάσχα, ἡ θυσία ἡ μεγάλη, ὁ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄμνου παῖς θεοῦ, ὁ δεθεὶς, ὁ δῆσας τὸν ἰσχυρόν, καὶ ὁ κριθεὶς κριτῆς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν, **καὶ ὁ παραδοθεὶς εἰς χεῖρας ἁμαρτωλῶν ἵνα σταυρωθῆ, ὁ ὑψωθεὶς ἐπὶ κεράτων μονοκέρωτος καὶ ὁ τὴν ἁγίαν πλευρὰν ἐκκεντηθεὶς, ὁ ἐκχέας ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ τὰ δύο πάλιν καθάρσια, ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα, λόγον καὶ πνεῦμα, καὶ ὁ ταφεὶς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τοῦ πάσχα, ἐπιτεθέντος τῷ μνήματι τοῦ λίθου.»** (Claudius Apollinaris, Fragments in Chronicon Paschale; Dindorf, Chronicon paschale, 1832, vol 1, p. 13-14)

Comments:

• [Wiseman] The Abbé Le Hir has found another witness to the authenticity [PAGE 436] of the verse in question in the person of St. Claudius Apollinaris, Bishop of Hierapolis, in Phrygia, in the latter half of the second century. [Art 2e Des preuves extrinsèques ou de l'autorité Des Manuscrits Et Des Peres Pour Ou Contre Le Passage Contesté in Études bibliques, 1869, p. 34-89] Time has spared but very little of what this great Apologist wrote. This is the more to be regretted because Eusebius, Theodoret, and Photius are so loud in their praise of his learning and eloquence. St. Claudius Apollinaris took part in the Paschal controversy, and two brief extracts of his work are preserved in the "Chronicon Paschale." Of these fragments, Dr. Westcott says "that there is no reason for doubting their genuineness." (History of the Canon of the New Testament, p. 248) And Dr. Donaldson, in his "History of Christian Literature," expresses the same opinion. In one of them, St. Claudius describes Christ as "the true Pasch, the great Sacrifice, the Son of God in place of the Paschal lamb, who Himself in chains, hath bound the strong, who, Himself judged, is the Judge of the living and the dead; who was delivered into the hands of sinners to be crucified; who was exalted on the horns of the unicorn; whose sacred side was pierced, whence there flowed the two fountains of regeneration, water and blood, the Word and the Spirit" (ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα, λόγον καὶ πνεῦμα). Here we find the two earthly and the two Heavenly Witnesses-placed side by side in the very same order in which they are found in St. John's Epistle, and differing from that of his Gospel, in which "blood" (Greek: αἷμα) precedes "water" (Greek: ὕδωρ). The learned professor points out that we have in this beautiful passage, not only a most clear reference to the seventh and eighth verses, but also an expression of the saint's faith in the real presence of the Word in the Blessed Eucharist, and in the instrumentality of the Holy Ghost in Baptism. This testimony from a time and place so near to St. John has a most important bearing on the controversy. It is distinctly new evidence, and from Greek sources, of an age anterior to any existing manuscript. It is quite as convincing as the quotations of Tertullian and St. Cyprian, upon which all defenders of the verse lay such stress. We do not suppose that it will convince

The Witness of God is Greater

hardened opponents of the verse. (Wiseman, "Art. VII. Recent Evidence in Support of 1 John v. 7." in Dublin Review, Volume 90, 1882, p. 435-436)

- Arthur-Marie Le Hir (b. at Morlaix, Finistère, in the Diocese of Quimper, France, 5 December 1811; d. at Paris, 13 January 1868) was a French Biblical scholar and Orientalist.[1] Entering the seminary of Saint-Sulpice, Paris, in 1833, he joined the Sulpicians after ordination, and was appointed professor of theology. He was then made professor of Sacred Scripture and also of Hebrew, to which branches he had been thoroughly formed by Garnier, a scholar, says Ernest Renan, "who had a very solid knowledge of languages and the most complete knowledge of exegesis of any Catholic in France" (Souvenirs d'enfance et de jeunesse, 269). Le Hir continued in this teaching till his death, about thirty years later, and through his own work and that of his pupil, Renan, he influenced powerfully the revival of Biblical and Oriental studies in France.[1] Renan regarded him as the best Hebrew and Syriac scholar of France in his generation, and one, moreover, who was thoroughly versed in Biblical science, including the current German works, whose theories he combated.[1] (Arthur-Marie Le Hir. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arthur-Marie_Le_Hir>)

Irenaeus (130-202 AD)

- Irenaeus (Greek: Εἰρηναῖος Eirēnaios; c. 130 – c. 202 AD)[2] was a Greek bishop noted for his role in guiding and expanding Christian communities in what is now the south of France and, more widely, for the development of Christian theology by combating heresy and defining orthodoxy. Originating from Smyrna, now Izmir in Turkey, he had seen and heard the preaching of Polycarp,[3] the last known living connection with the Apostles, who in turn was said to have heard John the Evangelist.[4] Chosen as bishop of Lugdunum, now Lyon, his best-known work is Against Heresies, often cited as Adversus Haereses, an attack on gnosticism, in particular that of Valentinus.[5] To counter the doctrines of the gnostic sects claiming secret wisdom, he offered three pillars of orthodoxy: the scriptures, the tradition handed down from the apostles, and the teaching of the apostles' successors.

- [Early life] Irenaeus was a Greek from Polycarp's hometown of Smyrna in Asia Minor, now Izmir, Turkey, born during the first half of the 2nd century. The exact date is thought to be between the years 120 and 140.[10][11] Unlike many of his contemporaries, he was brought up in a Christian family rather than converting as an adult. During the persecution of Marcus Aurelius, the Roman Emperor from 161–180, Irenaeus was a priest of the Church of Lyon. The clergy of that city, many of whom were suffering imprisonment for the faith, sent him in 177 to Rome with a letter to Pope Eleutherius concerning the heresy of Montanism[citation needed], and that occasion bore emphatic testimony to his merits.

- [Persecution & Peace] While Irenaeus was in Rome, a persecution took place in Lyon. Returning to Gaul, Irenaeus succeeded the martyr Saint Pothinus and became the second bishop of Lyon.[12] During the religious peace which followed the persecution of Marcus Aurelius, the new bishop divided his activities between the duties of a pastor and of a missionary (as to which we have but brief data, late and not very certain). Almost all his writings were directed against Gnosticism. The most famous of these writings is Adversus haereses (Against Heresies). Irenaeus alludes to coming across Gnostic writings, and holding conversations with Gnostics, and this may have taken place in Asia Minor or in Rome.[13] However, it also appears that Gnosticism was present near Lyon: he writes that there were followers of 'Marcus the Magician' living and teaching in the Rhone valley.[14]

- [Writings] Irenaeus exercised wide influence on the generation which followed. Both Hippolytus and Tertullian freely drew on his writings. However, none of his works aside from Against Heresies and The Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching survive today, perhaps because his literal hope of an earthly millennium may have made him uncongenial reading in the Greek East.[32] Even though no complete version of Against Heresies in its original Greek exists [Note: the discovery of Hippolytus works provided much of the Greek text we have today; there is also Greek fragments from the 2nd century: P. Oxy 405], we possess the full ancient Latin version, probably of the third century, as well as thirty-three fragments of a Syrian version and a complete Armenian version of books 4 and 5.

The Witness of God is Greater

- [Later life] Little is known about the career of Irenaeus after he became bishop. The last action reported of him (by Eusebius, 150 years later) is that in 190 or 191, he exerted influence on Pope Victor I not to excommunicate the Christian communities of Asia Minor which persevered in the practice of the Quartodeciman celebration of Easter.[15] Nothing is known of the date of his death, which must have occurred at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century. He is regarded as a martyr by the Catholic Church and by some within the Orthodox Church.[16] He was buried under the Church of Saint John in Lyon, which was later renamed St Irenaeus in his honour. The tomb and his remains were utterly destroyed in 1562 by the Huguenots. [Note: many of the bible verses in our Reformation bibles are found quoted and mentioned in Irenaeus writings. Although these verses are found in Irenaeus writings, they have been removed from the text of modern bible versions.]
- Irenaeus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irenaeus>

HIT:

- [Irenaeus] For it was fitting that the truth should receive testimony from all, and should become [a means of] judgment for the salvation indeed of those who believe, but for the condemnation of those who believe not; that all should be fairly judged, and that the faith in the Father and Son should be approved by all, that is, that it should be established by all [as the one means of salvation], receiving testimony from all, both from those belonging to it, since they are its friends, and by those having no connection with it, though they are its enemies. For that evidence is true, and cannot be gainsaid, which elicits even from its adversaries striking a testimonies in its behalf; they being convinced with respect to the matter in hand by their own plain contemplation of it, and bearing testimony to it, as well as declaring it. But after a while they break forth into enmity, and become accusers [of what they had approved], and are desirous that their own testimony should not be [regarded as] true. He, therefore, who was known, was not a different being from Him who declared "No man knoweth the Father," but one and the same, the Father making all things subject to Him; while He received testimony from all that He was very man, and that He was very God, from the Father, from the Spirit, from angels, from the creation itself, from men, from apostate spirits and demons, from the enemy, and last of all, from death itself. But the Son, administering all things for the Father, works from the beginning even to the end, and without Him no man can attain the knowledge of God. For the Son is the knowledge of the Father; but the knowledge of the Son is in the Father, and has been revealed through the Son; and this was the reason why the Lord declared: "No man knoweth the Son, [162-163] but the Father; nor the Father, save the Son, and those to whomsoever the Son shall reveal [Him]." "For" shall reveal" was said not with reference to the future alone, as if then [only] the Word had begun to manifest the Father when He was born of Mary, but it applies indifferently throughout all time. For the Son, being present with His own handiwork from the beginning, reveals the Father to all; to whom He wills, and when He wills, and as the Father wills. **Wherefore, then, in all things, and through all things, there is one God, the Father, and one Word, and one Son, and one Spirit, and one salvation to all who believe in Him.** (Irenaeus, Against Heresies Book 4.6.7; ANF, vol 1)
 - **Latin:** Oportebat enim veritatem ab omnibus accipere testimonium, et esse iudicium in salutem quidem credentium, in condemnationem autem non credentium, ut omnes iuste iudicentur, et ea quae est in Patrem et Filium fides, ab omnibus comprobetur, id est, ab omnibus confirmetur ab omnibus accipiens testimonium, et a domesticis quoniam et amici; et ab extraneis quoniam et inimici. Illa est enim vera et sine contradictione probatio, quae etiam ab adversariis ipsis singula testificationis profert : in ipsa quidem manifesta sua visione convictis de praesenti negotio, et testificantibus, et signantibus; postea vero ad inimicitiam erumpentibus, et accusantibus, et volentibus non esse verum suum testimonium. Non ergo alius erat qui cognoscebatur, et alius qui dicebat : "Nemo cognoscit Patrem;" sed unus et idem, omnia subjiciente ei Patre, et ab omnibus accipiens testimonium, quoniam vere homo, et quoniam vere Deus, a Patre, a Spiritu, ab angelis, ab ipsa conditione, ab hominibus, et ab apostaticis spiritibus, et daemoniis, et ab inimico, et novissime ab ipsa morte. Omnia autem Filius administmns Patri, perficit ab initio usque ad finem, et sine illo nemo potest cognoscere Deum. Agnitio enim Patris Filius; agnitio

The Witness of God is Greater

autem Filii in Patre, et per Filium revelata et propter hoc Dominus dicebat: "Nemo cognoscit Filium, nisi Pater: neque Patrem, nisi Filius, et quibuscunque Filius revelaverit." "Revelaverit" enim, non solum in futurum dictum est, quasi tunc inceperit Verbum manifestare Patrem, cum de Maria natus; sed communiter per totum tempus positum est. Ab initio enim assistens Filius suo plasmati, revelat omnibus Patrem, quibus vult, et quando vult, et quemadmodum vult Pater: **et propter hoc in omnibus, et per omnia unus Deus Pater, et unum Verbum, et unus Filius, et unus Spiritus, et una salus omnibus credentibus in eum.** (Irenaeus, Contra Haereses Book 4.6.7; Migne Graeca, PG 7.996; Harvey, 1857, vol 2, p. 161-162)

Comment:

• [Bengel] **There remain traces of the comma, being originally read among the Greeks, that cannot be ignored.** Irenaeus in book 4, chapter 14, which is titled... (Bengel, "Johann Albrecht Bengel's annotation on 1 John 5:7", chapter 23 in Adnotationes Millii: auctae et correctae ex prolegomenis suis, Wetstenii, Bengelii, et Sabaterii, ad I. Joann. V. 7, edited by T. Burgess, 1822, p. 146)

Clement of Alexandria (150-250 AD)

• Titus Flavius Clemens, also known as Clement of Alexandria (Greek: Κλήμης ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεύς; c. 150 – c. 215), [4] was a Christian theologian and philosopher who taught at the Catechetical School of Alexandria. A convert to Christianity, he was an educated man who was familiar with classical Greek philosophy and literature. As his three major works demonstrate, Clement was influenced by Hellenistic philosophy to a greater extent than any other Christian thinker of his time, and in particular by Plato and the Stoics. [5] Among his pupils were Origen and Alexander of Jerusalem. (Clement of Alexandria. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clement_of_Alexandria>).

HIT:

- **Prophetic Extracts. 13.1:** "By two and three witnesses every word is established." **By Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, by whose witness and help the prescribed commandments ought to be kept.** (Clement of Alexandria. Prophetic Extracts. 13.1; ANF, vol 8)
 - **Greek:** Πᾶν ῥῆμα ἵσταται ἐπὶ δύο καὶ τριῶν μαρτύρων, ἐπὶ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἐφ' ὧν μαρτύρων καὶ βοηθῶν αἱ ἐντολαὶ λεγόμενα φυλάσσεσθαι ὀφείλουσιν. (Clement of Alexandria. Eclogae ex Scripturis prophetis. 13.1; Migne Graeca PG 9, 703-704)

Comments:

- **[Burgess]** Clemens considers the presence of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, witnesses to our promises at our baptism, as obligatory on our obedience. (Burgess, A Vindication of 1 John, V. 7. from the Objections of M. Griesbach, 1823, 2nd edition, p. 121-122).
- **[Forster]** The connection indicated in the passage between the Mosaic law of witness and its highest exemplification in St. John's three Heavenly Witnesses, self-evidently commends it to the uncontroversial eye as, at once, a tacit quotation of and comment on the disputed verse. This first impression, however, will be obviously strengthened, if, on examination, the passage prove to contain two distinct clauses, and that both clauses are found in the First Epistle of St. John. That this is so, the annexed table will sufficiently establish... (Forster, A New Plea for the Authenticity of the Text of the Three Heavenly Witness, 1867, p. 74)

Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria (d. 264 AD)

• Saint Dionysius the Great was the 14th Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria from 28 December 248 until his death on 22 March 264. Most information known about him comes from his large surviving correspondence. Only one original letter

The Witness of God is Greater

survives to this day; the remaining letters are excerpted in the works of Eusebius. Dionysius was born to a wealthy polytheistic family sometime in the late 2nd, or early 3rd century. He spent most of his life reading books and carefully studying the traditions of polytheists. He converted to Christianity at a mature age and discussed his conversion experience with Philemon, a presbyter of Pope Sixtus II.[3] Dionysius converted to Christianity when he received a vision sent from God; in it he was commanded to vigorously study the heresies facing the Christian Church so that he could refute them through doctrinal study. After his conversion, he joined the Catechetical School of Alexandria and was a student of Origen and Pope Heraclas. He eventually became leader of the school and presbyter of the Christian church, succeeding Pope Heraclas in 231. Later he became Pope of the Coptic Orthodox Church of Alexandria & Patriarch of the See of St. Mark in 248 after the death of Pope Heraclas.[3] (Dionysius of Alexandria. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_Dionysius_of_Alexandria>).

HIT:

- **Against the Sabellians:** if they maintain that a separation is necessarily involved in the expression ‘**three Hypostases,**’ yet there are three - whether they admit it or no - or they must completely destroy the divine triad. (Dionysius of Alexandria, Epistle to Dionysius of Rome, Fragment. Translation found in Basil the Great. The Holy Spirit. 29 (72). <www.newadvent.org/fathers/3203.htm>.)
 - **Greek:** Εἰ τῷ τρεῖς εἶναι τὰς ὑποστάσεις, μεμερισμένας εἶναι λέγουσι, τρεῖς εἰσι, κἄν μὴ θέλωσιν, ἢ τὴν θεῖαν Τριάδα παντελῶς ἀνελέτωσαν. (Dionysius of Alexandria, Epistolae II Dionysii Episcopi ad SS Dionysium. Fragmenta. Migne Latin, PL 5.128A-B)

Dionysius of Rome (d. 268 AD)

• Pope Dionysius (died 26 December 268) served as the Bishop of Rome or Pope from 22 July 259 to his death in 268. Dionysius may have been born in Magna Græcia, but this has not been verified. He was elected pope in 259, after the martyrdom of Sixtus II in 258. The Holy See had been vacant for nearly a year due to difficulty in electing a new pope during the violent persecution which Christians faced.[1] When the persecution had begun to subside, Dionysius was raised to the office of Bishop of Rome. Emperor Valerian I, who had led the persecution, was captured and killed by the King of Persia in 260.[1] The new emperor, Gallienus, issued an edict of toleration, restoring the churches, cemeteries and other properties it had held, leading to the nearly 40-year “Little Peace of the Church”. [2] To the new pope fell the task of reorganizing the Roman church, which had fallen into great disorder. On the protest of some of the faithful at Alexandria, he demanded from the bishop of Alexandria, also called Dionysius, explanations concerning his doctrine regarding the relation of God to the Logos, which was satisfied.[1] Pope Dionysius sent large sums of money to the churches of Cappadocia, which had been devastated by the marauding Goths, to rebuild and to ransom those held captive. He brought order to the Church and procured a peace after Emperor Gallienus issued an edict of toleration which was to last until 303. He died on 26 December 268.[1] (Dionysius [of Rome]. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_Dionysius>)

HITS:

- **Against the Sabellians [1]:** Now truly it would be just to dispute against those who, by dividing and rending the monarchy [the being of God], which is the most august announcement of the Church of God, into, as it were, three powers, and distinct substances (hypostases), and three deities, [thereby] destroy it. For I have heard that some who preach and teach the word of God among you are teachers of this opinion, who indeed diametrically, so to speak, are opposed to the opinion of Sabellius. For he blasphemes in saying that the Son Himself is the Father, and vice versa; but these in a certain manner announce three gods, in that they divide the holy unity into three different substances, absolutely separated from one another. For it is essential that the Divine Word should be united to the God of all, and that the Holy Spirit should abide and dwell in God; **and thus that the Divine**

The Witness of God is Greater

Trinity should be reduced and gathered into one [being and/or substance], as if into a certain head—that is, into the omnipotent God of all. (Dionysius of Rome. Letter 1. ANF 7, p. 365)

- **Greek:** Ἐξῆς δ' ἂν εἰκότως λέγοιμι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς διαιροῦντας καὶ κατατέμνοντας καὶ ἀναιροῦντας τὸ σεμνότατον κήρυγμα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὴν μοναρχίαν, εἰς τρεῖς 0112A δυνάμεις τινὰς καὶ μεμερισμένας ὑποστάσεις καὶ θεότητας τρεῖς. πέπυσμαι γὰρ εἶναι τινὰς τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν κατηχούντων καὶ διδασκόντων τὸν θεῖον λόγον, ταύτης ὑφηγητὰς τῆς φρονήσεως· οἱ κατὰ διάμετρον, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀντίκεινται τῇ Σαβελλίου γνώμῃ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ βλασφημεῖ, αὐτὸν τὸν Υἱὸν εἶναι λέγων τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ ἔμπαλιν· οἱ δὲ τρεῖς Θεοὺς τρόπον τινὰ κηρύπτουσιν, εἰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις ξένας. ἀλλήλων παντάπασι κεχωρισμένας, διαιροῦντες τὴν ἁγίαν μονάδα. ἠνώσθαι γὰρ ἀνάγκη τῷ Θεῷ τῶν ὄλων τὸν Θεῖον λόγον, ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν δὲ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι δεῖ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· **ἤδη καὶ τὴν Θεῖαν Τριάδα εἰς ἓνα**, ὥσπερ εἰς κορυφὴν τινα (τὸν Θεὸν τῶν ὄλων τὸν παντοκράτορα λέγω) συγκεφαλαιουῖσθαι τε καὶ συνάγεσθαι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη. (Epistolae I Dionysii Episcopi. Migne Latina, PL 5.112A-B)

- **Against the Sabellians [2]:** Therefore it concerns us by all means not to divide the venerable divine Unity ("Monad") into three Deities, nor to lessen the superlative majesty and greatness of our Lord by making him a creature; but to believe in God the Father Almighty, and in Christ Jesus his Son, and in the Holy Ghost; and that the Word is united with the God over all: for, he says, "I and my Father are one;" (Jn. 10:30) and "I am in the Father, and the Father is in me." (Jn 14:11) **So shall the divine Trinity, as also the sacred doctrine of the Unity, be preserved.** (Dionysius of Rome, Letter against the Sabellians. Translated by Waterland, "A Second Defence of some Queries relating to Dr. Clarke's Scheme of the Holy Trinity" in Works, vol 6, 1823, p. 110)
 - **Greek:** Οὐτ' οὖν καταμερίζειν χρὴ εἰς τρεῖς θεότητας τὴν θαυμαστὴν καὶ θεῖαν μονάδα, οὔτε ποιήσει κωλύειν τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον μέγεθος τοῦ κυρίου, ἀλλὰ πεπιστευκέναι εἰς Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· ἠνώσθαι δὲ τῷ θεῷ τῶν ὄλων τὸν λόγον. "Ἐγὼ γάρ," φησι, "καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἐν ἔμην." καὶ "ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἐν ἐμοί." **οὕτω γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἡ θεία τριάς καὶ τὸ ἅγιον κήρυγμα τῆς μοναρχίας διασώζοιτο.** (Dionysius of Rome Letter Against the Sabellians; Migne Latina, PL 5, 109-116; Migne Graeca, PG 25A, 461-465; p. 181-182)

Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage (circa 200-258 AD)

• Cyprian of Africa, at first was famous as a teacher of rhetoric, and afterwards on the persuasion of the presbyter Caecilius, from whom he received his surname, he became a Christian, and gave all his substance to the poor. Not long after he was inducted into the presbytery, and was also made bishop of Carthage. It is unnecessary to make a catalogue of the works of his genius, since they are more conspicuous than the sun. He was put to death under the Emperors Valerian and Gallienus, in the eighth persecution, on the same day that Cornelius was put to death at Rome, but not in the same year. (Jerome. De Viris Illustribus (On Illustrious Men). 67. Cyprian. NPNF02, vol 3, 1892.)

• Cyprian (SIP-ree-ən; Latin: Thascus Cæcilius Cyprianus; c. 200 – September 14, 258 AD)[4] was bishop of Carthage and a notable Early Christian writer of Berber descent,[5] many of whose Latin works are extant. He is also recognised as a saint in the Christian churches. He was born around the beginning of the 3rd century in North Africa, perhaps at Carthage,[6] where he received a classical education. Soon after converting to Christianity, he became a bishop in 249. A controversial figure during his lifetime, his strong pastoral skills, firm conduct during the Novatianist heresy and outbreak of the Plague of Cyprian (named after him due to his description of it), and eventual martyrdom at Carthage established his reputation and proved his sanctity in the eyes of the Church. His skillful Latin rhetoric led to his being considered the pre-eminent Latin writer of Western Christianity until Jerome and Augustine.[7] Cyprian was born into a rich, pagan, Berber (Roman African),[6] Carthage family sometime during the early third century. His original name was Thascius; he took the additional name Caecilius in memory of the priest to whom he owed his conversion.[8] Before his conversion, he was a leading member of a legal fraternity in Carthage, an orator, a "pleader in the courts", and a teacher of rhetoric.[9] After a "dissipated youth", Cyprian was baptised when he was thirty-five years old,[10] c. 245 AD. After his baptism, he gave away a portion of his wealth to the poor of Carthage, as befitted a man of his status. Cyprian's works were edited in

The Witness of God is Greater

volumes 3 and 4 of the Patrologia Latina. He was not a speculative theologian, his writings being always related to his pastoral ministry.[18] The first major work was a monologue spoken to a friend called Ad Donatum, detailing his own conversion, the corruption of Roman government and the gladiatorial spectacles, and pointing to prayer as "the only refuge of the Christian".[7] Another early written work was the Testimonia ad Quirinum. During his exile from Carthage Cyprian wrote his most famous treatise, De Ecclesiae Catholicae Unitate (On the Unity of the Catholic Church) and on returning to his see, he issued De Lapsis (On the Fallen). Another important work is his Treatise on the Lord's Prayer. (Cyprian. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cyprian>).

- [Knittel] Cyprian understood Greek. He read Homer, Plato, Hermes Trismegistus (This is evident, from his book De Idolorum Vanitate. His Latin style also occasionally Graecizes.), and Hippocrates (Cypriani. Epistol. I.xix.). He maintained an Epistolary Correspondence with the Teachers of that Church: nay, he translated into Latin the Greek Epistle written to him by Firmilianus, bishop of Caesarea. His great Master, whose principles he followed - I mean Tertullian, a man who likewise understood Greek - enjoins us to keep before our eyes the Original Text of the Apostolic Epistles; and himself frequently appeals to the ancient Manuscripts. (Knittel, New Criticisms, 1785; 1829, p. 35)
- [Quasten] Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, was a contemporary of Gregory the Wonder-Worker, whom he met as a member of Origen's circle and whose regard for the Alexandrian teacher he shared: 'He displayed such esteem for Origen, that at one time he would summon him to his own parts for the benefit of the churches; at another, journey himself to Judaea, and spend some time with him for his own progress in divine knowledge' (Euseb., Hist. eccl., 6,27). Both bishops attended the first two synods at Antioch that condemned the errors of Paul of Samosata. Firmilian died shortly after the second in 268. He was one of the outstanding prelates of his time. Of his writing there is extant only one letter, addressed to St. Cyprian of Carthage and dealing with the vexed question of the rebaptism of heretics. It represents the answer to a lost letter of Cyprian's on the same subject and was for this reason preserved in a Latin translation in the collection of the latter's epistles (Epist. 75). The original Greek is lost. The version shows all the peculiarities of Cyprian's Latin and was therefore most probably made by him. It seems to have been written about the year A.D. 256. (Quasten, Patrology, vol. 2, 1983, p. 128)
- [Churton] Greek being the commercial language throughout the empire, must have been known to a large portion of the inhabitants of Rome and Italy. Even in Africa there are traces of Greek influence, as if there was a transition state before the Churches assumed a decidedly Latin character; and the writings of Tertullian and Cyprian abound with Greek words, which seem afterwards to have given place to a purer Latinity, such as that of St. Augustine. (Churton, Influence of the Septuagint Version, 1861, p. 26)
- [Churton] Cyprian employed the Septuagint, or a close and literal version from it, in his two Books of Testimonies against the Jews which he addressed to Quirinus, consisting of a series of citations from the Old Testament. Among these the passage Ps. cx. 3 is quoted according to the Greek : 'Before the morning star I begat thee.' The Jews against whom he wrote probably employed this Version of the passage; for we find Tertullian refuting their opinion that Hezekiah is signified, because he was born before the dawn of day. (Churton, Influence of the Septuagint Version, 1861, p. 48)
- [Churton] In the quotations of Cyprian we find a similar introduction of Greek terms in a Latinized form. Besides many of those which occur in Tertullian's works, the following may be observed. Again, Cyprian compares these words from the genuine Wisdom of Solomon with the apocryphal book bearing the same title... Thus he [Cyprian] was lead by the Septuagint reading of the words to place them at the head of his evidence from Scripture of the blessedness of martyrdom.(Churton, Influence of the Septuagint Version, 1861, p. 84)
- [Kaukanen] In addition, for the Latin Fathers Tertullian and Cyprian the question had to be raised whether they quoted the LXX in an existing OL version or translated it into Latin themselves. In order to deal with these issues, the nature of each Father's quotations from I Samuel was analyzed in its entirety. After this, a set of important readings included all the suggested agreements between the Father and L as well as several other readings that demonstrate the overall nature of the text used by the Father. ...Like Tertullian, Cyprian (chapter 6) too appears to have used the LXX in its Greek form. In

The Witness of God is Greater

three instances his text and L agree in preserving the original reading (1:23, 2:35,36). (Kaukanen, Proto-Lucianic Problem, 2012, p. 189, 190)

HITS:

- **On the Unity of the Church:** He who breaks the peace and concord of Christ, does so in opposition to Christ; he who gathereth elsewhere than in the Church, scatters the Church of Christ. The Lord says, "I and the Father are one". And again it is written of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, "**And these three are one.**" (Cyprian. Treatise. On the Unity of the Church. Book 1.6, ANF, 1995, vol. 5, p. 423)
 - **Latin:** Qui pacem Christi et concordiam rumpit, adversus Christum facit. Qui alibi praeter Ecclesiam colligit Christi Ecclesiam spargit. (0504A) Dicit Dominus, Ego et Pater unum sumus; et iterum de Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto scriptum est: "**Et tres unum sunt.**" (Cyprian. De unitate ecclesiae. Lib. 1.6; Migne Latina, PL 4 504A-B).
- **Epistle 73 to Jubaianum:** • If any one could be baptized by a heretic, and could obtain remission of sins, - if he has obtained remission of sins, and is sanctified, and become the temple of God? I ask, of what God? If of the Creator, he cannot be His temple, who has not believed in Him; if of Christ, neither can he who denies Him to be God, be His temple; if of the Holy Spirit, **since the THREE ARE ONE**, how can the Holy Spirit be reconciled to him, who is an enemy, either of the Father or of the Son?" (Cyprian, Epistle 73 [to Jubaianus]; Translated by Thomas Hartwell Horne, 1825; Horne, "IV. Sect. V. On the First General Epistle of John" in Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, 1825, vol 4, p. 452)
 - **Latin:** nam si baptizari quis apud haereticos potuit, utique et remissam* (787) peccatorum consequi potuit. si peccatorum remissam consecutus est, sanctificatus est: si sanctificatus est, templum Dei factus est: si templum Dei factus est, quaero cuius Dei? si creatoris, non potuit, qui in eum non credidit. si Christi, nec huius fieri potest templum qui negat Deum Christum. si spiritus sancti, **cum tres unum sint**, quomodo spiritus. sanctus placatus esse ei potest qui aut filii aut patris inimicus est? (Cyprian, Epistle 73; CSEL (786) § 12; Migne Latina, PL 3, 1117B.)

Comments:

• [John Selden] ...**the fact remains that long before Jerome the comma is mentioned by fathers older and superior, Greek and Latin. It is quoted (to which must be looked first) as an undoubted reading by Cyprian**, who flourished in the year 250, or around 140 years before Jerome."And again,"he says,"about the Father and Son and Holy Spirit it is written: and these three are one."He clearly designates that there was a reading of this sort that was accepted by him. Again, it is read in the booklet to Theophilus of Athanasius Archbishop of Alexandria"de Unita Deitate Trinitatis."He flourished in the first Nicene council or in the year of Christ 325. Also in the Occident some authors, not of obscure names, likewise mention this part of John's epistle as genuine. Idacius Clarus [in Adversus Varimadum] etc (Selden, De Synedriis & Praefecturis Iuridicis Veterum Ebraeorum, 1653, vol 2, p. 138; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, February 2020)

• John Selden (16 December 1584 – 30 November 1654) was an English jurist, a scholar of England's ancient laws and constitution[1] and scholar of Jewish law.[2] He was known as a polymath; **John Milton hailed Selden in 1644 as "the chief of learned men reputed in this land."**[3][4] It was as a prolific scholar and writer that Selden won his reputation. The early books were on English history. ... In 1650 Selden began to print the trilogy he planned on the Sanhedrin, as the first part of De synedriis et prefecturis iuridicis veterum Ebraeorum through the press, the second and third parts being severally published in 1653 and 1655. The aim of this work was to counter the use by the Presbyterians, in particular, of arguments and precedents drawn from Jewish tradition; it was a very detailed study aimed at refuting such arguments, and pointing out the inherent flexibility of the tradition that was being cited.[23] After the death of the Earl of Kent in 1639, Selden lived permanently under the same roof with the earl's widow, the former Elizabeth Talbot. It is believed that he married her, although their marriage does not seem to have ever been publicly acknowledged. He assembled a famous library which eventually became part of the Bodleian Library's collection in 1659. In addition to a wide range of Greek, Arabic, Hebrew and Latin works, it included the Codex Mendoza and the Selden Map of China.[11] He died at Friary House in

The Witness of God is Greater

Whitefriars, London on 30 November 1654, and was buried in the Temple Church, London. His tomb is today clearly visible through glass plates in the floor of this church. Furthermore, he is commemorated by a monumental inscription on the south side of the Temple Church. More than two centuries after his death, in 1880, a brass tablet was erected to his memory by the benchers of the Inner Temple in the parish church of St. Andrew's, West Tarring. (John_Selden. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Selden>)

• [Stillingfleet] If it be said, “*They might correct the Fathers too*”, answer, that there is no imaginable Ground for any such suspicion; because the Fathers lived in distant Places and Countries, and therefore when their Testimonies agree about some places of Scripture alleged by them, there can be no Reason to suspect any Corruption or Alteration of the Text. As for Instance, no one Text of the whole New Testament, hath been more suspected than that of I S. John 5.7. *There are three that bear Record in Heaven*, &c. And it cannot be denied that there hath been great variety, both in the Greek and Latin Manuscripts about it; yea, there was so in S. *Jeroms’* time, as it appears as by his Preface to the Canonical Epistles; who charges the leaving it out to the unfaithfulness of the Translators. S. Jerom is cried out upon as a Party in this Controversie, and therefore it is said on the other side, that he put it in as favouring his own Opinion. But his Integrity is vindicated herein, because S. Cyprian so long before the *Arian Controversy* produced this Place. (S. Cyprian. Ad Jubaianum. Epistle 73) So that our Certainty as to Scripture doth not depend upon the mere Letter, but upon comparing the best and most ancient Copies, with the Writings of the Fathers, who still made use of the Scriptures in all Discourses and Debates about Matters of Faith. (Stillingfleet, A Discourse concerning the nature and grounds of the certainty of faith, 1688, p. 89-90)

• [Bishop Bull] Other passages of St. Cyprian on the Divinity of the Son. But in the other writings of Cyprian also, you may everywhere meet with passages which remarkably set forth the true Divinity of the Son. I will here produce one or two. In his 63rd epistle to Caecilius, near the beginning[1], he calls Jesus Christ “our Lord and God,” as he does a second time also in a subsequent part of the same epistle[2]. There is, however, a marked passage in his treatise On the Vanity of Idols, in which Cyprian thus speaks concerning the Word and Son of God[3]; “As the Dispenser and Master, therefore, of this grace and teaching, the Word and Son of God is sent, who was foretold of by all the prophets in times past as the Enlightener and Teacher of the race of man. This is the Power of God, This His Reason, This His Wisdom and Glory: He descends into the Virgin, and puts on flesh by the cooperation of the Holy Spirit, (or rather, as it should be read, the Holy Spirit puts on flesh,) God is united with man, This is our God, This is the Christ.” Here I embrace, as the true reading, *carnem Spiritus sanctus induitur*, because most of the oldest MSS. exhibit the passage in this form. Certain sciolists [pretentious know-it-alls], as I conceive, corrupted the true text in some of the copies, supposing forsooth, that by the Holy Spirit none other than the Third Person of the Godhead could be meant. We have, however, elsewhere[4] shewn that Each several Person of the Trinity, because of the divine and spiritual nature common to the Three, is called the [PAGE 288] Spirit, both in the Scriptures and throughout the writings of the ancients; [a fact] which is also noted on this passage in the margin, in some of the MSS., as Pamelius intimates, who, notwithstanding, thought that no alteration ought to be made in the reading, fearing, I suppose, lest the Anti-trinitarians should draw their poison out of this place, and allege that Cyprian did not acknowledge the Third Person of the Godhead. Vain fear! inasmuch as it is abundantly clear from many passages of Cyprian, that he believed in the whole consubstantial Trinity, an assertion which we may also with good grounds make with regard to the other fathers, who have used a similar mode of expression. Thus in his letter to Jubaianus, about baptizing heretics, he proves that the baptism of heretics is not valid by this argument[5]; “If any one,” he says, “could be baptized among heretics, it follows that he might also obtain remission of sins. If he has obtained remission of sins, [he has also been sanctified and made the temple of God,] I ask, Of what God? If [you say] of the Creator, he could not [be so], for he has not believed in Him: if of Christ, neither could he have been made His temple, who denies that Christ is God. If of the Holy Ghost, seeing that the Three are One (*cum tres unum sint*), how can the Holy Ghost be at peace with him who is an enemy either of the Son or of the Father? **Here you see that the Holy Ghost is expressly called God, equally with the Father and the Son, as we have already[6] observed was done by Tertullian. You may also, by the way, observe that Cyprian, in this place, certainly has an eye to the passage of John, in his 1st Epistle [867] v. 7, “And these three are One” (et hi tres unum sunt). In his treatise ‘On the Unity of the Church,’ however, (chap. 4, near the end), he professedly quotes this passage, in these words [7]; “Concerning the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, it is written, ‘And these Three are One.’” “So also, before Cyprian, Tertullian**

The Witness of God is Greater

manifestly alluded to the same passage in his work against Praxeas, c. 25[8]; “The connection,” he says, “of the Father in the Son, and of the Son [margin: unum]. in the Paraclete produces Three coherent, one from another; and these Three are one [substance] (unum), not one [person] (unus)”[9] This is to be observed in opposition to those who suspect that these words were introduced into the text of John by the Catholics, after the Arian controversy. To return, however, to the point from which I have digressed a little. Cyprian, in the same epistle to Jubaianus[10], also proves that baptism conferred in the name of Jesus Christ only, is of no efficacy, from the circumstance that “He Himself commands the nations to be baptized in the full and united Trinity.” Where by “the full and united Trinity”. it is manifest that the Three Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are designated, as all subsisting in one Godhead; and, therefore, that the Holy Ghost, equally with the Son, is united with God the Father in the same fellowship of Divine honour. (Bull, “Defence of the Nicene Creed” in Works on the Trinity, 1851, vol 1, p. 288-289)

• **George Bull (25 March 1634 – 17 February 1710)** was an English theologian and Bishop of St David's. He wrote four major theological treatises in Latin, one on justification and three on the Trinity. The Latin works were collected and edited by John Ernest Grabe in 1703, with a preface and annotations by the editor, in one volume folio. His advocacy of the necessity of good works caused his adversaries to insinuate that he was a Socinian. His move onto the polemical ground of trinitarianism was therefore prompted by the need to clarify his position, in *Defensio Fidei Nicaenae* (1685). It was finished in 1680, but was turned down by three publishers. It appeared with the backing of William Jane, and John Fell who subsidised the cost of publication. It was stylish and well received, with praise from Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet. The context was that Petavius and Simon Episcopius, to take two examples, denied that the ante-Nicene Church Fathers held the same doctrines as those which were established at the Council of Nicaea. Bull took upon himself to prove that they did, and concentrated on the opinions of the ante-Nicene fathers, excluding other controversies.[1] A substantial excerpt from the *Defensio Fidei Nicaenae* was reprinted by Abbé Migne in his seventh volume devoted to Origen in the *Patrologia Graeca* (vol. XVII) He has a high place among Anglican theologians, and as a defender of the doctrine of the Trinity was held in high esteem even by Continental Romanist controversialists. (George Bull. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Bull>) His works display great erudition and powerful thinking. The *Harmonia Apostolica* (1670) is an attempt to show the fundamental agreement between the doctrines of Paul and James with regard to justification. **The *Defensio Fidei Nicenae* (1685), his greatest work, tries to show that the doctrine of the Trinity was held by the ante-Nicene fathers of the church, and retains its value as a thoroughgoing examination of all the pertinent passages in early church literature.** The *Judicium Ecclesiae Catholicae* (1694) and *Primitiva et Apostolica Traditio* (1710) won high praise from Bossuet and other French divines. (“George Bull” in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1911 <theodora.com/encyclopedia/b2/george_bull.html>)

Hippolytus of Rome, Bishop of Portus (circa 170-235 AD)

• [Jacob] Hippolytus [circa 170-235 AD], a distinguished ecclesiastical writer in the second half of the second century about the year 240. Greek was his native tongue; and, although this may point to an Oriental birth, he was in Rome at an early age. He heard Irenæus lecture (Photius). The vivid minuteness with which he relates the fortunes of Callistus leads to the conclusion that he was in Rome under Victor (189-199). At the beginning of the third century he was a presbyter, conspicuous for learning, eloquence, zeal, and moral earnestness. He dissented, in matters of doctrine, from Victor's successors (Zephyrinus and Callistus), holding the view that heretics should not be received back into the Church, and favoring the subordination theory of the Trinity; ...Eusebius (*Hist.*, vi 20, 26) calls him bishop, and puts his life in the reign of Alexander Severus (222-285); ...In 1551 a marble statue was exhumed at Portus, which represents Hippolytus in a sitting posture, with beard and high forehead. On the chair are inscribed the titles of his works. ...Other writings of Hippolytus are mentioned on the statue discovered at Pontus, to the number of thirteen. The greater number of these are entirely lost, and only fragments of others remain. ...Hippolytus displays in this work wise judgment, large information, a wide acquaintance with the writings of philosophers, and acuteness in bringing out the relation of the ancient philosophies to the Christian heresies. He was as harsh and uncompromising a foe of philosophy as Tertullian. The *Refutation of all Heresies* ... is a polemical work whose main object is to refute the doctrines (and especially the secret doctrines) of the

The Witness of God is Greater

Gnostics, and to abash heretics by showing that their views were taken from Pagan philosophy and Oriental theosophy. (Jacob, Hippolytus in Religious Encyclopaedia, vol 2, 1894, p. 995-996. <www.earlychurch.org.uk/hippolytus.php>)

HIT:

- **Against the Heresy of One Noetus.** Many other passages, or rather all of them, attest the truth. A man, therefore, even though he will it not, is compelled to acknowledge God the Father Almighty, and Christ Jesus the Son of God, who, being God, became man, to whom also the Father made all things subject, Himself excepted, and the Holy Spirit; **and that these, therefore, are three.** If he wants to learn how it is shown that God is one, let him understand that this is one Power.[dunamis]. And with regard to his Power [dunamis] He is one God, yet with regard to his manifestation [oikonomia] He appears as three, as will be shown later, as delivered to us in the Word of Truth. Therefore, brethren, these things we have said are shown to our agreement [??]. For it is one God whom we must believe, uncreated [agenetos], inviolable [apathesm], immortal [athanatos], making all things as He wants it, the way He wants it, when He wants it. What then will Noetus dare after these things, who understands not the truth? Therefore, since Noetus is already overthrown, let us come to exhibiting the truth, so that we may stand in truth together; so that they who made all these many heresies may never be said to have power. There is, brethren, one God, the knowledge of whom we gain from the Holy Scriptures, and from no other source. For just as a man, if he wishes to be skilled in the wisdom of this world, will find himself unable to get at it in any other way than by mastering the dogmas of philosophers, so all of us who wish to practise piety will be unable to learn its practice from any other quarter than the oracles of God. Whatever things, then, the Holy Scriptures declare, at these let us look; and whatsoever things they teach, these let us learn; and as the Father wills our belief to be, let us believe; and as He wills the Son to be glorified, let us glorify Him; and as He wills the Holy Spirit to be bestowed, let us receive Him. Not according to our own will, nor according to our own mind, nor yet as using violently those things which are given by God, but even as He has chosen to teach them by the Holy Scriptures, so let us discern them. (Hippolytus. Against the Heresy of One Noetus. ANF, 1995, vol 5, p. 225-226; Migne Graeca PG 10, 816)
 - **Greek:** πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἕτερα, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντα ἐστὶ μαρτυροῦντα τῇ ἀληθείᾳ. ἀνάγκη οὖν ἔχει καὶ μὴ θέλων ὁμολογεῖν Πατέρα Θεὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν Υἱὸν Θεοῦ Θεὸν ἀνθρωπῶν γενόμενον: ὃ πάντα Πατὴρ ὑπέταξε παρεκτὸς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου: **καὶ ταῦτ' εἶναι ὄντως τρία.** εἰ δὲ βούλεται μαθεῖν, πῶς εἷς θεὸς ἀποδείκνυται, γινωσκέτω ὅτι μία δύναμις τούτου, καὶ ὅσον μὲν κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν, εἷς ἐστὶ θεός, ὅσον δὲ κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν, τριχῆς ἡ ἐπίδειξις, ὡς ὕστερον ἀποδειχθήσεται, ἀποδιδόντων ἡμῶν συμφώνως εἰρημένα. εἷς γὰρ θεὸς ἐστὶν ὃ δεῖ πιστεύειν, ἀλλ' ἀγέννητος, ἀπαθής, ἀθάνατος, πάντα ποιῶν ἃ θέλει, καθὼς θέλει, ὅτε θέλει. τί οὖν πρὸς ταῦτα τολμήσει Νόητος μὴ νοῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν; ἐπειδὴ οὖν ἤδη καὶ ὁ Νόητος ἀνατέτραπται, ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπόδειξιν, ἵνα συστήσωμεν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καθ' ἧς πᾶσαι τοσαῦται αἰρέσεις γεγένηται μηδὲν δυνάμεναι εἰπεῖν. 9. εἷς Θεός, ὃν οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἐπιγινώσκωμεν, ἀδελφοί, ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν. ὃν γὰρ τρόπον ἐάν τις βουληθῆ τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἀσκεῖν, οὐκ ἄλλως δυνάσεται τούτου τυχεῖν, ἐάν ἡ δόγμασι φιλοσόφων ἐντύχη: τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον, ὅσοι θεοσέβειαν ἀσκεῖν βουλόμεθα, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἀσκήσομεν ἢ ἐκ τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ. ὅσα τοίνυν κηρύσσουσιν αἱ θεῖαι γραφαὶ ἴδωμεν, καὶ ὅσα διδάσκουσιν, ἐπιγνώμεν, καὶ ὡς θέλει πατὴρ πιστεῦσθαι, πιστεύσωμεν, καὶ ὡς θέλει υἱὸν δοξάσωμεν, καὶ ὡς θέλει πνεῦμα ἅγιον δωρεῖσθαι, λάβωμεν, μὴ κατ' ἰδίαν προαίρεσιν μηδὲ κατ' ἴδιον νοῦν μηδὲ βιαζόμενοι τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δεδομένα, ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον αὐτὸς ἐβουλήθη διὰ τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν δεῖξαι, οὕτως ἴδωμεν. (Contra Haeresin Noeti. Migne Graeca PG 10, 816B; Hippolyti Romani, Lagarde, 1858, p. 50)

Comments:

- **[Forster]** *St. Hippolytus versus Porson: Tría in the neuter applied to the three Persons.* ...That [Hippolytus'] doctrine of the Godhead, and the terms for expressing it, were taken wholly and solely from Scripture, we know on Hippolytus' own authority in the following passage : in which he lays down the golden rule, that "from Scripture alone we derive our knowledge of God." ...Hippolytus (as already shown by the priority of its date) could not have invented his τρία-ἐν (from his rule of knowing the Godhead solely from Scripture) and could not have adopted the

The Witness of God is Greater

phrase from any uninspired authority. But, if this be so, his τρία-ἓν is the οὔτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσι of 1 John v. 7 : the only Scripture in which the definition occurs. The Patristic rule of deriving the terms defining the Godhead solely from Scripture, here stated by Hippolytus, was assuredly adhered to by his immediate predecessors, Tertullian and Cyprian. This alone decides their definitions to be quotations. (Forster, A New Plea for the Authenticity of the Text of the Three Heavenly Witness, 1867, p. 14-15)

Origen of Alexandria (184–253 AD)

- Origen of Alexandria[a] (c. 184 – c. 253),[4] also known as Origen Adamantius,[b] was an early Christian scholar, ascetic,[7] and theologian who was born and spent the first half of his career in Alexandria. He was a prolific writer who wrote roughly 2,000 treatises in multiple branches of theology, including textual criticism, biblical exegesis and biblical hermeneutics, homiletics, and spirituality. He was one of the most influential figures in early Christian theology, apologetics, and asceticism.[7][8] He has been described as "the greatest genius the early church ever produced". Origen was born in either 185 or 186 AD in Alexandria.[19][23][24] According to Eusebius (History of the Church. Book IV), Origen's father was Leonides of Alexandria, a respected professor of literature and also a devout Christian who practiced his religion openly, Origen was able to produce a massive quantity of writings due to the patronage of his close friend Ambrose, who provided him with a team of secretaries to copy his works, making him one of the most prolific writers in all of antiquity. Origen produced the Hexapla, the first critical edition of the Hebrew Bible, which contained the original Hebrew text as well as five different Greek translations of it, all written in columns, side-by-side. He wrote hundreds of homilies covering almost the entire Bible, interpreting many passages as allegorical. Origen was the first to propose the ransom theory of atonement in its fully developed form and, though he was probably a Subordinationist, he also significantly contributed to the development of the concept of the Trinity. (Origen. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Origen>).

- Meanwhile, Origen began composing his massive theological treatise, On the First Principles,[54] a landmark book which systematically laid out the foundations of Christian theology for centuries to come.[54] Origen also began travelling abroad to visit schools across the Mediterranean.[54] In 212 AD, he travelled to Rome, which was a major center of philosophy at the time.[54] In Rome, Origen attended lectures by Hippolytus of Rome and was influenced by his logos theology.[54] In 213 or 214, the governor of Arabia sent a message to the prefect of Egypt requesting him to send Origen to meet with him so that he could interview him and learn more about Christianity from its leading intellectual.[54] Origen was escorted by official bodyguards[54] and spent a short time in Arabia with the governor before returning to Alexandria.[55] During his early years in Caesarea, Origen's primary task was the establishment of a Christian School;[76][77] Caesarea had long been seen as a center of learning for Jews and Hellenistic philosophers,[76] but, until Origen's arrival, it had lacked a Christian center of higher education. With the establishment of the Caesarean school, Origen's reputation as a scholar and theologian reached its zenith[76] and he became known throughout the Mediterranean world as a brilliant intellectual.[76] The hierarchs of the Palestinian and Arabian church synods regarded Origen as the ultimate expert on all matters dealing with theology. (Origen. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Origen>).

- Sometime between 238 and 244, Origen visited Athens, where he completed his Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel and began writing his Commentary on the Song of Songs.[86] After visiting Athens, he visited Ambrose in Nicomedia.[86] According to Porphyry, Origen also travelled to Rome or Antioch, where he met Plotinus, the founder of Neoplatonism.[87] The Christians of the eastern Mediterranean continued to revere Origen as the most orthodox of all theologians[88] and, when the Palestinian hierarchs learned that Beryllus, the bishop of Bostra and one of the most energetic Christian leaders of the time, had been preaching adoptionism (i.e., belief that Jesus was born human and only became divine after his baptism),[88] they sent Origen to convert him to orthodoxy.[88] Origen engaged Beryllus in a public disputation, which went so successfully that Beryllus promised to only teach Origen's theology from then on.[88] On another occasion, a Christian leader in Arabia named Heracleides began teaching that the soul was mortal and that it perished with the body.[89] Origen refuted these teachings, arguing that the soul is immortal and can never die.[89] (Origen. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Origen>).

The Witness of God is Greater

• Origen in his youth began to study biblical Hebrew; forced to relocate to Palestine during the persecution of Christianity in Alexandria, he went into biblical textology and by the 240s he commented on virtually all the books of the Old and New Testaments. (Hexapla. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hexapla>).

• In c. 249, the Plague of Cyprian broke out.[90] In 250, Emperor Decius, believing that the plague was caused by Christians' failure to recognise him as Divine,[90] issued a decree for Christians to be persecuted.[90][12][89] This time Origen did not escape.[12][89] Eusebius recounts how Origen suffered "bodily tortures and torments under the iron collar and in the dungeon; and how for many days with his feet stretched four spaces in the stocks".[91][92][89] The governor of Caesarea gave very specific orders that Origen was not to be killed until he had publicly renounced his faith in Christ.[89] Origen endured two years of imprisonment and torture,[89] but obstinately refused to renounce his faith.[12][93] In 252, the emperor Decius was assassinated and Origen was released from prison.[89] Nonetheless, Origen's health was broken by the physical tortures enacted on him[12][94] and he died less than a year later at the age of sixty-nine.[12][94] (Origen. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Origen>).

HITS:

- **Scholia on Psalm 122:2** "Behold, as the eyes of servants look unto the hand of their masters, and as the eyes of a maiden unto the hand of her mistress."The Spirit and the body are servants to their masters (the Father and the Son); the soul is the maiden to her mistress (the Holy Spirit); and **the Lord our God is the three [persons], for the three are one**. So, the eyes of servants look at the hands of their masters while they issue orders through gestures. It could also be that the hands of the masters, who are the Father and the Son, are the angels belonging to them both, while the hands of the mistress, who is the Holy Spirit, are the powers that are proper to the Holy Spirit. . (Origenis Selecta in Psalmos CXXII)
 - **Greek:** Ἰδοὺ ὡς ὀφθαλμοὶ δούλων εἰς χεῖρας τῶν κυρίων αὐτῶν, ὡς ὀφθαλμοὶ παιδίσκης εἰς χεῖρας τῆς κυρίας αὐτῆς, οὕτως οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν πρὸς Κύριον Θεὸν ἡμῶν, ἕως οὗ οἰκτειρήσαι ἡμᾶς, κ. τ. ἐ. Δοῦλοι κυρίων Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ πνεῦμα καὶ σῶμα· παιδίσκη δὲ κυρίας τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἢ ψυχῆ. **Τὰ δὲ τρία Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐστίν· οἱ γὰρ τρεῖς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν.** Ὅφθαλμοὶ γοῦν δούλων εἰς χεῖρας κυρίων ὀρῶντες, ὅτε διὰ χειρῶν νεύοντες κελεύουσιν. Ἡ χεῖρες κυρίων μὲν Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ οἱ ἑκατέρου ἄγγελοι· κυρίας δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος αἱ οἰκεῖται αὐτοῦ δυνάμεις. (Origenis Selecta in Psalmos CXXII, Migne Graeca, PG 12.1633).

Comments:

- [Forster] Origen: τὰ δὲ τρία, Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐστίν· οἱ γὰρ τρεῖς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν. Upon the first of these quotations, the Scholion on Ps. CXXIII [CXXII] ascribed to Origen, which Porson affects to slide over [i.e., ignore], I observe, that it is the essence of the seventh verse, entitled to rank as a tacit reference. (Forster, A New Plea for the Authenticity of the Text of the Three Heavenly Witness, 1867, p. 5, fn. 5)
- [Charles La Rue : 1733] The catenae of the Greek Fathers on the Psalms, both in manuscripts and in editions, offer virtually countless fragments under Origen's name. We have neither deemed them all to be rejected, nor seen fit to include them all in this edition. We have thought it good to leave out all those that are not unanimously attributed to Origen by the catenae, or that we have detected to be the work of other Church writers like Eusebius, Theodoret or any others. We have chosen to include all the other fragments, not because they are beyond all doubt the work of Origen or (with a very few exceptions) because they were clearly taken from the Tomes, the Enchiridion or the Homilies, but because we have not found any definite proof that they were not authored by our Adamantius [Origen]. Those fragments were taken partly from the catenae edited by Balthasar Cordier and Daniele Barbaro; partly from the papers of Grabe, who transcribed the Anglican codices, and of Combefis [François Combefis (1605-1679 AD)], who transcribed the royal codices; and, finally, partly from the codices of the Coislinian

The Witness of God is Greater

Library, as well as other sources, which are indicated in the relevant places. (Origen, Charles Vincent de La Rue, *Ōrigenous ta heuriskomena panta*, 1733, vol 2, p. 512; Migne Graeca, *Selecta of Origen*, PG 12.1052-1053; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, March 2021)

- **Commentary on Matt xvii. 8.** Moses, the law, and Elijah, the prophet, became one only with the Gospel of Jesus; and not, as they were formerly three, did they so abide, **but the three became one.** But consider these things with me in relation to mystical matters; for in regard to the bare meaning of the letter, Moses and Elijah, having appeared in glory and talked with Jesus, went away to the place from which they had come, perhaps to communicate the words which Jesus spoke with them, to those who were to be benefited by Him, almost immediately, namely, at the time of the passion, when many bodies of the saints that had fallen asleep, their tombs being opened, where to go to the city which is truly holy - not the Jerusalem which Jesus wept over - and there appear unto many. (Origen, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew Book XII.43*. Translated by John Patrick. From *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 9. Edited by Allan Menzies & Kevin Knight, 1896, on www.newadvent.org.)
 - **Greek:** Matt xvii. 8. ἐν γὰρ μόνον γέγονε Μωσῆς ὁ νόμος καὶ Ἡλίας ἢ προ-φητεία Ἰησοῦ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ ἦσαν πρότερον τρεῖς, οὕτω μεμενήκασιν, **ἀλλὰ γεγόνασιν οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν.** ταῦτα δὲ μοι νόει ὡς πρὸς τὰ μυστικά πράγματα. πρὸς γὰρ τὸ φιλὸν τοῦ γράμματος βούλημα Μωσῆς καὶ Ἡλίας «ὄφ θέντες ἐν δόξῃ» καὶ συλλαλήσαντες τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἀπεληλύθασιν. ὄθεν ἐληλύθεισαν, τάχα τῶν λόγων μετα δώσοντες, ὧν ἐλάλησε μετ' αὐτῶν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, τοῖς ὅσον οὐδέπω <εὐερ γετηθεῖσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ>, εὐεργετηθησομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ πάθους, ὅτε ἔμελλε «πολλὰ σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἁγίων», ἀνοιχθέντων αὐτῶν τῶν μνημείων, ἀπιέναι «εἰς τὴν ἄληθῶς ἁγίαν πόλιν», τὴν μὴ κλαιομένην ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐμφανίζεσθαι «πολλοῖς». (Origen, *Commentaria in Evangelium secundum Matthaeum Tomus XII.43*. Migne Graeca, PG 13 1084B; Charles de La Rue, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 16, *Origenis Adamantii Opera Omnia*, vol. 10, 1785, p. 592; Migne Graeca, PG 13 1084B).

Comments:

- **[Burgess]** The validity of a three-fold testimony is well known in the Jewish Law, and is noticed by our Saviour in the Gospel. With the three heavenly and earthly witnesses in St. John's Epistle, Grotius compares the heavenly and earthly witnesses to the transfiguration of Christ in his note on Matth. 17. 1. (Burgess, *A Letter to Reverend Thomas Beynon*, 1829, p. xxxvi)
- **[Grotius on Matthew 17:1b]** I do not doubt the reason why of the twelve apostles these three were gathered with Christ [i.e. brought with Christ separately] from the majority of the disciples, so that in this verse the name of Peter is given [i.e. written] before we proceed [i.e. to the next verse], and the name of the other two Thunderers. For Christ ascended in this manner, that not only by two, but abundantly, that by the certain testimony of three so great a fact would be established. And as the future glory of Christ was required to have three witnesses in heaven and on earth just as many, 1 Joh. 5:7,8, so also this first spark [or lesson, rudimentum] of his glory had three witnesses, as it were, in heaven, God the Father, Moses and Elias and likewise three on earth, Peter, John and James. (Grotius, *Annotations in the New Testament*, 1827, Vol 2, p. 61. Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, August, 2019.)

Apocritica by Macarius Magnes (circa 293-302 AD)

• Macarius Magnes (Greek: Μακάριος Μάγνης) is the author of an apology against a Neo-Platonic philosopher of the early part of the fourth century, contained in a manuscript of the fifteenth century discovered at Athens in 1867 and edited by C. Blondel (Paris, 1876). This work (called *Ἀποκριτικός πρὸς Ἕλληνας* in Greek; *Apocriticus* in Latin) agrees in its dogmatics with Gregory of Nyssa, and is valuable on account of the numerous excerpts from the writings of the opponent of Macarius. These fragments are apparently drawn from the lost *Against the Christians of Porphyry* or from the *Lover of Truth* of Hierocles. (Macarius Magnes. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Macarius_Magnes>).

The Witness of God is Greater

• [Dr. Crafer:] I therefore pass on to the conclusions that a study of the Apocritica has suggested, and I will then proceed to set forward the evidence on which they are based. I believe that the date of the book may be placed as far back as the end of the third century, in the years between 293 and 302 A. D. The author's name was Macarius, but he was not necessarily bishop of Magnesia. He may have come from a city of that name in Asia Minor, but there is no means of determining whether it was Magnesia ad Sipylum or ad Maeandrum. In any case he moved further East, into the province of Syria. His opponent is to be accepted as Hierocles, Duchesne's surmise having further arguments to support it. But the Apocritica is not a work of later days, based merely on Hierocles' book, but is in some sense at least the reproduction of an actual dialogue, which took place in the neighbourhood of Edessa, when Hierocles was governor of that region. Its theological value is by no means inconsiderable. Macarius develops much that has already been suggested by Origen, shewing a marked expansion of such Origenistic ideas as Christ's deception of the devil. At the same time he is the precursor of much of the theology of Athanasius and the Cappadocians, and in such things as Trinitarian dogma he shews that the ideas underlying post-Nicene formulae were already in the minds of theologians in an earlier generation. Nor is the Apocritica wanting in apologetic value. The questions supply a lack in our knowledge of the Neoplatonist attacks of third-century paganism, and the answers (though occasionally crude) shew some able exegesis and lofty idealism. (Crafer, Marcarius Magnes - a neglected apologist, 1907, p. 406)

HIT:

- *Christian:* He says that this does not befall those who are in a state of salvation in any other way than "in the name of the Lord and the Spirit of God." In a way that is inspired and altogether fitting, he laid down the dogma that grace is supplied to the faithful from the Trinity, when he said it was in the name of the Lord and the Spirit, and not only Spirit, but God's Spirit. **For he thus names the Godhead of the Three**, by saying, not "in the names" but "in the name." For there is one name of God both upon the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, **and God is one in three Persons, and is so named.** The Father does not receive the believer without the Son, nor does the Son bring any one to the Father apart from the Spirit. For behold the mystic sense in which he said, "But ye were washed, but ye were sanctified, but ye were justified." For the man whom Jesus has washed, is sanctified by the Spirit. And the Father justifies him whom the Spirit has sanctified. This is not because Christ in washing him cannot sanctify, nor that the Spirit in sanctifying has not power to justify, nor that the Father in justifying is too weak to wash or sanctify whomsoever He wills. For the Father is sufficient both to wash and to sanctify and to justify all things, and the Son and the Holy Spirit likewise. But it is fitting that the Son, as Son, should adopt men as sons, and that the Holy Spirit, as Spirit, should sanctify them, and that the Father should justify him that receives sanctification, **in order that the name of the three Persons may be known in one essence.** The Apostle was instructed in this opinion by the Gospel, where it says, "Go and make disciples of all the nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost" (Matt, xxviii. 19), and so he welcomes at the laver of baptism the name of the Trinity, saying, "But ye were washed, but ye were sanctified, but ye were justified in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God." (Macarius Magnes and Crafer, Chapter XXV. Answer to the objection based on the saying: "But ye were washed, but ye were sanctified" 1 Cor. vi. 11, 1911, p. 141-142).
 - **Greek:** Ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἄλλως ὑπάρξει λέγει τοῖς σωζομένοις ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ Θεοῦ· θεσπεσίως καὶ πάνυ πρεπόντως ἐδογματίσθη τὴν χάριν ἐκ τῆς Τριάδος χορηγεῖσθαι τοῖς πιστοῖς, εἰπὼν ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου καὶ Πνεύματος, καὶ οὐχ ἀπλῶς Πνεύματος, ἀλλὰ Θεοῦ Πνεύματος, **μίαν ὀνομάζων τῶν τριῶν τὴν θεότητα**, φάσκων οὐκ ἐν ὀνόμασιν ἀλλ' ἐν ὀνόματι. 22. "Ἐν γὰρ ὄνομα Θεοῦ κάπτι τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι **καὶ Θεὸς εἷς ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν ἐστὶ καὶ ὀνομάζεται**, καὶ οὔτε Πατὴρ ἄνευ τοῦ Υἱοῦ λαμβάνει τὸν πιστεύοντα, οὔτε ὁ Υἱὸς δίχα τοῦ Πνεύματος τίνα προσάγει τῷ Πατρὶ. Ἴδου γὰρ πῶς μυστικῶς εἶπεν· « Ἀλλ' ἀπελούσασθε, ἀλλ' ἡγιάσθητε, ἀλλὰ ἐδικαιώθητε » (1 Cor. 6:11)· ὃν γὰρ ἔλουσεν ὁ Χριστὸς, τοῦτον ἡγίασε τὸ Πνεῦμα· καὶ οὐχ ὅτι λουῶν ὁ Χριστὸς ἀγιάζειν οὐ δύναται, οὐδ' ἀγιάζον τὸ Πνεῦμα δικαιοῦν οὐκ ἰσχύει, οὐδ' ὁ Πατὴρ δικαιοῦν ἀσθενεῖ τίνα λούειν ἢ ἀγιάζειν ὃν βούλεται· ἰκανὸς γὰρ ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα καὶ λούειν καὶ ἀγιάζειν καὶ δικαιοῦν τὰ πάντα, ἀλλ' ὅτι πρέπει τὸν Υἱόν, ὡς υἱόν, υἰοθετεῖν καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον ἀγιάζειν, ὡς πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸν Πατέρα ὡς πατέρα, δικαιοῦν τὸν ἀγιαζόμενον, **ἵνα τριῶν**

The Witness of God is Greater

ὑποστάσεων ἐνοῦσία μιᾷ γνωρισθῆ τὸ ὄνομα. 23. Ταύτην γὰρ τὴν γνώμην ὁ Ἀπόστολος παιδευθεὶς ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ, ἔνθα φησί· « Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος » (Matt 28:19), ἐπὶ τοῦ λουτροῦ παραλαμβάνει [210] τὸ ὄνομα τῆς Τριάδος λέγων· « Ἀλλὰ ἀπελούσασθε, ἀλλ' ἡγιάσθητε, ἀλλὰ ἐδικαιώθητε ἐντῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ Πνεύματι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν ». (1 Cor. 6:11) (Macarius and Goulet, *Le Monogénès* 21, 2003, vol 2, p. 324-326)

Methodius of Olympia (d. 311 AD)

• The Church Father and Saint Methodius of Olympus (died c. 311) was a Christian bishop, ecclesiastical author, and martyr. He is commemorated on June 20.[1] Methodius had a comprehensive philosophical education, and was an important theologian as well as a prolific and polished author. Chronologically, his works can only be assigned in a general way to the end of the third and the beginning of the 4th century. He became of special importance in the history of theological literature, in that he combated various views of the great Alexandrian, Origen. He particularly attacked his doctrine that man's body at the resurrection is not the same body as he had in life, as well as his idea of the world's eternity. Nevertheless, he recognized the great services of Origen in ecclesiastical theology.[5] (Methodius of Olympus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Methodius_of_Olympus>.)

• [Quoted from] St. Gregory of Nyssa, *De eo quid sit ad imaginem Dei et ad similitudinem*, PG 44, 1329C-D

• [Ramelli] However, Gregory never mentions Methodius by name in his writings. Methodius is only named twice in a work ascribed to Gregory, *Ad imaginem Dei et ad similitudinem* (PG 44, 1328-1345). In 1329.42 the author likens the three ὁμοούσιοι ὑποστάσεις of the Trinity to Adam, Eve, and their child, who also were three individuals of the same nature (Gregory's "social analogy"). According to Methodius (Gregory reports) the latter are a symbolic image of the former: Adam of the Father, their child (Seth) of the Son, and Eve of the Spirit. In 1133.12 Methodius' *Symposium* is cited for his definition of the soul's beauty as indescribable, in that it is in the image of the ineffable God. (Ramelli, "Methodius" in *The Brill Dictionary of Gregory of Nyssa*, 2009, p. 495)

• [Hanson] Methodius uses the word homoousios when he purports to quote a fragment of Origen saying that the heavenly firmament is composed of material "consubstantial with the angels". [De Resurrectione II.XXX(387); fragment III (521) from *Mia Script. Vet. Nova Coll. IX* (619) referring to a consubstantial Trinity (is of course spurious).] (Hanson, *Part II. Period of Confusion. Chapter 7: Semantic Confusion. 2. Homoousios*, 2005, p. 195)

• [Stead] We are also told by Anatasius that Methodius drew an analogy between our three first ancestors, Adam, his son (Seth), and Eve, and three persons of the Trinity. The word "homoousios" appears twice in this fragment (ed. Bonwetsch, p. 521 [Methodius of Olympia (1917), *Werke*, N.P. Bonwetsch (ed. J. Leipzig: Hinrichs.)], which mentions "the three consubstantial hypostases" as symbols of "the consubstantial Trinity" (Stead, *Divine Substance*, 1977, p. 217)

HIT:

- **Perhaps these three persons of our ancestors, being in an image the consubstantial representatives of humanity, are, as also Methodius thinks, types of the Holy and Consubstantial Trinity**, the innocent and unbegotten Adam being the type and resemblance of God the Father Almighty, who is uncaused, and the cause of all; his begotten son shadowing forth the image of the begotten Son and Word of God; whilst Eve, that proceedeth forth from Adam, signifies the person and procession of the Holy Spirit. (Methodius and William Clark. *Two Fragments Uncertain*. ANF 6, p. 402. <www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf06/Page_402.html>. <www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf06.xi.xii.ii.html>.)
 - **Greek:** III. Μὴ τως ἄρα αἱ τρεῖς αὐτῶν προγόνων κεφαλαὶ πάσης [3] τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ὁμοούσιοι ὑποστάσεις κατ' εἰκόνα τινά, ὡς καὶ [4] Μεθοδίῳ δοκεῖ, τυπικῶς γεγόνασι τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου τριάδος, [5] τοῦ μὲν ἀναιτίου καὶ ἀγεννήτου Ἀδὰμ τύπον καὶ εἰκόνα ἔχοντος τοῦ [6] ἀναιτίου καὶ πάντων αἰτίου παντοκράτορος θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς, τοῦ [7] δὲ γεννητοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα προδιαγράφοντος τοῦ γεννητοῦ υἱοῦ [8] καὶ λόγου τοῦ θεοῦ, τῆς δὲ εκπορευτῆς Εὐσας σηματούσης τὴν τοῦ [9] ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐκπορευτῆς ὑπόστασιν. (Methodius quoted in Anastas. *Περὶ τοῦ κατ' εἰκόνα*,

The Witness of God is Greater

Fragmente ohne nähere Bestimmung. (Fragments without further determination), G.N. Bonwetsch, Methodius, herausgegeben im auftrage, 1917, p. 520-521)

Lucian of Antioch (240-312 AD) : Symbolum of Antioch 341

• § 194. **Lucian of Antioch (240-312 AD). I. Lucian was an eminent presbyter of Antioch and martyr of the Diocletian persecution, renewed by Maximin. Very little is known of him. He was transported from Antioch to Nicomedia, where the emperor then resided, made a noble confession of his faith before the judge and died under the tortures in prison (311).** His memory was celebrated in Antioch on the 7th of January. His piety was of the severely ascetic type. **The creed which goes by his name and was found after his death, is quite orthodox** as far as it goes, and was laid with three similar creeds before the Synod of Antioch held A.D. 341, with the intention of being substituted for the Creed of Nicaea [325 AD] (fn. 509. **This Synod [341 AD in Antioch] is recognized as legitimate and orthodox, and its twenty-five canons are accepted,** although it confirmed the previous deposition [condemnation] of Athanasius for violating a canon.). It [Synod of Antioch Creed of 341 AD] resembles the creed of Gregorius Thaumaturgus, is strictly trinitarian... (Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church, Volume II: Ante-Nicene Christianity. A.D. 100-325. <www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/hcc2.v.xv.xxxvi.html>)

• **[Jerome] Lucianus, a man of great talent, presbyter of the church at Antioch, was so diligent in the study of the Scriptures, that even now certain copies of the Scriptures bear the name of Lucian. Works of his, On faith, and short Epistles to various people are extant.** He was put to death at Nicomedia for his confession of Christ in the persecution of Maximinus, and was buried at Helenopolis in Bithynia. (Jerome."Lucianus #77" in De Viris Illustribus - On Illustrious Men; NPNF02, vol 3. <www.newadvent.org/fathers/2708.htm>)

• Lucian, presbyter of Antioch, and a martyr, is said by some to have been born at Samosata, in the Syrian province of Commagene, about the middle of the 3rd century. His parents died while he was yet a boy, and, [he was] left to depend upon his own resources, the twelve-year old lad removed to Edessa, where he was baptized, and became a pupil of Macarius, an eminent Biblical scholar. **He entered the ministry as a presbyter at Antioch, and finally assumed the lead of a theological school, which he himself founded. He became greatly celebrated both as an ecclesiastic and as a Biblical scholar, and was an ornament of the Christian Church when suddenly cut down by martyrdom (which he suffered A.D. 312) by order of Maximin, during the reign of Diocletian.** He was drowned, and was buried at Helenopolis, in Bithynia. **Lucian is frequently mentioned by ecclesiastical writers not only as a man of great learning, but also as noted for his piety.** Eusebius calls him a "person of unblemished character throughout his whole life" (Hist. Eccl. 8:13); and Chrysostom, on the anniversary of Lucian's martyrdom, pronounced a panegyric upon him which is still extant. **Jerome informs us, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers (c. 77), that "Lucian was so laborious in the study of the sacred writings that in his own time some copies of the Scriptures were known by the name of Lucian;"** and we learn from another part of his works (Praef. in Paralip. 1:1023) **that Lucian's revision of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament was generally used in the churches, from Constantinople to Antioch** (which Jerome considered inferior to his edition of the Septuagint). Lucian also made a revision of the New Testament. There were extant in Jerome's time some treatises of Lucian concerning faith, and also some short epistles; but none of these have come down to us, with the exception of a few fragments. (Lucian. McClintock & Strong, Cyclopaedia, vol 5, p. 541-542)

• **[Quasten] Lucian was not a prolific writer. Jerome refers to his 'small treatise on faith' (De vir. ill. 77) without indication of its contents. He was a Hebrew scholar and corrected the Greek version of the Old Testament from the original. This revision of the Septuagint was adopted by the greater number of the churches of Syria and Asia Minor from Antioch to Byzantium, and was highly esteemed (Jerome, Praef. in Paral.; Adv. Ruf. 2,27).** Large fragments of it are extant in the writings of St. John Chrysostom and Theodoret. Lucian extended his textual criticism to the New Testament also, but limited it most probably to the four Gospels. (Quasten, Patrology, 1983, vol. 2, p. 142)

• **[Böhm] ...the Antiochene Enkainia synod (341) is regarded as a confession of Lucian that either goes back directly to Lucian and uses a baptismal creed of Lucian, or at least can be traced back to Lucian through literary criticism.** (Böhm, Dictionary of Early Christian Literature, 2000, p. 388)

The Witness of God is Greater

• [Lovell : Lucian's Legacy] Lucian died as a martyr for the faith in 312, **before the controversy over Arius' teachings broke out. Indeed, if the commentaries on the Psalms by Asterius (his disciple), are dated to the period before the Arian controversy, as seems likely,65 there seems to be no reason to change [PAGE 47] the judgement of most of his contemporaries, including the church of Antioch itself,66 that Lucian was an orthodox theologian.** (fn. 67: The ongoing respect for Lucian's memory in Antioch is clearly found in a sermon of Chrysostom, delivered in Antioch on his saint's day: Chrysostom, On Saint Lucian in Wendy Mayer and Bronwen Neil, *The Cult of the Saints: Selected Homilies and Letters*. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2006, p. 63-73.) (Lovell, Gregory of Neocaesarea's Theology and Statement of Faith, 2016, p. 46-47)

Lucian's Creed : Synod of Antioch 341 AD

• **[Antioch : City of Synods] Beginning with three synods convened between 264 and 269 in the matter of Paul of Samosata, more than thirty councils were held in Antioch in ancient times. Most of these dealt with phases of the Arian and of the Christological controversies.[1] The most celebrated convened in the summer of 341 at the dedication of the Domus Aurea, and is therefore called in encaeniis or dedication council. Nearly a hundred Eastern bishops were present, but the bishop of Rome was not represented. The emperor Constantius II attended in person.[1] The council approved three creeds.[3] Whether or not the so-called "fourth formula"[4] is to be ascribed to a continuation of this synod or to a subsequent but distinct assembly of the same year, its aim is like that of the first three; while repudiating certain Arian formulas it avoids the orthodox term homoousios, fiercely advocated by Athanasius of Alexandria and accepted by the First Council of Nicaea (Nicaea I). The somewhat colourless compromise doubtless proceeded from the party of Eusebius of Nicomedia, and proved not unacceptable to the more nearly orthodox members of the synod.[1] (Synods of Antioch. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Synods_of_Antioch>)**

• **[Schaff] Synod of Antioch in Encaeniis (A.D. 341).** Of the Synod of Antioch which adopted the canons subsequently received into the code of the universal church we know the exact date. This is fixed by the fact that the synod was held at the time of the dedication of the great church in Antioch, known as the Golden, which had been begun by his father, Constantine the Great, and was finished in the days of Constantius. The synod has for this reason always been known as the Synod of Antioch in Encaeniis, i.e., at the dedication (in Dedicatione), and was held in the summer of the year 341. Ninety-seven bishops assembled together and a large number of them were hostile to St. Athanasius, being professed Eusebians, all of them were Orientals and most of them belonged to the patriarchate of Antioch. **Not a single Western or Latin bishop was present and the pope, Julius, was in no way represented. ...No one can deny that St. Hilary of Poitiers, who was a contemporary, styled it a Synod of Saints (Synodus Sanctorum) ; that two of its canons were read at Chalcedon as the canons of the Holy Fathers; and that Popes John II, Zacharias, and Leo IV all approved these canons, and attributed them to Holy Fathers.** (Synod of Antioch in Encaeniis A.D. 341; NPNF02, vol 14, <www.newadvent.org/fathers/3805.htm>)

• **[Gwatkin : Synod of Antioch] ...in the summer of 341, some ninety bishops met at Antioch to consecrate the Golden Church of Constantine.** Hence the council is usually called that of the Dedication (ἡ ἐν τοῖς ἐγκαίνιοις). Its character is one of the most disputed points of the history before us. Hilary calls it an assembly of Saints"; and its canons were not only ranked with those of the oecumenical councils, but largely drawn upon in the collection ascribed to the apostles. Yet its chief work was to confirm the deposition [condemnation] of Athanasius and to draw up creeds in opposition to the Nicene. **...Moreover, the conservatives had older standards of their own, and were not prepared obediently to record themselves adherents of Arius. Therefore, instead of composing a new creed, they put forward a work of the venerated martyr Lucian of Antioch. Such at least it was said to be, and such in the main it probably was.** In any case it was the creed of Lucian's disciple Asterius, which Eusebius had defended from the attacks of Marcellus". **It is an elaborate and highly scriptural creed,** in some respects akin to that which bears the name of Gregory of Neocaesarea. (Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, 1900, p. 120)

The Witness of God is Greater

- **[Sozomen : Synod of Antioch : 3.5a]** Soon after these occurrences, the emperor [Constantius] went to Antioch, a city of Syria. Here a church had already been completed, which excelled in size and beauty. Constantine began to build it during his lifetime, and as the structure had been just finished by his son Constantius, it was deemed a favorable opportunity by the partisans of Eusebius, who of old were zealous for it, to convene a council. They, therefore, with those from various regions who held their sentiments, met together in Antioch; their bishops were about ninety-seven in number. Their professed object was the consecration of the newly finished church; but they intended nothing else than the abolition of the decrees of the Nicæan Council, and this was fully proved by the sequel. The Church of Antioch was then governed by Placetus, who had succeeded Euphronius. The death of Constantine the Great had taken place about five years prior to this period. (Sozomen. Bishops assembled at Antioch. Book 3.5; NPNF02, vol 2)
- **[Sozomen : Synod of Antioch : 3.5b]** When all the bishops had assembled in the presence of the emperor Constantius, the majority expressed great indignation, and vigorously accused Athanasius of having contemned the sacerdotal regulation which they had enacted, and taken possession of the bishopric of Alexandria without first obtaining the sanction of a council. They also deposed that he was the cause of the death of several persons, who fell in a sedition excited by his return; and that many others had on the same occasion been arrested and delivered up to the judicial tribunals. By these accusations they contrived to cast odium on Athanasius, and it was decreed that Gregory should be invested with the government of the Church of Alexandria. (Sozomen. Bishops assembled at Antioch. Book 3.5; NPNF02, vol 2)
- **[Sozomen : Synod of Antioch : 3.5c]** They then turned to the discussion of doctrinal questions, and found no fault with the decrees of the council of Nice. They dispatched letters to the bishops of every city, in which they declared that, as they were bishops themselves, they had not followed Arius. "For how," said they, "could we have been followers of him, when he was but a presbyter, and we were placed above him?" Since they were the testers of his faith, they had readily received him; and they believed in the faith which had from the beginning been handed down by tradition. This they further explained at the bottom of their letter, but without mentioning the substance of the Father or the Son, or the term consubstantial. They resorted, in fact, to such ambiguity of expression, that neither the Arians nor the followers of the decrees of the Nicæan Council could call the arrangement of their words into question, as though they were ignorant of the holy Scriptures. They purposely avoided all forms of expression which were rejected by either party, and only made use of those which were universally admitted. (Sozomen. Bishops assembled at Antioch. Book 3.5; NPNF02, vol 2)
- **[Sozomen : Synod of Antioch : 3.5d]** They confessed that the Son is with the Father, that He is the only begotten One, and that He is God, and existed before all things; and that He took flesh upon Him, and fulfilled the will of His Father. They confessed these and similar truths, but they did not describe the doctrine of the Son being co-eternal or consubstantial with the Father, or the opposite. They subsequently changed their minds, it appears, about this formulary, and issued another, which, I think, very nearly resembled that of the council of Nice, unless, indeed, some secret meaning be attached to the words which is not apparent to me. **Although they refrained — I know not from what motive — from saying that the Son is consubstantial, they confessed that He is immutable, that His Divinity is not susceptible of change, that He is the perfect image of the substance, and counsel, and power, and glory of the Father, and that He is the first-born of every creature. They stated that they had found this formulary of faith, and that it was entirely written by Lucianus, who was martyred in Nicomedia, and who was a man highly approved and exceedingly accurate in the sacred Scriptures. I know not whether this statement was really true, or whether they merely advanced it in order to give weight to their own document, by connecting with it the dignity of a martyr.** Not only did Eusebius (who, on the expulsion of Paul, had been transferred from Nicomedia to the throne of Constantinople) participate in this council, but likewise Acacius, the successor of Eusebius Pamphilus, Patrophilus, bishop of Scythopolis, Theodore, bishop of Heraclea, formerly called Perinthus, Eudoxius, bishop of Germanicia, who subsequently directed the Church of Constantinople after Macedonius, and Gregory, who had been chosen to preside over the Church of Alexandria. It was universally acknowledged that all these bishops held the same sentiments, such as Dianius, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, George, bishop of Laodicea in Syria, and many others who acted as bishops over metropolitan and other distinguished churches. (Sozomen. Bishops assembled at Antioch. Book 3.5; NPNF02, vol 2)

The Witness of God is Greater

- [Stevenson] ...**the length of this creed [Lucian Creed : Antioch 341] is due to its accumulation of scriptural phrases and quotations.** (Stevenson, Creeds, Councils and Controversies, 2000, p.10, fn. 16)
- [Stevenson] **Subsequent history of this creed [Lucian Creed : Antioch 341]:** it was used at the **council of Ancyra (AD 358)** by Basil of Ancyra and the homoiousian party ["similar in substance to the Father"], by **Basil at Sirmium in 358**, by **Hilary of Poitiers in his De Synodis**, 28-33 (where he calls this council "Synod of the Saints"), by the **council of Seleucia (AD 359)**, by the **councils of Lampsacus, 364-365, and of Caria, 367.** (Stevenson, Creeds, Councils and Controversies, 2000, p. 10, fn. 14)
- [Sozomen : Synod in Cilicia] ...**about thirty-four of the Asiatic bishops came together in Caria, in the province of Asia, commended the design of establishing uniformity of belief in the Church, but objected to the term "consubstantial," and insisted that the formularies of faith set forth by the councils of Antioch and Seleucia, and maintained by Lucian, the martyr, and by many of their predecessors, with dangers and tensions, ought to obtain the ascendancy over all others.** (Sozomen. 6.12. The Synod which was expected to be held in Cilicia is dissolved by Valens; NPNF02, vol 2)
- [Giulea : Trinitarian Formula] ...it was Origen who applied "indistinguishable" (Greek: ἀπαράλλακτος) to describe the relationship between the Father and the Son. While the term was used by the Nicenes to assert that the Son was the "indistinguishable Image of the Father," Asterius and the synodals of Antioch 341 describe the Son as the "indistinguishable Image of the Father's" substance" (Greek: οὐσία). **One may even find [in the Creed of Antioch (341 AD)] a rare incipient trinitarian formula, "three in hypostasis and one in symphonia [agreement]" (fn. 40. Athanasius, Syn. 23.3: τῆ μὲν ὑποστάσει τρία, τῆ δε συμφωνίᾳ ἓν);** and it is again, most likely, Origen's thought at the roots of this terminology. (Giulea, Antioch 268 and Its Legacy in the Fourth-Century Theological Debates, 2018, p. 201)
- [Fiano] The second formula, possibly based upon an early confession of Lucian of Antioch, is the official credal statement of the synod, which would constitute the basis for eastern declarations of faith until 357. The formula marks a stark distance from Arianism by expressing with clarity the divinity of Christ; by refraining from equating begetting to creation; and by defining the Son as a perfect image of the "substance" (Greek: οὐσία) of the Father, which holds no differences from it. **At the same time, the creed is the expression of a theological tradition far removed from the decisions of the Council of Nicaea, in particular insofar as its text contains a certain subordinationism and describes the union between the different persons of the trinity only as one of harmony in will and action.**⁵⁶ Particularly noteworthy in this formula is the affirmation of the triplicity of hypostaseis. ...Nevertheless, until the Council of Antioch (341) the expression had not appeared—whether positively or negatively—in the conciliar documents and credal declarations of any of the theological fronts. (Fiano, Three Powers in Heaven, 2017, p. 95)

HIT:

- **[Creed of Antioch 341]** Agreeably to the Evangelical and Apostolical tradition, we believe in one God (1 Cor. viii. 6) the Father (1 Cor. viii 6; xv. 6) Almighty (Rev. ii.8), the Creator, Maker, and Governor of the Universe (Heb. xi. 10), of whom are all things (1 Cor. viii. 6); and in one Lord Jesus Christ (1 Cor. viii 6), his Son, the only begotten of God (John iii 16; i 14; 1 John iv 9), by whom are all things (1 Cor. viii 6), begotten of the Father before the worlds (1 John i 1; John xvii 5), God of God (John i.1, 14), all from all (Col. ii 9), the only one from the only one (Tim. vi 15; Jude 4), the perfect from the perfect (Heb. ii 10), King from King (Rev. xvii 14), Lord from Lord (Col. ii 24), the living [PAGE 58] Word (1 John i 1), the living wisdom (1 Cor. i 24, 30), the true light (John i 9), the way (John xiv 6), the truth (John xiv 6), the resurrection (John xi 25), the shepherd (John x 11), the door (John x i), the unchangeable and invariable image of the Father's God head, essence, and will, and power, and glory (Heb. i 3, xiii 8; James i 17); born before all creation (Col. i 15); who was declared in the Gospel "and the Word was God" (John i 1); by whom all things were made (1 Cor. viii 6; John i 2); and by whom all things consist

The Witness of God is Greater

(Col. 1 17); who, in these last days (Heb. i 2), came down from above (John vi 38), and was born of a Virgin, according to the Scriptures (Matt. i 22, 23); and was made man (John i 14); the Mediator between God and Men (1 Tim. ii 5); the Apostle of our faith (Heb. iii 1), the Prince of Life (Acts ii 15), as he says "I came down from heaven, not to do my own will, but the will of Him who sent me"; who suffered for us (1 Peter ii 21), and rose again on the third day (1 Cor. xv 4), and ascended into heaven (Eph. iv 8, 9, 10), and sitteth on the right hand of the Father (Col. iii 1), and shall come again with glory and power (Matt. viii 38; Luke x 26), to judge the living and the dead (1 Peter iv 5). And [we believe] in the Holy Ghost, who is given to believers for consolation, and sanctification, and perfection (Acts iv 31; Rom. xv 16; 1 Cor. vi 11; Eph. iv 12), according to our Lord Jesus Christ's direction to his disciples, saying, "Go ye unto all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" (Matt. xxviii 19), the Father being truly a Father, and the Son truly a Son, and the Holy Ghost truly a Holy Ghost - the names being given not vainly and unmeaningly, but accurately expressing the respective subsistence, order, and glory of each of the Persons named (Heb. v 5; Matt. iii 17; John xv 26); **SO THAT THEY ARE THREE IN SUBSTANCE AND ONE IN CONSENT (1 John v 7)**. Having therefore this faith, and holding it before God and Christ from the beginning to the end, we anathematize all heretical heterodoxy. And if anyone, contrary to the sound and right faith of the Scripture, shall teach that there ever was a time, or period, or age, before the Son was begotten, let him be anathema; and if anyone shall say that the Son is a creature, or one of the creation, or a production as one of the productions [of nature], or a work as one of the works [of nature]; and [shall teach] otherwise than as the Holy Scriptures have delivered each of the aforesaid [doctrines] from each [of its respective Scriptures], or shall teach any other thing than what we have received, let him be anathema. For all things out of the Holy Scriptures, which have been delivered to us by the Prophets and Apostles, we believe and follow. (Translated by [Editor], The Christian Examiner, and Church of Ireland Magazine, vol 2, 1826, p. 57-58)

- **Greek:** 23.2 Πιστεύομεν ἀκολουθῶς τῆ εὐαγγελικῆ καὶ ἀποστολικῆ παραδόσει εἰς ἓνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸν τε καὶ ποιητὴν καὶ προνοητὴν, ἐξ οὗ τὰ 23.3 πάντα· καὶ εἰς ἓνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, τὸν μονογενῆ θεόν, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, τὸν γεννηθέντα πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς, θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ, ὅλον ἐξ ὅλου, μόνον ἐκ μόνου, τέλειον ἐκ τελείου, βασιλέα ἐκ βασιλέως, κύριον ἀπὸ κυρίου, λόγον ζῶντα, σοφίαν ζῶσαν, φῶς ἀληθινόν, ὁδόν, ἀλήθειαν, ἀνάστασιν, ποιμένα, θύραν, ἄτρεπτόν τε καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον, τῆς θεότητος οὐσίας τε καὶ βουλῆς καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπαράλλακτον εἰκόνα, τὸν πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, τὸν ὄντα ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, 23.4 λόγον θεὸν κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ: «καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος», δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα συνέστηκε, τὸν ἐπ' ἑσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν κατελθόντα ἄνωθεν καὶ γεννηθέντα ἐκ παρθένου κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς καὶ ἄνθρωπον γενόμενον, μεσίτην θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀπόστολόν τε τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν καὶ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς, ὡς φησιν ὅτι «καταβέβηκα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, οὐχ ἵνα ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τὸ ἐμόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με», τὸν παθόντα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ ἀναστάντα τῆ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ καθεσθέντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης καὶ δυνά 23.5 μεως κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ εἰς παράκλησιν καὶ ἀγιασμόν καὶ τελείωσιν τοῖς πιστεύουσι διδόμενον, καθὼς καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς διετάξατο τοῖς μαθηταῖς λέγων «πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη βαπτί 23.6 ζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος», δηλονότι πατρὸς, ἀληθῶς πατρὸς ὄντος, υἱοῦ δὲ ἀληθῶς υἱοῦ ὄντος, τοῦ δὲ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἀληθῶς ἁγίου πνεύματος ὄντος, τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐχ ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ ἀργῶς κειμένων, ἀλλὰ σημαίνον των ἀκριβῶς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐκάστου τῶν ὀνομαζομένων ὑπόστασιν τε καὶ τάξιν καὶ δόξαν, 23.7 ὡς εἶναι τῆ μὲν ὑποστάσει τρία, τῆ δὲ συμφωνίᾳ ἓν. ταύτην οὖν ἔχοντες τὴν πίστιν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ μέχρι τέλους ἔχοντες ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πᾶσαν αἰρετικὴν 23.8 κακοδοξίαν ἀναθεματίζομεν. καὶ εἴ τις παρὰ τὴν ὑγιῆ τῶν γραφῶν ὀρθὴν πίστιν διδάσκει λέγων ἢ χρόνον ἢ καιρὸν ἢ αἰῶνα ἢ εἶναι ἢ γεγονέναι πρὸ τοῦ γεννηθῆναι τὸν 23.9 υἱόν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. καὶ εἴ τις λέγει τὸν υἱὸν κτίσμα ὡς ἐν τῶν κτισμάτων ἢ γέννημα ὡς ἐν τῶν γεννημάτων ἢ ποιήμα ὡς ἐν τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ μὴ ὡς αἱ θεῖαι γραφαὶ παραδέδωκαν τῶν προειρημένων ἕκαστον ἀφ' ἐκάστου, ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο διδάσκει ἢ εὐαγγελίζεται, 23.10 παρ' ὁ

The Witness of God is Greater

παρελάβομεν, ανάθεμα ἔστω. ἡμεῖς γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν παραδεδομένοις ὑπὸ τε προφητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων ἀληθινῶς τε καὶ ἐμφόβως καὶ πιστεύομεν καὶ ἀκολουθοῦμεν.
(Creed of Antioch 341; Migne Graeca, PG 26.723-724)

Comments:

• **[Editor of The Christian Examiner affirms Burgess' assertion]** Early in the fourth century (A.D. 341) the Symbolum Antiochenum was drawn up at a Council held at Antioch, consisting of 97 bishops, or whom nearly half were Arians. ...We strongly recommend those who are able, to read over the original, referring to the Greek Testament for the passages quoted in the translation, and they will be struck by the strict conformity to the expressions and very words of scripture. And it is very remarkable how careful the composers of the Creed have been to declare this. Thus, at the commencement we find those words "Agreeably to the Evangelical and Apostolical tradition, we believe" (Greek: Πιστεύομεν ἀκολούθως τῇ εὐαγγελικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ παραδόσει) and at the end "For all things out of the Holy Scriptures, which have been delivered to us by the Prophets and Apostles, we believe and follow" (Greek: ἡμεῖς γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν παραδεδομένοις ὑπὸ τε προφητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων ἀληθινῶς τε καὶ ἐμφόβως καὶ πιστεύομεν καὶ ἀκολουθοῦμεν) which we do not remember to have seen in any other Creed. Though we believe the Apostolic and Nicene Creeds to be founded on "most certain warrants of Holy Scripture," as our Articles express it, yet they have no such declaration [PAGE 59] of close adherence to the written word. **What, then, are we to conclude from this, but that the passage "So that they are three in person, and one in consent" (Greek: ὡς εἶναι τῇ μὲν ὑποστάσει τρία, τῇ δὲ συμφωνίᾳ ἓν) "So that the three are one," must be an express quotation from St. John. For after this remarkable adherence not only to Scripture doctrine, but to Scripture phrases, we can suppose that in an assembly where so many Arians were present, they would draw this, "so that the three are one," only as a necessary conclusion from what had gone before, if it were not found in express terms in the Word of God.** Though they are not indeed precisely the same as the words of St. John, "these three are one" (Greek: οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσι), yet they may be a quotation from it; for in the quotations in the New Testament from the Old, there are often greater variations, as may be seen in Dr. Randolph's and Dr. Owen's collections. If in this Creed it had been said, "one in substance" (Greek: τῇ μὲν οὐσίᾳ ἓν) though agreeing with the general doctrine of the Church it would not have been so peculiarly applicable to the passage of St. John, as "one in agreement" (Greek: τῇ μὲν συμφωνίᾳ ἓν), because this is a meaning of the word "one" (Greek: ἓν) directly resulting from St. John's argument from a concurrence of testimony. The expression seems to have been adopted by the Council as being both founded on Scripture, and at the same time not so offensive to the many Arians who were present. The evidence afforded by Creeds is of the strongest kind; for while it may be argued that the Fathers, in their writings, are delivering their own opinions, and these, perhaps, loosely, it must be confessed that symbols expressing the faith of the whole Church, are drawn up with no common care. ([Editor], Review of "A Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of St. David's, on a Passage of the Second Symbolum Antiochenum of the Fourth Century, as an evidence of the authenticity of 1 John v. vii. By T. Burgess, 1825" in The Christian Examiner, and Church of Ireland Magazine, vol 2, 1826, p. 58-59)

Burgess & Porson

• [The Quarterly Review] **We now state the Bishop's [Burgess] argument from the Symbolum Antiochenum. ...In justice to the cause which the bishop defends, we think it right to state that his lordship having communicated the substance of his work to several of his right reverend brethren, the preceding argument appears to have had great weight with them. In letters from which we are favoured with extracts, the Bishops of Winchester, Durham and Hereford, together with other prelates, whose names are not mentioned, have expressed themselves [PAGE 102] either as almost, or as entirely, persuaded that the verse is genuine.** ([Editor], Review of "A letter to the clergy of the diocese of St. David's on a passage of the second Symbolum Antiochenum of the fourth century as an evidence of the authenticity of 1 John v. 7 by Thomas Burgess, 1825" in The Quarterly Review, vol 33, no. 65, 1826, p. 101-102)

Harford, The Life of Thomas Burgess (1840)

• **Objection III.** Mr. Porson has asserted that if the text of the heavenly witnesses had been known from the [PAGE 419] beginning of Christianity, the ancients would have inserted it in their Symbola or creeds.

• **Reply III.** Direct quotations are unsuited to the epitomising quality of creeds ; but an ingenious argument in favour of the probable existence of the text in Greek originals of the fourth century, is derived by the Bishop from a passage in the Second Symbolum Antiochenum, in the following clause, ὡς εἶναι τῆ μὲν ὑποστασει Τρια, τῆ δε συμφωνια Ἐν,”so that they are three in personality, but One in agreement.”Now the only place in the New Testament, in which a unity of testimony is ascribed in direct terms to the three persons of the Trinity is 1 John, v. 7. This passage made such an impression upon the late Bishop Tomline, that he thus expresses himself in a letter to Bishop Burgess:”The passage you quote from the Symbolum Antiochenum is certainly a very striking one, and adds materially to that species of evidence in favour of 1 John, v. 7. Your other quotations and observations have also considerable weight, and I willingly own that, upon the whole, you have shaken my former opinion.”(Harford, The Life of Thomas Burgess. Late Lord Bishop of Salisbury, 1840, p. 418-419)

• [Burgess] I had communicated to the **Bishop of Winchester** the substance of the preceding Letter, on the passage of the Symbolum Antiochenum, &c. to which his Lordship replied:”The passage you quote from the Symbolum Antiochenum is certainly a very striking one, and adds materially to that species of evidence in favour of 1 John v. 7. Your other quotations and observations also have considerable weight; and I willingly own, that upon the whole you have shaken my former opinion.”To these candid concessions of the Bishop of Winchester, I could add the [PAGE 83] opinions of other learned Prelates, that”the evidences which I have laid before you in the preceding Letter, are sufficient to satisfy any reasonable man that the verse ought not to be thrown out of the text;”and that”they have increased the probabilities, that the verse was written by St. John.”But I cannot refuse myself the pleasure of naming two learned Prelates, - my venerated and ever honoured Friend, the **Bishop of Durham, who says, ”When Porson was in controversy with Travis, I thought differently of the verse, but you have convinced me of its authenticity:”**and the **Bishop of Hereford**, whose decided decisive judgement on such a subject, I am sure, is not influenced by the friendship of more than half a century.”An accumulation,”**says my learned and excellent Friend:”**...of [PAGE 84] presumptive [reasoning], is sometimes more convincing than paucity of direct evidence. Such are your citations, appeals, and reasonings, that I no more doubt the authenticity of 1 St. John v. 7, than I do the authenticity of St. John's Gospel, chapter 1 verse 1 which ever Griesbach could neither remove nor surmount, although I believe he would have done both, had it been possible consistently with common honesty. Whatever may have been the causes which occasioned the omission of the verse in so many MSS. the very ample abundance of collateral circumstances proves, that the verse must have existed in the original text.”(Burgess, A letter to the clergy of the diocese of St. David's on a passage of the second Symbolum Antiochenum of the fourth century as an evidence of the authenticity of 1 John v. 7, 1825, p. 82)

• [Thomas Turton] **I will not be so unjust to Bishop Burgess as not to mention some eminent living divines who have ranged themselves on his side. The Bishop of Winchester thus addresses the learned prelate.”***The passage you quote from the Symbolum Antiochenum is certainly a very striking one, and adds materially to that species of evidence in favour of 1 John v. 7. Your other quotations and observations also have considerable weight; and I willingly own that upon the whole you have shaken my former opinion.*”...Our respect for a man of talent induces us to wish that the opinion of the Bishop of Winchester had not been shaken by the evidence he mentions.—Thus also writes the **Bishop of Hereford:”**An accumulation of presumptive [reasoning], is sometimes more convincing than paucity of direct evidence. Such are your citations, appeals, and reasonings, that I no more doubt the authenticity of 1 John v. 7. than I do John i. 1. (which even Griesbach could neither remove nor surmount, although I believe he [Griesbach] would have done both, had it been possible, consistently with common honesty). There can be no objection to Bishop Huntingford's confiding in 1 John v. 7. as strongly as in John i. 1. if he has it in his power to do so; but there will not, I trust, be a single reader of this work who will fail to condemn his unwarrantable reflection upon Griesbach's designs.—Bishop Burgess has given extracts of Letters from other prelates, containing similar

The Witness of God is Greater

sentiments of the verse. They are moreover written with a candour and moderation which it is pleasing to observe. ('Crito Cantabrigiensis' [Thomas Turton], Thomas Burgess, Richard Porson. A Vindication of the Literary Character of the Late Professor Porson, 1827, p. 341-342, fn. *)

Saint Niphon, Bishop of Constantia, Cyprus (circa 280-337 AD)

• Saint Niphon, Bishop of Cyprus was born in Paphlagonia, and was educated at Constantinople. In childhood he was gentle and good, and he often attended church services, but in his youth he began to lead a prodigal and sinful life. He sometimes came to his senses, and he was horrified by the extent of his fall; but believing that he was lost and could not receive forgiveness, he resumed his impious life. He once met a friend who gazed into his face for a long time with astonishment. When Niphon asked why he was staring, the friend replied, "I have never seen your face like this before. It is black, like that of an Ethiopian." These words showed to Niphon his fallen state, and he began to cry out to the Mother of God, begging Her intercession. After an intense and long prayer he saw that the face of the Mother of God on the holy icon was radiantly bright with a smile. From that time Niphon prayed incessantly to the Queen of Heaven. If he fell into sin, the face of the Mother of God turned away from him, but after tears and prayers, She mercifully turned toward him again. Finally, Niphon completely turned his life around and began to spend his time in prayer and repentance. After an illness, from which he received healing from the Mother of God, he received the Holy Mysteries, and then accepted monastic tonsure and intensified his efforts, exhausting his body in the struggle against the passions. This struggle lasted for many years, and devils often attacked Saint Niphon, but with the help of God he overcame them. He received from God the gift to discern evil spirits and defeat them, and also to see the departure of the soul after death. Already advanced in age, and arriving at Alexandria, he was pointed out to the Patriarch in a vision as one worthy to assume the office of bishop. They made him bishop of the city of Constantia on the island of Cyprus. However, he did not remain there for long. Saint Niphon knew the time of his death three days beforehand. Saint Athanasius the Great visited him before his blessed repose. On his deathbed the saint was granted to see angels and the All-Pure Mother of God. (Saint Niphon bishop of Cyprus. OCA. <www.oca.org/saints/lives/1999/12/23/103628-saint-niphon-bishop-of-cyprus>)

• Nephon was born in Paphlagonia of Asia Minor, during the time of Constantine the Great (280-337 AD). (Athanasiou, Splendor of the Saints, 2020, p. 29)

• [Marinis] Saint Niphon, according to his vita (hereafter VNiph), lived during the reign of Emperor Constantine I (2).¹ His father, Agapitos, was an archon of the army in a city called Almyropolis (3). Agapitos becomes friendly with Sabbatios, whom Constantine I has appointed as stratelates to the land adjacent to Almyropolis (2–3). Sabbatios suggests to Agapitos that the eight-year-old Niphon be sent to Constantinople for his education (4). In Constantinople Niphon stays with Sabbatios's wife and is taught by the family priest (7–8). For four years, Niphon advances in his studies and matures spiritually (9–15). The devil, alarmed at Niphon's progress, instills in him nostalgia for his parents (16). His hosts try to counter the depression by offering him lots of food and wine (17). This leads Niphon to a period of serious degeneracy (18–23), though he eventually repents and changes his ways (24–28). At this point, Vita of Saint Niphon drops the chronological narrative and instead recounts several of Niphon's dreams and visions, fights with demons, prayers, and didactic exchanges with disciples, including the author of Vita of Saint Niphon, who in some manuscripts is called Peter, a hieromonk.² The author resumes a sequential narrative when he describes Niphon's last years. After a dream in which the apostle Paul informs Niphon that God has chosen him to become a bishop (141), the saint flees Constantinople, fearing that he may be forced to become archbishop of the city. He arrives in Alexandria (142), where he is miraculously chosen as bishop of the nearby city of Constantiane (143–144). Niphon, especially concerned with the salvation of his flock, became very popular until his death. At his deathbed appear several angelic powers, saints, and even Christ himself (157). (Marinis, The Vision of the Last Judgment in the Vita of Saint Niphon, 2017, p. 193)

HIT:

The Vision of the Last Judgment in the Vita of Saint Niphon (BHG 1371z)

- The life and conduct of our holy father Niphon who practiced asceticism in Constantinople and also became bishop of Constantinianae, which is near Alexandria. (Translated by Marinis, The Vision of the Last Judgment in the Vita of Saint Niphon, 2017, p. 203)
- 83. Because of the Lord's words to Michael the archangel, terror overtook the countless heavenly forces. Then the Lord ordered to be brought to him the seven aeons of the composition of the world. Michael was ordered to fetch them, and he immediately marched to the house of the covenant. And he brought them—they looked like sizable books—and placed them before the Lord, standing in fear and trembling and considering how he would ponder on the following books of the aeons and what is written in them. The Lord, having taken the first aeon and opened it, said, "**Here it is recorded, first of all: Father, Son, Holy Spirit, one God in three persons, from the Father was begotten the Son, the creator of the aeons.** For through the word of the Father the aeons were produced, through the word of the Father the forces of heavens were created, through the word of the Father the heavens were made firm,³² and all the earth and the underworld, seas and rivers, and everything that is in them. By the breath of his mouth all their [=heavens'] host [was made firm]."³³ (Translated by Marinis, The Vision of the Last Judgment in the Vita of Saint Niphon, 2017, p. 207)
 - **Greek:** Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νήφωνος ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει μὲν ἀσκήσαντος, ἐπισκόπου δὲ γενομένου Κωνσταντινιανῆς τῆς κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. (Marinis, The Vision of the Last Judgment in the Vita of Saint Niphon, 2017, p. 203)
 - 83. Ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς Μιχαὴλ τὸν ἀρχάγγελον, τρόμος ἔλαβεν πάσας τὰς ἀπείρους ἐκεῖνας τῶν ἀγγέλων δυνάμεις· ἔπειτα προσέταξεν ἐνεχθῆναι αὐτῷ τοὺς ἑπτὰ αἰῶνας τῆς συστάσεως κόσμου. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ Μιχαὴλ προσετάγη τοῦ κομίσει αὐτούς. Παραχρῆμα δὲ πορευθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς διαθήκης οἶκον ἤνεγκεν αὐτοὺς ὡσπερ βίβλους εὐμεγέθεις ὑπάρχοντας, καὶ τέθεικεν πρὸ προσώπου Κυρίου μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου παριστάμενος, καὶ σκοπῶν πῶς ἀναπτύξει τὰ ἐχόμενα βιβλία τῶν αἰώνων καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς γεγραμμένα. Λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Κύριος τὸν πρῶτον αἰῶνα καὶ ἀναπτύξας λέγει· "**Ενθάδε ἀναγράφεται ἐν πρώτοις οὕτως· Πατὴρ, Υἱός, Πνεῦμα ἅγιον εἷς Θεὸς ἐν τρισὶ τοῖς προσώποις, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐγεννήθη ὁ Υἱός, δημιουργὸς τῶν αἰώνων·** τῷ λόγῳ γὰρ τοῦ Πατρὸς οἱ αἰῶνες παρήχθησαν, τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Πατρὸς αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐδημιουργήθησαν, τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Πατρὸς οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν, γῆ τε πᾶσα καὶ τὰ καταχθόνια, θάλασσαί καὶ ποταμοί, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς· τῷ Πνεύματι δὲ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν." (Marinis, The Vision of the Last Judgment in the Vita of Saint Niphon, 2017, p. 207)

Caius (180-217 AD) Presbyter of Rome

• [Introductory Notice to Caius, Presbyter of Rome (180–217 AD)] During the episcopate of Zephyrinus, Caius, one of his presbyters, acquired much credit by his refutation of Proclus, a Montanist. He became known as an eloquent and erudite doctor, and to him has often been ascribed the Philosophumena of Hippolytus, and also The Labyrinth. He wrote in Greek, and finally seems to have been promoted to an episcopal See, possibly among the Easterns.⁴⁹⁵⁰ To him also has been ascribed the celebrated "Muratorian Canon," which is therefore given in this volume, with other fragments less dubiously associated with his name. He has been supposed by some to have been a pupil of Irenæus, but of this there is no conclusive evidence. (Caius, Presbyter of Rome; ANF, vol 5, p. 599)

• Caius, Presbyter of Rome (also known as Gaius) was a Christian author who lived and wrote towards the beginning of the 3rd century.^[1] Only fragments of his works are known, which are given in the collection entitled The Ante-Nicene Fathers. However, the Muratorian fragment, an early attempt to establish the canon of the New Testament, is often attributed to Caius and is included in that collection.^[2] For the existing fragments from Caius "Dialogue or Disputation Against Proclus," we are indebted to Eusebius, who included them in his Ecclesiastical History.^[1] In one of these fragments, Caius tells Proclus, "And I can show the trophies of the apostles. For if you choose to go to the Vatican or to the Ostian Road, you will find the trophies of those who founded this church."^[3] This is described by the Catholic Encyclopedia as "a very valuable evidence of the death of Sts. Peter and Paul at Rome, and the public veneration of their

The Witness of God is Greater

remains at Rome about the year 200." [1] There is also another series of fragments Eusebius gives from a work called "Against the Heresy of Artemon," although the Ante-Nicene Fathers note says regarding the authorship only that it is "an anonymous work ascribed by some to Caius." [4] Caius was also one of the authors to whom the "Discourse to the Greeks concerning Hades" was ascribed at one time. [5] (It was also attributed, much more famously, to Josephus and still appears in editions of the William Whiston translation of his collected works, but is now known to be excerpted from a work by Hippolytus of Rome.) [6] (Caius (presbyter). Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caius_(presbyter)>)

Chapter XXVIII.—Those who first advanced the Heresy of Artemon; their Manner of Life, and how they dared to corrupt the Sacred Scriptures.

- In a laborious work by one of these writers against the heresy of Artemon, which Paul of Samosata attempted to revive again in our day, there is an account appropriate to the history which we are now examining. For he criticises, as a late innovation, the above-mentioned heresy which teaches that the Saviour was a mere man, because they were attempting to magnify it as ancient. Having given in his work many other arguments in refutation of their blasphemous falsehood, he adds the following words:
 - "For they say that all the early teachers and the apostles received and taught what they now declare, and that the truth of the Gospel was preserved until the times of Victor, who was the thirteenth bishop of Rome from Peter, but that from his successor, Zephyrinus, the truth had been corrupted. **And what they say might be plausible, if first of all [PAGE 247] the Divine Scriptures did not contradict them. And there are writings of certain brethren older than the times of Victor, which they wrote in behalf of the truth against the heathen, and against the heresies which existed in their day. I refer to Justin and Miltiades and Tatian and Clement and many others, in all of whose works Christ is spoken of as God.** For who does not know the works of Irenæus and of Melito and of others which teach that Christ is God and man? And how many psalms and hymns, written by the faithful brethren from the beginning, celebrate Christ the Word of God, speaking of him as Divine. How then since the opinion held by the Church has been preached for so many years, can its preaching have been delayed as they affirm, until the times of Victor? And how is it that they are not ashamed to speak thus falsely of Victor, knowing well that he cut off from communion Theodotus, the cobbler, the leader and father of this God-denying apostasy, and the first to declare that Christ is mere man? For if Victor agreed with their opinions, as their slander affirms, how came he to cast out Theodotus, the inventor of this heresy?"
- So much in regard to Victor. His bishopric lasted ten years, and Zephyrinus was appointed his successor about the ninth year of the reign of Severus. The author of the above-mentioned book, concerning the founder of this heresy, narrates another event which occurred in the time of Zephyrinus, using these words:
 - "I will remind many of the brethren of a fact which took place in our time, which, had it happened in Sodom, might, I think, have proved a warning to them. There was a certain confessor, Natalius, not long ago, but in our own day. This man was deceived at one time by Asclepiodotus and another Theodotus, a money-changer. Both of them were disciples of Theodotus, the cobbler, who, as I have said, was the first person excommunicated by Victor, bishop at that time, on account of this sentiment, or rather senselessness. Natalius was persuaded by them to allow himself to be chosen bishop of this heresy with a salary, to be paid by them, of one hundred and fifty denarii a month. When he had thus connected himself with them, he was warned oftentimes by the Lord through visions. For the compassionate God and our Lord Jesus Christ was not willing that a witness of his own sufferings, being cast out of the Church, should perish. But as he paid little regard to the visions, because he was [PAGE 248] ensnared by the first position among them and by that shameful covetousness which destroys a great many, he was scourged by holy angels, and punished severely through the entire night. Thereupon having risen in the morning, he put on sackcloth and covered himself with ashes, and with great haste and tears he fell down before Zephyrinus, the bishop, rolling at the feet not only of the clergy, but also of the laity; and he moved with his tears the compassionate Church of the merciful Christ. And though he used much supplication, and showed the welts of the stripes which he had received, yet scarcely was he taken back into communion."
- "Caius the Presbyter of Rome", ANF vol 5; Eusebius Pamphilius, Church History, chapter 28; NPNF2 vol 1; Migne Graeca PG 20, 511-512 to 517-518 [516A-D to 517A-C] : 5.28.13 to 5.28.19)

The Witness of God is Greater

Heretics Corrupt the Scriptures

• [Eusebius] ...And works of many others have come down to us whose names we are unable to give, orthodox and ecclesiastical, as their interpretations of the Divine Scriptures show, but unknown to us, because their names are not stated in their writings. In a laborious work by one of these writers [“an anonymous work ascribed by some to Caius of Rome (180-217 AD)] against the heresy of Artemon, which Paul of Samosata attempted to revive again in our day, there is an account appropriate to the history which we are now examining. For he criticises, as a late innovation, the above-mentioned heresy which teaches that the Saviour was a mere man, because they were attempting to magnify it as ancient. Having given in his work many other arguments in refutation of their blasphemous falsehood, he adds the following words:

“They have treated the Divine Scriptures recklessly and without fear. They have set aside the rule of ancient faith; and Christ they have not known. They do not endeavor to learn what the Divine Scriptures declare, but strive laboriously after any form of syllogism which may be devised to sustain their impiety. And if any one brings before them a passage of Divine Scripture, they see whether a conjunctive or disjunctive form of syllogism can be made from it. And as being of the earth and speaking of the earth, and as ignorant of him who comes from above, they forsake the holy writings of God to devote themselves to geometry. Euclid is laboriously measured by some of them; and Aristotle and Theophrastus are admired; and Galen, perhaps, by some is even worshipped. But that those who use the arts of unbelievers for their heretical opinions and adulterate the simple faith of the Divine Scriptures by the craft of the godless, are far from the faith, what need is there to say? Therefore they have laid their hands boldly upon the Divine Scriptures, alleging that they have corrected them. That I am not speaking falsely of them in this matter, whoever wishes may learn. For if any one will collect their respective copies, and compare them one with another, he will find that they differ greatly. Those of Asclepiades, for example, do not agree with those of Theodotus. And many of these can be obtained, because their disciples have assiduously written the corrections, as they call them, that is the corruptions, of each of them. Again, those of Hermophilus do not agree with these, and those of Apollonides are not consistent with themselves. For you can compare those prepared by them at an earlier date with those which they corrupted later, and you will find them widely different. But how daring this offense is, it is not likely that they themselves are ignorant. For either they do not believe that the Divine Scriptures were spoken by the Holy Spirit, and thus are unbelievers, or else they think themselves wiser than the Holy Spirit, and in that case what else are they than demoniacs? For they cannot deny the commission of the crime, since the copies have been written by their own hands. For they did not receive such Scriptures from their instructors, nor can they produce any copies from which they were transcribed. But some of them have not thought it worthwhile to corrupt them, but simply deny the law and the prophets, and thus through their lawless and impious teaching under pretense of grace, have sunk to the lowest depths of perdition. Let this suffice for these things.”

• Eusebius of Caesarea, Church History, Book 5; NPNF02 vol 1 <www.newadvent.org/fathers/250107.htm>

First Epistle of John Corrupted

• [Socrates : Church History] **Nestorius (386–450 AD) thus acquired the reputation among the masses of asserting the blasphemous dogma that the Lord is a mere man, and attempting to foist on the Church the dogmas of Paul of Samosata and Photinus; and so great a clamor was raised by the contention that it was deemed requisite to convene a general council to take cognizance of the matter in dispute.** Having myself perused the writings of Nestorius, I have found him an unlearned man and shall candidly express the conviction of my own mind concerning him: and as in entire freedom from personal antipathies, I have already alluded to his faults, I shall in like manner be unbiased by the criminations of his adversaries, to derogate from his merits. I cannot then concede that he was either a follower of Paul of Samosata or of Photinus, or that he denied the Divinity of Christ: but he seemed scared at the term Theotokos [“Mother of God”], as though it were some terrible phantom. The fact is, the causeless alarm he manifested on this subject just exposed his extreme ignorance: for being a man of natural fluency as a speaker, he was considered well

The Witness of God is Greater

educated, but in reality he was disgracefully illiterate. In fact he condemned the drudgery of an accurate examination of the ancient expositors: and, puffed up with his readiness of expression, he did not give his attention to the ancients, but thought himself the greatest of all. **Now he was evidently unacquainted with the fact that in the First Catholic epistle of John it was written in the ancient copies, 'Every spirit that separates Jesus, is not of God.'** The mutilation of this passage is attributable to those who desired to separate the Divine nature from the human economy: or to use the very language of the early interpreters, some persons have corrupted this epistle, aiming at 'separating the manhood of Christ from his Deity.' But humanity is united to the Divinity in the Saviour, so as to constitute not two persons but one only. (Socrates, Church History Book 7.32; NPNF02, vol 2. <www.newadvent.org/fathers/26017.htm>.)

Dionysius of Alexandria and John's Epistle

• [Burgess] I have another new authority (more ancient than that of Diodorus) - Dionysius of Alexandria, who speaks so comprehensively of the entire resemblance of the Gospel and Epistle of St. John, in their characteristics [PAGE 30] of the Father and the Son, as hardly to admit the exclusion of the seventh verse."For the Gospel and Epistle agree with each other ...but discuss everything under the same heads and names some of which we will briefly mention. ...'the Father and the Son,' occur everywhere. In fact, it is plainly to be seen that one and the same character marks the Gospel and the Epistle throughout."(Eusebius. H.E. 7.25.18-21; Migne Graeca, PG 20.701A-C) If the attributes of the Father and the Son were represented both in the Gospel and the Epistle so entirely the same,"under the same names"and"occur everywhere ..and throughout", the unity of the Son with the Father, declared in John x. 30,"I and my Father are one,"has its counterpart only in 1 John v. 7. (Burgess, A Vindication of 1 John, V. 7. from the Objections of M. Griesbach, 1823, 2nd edition, p. 20-30)

• [Eusebius] [20.1.1] **Dionysius, besides his epistles already mentioned**, wrote at that time also his extant Festal Epistles, in which he uses words of panegyric respecting the Passover feast. He addressed one of these to Flavius, and another to Domitius and Didymus, in which he sets forth a canon of eight years, maintaining that it is not proper to observe the paschal feast until after the vernal equinox. Besides these he sent another epistle to his fellow presbyters in Alexandria, as well as various others to different persons while the persecution was still prevailing. ...**Afterward he speaks in this manner of the Apocalypse of John:**"[7.25.18] For the Gospel and Epistle agree with each other and begin in the same manner. The one says, 'In the beginning was the Word'; John 1:1 the other, 'That which was from the beginning.' 1 John 1:1 The one: 'And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father'; John 1:14 the other says the same things slightly altered: 'Which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes; which we have looked upon and our hands have handled of the Word of life — and the life was manifested.' 1 John 1:1-2 [7.25.19] For he introduces these things at the beginning, maintaining them, as is evident from what follows, in opposition to those who said that the Lord had not come in the flesh. Wherefore also he carefully adds, 'And we have seen and bear witness, and declare unto you the eternal life which was with the Father and was manifested unto us. That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you also.' 1 John 1:2-3 [7.25.20] He holds to this and does not digress from his subject, but discusses everything under the same heads and names some of which we will briefly mention. [7.25.21] Anyone who examines carefully will find the phrases, 'the life,' 'the light,' 'turning from darkness,' frequently occurring in both; also continually, 'truth,' 'grace,' 'joy,' 'the flesh and blood of the Lord,' 'the judgment,' 'the forgiveness of sins,' 'the love of God toward us,' the 'commandment that we love one another,' that we should 'keep all the commandments'; the 'conviction of the world, of the Devil, of Anti-Christ,' the 'promise of the Holy Spirit,' the 'adoption of God,' the 'faith continually required of us,' 'the Father and the Son,' occur everywhere. In fact, it is plainly to be seen that one and the same character marks the Gospel and the Epistle throughout."(Eusebius of Caesarea, Church History, Book 7; NPNF02 vol 1 <www.newadvent.org/fathers/250107.htm>)

The Alogi reject John's Epistle

• [Burgess] ...**Epiphanius says, generally, that the Alogi rejected the writings of St. John because they [the Alogi] denied the Divinity of the Logos. They must therefore have rejected the Epistle, in which that doctrine is more fully asserted than in the Gospel or Apocalypse. [PAGE 121] ...For the Epistle and the Gospel call the Son of God THE WORD; but the Epistle and the Apocalypse differ a little in their designation of the Son of God, one calling him THE WORD OF LIFE, the other, THE WORD OF GOD. Such concurrence leaves no doubt of their [the Alogi's] rejection of the first Epistle.** (Burgess, A Vindication of 1 John, V. 7. from the Objections of M. Griesbach: in Which Is Given a New View of the External Evidence, with Greek Authorities for the Authenticity of the Verse, 1823, 2nd edition, p. 119-121)

• [Epiphanius] 50.3,1 **Now these “Alogi” say (this is what I call them).** They shall be so called from now on, and let us give them this name, beloved: Alogi. (2) For they believed in the heresy for which < that* > name < was a good one* >, since it rejects the books by John. As they do not accept the Word which John preaches, they shall be called Dumb.10 (3) As complete strangers to the truth's message they deny its purity, and accept neither John's Gospel nor his Revelation. 50.3,4 And if they accepted the Gospel but rejected the Revelation, I would say they might be doing it from scrupulousness, and refusing to accept an “apocryphon” because of the deep and difficult sayings in the Revelation. (5) **But since they do not accept the books in which St. John actually proclaimed his Gospel, it must be plain to everyone that they and their kind are the ones of whom St. John said in his General Epistles, “It is the last hour and ye have heard that Antichrist cometh; even now, lo, there are many Antichrists.”**¹¹ (6) For they offer excuses [for their behavior]. Knowing, as they do, that St. John was an apostle and the Lord's beloved, that the Lord rightly revealed the mysteries to him, and < that he* > leaned upon his breast, they are ashamed to contradict him and try to object to these mysteries for a different reason. For they say that they are not John's composition but Cerinthus', and have no right to a place in the church. 50.4,1 And it can be shown at once, from this very attack, that they “understand neither what they say nor whereof they affirm.”¹² How can the words which are directed against Cerinthus be by Cerinthus? (2) Cerinthus says that Christ is of recent origin and a mere man, while John has proclaimed that < he > is the eternal Word, and has come from on high and been made flesh. From the very outset, then, their worthless quibble is exposed as foolish, and unaware of its own refutation. (Epiphanius, Panarion, p. 28; Translated by Frank Williams, 2013.)

• [Epiphanius] 34,1 **Again, in their endless hunt for texts, to give the appearance of discrediting the holy apostle's books—I mean John's Gospel and Revelation and perhaps the Epistles as well, for they too agree with the Gospel and Revelation—**these people get excited (2) and quote, “I saw, and he said to the angel, Loose the four angels which are upon the Euphrates. And I heard the number of the host, ten thousand times ten thousand and thousands of thousands, and they were clad in breastplates of fire and sulfur and hyacinth.” (Epiphanius, Panarion, p. 67; Translated by Frank Williams, 2013.)

• [Nolan] **As far as I can collect from his [St. Epiphanius] words, [PAGE 569] he has implicitly declared that they [the Alogi] objected not less to the Epistles written by St. John, than to his Gospel.** (fn. 244. St. Epiphanius expresses himself on the present subject in the following unqualified terms. ...**The connexion of the sense, in the last clause of this sentence, apparently renders it necessary that we should suppose the Alogi rejected the Catholic Epistles; and Petavius [D. Petavius, SJ, 2 vols., Paris, 1622; repr. in J. P. Migne, PG 41–3] accordingly renders the first clause; “but they especially reject the books of John altogether”** (Latin: sed com universos Joannis libros proprie rejiciant, &c.) (Nolan, An Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate, or Received Text of the New Testament, 1815, p. 568-569)

The Witness of God is Greater

Persecution & Fire (KJVToday.com)

• [KJVToday] A vast number of early manuscripts were destroyed in the early persecutions of the Church. There were already ten major periods of persecution of Christians before Nicea:

- Persecution under Nero (64-68).
- Persecution under Domitian (90-96).
- Persecution under Trajan (112-117).
- Persecution under Marcus Aurelius (161-180).
- Persecution under Septimus Severus (202-210).
- Persecution under Decius (250-251).
- Persecution under Valerian (257-59).
- Persecution under Maximinus the Thracian (235-38).
- Persecution under Aurelian (270-275).
- Persecution under Diocletian and Galerius (303-324).

• [KJVToday] One of the most ruthless of these persecutions was that of Diocletian in the early 4th century. Eusebius, Church historian of the same era, recorded that many "Scriptures" were burned during the Diocletian persecution. He writes in Church History (VIII:2):

"All these things were fulfilled in us, when we saw with our own eyes the houses of prayer thrown down to the very foundations, and the Divine and Sacred Scriptures committed to the flames in the midst of the market-places, and the shepherds of the churches basely hidden here and there, and some of them captured ignominiously, and mocked by their enemies. When also, according to another prophetic word, "Contempt was poured out upon rulers, and he caused them to wander in an untrodden and pathless way. ...It was in the nineteenth year of the reign of Diocletian, in the month Dystrus, called March by the Romans, when the feast of the Saviour's passion was near at hand, that royal edicts were published everywhere, commanding that the churches be leveled to the ground and the **Scriptures be destroyed by fire**, and ordering that those who held places of honor be degraded, and that the household servants, if they persisted in the profession of Christianity, be deprived of freedom."

• [KJVToday] Many Christians who could not withstand the persecution handed over their Scriptures to the authorities to be publicly burned. There is even a term for these Christians who handed over the scriptures: "Traditors". Diocletian destroyed the Christian Scriptures which were stored in the churches. These pre-4th century manuscripts were undoubtedly the "best and most approved" manuscripts since they were the ones being kept in their houses of worship and learning. Since so many approved manuscripts were deliberately destroyed, the body of extant evidence most likely does not reflect the text which the early Church upheld to be the best text.

• [Brownlee] Let the scholar only recollect the historical detail of the ravages made on them [Greek MSS] by the flames; and by the hands of tyranny. In the persecution of Diocletian, before the Nicene Council (325 AD), the MSS. of the scriptures were sought with the [PAGE 357] utmost diligence by the bloodhounds of persecution."And many thousands of the best volumes of the scriptures, were, throughout the Roman empire, in the east, and in the west, consumed in the flames." [Kettnerus, p. 176 : However, some ancient and valuable MSS. in Africa, escaped in A.D. 303, by the pious fraud of Bishop Mensurius of Carthage. Kettnerus, p. 161] At Rome, Alaric, the king of the Vandals, destroyed the libraries and their precious MSS. In the great fire at Constantinople in the year 476, there perished in the flames 120,000 valuable manuscripts. Among these were all the collections of Constantine the Great, and of Theodosius; and the most valuable MS. copies of the holy Scriptures, some of which were written by Theodosius' own hand. [Spanhem. Hist. Eucles. p. 145. Cf. Kettnerus, p. 107.] From these historical statements laid down, it appears that the number of the MSS. collated, bears a very small portion to those which have perished; and those which still remain to be searched. They are as few precious remains saved from the ruins of a vast city: a few valuable specimens gathered from a vast cabinet of curiosities. And yet from these few remains our learned antagonists gravely draw their dogmatical conclusions, that this verse under discussion is not found in a single Greek MS. written before the 16th century. (Brownlee."Gleanings and Hints Towards an Argument for the Authenticity of John v. 7,"The Christian Advocate 2, 1824, p. 357-358)

• [Lecaque] **The French Revolution** is famous for its rapid and violent destruction of feudalism and "secularization." The nationalization of churches, monasteries, properties owned by clergy, and wealth, as well as the suppression of the aristocracy and clerical system that dominated the country as of 1790 was fairly complete.[1] This "nationalization" was not a staid, controlled affair; priests were removed from their property, monasteries were turned into stables for animals that shat in the space medieval altars once occupied, filth coated frescoes made centuries before, and crowds in the grips of a

The Witness of God is Greater

secular iconoclasm tore down and burned religious items. Sooner than later, the Notre Dame de Paris, like many other churches, would be turned into temples of Reason under the Terror.

- [Lecaque] The nationalization of goods in the provinces included all of their manuscripts, too, and if the burning in the north was curtailed by the creation of the National Archives in 1790—with a decree to centralize all documents appearing four years later and a law mandating it only in 1796—it took longer to stop in the southern regions. The destruction of medieval texts was part of a well-established pattern of destruction of title deeds, charters, and other business records that established land controls and rents, with notable documents stretching from the high Middle Ages on. By burning genealogies, cartularies, title papers, and registers, revolutionary officials and mobs of local citizens dispossessed the nobility and removed legal cases against the actual inhabitants of the land, while simultaneously destroying some of the richest sources for the political, social, and economic histories of medieval France.[2] Seen individually, it is a shame. **Writ large, however, the estimate is that during the French Revolution, more than FOUR MILLION VOLUMES were burnt from suppressed monasteries, of which 25,000 were medieval manuscripts.[3] This total is for all of France, not just the south; we do not, unfortunately, have clear totals for the losses in individual regions. What it means overall, though, is that manuscripts from the eleventh and early 12th centuries—my own period of research—which survived recycling, minor local disasters, six hundred years of wear-and-tear, the Albigensian Crusade in the 13th century, the Wars of Religion, and everything else, were tossed like garbage into piles in city squares and burned while the mob cheered.**

- [Lecaque] *The damage done by the French Revolution to southern French history in particular is incalculable.*

- Thomas Lecaque, "Revolutionary Material Culture Series", Posted on April 29, 2019 by Age of Revolutions.

<ageofrevolutions.com/2019/04/29/archives-lost-the-french-revolution-and-the-destruction-of-medieval-french-manuscripts/>.

Fragmenta Frisingensia (301-700 AD)

Fragments of the Versio Itala of an Ante-Hieronymian Translation of the First Epistle of John

- [Ziegler] The fragments summarized ...in the catalog are not of the same age and value, but fall into three classes. Let's start with the less extensive ones. § 2. Pages 23 and 24, which contain 1 John 3, 8 up to the end of the letter, form a class. Both are related and once formed the middle layer of leaves of a Quaternio. About a third of sheet 24 has been cut away on the right side. The text is not divided into columns, but with the exception of small spaces only here and there marked with a dot to separate the stoichiometrically written lines of verse in the original without any division. The page comprises 32 lines, the line an average of 36 letters. The form of the uncial script, individual orthographic and grammatical peculiarities point to an old age, at the latest the seventh century? At the end of the letter is written in red: "...: CC.LXXIII INCPEIUSDEM II".

- [Ziegler] The words in front of the numbers fell victim to the knife; after the small traces, the last letter seems to have been a "O" with a slash. In addition to the usual Clause "I EXPL ""UERSUSNO" has to be added, so that the number of lines of verse in the stoichiometrically written original codex would be indicated. This peculiarity, as well as the shape of the letters, especially the already closed "e", the round, tailed "q" at the beginning of the lines, the more frequent use of abbreviations, the rarity of the interpunctuation, the smaller format, the quality of the parchment and the text itself, distinguish these Leaves very differently from the rest, with which they came together only by chance. **The content is a translation made before Jerome, which differs from the citations of the Church Fathers as well as from the Vulgate, despite various echoes and agreement, even in important points.**

- Ziegler, Fragments of the Versio Itala of the Epistles of Paul, with minute Portions of an Ante-Hieronymian Translation of the First Epistle of John, 1876, p. 4)

- **Contents:** Rom 14:10-15:13; 1 Cor 1:1-27; 1:28-3:5; 6:1-7:7; 15:1-1:43; 16:12-27; 2 Cor 1:1-2:10; 3:17-5:1; 7:10-8:12; 9:10-11:21; 12:14-13:10; Gal 2:5-4:3; 6:5-17; Eph 1:1-13; 1:16-2:16; 6:24; Phil 1:1-20; 1 Tim 1:12-2:15; 5:18-6:13; Hbr 6:6-7:5; 7:8-8:1; 9:27-11:7.[3] 1 John 3:8 - 5:9. (Frisingensia Fragmenta. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frisingensia_Fragmenta>).

- **[Fragmenta Frisingensia. Freising Fragments]** Volume / Number: 9 / 1286a; CLA 1286a; Script: Uncial; Date: VI² (551 - 600); Origen and Provenance: Written possibly in Spain, to judge by certain palaeographical peculiarities, but possibly in Africa, to judge by the nature of the text and its relation to St Augustine. The leaves were taken from medieval bindings of

The Witness of God is Greater

books from the Freising cathedral library. The Göttheim leaf comes from a manuscript of the *Commentarii Notarum Tironianorum* acquired by Abbot Gotfried Bessel between 1742–1749. <Fragmenta Frisingensia. Freising Fragments. Earlier Latin Manuscripts. <elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/1778>

- **[Wordsworth & White Latin NT]** 23. r. *Fragmenta Frisingensia* s. V-VI. (Novum Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi latine, secundum editionem Sancti Hieronymi, Vol. 3. Actus Apostolorum; Epistula Jacobi; Epistula Petri Prima; Epistula Petri Secunda; Epistula Johannis Prima; Epistula Johannis Secunda; Epistula Johannis Tertia; Epistula Judae; Apocalypsis Johannis, edited by Wordsworth, 1889, vol 3, p. 338.)

- [Review] We welcome the addition which Ziegler has made to our scanty remains of it [the Itala] by the publication of these Fragments of the Pauline Epistles, and an important part of the First Epistle of John. We owe the recovery of these Fragments to a fortunate accident. Collections of ancient MSS. have suffered grievously at the hands of bookbinders, who, if they wanted a stout piece of parchment to stiffen their covers, found ancient membranæ excellent material for their purpose. And they are fixed by preference upon the oldest, as of least value. They have not always, however, been destructive; occasionally they have proved conservative. **When in the course of years the book required to be re-bound, the scrap of parchment came again to light; and if it fortunately caught the eye of a paleographer and a scholar, its antiquity has been recognized, its obsolete writing read and construed, its disjointed portions re-united, and its lacunae ingeniously filled up.** The carelessness of binders in placing together leaves belonging to different authors, has frequently led to the apprehension that a portion had been lost. Such as we have described has been the history of these Fragments of the *Versio Itala*. They have been recovered from a volume now in the royal library of Munich, and formerly belonging to an ecclesiastical institution at Freising, in Bavaria. The editor, Dr. Ziegler, calls them Fragments of the *Versio Itala*, by which he means "antehieronymian", or anterior to the Vulgate of Jerome.

- [Review] What gives special interest to the discovery of the Freisinger Fragment is that it contains, after the Pauline Epistles and that to the Hebrews, a portion of the First Epistle of John, chap. iii. 8 to verse 9, just including the text of the Heavenly Witnesses. **In the days when the contest among critics over this famous text still raged, what a sensation would have been occasioned by the discovery of a Latin MS., the text of which belonged to the period before the Vulgate, containing 1 John v. 7 "in the primary hand"** (Latin: a prima manu)! How would it have been hailed by the champions of orthodoxy as a providential event!

- [Review] Martin, a zealous defender of this text, who maintains that the Arians had cut [these verses] out of the Greek MSS. would have seen a special providence guiding the shears of the binder when he helped himself to the Freisinger MS. **For it so happened that he took away one-half of the 7th, 8th and 9th verses, but left enough for the editor to supply with certainty the missing part. Restored, and contractions extended, it reads: "Quoniam tres sunt qui testificantur in terra, spiritus et aqua et sanguis et tres sunt qui testificantur in coelo, pater et verbum et spiritus sanctus et hi tres unum sunt."** Besides the transposition of verses 7 and 8, the Freisinger Fragment varies from the Vulgate by **having "testificantur" for "testimonium dant" in the clause of the Heavenly Witnesses.**

- Review: Leo Ziegler, *Italafragmente der Paulinischen Briefe nebst Bruchstücken einer vorhieronymianischen Übersetzung des ersten Johannesbriefes aus Pergamentblättern der ehemaligen Freisinger Stiftsbibliothek*. [Fragments of the *Versio Itala* of the Epistles of Paul, with minute Portions of an Ante-Hieronymian Translation of the First Epistle of John]. Marburg: Elwert, 1876 in *The Theological Review: A Quarterly Journal of Religious Thought and Life* edited by Williams & Norgate, vol 13, p. 442-445.

- [Review] The search for manuscripts which have preserved for us some remains of the old Latin versions of the Bible, prior to that of Saint Jerome, has excited, since Nobilius (1530-1590), the zeal of a great number of scholars. These first translations are in fact precious, not only for the history of the beginnings of the Church and for philological science, but also, and above all, for the criticism of the biblical text. ...Much has already been done in this field of science, but there is still more to be done. **M. Léon Ziegler has just published an important work, which will, it is to be hoped, be followed by several others, intended to fill in part of the gaps which we have hitherto been reduced to needlessly deploring. He announces the publication of**

several parts of the Pentateuch of which he has discovered old versions. What he gives us today contains fragments of the epistles of Saint Paul belonging in a certain way to the famous version known properly under the name of Italic. Saint Augustine teaches us that, in his time, there were a large number of Latin translations of the Holy Scriptures, but that among them there is one, preferable to all the others, which he designates under the name of Italic. This name of Italic has since been given to all the fragments of versions in the Latin language, prior to Saint Jerome, which have been discovered. In reality, and strictly speaking, this title belongs to only one. The comparison of the parts studied in the library of Munich, by M. Ziegler, with the quotations which one meets in the writings of Saint Augustine, establishes that we have surely for the first time fragments of the true Italic. These fragments come from Frisingensia, where the seat of the archdiocese used to be, transferred in 1818 to Munich. They are written on twenty-four sheets of parchment, which had been used to bind other books, and appear in the printed catalog of the manuscripts of this library under this heading: Clm. 6436 (Fris. 236), member. in-4° s. VIII. 24 folia singula. *S. Pauli epistolarum versionis antehieronymianæ fragmenta*. Mr. Ziegler has published them with the greatest care. (Polybiblion: Revue bibliographique universelle, November, 1876, XVII, 25, p. 385-386)

- **Fragmenta Frisingensia (301-700 AD) BSB Clm 6436**

f022r.line.024 ...hic es[t qui venit per aquam]

f022r.line.025 et sanguinem ihs xrs et non ta[ntum in aqua sed]

f022r.line.026 in aqua et sanguine. et sps e[st ZIEGLER: testimonium*]

f022r.line.027 quia sps est veritas quoniam tr[es sunt qui testificantur]

f022r.line.028 in terra. sps et aqua et sa[nguis. et tres sunt qui tes-]

f022r.line.029 tificantur in caelo pater e[t verbum, et sps scs et hi]

f022r.line.030 tres unum sunt. Si testim[onium hominum ac-]

<daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00110737/image_53>

*DE BRUYNE: qui testificatur

Transcription collated by Sarah Van Der Pas, correspondence January 2024. Sources: Bruyne, Les fragments de Freising, 1921, page 67, fol. 35 [transcription]; Ziegler, Italafragmente der Paulinischen Briefe, 1876, p. 68 [facsimile].

HIT:

- **[1 John 5:6,8,7]** This [i]s he that came by water] and blood, Jesus Christ: and not on[ly by water, but] by water and blood. And [it i]s the Spirit [which testifieth] (ZIEGLER: And the Spirit [i]s the testimony), that (or because) the Spirit is the truth. **For [there are] thr[ee that give testimony] on earth: the spirit, and the water, and the bl[ood: and there are three who give tes]timony in heaven: the Father, a[nd the Word, and the Holy Spirit. And these] three are one. If [we receive] the testim[ony of men . . .]** (translated by Sarah Van Der Pas, correspondence January 2024).

- **Latin:** hic est qui venit per aquam est sanguinem IHS XRS · Et non tatum in aqua sed in aqua et sanguine ; et SPS est testificatur quia sps est veritas · **quoniam tres sunt qui testificantur in terra SPS et aqua et sanguis et tres sunt · qui testificantur in caelo pater et verbum et SPSSCS et hi tres unum sunt** (Bruyne, Les fragments de Freising, 1921, page 67, fol. 35 [transcription]; Ziegler, Italafragmente der Paulinischen Briefe, 1876, p. 68 [facsimile])

Comments:

- [Ziegler] **This result, taken together with the foregoing discussion, gives certainty that verse 7 occurs in manuscripts with pre-Hieronymian translations**, that it first appeared in Africa, and here probably in the province of Byzacena, where Vigilius and Fulgentius had their episcopal sees. (Ziegler, Italafragmente der Paulinischen Briefe nebst Bruchstücken einer vorhieronymianischen Übersetzung des ersten Johannesbriefes aus Pergament Blättern der ehemaligen Freisinger Stiftsbibliothek, 1876, p. 5)

The Witness of God is Greater

Arius Speaks: A Great Fire Broke Out From This Small Spark (circa 325 AD)

• The Arian controversy was a series of Christian theological disputes that arose between Arius and Athanasius of Alexandria, two Christian theologians from Alexandria, Egypt. Arius (250–336 AD) Arius was of Berber descent.[1] His father's name is given as Ammonius. Arius is believed to have been a student at the exegetical school in Antioch, where he studied under Saint Lucian.[8] The most important of these controversies concerned the substantial relationship between God the Father and God the Son. The deep divisions created by the disputes were an ironic consequence of Emperor Constantine's efforts to unite Christianity and establish a single, imperially approved version of the faith during his reign.[1][2] **These disagreements divided the Church into two opposing theological factions for over 55 years, from the time before the First Council of Nicaea in 325 until after the First Council of Constantinople in 381.** (Arian controversy. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arian_controversy>)

The Dispute of Arius with Alexander, his Bishop.

• After Peter, bishop of Alexandria, had suffered martyrdom under Diocletian, Achilles was installed in the episcopal office, whom Alexander succeeded, during the period of peace above referred to. He [Alexander], in the fearless exercise of his functions for the instruction and government of the Church, attempted one day in the presence of the presbytery and the rest of his clergy, to explain, with perhaps too [much] philosophical minuteness, **that great theological mystery — the Unity of the Holy Trinity.** A certain one of the presbyters under his jurisdiction, whose name was Arius, possessed of no inconsiderable logical acumen, imagining that the bishop was subtly teaching the same view of this subject as Sabellius the Libyan, from love of controversy took the opposite opinion to that of the Libyan, and as he thought vigorously responded to what was said by the bishop. **'If,' said he, 'the Father begot the Son, he that was begotten had a beginning of existence: and from this it is evident, that there was a time when the Son was not. It therefore necessarily follows, that he had his substance from nothing.'** (Socrates, Ecclesiastical History. Book 1. Chapter 5; NPNF02, vol 2. <www.newadvent.org/fathers/26011.htm>)

Division begins in the Church from this Controversy; and Alexander Bishop of Alexandria excommunicates Arius and his Adherents.

• Having drawn this inference from his novel train of reasoning, he excited many to a consideration of the question; and thus from a little spark a large fire was kindled: for the evil which began in the Church at Alexandria, ran throughout all Egypt, Libya, and the upper Thebes, and at length diffused itself over the rest of the provinces and cities. (Socrates, Ecclesiastical History. Book 1. Chapter 6; NPNF02, vol 2. <www.newadvent.org/fathers/26011.htm>)

The Emperor Constantine being grieved at the Disturbance of the Churches, sends Hosius the Spaniard to Alexandria, exhorting the Bishop and Arius to Reconciliation and Unity.

• When the emperor was made acquainted with these disorders, he was very deeply grieved; and regarding the matter as a personal misfortune, immediately exerted himself to extinguish the conflagration which had been kindled, and sent a letter to Alexander and Arius by a trustworthy person named Hosius, who was bishop of Cordova, in Spain. The emperor greatly loved this man and held him in the highest estimation. It will not be out of place to introduce here a portion of this letter, the whole of which is given in the life of Constantine by Eusebius."Victor Constantine Maximum Augustus to Alexander and Arius. I am informed that your present controversy originated thus. When you, Alexander, inquired of your presbyters what each thought **on a certain inexplicable passage of the written Word**, rather on a subject improper for discussion; and you, Arius, rashly gave expression to a view of the matter such as ought either never to have been conceived..."(Socrates, Ecclesiastical History. Book 1. Chapter 7; NPNF02, vol 2. <www.newadvent.org/fathers/26011.htm>)

The Witness of God is Greater

• [Burgess] **Now, if we consider, that the doctrine of the unity of the Trinity was by Arius accused of Sabellianism, and that, in order to invalidate it, he endeavoured to subvert the Divinity of the Word, it will be evident, that there is only one passage of Scripture which corresponds with these several particulars.** There is no other passage but 1 John v. 7, to which Arius could have imputed the opinion of Sabellius ; no other, which teaches, that Three are [PAGE 89] One; no other, which mentions the Word, as one of the Three Persons of the Deity; no other, which could have given occasion to Arius's denying that the Word was of the same nature and essence with the Father: I conclude, therefore, that the verse of St. John was the passage intended by Constantine, as the ground of the dispute between Alexander and Arius, and the origin of the Arian controversy; and therefore that it was in the Greek text of the fourth century. (Burgess, A letter to the clergy of the diocese of St. David's on a passage of the second Symbolum Antiochenum of the fourth century as an evidence of the authenticity of 1 John v. 7, 1825, p. 86-89)

Eusebius of Caesarea' Commission from Emperor Constantine

• [Chapter 36 : Constantine's Letter to Eusebius on the Preparation of Copies of the Holy Scriptures] Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to Eusebius."It happens, through the favoring providence of God our Saviour, that great numbers have united themselves to the most holy church in the city which is called by my name. It seems, therefore, highly requisite, since that city is rapidly advancing in prosperity in all other respects, that the number of churches should also be increased. **Do you, therefore, receive with all readiness my determination on this behalf. I have thought it expedient to instruct your Prudence to order fifty copies of the sacred Scriptures, the provision and use of which you know to be most needful for the instruction of the Church, to be written on prepared parchment in a legible manner, and in a convenient, portable form, by professional transcribers thoroughly practiced in their art. The catholicus of the diocese has also received instructions by letter from our Clemency to be careful to furnish all things necessary for the preparation of such copies; and it will be for you to take special care that they be completed with as little delay as possible.** You have authority also, in virtue of this letter, to use two of the public carriages for their conveyance, by which arrangement the copies when fairly written will most easily be forwarded for my personal inspection; and one of the deacons of your church may be entrusted with this service, who, on his arrival here, shall experience my liberality. God preserve you, beloved brother!" (Eusebius of Caesarea, Life of Constantine. Book IV. Chapter 36; NPNF02, vol 1 <www.newadvent.org/fathers/25024.htm>)

• [Chapter 37 : How the Copies were provided] **Such were the emperor's commands, which were followed by the immediate execution of the work itself, which we sent him in magnificent and elaborately bound volumes of a threefold and fourfold form.** This fact is attested by another letter, which the emperor wrote in acknowledgment, in which, having heard that the city Constantia in our country, the inhabitants of which had been more than commonly devoted to superstition, had been impelled by a sense of religion to abandon their past idolatry, he testified his joy, and approval of their conduct. (Eusebius of Caesarea, Life of Constantine. Book IV. Chapter 37; NPNF02, vol 1 <www.newadvent.org/fathers/25024.htm>)

• [Nolan : The Emperor's Commission Eusebius of Caesarea & Emperor] The authority with which Eusebius was vested, to prepare this edition, was conveyed in the following terms, as nearly as the original can be literally expressed,"It seemeth good unto us to submit to your consideration, that you would order to be written, on parchment prepared for the purpose, by able scribes, and accurately skilled in their art, fifty codices, both legible and portable, so as to be useful: namely, of the sacred scriptures, whereof chiefly, you know, the preparation, and use to be necessary to the doctrine of the church."(Constantine Epistle to Eusebius. Life of Constantine Book 4, chapter 36) **if we now compare the authority thus committed to Eusebius, which seems to have vested him at least with a discretionary power, of selecting chiefly those sacred scriptures which he knew to be useful and necessary to the doctrine of the church, with the state of the sacred text as it is now marked in the corrected edition lately put forth by M. Griesbach; we shall perhaps discover how far it is probable he acted to the full extent of his powers, and removed those parts of scripture from the circulated edition; which he judged to be neither conducive, to use nor doctrine, and which are now marked as probably interpolations in the Received Text (Textus Receptus). They amount principally to the following; the account of [PAGE 27] the woman taken in adultery (John 7:53-8:11), and three texts which assert in the strongest manner the mystery of the Trinity, of the Incarnation, and Redemption, 1 John 5:7, 1 Tim. 3:16, Acts 20:28.**

The Witness of God is Greater

- [Nolan] If two points can be established against Eusebius, that he wanted neither the power, nor the will to suppress these passages, particularly the latter, there will be fewer objections lying against the charge, with which I am adventurous enough to accuse him; **in asserting that the probabilities are decidedly in favor of his having expunged, rather than the catholics (Nicene Orthodox) having inserted, those passages in the sacred text.**
- [Nolan] **There will be less reason to dispute his power over the copies of the original Greek, when we know that his high reputation for learning, aided by the powerful authority of the emperor, tended to recommend his [Eusebius'] edition to the exclusion of every other; and when it is remembered, that the number of copies of scripture [i.e. persecution under Diocletian and Maximian] was in this reign above all others considerably reduced on account of the destruction made of them in the preceding.** [PAGE 28] Let us add to these considerations, these further circumstances; that the pious emperor who had employed him [Eusebius] to revise the text, had been at considerable pains and expense to multiply copies of the scripture; **and that the edition thus dispersed, as altered by Eusebius, was peculiarly accommodated to the opinions of the Arians, who from the [PAGE 29] reign of Constantine to that of Theodosius, held an unlimited sway over the church; and there will arise something more than presumptive proof in favor of the opinion which I have advanced; that at this period an alteration was made in the sacred text, of which it still retains a melancholy evidence, particularly in the translations made from the edition of Eusebius.**
- [Nolan] With respect to the influence which his edition had upon the sacred text at large, **it is most strongly evinced in the early translations. If it can be shewn that it affected these, its more powerful operation upon the original cannot be reasonably disputed [i.e., Armenian, Persian, Coptic, Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic].**
- Nolan, An Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate, or Received Text of the New Testament, 1815, p. 27-29.

Eusebian Canon Tables : "the most successful publishing venture in all of antiquity"

- [Description] The system known today in English as the Eusebian Canon Tables (following the German "Kanontafeln") is a paratextual apparatus designed by Eusebius of Caesarea to serve as a cross-referencing guide to the fourfold gospel. It consists of three components. First, the text of each gospel is marginally annotated with a series of numbers that demarcate discrete sections of text, beginning with the number one at the start of each narrative and continuing to the end, resulting in 355 sections for Matthew (Matthew, Gospel of), 233 for Mark (Mark, Gospel of), 342 for Luke (Luke, Gospel of), and 232 for John (John, Gospel of). Second, the numbers for these sections of text are then collated into ten tables, or "canons" (kanones) as Eusebius calls them, which are placed at the front of a four-gospel codex, prior to the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew (see fig. 1). Each row within a given table contains a collection of numbers representing a set of similar passages, while each column is assigned to an individual gospel. The need for ten tables arises from the fact that different combinations of gospels are possible: canon I contains numbers for passages that are common to all four gospels; canon II passages in Matt, Mark, and Luke; canon III Matt, Luke, John; canon IV Matt, Mark, John; canon V Matt, Luke; canon VI Matt, Mark; canon VII Matt, John; canon VIII Luke, Mark; canon IX Luke, John; and canon X with four subdivisions contains numbers for passages unique to each gospel. This paratextual system was remarkably complex and novel, so its third component is a prefatory text that precedes the ten tables and explains how to use them, Eusebius' so-called Letter to Carpianus.
- [Manuscripts] The Eusebian Canon Tables must be regarded as one of the most successful publishing ventures in all of antiquity, at least based on the number of surviving witnesses to it and the breadth of their distribution. Because it was transmitted as a paratext attached to the fourfold gospel, as the fourfold gospel was translated into other languages, so too was the paratextual apparatus, with the result that Eusebius' prefatory Letter to Carpianus is likely the most widely attested nonbiblical Christian text from antiquity. The earliest manuscript evidence for the system is the famous Codex Sinaiticus, dated to the mid-4th century CE, only a few decades at most after Eusebius' own lifetime. The text of the gospels in Sinaiticus contains the marginal enumeration, though the folios containing the prefatory letter and tables appear to have been lost. Likely the earliest witness to the tables in Greek are the fragments of a 6th-century CE papyrus codex found at a monastery in Thebes (P. Mon. Epiph. 584; see fig. 3). A portion of the Letter to Carpianus is preserved in Codex Rossano, a 6th-century CE codex written on purple-dyed parchment, as well as the so-called Golden Canon Tables in London (British Library Add. 5111/1; dated to 6th or 7th cent. CE), the latter a particularly deluxe copy written on vellum stained with gold. The Canon Tables entered the Latin world in the late 4th century CE via Jerome's Vulgate translation, since Jerome included them in his new revised version and gave a discussion of their use in his prefatory letter to Pope Damasus (the so-called *Novum opus*). The earliest copy of the Vulgate, the lacunose Codex Sangallensis 1395 copied in the first half of the 5th century CE, contains the marginal enumeration alongside the text of the gospels, though the tables, if they once existed, have long since been lost (see fig. 4). The unknown translator of the Peshitta version of the New Testament was probably responsible for introducing Canon Tables into the Syriac world, since they first appear in Peshitta manuscripts from the 5th century CE onward, including Codex Phillipps 1388 (5th–6th cents. CE), the Rabbula Gospels

The Witness of God is Greater

(c. 586 CE), and Paris BnF syr.33 (6th cent. CE). From roughly the same period are the two oldest copies of the fourfold gospel in Ethiopic, Abba Garima I and III, which preserve two nearly complete copies of the entire system (only two folios are missing). Numerous medieval copies of the fourfold gospel in Ethiopic likewise contain the system, many faithfully preserving late antique features. The most important witness to the Gothic translation of the gospels, Codex Argenteus, written in Italy in the early 6th century CE using purple-dyed parchment, contains the marginal annotation, though the prefatory tables are lost (see fig. 5). The Eusebian paratext is usually found in Armenian copies of the fourfold gospel, such as the *Mik'e Gospels* (862 CE) and the *Etchmiadzin Gospels* (989 CE), as well as in Georgian manuscripts such as the *Adishi Gospels* (897 CE) and the *Bert'ay Gospels* (10th cent. CE). The sole surviving witness to the Caucasian Albanian version of the gospels, consisting of palimpsest folios held at Saint Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai, likewise contains the Eusebian system. Finally, the paratextual apparatus was also translated into Coptic (British Library Or. 1315, dated to 1208; BnF Copte 13, dated to the 12th cent.) and Old Church Slavonic (Codex Zographensis, 10th–11th cents.). (Crawford, Matthew R., "Canon Tables, Eusebian", in: Brill Encyclopedia of Early Christianity Online, 2018)

Greek MSS. of the Anti-Homoousian period

• [Burgess] The absence of the verse in [PAGE 72] all the Oriental Versions is certainly a remarkable fact in the history of the verse. But there may have been causes, both accidental and voluntary, which have led to the omission, subsequent to the origin of the most ancient of these Versions. Indeed, the existing MSS. of the Oriental Versions are long posterior to the fourth century, in which occurred the entire separation of the Eastern and Western churches. If then it be borne in mind, that the Western copies contain the verse, and the Eastern omit it, and that the Western churches professed the Homoousian doctrine, and the Eastern rejected it, we may, perhaps, in this difference of opinion, discover a cause sufficient to account, in some measure, for the difference between the Eastern and Western texts in this passage of St. John. Of the separation of the churches, Socrates, in the second [PAGE 73] book of his Ecclesiastical History, (ch. 18 and 20,) gives the following account: "When the Emperor of the Western parts had summoned three of the Eastern Bishops to come to him, to give an account of the depositions of Paulus and Athanasius, though they obeyed the summons, they refused to hold any conference or intercourse with Athanasius. They suppressed the Creed published at Antioch, and drew up another, which they presented to the Emperor Constantius. (ch. 20.) About three years afterwards, the Eastern Bishops composed another and much larger exposition of the Faith, which the Western Bishops, who adhered to the Nicene Creed, disapproved. An Ecumenical Council being afterwards convened at Sardica, the Eastern Bishops refused to join the assembly, [PAGE 74] unless Athanasius was excluded from the meeting. This not being complied with, the Eastern Bishops immediately left Sardica, and returning to Philipopolis, they held a Synod by themselves, in which they openly anathematized the term *ὁμοούσιον* [of the same nature]." (fn. Socrates Hist. Eccl. L. II. c. 18. 20. During the Arian period, which subsisted for about forty years previous to the Council of Constantinople, in the year 381, eleven professions of faith were published by the Councils of Antioch, Surmium, Ariminum, Saleucia, &c. by all of which the term *ὁμοούσια* was omitted; expressly rejected by three of them, and anathematized by two.) **There are only two MSS. of the Catholic Epistles, the Alexandrine and Vatican, which have any pretension to so high an antiquity, as the age in which these contentions subsisted. It cannot, therefore, be surprising that two Greek MSS. of that Anti-Homoousian period, should be without a verse, so favourable [PAGE 75] to the doctrine which the Greek Bishops rejected.** As the verse was probably lost in a very early age by the Homoeoteleuton, it cannot be surprising, that in the choice of copies to be transcribed, those should be preferred which omitted the seventh verse; or, that the Eastern Versions of that age should follow the defective text. The contentions, which subsisted at this period in the East, concerning the term *ὁμοούσιος*, and the doctrine which it expressed, may also account for the absence of the verse from the writings of the Greek Fathers. "They had an aversion to this term," (says Socrates, Hist. Eccles. 1. 1, c. 23,) and charged them," who used it, with introducing the doctrine of Sabellius and Montanus. And, therefore, they called

The Witness of God is Greater

them blasphemers, as if they denied the existence of the Son of God. On the contrary, they who defended the term, conceiving [PAGE 76] that their adversaries were introducing the worship of many gods, held them in abhorrence, as favourers of Paganism. ...It was certainly much more probable that the verse was omitted from injudicious apprehension, than inserted by wilful fraud, as Mr. Oxlee calls it, and unnecessary fraud too, because the doctrine of the Trinity has many proofs in the New Testament without this verse. (Burgess, A letter to the clergy of the diocese of St. David's on a passage of the second Symbolum Antiochenum of the fourth century as an evidence of the authenticity of 1 John v. 7, 1825, p. 71-78)

Letter of the Synod of Antioch (325 AD)

- [Pollard] The Letter of the Synod of Antioch contained in a Syriac MS. of the eighth or ninth century (Codex Parisinus Syriacus 62), to which Edward Schwartz first drew attention in 1905, has thrown light on the period immediately preceding the Council of Nicaea and on the proceedings of the Council itself. After much initial controversy, mainly between Schwartz and von Harnack, this document is now generally accepted as authentic.
- [Pollard] The Synod of Antioch, of which nothing was hitherto known, appears to have assembled in order to settle the difficulties which had arisen in the Church at Antioch after the death of Bishop Philogonius (ca. A.D. 322), one of three Bishops whom Arius described as 'unlearned heretics'; Eustathius, Bishop of Beroea, was appointed to fill the vacancy. The Synod was attended by at least fifty-nine bishops from Syria and Palestine, forty-nine of whom also attended the Council of Nicaea a few months later.
- Pollard, [Abstract], "The Creeds of A.D. 325 Antioch, Caesarea, Nicaea", 1960.

HITS:

- **...they acknowledged a Holy Trinity but One Godhead, and one Beginning, and that the Son is coessential with the Father, as the fathers said;** while the Holy Spirit is not a creature, nor external, but proper to and inseparable from the Essence of the Father and the Son.
 - **Greek:** ἀλλ' εἶδέναι ἁγίαν μὲν Τριάδα, μίαν δὲ θεότητα, καὶ μίαν ἀρχὴν, καὶ Υἱὸν μὲν ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ, ὡς εἶπον οἱ Πατέρες, τὸ δὲ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, οὐ κτίσμα, οὐδὲ ξένον, ἀλλ' ἴδιον καὶ ἀδιαίρετον τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πατρός. (Athanasius of Alexandria, Synodal Letter to the People of Antioch; Migne Graeca, PG 26.797)
- I, Paulinus. hold thus, as I received from the fathers, that the Father perfectly exists and subsists, and that the Son perfectly subsists, and that the Holy Spirit perfectly subsists. Wherefore also I accept the above explanation concerning the **Three Subsistences, and the one Subsistence, or rather Essence, and those who hold thus. For it is pious to hold and confess the Holy Trinity in one Godhead.**
 - **Greek:** Ἐγὼ Παυλῖνος οὕτω φρονῶ, καθὼς παρέλαβον παρὰ τῶν Πατέρων, ὄντα καὶ ὑφεστῶτα Πατέρα τέλειον καὶ ὑφεστῶτα Υἱὸν τέλειον, καὶ ὑφεστηκὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τέλειον. Διὸ καὶ ἀποδέχομαι τὴν προγεγραμμένην ἐρμηνείαν περὶ τῶν τριῶν ὑποστάσεων, καὶ τῆς μιᾶς ὑποστάσεως, ἥτοι οὐσίας, καὶ τοὺς φρονοῦντας οὕτως. Εὐσεβὲς γὰρ ἐστὶ φρονεῖν καὶ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα ἐν μιᾷ θεότητι. (Athanasius of Alexandria, Synodal Letter to the People of Antioch; Migne Graeca, PG 26.801)

Meletius of Antioch (d. 381) : Sermon at Antioch (361 AD)

- [Butler] Meletius played an important part in the tangled affairs of the Church in the East during the long-drawn-out Arian controversies and power struggles. He was born in Melitene and came from a distinguished family of Lesser Armenia. Virtually nothing is recorded of his early life, but by the time he became a prominent churchman he was known for his

The Witness of God is Greater

conciliatory ways, and he managed to gain the trust of both orthodox Catholics, upholding the Creed of the Council of Nicaea (325 AD), and Arians. He was appointed bishop of Sebaste in Armenia, but here he ran into the first of many quarrels that were to cause him to lead an exceedingly unstable life as bishop. Forced to flee by an opposing faction, he retired first to the desert, from where he was transferred to the town of Beroea in Syria. The church historian Socrates claims that he was bishop there. The church of Antioch had been prey to Arianism, usually supported by the emperors, for many decades. Its bishop, Eustathius, a great theologian and staunch enemy of Arianism, had been forced into exile in Thrace in 331 by a party led by Eusebius of Nicomedia, which brought influence to bear on Constantine. He was succeeded by a run of bishops who upheld the Arian position. Then quarrels broke out among different factions within Arianism, and these were responsible for the banishment of the last of the pro-Arian bishops of Antioch, Eudoxius. Some Catholics and some Arians agreed on Meletius as their choice to be his successor. This was in 361, which was also the last year of the reign of Constantius II, Constantine's son and a firm upholder of Arianism, as emperor in the East. Other Catholics opposed his appointment, believing him to be too much beholden to the Arians who had helped to elect him, who in turn hoped he would favour them. Meletius undeceived them when Constantius visited Antioch. The emperor ordered him and several other prelates to expound the text from the Book of Proverbs: "The Lord created me at the beginning of his work" (8:22). The "me" referred to is "wisdom," but Meletius interpreted the text in an uncompromisingly anti-Arian way, making the words refer to the Incarnation. This angered the Arians, who persuaded Constantius to banish Meletius to Lesser Armenia and gave the see to Euzoios, thereby giving rise to what is known as the schism of Antioch. (Butler, *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, 1995, p. 122)

HIT:

• [Sozomen] The Arians, under the Impression that the divine Meletius upheld their Sentiments, translated him from Sebaste to Antioch. On his Bold Confession of the Orthodox Doctrines, they [the Arians] were confounded, and after they had deposed him they placed Euzoios in the See. Meletius formed his own Church: but those who held to Consubstantiality turned away from him because he had been ordained by Arians. At the period that Eudoxius obtained the government of the church of Constantinople, there were many aspirants to the see of Antioch; and as is frequently the case under such circumstances, contentions and seditions divided the clergy and the people of that church. Each party was anxious to commit the government of the church to a bishop of its own persuasion; for interminable disputes concerning doctrine were rampant among them, and they could not agree as to the mode of singing psalms; and, as has been before stated, psalms were sung by each individual, in conformity with his own peculiar creed. Such being the state of the church at Antioch, the partisans of Eudoxius thought it would be well to entrust the bishopric of that city to Meletius, then bishop of Sebaste, he being possessed of great and persuasive eloquence, of excellent life, and all, as they imagined, being of like opinions with themselves. They believed that his reputation would attract the inhabitants of Antioch and of the neighboring cities to conform to their heresy, particularly those called Eustathians, who had adhered invariably to the Nicene doctrines. But their expectations were utterly frustrated. It is said that on his first arrival in Antioch, an immense multitude, composed of Arians, and of those who were in communion with Paulinus, flocked around him. Some wished to see the man because his fame was great, even before his coming; others were anxious to hear what he had to say, and to ascertain the nature of his opinions; for a report had been spread abroad which was afterwards proved to be true, that he maintained the doctrines of those convened at Nicæa. **In his first discourses he confined himself to instructing the people in what we call ethics; afterwards, however, he openly declared that the Son is of the same substance as the Father. It is said that at these words, the archdeacon of the church, who was then one of the clergy there, stretched out his hand, and covered the mouth of the preacher; but that he continued to explain his sentiments more clearly by means of his fingers than he could by language. He extended three fingers only towards the people, closed them, and then allowed only one finger to remain extended, and thus expressed by signs what he was prevented from uttering. As the archdeacon, in his embarrassment, seized the hand, he released the mouth; the tongue was free, and Meletius declared his opinion still more clearly and with a loud voice, and exhorted his auditors to adhere to the tenets of the council of Nicæa, and he**

The Witness of God is Greater

testified to his hearers that those who held other views deviated from the truth. As he persisted in the enunciation of the same sentiments, either by word of mouth or by means of signs, when the archdeacon closed his mouth, a contention between both sides occurred, not unlike that of the pancratium; the followers of Eustathius shouted aloud and rejoiced and leaped, while the Arians were cast down. Eudoxius and his partisans were transported with indignation at this discourse, and contrived by their machinations to expel Meletius from Antioch. (Sozomen. Ecclesiastical History, Book 4.28 Sermon of Meletius at Constantinople.; NPNF02, vol 2; Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight. <www.newadvent.org/fathers/26024.htm>)

Gaius Marius Victorinus (290-364 AD)

- Gaius Marius Victorinus (also known as Victorinus Afer; fl. 4th century) was a Roman grammarian, rhetorician and Neoplatonic philosopher. Victorinus was African by birth and experienced the height of his career during the reign of Constantius II. He is also known for translating two of Aristotle's books from ancient Greek into Latin: the Categories and On Interpretation (De Interpretatione).[1] Victorinus had a religious conversion, from being a pagan to a Christian, "at an advanced old age"(c. 355). (Gaius Marius Victorinus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaius_Marius_Victorinus>)
- Victorinus, at some unknown point, left Africa for Rome, probably for a teaching position, and had great success in his career, eventually being promoted to the lowest level of the senatorial order. That promotion probably came at the time when he received an honorific statue in the Forum of Trajan in 354 (Jerome supplied biographical information but was not his student). Victorinus' religious conversion from Platonism to Christianity (c. 355), "at an advanced old age" according to Jerome, made a great impression on Augustine of Hippo, as recounted in Book 8[2] of the latter's Confessions. His conversion is historically important in foreshadowing the conversion of more and more of the traditionally pagan intellectual class, from the gods who in pagan belief had made Rome great. (Gaius Marius Victorinus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaius_Marius_Victorinus>)
- Brought up a Christian, Emperor Julian had converted to a philosophical and mystical form of paganism; and once in power upon the providential death of Constantius II, then Julian attempted to reorganize the highly decentralized pagan cults, on lines analogous to the Christian Church. The emperor, wanting to purge the schools of Christian teachers, published an edict in June 362 mandating that all state appointed professors receive approval from municipal councils (the emperor's accompanying brief indicated his express disapproval of Christians lecturing on the poems of Homer or Virgil with their religion being incongruous with the religion of Homer and Virgil). Victorinus resigned his position as official rhetor of the city of Rome, professor of rhetoric, not an orator. The sprightly old professor kept writing treatises on the Trinity to defend the adequacy of the Nicene Creed's definition of Christ the Son being "of the same substance"(homoousios in Greek) with the Father. After finishing this series of works (begun probably in late 357), he turned his hand to writing commentaries on the Pauline Epistles, the first in Latin. (Gaius Marius Victorinus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaius_Marius_Victorinus>)

HITS:

- [Commentary on Philippians] **Remember that God is one, his Son is one and his Holy Spirit is one, and all three are one. If so, then we too ought to be one in our thoughts, so as to "be of the same mind" with the one God.** Then it follows that we are to "have the same love." To be of the same mind pertains to knowledge, while to have the same love pertains to discipline, to the conduct of life. (Marius Victorinus; Epistles to the Philippians 2.5)
 - **Latin: Etenim si unus Deus, si unus eius filius, si unus Spiritus sanctus est, si omnia ista tria unum, ita debemus et nos unum habere quod sentimus, ut idem sentiamus omnes.** Deinde sequitur ut eadem dilectionem exerceamus. Hoc iam ad moralem disciplinam, id est ad vitam pertinet; illud ad scientiam. (Marii Victorini Afri, In Epistolam Pauli ad Philippenses Liber 2, verse 5; Migne Latina, PL 8.1205)

The Witness of God is Greater

- [Hymn] **The three are therefore one,**
And three times over,
Thrice are the three one,
O Blessed Trinity.
 - **Tres ergo unum,**
et ergo ter,
ergo ter tres unum:
o beata Trinitas.
- Marii Victorini Afri, Hymnus 3, Migne Latina, PL 8.1146
- [Against Arius, Book 1.12] And what does he [the Holy Spirit] say? "Whatever I shall have said," (Jn 14:26) said Christ. "I shall have said" is in the future. What future? Not the immediate future, but the one that comes after his ascent to the Father. And if this is so, the Paraclete coming from God in the name of Christ teaches what Jesus says. Is it therefore Jesus himself, or another Jesus, or is Jesus present in this other Paraclete, that is, the Holy Spirit, as God is present in him? **Although existing as three in a series, these three are also one (et unum sunt tria) and the three are homoousion (consubstantial).** For Christ certainly says: "I go away and I am coming to you," (Jn 14:28) and "You will be given by God another Paraclete" (Jn 14:16) who has from me all that he has; and all that the Father has he has given to me. Indeed the whole mystery is this: the Father, unacting act, the Son, acting act in respect to creating, but the Holy Spirit, acting act in respect to recreating. But these things have also been said in other books. (Victorinus, Against Arius, Book 1; Translated by Mary T. Clark, Theological Treatises on the Trinity, 1981, p. 104-105)
 - **Latin:** Et quae loquitur [sanctus spiritus]? "Quaecumque dixero," (Jn 14:26) dixit Christus. "Dixero" de futuro est. De quo futuro? Non eo quod nunc, sed eo quod est post ascendere ad patrem. Et si istud, paraclitus veniens a deo in nomine Christi illa docet, quaedicat Iesus. Ipse ergo Iesus, an ipse alter Iesus, an in ipso altero paraclito, hoc est spiritu sancto, inest Iesus, sicut in ipso deus? **Ista haec, serie tribus existentibus, et unum sunt tria, et ὁμοούσιον tria,** quippe dicente Christ: "eo et venio ad vos" (Jn 14:28) et: "a deo alius dabitur vobis paraclitus," (Jn 14:16) qui quaecumque habet, a me habet; et quaecumque habet pater, tradidit mihi omnia. Etenim omne mysterium hoc est: pater inoperans operatio, filius operans operatio in id quod est regenerare, sanctus autem spiritus operans operatio in id quod est regenerare. Sed ista quidem et in aliis dicta. (Victorinus, Adversus Arium, Liber 1; Migne Latina, PL 8.1047)
- [Against Arius, Book 3.4] ...these three [Father, Son, Holy Spirit] are one in substance, three in subsistence. For since they have their own power and signification and they also are as they are named, **necessarily they are both three and nevertheless one, since the three constitute together each unity, that each one is singly. This is expressed by the Greeks in this way: "here are three hypostases from one substance".** (Victorinus, Against Arius, Book 3.4; Translated by Mary T. Clark, Theological Treatises on the Trinity, 1981, p. 227-228)
 - **Latin:** substantia unum, subsistentia tria sunt ista : cum enim vim ac significantiam suam habeant, aique ut dicuntur et sunt; **necessario et sunt tria, et tamen unum, cum omne quod singulum est unum, tria sint. Idque a Graecis ita dicitur: ἕκ μιᾶς οὐσίας τρεῖς εἶναι τὰς ὑποστάσεις.** (Victorinus, Adversus Arium, Liber 3; Migne Latina, PL 8.1101-1102)

Comment:

- [Fiano] ...Victorinus, writing between 361 and 362 in Against Arius, offered his trinitarian interpretation of the being-living-thinking triad. In doing so, he produced two statements that indubitably show acquaintance with a formulaic expression of the distinction between ousia and hypostasis: "and therefore it was said that from one substance there exist three subsistences" (et ideo dictum est de una substantia tres subsistentias esse); "and that is thus said by the Greeks: "there exist the three hypostaseis from one ousia" (idque a Graecis ita dicitur: ἕκ μιᾶς οὐσίας τρεῖς εἶναι τὰς ὑποστάσεις). (Fiano, Three Powers in Heaven, 2017, p. 192)

The Witness of God is Greater

Victorinus Becomes a Christian : Augustine's Confessions Book 8

• To Simplicianus [Bishop of Milan] then I went — the [spiritual] father of Ambrose (at that time a bishop) in receiving Your grace, and whom he truly loved as a father. To him I narrated the windings of my error. **But when I mentioned to him that I had read certain books of the Platonists, which Victorinus, sometime Professor of Rhetoric at Rome (who died a Christian, as I had been told), had translated into Latin, he congratulated me that I had not fallen upon the writings of other philosophers, which were full of fallacies and deceit,"after the rudiments of the world,"Colossians 2:8** ...Then, to exhort me to the humility of Christ, hidden from the wise, and revealed to little ones, Matthew 11:25 [Simplicianus] spoke of Victorinus himself, whom, while he was at Rome, he had known very intimately; and of him [Simplicianus] related that about which I will not be silent. For it contains great praise of Your grace, which ought to be confessed unto You, how that most learned old man [Victorinus], highly skilled in all the liberal sciences, who had read, criticised, and explained so many works of the philosophers; the teacher of so many noble senators; who also, as a mark of his excellent discharge of his duties, had (which men of this world esteem a great honour) both merited and obtained a statue in the Roman Forum... (Augustine's Confessions, Book 8. <www.newadvent.org/fathers/110108.htm>)

• ...from reading and inquiry, [Victorinus] had derived strength, and feared lest he should be denied by Christ before the holy angels if he now was afraid to confess Him before men, Luke 9:26 and [he] appeared to himself guilty of a great fault in being ashamed of the sacraments of the humility of Your word, ...[Victorinus] became bold-faced against vanity, and shame-faced toward the truth, and suddenly and unexpectedly said to Simplicianus, "**Let us go to the church; I wish to be made a Christian.**" But he, not containing himself for joy, accompanied him [Simplicianus went with Victorinus into the church]. And having been admitted to the first sacraments of instruction, [Victorinus] not long after gave in his name, that he might be regenerated by baptism — Rome marvelling, and the Church rejoicing. The proud saw, and were enraged; they gnashed with their teeth, and melted away! (Augustine's Confessions, Book 8. <www.newadvent.org/fathers/110108.htm>)

• Finally, when the hour arrived for [Victorinus] to make profession of his faith (which at Rome they who are about to approach Your grace are wont to deliver from an elevated place, in view of the faithful people, in a set form of words learned by heart), the presbyters offered Victorinus to make his profession more privately, as the custom was to do to those who were likely, through bashfulness, to be afraid; but he chose rather to profess his salvation in the presence of the holy assembly. For it was not salvation that he taught in rhetoric, and yet he had publicly professed that. How much less, therefore, ought he, when pronouncing Your word, to dread Your meek flock, who, in the delivery of his own words, had not feared the mad multitudes! So, then, when [Victorinus] ascended to make his profession, all, as they recognised him, whispered his name one to the other, with a voice of congratulation. And who was there among them that did not know him? And there ran a low murmur through the mouths of all the rejoicing multitude, "Victorinus! Victorinus!" Sudden was the burst of exultation at the sight of him; and suddenly were they hushed, that they might hear him. [Victorinus] pronounced the true faith with an excellent boldness, and all desired to take him to their very heart — yea, by their love and joy they took him there; such were the hands with which they took him. (Augustine's Confessions, Book 8. <www.newadvent.org/fathers/110108.htm>)

• **Simplician (Latin: Simplicianus; Italian: Simpliciano) was Bishop of Milan from 397 to 400 or 401 AD.** He is honoured as a Saint in the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches and his feast day is August 14.[1] Simplician was born about 320 probably in Rome and still young he became a churchman.[2] He became expert in the Holy Scripture and very educated. In about 355 he took an active part in the conversion to Christianity of the philosopher Marius Victorinus. When in 374 Ambrose was elected bishop of Milan and baptized, Simplician became his teacher of doctrine.[3] Ambrose used to call Simplician father, as a sign of spiritual relationship. Probably in this period Simplician moved to Milan where he remained. Simplician also took an active part in the conversions of both Alypius of Thagaste and Augustine of Hippo. The meeting between Augustine and Simplician occurred in Milan in 386 and it is recorded in Augustine's Confessions.[4] After his conversion, Augustine also called Simplician father, and in 397 he dedicated to Simplician two books on the issue of predestination, known as *De Diversis Quaestionibus ad Simplicianum*. (Simplician. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Simplician>)

The Witness of God is Greater

Potamius, Bishop of Lisbon (circa 355-366 AD)

• Potamius (first known bishop of Lisbon - Ulyssipona) an ecclesiastic of Spanish birth, flourished as bishop of Lisbon in the middle of the 4th century; and if the first of the pieces mentioned below be genuine, he must, in the early part of his career, have been a champion of the Catholic faith. Subsequently, however, he was a zealous Arian, and it is believed that he drew up the document known in ecclesiastical history as The Second Sirmian Creed. The writings usually ascribed to Potamius are, *Epistola ad Athanasium Episcopum Alexandrinum de Consubstantialitate Filii Dei*, in some MSS. entitled *Epistola Potamii ad Athanasium ab Aritais (impetum?) posquam in Concilio Ariminensi subscripserunt*, composed in the year A.D. 355, while the opinions of the author were yet orthodox. (Potamius. *The Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature*. James Strong and John McClintock; Harper and Brothers; NY; 1880. <www.biblicalcyclopedia.com/P/potamius.html>)

HITS:

- [Letter to Athanasius] The point in time must be taken into account here. Our Lord and Savior was seen with people in a body because He had put on the human body. That is why he said, "I did not come to do my works". He rejected the tasks of a person in himself. So he proclaims this in order to make known in himself that client (i.e., his Father), whom he calls to his mind as the originator and Father. Because the Son is named second, greater is the one who comes before (i.e., the Father); but the substance of both the sender and the messenger, because **"three are one"**, is one from the unity of the Godhead: "I and the Father are one" and "He who sees me also sees the Father" and the Savior says himself to the apostle: "I have been with you for so long and you do not know the Father." (Potamius of Lisbon, Letter to Athanasius)
 - **Latin:** Tempus in causa est: Salvator apud homines, quia hominum corpus induerat, videbatur in corpore; ideo dixit: Non veni facere opera mea: hominis in se negavit officia? (1417D) Clamat ergo, ut illum ordinatorem in se praedicet, quem in se sibi meminit auctorem Patrem; quia Filius sequitur vocabulo, ita maior est ille qui praevenit; sed et mittentis et missi, quia **tres unum sunt**, de divinitatis unitate una substantia est (Ioan., X, 30) : Ego et Pater unum sumus. Et (Ioan. XIV, 9) : qui me videt, videt et Patrem. Et ipse Salvator ad Apostolos: Tanto tempore, inquit, vobiscum sum, et Patrem non nostis? (Potamius of Lisbon, Letter to Athanasius ;Migne Latina, PL 8, 1416C-1417D)
- [Epistula de Substantia] **It is with good reason that John says, "and the three are one."** Substance is the name of the singular word. The essence of a thing is everything that makes the thing exist. After all, the essence is either under something, or teaches that it itself has a certain status. So, in fairness, the essence is that, thanks to which the ambiguity of faith is eliminated and the unity of the Trinity is connected. (Potamius of Lisbon, Epistula de Substantia Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, #3)
 - **Latin: Merito johannis ayt: "Et tres unum sunt."** Substantia singularis vocabulo il nomen est. Est enim, substantia rei omne illud per quod est res. Substantia enim, aut sub aliquos statuet, aut aliquem subesse sibi docet statu. Merito ergo substantia est, per quam fidei perplexitas catenatur. (Potamius of Lisbon. Epistula de Substantia Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti; Latin text: Guillermo, Opúsculos desconocidos de San Jerónimo, Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, vol 19, 1909, p. 217)
- [Epistula de Substantia] Now, if you please, since we have burst forth from the spring of the Trinity, let us also retrace the veins of substance from which the spring of the careful judge gushes and flows forth. The Savior thundered thus: "I and my Father are one." (John 10:30) **John likewise said: "And the three are one." (1 John 5:7)** And David: "Therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee." (Ps. 44:8)* David says "thy" meaning "to whom you are owed". He is saying "He will be seen to be thine". He says "thy" meaning "half of your part, of which he is the whole". He says "thy" meaning "devoted to you, and to whom you are subjected". Either the one who is being addressed with the word "thy" belongs to the

The Witness of God is Greater

one who comes, or the one who comes belongs to the one whom he frequently meets. David says "thy God": that means "you are his", "you belong to him in unity" or "he belongs to you with respect to substance". But since the Son is the Father's power, the power itself belongs to his substance, since there can be no substance without power. Logically, the Father's and the Son's substance is one.

- **Latin:** Nunc ergo, si placet, quia de Trinitatis fonte prorupimus, et venas substantiae unde fons scaturit et profluit curiosi iudicis relegamus. Nam sic Salvator intonuit: 'Ego et Pater unum sumus' (Ioh. 10:30). **Ut et Iohannes: 'Et tres', inquit, 'unum sunt' (I Ioh. 5:7).** Et David: 'Propterea unxit te deus deus tuus' (Ps. 44:8), inquit, hoc est, cui tu deberis. Tuus, inquit, videbitur; tuus, inquit, partis tuae dimidium, cuius est totus. Tuus inquit, hoc est, tibi deditus, cui ipse sis mancipatus. Tuus cui dicitur, aut suus est qui advenit, aut ipsius est iste cui frequenter occurrit. 'Deus tuus', inquit, scilicet cuius es, ad quem pertines unitate, aut qui ex substantia pertinet ad te. Sed quia virtus Patris est Filius, virtus ipsa ad substantiam pertinet suam, quia sine virtute non potest esse substantia. Merito una Patris et Filii substantia est. (Potamius of Lisbon. Epistula de Substantia Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, 10; Latin text: Yarza Urkiola, Potamio de Lisboa, Epistula de substantia, 1999, p. 282)
- [Epistula de Substantia] For the Son has expressed the will of the Father, since everything has been carried out by the word of God, Christ, that is to say, the power of the Father. Hence it follows that the Father did what the Son ordered. For the Father with his power, when the Son descended into hell, through the Son and with the same power, he broke the steel bars of Tartarus and with the word of his own power brought the dead from the depths of hell and with the flaming spear from his mouth sent the devil into exile through the order given by his Christ. **This is one substance, this is the undivided and eternal majesty, this is the everlasting unity of the undivided Trinity. As John says: "And the three are one." (1 John 5:7) And Peter asks for "three tents" and "every word is fixed with three witnesses"** (Potamius of Lisbon, Epistula de Substantia Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti)
 - **Latin:** Quod Filius fecit, Pater operatus est. Quod Pater voluit implevit et Filius. Pater iussit quicquid Filius imperavit. Patris voluntas est quicquid Filius miseretur: omnia enim verbum dei, Christus, hoc est virtus Patris, exercuit, inde est, quod Pater fecit quicquid Filius ordinavit. Pater enim virtute sua, descendente ad inferos Filio, per filium eademque virtute adamantinas tartari seras infregit, et verbo virtutis de secretis barathri mortuos evocavit, et diabolum flammea oris romphea Christi sui per sententiam exulavit. **Haec est una substantia, haec invisibilis et aeterna maiestas, haec indiscissae Trinitatis unitas sempiterna. Ut Iohannes ait: 'Et tres unum sunt' (I Ioh. 5:7). Et 'tria tabernacula' Petrus exorat (Marc. 9:4), et 'tribus testibus verbum omne consistit (Matt. 18:16).** (Potamius of Lisbon, Epistula de Substantia Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, 19; Latin text: Yarza Urkiola, Potamio de Lisboa, Epistula de substantia, 1999, p. 291)

Altercatio Heracliani Laici cum Germinio Episcopo Sirmiensi de fide Synodi Nicaenae (366 AD)

• [Schanz : 737 d. De centesima. sexagesima, tricesim] In two ancient manuscripts between some excerpts from real works of Cyprian and his passion, pieces of an ancient-Christian homily in the vulgar Latin language about the meaning of the triple fruit in the divine word (see Matthew 13: 8) are preserved with this title and were found and published by Reitzenstein. The text of the piece – unquestionably a coherent whole – is heavily corrupted, mutilated perhaps in the first part or fallen into disorder. Irrespective of his rhetorical technique, the author is not a master of words, for the way he connects his thoughts are at times arbitrary and harsh, his syntax is cumbersome, his numerous biblical quotations tempt him into heaped up interpretative artistry leading him on detours. But predominantly it is clear what he wants to say, since the interpretation of his pericope as symbolizing different rewards for Christian virtue is quite common and could be verified many times. The hundred-fold reward is for the Martyrs, the sixty-fold for the ascetics (agonistae), the thirty-fold for the righteous (iusti), which are the Christians living in chaste marriage after baptism. They are all in the struggle of the Spirit against the flesh, they all imitate Christ, they all suffer in the world for eternal joy, they all have adopted the religion, whose essence, beginning and end is asceticism – doctrine and morality remain completely in the background. They all

The Witness of God is Greater

fulfill the Ten Commandments but in various degrees, in as much as they multiply their number (10) by different factors: the martyrs with 10 righteousness-es (10 x 10 = 100), attain like Christ the consummate perfection; the ascetics correspond to the 6 Angels of creation or the 6th day, the sabbath, and rest from all evil works (6 x 10 = 60); the righteous follow the three witnesses to whom they are baptized, Father, Son and Spirit (3 x 10 = 30). Similar number games are found in the parallel treatments of the text. Nevertheless, the author is endeavouring in a pleasant way to impress on the conscience the genuine sentiment and actual performance of the asceticism of the three classes. Not the outward suffering makes the martyr (for it is denied to many who are willing), but the inward offering of blood, which storms are the source of all evil, just like Christ sanctified his blood by fulfilling his Father's will in his life even before he shed it in his death. Not the physical chastity driven to the point of emasculation makes the ascetic (the elimination of desire would rather nullify the merit of his victory), but the spiritual chastity of the mind and the heart. Not the one-time washing-off in baptism makes the righteous, but the preservation of the purity thus attained, the resurrection of a new life from the grave of the old. In such spiritualization of Christian virtue, which admittedly remains unfruitful in practice, its different degrees seem to be nearly abolished; the boundaries between the three classes of asceticism vanish, and for each the highest reward seems to be within reach by continuing in this direction. Since the sermon represents a pleasant ordinary Christianity with no dogmatical or clerical interests, it is not easy to further specify the time and place of its author. (History of Roman literature. To The Legislative Works of the Emperor Justinian by Martin Schanz. third part. The Time From Hadrian 117 To Constantin 324. Third revised edition of Carl Hosius and Gustav Kruger, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft [Handbook of Ancient Studies], 1922, part 8, vol 3, 737d. p. 383-385; Translated from the German by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, November 2019).

- [Labriolle] The most original of this group of anti-Arian writings is the "Altercatio Heracliani Laici cum Germinio Episcopo Sirmiensi de fide Synodi Nicaenae et Arimensis Arianorum". It is dated the 6th of the Ides of January, 366. In it we must see, not an imaginary dialogue but an authentic tilt between Heraclianus, a layman, representing the orthodoxy of Nicea, and Germinius the Bishop of Sirmium 2 professing Arianism. Heraclianus who was thrown into prison with two other confessors, vigorously kept up the dispute, which bore upon the divinity of the Holy Spirit as much as on that of the Son. The arguments used are not those of dialectics : at a given moment at the Bishop's orders Heraclianus is boxed on the ears by a reader and a deacon. Nevertheless Germinius refused to hand him over to the imperial justice as urged by the shouts of the crowd. The whole setting of this colloquy has movement and life. It will be noticed that the profession of faith pronounced in the course of the debate by Heraclianus is taken word for word from a passage of Terullian's "Apologeticum" (Section XXI). Let me mention further among extant traces of anti-Arian literature a "Tractatus contra Arianos", the fragments of which, included in a papyrus of the Vth century at Vienna (Cod. 2160, Theol.C 50a) following after St Hilary's "De Trinitate", are not unworthy of our attention. This work seems to go back to the second half of the IVth century. (Labriolle, The history and literature of Christianity, 2012, p. 257)

- [Humfress] Compare the transcript of an interrogation by Germinius, Arian bishop of Sirmium, on 13 Jan. 366, of three "Catholics [Nicene Trinitarians]", Heraclianus, Firmianus, and Aurelianus, who had been arrested and brought before the bishop, who himself was seated on an episcopal chair in public, surrounded by clergy. During the interrogation the crowd apparently demanded that the three "Catholics" be taken before the secular authorities to be executed as "disturbers of the peace". (Humfress, Orthodoxy and the Courts, 2007, p. 252, fn 41)

- Germinius, born in Cyzicus,[1] was bishop of Sirmium, (today the town Sremska Mitrovica, in the territory of Srem in Serbia)[2] and a supporter of Homoian theology, which is often labelled as a form of Arianism. Along with Valens of Mursa and Ursacius of Singidunum he was responsible for drafting the theological statement known as the Blasphemy of Sirmium in 357.[3][4] He also appears in the Altercatio Heracliani laici cum Germinio episcopo Sirmiensi, which purports to be the minutes of a public disputation between Germinius and a Nicene layman called Heraclianus in January 366.[5] He is believed to have died in 375 or 376. (Germinius of Sirmium. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Germinius_of_Sirmium>)

HITS:

Debate of Heracliani (the layman) with Germinio Bishop of Sirmium (366 AD)

The Witness of God is Greater

Germ. d.: In what manner is the Holy Spirit God, since it is written in Jeremiah: "This is our God, and there shall none other be accounted of in comparison of him. He hath found out all the way of knowledge, and hath given it unto Jacob his servant, and to Israel his beloved. Afterward did he shew himself upon earth, and conversed with men."? (Baruch 3.35-37)

Her. d.: For an ignorant man, well you have said, because truly the Son God prophesied, God will walk among men (2 Cor 6:16; Ez 37:27). In fact, you know how, that the Father is in the Son, and the Son is in the Father, are one with the Holy Spirit, because besides this Trinity, there is no other God which is to be feared, worshipped, and respected.

Germ. d.: So Christ is the brother of the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit?

Her. d.: That is not our belief. **For just as the Father is one, so the Son and the Holy Spirit are one, one energy. For the three are one.**

Germ. d.: Where do you get the proof from?

Her. d.: By the apostle Paul.

Germ. d.: Where is this written?

Her. d.: To the Ephesians.

Germ. d.: Read.

Her. d.: There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; One Lord, one faith, one baptism, One God and Father of all, who is above all, [and through all,] and in us all. (Ephesians 4:4-6)

Germ. d.: Heracliane, What is your explanation of the faith?

Her. d.: In fact, when the ray is shot from the sun, it is still part of the parent mass; the sun will still be in the ray, because it is a ray of the sun—there is no division of substance, but merely an extension, but is extended as light of light is kindled. Substance remains whole, indefeasible, matter, The material [matrix] remains entire, unimpaired cause it to pass from thence, though there are several offshoots of its quality. So, too, that which has come forth out of God is at once God and the Son of God, and the two are one. In this way also, as He is Spirit of Spirit and God of God, He is made a second in manner of existence—in position, not in nature; and He did not withdraw from the original source, but went forth. This Son of God, then, as it was always foretold in ancient times, descending into a certain virgin, and made flesh in her womb, is in His birth God and man united. The flesh formed by the Spirit is nourished, grows up to manhood, speaks, teaches, works, and is the Christ. "This is my faith." (Caspari, Kirchenhistorische Anekdota, 1883, p. 142; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, October 2019.)

Latin:

Altercatio Heracliani Laici cum Germinio Episcopo Sirmiensi de fide Synodi Nicaenae et Arimensis Arianorum (366 AD)

Germ. d.: Quomodo spiritus sanctus deus est, cum scriptum sit in Hieremia: "Hic deus noster, et non aestimabitur alius praeter eum. Hic adinuenit omnem uiam disciplinae et dedit eam puero suo, Iacob, et Israel, dilecto suo. Post haec in terris uisus est et cum hominibus conuersatus est?"

Her. d.: Per ignorantiaro bene locutus es, quia uere 108) filium 109) deum prophetauerit 110), deum inter homines conuersatum fuisse. Nam uti scias, quia pater in filio et filius in patre una cum spiritu sancto, intellege, quia praeter hanc trinitatem alius deus non est timendus 111), colendus ac uenerandus.

Germ. d.: Ergo frater est Christus paraclito, spiritui sancto?

Her. d.: Non sic credimus. **Sicut enim unus pater, unus et filius et spiritus sanctus, unus vigor. Nam et tres unum sunt.** 8

Germ. d.: Unde probas?

Her. d.: Per apostolum Paulum.

Germ. d.: Ubi hoc scriptum est?

Her. d.: Ad Ephesios.

Germ. d.: Lege.

The Witness of God is Greater

Her. d.: Unum corpus et unus spiritus, sicut et uocati estis in una spe uocationis uestra. Unus dominus, una fides, unum baptismum, unus deus pater omnium, qui super omnes et in omnibus nobis. (Ephesians 4:4-6)

Germ. d.: Heracliane, quomodo disponis de fide?

Her. d.: Nam cum radius ex sole porrigitur, portio ex summa est; sed sol erit in radio, quia solis est radius, nec separatur substantia, sed extenditur, ut lumen de lumine accensum. Manet integra, indefecta materia, etsi plures inde traduces qualitatum mutueris. Ita et quod de deo profectum est, deus est et dei filius, et unum ambo. (Ita et) de spiritu sancto et de deo modulo). Alterum ergo gradum, non statum fecit, exinde non discessit, sed excessit. Iste igitur dei filius, ut retro semper praedicabatur, delapsus in uirginem quandam et in utero eius caro figuratus, nascitur homo deo mixtus. Caro spiritu structa nascitur, adolescit, affatur et Christus est". Haec mea fides est. (Caspari, Kirchenhistorische Anecdota, 1883, p. 142)

Ignatius to Philippians (circa 360-380 AD) [Acacius of Caesarea (d. 366)]

• [Ignatius Letters : Long Recension] Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. 3.36) places Ignatius' martyrdom in the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98-117), and a date in the second half of Trajan's reign or somewhat later seems to fit the picture of the conditions reflected in the letters. Arguments are still advanced (notably by Joly 1979) that call into question the authenticity of these documents, but the researches of Zahn (1873) and Lightfoot (1885, 1889) and their followers continue to dominate the scholarship. Thus the authenticity of (a) what is not often, though misleadingly, called the "middle recension" is generally accepted. By the same token, (b) the so-called "long recension" is usually regarded as a 4th-century (perhaps Neo-Arrian) revision (Hagerdorn 1973: xxxvii-lii) consisting of interpolations into the original letters and the addition of 6 spurious letters. This recension is found in numerous Greek and Latin manuscripts and came to be the form in which Ignatius was most often known until Archbishop Ussher, in his Polycarpi et Ignatii Epistolae of 1644, brilliantly unearthed an earlier (Latin) form of the text akin to that quoted by Eusebius. (Schoedel, "Ignatius of Antioch" in The Anchor Bible Dictionary, vol 3, p. 384-385. <www.earlychristianwritings.com/ignatius.html>)

• [O'Connor : Long Recension] **Of later collections of Ignatian letters which have been preserved, the oldest is known as the "long recension". This collection, the author of which is unknown, dates from the latter part of the fourth century.** It contains the seven genuine and six spurious letters, but even the genuine epistles were greatly interpolated to lend weight to the personal views of its author. (O'Connor, "St. Ignatius of Antioch" in The Catholic Encyclopedia, 1910. <www.newadvent.org/cathen/07644a.htm>)

• [Lightfoot] **The rough date of this forgery seems fairly certain. All the indications, as we have seen, point to the latter half of the fourth century; and accordingly in recent years there has been a general convergence of opinion towards that date.** This is the view for instance of Dusterdeck (de Ignat. Epist. Authent. p. 32 sq, 1843), of Hilgenfeld (Zeitschr. fur Wiss. Theol. 1874, p. 211 sq), of Newman (Essays I. p. 238 sq ["Probably, ' writes Card. Newman, 'about the year 354' (p. 243)]), and especially of Zahn (I. v. A. p. 173 sq, Ign. Ep. p. vi sq), whose investigations have had no little influence on the result. (Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers. Part 2. S. Ignatius, St. Polycarp, 2nd Edition, 3 vols, 1889, p. 273)

• [Gilliam] The Ignatian long recension does not fit neatly into any of the commonly-defined fourth-century Nicene or non-Nicene categories – homoousian, homoian, homoiousian, or heteroousian – because it does not use the distinctive vocabulary of any of these. Nor, for the same reason, is it an attempt to make peace between these positions. Rather, it is a demand for an earlier manner of thinking about the relationship of the Son to the Father. This earlier manner of thinking contains characteristics of both Nicene and non-Nicene Christology [339-360 AD]. However, it does not fit comfortably into either camp. (Gilliam, Ignatius of Antioch and the Arian Controversy, 2011, p. 110)

The Witness of God is Greater

HIT:

- [Unity of the three divine persons] There is then one God and Father, and not two or three; One who is; and there is no other besides Him, the only true [God]. For "the Lord thy God," saith [the Scripture], "is one Lord." 1305 And again, "Hath not one God created us? Have we not all one Father? 1306 And there is also one Son, God the Word. For "the only-begotten Son," saith [the Scripture], "who is in the bosom of the Father." 1307 And again, "One Lord Jesus Christ." 1308 And in another place, "What is His name, or what His Son's name, that we may know?" 1309 And there is also one Paraclete. 1310 For "there is also," saith [the Scripture], "one Spirit," 1311 since "we have been called in one hope of our calling." 1312 And again, "We have drunk of one Spirit," 1313 with what follows. And it is manifest that all these gifts [possessed by believers] "worketh one and the self-same Spirit." 1314 **There are not then either three Fathers, 1315 or three Sons, or three Paracletes, but one Father, and one Son, and one Paraclete. Wherefore also the Lord, when He sent forth the apostles to make disciples of all nations, commanded them to "baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," 1316 not unto one [person] having three names, nor into three [persons] who became incarnate, but into three possessed of equal honour.** (Ignatius of Antioch, Epistle to the Philipppians, chapter 2; ANF vol, p. 116 <www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.v.xvii.ii.html>)
 - **Greek:** Εἷς οὖν θεὸς καὶ πατήρ, καὶ οὐ δύο οὐδὲ τρεῖς· εἷς ὁ ὢν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν πλὴν αὐτοῦ, ὁ μόνος ἀληθινός. κύριος γάρ, φησὶν, ὁ θεὸς σου, κύριος εἷς ἔστιν, καὶ πάλιν· Οὐχ εἷς θεὸς ἔκτισεν ἡμᾶς, οὐχ εἷς πατήρ πάντων ἡμῶν; εἷς δὲ καὶ υἱός, λόγος θεός. ὁ μονογενὴς γάρ, φησὶν, ὁ ὢν εἰς τοὺς κόλπους τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ πάλιν· Εἷς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ· Τί ὄνομα αὐτῷ ἢ τί ὄνομα τῷ υἱῷ, ἵνα γνῶμεν; εἷς δὲ καὶ ὁ παράκλητος. ἐν γάρ, φησὶν, καὶ πνεῦμα, ἐπειδὴ ἐκλήθημεν ἐν μιᾷ ἐλπίδι τῆς κλήσεως ἡμῶν, καὶ πάλιν· Ἐν πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα, τὰ χαρίσματα δηλον ὅτι, ἐνεργεῖ ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα. **οὔτε οὖν τρεῖς πατέρες οὔτε τρεῖς υἱοὶ οὔτε τρεῖς παράκλητοι, ἀλλ' εἷς πατήρ καὶ εἷς υἱὸς καὶ εἷς παράκλητος. διὸ καὶ ὁ κύριος ἀποστέλλων τοὺς ἀποστόλους μαθητεῦσαι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῖς βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, οὔτε εἰς ἓνα τριώνυμον οὔτε εἰς τρεῖς ἐνανθρωπήσαντας, ἀλλ' εἰς τρεῖς ὁμοτίμους.** (Ignatius of Antioch, Epistle to the Philipppians, chapter 2; Migne Graeca PG 5.921)

Caesarius of Nazianzus (331 – 368 AD)

• Caesarius of Nazianzus (also spelled Cæsarius [pronounced "Kesarios"] and Caesarios [Gr.]) (c. 331 – 368) was a prominent physician and politician. He is best known as the **younger brother of Gregory of Nazianzus**. He is recognized as a saint in the Eastern Orthodox and the Catholic Church.[1] The younger son of Gregory the Elder, bishop of Nazianzus, and his wife, Nonna, Caesarius was born at the family villa of Arianzus, near Nazianzus. He probably studied at Caesarea Mazaca in Cappadocia in preparation for the elite schools of Alexandria in Egypt. His favourite studies there were geometry, astronomy and especially medicine. In the last-named science, he surpassed all his fellow students.[2] About 355 he came to the imperial capital Constantinople, and had already acquired a great reputation for his medical skill, when his brother Gregory, homeward bound from Athens, appeared there about 358. Caesarius sacrificed a remunerative and honourable post to return home with Gregory. The capital soon proved to be too great an attraction for him, and he eventually became an eminent physician at the Byzantine court of Constantius II and, much to the regret of his family, at that of Julian the Apostate.[3] Julian failed in his efforts to win him over to briefly restored Paganism. Caesarius, more appreciative of his faith than of imperial favour, ultimately left the court, but returned to Constantinople after Julian's death in 363.[2] Under the Emperor Valens Caesarius became quaestor of Bithynia, a position which included treasury and tax collection responsibilities.[4] After escaping from the earthquake which shook Nicaea (11 October, 368), his brother wrote to him, pleading for him to leave his political position and withdraw to a religious life.[5] However, Caesarius was suddenly killed by the widespread plague which followed the earthquake, shortly after having received baptism, which he, like many others at the period, had deferred until late in life. After his death, his very considerable estate was rapidly pillaged by servants and creditors.[6] His brother Gregory insisted that what remained of the estate be distributed to the poor and to surviving relatives. His remains were interred at Nazianzus, where his brother pronounced the funeral oration in the presence of his parents. In the oration, "On His Brother: St. Caesarius", Gregory

The Witness of God is Greater

portrays his brother as a model Christian and ascetic, providing the main source for the details of his life and setting the groundwork for his eventual canonization.[7] Biographer John McGuckin maintains that, while Caesarius and his brother Gregory were very close, they were very different characters. While Gregory pursued a religious life, his vivacious, outgoing brother was at home in the world of Byzantine politics.[8] The two were complementary figures; Gregory relied on his brother to guide him through trouble, while Caesarius encouraged his brother's literary and rhetorical interests.[8] The assertion that this Caesarius was the same as that Caesarius, Prefect of Constantinople, who in 365 was thrown into the prison by Procopius, rests on an assumption made by Jacques Godefroy (1587-1652), the editor of the Theodosian Code (Lyon, 1665), and not on any solid historical ground.[2] (Caesarius_of_Nazianzus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caesarius_of_Nazianzus>)

- **Photius (810-891 AD) says**, That 'tis easy to perceive, that the Stile of these Dialogues [by Caesarius], is the Stile of a Young Man who had learned some Rudiments of Rhetorick, and was proud of that little Knowledge which he had in Divinity and Philosophy; That his Sallies of Wit are most of them unpleasant; That he often makes use of Poetical Terms, and without any reason varies from the common Construction; That his Stile however is clear enough, and that there are few things to be blamed in his Doctrine. These Dialogues contain 195 Questions and Answers about Matters of Theology and Philosophy, more Subtle and Curious than Useful and Profitable. (Photius, Bibliotheca; Migne Graeca, PG 103.689; CPG 7482; <remacle.org/bloodwolf/erudits/photius/cesaire.htm>; Translation in Du Pin, "Caesarius of Nazianzus" in A New History of Ecclesiastical Writers, 1692, vol 2, p. 184; Translated by William Wotton.)

- **[Full Title of work]** Questions asked by Constantine, Theocharist, Andrew, Gregory, Domnus, Isidore and Leontius, to the "ἐπιστηκρήτωρ" [counselor] Caesarius, the brother of Gregory the holy bishop of Nazianzus, when he was taken back in Constantinople to teach during twenty years. (Pseudo-Caesarius, Questions and Answers, title, Edited by Riedinger, 1989, p. 9; Translation: István Perczel, Finding a Place for the Erotapokriseis of Pseudo-Caesarius, 2006, p. 59) Greek: Πεύσεις προσαχθεῖσαι ὑπὸ Κωνσταντίου, Θεοχαρίστου, Ἀνδρέου, Γρηγορίου, Δόμνου, Ἰσιδώρου, Λεοντίου ἐπιστηκρήτωρ Καισαρίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Γρηγορίου τοῦ ἁγίου ἐπισκόπου Ναφζιανζοῦ, ὀπηγίκα ἐκρατήθη ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει διδάσκειν ἐπὶ ἔτη εἴκοσιν. (Caesarius of Arles, Dialogues, Migne Graeca, PG 38.851)

- **[Historical event basis for his writing]** Caesarius, therefore, is said to have delivered his homilies during an official and public gathering, addressing a learned audience. ... "Caesarius the brother of Gregory the Great", who was "questioned in Constantinople in public". [Paraphrase Translation of Historians below] (Tzamalikos, Newly discovered Greek Father, 2012, p. 378)

Others Historians Affirm

- **[George Monachus : 9th century]** Monachus, Chronicon, ed. C. de Boor, Georgii monachi chronicon, 1904, vol 2, p. 448, lines 7-9)
- **[George Cedrenus : 11th century]** Cedrenus, Compendium Historiarum; Migne Graeca, PG 121.473C-D; Georgiou tou Kedrenou Synopsis historion, 1729, vol 1, p. 196)
- **[Michael Glycas : 12th century]** (Glycas, Epistola XVI; Migne Graeca, PG 158.901D)

HIT:

Neither the three substances/hypostases in so many of natures divide the one essence/ousia of the Godhead,
Neither the one essence/ousia in one person and one substance/hypostasis is comprehended,
And is inferred the three-edged and the thrice ever-flowing fountain of the Godhead;

Light, therefore, is the Father,

Light is the Son,

Light is the divine Spirit;

But these three exist as one light.

(Caesarius of Nazianzus, Dialogus I, Interrogatio III; Migne Graeca, PG 38.860D; Translated by Pavlos D. Vasileiadis, correspondence, December 2018)

The Witness of God is Greater

Greek: οὔτε αἱ τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις εἰς τοσαύτας φύσεις τέμνουσι τὴν μίαν τῆς θεότητος οὐσίαν,
οὔτε ἡ μία οὐσία εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν συνελείφθη,
καὶ συναιπεῖται τὴν τρίστομον καὶ τρισαένναον κρήνην τῆς θεότητος·
φῶς τοίνυν ὁ Πατήρ,
φῶς ὁ Υἱὸς,
φῶς τὸ θεῖον Πνεῦμα·
ἀλλ' οἱ τρεῖς ἐν ὑπάρχουσιν φῶς.
(Caesarius of Nazianzus, Dialogus I, Interrogatio III; Migne Graeca, PG 38.860D)

Comment:

- **[Forster]** The THREE-ONE doctrine of the Godhead, as [PAGE 93] delivered in this passage, is precisely that revealed, contra distinctively, in 1 John v. 7, only here in reiterated terms. But this broad argument, palpable to every eye, is brought home to 1 John v. 7 by a single word, common to the two passages, namely St. John's definition of God, the term "light" (φῶς). Of all the sacred writers of the New Testament, St. John alone defines God as LIGHT. The definition recurs seven times in his first Epistle. When, therefore, we read in St. Caesarius, at the close of a passage containing the whole substance of the unique seventh verse, "**But these three exist as one light**" (ἀλλ' οἱ τρεῖς ἐν ὑπάρχουσιν φῶς), his tacit quotation, in this passage, of the text of the three Heavenly Witnesses can be questioned by those only who do not choose to believe. I would close with the remark that, not only is the definition of God as light peculiar to St. John, but that this definition is announced by the Apostle himself to be the very subject and substance of his First Epistle. "This, then, is the message which we have heard of Him, and declare unto you, that God IS LIGHT, and in Him is no darkness at all." 1 John i. 5. (Forster, A New Plea for the Authenticity of the Text of the Three Heavenly Witness, 1867, p. 92-93)

Eustathius of Antioch (d. 370 AD)

- Saint Eustathius of Antioch, also called Eustathius The Great, (born, Side, Pamphylia—died c. 337, possibly in Thrace; feast day: Western Church, July 16; Eastern Church, February 21), bishop of Antioch who opposed the followers of the condemned doctrine of Arius at the Council of Nicaea. Eustathius was bishop of Beroea (c. 320) and became bishop of Antioch shortly before the Council of Nicaea (325). The intrigues of the pro-Arian Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea led to Eustathius' deposition by a synod at Antioch (327/330) and banishment to Thrace by the Roman emperor Constantine the Great. The resistance of his followers in Antioch created a Eustathian faction (surviving until c. 485) that developed into the Meletian Schism, a split in the Eastern Church over the doctrine of the Trinity. (Saint Eustathius of Antioch. Britannica. <www.britannica.com/biography/Saint-Eustathius-of-Antioch>)
- Eustathius was banished to Trajanopolis in Thrace, where he died, probably about 337, though possibly not until 370. (Eustathius of Antioch. Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eustathius_of_Antioch>)

HIT:

- [Eustathius of Antioch] We give thanks, O most excellent Emperor, to God who giveth thee the empire of the earth, who by thee hath abolished the error of images, and hath given freedom to the well disposed minds of the faithful. The steam [of the sacrifices] of demons hath ceased. the objects of worship of the Greek Polytheism have been destroyed, the darkness of ignorance has been driven away: the whole world is illuminated by the light of the knowledge of God: **the Father is glorified; the Son is co-bowed to (with Him); the Holy Ghost is proclaimed; the consubstantial Trinity, one Divinity in Three Persons and Hypostases is preached.** By that Trinity, O Emperor, the power of thy piety is fortified. Guard it well and inviolate for us. Let no heretic who has secretly stolen into the Church, take away any one thing from the Trinity, and so leave dishonored what will then be left of it Arius has given his name to the madness, and is the cause of this controversy and this assembling. He, though we know not how, was enrolled on the list of the presbyters of the Church of the Alexandrians, and unknown to us was an alien to the doctrine of the thrice blessed prophets and apostles. For he does not dread to

The Witness of God is Greater

rob the Sole-Born [only begotten] Son and Word of the Father of His Consubstantiality with the Father, and THE CREATURE-WORSHIPPER EAGERLY TRIES TO CO-NUMBER THE CREATOR WITH WHAT HAS BEEN CREATED. But mayest thou persuade him, O Autocrat, to change his mind and not to strive against the apostolic doctrines; or, if he persists in the impieties of the wicked opinions in which he has been detected, mayest thou cause him to disappear utterly from the fold of Christ and of us, so that he may not make the souls of the more simple a prey to his turbid and flattering language. (Eustathius of Antioch, Oration to the Emperor Constantine at the Council of Nicea; Translated by J. Chrystal, *Authoritative Christianity*, vol 1, p. 276-277)

- **Greek:** Εὐχαριστοῦμεν Θεῶ, ξράτιστε βασιλεῦ, τῷ τὴν ἐπίγειον συνιθύνοντί σοι βασιλείαν, τῷ τὴν πλάνημ τῶν εἰδώλων διὰ σοῦ καταργήσαντι, καὶ τῶν πιστῶν καταστήσαντι ἐν παρρησίᾳ τὸ εὐθυμον. Πέπταυται κνίσσα δαιμόνων, καταλέλυται πολυθείας ἰλληνικῆς τὰ σεβάσματα, τὸ τῆς ἀγνωσίας ἀπελαύνεται σκότος, τῷ τῆς θεογνωσίας φωτὶ ἢ οἰκουμένη καταυγάζεται. **Πατὴρ δοξολογεῖται, υἱὸς συμπροσκυνεῖται, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καταγγέλλεται, τριάς ὁμοούσιος, μία θεότης ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις καὶ ὑποστασεσι κηρύττεται.** Ταύτῃ τειχίζεται, βασιλεῦ, τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας σου κράτος· ταύτην ἡμῖν ἄσυλον διαφύλαττε. Μηδεὶς αἰρετικὸς ὑποδύς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐν τῇ τῆς τριάδος ἀφαιρείτω, καταλιμπάνων τὸ λειπόμενον ἄτιμον. Ἄρειος ἡμῖν, ὁ τῆς μανίας ἐπώνυμος, τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῆς συνελεύσεως αἵσιος, ὃς οὐκ ἴσμεν ὅπως τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐγκαταλεγείς ἐκκλησίας, ἐλάνθανεν ἡμᾶς τῆς τῶν τρισμακαρίων Προφητῶν καὶ Ἀποστόλων διδασκαλίας ὑπάρχων ἀλλότριος. Τὸν γὰρ μονογενῆ υἱὸν καὶ Λόγον τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποστερεῖν τῆς ὁμοουσιότητος τοῦ πατρὸς οὐκ ἐντρέπεται, καὶ τῇ κτίσει τὸν κτίστην ὁ κτιστολάτρης συναριθμεῖν ἐπιέγεται. Τοῦτον ἢ πείσειας, αὐτοκράτωρ, μεταφρονοῦντα, τοῖς ἀποστολικοῖς μὴ ἀντιτείνειν διδάγμασιν, ἢ τῆς ἐν ἐάλω κενοδοξίας ἐγκείμενον ἀσεβήμασιν, ἄρδην τῆς Χριστοῦ καὶ ἡμῶν ἀφανίσειας ἐπαύλεως, ὡς ἂν μὴ τῆς θολερᾶς αὐτοῦ λογοθωπείας τὰς τῶν ἀπλουστέρων ψυχὰς ἐργάζηται θήραμα. (Eustathius of Antioch, *Allocutio ad imperatorem constantinum in concilio nicaeno*; *Migne Graeca*, PG 18.673D-676A)

Eusebius of Vercelli (283-371 AD)

• Eusebius of Vercelli (c. March 2, 283 – August 1, 371) was a bishop from Sardinia and is counted a saint. Along with Athanasius, he affirmed the divinity of Jesus against Arianism. Eusebius was born in Sardinia, in 283. After his father's martyrdom, he was taken to Rome by his mother, where he later became a lector. He became the first bishop in Vercelli (in northern Italy), probably sometime in the early- to mid-340s. According to a letter of Ambrose to the congregation in Vercelli two decades after Eusebius' death, the local leaders recognized his piety and thus elected him rather than local candidates (*Epistola LXIII, Ad Vercellenses*). Inspired by St Athanasius's *Life of St Anthony*, he founded a priestly community in Vercelli that resembled a monastic community. This *coenobium* (i.e., monastic community), in turn, inspired others such as Gaudentius of Novara, Eustasius of Aosta, and Maximus of Turin.[2] He was the first bishop to live in common with the clergy, devoting his best energies to form them in piety and zeal.[3] For this reason the *Canons Regular of St. Augustine* honor him along with Augustine as their founder.[4] In 354, Pope Liberius asked Eusebius to join Bishop Lucifer of Cagliari in carrying a request to the Emperor Constantius II at Milan, pleading for the emperor to convoke a council to end the dissensions over the status of Athanasius of Alexandria and the matter of Arianism. The synod was held in Milan in 355. Eusebius attended part of the council, but refused to condemn Athanasius and so was exiled, first to Scythopolis in Syria, under the watchful eye of the Arian bishop Patrophilus, whom Eusebius calls his jailer, then to Cappadocia, and lastly to the Thebaid, in Upper Egypt.[4] Several letters surrounding the council written to or by Eusebius still survive, as do two letters written by him during his exile. In the latter place Eusebius was dragged through the streets and persecuted in many ways, but never gave up the Catholic faith.[3] Upon the accession of Julian, the exiled bishops were free to return to their sees. Eusebius passed through Alexandria and there attended Athanasius' synod of 362 which confirmed the divinity of the Holy Ghost and the orthodox doctrine concerning the Incarnation. The synod also agreed both to deal mildly with the repentant bishops who had signed Arianizing creeds under pressure and to impose severe penalties upon the leaders of several of the Arianizing factions.[4] While still on his way home, Eusebius took the synod's decisions to Antioch and hoped to reconcile the schism there. The church was divided between adherents of Eustathius of Antioch, who had been deposed and exiled by the Arians in 331, and those of the Meletians. Since Meletius' election in 361 was brought about chiefly by the Arians, the Eustathians would not recognize him, although he solemnly proclaimed

The Witness of God is Greater

his orthodox faith after his episcopal consecration. The Alexandrian synod had desired that Eusebius should reconcile the Eustathians with Bishop Meletius, by purging his election of whatever might have been irregular in it, but Eusebius found that Lucifer of Cagliari had also passed that way, and had unilaterally consecrated Paulinus, the leader of the Eustathians, as Bishop of Antioch. Unable to reconcile the factions, he continued towards home, visiting other churches along the way in the interest of promulgating and enforcing the orthodox faith. Once back in Vercelli in 363, he continued to be a leader with Hilary of Poitiers in defeating Arianism in the Western Church, and was one of the chief opponents of the Arian bishop Auxentius of Milan. He died in 370 or 371. (Eusebius of Vercelli. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eusebius_of_Vercelli>).

- [Jerome] Eusebius of Vercelli: Eusebius, a native of Sardinia, at first a lector at Rome and afterwards bishop of Vercelli, sent by the emperor Constantius to Scythopolis, and afterwards to Cappadocia, on account of his confession of the faith, returned to the church under the emperor Julian and published the Commentaries of Eusebius of Cæsarea on the Psalms, which he had translated from Greek into Latin, and died during the reign of Valentinian and Valens. (Jerome. *De Viris Illustribus - On Illustrious Men*. No. 96 Eusebius of Vercelli. NPN02 vol 3)
- Eusebius of Vercelli (d. 371) Three letters written during his exile are extant. The first seven books of *De Trinitate*, long attributed to Athanasius or Bishop Vigilius of Thapsus, are generally accepted as Eusebius's work. (Eusebius of Vercelli (2018) *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Revised and edited by Melissa Petruzzello, Assistant Editor. <www.britannica.com/biography/Saint-Eusebius-of-Vercelli>.)
- [Morin] Finally, three manuscripts [of *De Trinitate* that] offer another name, that of a Saint Eusebius. It is especially on this last attribution I would like to draw attention of the reader. (Morin, "Les douze livres sur la Trinité attribués à Vigile de Thapse", 1898, p. 9)
- [Scully] Eusebius of Vercelli, like Hilary of Poitiers, was exiled to the East, though Eusebius went to Syria, Cappadocia and finally Upper Egypt, while Hilary when to Phrygia. After their return from exile, Eusebius and Hilary traveled together (towards the end of 362) in Gaul, Italy, and east as far as Sirmium promoting the pro-Nicene cause. [ft. Ayres, *Nicaea and its Legacy*, p. 178] (Scully, *Physicalist Soteriology in Hilary of Poitiers*, 2015, p. 58)
- [Kuper] *De Trinitate*, Eusebius of Vercelli: Nearly every aspect of this *De Trinitate*, a dialogue of which two recensions are extant, has been the subject of disagreement. Although it was traditionally attributed to Vigilius of Thapsus or Athanasius, Vincent Bulhart in the middle of the twentieth century reintroduced the possibility of Eusebian authorship and defended it in his critical edition of the text (Bulhart, *Eusebii Vercellensis*, vii–xxviii), and this position was independently supported by D.H. Williams (Williams, *Ambrose of Milan*, 1995, p. 96–102, and 239–242.). Though many manuscripts and [PAGE 60] compilations contain a text of twelve libelli, only the first seven are original and authentically Eusebian. (Kuper, *Latin Controversial Dialogues*, 2017, p. 59-60)
- [Williams] Appendix III. Eusebian Authorship of *De trinitate*, I-VII. With the publication of the CCSL ix edition (Turnhout, 1957), Bulhart revived the idea, as advanced in the beginning of the seventeenth century by Jean Etienne Ferreri and later expounded by Morin ("Les Douze Livres sur la Trinite", *RB* 15 (1898), 1-10), of Eusebian authorship for the first seven books of *De trinitate*. ...[PAGE 240] With regards to the to authorship, Bulhart's suggestion that there was one author for books I-VII, a probably different writer of book VIII, and an unknown redactor for all eight books (Praefatio, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv) has received little opposition. Was Eusebius of Vercelli the author of the original seven books? Apart from the problems of chronology, the strongest objections leveled against Eusebian authorship are those which attempt to argue that the work originated from Spain and/ or from the pen of a Luciferian. It can be shown, however, that such arguments have virtually no substance, and it is just as possible that the *De trinitate* was written in the south or north Italy. The actual evidence which has been advanced for Eusebian authorship is admittedly slight and inconclusive. We cannot hope to solve all the problems of authorship here, but a few additional points can be made. First is the general [PAGE 241] observation that there is nothing in the *De trinitate* which Eusebius could not have said. Another way to say this is to ask what we would expect to find if the treatise were from Eusebius' hand. Assuming that the work was written after his return

The Witness of God is Greater

to the west, we should expect it to bear traces of a broadened theological perspective as a result of the writer having been in exile in the east for over seven years. Like Hilary of Poitiers, Eusebius would have become much more informed as to the complexity of certain contemporary issues, Trinitarian and Christological, at a date probably earlier than his western colleagues. More specifically, we know that Eusebius attended at least one eastern synod since he was present at Alexandria in 362 and was jointly responsible for the decisions which that assembly concluded. He lived for almost another decade after this synod. One would envision that there should be some resemblance between the doctrine promulgated in the synodical letter, the "Epistola Catholica", and especially the Tomus from Alexandria, and the theological ideas expressed in the De trinitate. Parallels of similar content between these works can be found. ...the sensitivities in the De trinitate to reputed Arian views (about the creaturehood of the Holy Spirit; dividing the members of the Trinity in a hierarchical fashion; the denial that the Son possesses an identical nature to the Father; as well as having a conscious "anthropos-sarx" [actual human being] model of the incarnation) correspond to the assertions found in the Tomus and the "Epistola". It is quite plausible for Eusebius of Vercelli to have brought back to the west awareness of such theological developments, since he was, after all, commissioned by the synod as its delegate to disseminate its decisions in the west (Rufinius, HE I. 29). In this regard it is also significant that the writer of the De trinitate levels a series of anathemas against those "who believe that grace should not be bestowed [PAGE 242] upon the penitent who lapsed" (VI. 16. 2). This is an obvious reference to the controversy which racked eastern and western churches after the capitulation of so many bishops to the Homoian decrees propounded at the dual councils Arminium/ Seleucia, and it rules out that the work was by the hand of a Luciferian. (Williams, Ambrose of Milan, 1995, p. 239-242)

HITS:

- Bk I.50. In conclusion: although the names of the Divine Persons are implied in the passages of Scripture mentioned above, nevertheless it must always be evident that for all three the validity of the only name of the divinity is proved. In the same way, this doctrine is illustrated in this other passage of Scripture. In it, quite clearly, the names of the Divine Persons are expressed, and together the unique name of the divine nature is confirmed, **since this is precisely how John the Evangelist expresses himself in his letter: "There are three who bear witness in heaven: the Father and the Word and the Holy Spirit, and in Christ Jesus they are one."**(1 John 5:7) (De Trinitate Book 1 : CCSL 9:14)
 - **Latin:** Bk I.50. In qua spe omnes nos vocati sumus. Quae spes fidei nostrae haec est, ut in baptismo unitum divinitatis nomen prius confitearis, ut remissam peccatorum in his personis consequi merearis. Ergo quamvis in superioribus exemplis Scripturarum tacita sint nomina personarum, tamen unitum nomen divinitatis per omnia tibi est in his demonstratum; sicut et in hoc exemplo veritatis, in quo nomina personarum evidenter sunt ostensa, **et (0243D) unitum nomen divinitatis clause est declaratum, dicente iohanne evangelista in Epistola sua: Tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in coelo, Pater, et Verbum, et Spiritus, et in Christo Iesu unum sunt (I Ioan. V, 7).** (De Trinitate Book 1.50; Migne Latina, PL 62.243C; CCSL 9:14)
- Bk I.55. And for the same reaction every time it is a question of People they are designated with personal names; whereas, instead, when we speak of divinity, a unique name is referred to; in fact the term "we are" clearly indicates in plural form the names of the Persons. **Therefore, the expression "they are one" must refer only to the deity, while the other expression "they are three" refers to the name of the Persons. It follows that "three" constitute one, or even that "one thing is all three."**(1 John 5:7) (De Trinitate Book 1 : CCSL 9:15)
 - **Latin:** Bk I.55. Et ideo ubi (0244B) personae requiruntur, propria nomina per haec distinguuntur, ubi autem Deitas poscitur, unitum nomen indicatur, quoniam sumus ad nomina personarum pluraliter dictum demonstratur. **Ac per hoc in deitate divinitatis "unita unum sunt," et in nominibus personarum "tres sunt": unde tres unum sunt, sive unum tres sunt (I Ioan. V, 7).** (De Trinitate Book 1.55; Migne Latina, PL 62.246B ; CCSL 9:15)
- Bk I.69. **And yet, if it is true that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are one in the divinity, I beg you to bring me the proofs of the Law. You have already heard the evangelist John, in his epistle, testifies**

The Witness of God is Greater

so perfectly: "They are three who bear witness in heaven, the Father and the Word and the Spirit, and in Christ Jesus they are one."(1 John 5: 7) 61 [70]. Certainly, it must be held as a basis that in the divinity, as to their unique and complete essence, they are one, while in the names of the Persons there are three. And then, in order for you to be well informed through all that I previously explained, I intended to demonstrate that in the fullness of the divinity of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit a division or difference of any kind is not admissible. (De Trinitate Book 1; CCSL 9:19)

- **Latin:** Bk I.69. Interrogatio. **Ergo si Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus in deitate divinitatis unum sunt, adhuc legis testimonio mihi satisfacias quaeso. Responsio. Iam audisti superius evangelistam Ioannem in Epistola sua tam absolute testantem: Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo, Pater, Verbum et Spiritus sanctus: et in Christo Iesu unum sunt (I Ioan. V, 7).** Utique sine dubio in Trinitate divinitatis per omnia unum sunt, et in nominibus personarum tres sunt. Itaque, ut scias de his quae superius comprehendi, nullam divisionem aut distantiam in una (0246C) deitate substantiae plenitudinis Patris, et Filii et sancti Spiritus fecisse me memini. (De Trinitate Book 1.69; Migne Latina, PL 62.246B; CCSL 9:19)
- Bk V. 43 [44]. O limited human intelligence, which cannot even understand itself! When you spoke of a single fullness, inclusive of all the unity of God, you declared the existence in God of the undivided name of the substance. When, on the other hand, you repeat three distinct names in relation to God, then you do nothing but detect individual properties for each individual Person.
44 [45] Remember that these concepts, which we have just recalled, are ineffable. They must be absolutely believed. Yet we have not been granted the faculty to investigate them to the point of clarity: the holy Trinity has wanted merely to be known, but has not allowed any proper definition of its divinity.
45 [46] The divine substance, therefore, is not divided or extended or stretched out into anything or broken down into parts, nor can it be compared to the derivation of anything; for there is definitely no fluidity in its nature, and no effluence either; for it undergoes no loss or gain, especially since this fullness of the substance of the indivisible Trinity is ineffable, as the Son of God himself, who is God, declared: "I am in the Father, and the Father is in me" (John 14:11) **But the Holy Spirit exists in the Father, and in the Son, and in himself, 47. just as John the Evangelist testifies so perfectly in his Epistle: "And these three are one" (1 Jn 5.7).** Moreover, why is it called one, if anything concerning it is divided into parts? And why is it called one, if anything concerning it is perceived in different ways?
48. And how, O heretic, are the three one, if the substance is divided or separated in them? Or how are they one, if one is placed above another? Or how are the three one, if there are different divinities in them? How are they one, if there is not in them a united, eternal fullness of divinity? Moreover, just as a single fullness has no division at all into any part, is not a united fullness of divinity unable to be spoken of as having a greater or lesser part?
46 [49] The Apostle also expresses himself in similar words: "Now, we have received not the spirit of this world, but the Spirit that is of God: that we may know the things that are given us from God. Which things also we speak." (I Cor. II, 11) (De Trinitate Book 5 : CCSL 9:76-77)
 - **Latin:** O experientia hominis, qui seipsum non intelligit! Utique ubi indicasti unitatis plenitudinem, substantiae nomen indivisum in eodem demonstrasti nomine? Adaeque rursus in repetendo quod distinxisti, proprietatem earumdem singulis personis inesse demonstrasti. Memento quia inenarrabilia sunt quae dicimus, quae omnino credenda sunt. Non tamen facultas data est ut ad liquidum sint haec a nobis discutienda: quoniam ipsa sacrosancta Trinitas (0274C) sciri se tantum voluit, non tamen permisit de divinitate sua proprie diffiniri: unde non est divina substantia divisa, aut extensa, vel protensa in aliquo, vel excisa in partibus, sed nec derivationi alicuius rei comparatur: quia liquor non est in hac natura plane, sed nec defluxio quaedam, quia nullus detrimentum, vel augmentum sustinet, praesertim cum inenarrabilis sit haec plenitudo substantiae indivisae. Trinitatis, sicut ipse Deus Dei Filius indicat: Ego in Patre, et Pater in me (Ioan. XIV, 11). **Sed et Spiritus sanctus in Patre, et in Filio, et in se consistens est; sicut Ioannes evangelista in Epistola sua tam absolute testatur: Et tres unum sunt (I Ioan. V, 7).** Porro utquid unum dicitur, si aliquid de eo in partes dividitur? et utquid

The Witness of God is Greater

unum dicitur si diverse quid sentitur (0274D) de eo? et quomodo, o haeretice, tres unum sunt, si divisa vel excisa in his substantia est? aut quomodo unum sunt, si alter alteri praeponitur? aut quomodo tres unum sunt, si diversae in his divinitates sunt? quomodo unum sunt, si non est in his unita sempiterna plenitudo divinitatis? Praeterea dum una plenitudo nullam omnino habeat in parte aliqua divisionem, dum unita plenitudo divinitatis in parte minor vel maior dici non possit? Similiter et Apostolus indicat: Quis enim scit hominum quae in ipso sunt, nisi spiritus qui in ipso est? Ita et quae in Deo sunt nemo cognovit, nisi Spiritus Dei. Nos autem non spiritum huius mundi accepimus, sed Spiritum qui ex Deo est, ut sciamus quae a Deo donata sunt nobis, quae et loquimur (0275A) (I Cor. II, 11). (De Trinitate Book 5 : CCSL 9:76-77)

- Bk VII.10. Why is it that with this name one finds that God is everywhere honored? **Certainly, because in this very name of the Trinity baptism is celebrated in the unity of divinity. Why do you read that the evangelist John stated that "three is one thing" (I John 5: 7),** if you then mean that they exist with different natures? How can you assert that there is the gift of a single baptism, according to the testimony of Scripture, if then you assert that different natures are in them? And why do you celebrate a regular baptism according to the rite, and then, in professing the only name of the Trinity, blaspheme? (De Trinitate Book 7 : CCSL 9:94-95)
 - **Latin:** Bk VII.10. **Cur hoc unitum nomen divinitatis celebrari, et honorificari invenitur in gentibus, si in ipso nomine Trinitatis baptismus uniter non celebratur divinitatis? cur Tres unum sunt (I Ioan. V, 7)** Ioannem evangelistam dixisse legitis, si diversas naturas in personis esse accipitis? cur unum donum baptismi secundum stylum Scripturae esse dicitis, si discrepantes naturas in Patre, et Filio, et sancto (0283D) Spiritu esse praescribitis? cur secundum traditionem baptismum celebratis et in confessione unitum sempiternum nomen Trinitatis blasphematis? (De Trinitate Book 7 : CCSL 9:94-95)

Comment:

• [Williams] **Throughout the De trinitate the Holy Spirit is rigorously and repeatedly defended as partaking in the fullness of deity.**"⁶ This emphasis on the role of the Holy Spirit in a relation of absolute equality with the other two divine persons represents a marked difference from most other Latin Trinitarians of the Neo-Nicene period. For in the work of Hilary of [PAGE 101] Poitiers, as in that of Phoebadius of Agen, Gregory of Elvira, and the Commentarius in symbolum Nicaeanum, the doctrine of the Holy Spirit receives only marginal attention. Simonetti has argued therefore that this treatment of the Holy Spirit in De trinitate demands a date after 380 since in the west 'only the De Spiritu Sancto of Ambrose, which is from 381, shows interest in this aspect of Trinitarian polemic'.¹¹⁷ Such issues of the relation of the Holy Spirit to the Father and Son were articulated in the east much earlier, as Simonetti observes in Athanasius' letter to Serapion (dated f.370). Surely this letter is symptomatic of an interest already current though not articulated with the precision of later years. One can venture back almost a decade to the 'Epistola Catholica' and the Tomus of Alexandria (362) and find the early stages of an intentional language which was used apologetically to substantiate the equality of the Spirit with the Father and Son. In chapter 5 of the Tomus, the readers are asked to acknowledge that the Holy Spirit subsists along with the Father and the Son, making a 'Holy Trinity, one Godhead, and one beginning, and that the Son is co-essential with the Father, as the fathers said; while the Holy Spirit is not a creature, nor external, but proper to and inseparable from the essence of the Father and the Son'.⁸ **If the writer of the De trinitate had had previous exposure to eastern Trinitarian theology of this type, which is certain in the case of Eusebius of Vercelli, there are equally good grounds for believing that De trinitate was written not as late as Simonetti claims, but perhaps shared the responsibility for introducing the terminology of a full Trinitarianism to the west. Even if we were to draw such hard and fast lines between the exchange of eastern and western theologies, we must amend Simonetti's assessment about the presence of a burgeoning doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the west. Already by 366, fierce debate had begun in the Illyrian provinces over the relation of the Holy Spirit to the Father and Son. This is seen in the minutes of the Altercatio between Germinius and Heraclianus, during which the first third of the dialogue concerns the full divinity of the Holy Spirit. Against Germinius' insistence that the Spirit is created, the Nicene layman Heraclianus argues that the Scriptures teach a divine Trinity.**¹¹⁹ From this passage it does not naturally follow that the debates over the consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit were already in full swing by 366. It does sufficiently demonstrate, along

The Witness of God is Greater

with the documents of 362, that the pro-Nicenes were being compelled to articulate a doctrine of the Spirit by the later 360s that answered their opponents' hierarchical form of Trinitarianism and which was consistent with their own arguments for the nature of the Father and Son. The *De trinitate* does not offer theologically sophisticated arguments for the consubstantiality of the Spirit with the Father and Son. Indeed, the treatise assumes the full divinity of the Holy Spirit in the course of its argumentation just like the writer of the *Commentarius*. But here the writer is acutely aware that the doctrine continues to have its detractors and must be affirmed if one intends to be faithful to the full teaching of Nicaea. (Williams, *Ambrose of Milan and the End of the Nicene-Arian Conflicts*, 1995, p. 100-102)

Athanasius of Alexandria (296-373 AD)

- Athanasius of Alexandria (c. 296–298 – 2 May 373), also called Athanasius the Great, Athanasius the Confessor or, primarily in the Coptic Orthodox Church, Athanasius the Apostolic, was the 20th bishop of Alexandria (as Athanasius I). His intermittent episcopacy spanned 45 years (c. 8 June 328 – 2 May 373), of which over 17 [years] encompassed five exiles, when he was replaced [and exiled] on the [direct] order of four different Roman emperors. Athanasius was a Christian theologian, a Church Father, the chief defender of Trinitarianism against Arianism, and a noted Egyptian leader of the fourth century. His parents were wealthy enough to afford giving him a fine secular education.[1] He was, nevertheless, clearly not a member of the Egyptian aristocracy.[8] Some Western scholars consider his command of Greek, in which he wrote most (if not all) of his surviving works, evidence that he may have been a Greek born in Alexandria. Historical evidence, however, indicates that he was fluent in Coptic as well given the regions of Egypt where he preached.[8] Some surviving copies of his writings are in fact in Coptic, though scholars differ as to whether he himself wrote them in Coptic originally (which would make him the first patriarch to do so), or whether these were translations of writings originally in Greek.[9][8] According to Sozomen, "the Bishop Alexander 'invited Athanasius to be his commensal and secretary. He had been well educated, and was versed in grammar and rhetoric, and had already, while still a young man, and before reaching the episcopate, given proof to those who dwelt with him of his wisdom and acumen'". (Soz., II, xvii) [1] Conflict with Arius and Arianism as well as successive Roman emperors shaped Athanasius' career. In 325, at the age of 27, Athanasius began his leading role against the Arians as a deacon and assistant to Bishop Alexander of Alexandria during the First Council of Nicaea. Roman emperor Constantine the Great had convened the council in May–August 325 to address the Arian position that the Son of God, Jesus of Nazareth, is of a distinct substance from the Father.[4] Three years after that council, Athanasius succeeded his mentor as archbishop of Alexandria. In addition to the conflict with the Arians (including powerful and influential Arian churchmen led by Eusebius of Nicomedia), he struggled against the Emperors Constantine, Constantius II, Julian the Apostate and Valens. He was known as *Athanasius Contra Mundum* (Latin for Athanasius Against the World). Nonetheless, within a few years after his death, Gregory of Nazianzus called him the "Pillar of the Church". His writings were well regarded by all following Church fathers in the West and the East, who noted their rich devotion to the Word-become-man, great pastoral concern and profound interest in monasticism. Athanasius is counted as one of the four great Eastern Doctors of the Church in the Catholic Church.[5] In the Eastern Orthodox Church, he is labeled as the "Father of Orthodoxy". Athanasius is the first person to identify the same 27 books of the New Testament that are in use today. He is venerated as a Christian saint, whose feast day is 2 May in Western Christianity, 15 May in the Coptic Orthodox Church, and 18 January in the other Eastern Orthodox Churches. He is venerated by the Oriental and Eastern Orthodox Churches, the Catholic Church, the Lutheran churches, and the Anglican Communion. (Athanasius of Alexandria. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Athanasius_of_Alexandria>)

- One crucial and decisive event in his role as Alexander's assistant. He made a visit with Alexander to the Thebaid, the desert district in upper Egypt where he came in contact with the early desert monks, ascetics who lived lives of celibacy, solitude, discipline, prayer, simplicity, and service of the poor. Athanasius was deeply affected by this visit and "set on fire by the holiness of their lives." (<www.bartleby.com/210/5/021.html>. <www.desiringgod.org/messages/contending-for-our-all>)

The Witness of God is Greater

- The First Exile of Athanasius (336–338): Athanasius was condemned at this Council and fled in a boat with four bishops and came to Constantinople.
- The Second Exile of Athanasius (339–346): Triers, then the chief city of the Belgic Gaul.
- The Third Exile of Athanasius (356–362): This third exile proved to be the most fruitful. Protected by an absolutely faithful army of desert monks, no one could find him, and he produced most of his most significant written works. The Arian History, the four Tracts Against Arians, the four dogmatic letters To Serapion, and On the Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia.
- The Fourth Exile of Athanasius (362–364): Again he spent the next 15 months among the desert monks. embarked in a boat on the river for Thebais
- The Fifth Exile of Athanasius (365–366): On October 5, 365 the Roman Prefect broke into the church and searched the apartments of the clergy, but the 67-year-old Athanasius had been warned and escaped one last time - his fifth exile. Theodoret says this was the fifth time that St. Athanasius had been driven from his church. He had been employed in visiting the churches, monasteries, and deserts of Egypt. Upon the news of this new tempest, the people of Alexandria rose in tumults, demanding of the governor of the province that they might be allowed to enjoy their bishop, and he promised to write to the emperor. St. Athanasius seeing the sedition appeased, stole privately out of the town, and hid himself in the country in the vault in which his father was interred, where he lay four months, according to Sozomen. (<www.bartleby.com/210/5/021.html>. <www.desiringgod.org/messages/contending-for-our-all>.)

Athanasius of Alexandria: "Works Too Numerous to Mention"

- **[Jerome]** Athanasius bishop of Alexandria, hard pressed by the wiles of the Arians, fled to Constans emperor of Gaul. Returning thence with letters and, after the death of the emperor, again taking refuge in flight, he kept in hiding until the accession of Jovian, when he returned to the church and died in the reign of Valens. Various works by him are in circulation; two books Against the nations, one Against Valens and Ursacius, On virginity, very many On the persecutions of the Arians, also On the titles of the Psalms and the Life of Anthony the monk, also Festal epistles and other works too numerous to mention. (Jerome, On Illustrious Men, 87. Athanasius; NPNF02 vol 3)
- **[Athanasius writings incomplete and fragmentary]** In addition to those [writings] of which fragments have been mentioned above) a Refutation of Arianism is referred to in Letter 52, etc. ...The above enumeration includes all the writings attributed with any probability to S. Athanasius. The fragmentary character of many of them is no great presumption against their genuineness. Abbat Cosmas in the sixth century advised all who met with anything by Athanasius to copy it, and if they had no paper to use their clothes for the purpose. This will readily explain (if explanation is needed) the transmission of such numerous scraps of writing under the name of the great bishop. It will also partly explain the large body of Spurious works which have sheltered themselves under his authority. (NPNF02, vol 4. Athanasius: Select Works and Letters. Prolegomena, p. LXV-LXVI <www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf204.v.iii.i.html>)
- **[Abbat Cosmas]** A Legate of "the Abbat Michael, Pope of Alexandria." Cosmas, in common with other Easter legates, supported Photius in his successful opposition to the demands of Rome : and it is remarkable that the acclamations of the Council prayed for long life to the Patriarchs Photius and John : Thus reducing the Pope to second place. (Neale, The Patriarchate of Alexandria, 1847, vol 2, p. 168)
- **Venerable Cosmas the Eunuch and Hermit of Palestine.** Saint Cosmas the Hermit lived during the sixth century in the Pharan wilderness of Palestine. An account of the Bikaneia presbyter Abba Basil about Saint Cosmas is located in the book Spiritual Meadow (Ch. 40) compiled by Saint John Moschus. He was strict of fasting, a firm defender of the Orthodox Faith and Church dogmas, and profoundly knowledgeable in Holy Scripture and the works of the Church Fathers. Saint Cosmas particularly revered the works of Saint Athanasius the Great and told those to whom he spoke: "If you come across a word of Saint Athanasius and have no paper, write it upon your clothing." He had the habit to stand at prayer all night Saturday through Sunday. Having once come to Antioch, he died there, and the patriarch buried his body at his monastery. Abba Basil relates that when he came to venerate the grave of Saint Cosmas, he found there a beggar, who

The Witness of God is Greater

told him: "It is a great Elder whom you have buried here!" He explained that he had been paralyzed for twelve years, and received healing through the prayers of Saint Cosmas. (Venerable Cosmas the Eunuch and Hermit of Palestine. The Orthodox Church in America. <oca.org/saints/lives/2014/08/03/102194-venerable-cosmas-the-eunuch-and-hermit-of-palestine>)

• **[Moschus. Spiritual Meadow. Chapter XL]** The life of Cosmas, the eunuch. A story told us by abba Basileus, a presbyter of Byzantium - I myself visited this same abba Cosmas when he was in the Laura of Pharan, and I stayed there for twelve years. He was talking to me once for my soul's health and mentioned something from the sayings of holy Athanasius, archbishop of Alexandria. "If you come across something from the works of Athanasius," he said, "and you haven't got any paper with you to write it down on, write it on your clothing." This was typical of how great was the zeal which this old man had for our holy fathers and teachers. This abba Cosmas was also said to have remained standing from first Vespers through the night till Sunday morning, singing psalms and reading, both in his cell and in church, never sitting down once, until at last when the services were complete, he would sit and read the Gospels until the [last] Collect was said. (Moschus, *The Spiritual Meadow*, Chapter 40. Life of Cosmas the eunuch; Translated by Benedict Baker <www.monachos.net/content/patristics/patristictexts/173-moschus-meadow>; Migne Graeca, PG 87/3 2891-2896)

Athanasius Spoke for Alexander at Nicaea 325 AD

• **[circa 451 AD : Dioscorus (patriarch of Alexandria), praying to the martyred Macarius in heaven]** "Say to Athanasius, 'My father, the charioteer of Israel and its driver, let your spirit be doubled upon me, for this is the crucial time when **I have need of the tongue of Alexander**', which is you [Athanasius]" (Dioscorus, *Panegyric on Macarius Bishop of Tkôw XIII.2-3*; Translated by David W. Johnson, 1980, p. 83)

• *Macarius of Tkôw, Saint (d. 451/452), bishop of Tkôw* noted for poverty, sanctity, and healing powers who was martyred for opposing the Council of Chalcedon (feast day: 27 Babah). The *Panegyric on Macarius Bishop of Tkôw (d. 451/452)* is meant to be a discourse delivered by Dioscorus I, patriarch of Alexandria, to a group of monks who have come to visit him in exile at Gangra in Paphlagonia on the Black Sea. ...Dioscorus then begins a long reminiscence about Macarius, beginning with their meeting on the docks of Alexandria, as he and the Egyptian bishops prepare to embark for Constantinople at the command of the emperor Marcian. ...Internal evidence indicates that the *Panegyric* was composed in Greek in or around Alexandria. It survives in Sahidic and Bohairic translations, and several unedited manuscripts of Arabic versions are extant. (David W. Johnson, "Macarius of Tkôw" in *Claremont Coptic Encyclopedia*, CE:1492a-1494a, <ccdl.libraries.claremont.edu/cdm/ref/collection/cce/id/1243>)

• **[History of the Patriarchs]** So when Constantine, the believing prince, died in a good old age, Constantius his son was enthroned after him, but did not remain firm in the orthodox faith, only fearing and respecting the people. Then Arius found his opportunity, and aimed at taking hold of the prince, and drew him to his own mind, and corrupted his heart, and induced him to incline the empire to his doctrine, and led him astray, till he sent and summoned Alexander from Alexandria to Constantinople. For the prince did not know the power of Alexander, nor the cause for which he had anathematized Arius and removed him from the Church. Now Alexander had grown old and advanced in years, although he was strong in sense and sound in faculties; and Athanasius was his interpreter and scribe and mouthpiece, through the power of the Holy Ghost, on account of his knowledge of the orthodox faith. So the Father Alexander took his seat in the presence of the prince, who then summoned Arius; and Arius uttered his impure discourse, and multiplied his vile phrases. But Athanasius confuted him by the arguments which he delivered, and brought his discourse to naught. Thereupon Arius was troubled, and broke up the assembly, saying : «We will have another sitting.» And since Arius knew that he had no power against Athanasius, he gave money to the attendants at the royal doors, and settled with them that they should prevent Athanasius from entering with the others into the next assembly. So when the morrow came the prince commanded to bring them in; but when Alexander entered, the doorkeepers prevented Athanasius [410 the Apostolic] from entering. When the prince had taken his seat, the patriarch being present also, Arius spoke and delivered a long discourse. **So the Father Alexander turned to the right and left, but could not see Athanasius, his scribe; and therefore he was silent. Then the prince said to him : «Why dost thou not speak?» Alexander replied : «How shall I speak without a tongue?» So the prince knew that he meant Athanasius, and commanded to bring him in. But**

The Witness of God is Greater

when Arius saw that Athanasius had entered, he went out hastily, and would not remain. Then Alexander said to the prince : «Know, O prince, that the cutting off of this Arius took place at the council; and it was not I alone that cut him off, but thy blessed father, the prince, and all the members of the council cut him off, and the prince wrote his anathema in his own handwriting. Therefore if thou wilt look at the letter of thy father, thou wilt find that it is in his handwriting. Shall I then say of him that was excommunicated by the prince Constantine and the members of the council that I will absolve him? Nay, that would be an act of heresy on my part. For thy father in truth wrote his anathema and his excommunication in his own handwriting, at the council which took place at Nicaea."So when the prince heard this speech, he was afraid of his brother, that if he should break the command of his father, his brother would find in that a pretext for plotting against him; and therefore he dismissed the Father Alexander, and restored him to his see. Thus Arius justly remained anathematized, and bound by the censures of the [411 Church, for he had supposed that he would succeed in obtaining his desires by his power over the prince, and by giving money to the attendants. (Severus of Al'Ashmunain (Hermopolis), History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic church of Alexandria, Part 2, chapter 8, Athanasius I, the apostolic, the twentieth patriarch, 326-373, p. 409-411)

- *The History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*[1] is a major historical work of the Coptic Orthodox Church of Alexandria. It is written in Arabic,[2] but draws extensively on Greek and Coptic sources. The compilation was based on earlier biographical sources. It was begun by Severus Ibn al-Muqaffa', although one scholar contests its attribution to him.[3] It was continued by others including Michael, bishop of Tinnis (11th century, writing in Coptic, covering 880 to 1046), Mawhub ibn Mansur ibn Mufarrig, deacon of Alexandria, and Pope Mark III of Alexandria (for 1131 to 1167). (History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Patriarchs_of_Alexandria>)

- **[Book 1.15. After the Synod of Nicaea, on the Death of Alexander]** A little after this, Alexander bishop of Alexandria having died, Athanasius was set over that church. Rufinus relates, that this [Athanasius] when quite a boy, played with others of his own age at a sacred game: this was an imitation of the priesthood and the order of consecrated persons. In this game therefore Athanasius was allotted the episcopal chair, and each of the other lads personated either a presbyter or a deacon. The children engaged in this sport on the day in which the memory of the martyr and bishop Peter was celebrated. Now at that time Alexander bishop of Alexandria happened to pass by, observed the play in which they were engaged, and having sent for the children, enquired from them the part each had been assigned in the game, conceiving that something might be portended by that which had been done. **He then gave directions that the children should be taken to the church, and instructed in learning, but especially Athanasius; and having afterwards ordained him deacon on his becoming of adult age, he brought him to Nicæa to assist him in the disputations there when the Synod was convened. This account of Athanasius Rufinus has given in his own writings; nor is it improbable that it took place, for many transactions of this kind have often occurred.** Concerning this matter it will suffice to have said the above. (Socrates Scholasticus, Church History Book I.15; Translated by A.C. Zenos; NPNF02, vol 2; Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight. <www.newadvent.org/fathers/26011.htm>.)

Athanasius works translated into Armenian 4th Century

- **Mesrop Mashtots (362–440 AD)**, also known as Mesrob the Vartabed, was an early medieval Armenian linguist, composer, theologian, statesman and hymnologist. He is best known for inventing the Armenian alphabet c. 405 AD, which was a fundamental step in strengthening Armenian national identity.[2] He was also the creator of the Caucasian Albanian and Georgian alphabets, according to a number of scholars.[3][4][5][6][7] Mesrop Mashtots was born in a noble family ("from the house of an azat" according to Anania Shirakatsi) in the settlement of Hatsekats in Taron[8] (identified as the village of Hac'ik in the Mush plain),[9] and died in Vagharshapat. He was the son of a man named Vardan.[10] Koryun, his pupil and biographer, tells us that Mashtots (in his work he does not mention the name Mesrop) received a good education, and was versed in the Greek and Persian languages.[8] On account of his piety and learning Mesrop was appointed secretary to King Khosrov IV. His duty was to write in Greek and Persian characters the decrees and edicts of the sovereign. Leaving the court for the service of God, he took holy orders, and withdrew to a monastery with a few chosen companions. There, says Koryun, he practiced great austerities, enduring hunger and thirst, cold and poverty. He lived on vegetables, wore a hair shirt, slept upon the ground, and often spent whole nights in prayer and the study of the

The Witness of God is Greater

Holy Scriptures. This life he continued for a few years. Mesrop, as noted, had spent some time in a monastery preparing for a missionary life. With the support of Prince Shampith, he preached the Gospel in the district of Goghtn near the river Araxes, converting many heretics and pagans. However, he experienced great difficulty in instructing the people, for the Armenians had no alphabet of their own, instead using Greek, Persian, and Syriac scripts, none of which was well suited for representing the many complex sounds of their native tongue. Again, the Holy Scriptures and the liturgy, being written in Syriac, were, to a large extent, unintelligible to the faithful. Hence the constant need of translators and interpreters to explain the Word of God to the people. Mesrop, desirous to remedy this state of things, resolved to invent a national alphabet, in which undertaking Isaac and King Vramshapuh promised to assist him. It is hard to determine exactly what part Mesrop had in the fixing of the new alphabet. According to his Armenian biographers, he consulted Daniel, a bishop of Mesopotamia, and Rufinus, a monk of Samosata, on the matter. With their help and that of Isaac and the king, he was able to give a definite form to the alphabet, which he probably adapted from the Greek. Others, like Lenormant, think it derived from the Avestan. Mesrop's alphabet consisted of thirty-six letters; two more (long O and F) were added in the twelfth century. Anxious that others should profit by his discovery, and encouraged by the patriarch and the king, Mesrop founded numerous schools in different parts of the country, in which the youth were taught the new alphabet. But his activity was not confined to Eastern Armenia. Provided with letters from Isaac he went to Constantinople and obtained from the Emperor Theodosius the Younger permission to preach and teach in his Armenian possessions. Having returned to Eastern Armenia to report on his missions to the patriarch, his first thought was to provide religious literature for his countrymen. Having gathered around him numerous disciples, he sent some to Edessa, Constantinople, Athens, Antioch, Alexandria, and other centres of learning, to study the Greek language and bring back the masterpieces of Greek literature. The first monument of this Armenian literature is the version of the Holy Scriptures. Isaac, says Moses of Chorene, made a translation of the Bible from the Syriac text about 411. This work must have been considered imperfect, for soon afterwards John of Egheghiatz and Joseph of Baghin were sent to Edessa to translate the Scriptures. They journeyed as far as Constantinople, and brought back with them authentic copies of the Greek text. With the help of other copies obtained from Alexandria the Bible was translated again from the Greek according to the text of the Septuagint and Origen's Hexapla. This version, now in use in the Armenian Church, was completed about 434. The decrees of the first three councils — Nicæa, Constantinople, and Ephesus — and the national liturgy (so far written in Syriac) were also translated into Armenian, the latter being revised on the liturgy of St. Basil, though retaining characteristics of its own. Many works of the Greek Fathers also passed into Armenian. The loss of the Greek originals has given some of these versions a special importance. Saint Mashtots is buried at a chapel in Oshakan, a historical village 8 km (5.0 miles) southwest from the town of Ashtarak. (Mesrop Mashtots. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mesrop_Mashtots>)

• **[Armenian Title of Work]** Dialogue on the Council of Nicea against Arius, in the year 310 of the divine incarnation, in the days of the pious emperor Constantine and the blessed Pope Sylvester and of the episcopacy of Byzantium of Alexander. (Casey, Armenian Manuscripts of St. Athanasius, 1931, p. 47)

• **[Casey's Summation of Armenian Manuscript Corpus]** In spite of some uncertainties the evidence before us suggests the following history of the Armenian version of Athanasius. At various times between the fifth and eighth centuries works of a dogmatic and edifying character attributed to Athanasius were rendered into Armenian. At various times between the fifth and eighth centuries works of a dogmatic and edifying character attributed to Athanasius were rendered into Armenian. (Casey, Armenian Manuscripts of St. Athanasius, 1931, p. 58)

• **[Armenian manuscript - 5th century colophon for Athanasius works including "Disputatio" reads]** End of the Seventeen works of St. Athanasius translated by our first translators [Mesrop (362-440 AD) and his school] from Greek into the Armenian language. (Casey, Armenian Manuscripts of St. Athanasius, 1931, p. 53)

• **[Armenian manuscript - 8th century colophon reads]** End of the five treatises of St. Athanasius which were translated of late by Stephen bishop of Siunik. He completed what was ordered by thee, O sublime, thrice blessed doctor of like name and favor with the great son of a barren woman. (fn. 21: The person here referred to as the instigator of Stephen's translation is undoubtedly John Odznetzi, Armenian Catholicos, A.D. 717-728. It is possible that the translations

The Witness of God is Greater

were made as part of the preparations for the synod of Managkert, A.D. 726) (Casey, Armenian Manuscripts of St. Athanasius, 1931, p. 51-53)

• **[Stockhausen - Title Date 310 AD is correct given error and Alexandrian calendar]** Even more interesting, however, is the title variant offered by the (late) Codex Laurentianus Riccardianus 4 (Q) and the Armenian translation: "Dialogue on the Council of Nicea against Arius, in the year 310 of the divine incarnation, in the days of the pious emperor Constantine and the blessed Pope Sylvester and of the episcopacy of Byzantium of Alexander." [Translation from Casey, Armenian Manuscripts of St. Athanasius, 1931, p. 47] (Greek: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ διάλεκτος ἐν τῇ κατὰ Νίκαιαν συνόδῳ πρὸς Ἄρειον ἐν ἔτη [sic!] τῆς Θείας σαρκώσεως τι ἐν ἡμέραις τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς βασιλείας Κωνσταντίνου καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου πάππα Σιλβέστρου καὶ ἐπισκόπου Βυζαντίου Ἀλεξάνδρου) What is striking about this title is first of all the dating of the Synod of Nicaea in the year anno domini 310, since at first glance there seems to be an obvious mistake. It is to be assumed, however, that the year was not erroneously stated by the author of this title, but is only erroneously handed down, so that there is a corruption: It seems obvious to use τι to τιε as the text continues after the year with ἐν, so that only the letter ε would have failed. On the basis of this conjecture, there is a date to the year 315 anno domini, which according to the Alexandrian era of the world, which puts the incarnation in the year 9 AD, would lead to the proper chronology of the Synod of Nicaea. The consequence of the date of the Synod of Nicea after the Alexandrian World-era is that at least this title, if not the entire disputatio against Arius, is likely to be located in Alexandria. (Stockhausen, Die pseud-athanasianische Disputatio contra Arium, 2010, p. 141-142)

Quaestiones Aliae (circa 350-499 AD)

HITS:

- **[Quaestiones Aliae 4 : "in heaven" "in earth"]** ...And, again, you should answer this way: On the sun the disk, the ray and the light are inseparable; they are not separated from each other, and for this reason is said that God is one and not three; because they are not separated the three persons (lit. faces)—Father's, Son's and Holy Spirit's— of the one God from each other. In the way that the solar disk begets the ray and sends out (or, proceeds) the light, the same also the God and Father begets the Son and proceeds (or, sends out) the holy Spirit. **And see intelligibly: in the way that sun's ray comes down from heaven on earth and neither is separated from the solar disk nor is missing from heaven and also from earth, but it is [in the same time] at the solar disk and at heaven and on earth and everywhere, and is not missing neither from the things above nor at the things below; the same also the Son and Word of God came down to earth, and he was not missing from the Father, neither from heaven nor from earth; but he was [in the same time] at Father's bosom unseparated, and up and down and everywhere; and he was not missing from anyone.** And in the way the solar light is [in the same time] at the solar disk and at the ray and also **at heaven** and **earth** and gets into the houses and everywhere and illuminates; (Quaestiones Aliae 4; Translated by Pavlos D. Vasileiadis, Preliminary English translation of Pseudo-Athanasius's Quaestiones aliae, 2019, p. 3)
 - **Greek:** Καὶ πάλιν εἶπε οὕτως· Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀχώριστος ὁ δίσκος, καὶ ἡ ἀκτίς, καὶ τὸ φῶς· οὐ γὰρ χωρίζονται ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται καὶ εἷς Θεός, καὶ οὐ τρεῖς· διότι οὐ χωρίζονται τὰ τρία πρόσωπα, τοῦ τε Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου Πνεύματος, τοῦ ἐνὸς Θεοῦ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. Καὶ ὡσπερ ὁ δίσκος ὁ ἡλιακὸς γεννᾷ τὴν ἀκτίνα, καὶ ἐκπορεύει τὸ φῶς· οὕτω καὶ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ γεννᾷ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ ἐκπορεύει καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον. **Βλέπε συνετῶς· Ὡσπερ ἡ ἀκτίς τοῦ ἡλίου καταβαίνει ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πρὸς τὴν γῆν, καὶ οὔτε τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ δίσκου χωρίζεται, οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λείπει, οὔτε ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ἀλλ' ἔστι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἡλιακῷ δίσκῳ, καὶ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ, καὶ πανταχοῦ, καὶ οὔτε τῶν ἄνω λείπει, οὔτε τῶν κάτω· οὕτω καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ κατήλθε πρὸς τὴν γῆν, καὶ οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἔλειπε, οὔτε ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, οὔτε ἐκ τῆς γῆς· ἀλλ' ἦν καὶ ἐν τοῖς κόλποις τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀχώριστος, καὶ ἄνω καὶ κάτω, καὶ πανταχοῦ· καὶ οὐδ' ἐκ τίνος ἔλειπε. Καὶ ὡσπερ τὸ ἡλιακὸν φῶς ἐστι καὶ ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ τῷ ἡλιακῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀκτίνι, καὶ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ, καὶ εἰσέρχεται ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ πανταχοῦ, καὶ φωτίζει·** (Quaestiones Aliae 4; Migne Graeca, PG 28.775)

The Witness of God is Greater

- **[Quaestiones Aliae 4]** And just as the soul is invisible, the same way is also God invisible. And you when you doubt in your mind this way by saying ‘how is God one and is he is also tri-hypostatic? you should remember your soul and say:”Just as my soul is one but also tri-hypostatic — soul, logos and breath; **so also God is one but is also tri-hypostatic — Father, Word, and Holy Spirit.**” And say in your mind that”if the soul, the creature of God, and similarly, the sun, is tri-hypostatic and their nature is one, how much more God, the creator of them?”Isn’t to be admitted that it is so, so that he is one as regards his nature and tri-hypostatic as regards his persons? And it is truly admitted so. Just as the soul, logos and breath are three persons and the nature of the soul is one and not three souls; **the same way Father, Word and Holy Spirit are three persons, but one God as regards the nature, not three gods.** If you always think this way, you will never blaspheme about the holy Trinity. (Quaestiones Aliae 4; Translated by Pavlos D. Vasileiadis, Preliminary English translation of Pseudo-Athanasius’s Quaestiones aliae, 2019, p. 5-6)
 - **Greek:** Καὶ καθάπερ ἀόρατος ἡ ψυχὴ, οὕτως ἀόρατος καὶ ὁ Θεός. Καὶ οὕτως ὅταν διστάζεις ἐν τῷ νοῖ σου, καὶ λέγεις, πῶς ἓν ὁ Θεὸς εἶς, καὶ ἓν καὶ τρισυπόστατος; ἐνθυμοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς σου, καὶ λέγε· Ὡσπερ ἡ ψυχὴ μου (20) μία ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρισυπόστατος, ψυχὴ, λόγος, καὶ πνοή· **οὕτω καὶ ὁ Θεὸς εἶς ἐστίν, ἀλλ’ ἐστὶ καὶ τρισυπόστατος, Πατὴρ, Λόγος, καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον.** Καὶ λέγε ἐν τῷ νοῖ σου, ὅτι, ἐὰν ἡ ψυχὴ, τὸ ποίημα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ἥλιος, ἐστὶ τρισυπόστατος, ἡ δὲ (25) φύσις αὐτῶν μία· πῶσω μᾶλλον ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ποιητὴς τούτων! Οὐκ ἐνδέχεται τὸ εἶναι οὕτως, ὥστε εἶναι αὐτὸν ἓνα τῆ φύσει, καὶ τρισυπόστατον τοῖς προσώποις; καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐνδέχεται. Ὡς γὰρ ψυχὴ, λόγος καὶ πνοὴ τρία πρόσωπα, καὶ μία φύσις ψυχῆς, καὶ (30) οὐ τρεῖς ψυχαί· **οὕτω Πατὴρ, Λόγος καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τρία πρόσωπα, καὶ εἶς τῆ φύσει Θεός, καὶ οὐ τρεῖς θεοί.** Οὕτως ἐὰν συλλογίζῃ πάντοτε, οὐ μὴ βλασφημῆσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος. (Quaestiones Aliae 4; Migne Graeca, PG 28.780)

Quaestiones Aliae :”Question & Answer Genre” [Erotapokriseis]

• [Papadoyannakis : Late Antique and Byzantine Erotapokriseis] **In this contribution I would like to discuss and problematize the literary process of instruction by question and answer. This process is integral to a very little-studied body of literature, that of the question-and-answer or otherwise known as erotapokriseis in late antiquity but also to the literary form of dialogue.** Despite its enormous popularity in late antiquity there is—with few exceptions [1]—no recent, systematic discussion of this literature and more importantly of the literary process that informs it. To say nothing of the fact that some important texts have neither been properly edited much less translated into any modern language. This is all the more surprising since in the late antique and Byzantine literature the question and answer collections became one of the most preferred means of organizing and imparting knowledge in a number of such fields as: medicine [2], grammar, philosophy, theology, law. ...**The literary form of erotapokriseis was adopted and adapted at a fairly early stage by Christians. Origen and Eusebius—to name but a few—made extensive use of this form.** [13] The loose structure and the add-on nature of this literary form account, in part, for the diverse material that they include. Ps. Justin’s Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos (hereafter QRO) is a case in point. [14] In contrast to earlier collections, the QRO are concerned not with the continuous exposition of a single text, but with relatively short and self-contained sections of argument which need to be put in their context in ancient discussions generally. ...Rather than aiming to ‘breathe some life into tiresome, pedantic patristic florilegia of proof-texts’ we have to see the erotapokriseis and dialogue literature as a “discursive matrix” [34] intimately associated with—but not confined to—the rhetorical exercises and the schoolroom. As such it allows the discussion of a broad array of questions which are given different degrees of focus. ...From the discussion above, it has become apparent that the process of instruction by question and answer was used not only to refute but also to convey knowledge organized in various degrees of complexity. On account of this it is worth asking how this didacticism affects and is affected by the wider phenomenon of the organization of different types of knowledge in late antiquity and Byzantium as in many cases later collections compile and recompile questions (aporiai) giving different answers adding, modifying or giving new answers. (Papadoyannakis, “Instruction by Question and Answer: The Case of Late Antique and Byzantine Erotapokriseis”, chs.harvard.edu. Accessed: 25 January 2020.)

• From the New Testament to the Council of Ephesus 430 AD. **John Chrysostom, writing before the Council of Ephesus and generally innocent of pious devotion to Mary, nevertheless coached his congregation in a series of similar argumentative stances:** When the Jews ask you, ‘How did the Virgin give birth?’ Say to him...”[PAGE 279] The

The Witness of God is Greater

value of these intriguing proposals... (fn. 19. ...Ps.-Athanasius, *Quaestiones Aliae*, 19 who finds an analogy for the virgin birth in the notion that the 'eyes of certain molluscs,' when 'illuminated by flashes of lightning,' are subsequently 'transformed into pearls' PG 28.792A) (Proclus, and Nicholas Constas, *Proclus of Constantinople and the Cult of the Virgin in Late Antiquity*, 2003, p. 278, 279)

Quaestiones Aliae Quoted and Ascribed to Athanasius in Eastern Orthodox Confession of 1643 AD

• **The Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Eastern Church [124] was originally drawn up about the year 1640 by Peter Mogilas** (or Mogila), Metropolitan of Kieff, and father of Russian theology (died 1647), in the form of a Catechism for the benefit of the Russian Church. [125] It was revised and adopted by a Provincial Synod at Kieff for Russia, then again corrected and purged by a Synod of the Greek and Russian clergy at Jassy, in 1643, where it received its present shape by Meletius Syriga, or Striga, the Metropolitan of Nicæa, and exarch of the Patriarch of Constantinople. As thus improved, it was sent to, and signed by, the four Eastern Patriarchs. **The Synod of Jerusalem gave it a new sanction in 1672 (declaring it a homologia, hen edexato kai dechetai hapaxplos pasa he anatolike ekklesia). In this way it became the Creed of the entire Greek and Russian Church.** It has been the basis of several later Catechisms prepared by Russian divines. The Orthodox Confession was a defensive measure against Romanism and Protestantism. It is directed, first, against the Jesuits who, under the protection of the French ambassadors in Constantinople, labored to reconcile the Greek Church with the Pope; and, secondly, against the Calvinistic movement, headed by Cyril Lucar, and continued after his death. [126] **It is preceded by a historical account of its composition and publication, a pastoral letter of Nectarius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, dated Nov.20, 1662; and by a letter of endorsement of the Greek text from Parthenius, Patriarch of Constantinople, dated March 11, 1643, [127] followed by the signatures of twenty-six Patriarchs and prelates of the Eastern Church.** ("The Orthodox Confession of the Eastern Church. A.D. 1643" in Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom*, vol 1, 1877, p. 58-59)

- **Question 69.** What is the eighth Article of the Faith? **Answer.** I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the Prophets.
- **Question 71.** What is the second Thing taught in this Article? **Answer.** That the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father Only, as from the Fountain and Original of his Divinity; as our Saviour himself teacheth us (John xv. 26), When the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father; the Spirit of Truth, which Proceedeth from the Father. **The same Doctrine St. Athanasius lays down in his Creed,** "The Holy Ghost is of the Father, not made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding." **And elsewhere in his works (Holy Questions, vol. ii. 43, &c.), "God and Father, he only is the Cause of the other two, and unbegotten. The Son, begotten, and sprung from the Father only, the Cause of his Origin. The Holy Ghost himself also springs and proceeds only from the Father, as his Cause, and by the Son was sent into the World."**[See: *Quaestiones Aliae* 4; Translated by Pavlos D. Vasileiadis, Preliminary English translation of Pseudo-Athanasius's *Quaestiones aliae*, 2019, p. 4] And Gregory the Divine sayeth (Homily V. of Divinity and of the Holy Ghost), "The Holy Ghost, who proceedeth from the Father, is uncreated, as being Proceeding; as being unbegotten, he is not the Son; but as being between unbegotten and begotten, he is God." We have already treated of this Matter at large in the First Article. Let it, therefore, suffice us that we hold what Christ himself taught; what the Catholic and Orthodox Eastern Church believeth and altogether professed in the Second General Council; and let us hold the Faith without Addition, and from the Son, as the Church hath commanded. Nay, not only the Orthodox and Catholic Eastern Church hath passed a heavy censure on those who add these Words, but also the Western Roman Church. This is evident from the two Silver Tables, on one of which the Creed was engraved in Greek, and on the other in Latin, without this Addition, "And from The Son"; which Tables were, by order of Leo the Third, Pope of Boine, affixt up in St. Peters Church, in the Year of our Lord 809, as Baronius confesseth. Whosoever, therefore, continues firm and constant in this Faith, he may have undoubting Hope of his Salvation, as one who turneth not aside from the Doctrine of the Church. (Mohyla, *The Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and apostolic Eastern Church*; Translated by J.J. Overbeck, 1898, p. 58-59)

- **Greek:**

The Witness of God is Greater

- **Ἑρώτησις ξθ'.** Πῶς εἶναι τὸ ὄγδοον ἄρθρον τῆς πίστεως; **Ἀπ.** Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα, τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον· τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον, καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλήσαν διὰ τῶν Προφητῶν.
- **Ἑρώτησις οά.** Ποῖον εἶναι τὸ δεύτερον, ὅπου διδάσκει τὸ ἄρθρον τοῦτο; **Ἀπ.** Διδάσκει πῶς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὡς πηγῆς καὶ ἀρχῆς τῆς θεότητος· διὰ τὸ ὅποσον ὁ αὐτὸς Σωτὴρ μᾶς διδάσκει (Ἰωαν. ιέ. κς'.) λέγων· ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ Παράκλητος, ὃν ἐγὼ πέμψω ὑμῖν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς, τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ὃ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται. **Τὴν διδασκαλίαν ταύτην τὴν ἐρμηνεύει ὁ ἱερός Ἀθανάσιος εἰς τὸ σύμβολόν του·** τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς, οὐ πεποιημένον, οὔτε δεδημιουργημένον, οὔτε γεγεννημένον· ἀλλ' ἐκπορευτόν. **Ὁ Θεὸς (ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀθανάσιος ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐρωτήσεσι. δ'.) καὶ Πατὴρ, αὐτὸς μόνος ἐστὶν αἴτιος τοῖς δυσὶ καὶ ἀγέννητος· ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς αἰτιατὸς, καὶ γεννητός· καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς αἰτιατὸν καὶ ἐκπορευτόν, διὰ δὲ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀποστελλόμενον.** [Quaestiones Aliae; Migne Graeca PG 28.777C] Καὶ ὁ θεολόγος Γρηγόριος (λόγ. ε. περὶ θεολογίας) οὕτω φησί· τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὃ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, ὃ καθ' ὅσον μὲν ἐκεῖθεν ἐκπορεύεται, οὐ κτίσμα· καθ' ὅσον δὲ οὐ γεννητόν, οὐχ Υἱὸς· καθ' ὅσον δὲ ἀγεννήτου καὶ γεννητοῦ μέσον, Θεός. Περὶ τούτου εἴρηται πλατύτερον εἰς τὸ πρῶτον ἄρθρον· φθάνει λοιπὸν τῶρα νὰ κρατοῦμεν βέβαιον καὶ νὰ πιστεῦωμεν ἐκεῖνο, ὅπου ὁ Χριστὸς μᾶς ἐδίδαξε, καὶ ἡ ἀνατολικὴ ἐκκλησία ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ὀρθόδοξος πιστεύει, καὶ ὠμολόγησεν εἰς τὴν δευτέραν οἰκουμενικὴν σύνοδον καὶ ἐκύρωσε τὸ σύμβολον χωρὶς τῆς προσθήκης· καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ. Καὶ ἐναντίον ἐκείνων, ὅπου ἐπροσθέσασι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἔκαμεν ἐπιπίμην, ὄχι μόνον ἡ ἀνατολικὴ ἐκκλησία ἡ ὀρθόδοξος καὶ καθολικὴ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ δυτικὴ τῆς Ῥώμης· τὸ ὅποσον διαμαρτύρονται δύο πίνακαι ἀργυραῖ, εἰς τὰς ὁποίας ἦτον γεγραμμένον τὸ ἱερὸν σύμβολον τῆς πίστεως Ἑλληνιστὶ εἰς τὴν μίαν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην Λατινιστὶ, χωρὶς τὴν πρόσθεσιν τούτου τοῦ μέρους καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ· αἱ ὁποῖαι μὲ πρόσταγμα τοῦ Πάπα Ῥώμης Λέοντος τρίτου ἐκρέμαντο εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου, ἐν ἔτει Χριστοῦ ωθ'. ὡς φησὶ βαρώνιος. Διὰ τοῦτο ὅποιος στέκεται σταθερὸς καὶ βέβαιος εἰς τὴν πίστιν τούτην, ἔχει βεβαίαν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας του, διατὶ δὲν παρεκκλίνει καθόλου ἀπὸ τὴν κοινὴν γνώμην τῆς ἐκκλησίας. ("The Orthodox Confession of the Eastern Church. A.D. 1643" in Schaff, The Creeds of Christendom, vol 2, 1877, p. 349-350)

Quaestiones Aliae : Athanasian Trinitarian simile of the fire and light

• [Serle] ...Christ, according to the Nicene Creed, is "Light of Light, of one substance with the Father." **Many of the fathers who flourished when the Arian heresy was principally agitated, i.e. about the fourth century, frequently illustrated the argument upon the Trinity by a similitude, sometimes taken from fire, and sometimes from the material sun.** Leontius Episcopus urged, that as (πῦρ, ἀπαύγασμα, φῶς) fire, splendour, light, were all essentially one in nature, though distinguishable into three several properties; so Father, Son, and Spirit, are three Persons in one indivisible Essence. Athanasius, Ephraem Syrus, Cyril, and others, represented, that as the orb, light, and heat, make but one sun; so Father, Son, and Spirit, are but one God: and that, as the light and heat are coeval and coessential with the solar orb, yet easily distinguishable though indivisible from it; so the Son and Spirit are essentially and eternally, though not personally, One with the Father, forming an individual unity of Godhead. The Latin translator of Ephraem Syrus from the Syriac says, that Athanasius and others borrowed this simile from Theognostus [of Alexandria 210-270 AD], an ancient writer, who flourished before him. See much of these illustrations, collected by Suicerus, in his Thes. Eccles. in verb, τριας, ἀπαύγασμα, ἥλιος. And also Asseman. Biblioth. Orient. Vatic. Tom. i. c. vi. Edit. Rom. 1719. (Serle, Horae Solitariae, 1842, p. 114)

• [Tzamalikos] Christians were of course always at pains to adumbrate [represent] Godhead as both one and threefold. The theme of ἀμέριστος τριάς [impartible three : unable to separate the three persons], however, is an all too rare one. **An unknown writer uses the same vocabulary, in order to adumbrate [represent] the Trinity as the Father (=sun) with the Son (=beam) and the Holy Spirit (=light), who is "light from light".** (fn. 338. Quaestiones Aliae, p. 777) Although

The Witness of God is Greater

the Persons are spoken of as three, they actually make up one nature. (Tzamalikos, A newly discovered Greek Father, 2012, p. 500)

• **The simile occurs in the genuine Athanasian writing** De decretis Nicaenae Synodi 23-24, ed. H.G. OPITZ, Athanasius Werke, Vol. 2,1, Berlin 1940, pp. 19,10-20,29 = PG 27: 456C-457B). Cf. PS.-ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA's Quaestiones aliae (PG 28: 776B-777C). This is a simile ultimately inspired by Hebr. 3,2.

Quaestiones Aliae : Temptation of Satan : God deceived Satan with the Incarnation of the Son

• [Constas] **A remarkable number of Greek patristic thinkers gave expression to the theory that Satan was deceived by Christ, who exploited his adversary's mistaken belief that the object of his desires were mere man and not the deity incarnate.** Driven by an insatiable hunger for human bodies, the demonic appetite was inexorably drawn to devour the seemingly mortal flesh of Jesus. That flesh, however, was but a seductive lure concealing the power of divinity that brought Satan's downfall and even (in some traditions) his salvation. (p. 139) ...the notion of "divine deception" is perhaps best known through the work of the fourth century bishop and theologian Gregory of Nyssa (335-395 AD), whose metaphor of the fishhook represents a decisive moment in his dramatic theory of atonement. According to this theory, Satan was initially deceived by the apparent ordinariness of Christ's humanity and unwittingly consumed his mortal body in death. He [Satan] soon discovered, however, that he had been duped into biting off more than he could chew: Christ is divine, and therefore immortal, and the unexpected presence of the deity in the bowels of the underworld signaled the liberation of the dead from the forces of death and decay. (p. 143) ...**the image of the fishhook baited with the flesh of Christ was used by dozens of writers from the mid-fourth century through the seventh centuries and beyond, including such notables as Athanasius, John Chrysostom, John of Damascus, and Maximus the Confessor, to mention only a few.** (p. 146) ...**Another Pseudo-Athanasian text [Quaestiones Aliae], surrendering unreservedly to the vertiginous [the feeling that everything is spinning around] currents of these typological associations, hazards the following account of the divine strategy. ...In this stunning typological juxtaposition, the devil becomes a serpent, coiled around a tree, in order to seduce Eve, in response to which the deity becomes a worm writhing on the cross [Psalm 22:6 "I am a worm and not a man" (LXX)], the tree of life, in order to seduce the devil.** (Constas, The Last Temptation of Satan, 2004, p. 139, 143, 146, 155)

- [Quaestiones Aliae 20] ...God having again foreknowledge that the humanity could not alone by itself to prevail without the divinity, it was hidden the divinity in this flesh, so that the devil, seeing the flesh and without knowing that the divinity was hidden in this flesh, come and struggle with Christ and this way be defeated by the hidden divinity. Which indeed happened. **The way that the fisherman, willing to hunt a fish, does not put the hook bare [i.e. without bait] in the sea, but clothes the hook with a worm from without by deception [lit. using a bait], and this way he throws it, that is wearing the worm, to the sea; and the fish, seeing only the worm, and not knowing that inside the worm there is a hook, but thinking that the worm is totally alone without a hook, deceived he is caught by the hook; the same way Christ acted. As he was willing to hunt the poisonous fish that is dwelling in the limitless waters of the abyss, or rather a great dragon the devil, he did not bring forth his divinity to the devil, but by deception [lit. as a bait] the worm [that is,] his most holy flesh, which he wore without intermixing by the Ever-virgin Mary, the most holy earth, according to what was said by the divine David: "I am a worm and not a man," he covered the most sacred hook his world-saving cross, that he was affixed to it, and by means of it to keep unnoticed his own divinity, by which after this poisonous and biting-like-a-snake fish was deceived and conquered, the great dragon the devil, the one who expelled from the paradise and killed the man, perished after being defeated. This way the divinity is a type of the hook, while the humanity is a type of the worm. And the Devil having seen from without what was human and having not understand that inside it was hidden the divinity, he was deceived, and coming forth to the humanity, he was conquered by the incomparable and invincible hook of the divinity; and this way the great dragon the devil was defeated.** (Quaestiones Aliae 20; Migne Graeca, PG 28.793; Translated by Pavlos D. Vasileiadis, Preliminary English translation of Pseudo-Athanasius's Quaestiones aliae, 2019, p. 17-18)

The Witness of God is Greater

Quaestiones Aliae : Unique Trinity Simile : Adam, Eve, Seth

• [Siecinski] The verb ἐκπορεύεσθαι ("to proceed out of") is used both in Scripture (Jn 15:26) and the Greek version of the creed to speak about the coming forth of the Spirit (ὁ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται). In other contexts it is used to signify a "coming out" or even a "going away" whereby the subject of the verb appears to leave its point of origin as a distinct entity. This might apply to a word coming forth from the mouth (Pr 3: 16), demons coming out of the possessed (Acts 19: 12) or water coming forth from the temple (Ez 47: 1, 8, 12). **Although in Greek patristic thought it is usually reserved to the procession of the Holy Spirit, Pseudo-Athanasius [quaestiones Aliae 15, PG 28.785] and John of Damascus (650-754 AD) [De Fide orthodoxa, PG 94.817] also applied it to the creation of Eve, who came forth out of Adam's rib [Εὗα ἐκπορευτή].** (Siecinski, The Authenticity of Maximus the Confessor's Letter to Marinus, 2007, p. 214)

Quaestiones Aliae : Virgin Mary Conception Through Her Ear : Source Protoevangelium of James (145 AD)

• [Terian] **The notion of Mary's conception through the ear is common in late antique and medieval sources, whether Syriac, Greek, or Latin. Its origin, however, seems to be of Syriac derivation, as suggested by Frederick C. Conybeare, "Protoevangelium Iacobi.** [From an Armenian Manuscript in the Library of Mechitarists in Venice]", American Journal of Theology, 1 (1897), 424-442, and Robert Murray, "Mary, the Second Eve in the Early Syriac Fathers", Eastern Churches Review, 3 (1971), 372-384. (Terian, The Armenian Gospel of the Infancy, 2008, p. 25, fn. 99)

• **[Protoevangelium Iacobi]** Conception through Mary's Ear from the **Protoevangelium of James [dated] 145 AD**
<en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gospel_of_James>

• [Glessner] **The notion of Mary's conception through her ear (the conceptio per aurem) is common in late antiquity and medieval sources, whether Syriac, Greek, or Latin.** Cf. Armenian Gospel of the Infancy 5.9: "At that very moment when this word was spoken, as the holy Virgin consented, **God the Word penetrated through her ear...** And she became a holy and undefiled temple and a dwelling place for his divinity. And at the same time began the pregnancy of Mary." Translation by Abraham Terian, The Armenian Gospel of the Infancy with Three Early Versions of the Protoevangelium of James. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. (Glessner, The Makings of an Average Joe Gender, 2017, p. 164, fn. 53)

• [Terian] **Another good witness to early Syriac Infancy traditions known in Armenian is the "Panegyric Recited on the Birth of Christ" by Ephrem the Syrian (d. 373), which survives in Armenian translation only.** (fn. 45. Srboyn Ep'remi Matenagrut'iwnk "The Works of Saint Ephrem", 4 vols. Venice: S. Ghazar, 1836, iv. 9-34.) A substantial part of this panegyric homily, like some of Ephrem's "Hymns on the Nativity", (fn. 46. Kathleen E. McVey tr., Ephrem the Syrian: Hymns, Classics of Western Spirituality. New York: Paulist Press, 1989, 63-217.) follows the rubrics of the Infancy Gospel: the prolonged dialogue between Mary and the angel at the time of annunciation (pp. 14-18); the notion that the conception of Mary was through her ear, as of the moment she consented to the divine will (p. 19); Joseph's protracted suspicion of Mary's pregnancy (pp. 22-25); and the joint adoration of the infant Christ by the shepherds and the angels in the cave (pp. 30-31). **Conybeare dwells on the notion of the "conceptio per aurem" [conception by way of ear] in Ephrem's panegyric homily as evidence of the Syriac origin of our gospel.** (fn. 47. **Though the notion of the Virgin's conception through her ear was probably of Syriac origin, it was known also among the Greek Fathers, as Conybeare goes on to refer to two instances in Pseudo-Athanasius Quaestiones Aliae Migne PG, 28.789...**) That the notion is - in all likelihood - of Syriac derivation, is suggested also by Murray. (fn. 48. Robert Murray, Mary, the Second Eve in the Early Syriac Fathers, Eastern Churches Review, 3, 1971, 372-384.) There must have been a rich Syriac tradition of Marian or Infancy narratives out of which cycle derives the various Arabic Infancy Gospels as well, hence the occasionally observed affinities between these and the Armenian version. (Terian, The Armenian Gospel of the Infancy, 2008, p. xxv.)

- **[Quaestiones Aliae : Question 18]** But listen to another mystery related to this. In the way that a house, shut in on all sides, has towards the east a small window of pure and thin glass, and when the sun is rising its rays are penetrating the glass and they are getting into the whole house and are lighting it up; and again when the sun is

The Witness of God is Greater

leaving and of his rays coming out, the glass does not get broken, but remains unhurt by their impact as they pass in and out, the [PAGE 14] **same way you should understand about the ever-virgin Mary. She herself wholly pure [or, chaste], like a house shut up all round, the Son and Word of God like a divine ray descended from the Sun of Justice, the Father, and entered in through the small glass window of her ears,** and lighted up her most holy house [or, abode], and again as he knows, he went out without her virginity having been in the least impaired; but as before the birth, so during the birth and after the birth he preserved her pure [or, chaste] virgin. (Quaestiones Aliae. 18; Migne Graeca, PG 28.789; Translated by Pavlos D. Vasileiadis, Preliminary English translation of Pseudo-Athanasius' Quaestiones aliae, 2019, p. 14-15)

Quaestiones Aliae : Quote from an Early Syriac Liturgy : "As it is written: 'where God so wills the order of nature is overcome.'" (Greek: Θεοῦ δέ· ὅπου γὰρ βούλεται Θεός, νικᾶται φύσεως τάξις·)

- **[Quaestiones Aliae : Question 19]** And how is it possible for a virgin to give birth to flesh and still remain a virgin? This seems wonderful and wholly remarkable to us; we beg you to teach us about it. Answer: Even though we consider it wonderful, it isn't a man's work, but God's; **and in whatever God is willing, the natural order is overcome;** (Quaestiones Aliae. 19; Translated by Pavlos D. Vasileiadis, Preliminary English translation of Pseudo-Athanasius' Quaestiones aliae, 2019, p. 14)
 - **Greek:** Ἐρώτ. ιθ'. Καὶ πῶς ἦν δυνατόν σάρκα παρθένον (10) γεννῆσαι, καὶ πάλιν μένειν παρθένον; καὶ τοῦτο θαυμαστόν ἡμῖν καὶ πάνυ ἐξαισίον φαίνεται· διδάξον ἡμᾶς καὶ περὶ τούτου, δεόμεθα. Ἀπόκ. Εἰ καὶ θαυμαστόν ἡμῖν δοκεῖ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἔργον, **Θεοῦ δέ· ὅπου γὰρ βούλεται (15) Θεός, νικᾶται φύσεως τάξις·** (Quaestiones Aliae. XIX; Migne Graeca, PG 28.790)

• [Translator Archimandrite Ephrem Lash] **This sentence [for wherever God wills...] is frequent in the liturgical texts. In the second Kathisma for Christmas Matins it is given as a quotation,"But as it is written: 'where God so wills the order of nature is overcome.'**"But what is the source? It occurs in inauthentic texts attributed to St Athanasios (296-373 AD) and St John Chrysostom (349-407 AD) and in St John Damascene's (676-749 AD) Sacra Parallela. Athanasios Quaestiones aliae [spur.], Response 19 [PG 28:792, line 15-16]. Cf. Sermon on the Nativity [Sp.], [PG 28: 960, line 28]. Chrysostom On the Nativity [dub.], [PG 56: 385, line 33]. John Damascene Sacra Parallela, [PG 95:1265, line 19]. **In the first passage from Athanasios the text appears to be a citation.** (fn. 5, St. Ephraim the Syrian, On the Holy Transfiguration; Translated by Archimandrite Ephrem Lash. <www.johnsanidopoulos.com/2016/08/homily-on-transfiguration-of-christ-st_6.html>)

• **Archimandrite Ephrem Lash (1933 - March 14, 2016)** was a priest of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain who at his death served the Church of St. Anthony the Great and John the Baptist, Holloway, London. He is well known for his translations of liturgical services and patristic texts from Greek into English. He sat as the Orthodox representative of the Church of England's General Synod. (Ephrem Lash. Orthodoxwiki. <[orthodoxwiki.org/Ephrem_\(Lash\)](http://orthodoxwiki.org/Ephrem_(Lash))>)

- **[Ephraim the Syrian : Homily on the Holy Transfiguration]** ...He led them up the mountain to show them that he is the Son of God, born from the Father before the ages and in the last times incarnate from the Virgin, as he knows how, born ineffably and without seed, preserving her virginity incorrupt; **for wherever God wills it, the order of nature is overcome.** (St. Ephraim the Syrian, On the Holy Transfiguration; Translated by Archimandrite Ephrem Lash. <www.johnsanidopoulos.com/2016/08/homily-on-transfiguration-of-christ-st_6.html>)
 - **Greek:** Ἀνήγαγεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄρος, ἵνα δείξη αὐτοῖς ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων ἐκ Πατρὸς γεννηθεὶς καὶ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου σαρκωθεὶς, ὡς οἶδεν αὐτός, ἀσπόρως τεχθεὶς καὶ ἀφράστως, ἄφθορον διατηρήσας τὴν παρθενίαν· **ὅπου γὰρ βούλεται Θεός, νικᾶται φύσεως τάξις.** (Ephraim the Syrian : Homily on the Holy Transfiguration <greekdownloads.files.wordpress.com/2013/06/sermo-in-transfigurationem-domini-et-dei-salvatoris-nostri.pdf>.)

The Witness of God is Greater

- **[John Chrysostom]** I see a strange and novel mystery: shepherds sound all around my ears, not piping a barren tune, but singing a heavenly hymn. Angels are singing, archangels are dancing, the cherubim are hymning, the seraphim are glorifying, all are celebrating, since they see God upon the earth, man in Heaven. [I see] the one who is on high lower because of His plan, the one who is below on high because of His love for humanity. Today Bethlehem resembled Heaven: in place of stars it received angels hymning, in place of the sun it contained the righteous One without confining [Him]. And do not ask how: **for where God wills it, nature's order is overcome.** For He willed it, He had the power, He came down, He saved – all things follow upon God. (John Chrysostom, On the Nativity of our Savior Jesus Christ; Migne Graeca, PG 56.385; Translated by Bryson Sewell <www.tertullian.org/fathers/chrysostom_homily_2_on_christmas.htm>.)
 - **Greek:** Μυστήριον ξένον καὶ παράδοξον βλέπω· ποιμένες μου περιηχοῦσι τὰ ὦτα, οὐκ ἔρημον συρίζοντες μέλος, ἀλλ' οὐράνιον ᾄδοντες ὕμνον. Ἄγγελιο ᾄδουσιν, ἀρχάγγελιο μέλθουσιν, ὕμνεῖ τὰ Χερουβιμ, δοξολογεῖ τὰ Σεραφίμ, πάντες ἐορτάζουσι Θεὸν ἐπὶ γῆς ὀρώντες, καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἐν οὐρανοῖς· τὸν ἄνω κάτω δι' οἰκονομίαν, καὶ τὸν κάτω ἄνω διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν. Σήμερον Βηθλεὲμ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐμιμήσατο· ἀντὶ μὲν ἀστέρων ἀγγέλους ὕμνοῦντας δεξαμένη, ἀντὶ δὲ ἡλίου τὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀπεριγράπτως χωρήσασα [ἐν τῇ Παρθένῳ]. Καὶ μὴ ζητεῖ πῶς· **ὅπου γὰρ Θεὸς βούλεται, νικᾶται φύσεως τάξις.** Ἡβουλήθη γὰρ, ἡδυνήθη, κατήλθεν, ἔσωσε. Συνδράμετε πάντα· Θεὸς σήμερον ὁ ὢν καὶ προῶν γίνεται ὅπερ οὐκ ἦν· ὢν γὰρ Θεός, γίνεται ἄνθρωπος, οὐκ ἐκστάς τοῦ εἶναι Θεός. Ἡβουλήθη γὰρ, ἡδυνήθη, κατήλθεν, ἔσωσε· σύνδρομα τὰ πάντα τῷ Θεῷ. (John Chrysostom, On the Nativity of our Savior Jesus Christ; Migne Graeca, PG 56.385)
- **[Melkite Syriac Hymn]** You were known as mother above nature, O God-bearer, but you remained a Virgin beyond word and thought. And the miracle of your birth-giving cannot be explained by the tongue. Miraculous is your conception, O pure one, and incomprehensible is the manner of your pregnancy. **For as God wills, he overrides nature's order**, therefore, acknowledging you as Mother of God, we all pray to you incessantly: Intercede for the salvation of our souls. (Melkite Syriac Hymn to the Virgin Mary; Translated by N. Smelova; Smelova, Melkite Syriac Hymns, 2011, p. 127)
 - **Greek:** Μήτηρ μὲν ἐγνώσθης ὑπὲρ φύσιν, Θεοτόκε, ἔμεινας δὲ παρθένος ὑπὲρ λόγον καὶ ἔγνωσαν· καὶ τὸ θαῦμα τοῦ τόκου σου ἐρμενεῦσαι γλώσσα οὐ δύναται παραδόξου γὰρ οὔσης τῆς συλλήψεως, Ἀγνή, ἀκατάληπτός ἐστιν ὁ τρόπος τῆς κυήσεως· **ὅπου γὰρ βούλεται Θεός, νικᾶται φύσεως τάξις.** Διό σε πάντες Μητέρα τοῦ Θεοῦ γινώσκοντες, δεόμεθά σου ἐκτενώς· Πρέσβευε τοῦ σωθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν. (Melkite Syriac Hymn to the Virgin Mary; Translated by N. Smelova; Smelova, Melkite Syriac Hymns, 2011, p. 127)
- **[Melkite Syriac Hymn]** Thus this example of the theotokion [Hymn] indicates a direct influence of the Greek text on West Syrian hymnography without the participation of a Melkite translation. West Syrians tried to represent the images and notions of the Greek hymns as accurately as possible and for the most part avoided adding anything, as long as there was no disagreement with their doctrinal position. An example of such an approach is the theotokion of the sixth/second tone. Its original Greek text is found in the oldest Greek manuscripts of the Octoechos, Sinait. gr. 1593 (fol. 66r) as well as in the eleventh-century Sinait. gr. 778 (fol. 38r). The text below is quoted from the edition of the Parakletike where it is placed within the Saturday Vespers service on 'κύριε, ἐκέκραξα' [Psalm 1 : Oh Lord! I have cried to Thee] (such a position [placed within the service] as well as its contents suggest the designation of the theotokion as a dogmatikon). (Smelova, Melkite Syriac Hymns to the Mother of God, 2011, p. 127)

Quaestiones Aliae : PAmherst 199 : Papyrus fragment from 6th or 7th century

- **[Grenfell & Hunt]** The following fragments of theological works, which we have been unable to identify, were all brought together with 191, 192, 193. ...**[Papyrus 199] CXCIX. Three fragments, the largest measuring 8 x 13.1 cm., containing on the recto some effaced cursive writing and on the verso parts of several lines in a large uncial hand of the sixth or seventh century A.D.** (Grenfell and Hunt, The Amherst Papyri, 1900, vol 2, p. 203-204)

The Witness of God is Greater

• **[Robert Kraft : The Amherst Papyri] PAmherst 199 may include a proverbial saying found also in Athanasius, John Chrysostom, and John of Damascus, to the effect that "Where God wills, the order of nature conquers."**(fn. 17. See (ps-)Athanasius, Quaestiones aliae [TLG 081 = MPG 28] 789.15) (Kraft, The Amherst Papyri Revisited, 2002 <ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rak//amherstpap/info/PAmhInt.html> <ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rak//amherstpap/images/PAmh199.JPG>)

Quaestiones Aliae in Macarius Notaras of Corinth (1731-1805 AD)

• **St. Macarius was born Michael Notaras in 1731 in Corinth, Greece, into the wealthy and influential family of George Notaras of Corinth that traced itself back to the Senate of the Eastern Roman empire. He was educated in sacred letters and Greek learning and, from his youth, showed signs that he did not incline towards worldly things and lived with great piety, attended church services, and shunned activities of vanity. In 1764, upon the death of Abp. Parthenios of Corinth, the people of Corinth recognized his holiness and elected him as their hierarch. Michael was ordained into the Holy Orders wearing the clothing of a monk and was given the name Macarius, He was then consecrated Archbishop of Corinth by Patr. Samuel I in Constantinople. In 1768, the Russo-Turkish War forced Abp. Macarius to flee Corinth with his family and by the time he returned the Holy Synod of the Constantinople Patriarchate had assigned a new archbishop for Corinth for diplomatic reasons. The Synod, however, gave to Abp. Macarius the right to serve anywhere he liked unhindered. He wandered to Chios and then Mount Athos where he became involved in the Kollyvades movement, taking a strict stand on keeping the early Christian practices and ridding the Church of bad innovations such as memorial services for the dead on Sundays. Finding the upheaval at Athos disappointing, Abp. Macarius left for Chios and then Patmos. On Patmos, Macarius was attracted by the Holy Cave of the Revelation and the Godly guarded Monastery of St. Christodoulos. There in 1782, with the permission of the Monastery of Saint John, Abp. Macarius founded a hermitage with a small church to honor All the Saints on Mount of Koumana and spent the next ten years. There he met Niphon of Chios, Gregory of Nisyros, and Athanasius of Armenia. In his isolation, Macarius began copying, by hand, the codices and wrote a biography of St. Christodoulos. Finding works of the Fathers of the Church in the monastery library, Macarius selected from them material for the Philokalia that, later, he gave to St. Nicodemus the Athonite.** (Macarius Notaras of Corinth. Orthodoxwiki. <orthodoxwiki.org/Macarius_Notaras_of_Corinth>.)

- **[Macarius Quotes Quaestiones Aliae]** Who could give us an example that we can grasp with our senses so that our dark mind is found in an adoration of this mystery. **The Eastern Church fathers left to us many writings like Athanasius:** "listen about various and clear symbols regarding the Virgin who gave birth; remember that Adam was a virgin when he begot [lit., gave birth] Eve; and he remained virgin, as he was beforehand. And in the way that the virgin Adam begot and remained a virgin, this way also Virgin Mary, while virgin, gave birth to Christ, and all the same she remained virgin."(Quaestiones Aliae 19; Translated by Pavlos D. Vasileiadis, Preliminary English Translation, 2019, p. 14)
 - **Greek:** Ποῖος νὰ μᾶς ἔδιδε σήμερον ἓνα παράδειγμα παχυλὸν καὶ αἰθητὸν διὰ νὰ ἔυρη τὸν σκοτεινὸν μας νοῦν καὶ πολυαμάρτητον, εἰς μίαν εὐλαβητικῶ προσκνήσιν τούτου τοῦ μυστηρίου; μῦς ἄφησαν παλλὰ γεγραμμένα οἱ θεόσοφοι διδάσκαλοι τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς μας Ἐκκλησίας, **καθὼς εἶναι καὶ ὁ πολὺπλος Ἀθανάσιος. ὁ ὁποῖος πρὶ τούτου τοῦ Μυστηρίου γράφει.** «ἄκουσον περὶ τῆς γεννησάσης Παρθένου ποικίλα καὶ ἐναργέστατα σύμβολα· μνήσθητι, ὅτι παρθένος ὦν ὁ Ἀδὰμ τὴν Εὐᾶν ἐγέννησε· καὶ πάλιν παρθένος διέμεινε, καθάπερ τὸ πρότερον. Καὶ ὡσπερ ὁ Ἀδὰμ παρθένος ἐγέννησε καὶ παρθένος διέμεινε, οὕτω καὶ ἡ Θεοτόκος Μαρία, παρθένος οὖσα, ἔτεκε τὸν Χριστὸν, καὶ πάλιν παρθένος διέμεινε.»[Quaestiones Aliae 19; Migne Graeca PG 28.789B-C] (Macarius Notaras of Corinth, "Εὐαγγελικὴ Σάλπιγξ" Gospel Trumpet, 1765, p. 141)

Quaestiones Aliae in an Unpublished Report to the Synod (1289 AD)

• **[The Synod of 1289]** At the very end of Codex Atheniensis 1217 (13th century), fol. 174r-176v, there is a document addressed to the synod [of 1288] (fol. 174r) apparently connected with this controversy ["and through the Son": Filioque clause added to the Nicene creed] that in part was responsible for the later resignation of Gregory II of Cyprus (1289).

The Witness of God is Greater

Although the document ["report"] bears no name and the end is missing, it is doubtless the work of the monk Mark, as the internal evidence indicates. (Papadakis, Gregory II of Cyprus and an Unpublished Report to the Synod, 1975, p. 234)

• **Mark's "report" was a written personal retraction of his [previously condemned] commentary [on the procession of the Holy Spirit] and a denunciation of his teacher the patriarch [Gregory II of Cyprus].** The text [of the "report"] is clearly addressed to the bishops... "But, since the divine and holy synod has proscribed [condemned] the commentary, I am first, to reject it with all my heart, and will give such proof of my rejection as you wish it to have." [Mark's Report to the Synod, Section 2, 2002, Appendix II, p. 231] The bishops, in other words, demanded not only a retraction of the "commentary" but also proof of its rejection. The "report" is this proof. Since Gregory II of Cyprus is still referred to as "patriarch" in the text, it would appear that the synod's request and the writing of the "report" occurred before Gregory's resignation in June 1289. (Papadakis, Crisis in Byzantium, 2002, p. 170)

- **[Mark's report]** For the phrase "the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son" plainly denotes the unity (conjoining) and equality of the Son and the Holy Spirit, the two casualties. But if someone said that the Father's being Projector of the Holy Spirit through the Son is equivalent to procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father through the Son, he would clearly teach that the unity and equality of the Son and Projector amounts to two causes. **For if "through the Son" is added to the causality, that is, the Holy Spirit, it clearly represents the unity and equality of the two causalities;** [Quaestiones Aliae 11; Migne Graeca, PG 28.784] (Papadakis, Crisis in Byzantium, 2002, p. 233).
 - **Greek:** ὅτι τὸ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ συνημμένον καὶ ὁμότιμον τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, τῶν δύο αἰτιατῶν, ἐναργῶς παριστάνει. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ εἶναι τὸ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, πάντως τὸ συνημμένον καὶ ὁμότιμον τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ προβολέως ὡς δύο αἰτίων ἀριδιήλως εἶναι διδάσκει. τὸ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, **εἰ μὲν προστεθῆ τῷ αἰτιατῷ, ἤγουν τῷ Πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ, τὸ συνημμένον καὶ ὁμότιμον τῶν δύο αἰτιατῶν σαφῶς παριστάνει.** (Papadakis, Gregory II of Cyprus and an Unpublished Report to the Synod, 1975, p. 239)
- **Quaestiones Aliae : Question 11:** About God, how many causes [lit. it-causes]? **Answer:** I speak about one cause regarding God, and this is the Father. The Father himself gives birth to [or generates] the Son, and proceeds also the Spirit. **Thus, get to know that only the Father is cause [lit. he-cause]; but the Son is not cause but the effect [or, the product of the cause]. Therefore, there is only one cause the Father, but there are two effects: the Son and the Spirit.** (Quaestiones Aliae 11; Translated by Pavlos D. Vasileiadis, Preliminary English translation of Pseudo-Athanasius's Quaestiones aliae, 2019, p. 10)
 - **Greek:** Ἐρώτ. ια'. Ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ πόσα αἴτια; Ἀπόκ. Ἐν αἴτιον ἐπὶ Θεοῦ λέγω, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὁ Πατήρ. Αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Πατήρ γεννᾷ τὸν Υἱόν, καὶ ἐκπορεύει καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα. **Λοιπὸν γίνωσκε, ὅτι ὁ Πατήρ μόνος ἔστιν αἴτιος· ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς οὐκ ἔστιν αἴτιος, ἀλλ' αἰτιατός. Ὡστε μὲν αἰτιός ἐστι μόνος ὁ Πατήρ· τὰ δὲ αἰτιατὰ δύο, ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα.** (Quaestiones Aliae 11; Migne Graeca, PG 28.784)

Disputatio Contra Arium (circa 350-400 AD)

• **[Rigolio : Overview & Aspects]** 24. Ps. Athanasius, Disputatio Contra Arium. Date of composition: late fourth cent. The Disputatio is an extensive dialogue arguing against Arian doctrine that, in the current edition, features Athanasius and Arius as speakers. The text opens with a narrative section that, presented as if written by Athanasius in first person, sets the scene and explains the occasion of the dialogue (1-3). The rest of the [PAGE 116] text consists entirely of the exchanges between the two speakers, and unexpectedly ends with Arius' abjuration of his belief and conversion to Nicene doctrine (45-46). 275 The narrative introduction, scene setting and Arius' eventual conversion make the Disputatio significantly different from the other surviving Pseudo-Athanasius dialogues in that they do not feature a narrative voice or an elaborate scene setting. ...A remarkable feature of the Disputatio is that its author appears especially concerning with the format of the debate. Athanasius takes the lead in suggesting [PAGE 117] and implementing the format that the speakers have agreed on. ...In addition, according to the same scholar [Stockhausen], the author of the Disputatio may have been aware of Athanasius' Orations against the Arians, but the polite tone of the dialogue marks the distance from the aggressiveness of the Orations. 279 ...At the same time, Von Stockhausen suggests that significant features of the

The Witness of God is Greater

Disputation should be understood in the tradition of the Socratic dialogue. As the prologue makes clear, the dialogue is presented as taking place while the main character is walking together with a group of followers, a description that suggests a circle of philosophers having a conversation while walking; the reference to the weakness of Athanasius' body (ἀσθένεια) may likewise be a literary element. In the first part of the conversation at least, the questions asked by Athanasius are short and often expect a yes or no answer. Despite his initial designation as an "anthropomorphic beast" at the beginning of the dialogue (3=441B), Arius strikes one simply as a less expert theologian, and his behavior has been compared to that of a junior speaker in a Socratic dialogue. (24. Ps. Athanasius, *Disputatio Contra Arium*; Rigolio, *Christians in Conversation*, 2019, p. 115-117)

• **[Andrist: 4th Century Genre Dialogue]** All these dialogues begin ex abrupto and do not present any literary context; all of them are found in the tradition of Athanasius, even though they are sometimes attributed to other authors, such as Maximus Confessor; and all of them [PAGE 46] can be dated in the last decade of the fourth or the first half of the fifth century. Moreover, there are reasons to envisage that these techniques of writing dialogues concentrating on arguments and ideas might ultimately be related to the School of Didymus in Alexandria and more or less directly reflect an academic way of debating in this intellectual circle.⁸ This tendency to 'depersonalise' the characters in literary dialogues seems to have enjoyed some success in scholarly circles of the time, as exemplified by two other contemporary texts. This tendency to 'depersonalise' the characters in literary dialogues seems to have enjoyed some success in scholarly circles of the time, as exemplified by two other contemporary texts. (Andrist, "Literary Distance and Complexity in Late Antique and Early Byzantine Greek Dialogues Adversus Iudaeos (late 4th - early 9th c.)", 2017, p. 45-46)

• **[Andrist: Unique Aspects of Disputatio]** 3. (= IX)"Disputatio contra Arium"("Dialogus in synodo Nicaena", CPG 2250): So far, this dialogue is the least researched within the texts discussed here and most difficult to date (but see now from Stockhausen 2010). It is characterized above all by its rather long, partly scenic structure Introduction, according to which Arius is refuted by Athanasius. Especially in Greek tradition, this dialogue often circulates without the others Texts. In the Armenian tradition it is occasionally in two dialogues divided and sometimes found together with "dial. Athan. et Zacch."(Andrist, *Pseudathanasianische Dialoge*, 2011, p. 356)

• **[Martin : 1 Jn 5:7 in Context of Dialogue]** From page 145 to the middle of page 147 the Orthodox Author, who defends the Divinity of the Holy Ghost against the Arian, after having established at large in this Dialogue the eternal and consubstantial Divinity of the Son, and proved by divers Texts of Scripture [PAGE 140] these two fundamental truths, that the Son is God with the Father, and that the Holy Ghost is like manner God (with the Father and the Son), concludes the mystery of the Trinity (on page 147) with some reflections upon Moses, Elias, and St. Paul. He says, "that this Apostle [Paul] was therefore carried up into the third Heaven because he bore the Trinity in his heart; God being willing to teach us by this example, that no person can ascend into Heaven, unless he has the same faith which St. Paul had. And the quickening and salutary Baptism, by which we receive remission of sins, and without which no person was ever admitted into Heaven: Is it not administered to the Faithful in the name of the Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost? Besides all this St. John says, AND THESE THREE ARE ONE."(Martin, *The genuineness of the text of the first Epistle of Saint John 5:7*, 1722, p. 139-140)

HIT:

- **[Athanasius responds]** You have been deceived. At which time Isaiah saw the glory of the Lord, and the army of the holy forces, what did he say voicing loudly in the divine hymns? Not, "Holy, Holy, Holy?" Because neither they sing rising upwards this number, nor lowering downwards going down by lowering the praise? At all events it is not lawful (or, right) to give honour to something outside the Trinity, and also not to reduce a bit the hymn, because of the holy and blessed divinity of the Trinity, being self-contained in unity. Why did Moses teach the people to bend their neck and their knees three times on the earth, to worship? but to denote the worship of the Trinity in one Godhead? But even the divine Elijah raises the dead at the third breathing, to shew that no man can be worthy of eternal life, thus, if first only is received the coequal and consubstantial and life-giving Trinity, through reverential faith in the soul. which by the sentence of fire consumes all [kinds of] deadly sins [transgressions],

The Witness of God is Greater

which are killing the soul, and is making alive the eternal life that have obtained it. Neither could Paul otherwise have ascended to the third heaven, unless he had possessed in his heart the indelible and consubstantial faith of the Trinity. God willing to show through this, no one could be able of being driven into the kingdom of heaven, that didn't happen by the faith that inhabited within Paul. Likewise isn't it the remission of sins procured by that quickening and sanctifying ablution [baptism], without which no man shall see the kingdom of heaven, [a baptism] given to the faithful in the thrice-blessed name? **And besides all these, John says: "And the three are the one".** (1 John 5:7)

- **Greek:** Ἀθ. εἶπε· Πεπλάνησαι. Ἦνικά εἶδεν Ἡσαΐας τὴν δόξαν Κυρίου, καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα τῶν ἁγίων δυνάμεων, τί ἔφη λέγειν βοῶσας ἐν ταῖς θεαῖς ὑμνωδίαις; Οὐχ, «Ἄγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος;» Διὰ τί οὔτε ἀνωτέρω τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τούτου ἐπανιόντα ὑμνοῦσιν, οὔτε μὴ κατωτέρω ὑποβαίνοντα μειοῦσι τὸν αἶνον; Πάντως τῷ μὴ ἐκτὸς τῆς Τριάδος θέμις τοιοῦτω γέρα τιμηθῆναι τινα, μήτε ἐλαττώσαι τινα τὸν ὕμνον, διὰ τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ μακαρίαν θεότητα τῆς Τριάδος, ἐν μονάδι οὔσαν αὐτάρκη. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ Μωσῆς τίνος ἔνεκεν τὸν λαὸν ἐδίδαξε, τρεῖς κάμπαντα ἐπὶ γῆς τὸν αὐχένα καὶ τὰ γόνατα, προσκυνῆσαι; Οὐ διὰ τὴν τῆς Τριάδος προσκύνησιν τῆς ἐν μιᾷ θεότητι; Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ θεοφόρος Ἠλίας, τρίτῳ φυσήματι ἐγείρει τὸν υἱὸν τῆς χήρας; οὐδὲν ἕτερον δεικνύς, ἢ μὴ δύνασθαί τινα τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς ἀξιωθῆναι, εἰ μὴ ἄρα πρῶτον ἀναλήψεται τὴν ἰσότημον καὶ ὁμοούσιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν Τριάδα διὰ τῆς σεβασμιωτάτης πίστεως ἐν ψυχῇ, ἥτις πυρὸς δίκην ἀναλίσκει τὰ νεκρὰ πάντα πταισμάτα, τὰ νεκροῦντα τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ ζωοποιεῖ τὴν κεκτημένην αὐτὴν αἴδιον ζωὴν; Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸν 28.500 χριστοφόρον Παῦλον μὴ ἄλλως δεδυνῆσθαι ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ ἀνεληλυθέναι, εἰ μὴ ἐκέκτητο ἐν στέρνοις αὐτοῦ τὴν τῆς Τριάδος ἀνέκλειπτον καὶ ὁμοούσιον πίστιν· ὁ Θεὸς βουλόμενος δεικνύει διὰ τοῦ τοιοῦτου πράγματος, μηδένα εἰσελάσαι δύνασθαι εἰς τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν, τὸν ἐκ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐνοικησάσης ἐν Παύλῳ μὴ γεγονότα. Τί δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν παρεκτικὸν, καὶ ζωοποιὸν, καὶ ἁγιαστικὸν λουτρὸν, οὐ χωρὶς οὐδεὶς ὄφεται τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, οὐκ ἐν τῇ τρισμακαρίᾳ ὀνομασίᾳ δίδοται τοῖς πιστοῖς; **Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν Ἰωάννης φάσκει· «Καὶ οἱ τρεῖς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν.»** (I Joan. V, 7). (Disputation Contra Arium 44; Migne Graeca, PG 28.499-500)

Fathers Cite Disputatio as the words and work of Athanasius

[Migne Graeca] Furthermore, the Greeks of the 12th Century recognized [Disputatio Contra Arium] as a genuine work of Athanasius. (Latin: Porro vides Graecam saeculi xii synodum agnovisse ut genuinum Athanasii opus. Migne Graeca, PG 140.209, fn. 7)

• **Niketas or Nicetas Choniates** (Greek: Νικήτας Χωνιάτης, ca. 1155 to 1217), whose real surname was Akominatos (Ἀκομινάτος), was a Greek Byzantine government official and historian – like his brother Michael Akominatos, whom he accompanied to Constantinople from their birthplace Chonae (from which came his nickname, "Choniates" meaning "person from Chonae"). Nicetas wrote a history of the Eastern Roman Empire from 1118 to 1207. His theological work, (Thesaurus Orthodoxae Fidei), although extant in a complete form in manuscripts, has been published only in part. It is one of the chief authorities for the heresies and heretical writers of the 12th century. (Niketas Choniates. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Niketas_Choniates>)

- **[Thesaurus. Book 25.6]** St Athanasius's, from his discourse speech, which was given at the holy first great synod at Nicaea towards Arius (Nicetae Choniatae. Thesauri Lib. XXV.6; Translated by Pavlos D Vasileiadis, correspondence, 15 December 2018)
 - **Greek:** Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου, ἐκ τοῦ διαλεκτικοῦ λόγου, ὃ ἐποιήσατο ἐν τῇ κατὰ Νίκαιαν ἁγίᾳ πρώτῃ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ πρὸς τὸν Ἄρειον. (Nicetae Choniatae. Thesauri Lib. XXV.6; Migne Graeca, PG 140.209)

• **John XI Bekkos** (also, commonly, Beccus; name sometimes also spelled Veccus, Vekkos, or Beccos), (c. 1225 – March 1297) was Patriarch of Constantinople from June 2, 1275 to December 26, 1282, and the chief Greek advocate, in Byzantine times, of the reunion of the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches. John Bekkos was born in Nicaea among the exiles from Constantinople during the period of Latin occupation of that city, and died in prison in the fortress of

The Witness of God is Greater

St. Gregory near the entrance to the Gulf of Nicomedia.[1] (John XI of Constantinople. Wikipedia.

<en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_XI_of_Constantinople>

- **[Union of the Old Church and the new Rome]** For forthwith St. Athanasios the Great, in the disputation with Arius that took place at the Synod in Nicaea, which begins, “By God’s providence, I was on my way with my most beloved brethren, having visited the servants of God dear to me” **[Disputatio contra Arium. Migne Graeca PG 28, 440A]**, says: “[From such examples] we learn that the Son was begotten from the essence of God the Father.” **[Disputatio contra Arium. Migne Graeca PG 28, 477C]** The same [Father], in the discourse that begins, “You did well in indicating me the discussion that you had,” [Epistola de Nicaenis decretis. Migne Graeca 25, 416A] says thus: “Son and creature could not be the same, unless His essence be thought to be both from God and external to God.” [Epistola de Nicaenis decretis. Migne 25, 448A] And much further on in the same discourse [he says]: “The essence of the Son is not something devised from without, nor is it introduced from non-existent things; rather, it springs from the essence of the Father as radiance from light and as vapor from water.” [Epistola de Nicaenis decretis. Migne Graeca PG 25, 460C] (John XI Bekkos, The union of the old church and the new Rome; Migne Graeca, PG 141.143C; Father Patapios, Correspondence, January 2019)
 - **Greek:** Αὐτίκα γὰρ ὁ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος ἐν εἰς πρὸς Ἄρειον διαλέκτῳ τῇ γενομένῃ ἐν τῇ κατὰ Νίκαιαν συνόδῳ, ἧς ἡ ἀρχὴ · «Τῆ τοῦ Θεοῦ προνοίᾳ ἀπήειν προσεληλυθὼς σὺν τοῖς φιλότατοις μου ἀδελφοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἐμοὶ ποθοῦ μένους τοῦ [Θεοῦ] Χριστοῦ δούλους.» **[Disputatio contra Arium. Migne Graeca PG 28, 440A]** φησὶν [Psalm. CIX. 3.] Καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγα · «Τὸν Υἱὸν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα [ἐκ τῶν τοιοῦτων παραδειγμάτων] μανθάνομεν.” **[Disputatio contra Arium. Migne Graeca PG 28, 477C]** Ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ · «Καλῶς ἐποίησας δηλώσας μοι τὴν γενομένην παρὰ σοῦ ζήτησιν.» [Epistola de Nicaenis decretis. Migne Graeca 25, 416A] οὕτω φησὶν · «Οὐκ ἂν εἶη αὐτὸς Υἱὸς καὶ κτίσμα, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἔξωθεν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ οὐσία αὐτοῦ νομιζήτα.» [Epistola de Nicaenis decretis. Migne 25, 448A] Καὶ μετὰ πολλὰ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ · «Οὐκ ἔξωθέν τις ἐστὶν ἐφευρεθεῖσα ἡ τοῦ Υἱοῦ οὐσία, οὐδὲ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων ἐπεισέχθη, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας ἔφυ, ὡς τοῦ φωτὸς τὸ ἀπαύγασμα, καὶ ὡς ὕδατος ἀμίς.» [Epistola de Nicaenis decretis. Migne Graeca PG 25, 460C] (John XI Bekkos, De unione Ecclesiarum veteris et novae Romae; Migne Graeca, PG 141.143C)
- **[Union of the Old Church and the new Rome]** Athanasius the great in his discourse to Arius that took place at the synod of Nicaea, which at the beginning mentions that “With God’s providence I left so that to come together with my brothers to Christ’s servants that are convinced by me” **[Disputatio contra Arium. Migne Graeca PG 28, 440A]**; “therefore God saying to his Son through the prophet, ‘From the womb, before morning-star, I brought you forth,’ [Ps 109:3b] means the generation of the Son from the fatherly essence.” **[Disputatio contra Arium. Migne Graeca PG 28, 476D]** And just below: “For no other reason he mentions womb, only for representing that the Son himself was brought forth [or, generated] by the Father’s essence.” **[Disputatio contra Arium. Migne Graeca PG 28, 476D-477A]** And just below: “When, then, the Scripture says that from womb was brought forth [or generated] the Son, the origination of the Son from the divine substance is meant.” And just below: “And that the Son is brought forth [or, generated] from the essence of the God and Father we learn [from these examples].” **[Disputatio contra Arium. Migne Graeca PG 28, 477C]** (John XI Bekkos, The union of the old church and the new Rome; Translation by Pavlos D Vasileiadis, correspondence, December 2018.)
 - **Greek:** Ὁ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸν Ἄρειον διλέλει τῇ γενομένῃ ἐν τῇ κατὰ Νίκαιαν συνόδῳ, ἧς ἡ ἀρχὴ, “Τῆ τοῦ Θεοῦ προνοίᾳ ἀπήει προσεληλυθὼς σὺν τοῖς φιλότατοις μου ἀδελφοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἐμοὶ πειθομένους τοῦ Χριστοῦ δούλους,” **[Disputatio contra Arium. Migne Graeca PG 28, 440A]** φησὶν. “Οὐκοῦν ὁ Θεὸς λέγων πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον Υἱὸν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου, «Ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε,” [Psalm cix, 3] σημαίνει τὴν ἐκ τῆς πατρικῆς οὐσίας γέννησιν τοῦ Υἱοῦ.” **[Disputatio contra Arium. Migne Graeca PG 28, 476D]** Καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγα · “Δι’ οὐδὲν ἕτερον γαστέρα ὀνομάζει, ἢ ἵνα παραστήσῃ αὐτὸν τὸν Υἱὸν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας γεγεννησθαι.” **[Disputatio contra Arium. Migne Graeca PG 28, 476D to 477A]** Καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγα · “Ὅταν οὖν φάσκη ἡ Γραφὴ ἐκ γαστρὸς γεγεννησθαι τὸν Υἱὸν, τὴν ἐκ τῆς θεϊκῆς ὑποστάσεως γνησιότητα τοῦ Υἱοῦ σημαίνει.” Καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγα · “Τὸν οὖν Υἱὸν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα [ἐκ τῶν τοιοῦτων παραδειγμάτων] μανθάνομεν.” **[Disputatio**

The Witness of God is Greater

contra Arium. Migne Graeca PG 28, 477C] (John XI Bekkos, De unione Ecclesiarum veteris et novae Romae; Migne Graeca, PG 141, 707-708)

• **[Council of Florence 1438-1443 AD]** ...[The council began in Ferrara, but] was transferred to Florence in 1439 because of the danger of plague at Ferrara and because Florence had agreed, against future payment, to finance the Council.[1] The Council had meanwhile successfully negotiated reunification with several Eastern Churches, reaching agreements on such matters as the Western insertion of the phrase "Filioque" to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, the definition and number of the sacraments, and the doctrine of Purgatory. Another key issue was papal primacy, which involved the universal and supreme jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome over the whole Church, including the national Churches of the East (Serbian, Greek, Moldo-Wallachian, Bulgarian, Russian, Georgian, Armenian etc.) and nonreligious matters such as the promise of military assistance against the Ottomans. The final decree of union was a signed document called the *Laetentur Caeli*, "Let the Heavens Rejoice". Some bishops, perhaps feeling political pressure from the Byzantine Emperor, accepted the decrees of the Council and reluctantly signed. Others did so by sincere conviction, such as Isidore of Kiev, who subsequently suffered greatly for it. Only one Eastern Bishop, Mark of Ephesus, refused to accept the union and became the leader of the opposition back in Byzantium, while the Serbian patriarch did not even attend the council. The Russians, upon learning of the union, angrily rejected it and ousted any prelate who was even remotely sympathetic to it, declaring the Russian Orthodox Church as autocephalus (i.e., as having its "own head"). Despite the religious union, Western military assistance to Byzantium was ultimately insufficient, and the fall of Constantinople occurred in May 1453. The Council declared the Basel group heretics and excommunicated them, and the superiority of the Pope over the Councils was affirmed in the bull *Etsi non dubitemus* of 20 April 1441.[1] ...**In early April 1438, the Greek contingent, over 700 strong, arrived at Ferrara. On 9 April 1438, the first solemn session at Ferrara began, with the Eastern Roman Emperor, the Patriarch of Constantinople and representatives of the Patriarchal Sees of Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem in attendance and Pope Eugene IV presiding.** The early sessions lasted until 17 July 1438 with each theological issue of the Great Schism (1054) hotly debated, including the Procession of the Holy Spirit, the Filioque clause in the Nicene Creed, Purgatory and papal primacy. Resuming proceedings on 8 October 1438, the Council focused exclusively on the Filioque matter. Even as it became clear that the Greek Church would never consent to the Filioque clause, the Byzantine Emperor continued to press for a reconciliation. ...**The Council soon became even more international.** The signature of this agreement for the union of the Latins and the Greeks encouraged **Pope Eugenius to announce the good news to the Coptic Christians, and invite them to send a delegation to Florence. He wrote a letter on 7 July 1439, and to deliver it, sent Alberto da Sarteano as an apostolic delegate. On 26 August 1441, Sarteano returned with four Ethiopians from Emperor Zara Yaqob and Copts.[8] According to a contemporary observer "They were black men and dry and very awkward in their bearing (...) really, to see them they appeared to be very weak".[9] At that time, Rome had delegates from a multitude of nations, from Armenia to Russia, Greece and various parts of north and east Africa.[10] ...Nicholas of Cusa** was a member of the delegation sent to Constantinople with the pope's approval to bring back the Byzantine emperor and his representatives to the Council of Florence of 1439. At the time of the council's conclusion in 1439, Cusa was thirty-eight years old and thus, compared to the other clergy at the council, a fairly young man though one of the more accomplished in terms of the body of his complete works. (Council of Florence. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Council_of_Florence>)

- **[Council of Florence - 10 martii 1439]** The blessed Athanasius in his dialogue disputing in the council against Arius, speaks so as well in these words. This is the passage: "The Spirit, therefore, is of the substance of Father and Son, whose grace is in the Symbolum as the Son of God names Him in the holy Symbolum as Third, where it has: Going out, baptize them in the Name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit." From this, namely that in the holy Symbolum He is placed as Third Person, Athanasius concludes that He is one substance with the Father and the Son and thus, that He necessarily has His substance through the Father and Son. [Ps.-Athanasius, *Disputatio contra Arium in concilio Nicaeno*, c. 38 = Migne PG 28, 480.] (Council of Florence, "Sessio Florentina - collatio IV, unv. XVII - 10 martii 1439", p. 165-166, lines 36ff; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence December 2019)
 - **Latin:** Iste beatissimus Athanasius in illo dyalogo disputans in concilio sic contra Arium ita dicit etiam istis verbis. Hec est epistola. "Spiritus igitur ex patris et filii substantia est scilicet cuius gratia, filius dei

The Witness of God is Greater

nominat eum in sanctificato simbolo tertium in simbolo, ubi habet : 'Euntes baptizate eos in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti.' Ex hoc Athanasius, quod pontiur in simbolo sanctificato tercia persona, concludit, quod sit [PAGE 165] substantia patris et filii et sic, quod necessario habeat substantiam a patre et filio. [Ps.-Athanasius, Disputatio contra Arium in concilio Nicaeno, c. 38 = Migne PG 28, 480.] (Council of Florence,"Sessio Florentina, collatio IV, unv. XVII - 10 martii 1439", p. 165-166, lines 36ff)

- **[Council of Florence - 8 martii 1439: #1]** Athanasius speaks thus, that all could understand the response and vain refutation which you have produced; therefore in his dialogue against Arius he said, just as alleged:"If, therefore, the Spirit is not of the substance of Father and Son, whose grace God includes in the saying of the Son of God in the holy Symbolum: 'Going out, teach them, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.'"[Ps.-Athanasius, Disputatio contra Arium, c. 38 = Migne PG 28, 489B.] (Council of Florence,"Sessio Florentina - collatio III, univ. XVI - 8 martii 1439", p. 172, lines 28-32; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence December 2019)
 - **Latin:** Dicit Athanasius sic, ut omnes intelligunt responsionem et vanam confutationem, quam fecistis; in illo dyalogo contra Arium ita dixit, prout allegavi:"Si ergo non est de substantia patris et filii spiritus, cuius gratia connumeravit deus dei filius in sanctificationis simbolo dicens: 'Euntes docete omnes baptizantes eos in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti.' [Ps.-Athanasius, Disputatio contra Arium, c. 38 = Migne PG 28, 489B.] (Council of Florence, Sessio Florentina - collatio III, univ. XVI - 8 martii 1439, p. 172, lines 28-32)
- **[Council of Florence - 8 martii 1439: #2]** Therefore Athanasius appeals to the saying of the holy Symbolum:"If the Spirit were not of the substance of Father and Son, He would not be placed in this Symbolum."[Ps.-Athanasius, Disputatio contra Arium, c. 38 = Migne PG 28, 489B.] (Council of Florence,"Sessio Florentina - collatio III, univ. XVI - 8 martii 1439", p. 172-173, lines 39ff; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence December 2019)
 - **Latin:** Ideo Athanasius vocat sanctificationis symbolum dicens:"Si spiritus non esset de substantia patris et filii, non [PAGE 173] poneretur in hoc simbolo."[Ps.-Athanasius, Disputatio contra Arium, c. 38 = Migne PG 28, 489B.] (Council of Florence,"Sessio Florentina - collatio III, univ. XVI - 8 martii 1439", p. 172-173, lines 39ff)

Date of Dialogue : Internal Evidence

- **Bernhard Voss** considered whether it could not be deduced from this that the **dialogue arose very early and that there is thus real contemporary knowledge**. (Stockhausen, Die pseud-athanasiansche Disputatio contra Arium, 2010, p. 150)
- **[Martin: Early Date]** The Orthodox, represented in this Dialogue under the name of Athanasius, demands of the Arian, represented by the name Arius, whether by saying the Emperor Constatine reigns by Sea and Land, they did not thereby say that the Son Constantius did not reign there also. The Arian answers, it would be very dangerous to say that Constantius does not reign with Constantine his Father. It appears plainly from all this, that this Dialogue must have been composed whilst the Emperor [PAGE 138] Constantine was living, and at the time Constantius was sent into the East, where he made himself famous by the victories he gain'd over the enemies of the State, about the year 336 somewhat before the death of the great Constantine, which fell out on the 22nd of May, 337 **which evidently proves that this Dialogue must have been written about the year of our Lord 336 and wrote withal in the East, where Constantius was that year**. (Martin, The genuineness of the text of the first Epistle of Saint John 5:7, 1722, p. 137-138)
 - **David Martin** (7 September 1639 – 9 September 1721), a learned French Protestant theologian, was born at Revel, in the diocese of Lavaur. He was educated at Montauban, and at the academy of the reformed at Nîmes. He afterwards studied divinity at Puy-Laurent, whither the academy of Montauban had been removed. Having been admitted to the ministry in 1663, he settled as pastor with the church of Esperance, in the diocese of Castres. In 1670 he accepted an invitation to the church of La Caune, in the same diocese, where he officiated till

The Witness of God is Greater

the revocation of the edict of Nantes, in 1685. In 1686, the magistrates of Deventer invited him to become professor of divinity and pastor of the Walloon church in that city; but the regency of Utrecht, where he had taken up his residence, fully appraised of his merit, prevailed upon him to accept the office of pastor in their city. He had studied his native language grammatically; and when the French Academy was about to publish the second edition of their Dictionary, he sent them remarks and observations, of which they availed themselves, with polite acknowledgements to the author. He died of a violent fever in 1721, after he had completed his eighty-second year. (David Martin French theologian. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/David_Martin_(French_theologian)>)

• **[Stockhausen: Dialogue Dated circa 350]** Another interesting text can be found in Chap. 22.94 Athanasius makes clear in his argument that the Son is also "true God," and that John 17:3, in this sense, is an example. Arius wanted to understand the verse in such a way that only God is "true God", but the Son is not, so that "and Jesus Christ whom Thou has sent" (καὶ ὃν ἀπέστειλας Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν) is no longer part of the intent of "that they might know thee, the only true God" (ἵνα γινώσκωσι σε τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεόν), that so the "and" (καί) is not an additive "even" "also" (καί). Athanasius then tells Arius that it is a συνδεσμὸς, so that the two parts of the sentence are to be considered together and in no way separate. And to clarify his argument, he now cites the following comparison: "When someone tells his neighbor about Constantine, he says: Know the only Augustus and autocrat of the earth and of the sea, the Emperor Constantine and his son Constantius! Does he confess then the son together with the father? Yes or no?"⁹⁵ Whereupon Arius answers: "There is no small danger in saying that Constantius does not rule with his father Constantine, by subsuming him under him."⁹⁶ And then Athanasius counters: "With Constantine and Constantius you see the greatest danger, but with Jesus Christ and his father you are not afraid if you are so extreme. You have to apply such worship to the Lord, as well as to the said Constantine. You do not steal anything from his son Constantius, that is, that he is Augustus, and everything that was previously said about his father, that nowhere else do you recognize the unity of dignity than through him."⁹⁷ **Bernhard Voss** ⁹⁸ **considered whether it could not be deduced from this that the dialogue arose very early and that there is thus real contemporary knowledge.** [Voss, The dialogue in early Christian literature, 1970, p. 333, fn. 50] This [337 AD] seems unlikely to me, since here in principle a situation is made clear in which **of the three Constantine (d. 327) sons only Konstantius is left, since only and especially he is led in the father-son comparison, so this comparison at the earliest after the year 350 can be formulated. It seems to me, therefore, rather scholarly knowledge, which is attached here by the author: That of the Constantine sons ultimately only the surviving Konstantius has played an important role in the history of the Church. Such scholarly knowledge of the author can also be observed in some other places: Thus, in Chap. 20 another comparison with the emperor led, in Ch. 25 f. a very detailed comparison of the house construction and also in chap. Finally, a comparison of the calendar calculation based on the lunar cycle.** (Stockhausen, Die pseud-athanasianische Disputatio contra Arium, 2010, p. 149-150)

Contemporary Work Referenced : Clementine Homilies (circa 300-320 AD)

• **The author knew the pseudo-clementines.** What version he had in mind is not very sure. 31 (480 C) He refers to Klemens. (Voss, The dialogue in early Christian literature, 1970, p. 333, fn. 50)

• **[Mention of Clement in Dialogue]** Are you suggesting that my body is eternal [like God]? Have you not at some time or another **listened to Clement, the student of Peter the apostle**, who condemns such a doctrine? (Disputatio Contra Arium. 31; Migne Graeca, PG 28.480C-D; Translated by Jake Lake, correspondence July 2019)

Greek: Σὺ δὲ τί φῆς με αἰδῖον συντίθεσθαι τὸ Θεῖον; Οὐκ ἐπηκροάσω ποτὲ Κλήμεντος τοῦ παρακολουθήσαντος Πέτρῳ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ, ὃς καθαιρεῖ τὴν τοιαύτην δόξαν; (Disputatio Contra Arium. 31; Migne Graeca, PG 28.480C-D)

• **[Clementine Homilies : Overview & Date]** The original author (of the Clementine Homilies) shows a detailed knowledge of the towns on the Phoenician coast from Caesarea to Antioch. He was an Arian, and Arianism had its home in the civil diocese of the Orient. He uses the Praeparatio Evangelica of Eusebius of Caesarea (written about 313). In 325 that historian mentions the dialogues of Peter and Appion as just published — presumably in his own region; these were probably the nucleus of the larger work completed by the same hand a few years later. Citations of Pseudo-Clement are by the Palestinian Epiphanius, who found the romance among the

The Witness of God is Greater

Ebionites of Palestine; by St. Jerome, who had dwelt in the Syrian desert and settled at Bethlehem; by the travelled Rufinus; by the Apostolical Constitutions, compiled in Syria or Palestine. **The work is rendered into Syriac before 411. The Arian author of the Opus imperfectum cited it freely. It was interpolated by a Eunomian about 365–70. All these indications suggest an Arian author before 350 in the East, probably not far from Caesarea. ...the [Clementine] Homilies (books 10–14), preserved in two British Library manuscripts, one of which was written in the year 411. Some fragments of the Clementines are known in Arabic, Armenian and in Slavonic.** (Clementine literature. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clementine_literature>)

- **[Stead Affirms]** This work (Clementine Homilies) cannot be later than the mid-fourth century, since it was used by the writer of the Recognitions (c. 360-380), which in turn was translated by Jerome. (Stead, Divine Substance, 1977, p. 218)

Disputatio HIT very similar to Clement Homilies

- **[Clementine Homily IX.23]** This then we would have you know, that unless any one of his own accord give himself over as a slave to demons, as I said before, the demon has no power against him. Choosing, therefore, to worship one God, and refraining from the table of demons, and undertaking chastity with philanthropy and righteousness, **and being baptized with the thrice-blessed invocation for the remission of sins**, and devoting yourselves as much as you can to the perfection of purity, you can escape everlasting punishment, and be constituted heirs of eternal blessings. (Clementine Homilies, Homily IX.23; ANF 8, p. 279) (See also: Homily IX.19, PG 2.255-256, ANF 8, page 279; Homily IX.23, PG 2.257-258, ANF 8 p. 279; Homily XIII.4, PG 2.331-332, ANF 8 p. 300-301)

Greek: Καὶ τοῦτο οὖν ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι βουλόμεθα ὅτι, ἐὰν μὴ τις ἐκὼν ἑαυτὸν δαίμοσιν δοῦλον ἐκδοῖ (ὡς τάχιον εἶπον), ὁ δαίμων τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐξουσίαν οὐκ ἔχει. ἓνα οὖν θεὸν σέβειν ἐλόμενοι καὶ «τραπέζης δαιμόνων» ἀποσχόμενοι καὶ σωφροσύνην μετὰ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἀναδεξάμενοι καὶ **τρισμακαρία ἔπονομασία εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν βαπτισάμενοι** τῷ ὅσον δύνασθε ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον τῆς ἀγνείας ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιδιδόναι δύνασθε κολάσεως αἰδίου· υἱοὶ αἰώνιων ἀγαθῶν κληρονόμοι καταστήναι. (Clementine Homilies, Homily IX.23; Migne Graeca PG 2, 257-258) (See also: Homily IX.19, PG 2.255-256; Homily IX.23, PG 2.257-258; Homily XIII.4, PG 2.331-332)

Disputatio has Rare Variant of Jn 14:28

- **[Jn 14:28 variant in Disputatio]** To confirm his point Eusebius appeals to two passages from the Gospel of John: **"The Father who sent me is greater than I"** (cf. Jn 6:44; 14:28)... The form of Jn 14:28 [My Father who sent me is greater than I] is not found elsewhere in Eusebius. Opitz notes ad loc. that it is found in Origen, Comm in Ioh. 32, 29, 363 (GCS Origenes 4, 475) and frequently; De prin. 4, 4, 8 (GCS Origenes 5, 360); **Ps-Athanasius, Disputatio contra Arium 1** (PG 28, 440A); and Arnobius [255-330 AD], Conflictus cum Serapions 2, 1 (CCL 25A, 87). (Lienhard, Marcellus of Ancyra and Fourth Century Theology, 1999, p. 74, fn. 14) [Jn 14:28: Ὁ Πατήρ μου ὁ πῆμψας με μείζων μου ἐστί (TR: ὁ πατήρ μου μείζων μου ἐστί)]

Disputatio In MSS of Athanasius Works

- **[Stockhausen: Disputatio part of Earliest MSS Corpus]** The Disputatio contra Arium is in the context of the so-called x-collection... The x-collection is an independent, well-defined compilation of writings of Athanasius, whose special feature is that it contains a table of contents and excerpts from a letter from Photios to his brother Tarasios on the writings of Athanasius and that in addition to their composition (in contrast, especially to the y-collection, but also to the b-tradition) is handed down very homogeneous. It contains the following Athanasian and pseudo-Athanasian scriptures: Oratio contra gentes (CPG 2090), Oratio de incarnatione verbi (CPG (2091), †**Disputatio contra Arium (CPG 2250)**, Epistula ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae (CPG 2092), Orationes contra Arianos I–III (CPG 2093), †De incarnatione et contra Arianos (CPG 2806), Epistula encyclica (CPG 2124), Epistulae ad Serapionem I–II (CPG 2094), †Epistula catholica (CPG 2241), †Refutatio hypocriseos Meletii et Eusebii (CPG 2242), Epistula ad Epictetum (CPG 2095), †Contra Apolinarem II–I (CPG 2231), In illud: qui dixerit verbum in filium (CPG 2096), †De passione et cruce domini (CPG 2247), Epistula ad Marcellinum (CPG 2097), De virginitate (CPG 2248) und †Testimonia e scriptura (CPG 2240). As can be seen in this list,

The Witness of God is Greater

the disputatio contra arium is not at the very beginning of the collection. But as it comes to stand in accordance with the writings of Contra gentes and De incarnatione (which does not deal with the question of Arian), it functions as an introduction to the "anti-Ananic" writings of Athanasius, which are summarized in this collection, in so far as the disputatio contra Arianos, that it reproduces a discussion between Athanasius and Arius at the Synod of Nicaea itself, which binds Athanasius' writings to be classified thematically and chronologically according to the Synod of Nicaea, and illuminates the background of the dispute. (Stockhausen, Die pseud-athanasianische Disputatio contra Arium, 2010, p. 138-141)

Codex Patmiacus A 4 membr. s. X. [10th century]

- contra gentes M 25,69,23 [Refutation of the Gentiles]
 - de incarnatione M 25,96D [On the incarnation of Christ]
 - **disputatio cum Ario M 28.440.1 [Dialogue with Arius]**
 - ep. ad. episc. Aeg. M 25.537.1 [Letter to the Bishop of Egypt and Libya]
 - contra gentes M 25.53.40 [Refutation of the Gentiles - continued]
 - I, II c. Arian. M 26.12 [Against the Arians, Book 1 and 2]
- (Opitz, Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung der Schriften des Athanasius, vol 23, 1935, p. 9-10)

Codex Genuensis 5, membr. s. X/XI. [10th 11th century]

- de incarnatione M 25.197.10 [On the incarnation of Christ]
 - **disputatio cum Ario M 28.440 [Dialogue with Arius]**
 - epistula ad episcopos Aegypti et Lybae; M 25.537 [Letter to the Bishop of Egypt and Libya]
- (Opitz, Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung der Schriften des Athanasius, vol 23, 1935, p. 11-12)

Affirmed by John Mill (1645– 1707 AD) : Acclaimed Pioneer in NT criticism

• John Mill (c. 1645 – 23 June 1707) was an English theologian.[1] **Mill is noted for his critical edition of the Greek New Testament which included notes on over thirty-thousand variant readings in the manuscripts of the New Testament.**[2] Mill's Novum testamentum græcum, cum lectionibus variantibus MSS. exemplarium, versionum, editionum SS. patrum et scriptorum ecclesiasticorum, et in easdem nolis (Oxford, fol. 1707) was undertaken with the encouragement of John Fell, his predecessor in the field of New Testament criticism; **it took thirty years to complete and was a great advance on previous scholarship.** The text is that of Robertus Stephanus (1550), but the notes, besides including all previously existing collections of various readings, add a vast number derived from his own examination of many new manuscripts, and Oriental versions (the latter unfortunately he used only in the Latin translations). **Though the amount of information given by Mill is small compared with that in modern editions, it is probable that no one, except perhaps Tischendorf, has added so much material for the work of textual criticism.** He was the first to notice the value of the concurrence of the Latin evidence with the Codex Alexandrinus, the only representative of an ancient non-Western Greek text then sufficiently known; this hint was not lost on Bentley. Mill's work noted over 30,000 discrepancies between some 100 extant New Testament manuscripts. His work was attacked by Daniel Whitby and Anthony Collins. Whitby's Examen claimed that Mill had destroyed the validity of the text; Collins received a reply from Bentley (Phileleutherus lipsiensis). Bentley defended Mill noting essentially that Mill was not responsible for the differences between the various manuscripts, he only pointed them out. Bentley further noted that Christendom had indeed survived despite the errors, essentially asserting that Whitby's attacks were unfounded. (John Mill (theologian). Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Mill_(theologian)>)

- **[J. Mill]** For only then did the author of the Disputatio in Concilio Nicaeno Habita ("Debate Held at the Council of Nicaea"), under the name of Athanasius, cite this text [1 John 5:7]. **But from where, you will ask, did this writer know what had remained hidden from the other Greeks for several centuries? From older Greek codices, uncorrupted and complete.** For just as the scattering of the Christians of Asia seems to have brought it about that many codices with this comma missing were read in Greece and various other places, so, without any doubt, did some intact codices, brought to foreign countries during the same period, remain hidden in private people's

The Witness of God is Greater

homes. (J. Mill, The New Testament, with the variant readings MSS. copies and version, edition, manuscripts and writings of the Church Fathers, 1710, p. 585; Translated by Sara Van der Pas, correspondence, August 2020)

Epistula ad episcopum Persarum (350-550 AD)

• **[Forster]** Now the following passage is his [Athanasius] definition of the doctrine of the Trinity, addressed to the heathen Persians: and drawn up, he tells them, “**according to Scripture**” (κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον). (Forster, A New Plea for the Authenticity of the Text of the Three Heavenly Witness, 1867, p. 89)

HIT:

- **[Letter to the Bishop of the Persians]** Therefore, to us there is one God, from whom are all things; **A perfect Trinity [Three persons], consubstantial, of equal power, of equal glory; The Father [who is the source] of all good things, from whom the Son has been begotten, from whom the Holy Spirit is proceeding according to scriptures [that which has been written]; One Godhead making himself known in three hypostasis.** (Athanasius, Letter to the Bishop of the Persians; Translated by Pavlos D. Vasileiadis.)
 - **Greek:** Εἷς γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῖν, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα· Τριάς τελεία, ὁμοούσιος, ἰσοδύναμος, ἰσοκλής· Πατὴρ ἢ πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν πηγὴ, ἐξ οὗ ὁ Υἱὸς ἐγεννήθη, ἐξ οὗ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκπορεύεται κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· Μία θεότης ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσι γνωριζομένη. (Athanasius, Epistula ad episcopum Persarum; Migne Graeca, PG 28.1568B)

Comment:

• **[Forster]** By his own words, “according to the Scripture” (κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον), **St. Athanasius here tells us that he is copying Scripture. And the Scripture copied from, in his concluding words, is, self-evidently, 1 John v. 7, where alone the three-one doctrine is so stated.** (Forster, A New Plea for the Authenticity of the Text of the Three Heavenly Witness, 1867, p. 89)

Liber de definitionibus : Athanasius

Brief Overview : Scholars Disagree

• In 1857, J.P. Migne published Liber de definitionibus in a volume of works Athanasius of Alexandria, he was convinced that it was not the work of Athanasius. He himself admitted in the introduction that it was sometimes ascribed to Gregory of Nyssa, and he shows similarities to that of Maxim the Confessor. While the associations with Maxim are somehow justified, assigning a set of definitions to Gregory of Nyssa is the same misunderstanding as considering Athanasius of Alexandria as their author. ...Maxim's authorship also raises reasonable doubts, because although he lived in the VII century, his work has a completely different character. ...Jean Baptiste Pitra certifies that in many Slavic manuscripts known to him, the definitions were ascribed to Clement Alexandria, Athanasius of Alexandria, Cyril, Maxim and John Damascene. ...Liber de definitionibus resembles the definitions from John Damascus' Dialectic (PG 94, 521-676), but differs from them in content. The author of the Liber de definitionibus should therefore be looked for elsewhere. The list of translations below shows clearly that this work bears a surprising resemblance to the second chapter of Viae dux by Anastasius of Sinai. Only the similarity of names brought this chapter into the volume of the writings of Athanasius of Alexandria.

• According to William Cave, the author of the Guide became Patriarch of Antioch in 561 AD, and he died in 599. He adds that the Guide is a work composed not only of various works by Anastasius himself, but also of the writings of other authors. One of the arguments there is to be the fact that in chapter II, the Guide mentions the late Eulogius Alexandria, who died in 608. Cave concludes that the passage speaking of the death of Eulogius must be a later interpolation. Much more it is likely, however, that the author of the Guide was Anastazy other than that indicated by Cave. For the whole problem is that in the 6th and 7th centuries the name of Anastasius was extremely popular, and many of them were associated with the monastery at Sinai. ...K. H. Uthemann believes that the Guide was written by one author and was not published earlier than the turn of 659/660 and not after the Caliphate of Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan, who ruled in the years 685-705.

The Witness of God is Greater

Richard's arguments, or perhaps more importantly, his authority itself, made the Anastazy, who died in 700 AD, almost unquestionably considered the author of the Guide. The most respected textbook on patrology states that the author of The guide was Anastasius Synaita, who died after AD 700, although he adds that his works are not yet sufficiently researched. Daniel Larison ascribes the Guide to the same author as Sermo Adversus Monotheletas. Larison recognizes that the author of both of these works was Anastazy, who died about a year 700. ...Unfortunately, with the present state of the sources, we cannot say anything with certainty.

• M. Przyszychowska, "Are the Definitions - Liber de definitionibus - of the Pseudo-Athanasius of Alexandria, chapter II of the Guide (Viae Dux) of the son of Anastasis?" in E-Patologos, 4/1, 2019, p.50-53.

HIT:

- [Liber de definitionibus] 8. What is nature? We profess one nature in the theology of the Holy Trinity, but three hypostases. For there is one nature, substance, authority, kingdom, and power of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, three hypostases and three persons, that is, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. **In three persons is the one Godhead known.** (Liber de definitionibus theologicis, 8)
 - **Greek:** Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς θεολογίας μίαν φύσιν ὁμολογοῦμεν τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος, τρεῖς δὲ ὑποστάσεις. Καὶ γὰρ Πατὴρ καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος μία φύσις ἐστὶ, καὶ μία οὐσία, καὶ μία ἐξουσία, καὶ βασιλεία, καὶ δύναμις· τρεῖς δὲ ὑποστάσεις, καὶ τρεῖς χαρακτήρες, καὶ τρία πρόσωπα· τουτέστι Πατὴρ καὶ Υἱὸς καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον. **Μία θεότης ἐστὶν ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις γνωριζομένη.** (Liber de definitionibus 8; Migne Graeca, PG 28.537)

Comment:

Note: Scholars agree that this work was compiled from other other fathers. The majority of scholars seem to think that the work was compiled in the 7th century, but others believe it was compiled in the 6th century. Therefore, I present the citation as originally written by Athanasius of Alexandria (i.e., written in the 4th century).

Athanasius, Dialog I De Sancta Trinitate (PG 28.1116-1157)

Note: The critical appraisal of the De Trinitate 5 Dialogues (Migne Graeca, PG 28.116-1285) began with the publication by Theodore Beze in 1570. Theodore Beze had access to the two earliest manuscripts of these dialogues: cod. Genev. gr. 30 (11th century); cod. Vind. theol. gr. 109 (11th century). Codex Genev gr 30 and codex Vind. theol. gr 109 remain the earliest manuscripts known of these dialogues to this day. Although much of the early criticism concerning the author of these works attributed them to Maximus the Confessor (580-662 AD) following Byzantine scholars of the 14th and 15th centuries, the Byzantine tradition concerning their authorship was largely due to the fact that these five dialogues (along with two against the Macedonians) were placed with Maximus' works (Demetrios Kydones 1324~1398; Gregorios Protosyngellos d. 1459; Johannes Kantakuzenos 1295~1338). However, as more manuscripts were found and it was determined that the theology concerning the person of the Holy Spirit actually began in the early 3rd century, 19th and 20th century scholars began to re-assess these dialogues. It became apparent that the author composed them in the 4th century. Although these scholars do not agree about which author, they have determined that the writings of Dialogue I, II (Migne Graeca, PG 28.116-1201) originate anywhere from 360 to 400 AD. Authors considered by these scholars (Loofs; Stolz; Weigl) are as follows: Apollinaris of Laodicea (d. 382 AD); Diodore of Tarsus (d. 390 AD); Didymus the Blind of Alexandria (313-398 AD); or an unknown earlier source circa 360. Therefore, this citation from Dialogue I will simply be attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria in this paper. (For a critical overview of this history in detail, see: Kim, Ps.-Athanasius, Dialog I de sancta trinitate, 2016. <opus4.kobv.de/opus4-fau/files/8109/Hyounggun_Kim_Dissertation.pdf>)

• **The Anomoean sect of the Arians**, of whom he was the leader, are sometimes called [by whom?] after him Aetians. His work De Fide has been preserved in connection with a refutation written by Epiphanius (Haer. lxxvi. 10). Its main thought is that the homoousia, i.e. the doctrine that the Son (therefore the Begotten) is

The Witness of God is Greater

essentially God, is self-contradictory, since the idea of unbegottenness is just that which constitutes the nature of God. (Aëtius of Antioch. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aëtius_of_Antioch>)

HITS:

- **Anomoean:** Isn't it true, God knows of himself that he is ungenerated?
- **Orthodox:** But what we have recorded is not his Ousia.
- **Anomoean:** *Are you talking about one deity and three hypostases?*
- **Orthodox:** Your earlier knowledge is worthless. I will answer you this way: Hypostasis is one and Deity is another; not because they have different realities, but because the hypostasis denotes something other than the deity. For hypostasis designates [or, is meaning]"being", the divinity"what-is-being".
- Athanasius, Dialogues on the Trinitate I; Migne Graeca, PG 28.1117-1120.

Greek:

- **Ἀνόμ.** Οὐκ οἶδεν 28.1120 οὖν ὁ Θεὸς ἀγέννητον ἑαυτόν;
- **Ὀρθ.** Ἄλλ' οὐ τοῦτό ἐστιν αὐτοῦ ἡ οὐσία, ὃ κατειλήφαμεν.
- **Ἀνόμ.** *Μίαν λέγεις θεότητα, καὶ τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις;*
- **Ὀρθ.** Λέλυται μὲν σου ἡ πρότερον γνώσις. Ἀποκρινοῦμαι δέ σοι καὶ οὕτως· Ἄλλο ἐστὶν ὑπόστασις, καὶ ἄλλο θεότης· οὐχ ὡς ἄλλο πρᾶγμα καὶ ἄλλο, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄλλο τι σημαίνουσας τῆς ὑποστάσεως, καὶ ἄλλο τῆς θεότητος. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὑπόστασις «τὸ εἶναι» σημαίνει· ἡ δὲ θεότης «τὸ τί εἶναι.»
- Athanasius, Dialogues on the Trinitate I; Migne Graeca, PG 28.1117-1120.

Comment:

- [Kim] It is noticeable that the contempt of both groups [Jews & Greeks] is related to their ignorance of the son. For this reason Athanasius brings "Arians" together, now with the Jews, now with the Greeks, in order to put them in a bad light. In Gregory of Nyssa' (335-395 AD) opinion, Eunomius is the defender of the Greeks because he restores the created God, i.e. mixes the Son with the world, so that the Son, as the "firstborn" and as a creature, stands on the same level with all other creatures. And he compares Eunomius to the Jews because they do not accept the son. As far as the "earlier knowledge" is concerned, the following mention of the Orthodoxus must be taken into account: "Hypostasis and deity are different from one another." In this regard, the "earlier knowledge" probably indicates that the terms "hypostasis" and "Ousia" were used synonymously for one another. The "term post quem" of this so-called Neo-Nicene revival is to be accepted at 360/1 at the earliest. (Kim, Ps.-Athanasius, Dialog I de sancta trinitate, 2016, p. 95-96)

On the Incarnation and against the Arians

- **[Quasten]** Concerning the Incarnation and against the Arians: A shorter treatise *De incarnatione et contra Arianos* has come down to us, whose authenticity has been questioned. Nevertheless, no convincing reasons have been advanced against the Athanasian authorship. The objection that Athanasius could not have referred to the Trinity as "One God in three Hypostases" (Greek: εἷς Θεὸς ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν), since he always uses the word *hypostasis* as a synonym for *essence*, is no proof. First of all, at the Alexandrian synod of 362 Athanasius admitted that the term *hypostasis* could be used also in the meaning of *person* and therefore one could speak of "three hypostases" (*Tom. ad Antioch.* 5-6; Migne Graeca, PG 26.801).
- **[Quasten]** In addition, the tract is quoted as genuine by Theodoret (Did. 2, 3) who calls it an *Oration against the Arians*, and by Gelasius (*De duabus naturis*). The content is concerned with the divinity of Christ, which is proved from Scripture, and that of the Holy Spirit (13-19).
- Quasten, Patrology, vol 3, 1986, p. 28-29.

The Witness of God is Greater

- [Riebe] **Bernard de Montfaucon** [Athanasii Archiepiscopi Alexandrini Opera Omnia, 1777, Vol 1, p. 338] defended the authenticity of *De Incarnatione et Contra Arianos* against the suggestion that the author was Apollinaris of Laodicea. (Riebe, Marcellus of Ancyra in modern research, 1992, p. 50)
- [Riebe] **Eduard Weigl** [*Untersuchungen zur Christologie des heiligen Athanasius*, 1914, pp. 150-158.] defended Athanasian authorship on the grounds of the concept of the "goodness of God alone", the general Athanasian style of writing, and expressions like δεύτερος θεός and θεολογεῖσθαι, and he points to the fact that **Theodoret (393-466 AD)** and **Gelasius (d. 496)** refer to *De Incarnatione et Contra Arianos* as a work by **Athanasius**. (Riebe, Marcellus of Ancyra in modern research, 1992, p. 51)

HITS:

- And that is why David, singing to God, says: "For with thee is the fountain of life: in thy light shall we see light;" (Ps. 35:10) for he knows that the Son is the fountain of the Holy Spirit with God the Father. And the Son says through Jeremiah: "My people have committed two evils; they have forsaken me the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out broken cisterns that can hold no water." (Jer. 2:13) And when the seraphim glorify God by saying thrice: "Holy, holy, holy, is the LORD of hosts," (Is. 6:3) they glorify the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Hence, just as we are baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son, so are we also baptized in the name of the Holy Spirit, and we become the sons of God, (Cf. Matt. 5:9, Rom. 8:14, 1 John 3:1) not of gods. **For the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are the Lord of hosts. There is one divinity, and one God, in three hypostases. That is why the Father's words in Isaiah are attributed to the Son by John, and to the Holy Spirit by Paul in Acts.** (Athanasius, *On the Incarnation and against the Arians*; Migne Graeca, PG 26.1000)
 - **Greek:** Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Δαβὶδ ψάλλων τῷ Θεῷ λέγει· Ὅτι παρὰ σοὶ πηγὴ ζωῆς, ἐν τῷ φωτί σου ὀψόμεθα φῶς· οἶδε γὰρ παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ Πατρὶ ὄντα τὸν Υἱὸν τὴν πηγὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Καὶ διὰ Ἰερεμίου ὁ Υἱὸς λέγει· Δύο καὶ πονηρὰ ἐποίησεν ὁ λαός μου· ἐμὲ ἐγκατέλιπον πηγὴν ὕδατος ζῶντος, καὶ ὠρυξαν ἑαυτοῖς λάκκους συντετριμμένους, οἳ οὐ δυνήσονται ὕδωρ συνέχειν. Καὶ ὅτε δοξολογοῦσι τὰ σεραφίμ τὸν Θεόν, λέγοντα τρίτον· Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος Κύριος σαβαώθ, Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα δοξολογοῦσι. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ὡσπερ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ βαπτίζομεθα, οὕτως καὶ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, καὶ γινόμεθα υἱοὶ Θεοῦ, οὐ Θεῶν. **Πατὴρ γὰρ καὶ Υἱὸς καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, Κύριος σαβαώθ ἐστὶ. Μία γὰρ ἡ θεότης καὶ εἷς Θεὸς ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσι. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ἅπερ εἶπεν ὁ Πατὴρ ἐν τῷ Ἰσαΐα, ὁ Ἰωάννης λέγει.** (Athanasius, *On the Incarnation and against the Arians*; Migne Graeca, PG 26.1000)

Comments:

Note: Full Greek & Latin text of Theodoret & Gelasius are in the Appendix.

Theodoret (393-466 AD)

- **Testimony of the holy Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria.**
- **From the longer Discourse De Fide:** Of the same from his book against the Arians: "And when he says 'Wherefore God has also highly exalted Him and given Him a name which is above every name' he speaks of the temple of the body, not of the Godhead, for the Most High is not exalted, but the flesh of the Most High is exalted, and to the flesh of the Most High He gave a name which is above every name. Nor did the Word of God receive the designation of God as a favour, but His flesh was held divine as well as Himself." [Athanasius, *De Incarnatione et Contra Arianos*; Migne Graeca, PG 26.988-989]
- **Of the same from the same work:** "And when he says 'the Holy Ghost was not yet because that Jesus was not yet glorified,' he says that His flesh was not yet glorified, for the Lord of glory is not glorified, but the flesh itself receives glory of the glory of the Lord as it mounts with Him into Heaven; whence he says the spirit of adoption was not yet among men, because the first fruits taken from men had not yet ascended into heaven. Wherever then the Scripture says that the Son received and was glorified, it speaks because of His manhood, not His Godhead." [Athanasius, *De Incarnatione et Contra Arianos*; Migne Graeca, PG 26.989B]
- Theodoret, *Dialogue 2*; <www.newadvent.org/fathers/27032.htm>; Migne Graeca, PG 84.180-181.

The Witness of God is Greater

Athanasius (297-373): Ad Serapion

• [Shapland] These letters reach us through another collection, which Opitz calls the 'middle corpus'. As these collections can be traced back to the sixth and seventh centuries, and as the edition represented by RS is ultimately derived from them, it is obvious that this division is very ancient. 3 There is other evidence to show that I and II were, at an early date, closely connected. Severus of Antioch [465-538], c. *Impium Grammaticum*, fr.168B, quotes from II. 8 as though it belonged to the first letter; and the two are counted as one work in the Armenian corpus. [He also notes the following points the doxology at the end of IV.7(189) suggests the formal conclusion of the letter; the reference to the Gospels and Psalms in IV.23, from which Tillemont inferred a connexion between this work and the *ad Marcellinum*; the 'pathetic' style in which Athanasius writes, as contrasted with the more robust and forceful character of these letters ; the respectful attitude to Origin and Theognostus in 9-1 1 which suggests an early date.] Moreover, the title of II in RS is found in the margin of B, which would suggest that it existed first as a marginal gloss. But when we come to examine the contents of the letters, it is obvious that II is far more closely connected with III than with I. In answer to a request from Serapion, Athanasius promises (II.I) that he will abridge the contents of I. Instead, however, he goes on to give a statement of the doctrine of the Son. Now the explicit reference to the Spirit in II.I makes it certain that Athanasius is referring to the preceding letter, and not, as Felckmann supposed, to c. drianos, I— III. In any case, II is not a summary of that work or of any other. In III.I he explains why he has begun by giving an account of the Son, and goes on to make the promised abridgement of Ep. I. Thus III.I takes up the promise made at the beginning of II. The conclusion of II, moreover, is very abrupt, and there is no doxology. As Montfaucon saw, this makes it very probable that originally II and III were one letter containing a brief statement of Athanasius's teaching on the Trinity. But as II formed by itself a short and self-contained exposition of the ὁμοούσιον it was detached from III (which adds nothing at all to the contents of I) and incorporated with I in the collection of twenty-eight works. (Shapland, "Introduction" in *The Letters of Athanasius Concerning the Holy Spirit, Ad Serapion*, 1951, p. 12-13)

• [Shapland] Thus the correspondence originally consisted of three letters. In the first, Athanasius takes cognizance of the new heresy and answers its arguments as Serapion has described them. He deals firstly with the passages of Scripture to which they appeal, notably Amos 4.13 and 1 Timothy 5.21 (3-14). He then turns to an argument based on the relationship of the three divine Persons. If the Spirit proceeds from the Father, He must be the Son's brother. If He belongs to the Son, the Father is His grandfather. Turning to the alternative, that the Spirit is a creature, he shows that the ministry and operation of the Godhead is one, hence the Godhead Himself must be one (15-21). There follows an examination of Scripture to show that the Spirit belongs to God and not to the creatures (21-7). The letter ends with an appeal to tradition (28), a discussion of the consequences for a faith regarding God as dyad rather than as Triad (29-30), and further texts. (Shapland, "Introduction" in *The Letters of Athanasius Concerning the Holy Spirit, Ad Serapion*, 1951, p. 13)

• [Shapland] We therefore conclude that the letters can scarcely have been begun before the summer of 358; that much of the evidence leads us to put them several months later in 359 or early in 360. It is less likely that they were written at any later date. (Shapland, "Introduction" in *The Letters of Athanasius Concerning the Holy Spirit, Ad Serapion*, 1951, p. 18)

HIT:

- These sayings concerning the Holy Spirit, by themselves alone, show that in nature and essence he has nothing in common with or proper to creatures, but is distinct from things originate, proper to, and not alien from, the Godhead and essence of the Son; in virtue of which essence and nature he is of the Holy Triad, and puts their stupidity to shame. But, beyond these sayings, let us look at the very tradition, teaching, and faith of the Catholic Church from the beginning, which the Lord gave, the Apostles preached, and the Fathers kept. Upon this the Church is founded, and he who should fall

away from it would not be a Christian, and should no longer be so called. There is, then, a Triad, holy and complete, confessed to be God in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, having nothing foreign or external mixed with it, not composed of one that creates and one that is originated, but all creative; and it is consistent and in nature indivisible, and its activity is one. **The Father does all things through the Word in the Holy Spirit. Thus the unity of the Holy Triad is preserved. Thus one God is preached in the Church, ‘who is over all, and through all, and in all’—‘over all’, as Father, as beginning, as fountain; ‘through all’, through the Word; ‘in all’, in the Holy Spirit. It is a Triad not only in name and form of speech, but in truth and actuality. For as the Father is he that is, so also his Word is one that is and God over all. And the Holy Spirit is not without actual existence, but exists and has true being.** Less than these (Persons) the Catholic Church does not hold lest she sink to the level of the modern Jews, imitators of Caiaphas, and to the level of Sabellius. Nor does she add to them by speculation, lest she be carried into the polytheism of the heathen. And that they may know this to be the faith of the Church, let them learn how the Lord, when sending forth the Apostles, ordered them to lay this foundation for the Church, saying: ‘Go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.’ (Matthew 28:19). (Athanasios, Ep. ad Serap. I.19; The Letters of Athanasius Concerning the Holy Spirit, Ad Serapion 1.27-28, Translated by C. R. B. Shapland, 1951, pp. 133-136)

- **Greek:** Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ μόνα καθ’ ἑαυτὰ λεγόμενα περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος δείκνυσιν αὐτὸ μηδὲν κοινὸν μηδὲ ἴδιον ἔχειν τι τῆ φύσει καὶ τῆ οὐσίᾳ πρὸς τὰ κτίσματα, ἀλλ’ ἄλλο μὲν εἶναι τῶν γενητῶν, ἴδιον δὲ καὶ οὐ ξέ νον τῆς τοῦ Υἱοῦ οὐσίας καὶ θεότητος, δι’ ἣν καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος ὄν, καταισχύνει τὴν ἐκείνων ἀναισθησίαν. Ἰδωμεν δὲ ὁμῶς καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς παράδοσιν καὶ διδασκαλίαν καὶ πίστιν τῆς καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἣν ὁ μὲν Κύριος ἔδωκεν, οἱ δὲ ἀπόστολοι ἐκήρυξαν, καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἐφύλαξαν. Ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ ἡ Ἐκκλησία τεθεμελιώται, καὶ ὁ ταύτης ἐκπίπτων οὐτ’ ἂν εἴη, οὐτ’ ἂν ἔτι λέγοιτο Χριστιανός. Τριάς τοίνυν ἁγία καὶ τελεία ἐστίν, ἐν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι θεολογουμένη, οὐδὲν ἀλλότριον ἢ ἕξωθεν ἐπιμιγνύμενον ἔχουσα, οὐδὲ ἐκ δημιουργοῦ καὶ γενητοῦ συνισταμένη, ἀλλ’ ὅλη τοῦ κτίζειν καὶ δημιουργεῖν οὕσα· ὁμοία δὲ ἑαυτῇ καὶ ἀδιαίρετός ἐστι τῆ φύσει, καὶ μία ταύτης ἡ ἐνέργεια. **Ὁ γὰρ Πατὴρ διὰ τοῦ Λόγου ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ τὰ πάντα ποιεῖ· καὶ οὕτως ἡ ἐνότης τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος σώζεται· καὶ οὕτως εἰς Θεὸς ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ κηρύττεται, «ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων, καὶ διὰ πάντων, καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν.» «Ἐπὶ πάντων» μὲν ὡς Πατὴρ, ὡς ἀρχή, καὶ πηγὴ· «διὰ πάντων» δὲ διὰ τοῦ Λόγου· «ἐν πᾶσι» δὲ ἐν τῷ Πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ. Τριάς δὲ ἐστίν οὐχ ἕως ὀνόματος μόνον καὶ φαντασίας λέξεως, ἀλλὰ ἀληθεία καὶ ὑπάρξει Τριάς. Ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ ὢ ἐστίν ὁ Πατὴρ, οὕτως ὁ ὢν ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς ὁ τούτου Λόγος. Καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον οὐκ ἀνύπαρκτόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ’ ὑπάρχει καὶ ὑφέστηκεν ἀληθῶς. Καὶ οὔτε ἔλαττον τούτων φρονεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ Ἐκκλησία, ἵνα μὴ εἰς τοὺς νῦν κατὰ Καϊάφαν Ἰουδαίους καὶ εἰς Σαβέλλιον ἐμπέσῃ· οὔτε πλεῖον ἐπινοεῖ, ἵνα μὴ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλήνων πολυθεότητα κυλισθῇ. Καὶ ὅτι αὕτη ἡ πίστις τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐστὶ, μαθέτωσαν πῶς ὁ μὲν Κύριος ἀποστέλλων τοὺς ἀποστόλους παρήγγειλε τοῦτον θεμέλιον τιθέναι τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ λέγων· «Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.» (Athanasius, Epistulae quattuor ad Serapionem, 1.27·28, PG 26:593, 596.)**

Ephrem the Syrian (306-373 AD)

• Ephrem the Syrian (Classical Syriac: ܐܦܪܝܡ ܡܘܪܝܢܘܡ Mor Afrem Suryoyo, Classical Syriac pronunciation: [mɔr aɸ'rem sur'jɔ.jɔ]; Koinē Greek: Ἐφραίμ ὁ Σύρος Efrém o Sýros; Latin: Ephraem Syrus, also known as Saint Ephraem, Ephrem of Edessa, Ephrem, or Ephraim; c. 306 – 373) was a Syriac Christian deacon and a prolific Syriac-language hymnographer and theologian of the fourth century. Ephrem was born around the year 306 in the city of Nisibis (now Nusaybin in Turkey), in the contested border region between Sassanid Assyria and Roman Mesopotamia, then-recently acquired by Rome.[2][3][4][5] Internal evidence from Ephrem's hymnody suggests that both his parents were part of the growing Christian community in the city, although later hagiographers wrote that his father was a pagan priest.[6] Numerous languages were spoken in the Nisibis of Ephrem's day, mostly dialects of Aramaic. The Christian community used the

The Witness of God is Greater

Syriac dialect. The culture included pagan religions, Judaism and early Christian sects. Jacob, the second bishop of Nisibis,[7] was appointed in 308, and Ephrem grew up under his leadership of the community. Jacob of Nisibis is recorded as a signatory at the First Council of Nicea in 325. Ephrem was baptized as a youth and almost certainly became a son of the covenant, an unusual form of syriac proto-monasticism. Jacob appointed Ephrem as a teacher (Syriac malpānā, a title that still carries great respect for Syriac Christians). He was ordained as a deacon either at his baptism or later.[8] He began to compose hymns and write biblical commentaries as part of his educational office. In his hymns, he sometimes refers to himself as a "herdsman" (ܠܗܘܘܬܐ, 'allānā), to his bishop as the "shepherd" (ܪܥܘܝܐ, rā'yā), and to his community as a 'fold' (ܕܝܪܐ, dayrā). Ephrem is popularly credited as the founder of the School of Nisibis, which, in later centuries, was the centre of learning of the Syriac Orthodox Church. Ephrem, with the others, went first to Amida (Diyarbakır), eventually settling in Edessa[6] (modern Şanlıurfa) in 363. Ephrem, in his late fifties, applied himself to ministry in his new church and seems to have continued his work as a teacher, perhaps in the School of Edessa. Edessa had always been at the heart of the Syriac-speaking world, and the city was full of rival philosophies and religions. Ephrem comments that orthodox Nicene Christians were simply called "Palutians" in Edessa, after a former bishop. Arians, Marcionites, Manichees, Bardaisanites and various gnostic sects proclaimed themselves as the true church. In this confusion, Ephrem wrote a great number of hymns defending Nicene orthodoxy. A later Syriac writer, Jacob of Serugh, wrote that Ephrem rehearsed all-female choirs to sing his hymns set to Syriac folk tunes in the forum of Edessa. After a ten-year residency in Edessa, in his sixties, Ephrem succumbed to the plague as he ministered to its victims. The most reliable date for his death is 9 June 373. Over four hundred hymns composed by Ephrem still exist. Granted that some have been lost, Ephrem's productivity is not in doubt. The church historian Sozomen credits Ephrem with having written over three million lines. Ephrem combines in his writing a threefold heritage: he draws on the models and methods of early Rabbinic Judaism, he engages skillfully with Greek science and philosophy, and he delights in the Mesopotamian/Persian tradition of mystery symbolism. The most important of his works are his lyric, teaching hymns (ܡܕܪܫܐ, madrāšê). These hymns are full of rich, poetic imagery drawn from biblical sources, folk tradition, and other religions and philosophies. The madrāšê are written in stanzas of syllabic verse and employ over fifty different metrical schemes. Each madrāšâ had its qālâ (ܡܠܗ), a traditional tune identified by its opening line. All of these qālê are now lost. It seems that Bardaisan and Mani composed madrāšê, and Ephrem felt that the medium was a suitable tool to use against their claims. Particularly influential were his Hymns Against Heresies.[10] Ephrem used these to warn his flock of the heresies that threatened to divide the early church. He lamented that the faithful were "tossed to and fro and carried around with every wind of doctrine, by the cunning of men, by their craftiness and deceitful wiles." [11] He devised hymns laden with doctrinal details to inoculate right-thinking Christians against heresies such as docetism. The Hymns Against Heresies employ colourful metaphors to describe the Incarnation of Christ as fully human and divine. Ephrem asserts that Christ's unity of humanity and divinity represents peace, perfection and salvation; in contrast, docetism and other heresies sought to divide or reduce Christ's nature and, in doing so, rend and devalue Christ's followers with their false teachings. Ephrem wrote exclusively in the Syriac language, which is a dialect of Middle Aramaic, but translations of his writings exist in Classical Armenian, Coptic, Old Georgian, Koine Greek and other languages. Some of his works are only extant in translation (particularly in Armenian). Syriac churches still use many of Ephrem's hymns as part of the annual cycle of worship. However, most of these liturgical hymns are edited and conflated versions of the originals. (Ephrem the Syrian. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ephrem_the_Syrian>)

• In medieval times some of his minor works were translated from the Greek into Slavonic and Latin. ...The Syriac original was unknown in Europe until the fruitful Oriental voyage (1706-07) of the Maronites Gabriel Eva, Elias, and especially Joseph Simeon Assemani (1716-17), which resulted in the discovery of a precious collection of manuscripts in the Nitrian (Egypt) monastery of Our Lady. These manuscripts found their way at once to the Vatican Library. In the first half of the nineteenth century the British Museum was notably enriched by similar fortunate discoveries of Lord Prudhol (1828), Curzon (1832), and Tattam (1839, 1841). All recent editions of the Syriac original of Ephraem's writings are based on these manuscripts. In the Bibliotheque Nationale (Paris) and the Bodleian (Oxford) are a few Syriac fragments of minor importance. Joseph Simeon Assemani hastened to make the best use of his newly found manuscripts and proposed at once to Clement XII a complete edition of the writings of Ephraem in the Syriac original and the Greek versions, with a new Latin version of the entire material. He took for his own share the edition of the Greek text. (Labourt, St. Ephraem" in Catholic Encyclopedia, vol 5, 1909).

HIT:

- [Sermon on the Transfiguration] And he is the Christ, the Son of God, the only begotten from the Father, and only begotten from a mother. I confess the same to be perfect God and perfect man, acknowledged in the two natures united hypostatically, or in person, indivisibly, unconfusedly and unchangeably; having put on flesh that is animated by a rational and intelligent soul, in all things becoming passible like us, sin alone excepted. He is both earthly and heavenly, temporary and eternal, starting and without beginning, timeless and subject to time, created and uncreated, passible and impassible, God and man, perfect in both, one in two and in two one. **One person of the Father, one person of the Son, and one person of the Holy Spirit. One godhead, one power, one kingship in three persons or hypostases. So we glorify the Holy Unity in Trinity, and the Holy Trinity in Unity.** In this the Father cried out, “This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well-pleased. Listen to him”. All this the holy Catholic Church of God has received. In this Holy Trinity it baptizes for eternal life. Into this Trinity it sanctifies with equal honour, confesses it without separation, without division; worships it without error, confesses and glorifies it. To this Unity in three persons belong glory, thanksgiving, honour, might, majesty, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, now and always, and to the ages of ages. Amen. (Ephraem, Sermon on the Transfiguration of Christ; CPG 3939)
 - **Greek:** Καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός, ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ μονογενὴς ἐκ Πατρὸς, καὶ ἐκ μητρὸς μονογενὴς. Ὁμολογῶ τὸν αὐτὸν Θεὸν τέλειον καὶ ἄνθρωπον τέλειον, ἐν δύο ταῖς φύσεσι καθ’ ὑπόστασιν, ἧτοι πρόσωπον, ἠνωμέναις γνωριζόμενον ἀδιαιρέτως τε καὶ ἀσυγχύτως καὶ ἀτρέπτως· σάρκα ἐνδυσάμενον τὴν ἐμψυχωμένην ψυχῇ λογικῇ τε καὶ 30 νοεῖρα, κατὰ πάντα γενόμενον ἡμῖν ὁμοιοπαθῆ, δίχα μόνῃς τῆς ἁμαρτίας. Ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπίγειος καὶ οὐράνιος, πρόσκαιρος καὶ αἰδῖος, ἠργμένος καὶ ἄναρχος, ἄχρονος καὶ ὑπὸ χρόνον, κτιστὸς καὶ ἄκτιστος, παθητὸς καὶ ἀπαθῆς, Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος, κατ’ ἄμφω τέλειος, εἷς ἐν δύο, καὶ ἐν δυσὶν εἷς. **Ἐν πρόσωπον τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ἐν πρόσωπον τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἐν πρόσωπον τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Μία θεότης, μία δύναμις, μία βασιλεία ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις ἧτοι ὑποστάσεις. Οὕτω δοξάζομεν τὴν Ἁγίαν Μονάδα ἐν Τριάδι, καὶ τὴν Ἁγίαν Τριάδα ἐν Μονάδι.** Ἐν ᾧ ἔκραξεν ὁ Πατὴρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός· αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε. Ταῦτα ἐδέξατο ἡ ἁγία τοῦ Θεοῦ καθολικὴ Ἐκκλησία. Ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἁγίᾳ Τριάδι βαπτίζει εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. Εἰς αὐτὴν ἀγιάζει ἰσοτιμία, καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν ὁμολογεῖ ἀμεριστῶς, ἀχωριστῶς, καὶ αὐτῇ προσκυνεῖ μὴ σφαλλομένη, καὶ ὁμολογεῖ καὶ δοξάζει. Αὐτῇ τῇ τρισυποστάτῳ Μονάδι πρέπει δόξα, εὐχαριστία, τιμὴ, κράτος, μεγαλωσύνη· τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. (Ephraem, Sermon on the Transfiguration of Christ; Assemani, Sancti patris nostri Ephraem Syri Opera omnia quae extant graece, syriace, latine, vol. 2, Rome, 1743, p. 49; Add MS 9348, f35v; CPG 3939)

Comments:

- [Dikova] Even though of dubitable authorship, this sermon was most probably first created in Syriac. Yet, the earliest found Syriac manuscript of it – burnt later on – was noted to attribute the work to St. John Chrysostom. [fn. 7, p. 127. Cf. M. Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, vol. 2: *Ab Athanasio ad Chrysostomum*, Turnhout, 1974, p. 390. On the same attribution see also S. P. Brock, *St. Ephrem: A Brief Guide to the Main Editions and Translations*, s. loc., 2012. Available at <<http://syri.ac/brock/ephrem>> (04.04.2020). Here CPG 3939 is seen as part of the group of 15 texts attributed to Ephrem “which have a Syriac original that can be identified” but some of which “cannot be genuine Ephrem”. M. Geerard, *Clavis Patrum...*, p. 390 notes – after D. Hemmerdinger-Iliadou – not only the attribution of the same sermon to Isaac of Antioch but also another Syriac manuscript (a fragment) in which the homily is anonymous. In the Georgian manuscript tradition the homily was occasionally attributed also to Theodoros Abu Qurra (Ch. Hannick, *Maximos Holobolos in der kirchenslavischen homiletischen Literatur*, Wien, 1981, 244). The overall authorship, manuscript, and translation traditions of St Ephrem’s works are extremely complicated in all languages – also due to his vast popularity even during his lifetime.] (Ekaterina Dikova, “The Sermon on the Transfiguration of

The Witness of God is Greater

Christ (CPG 3939) Ascribed to St. Ephrem the Syrian in South Slavonic Translation: The Construction of Rhetorical Rhythm" in *Translations of Patristic Literature in South-Eastern Europe*, 2020, p. 127)

- Gehazi also who mocked and was mocked, tried to escape his master's notice and was disgraced. The daring men try to escape men's notice [when pretending] **that they baptize in the Three Names. Now at the mouth of Three the judges [PAGE 197] decide. See here be Three Witnesses Who put an end to all strife! And who would doubt about the holy Witnesses of His Baptism?** (Ephraem, Rhythm the Twenty Eighth. #7, 1847, Translated by J.B. Morris, p. 195-197).
 - **Latin:** [Latin translation from the Syriac by Assemani] Poenam tulit similem Giezius, qui Prophetam illudere conatus, ipse egregie illusus fuit, cum magistrum vellet capere, captus est. Subdoli Scrutatores vulgo imponere volunt, quo et ipse trinis nominibus baptizare volunt : trium testium consona testificatione iudicia constant, tres hic audis testes, quorum testimonio omnis dirimitur quaestio. Jam eritne aliquis, qui sanctissimos sui baptismi testes habeat suspectos? (Ephraem Syrus, Sermo XXVIII, Ephraem Syrus. Opera omnia graece, syriace, latine, ed. G.S. Assemani, P. Benedictus, S.E. Assemani, 6 vols. Rome: Typographia, Vaticana, 1737-1743, Tome, Ser. 2, Syriace et latine 3 (1743) [6th volume]. Translated into Latin by Assemani., 6:51D-E.)

Comment:

• **[J.B. Morris]** The words "try to escape men's notice" seem to refer to 1 John v. 9 "if we receive the witness of men the witness of God is greater." **As this passage seems to contain an allusion to the controverted text 1 John v 7...** The drift of the whole passage then would admit of being stated thus: "Those who will not believe 'the record that God gave of His Son' (1 John V 10) are obliged to approach the most sacred rites with a lie in their right hand; they are worse than Gehazi, who thought that none would witness the sacrilegious use he was making of the type of the Sacrament of Baptism seen in Naaman, (see on the place, p. 532, c.d.) which was 'by water only;' but these daring men make the most solemn adjuration a mere trap for men's souls, and while they calls to witness the Three that bear record in Heaven, they thereby constitute all, that keep alive a religious sense of the honour of having had God's Name sealed upon them at Baptism, judges of their own sacrilegious intentions; they summon from Heaven Three Witnesses against themselves, and prove the Church's doctrine by the counterfeit of her rites, which to save appearances they are compelled to adopt. (see note d.) It may, in conclusion, be right to remind the reader, that it is not St. E.'s usual practice to quote Scripture; he alludes to it in by far the great number of instances. (Ephraem, Rhythm the Twenty Eighth. #7 fn. c, translated into English by Rev. J. B. Morris, 1847, p. 195-197)

Isaac the Jew (circa 366-378 AD)

- [The Unadorned Trinity] There also survive two short confessions of faith from Isaac ("Fides Isatis" and "Confessio fidei Catholicae"), a converted Jew who was involved in the disputes between Damasus and Urbinus in the mid-370s, only to suffer exile to Spain where he may have reverted to his ancestral faith. (Ayres, Augustine and the Trinity, 2014, p. 99)
- [Turner] But by far the most important of Dom Morin's recent contributions to patristic studies is his article in the second number for this year of the *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses* (Paris, 1899), entitled *L'Ambrosiaster et le juif converti Isaac, contemporain du pape Damase*. Ambrosiaster, as is well known, is the name given, for purposes of convenience, to the author of a commentary on St. Paul's Epistles which Augustine used as 'saint Hilary's,' which the early middle ages attributed to St. Ambrose, and for which modern scholars have suggested one name after another. It is certain that this writer was a contemporary of Pope Damasus (366-384): it is all but certain [PAGE 155] that he lived and wrote at Rome, and that to him belongs also the *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, printed in the appendix to the first part of the third volume of the *Benedictine Augustine*. It is certain that he was not either a bishop or a deacon, for he almost equalizes the office of bishop and priest, and he attacks the *iactantia Romanorum Leuitarum*: Dom Morin shows further that the arguments for his being a priest are less cogent than those which make him out a layman, and illustrates lay interest in theology from the examples of Ambrosiaster's contemporaries, Tyconius and Marius Victorinus (he might

The Witness of God is Greater

have added from the next half century Marius Mercator). He was also, and this Dom Morin is the first to point out, unusually well informed in all that pertained to Judaism. He is acquainted with Jewish legends about the sepulchre of Moses and the demons who served Solomon, and with Jewish apocrypha like the Apocalypse of Elias and the book of Jannes and Jambres, from both of which he supposes St. Paul to borrow. He knows the customs of the synagogue, the right of the seniores to be consulted, the appointment of masters to teach the children, the being seated at disputations — whether on chairs, on benches, or on the ground, according to rank. Dom Morin then reminds us that history tells us of a converted Jew, of the name of Isaac, who played a not unimportant part in the troubles at Rome which accompanied the rival elections in 366 of Damasus and Ursinus. Isaac was a leader of the party of Ursinus, and carried on for many years a campaign which all but culminated in the condemnation of Damasus in the civil courts. The Pope was saved by the Emperor's intervention. Isaac was banished to Spain (c. 378 A. D.), and in chagrin at his ill success fell back into Judaism. But if Isaac was the Ambrosiaster of the Commentary, it is easy to understand, what has hitherto been so unintelligible, why Jerome nowhere alludes to his work even when commenting on the same epistles: the faithful henchman of Damasus boycotted the apostate Jew. It only remains to add that Isaac is mentioned as a theological author by Gennadius of Marseilles, and that a fragment on the Trinity and Incarnation preserved in a Paris MS of canons, under the name Fides Isatis ex Iudaeo, 'of Isaac the ex-Jew,' presents striking similarities of language with Ambrosiaster and the Quaestiones. On a review of these arguments it seems hardly premature to say that Dom Morin has solved one of the great problems of patristic literature. [PAGE 156] Such, at any rate, is the opinion of Dr. Zahn as expressed in the Theologisches Literaturblatt for July 7. (Turner, Review of Morin "L'Ambrosiaster", vol 1 (1900), 154-156).

HIT:

- **[Exposition of our Universal Faith]** We believe in the one God according to the scripture, are to be believed, do not be like the Jews, or heretics, on its own, but in the mystery of the Trinity, that is, so that we would believe that the Father is not the Son, and certainly we do believe that the Son is not the Father, and certainly the Holy Spirit is neither the Father nor the Son, because the Father is ingenerate, the Son is certainly generated from the Father without beginning, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and receives from the Son. **As the Evangelist testifies, that it is written, "there are three, that are witnessing in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and these three are one in Christ Jesus."** He did not say, "One in Christ Jesus" ["one" masculine nominative singular] And in the Gospel it says, "Go ye, unto all nations, baptizing the nations in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit." And again, that the Lord himself said, "I and the Father are one" And in the Psalms we read, "The Lord said to my Lord, Sit at my right hand." And in the Gospel of John this is said, "In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God." Saying, therefore, that the Word is God, that is: the Son who is with the Father. By naming God twice he designated God the Father and Son as persons.
 - **Latin:** Expositio Fidei Catholicae. Credimus unum deum secundum scripturam esse credendum, non sicut Iudaei aut haeretici, solitarium, sed in mysterio trinitatis, id est patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, tres personas, non tamen tres deos. Personas autem sic dicimus, ut non divinitatem haeretico sensu membris, sicut hominem, componamus, quia divinitas quae est incorporalis tam inmensa est, tam inextimabilis, ut intra se omnia contineat, ipsa autem circumscribi non possit, sed ut patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum unum et indivisum esse ita in divinitate ac virtute <credamus>, ut tres in personis, id est ut patrem credamus non esse filium, filium vero credamus non esse patrem, spiritum autem sanctum nec patrem esse nec filium; quia pater est ingenitus, filius vero sine initio genitus a patre est, spiritus autem sanctus processit a patre et accipit de filio, **sicut evangelista testatur, quia scriptum est: "Tres sunt, qui dicunt testimonium in caelo : pater, verbum et spiritus, et haec tria unum sunt in Christo Iesu."** (1 John 5:7) Non tamen dixit: "Unus est in Christo Iesu." Et in evangelio dicit: "Ite, baptizate gentes in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti." (Matthew 28:19) Et denuo ipse dominus dicit: "Ego et pater unum sumus." (John 10:30) Et in psalmis legimus: "Dicit dominus domino meo : Sede a dextris meis." (Psalm 110:1) Et in evangelio Iohannis sic dicit: "In principio erat verbum, et verbum erat apud deum, et deus erat verbum." (John 1:1) Deum ergo dicendum verbum, id est filium qui est apud patrem. Deum bis nominando deum patrem et filium designavit personas. (CCSL 9:347, Lines 1-26)

The Witness of God is Greater

Basil of Caesarea (329–379 AD)

• **Basil of Caesarea (329–379 AD)** : Basil of Caesarea, also called Saint Basil the Great (Greek: Ἅγιος Βασίλειος ὁ Μέγας, Ἅγιος Βασίλειος ὁ Μέγας; 329 or 330[8] – January 1 or 2, 379), was the bishop of Caesarea Mazaca in Cappadocia, Asia Minor (modern-day Turkey). He was an influential theologian who supported the Nicene Creed and opposed the heresies of the early Christian church, fighting against both Arianism and the followers of Apollinaris of Laodicea. His ability to balance his theological convictions with his political connections made Basil a powerful advocate for the Nicene position. (Basil of Caesarea. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Basil_of_Caesarea>.)

Basil of Caesarea is affirmed by the Church Fathers and councils to be the author of Book 4 & 5.

§ Timothy (Aelurus) II of Alexandria (d. 477)

- Timothy Aelurus (d. 477) during his exile (AD 460-475) provides us with three quotations from Book IV. The quotations occur in Aelurus' letter, itself quoted by the Greek Zacharias the Scholastic [Zacharias of Mytilene (c. 465, Gaza – after 536) also known as Zacharias Rhetor] in Book IV of his Church History, now known to us only in a Syriac translation. ...In another collection of his letters and treatises, this time against the Council of Chalcedon, Aelurus, monophysite archbishop of Alexandria, provides us with five quotations from Book IV. Aelurus says simply that he is quoting "Basil of Caesarea." (Hayes, Walter. The Greek Manuscript Tradition of Basil's Adversus Eunomium, Books 4-5. Brill Archive, 1972, p. 5-7.)
 - Pope Timothy II of Alexandria (d. 477), also known as Αἰλουρος/Aelurus (from Greek cat because of his small build or in this case probably "weasel"[1]), succeeded twice in supplanting the Chalcedonian Patriarch of Alexandria. (Pope Timothy II of Alexandria. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_Timothy_II_of_Alexandria>)

§ Severus the Great of Antioch : head of the Syriac Orthodox Church (512-538 AD)

- The second witness we have of the text is the monophysite patriarch, Severus of Antioch, in his "Liber Contra Impium Grammaticum" and "First Letter to Sergius." Severus wrote in Greek about A.D. 520. His Greek text but for a few fragments is now lost, but a Syriac translation "tres fidele et tres litterale" was made by Paul Callinikos about A.D. 529.22 In his "Liber Contra Imprium Grammaticum" among a host of quotations from Adversus Eunomium I and II, Severus provides us with 18 quotations from the text of Book IV and two quotations from Book V. In his "First Letter to Sergius," Severus quotes Book IV twice again, for a total of 22 quotations, some of them overlapping and repeating. It is interesting that Severus ascribes all the quotations to Basil. When he refers to Books IV or V, the distinctive title is "Oratio" or "Liber syllogismorum adversus Eunomium." Severus tells us that his adversary, the impious grammarian, also quotes Book IV Adversus Eunomium, which he too ascribes to Basil. Severus then ridicules the grammarian for quoting texts in reverse sequence. He even suggests that the grammarian, working from loose sheets, does not realize the ordered form of the work as a whole. On his part, however, Severus, working from (a manuscript of) the whole work (or a larger portion) is in a position to grasp the general drift of Basil's argument. Perhaps the ridicule is polemical rhetoric. What is of particular interest to us here is that both antagonists know the Greek text of Book IV, both assume that the work (or as much text of it as they have) is commonly available, and that both they and their readers accept the Basil authorship and authority. (Hayes, Walter. The Greek Manuscript Tradition of Basil's Adversus Eunomium, Books 4-5. Brill Archive, 1972, p. 7-9.)
 - Saint Severus the Great of Antioch (Greek: Σεβήρος; Classical Syriac: ܫܘܪܝܘܫ ܩܕܝܫܘܬܐ), also known as Severus of Gaza,[1] was the Patriarch of Antioch, and head of the Syriac Orthodox Church, from 512 until his death in 538. He is venerated as a saint in the Oriental Orthodox Church, and his feast day is 8 February. (Severus of Antioch. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Severus_of_Antioch>)

The Witness of God is Greater

§ Ephraim of Antioch : head of the Greek Orthodox Church of Antioch (527-545 AD)

- Ephraem of Antioch, writings shortly after Severus, between A.D. 527 and 545, provides us with yet another witness of three lines from Book IV. Ephraem assures his reader that the quotation can be found "in the Logos against Eunomium chapter one". Again, what is of interest to us is that the text is well known in Antioch, well enough to form the basis for argument. The book is called the "logos" against Eunomius, and the particular reference is further defined as the "first chapter" of the work. Ephraem's readers could easily verify this quotation in the "first chapter" in the work "against Eunomius" by Basil. (Hayes, Walter. *The Greek Manuscript Tradition of Basil's Adversus Eunomium*, Books 4-5. Brill Archive, 1972. p. 12-13.)
 - Saint Ephraim of Antioch (Greek: Άγιος Εφραίμ ο Αντιοχείας), also known as Saint Ephraim of Amida (Greek: Άγιος Εφραίμ ο Άμιδ ιος, Syriac: ܦܩܕܝܫܘܬܐ ܕܥܦܪܝܡ), [1] was the Patriarch of Antioch, and head of the Greek Orthodox Church of Antioch, from 527 until his death in 545. He is venerated as a saint in the Eastern Orthodox Church and Roman Catholic Church, and his feast day is 8 June. (Ephraim of Antioch. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ephraim_of_Antioch>)

§ Theodosius I of Alexandria (d. 567)

- Theodosius, monophysite patriarch of Alexandria, comes just a few years after Ephraem. In his synodal letter extant now only in Syriac, he quotes the *Adversus Eunomium* four times. Three times the Syriac rubric assumes a Greek original "In the second book against Eunomium the disobedient". A fourth quotation is from Book V (11 lines of Greek text). Theodosius' rubric again points to a Greek original "In the book of syllogisms concerning the Spirit". (Hayes, Walter. *The Greek Manuscript Tradition of Basil's Adversus Eunomium*, Books 4-5. Brill Archive, 1972. p. 12-13.)
 - Pope Theodosius I of Alexandria (died June 5, 567) was the last Patriarch of Alexandria recognised by both Copts and Melchites. As successor to Timothy III (IV), at the request of the Arb king Al-Harith ibn Jabalah al-Ghassani and Empress Theodora's efforts, Jacob Baradaeus ordained a universal bishop in 543/4 AD by Mor Theodosius.[1] he was at first recognized by the Emperor Justinian I and the Eastern Orthodox Church. However, because of his Miaphysite theology, he was rejected by the Eastern Orthodox Church of Alexandria and exiled by the Emperor Justinian I in 536. In his place, Paul was elected Patriarch.[2] (Pope Theodosius I of Alexandria. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_Theodosius_I_of_Alexandria>.)

§ Leontius of Byzantium (or Leontius of Jerusalem) (500-600 AD)

- Leontius of Byzantium (or Leontius of Jerusalem) 65 implies just such a division. In his work *Against the Monophysites* Leontius quotes Basil, *Adversus Eunomium*, Book IV (5 lines of Greek text). Leontius identifies the citation as coming "out of the first book against Eunomium". Leontius witnesses five lines of Greek text in *Libri Tres Contra Eutychianos et Nestorianos* (c. A.D. 543-544), where the relevant material is available to us in a Latin translation. The text is identified by Leontius as being Basil: "of the same author's Book III Against Eunomium". Assuming that the text is correct, that Leontius does in fact identify Book IV as "Book III," we can consider the possibility that to his knowledge Books I-III (as two books) have already been joined to Books IV-V. (Hayes, Walter. *The Greek Manuscript Tradition of Basil's Adversus Eunomium*, Books 4-5. Brill Archive, 1972. p. 14-15.)
 - Leontius of Jerusalem was a Byzantine Christian theologian of the sixth century (and perhaps the seventh century), long conflated with the more notable author of the same name, Leontius of Byzantium. Historically, there has been a problem of misidentification between Leontius of Byzantium and Leontius of Jerusalem.; Leontius of Byzantium (485–543) was a Byzantine Christian monk and the author of an influential series of theological writings on sixth-century Christological controversies. Though the details of his life are scarce, he is considered a groundbreaking innovator in Christian theological reflection for having introduced Aristotelian definitions into theology. (Leontius of Jerusalem. Wikipedia.)

The Witness of God is Greater

<en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leontius_of_Jerusalem>; Leontius of Byzantium. Wikipedia.
<en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leontius_of_Byzantium>

§ Second Council of Seville (619 AD)

- Synod of Seville (A.D. 619) quotes Basil: "Sanctus quoque Basilius in quarto libro contra Eunomium..." three lines of the Synod's Latin quotation are a translation of the Greek Basil text: ληπτέον ... λογιζόμενοι. (PG. 29.704.33-38) (Hayes, Walter. The Greek Manuscript Tradition of Basil's Adversus Eunomium, Books 4-5. Brill Archive, 1972. p. 19-20.)
 - The Second Council of Seville (or Seville II) was a synod of the ecclesiastical province of Baetica held in 619. It took place in the metropolis of Seville under the Archbishop Isidore. It was the first synod in Baetica since 592. It came shortly after a military campaign by the King Sisebut reincorporated a large part of Baetica into the Visigothic kingdom. This territory had previously been part of the Byzantine province of Spania. Its reincorporation would allow the bishop of Málaga to attend the synod. (Second Council of Seville. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Council_of_Seville>)

§ Lateran Council of 649

- Lateran Council, A.D. 649, supplies us with four more quotations from Basil (representing six lines of Greek text). The first quotation is said to be "from Basil" against Eunomius. The second quotation is from Book IV as well. In another quote, the Council says the line of Basil is taken "from the syllogisms against Eunomium". The Council proceeds to quote three further texts from (our) Book V. Thus we see four successive quotations from Book VI-V. (Hayes, Walter. The Greek Manuscript Tradition of Basil's Adversus Eunomium, Books 4-5. Brill Archive, 1972. p. 20-21.)
 - The Lateran Council of 649 was a synod held in the Basilica of St. John Lateran to condemn Monothelism, a Christology espoused by many Eastern Christians. The Council did not achieve ecumenical status in either East or West, but represented the first attempt of a pope to convene an ecumenical council independent of the Roman emperor. The Council was attended by 105 bishops. One-fourth of the bishops were (as indicated by their names) likely of Eastern ethnicity or origin and thus probably Greek-speaking. (Lateran Council of 649. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lateran_Council_of_649>)

HITS:

- **[Against Eunomium. Book 5. If they say that Unless the Holy Spirit from God, neither does the Word come from God.]** 3. ...When we still read in the Evangelist that the divine child was begotten by the Holy Spirit (Matt. 1:20), we are not led by these expressions to believe that the Holy Spirit came without the Word to give being to the child, since Saint John says that the Word became flesh, and since the incarnation is attributed to the Word. But through all things it is manifest, that both the Spirit is in the Word, and the Word is in the Spirit, the unity according to the Godhead not being divided. **The usage of the three Names enumerates and shows forth the Trinity, but the declaration which is according to one Name has the unity of the Trinity.** Thus, in this passage from the Epistle to the Romans, all things are of him, through him, and in him (Rom. 11:36), the apostle has enclosed in a single word the peculiar nature of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. For there is only one God from whom all things come, one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and one Holy Spirit, in whom are all things... (Basil of Caesarea. Against Eunomium, Book 5; Migne Graeca, PG 29.748)
 - **Greek:** [Against Eunomium. Book 5. εἰ μὴ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ Θεοῦ λέγοι τις, οὐδὲ τὸν Λόγον.] : 3. ...Καὶ ὅτε λέγεται τὸ παιδίον ἅγιον ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου γεγεννησθαι, οὐ χωρὶς τοῦ λόγου Πνεῦμα παραγεγονὸς εἰς τὴν τοῦ βρέφους ὑπόστασιν ὑποληψόμεθα, καὶ τοι λέγοντος τοῦ Ἰωάννου ὅτι, Ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ 29.748 ἐγένετο, καὶ τῷ Λόγῳ τῆς σαρκώσεως ἐπιγραφομένης. Ἀλλὰ διὰ πάντων δῆλον, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῷ Λόγῳ τὸ Πνεῦμα, καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἐν τῷ Πνεύματι, τῆς ἐνώσεως τῆς κατὰ τὴν θεϊότητα μὴ διαιρουμένης. **Τριάδα μὲν**

The Witness of God is Greater

γὰρ ἡ τῶν τριῶν ὀνομάτων παράληψις ἐξαριθμεῖ, καὶ παρίστησι, τῆς δὲ Τριάδος ἔχει τὴν ἔνωσιν ἢ καθ' ἓν ὄνομα δῆλωσις· ὡς τό· Ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, συνήγαγεν εἰς ἓν ὄνομα τό τε τοῦ Πατρὸς ἰδίωμα καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Εἷς γὰρ Θεὸς, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα· καὶ εἷς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα· ἐν δὲ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα... (Basil of Caesarea. Against Eunomium, Book 5; Migne Graeca, PG 29.748)

Comment:

- **[Forster]** The example next in order, with like affinity in substance, contains circumstances peculiarly identifying it as a designed and direct reference to the seventh verse. (Migne Graeca, PG 29.748) 1. St. John is the one authority introduced in this passage. 2. The passage, like the seventh verse, treats of the names of the three Persons of the Trinity. 3. St. John alone has ὁ Λόγος, as the name or title of the second Person. 4. ὁ Λόγος is the name here given by St. Basil, in speaking of the names of the Persons in connection with St. John. 5. St. John nowhere connumerates [calls the persons of the Trinity "three"] or connominates [names the three persons] the three Persons, unless it be in the seventh verse. 6. St. Basil certainly here speaks of the three Divine names solely as recorded by St. John. 7. The seventh verse is the only Johnian text in which they are recorded, and the second Person by the exclusively Johnian term, ὁ Λόγος. 8. Therefore, St. Basil's words in this context are unquestionably an appeal to that verse. (Foster, A New Plea for the Authenticity of the Text of the Three Heavenly Witness, 1867, p. 256-257)
- **[Against Eunomium. Book 5. Why the Holy Spirit is not also called the Son] These things are said and they are true, as there are those who are believing truly and faithfully in God, and in the Word, and in the Holy Ghost, the One Deity, the only object of divine worship.** We have thought fit to enter into these details so that the idea of a multitude of persons can not slip into the dogma of the Trinity, and that it is well recognized and proven that each of the persons who compose it is one and alone in itself, that there is only one Father, one Son, and one Spirit. (Basil of Caesarea. Against Eunomium. Book 5, Why the Holy Spirit is not also called the Son; Migne Greek, PG 29.733C)
 - **Greek: Εἴρηται ταῦτα, καὶ ἔστι καλῶς, ὡς ἐστι τοῖς ἀπεριέργως πιστεύουσιν εἰς Θεὸν καὶ Λόγον καὶ Πνεῦμα, μίαν οὐσαν θεότητα, τὴν καὶ μόνην προσκυνητήν.** Καὶ μηδαμοῦ παρεΐδουσις γένηται πλήθους, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον ἐπὶ τῆς Τριάδος ἐν ὄν ἐπιγινώσκηται, εἷς Πατήρ, εἷς Υἱὸς, ἐν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον. (Basil of Caesarea. Against Eunomium. Book 5, Why the Holy Spirit is not also called the Son; Migne Greek, PG 29.733C)

Comment:

- **[Brownlee]** Basil flourished about the middle of the fourth century. The following is a specimen of his striking allusions to our verse, if not rather a quotation of it: "They believing truly and faithfully in God, and in the Word, and in the Holy Ghost, the One Deity, the only object of divine worship." On this passage Porson has observed, "these words of Basil are indeed very like the verse of John:" he adds, "if these be quotations of 1 John v. 7, no verse has greater plenty of evidence." (Porson's Letters, p. 234). The usual style in which the church expressed her belief in her formulae, was, "we believe in God the Father, and the Son, &c.; but in the above passages out of Basil the peculiar style of John is used, "the Father and the Word." This has induced some to class this among the distinct quotations. We contend not about words, These are evidently allusions by Basil of such a kind as to establish the fact that our verse was as certainly before his eyes, as any other portion of John's epistles. (Brownlee, "Gleanings and Hints Towards an Argument for the Authenticity of John v. 7" in The Christian Advocate vol 2, July 1825, p. 304)
- **[Against Eunomium. Book 5. That the same names do not establish the [same] identity; and that it is by the divine nature that the unity is recognized.]** 2. ...Abraham believed in God; but he believed with his strong, strong faith, he was not incredulous like you; and that is why this holy patriarch was the friend of God, and you, on the contrary, are his enemies." The enemies of God have lied against him" (Ps. lxxx, 16), says the Psalmist; they lied because they say that the Son by nature is only son by adoption and grace; because they say that the Creator is a creature; that the workman is work; that he who is from all eternity in the Father, [that] there was a time when he was not; they lied because they maintain that the Son of God who is [begotten], is begotten of non-

The Witness of God is Greater

being [from nothing]. **And it is not only against the Father and the Son that these bitter enemies of God and his Christ are lying, they do not stop [there] either, [but go on] to attack the Holy Spirit, refusing to call [Him] Lord, this Spirit of God, and from a brow of brass and a heart [PAGE 330] uncircumcised (Acts vii 51) [they] rise up against the holy Scriptures. Why, however, do you rise [up] against this beautiful belief? Why do you reject this saving confession; God, Word, Spirit? Father, Son, Holy Spirit?** The Son is no stranger to the Father; nor is the Holy Spirit a stranger to the Father and the Son. These three divine persons are not separated by space, nor by centuries; they are not measured and graduated together by distances. The Son has never failed the Father nor the Spirit to the Son: it is always the same Trinity, always immutable, always unalterable. The Son is not the Father; but the Father is the generator of the Son: as intelligence He is the father of the Word; as supreme power he is the father of the Almighty; as wise he begot wisdom; as hypostasis he has engendered his own image, yet the Son is eternally Son: he is eternally, because he is the form of God; he is Son because he is the natural image of God. But the Holy Spirit also is called the image of the Son, and the finger of God, and the Spirit of God, and the word and the Spirit of the mouth (see Ps. xxxii, 6), and the Spirit of goodness, and the Spirit of righteousness and Master Spirit, and Spirit of Power; finally the Spirit of God is also called, as is the Word, Lord and God. (Basil of Caesarea. Against Eunomium, Book 5; Migne Graeca, PG 29.753)

- **Greek:** [Against Eunomium. Book 5. Ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ ὁμωνυμίας ταυτότης, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ φύσεως θείας ἐνόητος γινώριζεται.] 2. ...Ἐπίστευσε δὲ Ἀβραάμ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην, καὶ φίλος Θεοῦ ἐκλήθη. Φίλος Θεοῦ ὁ μακάριος Ἀβραάμ καὶ εἶρηται, καὶ ἔστι. Φίλος διὰ πίστιν, φίλος δι' ὑπακοήν Θεοῦ· σὺ δὲ ἐχθρὸς διὰ ἀπιστίαν καὶ παρακοήν Θεοῦ. Ἐπίστευσε δὲ Ἀβραάμ τῷ Θεῷ, ἐπίστευσεν ὡς αὐτὸς, καὶ οὐκ ἠπίστησεν ὡς ἡμεῖς. Διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸς [29.753] φίλος, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐχθροί. Οἱ ἐχθροὶ Κυρίου ἐψεύσαντο αὐτῷ, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· ὅτι τὸν φύσει Υἱὸν Θεοῦ θέσει καὶ χάριτι υἱοποιηθέντα λέγουσι, καὶ τὸν κτίστην κτίσμα, καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν ποίημα, καὶ τὸν αἰεὶ ὄντα ἐν Πατρὶ ποτε μὴ ὄντα, καὶ τὸν ἐξ ὄντος Θεοῦ Υἱὸν λέγοντες ἐκ μὴ ὄντων γεγονέναι. Οὐ μόνον δὲ κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Υἱοῦ ψεύδονται θεομαχοῦντες καὶ χριστομαχοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πνευματομαχοῦντες οὐ παύονται, τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ κυριολογεῖν μὴ βουλόμενοι, σκληρῶ τραχίλῳ καὶ ἀπεριτημῆτῳ καρδίᾳ ταῖς θείαις Γραφαῖς ἐναντιούμενοι. Τί δὲ ἐναντιοῦσαι τῇ καλῇ ταύτῃ πίστει καὶ σωζούσῃ ὁμολογία· Θεὸς, Λόγος, Πνεῦμα· Πατὴρ, Υἱὸς, καὶ Πνεῦμα; Οὐ ξένος ὁ Υἱὸς, οὐδὲ ἀλλότριον τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Υἱοῦ, οὐ τόποις μεμερισμένα, οὐκ αἰῶσι παραλαμβανόμενα, οὐ διαστήμασι μετρούμενα. Οὐκ ἐνέλιπεν Υἱὸς ποτε Πατρὶ, οὐδὲ Υἱῷ Πνεῦμα· ἀλλ' ἄτρεπτος καὶ ἀναλλοίωτος ἡ αὐτὴ Τριάς αἰεὶ. Οὐ Πατὴρ ὁ Υἱὸς, ἀλλὰ Πατὴρ Υἱοῦ γεννήτωρ, ὡς νοῦς λόγου πατὴρ, ὡς δύναμις δυνατοῦ, ὡς σοφὸς σοφίαν γενενηκῶς, ὡς ὑπόστασις ἴδιον χαρακτήρα. Ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς αἰεὶ Υἱὸς, ὡς μορφή Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων αἰεὶ, ὡς εἰκὼν Θεοῦ φυσικὴ ὁ Υἱός. 3. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα εἰκὼν τοῦ Υἱοῦ εἶρηται, καὶ δάκτυλος Θεοῦ, καὶ Θεοῦ πνεῦμα, καὶ ῥῆμα καὶ πνεῦμα στόματος, καὶ ἀγαθὸν πνεῦμα, καὶ εὐθές, καὶ ἡγεμονικόν, καὶ πνεῦμα δυνάμεως, καὶ Κύριος καὶ Θεὸς εἶρηται τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πνεῦμα, ὡς καὶ ὁ Λόγος. (Basil of Caesarea. Against Eunomium, Book 5; Migne Graeca, PG 29.753)

Comment:

Note: Context “they rise up against the Holy Scriptures” rejecting the “beautiful belief” and “saving confession”. As Forster indicated in his comment above, Basil herein is connecting the Three Heavenly Witnesses and the Three names we are baptized into as our saving confession (I John 5:7 & Matthew 28:19).

Basil the Great letter to Julian the Apostate: Confession

• Pope Adrian I (Latin: Hadrianus I; died 25 December 795) was the bishop of Rome and ruler of the Papal States from 1 February 772 to his death.[1] He was the son of Theodore, a Roman nobleman. Adrian and his predecessors had to contend with periodic attempts by the Lombards to expand their holdings in Italy at the expense of the papacy. Not receiving any support from Constantinople, the popes looked for help to the Franks. Adrian's tenure saw the culmination of on-going territorial disputes between Charlemagne and his brother Carloman I. The Lombard king Desiderius supported the claims of Carloman's sons to their late father's land, and requested Pope Adrian crown Carloman's sons "Kings of the Franks". When the Pope failed to do so,

The Witness of God is Greater

Desiderius invaded Papal territory and seized the Duchy of the Pentapolis. Charlemagne besieged Pavia and took the Lombard crown for himself. He then restored the Pentapolis to the Papacy as well as some of the captured Lombard territory. (Pope Adrian I. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_Adrian_I>).

• The Second Council of Nicaea is recognized as the last of the first seven ecumenical councils by the Eastern Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church. In addition, it is also recognized as such by the Old Catholics and others. Protestant opinions on it are varied. It met in AD 787 in Nicaea (site of the First Council of Nicaea; present-day İznik in Turkey) to restore the use and veneration of icons (or, holy images), which had been suppressed by imperial edict inside the Byzantine Empire during the reign of Leo III (717–741). His son, Constantine V (741–775), had held the Council of Hieria to make the suppression official. (Second Council of Nicaea. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Council_of_Nicaea>)

HITS:

- In the letter of the blessed Basil to Julian the apostate, he saith thus: "Even as we have received our Christian and pure faith of God, as it were by right of heritage; right so I make my confession thereof to him, and therein I abide. **I believe in one God Father Almighty, God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost. One God (in substance) and these three (in Persons) I adore and glorify.** I also confess the Son's incarnation. Then afterward St. Mary, who, according to the flesh, brought him forth, calling her Theotokos. I reverence also the holy apostles, prophets, and martyrs, which make supplication to God for me; that by their mediation our most benign God be merciful unto me, and grant me freely remission of my sins." (Pope Adrianus I, Epistle 56 to Constantinum and Irenem read at the Seventh Ecumenical Council 787 citing a letter of Basil the Great to Julian the Apostate.)
 - **Greek:** ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου τῆ πρὸς Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν παραβάτην ἐμφέρεται· "Καθὼς ἐκληρονομήσαμεν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἄμεμπτον πίστιν τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ὁμολογῶ, καὶ ἔπομαι, **καὶ πιστεύω εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν παντοκράτορα, Θεὸν τὸν Πατέρα, Θεὸν τὸν Υἱὸν, Θεὸν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· ἓνα Θεὸν ταῦτα τὰ τρία προσκυνῶ καὶ δοξάζω.** Ὁμολογῶ δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἕνσαρκον οἰκονομίαν· εἶτα καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν Μαρίαν τὴν κατὰ σάρκα τεκοῦσαν αὐτὸν, Θεοτόκον ὁμολογῶ. Δέχομαι δὲ τοὺς ἁγίους ἀποστόλους, προφήτας τε καὶ μάρτυρας, τοὺς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν λετανεύοντας, ὅτι διὰ τῆς μεσετείας αὐτῶν ἴλεως μοι γίνεται ὁ φιλόανθρωπος Θεὸς, καὶ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν δωρεῖται· διὸ καὶ τὰς ἱστορίας τῶν εἰκόνων αὐτῶν τιμῶ καὶ προσκυνῶ φανερώς. τοῦτο γὰρ παρεδόθη ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, καὶ οὐ κωλυτέον· ἀλλὰ' ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἡμῶν τὴν αὐτῶν ἀναστηλοῦμεν ἱστορίαν." (Basil. cit. ab Hdr. in Epist. ad Const. et Iren. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. II. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-1672. Tom. VII. col. 109; Adrianus I Epistola LVI to Constantinum et Irenem; Migne Graeca, PG 96.1227)

Philoptris : A Satirical Dialogue (circa 331-363 AD)

• [Baldwin] Of unknown authorship, uncertain date, and debatable purpose, the Philoptris is one of the more curious documents to emanate from later antiquity. It's frequently peculiar language and its attempt to fuse traditional elements of Platonic/ Lucianic dialogue with the new demands of Christian orthodoxy conspire to make it a work of considerable interest to the student of late Greek literature. (Baldwin, The date and purpose of the Philoptris, 1982, p. 321)

• [Marciniak] The Philoptris falls naturally into two parts. The first one is a discussion between Triephon and Kritias, seeking to prove that mythological stories are nonsensical and that Christianity (though this term itself is never used) is the true religion. The second part tells the story of the encounter of Kritias first with people of the agora of a city and then with some unidentified gloomy characters, prophesying a disaster that will soon befall the native land of Kritias (perhaps Constantinople, but this is disputable). The text ends with the sudden appearance of a certain Kleolaos and the praise of an unnamed emperor. (Marciniak, Chapter 9 The Power of Old and New Logoi: The Philoptris Revisited, 2020, p. 180)

The Witness of God is Greater

- [Baldwin] Three considerations rule out the satirist [Lucian as the author]. First, the indifferent Greek, with its faltering syntax and confusion of dialects. Second, much of the piece is a "centro" of phrases and effects from genuine Lucianic works. Finally, the mention of [the term] *ἐξισωτής** or *peraequator*, (i.e., "an official") [the use of which is] not attested before the reign of Constantine [306-327 AD]. (Baldwin, The date and purpose of the Philopatris, 1982, p. 321)
- [Macleod] **ἐξισωταὶ* (Latin *peraequatores*) were officials first heard of under Constantine, whose duty was the fair division of taxes. (Lucian, Vol. 8, Translated by M.D. Macleod, 1967, p. 451, fn 1)
- [Baldwin] The idea that the Philopatris is a Byzantine work originated in 1813 with C.B. Hase. ...Apparent precision and victory came in 1902 with the detailed study of Salomon Reinach, who narrowed it down to the reign of Nicephorus Phocas, the spring or either 969 or 965. This dating has acquired almost a canonical status, although in point of fact the arguments for it are few and weak. ...Reinach essentially rested his case on two items: **1**) linguistic detail [the Greek term *στρατηγέτης*] and **2**) an alleged historical allusion [recapture of Crete from the Saracens in 961].
 1. ...The word *στρατηγέτης* has come to light in an inscription from Miletus of 196 BC. [Hence overturning this date marker claimed by Reinach.]
 2. Crete suffered a great deal in the Byzantine period and one hardly requires formal corroboration from history or chronicle to assume the frequency of atrocity. For obvious instances, many must have perished when the Saracens occupied the island in 826, or during the brief reoccupation of the island by the logothete (i.e., prime minister) Theoctistus in 843-844. The allusion of Triepho simply cannot be pinned down. And it may well not refer to anything historical at all. The mention comes in a sequence of exclusively literary and mythological items. It is preceded by Athene and Gorgon, and postluded by Hera. Nothing precludes the notion that Triepho is alluding to the sacrifice of maidens in a Cretan ritual: the Minotaur very likely, or something to do with Britomartis*. ...And with regard to the apparently contemporary nature of the Cretan episode, it will again be remembered that items from Greek mythology are presented in the dialogue as recent events. Close scrutiny of the language reinforces suspicion that the virgins of Crete are simply one more in a literary sequence. ...On all counts, the supposed reference to Nicephorus Phocas hardly stands up: its place in the dialogue suggests that it is just one of the agglomeration of mythological examples, and in terms of language, nothing more than a literary cento. With the passage eliminated as a contemporary [historical] allusion, Reinach's dating loses its foundations. There is no other clue so seemingly tangible - the general situation envisaged in the dialogue suits any number of periods.

***Note:** Britomartis was Greek goddess of mountains and hunting, who was primarily worshipped on the island of Crete.
- Baldwin, The date and purpose of the Philopatris, 1982, p. 324-326.
- [Marciniak] Triephon, one of the two interlocutors, mentions a massacre of virgins on Crete, and such a massacre took place when the island was recaptured by Phokas in 961. However, Baldwin might be right in thinking that Triephon refers to yet another mythological story such as the myth of the Minotaur. (Marciniak, Chapter 9 The Power of Old and New Logoi: The Philopatris Revisited, 2020, p. 180)
- [Baldwin] As Reinach and others have observed, an attack on pagans makes no sense after the sixth century or thereabouts, for the good reason that there were no pagans as such to attack. A Julianic date [331-363 AD] might look attractive here, or the reign of Justinian [527-565 AD], for obvious reasons, and the references to the external enemies and frontiers would suit either of these. So might the choice of a *peraequator* to be Critias' friend, since we have seen that that official [the term/title] is best attested to in these two periods. (Baldwin, The date and purpose of the Philopatris, 1982, p. 343)
- [Baldwin] If it could be shown that Philopatris had a definite purpose, it might be possible to assign it plausibly to some particular period, even reign [of a particular ruler]. But as we have seen, there is no agreement over

The Witness of God is Greater

this. The older view was that it was an attack on Christianity; Reinach and others have tended to reverse that notion. Macleod [editor of the Loeb edition] sensibly calls its purpose uncertain, suggesting that the first part is "a light-hearted attack on contemporary humanists who had excessive enthusiasm for classical culture", whilst the second half "is more serious and appeals to all patriots to support the emperor in his great campaigns." (Baldwin, *The date and purpose of the Philopatris*, 1982, p. 340-341)

• [Baldwin] *Philopatris* would appear to be a piece of self-advertisement for the author, to be taken along with the hint at poverty and hopes for suitable imperial largess expressed in the final section. (Baldwin, *The date and purpose of the Philopatris*, 1982, p. 341)

HITS:

Critias: And by whom shall I swear?

Triepho: The mighty God that rules on high, Immortal dwelling in the sky, **the Son [begotten] from the Father, the Spirit proceeds from the Father, one in three and three out of one**, think him your "Zeus", consider him your God.

Critias: You're teaching me to count, and using arithmetic for your oath. For you are counting like Nicomachus, the Gerasene. For I don't know what you mean by "**three in one and one in three**". You don't mean Pythagoras four numbers, or his eighty, or his thirty.

Triepho: "Speak not of things below that none may tell." We don't measure footprints of fleas here. For I shall teach you what is all, who existed before all else and how the universe works. For only the other day, I too was in the same state as you, when I was met by a Galilean with receding hair and a long nose, who walked on air into the third heaven and acquired the most glorious knowledge, he regenerated us with water, led us into the paths of the blessed and ransomed us from the impious places. If you listen to me, I shall make you too a man in truth.

Critias: Speak on, most learned Triepho; for fear is upon me.

Triepho: Have you ever read the poetic composition of the dramatist Aristophanes called "The Birds"?

Critias: Certainly I have.

Triepho: He wrote the following words:

"At first Chaos there was and night,
Black Erebus and Tartarus broad,
But naught of earth or air or sky"

Critias: Bravo! Then what followed?

Triepho: There was light imperishable, invisible, incomprehensible, which dispels the darkness and has banished this confusion; by a single word spoken by him, as the slow-tongued one recorded, he planted land on the waters, spread out the heavens, fashioned the fixed stars, appointed the course of the planets which you revere as gods, beautified the earth with flowers and brought man into existence out of nothingness. He exists in the heavens, looking down upon the just and the unjust, and writing down their deeds in his books, and he shall requite all men on his own appointed day.

• Lucian, *Philopatris*, in Loeb library Lucian Vol. 8, 1967, Translated by M.D. Macleod, p. 435, 437, 439, 441.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ [12] Καὶ τίνα ἐπομόσωμαί γε;

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ Ὑψιμέδοντα θεόν, μέγαν, ἄμβροτον, οὐρανίωνα, **υἶδὸν ἐκ πατρὸς, πνεῦμα ἐκ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, ἓν ἐκ τριῶν καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς τρία**, τοῦτον νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόνδ' ἡγοῦ θεόν.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ Ἀριθμέειν με διδάσκεις, καὶ ὄρκος ἢ ἀριθμητικὴ· καὶ γὰρ ἀριθμέεις ὡς Νικόμαχος ὁ Γερασηνός. οὐκ οἶδα γὰρ τί λέγεις, **ἓν τρία, τρία ἓν**. μὴ τὴν τετρακτὺν φῆς τὴν Πυθαγόρου ἢ τὴν ὀγδοάδα καὶ τριακάδα;

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ Σίγα τὰ νέρθε καὶ τὰ σιγῆς ἄξια. οὐκ ἔσθ' ὥδε μετρεῖν τὰ ψυλλῶν ἵχνη. ἐγὼ γὰρ σε διδάξω τί τὸ πᾶν καὶ τίς ὁ πρῶν πάντων καὶ τί τὸ σύστημα τοῦ παντός· καὶ γὰρ πρῶν καγὼ ταῦτα ἔπασχον ἄπερ σύ, ἡνίκα δέ μοι Γαλιλαῖος ἐνέτυχεν, ἀναφаланτίας, ἐπίρρινος, ἐς τρίτον οὐρανὸν ἀεροβατήσας καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα ἐκμεμαθηκώς, δι' ὕδατος ἡμᾶς ἀνεγέννησεν, ἐς τὰ τῶν μακάρων ἵχνια παρεισώδευσε καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀσεβῶν χώρων ἡμᾶς ἐλυτρώσατο. καὶ σὲ ποιήσω, ἦν μου ἀκούης, ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἄνθρωπον.

The Witness of God is Greater

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ [13] Λέγε, ὦ πολυμαθέστατε Τριεφῶν· διὰ φόβου γὰρ ἔρχομαι.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ Ἀνέγνωκάς ποτε τὰ τοῦ Ἀριστοφάνους τοῦ δραματοποιοῦ Ὅρνιθας ποιημάτια;

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ Καὶ μάλα.

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ Ἐγκεχάραται παρ' αὐτοῦ τοιόνδε· Χάος ἦν καὶ Νύξ Ἴερεβός τε μέλαν πρῶτον καὶ Τάρταρος εὐρύς· γῆ δ' οὐδ' ἀήρ οὐδ' οὐρανὸς ἦν.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ Εὖ λέγεις· εἶτα τί ἦν;

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ Ἦν φῶς ἄφθιτον ἀόρατον ἀκατανόητον, ὃ λύει τὸ σκότος καὶ τὴν ἀκοσμίαν ταύτην ἀπήλασε, λόγῳ μόνῳ ῥηθέντι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς ὁ βραδύγλωσσος ἀπεγράψατο, γῆν ἔπηξεν ἐφ' ὕδασι, οὐρανὸν ἐτάνουσεν, ἀστέρας ἐμόρφωσεν ἀπλανεῖς, δρόμον διετάξατο, οὐς σὺ σέβῃ θεοῦς, γῆν δὲ τοῖς ἄνθεσιν ἐκαλλώπισεν, ἄνθρωπον ἐκ μὴ ὄντων ἐς τὸ εἶναι παρήγαγε, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν οὐρανῷ βλέπων δικαίους τε καδίκους καὶ ἐν βίβλοις τὰς πράξεις ἀπογραφόμενος· ἀνταποδώσει δὲ πᾶσιν ἦν ἡμέραν αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο.

• Lucian, *Philopatris*, in Loeb library Lucian Vol. 8, 1967, p. 434, 436, 438, 440.

Comments:

- [Marciniak] The *Philopatris* has been transmitted in six manuscripts, of which the earliest dates back to the 14th century. With the exception of the Escorialensis Σ I 12 (14th c.) the dialogue is transmitted in the company of other Lucianic texts. This obviously resulted in the false impression that it was a genuine work of Lucian. Yet, Lucianic authorship was denied already by the Byzantines. (Marciniak, Chapter 9 The Power of Old and New Logoi: The *Philopatris* Revisited, 2020, p. 179)
- [Baldwin] Triepho is a very rare name - indeed, some older commentators wished to alter it to Tripho or Trupho. ...but in view of his theological emphasis on the Trinity, it seems likely that the name was intended to connote the Trinity and his devotion to it ("Three-in-one"). (Baldwin, The date and purpose of the *Philopatris*, 1982, p. 342)
- [Burton] There can be no doubt, that when this dialogue was written, it was commonly known to the heathen, that the Christians believed the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, though in one sense three, in another sense to be one: **and if the dialogue was written by Lucian, who lived in the latter part of the second century, it would be one of the strongest testimonies remaining to the doctrine of the Trinity. This was acknowledged by Socinus, who says in one of his works,"that he had never read any"thing which gave greater proof of a worship of"the Trinity being then received among Christians, than the passage which is brought from the"dialogue entitled *Philopatris*, and which is reckoned among the works of Lucian [Defens. Animadv. adversus Gab. Eutropium, c. 15. p. 698]."**He then observes, that the dialogue is generally supposed by the learned to be falsely ascribed to Lucian; and he adds some arguments which might make the passage of less weight, in proving that all Christians of that day believed a Trinity in Unity. I have no inclination to notice these arguments: but Socinus was correct in saying that the learned had generally decided against the genuineness of this dialogue as a work of Lucian. **Bishop Bull [Def. Fid. Nic. II. 4, 11. Jud. Eccl. Cath. IV. r.] believed it to be genuine, and Fabricius [Bibl. Gr. vol. III. p. 504. Lux Evang. p. 153.] was inclined to do the same.** Some have ascribed it to a writer older than the time of Lucian; others, to one of the same age; and others, to much later periods. I need only refer the reader to discussions of the subject by Dodwell [De Jure Laicorum Sacerdotali, p. 284], Blondell [De episcopis et Presbyteris, p. 228], Lardner [Credibility, Art. Lucian. vol. VII. p. 285, etc.], &c.: but J. M. **Gesner has considered the question in a long and able Dissertation [Published in Vol. III. of the edition of Lucian by Reitzius, 1743], the object of which is to prove that the *Philopatris* was written in the reign of Julian the apostate.** His arguments appear to me to deserve much attention; and though the learned do not seem in general to have adopted his conclusion, I feel so far convinced by them, that I cannot bring forward this remarkable passage, as the testimony of a writer of the second century. (Burton, Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Doctrine of the Trinity and of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, 1831, p. 31-33)

The Witness of God is Greater

- [Cave] Now let us turn to the dialog itself [*Philopatris*], the primary aim of which is to ridicule Christians and their faith, rites and customs. This is what both pages are all about, and it thrusts itself on the eyes of anyone who looks. I will give a single example out of many. It concerns the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. Critias asks who *that-God-is* by whom he must swear. Triephton (whom the author portrays as a Christian catechumen) replies that it is a God reigning on high, great, eternal and ethereal, **"a Son of the Father, a Spirit proceeding from the Father, one out of three and three out of one: think these (three) to be Zeus, consider that (one) as God."** Nothing could have been said more precisely or more eloquently. **Where did a Gentile get this from? You will say, "from the common doctrine of Christians in this period." I will say, "No, but rather from the sacred source of the New Testament, and from no other passage than this same of St John, as the very sayings of the Apostle are being used expressly, sayings that are found laid out in so many words nowhere else in the whole New Testament,** nor even in any of the Holy Fathers of the previous three centuries. This will become clear from the following parallel. You perceive here every thing consonant; the same sense brought forward on each side or column, in almost the same words. **By an argument to me more than probable, it appears to have been taken out of the testimony of St. John; and hence this text of the Heavenly Witnesses must have had a place in the most ancient Codices.**

(Cave, "St. John, the Apostle" in *Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia literaria*, 1720, vol 1, p. 17.)

- **William Cave** (30 December 1637 – 4 August 1713)[1] was an English divine and patristic scholar. Cave was born at Pickwell, Leicestershire, of which parish his father, John Cave was vicar. He was educated at Oakham School and St John's College, Cambridge.[2] He took his B.A. degree in 1656, his M.A. in 1660, his DD in 1672, and in 1681 he was incorporated DD at Oxford. He was vicar of St Mary's, Islington (1662–91), rector of All-Hallows the Great, Upper Thames Street, London (1679–89), and in 1690 became vicar of Isleworth in Middlesex, at that time a quiet place which suited his studious temper. Cave was also chaplain to Charles II, and in 1684 became a canon of Windsor, where he died. He was buried at St Mary's, Islington, near his wife and children. The merits of Cave as a writer consist in the thoroughness of his research, the clearness of his style, and, above all, the admirably lucid method of his arrangement.[4] The two works on which his reputation principally rests are the *Apostolici*; or, The History of the Lives, Acts, Death and Martyrdoms of those who were contemporary with, or immediately succeeded the Apostles (1677), and *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria* (1688). Dowling says that the works of Cave "rank undoubtedly among those which have affected the progress of Church-history. His smaller works greatly tended to extend an acquaintance with Christian Antiquity; his Lives of the Apostles and Primitive Fathers, which may be regarded as an Ecclesiastical history of the first four centuries, is to this very day [i.e. 1838] the most learned work of the kind which has been written in our own language; and his *Historia Literaria* is still the best and most convenient complete work on the literary history of the Church." [5] Though he is sometimes criticised for not being critical with his sources, that failing means that many of his works, particularly *Antiquitates Apostolicae* and *Apostolici* contain a wealth of legendary material, culled from a wide variety of sources, much of which is not readily available elsewhere. Cave is said to have been "of a learned and communicative conversation;" he is also reported to have been "a florid and eloquent preacher," and the printed sermons he has left behind bear out this character. (William Cave. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Cave>)

Legend of the Minotaur

- In Greek mythology, Minos (/ˈmaɪnɒs, -nəs/; Greek: Μίνως, Mīnōs, Ancient: [mīːnɔːs] Modern: [ˈminos]) was a King of Crete, son of Zeus and Europa. Every nine years, he made King Aegeus pick seven young boys and seven young girls[1] to be sent to Daedalus's creation, the labyrinth, to be eaten by the Minotaur. After his death, Minos became a judge of the dead in the underworld. (Minos. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Minos>)

- After ascending the throne of the island of Crete, Minos competed with his brothers as ruler. Minos prayed to the sea god Poseidon to send him a snow-white bull as a sign of the god's favour. Minos was to sacrifice the bull to honor Poseidon, but owing to the bull's beauty he decided instead to keep him.

The Witness of God is Greater

Minos believed that the god would accept a substitute sacrifice. To punish Minos, Poseidon made Minos' wife Pasiphaë fall in love with the bull. Pasiphaë had the craftsman Daedalus fashion a hollow wooden cow, which she climbed into in order to mate with the bull. The monstrous Minotaur was the result. Pasiphaë nursed the Minotaur but he grew in size and became ferocious. As the unnatural offspring of a woman and a beast, the Minotaur had no natural source of nourishment and thus devoured humans for sustenance. Minos, following advice from the oracle at Delphi, had Daedalus construct a gigantic labyrinth to hold the Minotaur. Its location was near Minos' palace in Knossos.[10] The Minotaur is commonly represented in Classical art with the body of a man and the head and tail of a bull. According to Sophocles' *Trachiniai*, when the river spirit Achelous seduced Deianira, one of the guises he assumed was a man with the head of a bull. (Minotaur. Wikipedia.

<en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Minotaur>)

- Minos' son Androgeus won every game in a contest hosted by Aegeas of Athens. Alternatively, the other contestants were jealous of Androgeus and killed him. Minos was angry and declared war on Athens. He offered the Athenians peace if they sent Minos **seven young men and seven virgin maidens to feed the Minotaur every year** (which corresponded directly to the Minoans' meticulous records of lunar alignments - a full moon falls on the equinoxes once every eight years). This continued until Theseus killed the Minotaur with the help of Ariadne, Minos' lovestruck daughter. (Minotaur. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Minotaur>)

De Virginitate, sive de Ascesi (circa 301-400 AD)

- [Navarro] We present an interesting text about virginity, venerable for its antiquity (it was composed, with great probability, in the 1st half of the 4th century (1)) and that, apart from the question of its authorship (cf. the following section), constitutes a precious testimony about the ascetic practice on the part of those people, fundamentally women (2), who renounced human love and consecrated themselves to the Kingdom of Heaven ; Despite its brevity, it had considerable importance in the history of asceticism (3). It is a kind of manual of the Christian virgin, with detailed instructions on the conduct and religious duties of the bride of Christ and with beautiful prayers (4); Its objective is to strengthen virgins in the practice of the ascetic ideal (5), to put them on guard against the dangerous excesses of the ascetic life and to make them feel strongly its moral demands (6). All this makes it more than probable that it is a work written in Egypt, a land in which during the 4th century there was a very fertile flowering of vocations, male and female, to ascetic and cenobitic life (7); work to which the great Athanasius actively contributed in his life and writings. (Navarro, «De Virginitate»Ps-atanasiano. Introducción, traducción, notas, 1995, p. 361-362)

- [Sources of 4th century Eucharistic Prayers] More light may be shed on the history by the third source, part of the rule for virgins that was formerly believed to have been the work of Athanasius [De Virginitate; PG 28] but now generally acknowledged to be of Cappadocian origin and dating from the second half of the fourth century. (fn.9. Greek text in E.F. von der Goltz, *De virginitate. Eine ehte Schrift des Athanasius*, 1905, pp. 46-47) The order of the material from this document has been rearranged in my table because, although what I have shown as the final prayer comes first in the text and is probably meant to be said before the meal, a later direction contradicts this and states that it is to be said after the meal. The texts are intended to provide forms of grace for use at the community's normal daily mealtime rather than a eucharistic rite, but appear to have some relation to the material in the Didache. The parallel to Didache 9.4 is obvious in the petitionary unit and something like 9.3 seems to lie behind the initial thanksgiving, but the concluding prayer possibly derives from another source altogether, but one that still retains a strongly Jewish flavour. The absence of a parallel for the cup-blessing of Didache 9.2 is no doubt to be accounted for by the absence of wine from the community's daily meal. All this suggests that we are dealing with the product of a living tradition here that shared features in common with the Didache material rather than a literary adaptation of that particular text. (Bradshaw, *Eucharistic Origins*, 2012, p. 120-121)

The Witness of God is Greater

HIT:

- First of all, believe in a single almighty God the Father, maker of the visible and the invisible; and in his only begotten Son Jesus Christ, the one who is of the Father's substance, totally equal to the Father in power, who exists before the centuries; and in the Holy Spirit who is in the Father and the Son, sent by the Father and given through the Son: **Father and Son and Holy Spirit, three persons, one single divinity** (32), one single power, a single baptism (33). 2 For our God in person, the Father of the universe, in six days made heaven, earth and sea, and everything that is in them (34). He himself adorned the sky with the sun, the moon, and the most beautiful stars, and adequately cemented the earth on the waters, adorning it with plants and trees of all kinds; and at his command rivers flow with honey and perennial fountains. He gave an order to the earth and from it he extracted the meat, and made all the beasts of the earth according to their species, and the birds of the sky according to their species. (Athanasius, De Virginitate, sive de Ascesi, 1)
 - **Greek:** Ἀρχὴ λόγου σωτηρίας πρὸς τὴν παρθένον. Πρῶτον πάντων πίστευσον εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀορατῶν ποιητὴν· καὶ εἰς τὸν μονογεῖ αὐτοῦ Υἱὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν ὄντα ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς, κατὰ πάντα ἰσοδύναμον τῷ Πατρὶ, τὸν πρὸ αἰώνων ὄντα· καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ ἐν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ ὃ, παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀποστελλόμενον, καὶ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ διδόμενον. **Πατὴρ καὶ Υἱὸς καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, μία θεότης, μία δύναμις, ἓν βάσιμα.** Αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ Πατὴρ τῶν ὅλων ἐν ἑξ ἡμέραις ἐποίησε τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς. Αὐτὸς γὰρ διεκόσμησεν τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐν ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ ἄστροις παγκάλους, καὶ τὴν γῆν εὐπρεπῶς ἐθεμελίωσεν ἐπάνω ὑδάτων, διακοσμήσας αὐτὴν ἐν φυτοῖς καὶ ξύλοις παντοδαποῖς. Καὶ τῇ κελεύσει αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύονται ποταμοὶ μελίρρυτοι, καὶ πηγαὶ ἀένναοι, καὶ προσέταξε τῇ γῆ, καὶ ἐπήγαγε σάρκα, καὶ ἐποίησε πάντα τὰ θηρίσθης γῆς κατὰ γένος, καὶ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατὰ γένος. Ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ὕδασι, καὶ ἐξήγαγον ἐχθύας, καὶ ἐποίησε τὰ κῆτη τὰ μεγάλα. (Athanasius, De Virginitate, sive de Ascesi, 1; Migne Graeca, PG 28.252-253)

Amphilochius of Iconium (339-403 AD)

- [Redington] Amphilochius was a cousin of Gregory the Theologian, and a lifelong friend of Basil the Great. Born around the year 340, he studied law and rhetoric and lived in Constantinople as a young intellectual professional, but began feeling called to the life of a hermit. Instead, around 374, he was forced by Basil into the episcopate, and made the reluctant bishop of Iconium (modern Konya, Turkey). Amphilochius was a poet and rhetor in the manner of the age, and wrote 333 iambic verses on the Christian life as well as a number of homilies and a tract against pseudo-ascetic practices. One of his poems contains a listing of the books of the Bible accepted in his diocese as canonical.
- [Redington] The episcopate of Amphilochius was occupied largely with struggle against heresy. At the Council of Constantinople in 381, he spoke against the Macedonians, who denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit. (Basil's treatise on the Spirit was written at the request of Amphilochius and is dedicated to him.) Amphilochius also led the opposition to Messalianism, a movement which taught that the devil was too powerful to be driven out by baptism and that only a life of constant prayer and extreme physical asceticism could purify the soul. He was not averse to invoking civil authority against heresy, successfully lobbying an initially unwilling Emperor Theodosius to prohibit Arianism. Although less famous than Basil and Gregory, Amphilochius was mentioned with them by the later Ecumenical Councils as one of the chief exponents of the orthodox position.
- Norman Hugh Redington. <www.voskrese.info/spl/Xamfil-kony.html>

HITS:

- That which is timeless is uncreated. That which is uncreated is without beginning. That which is without beginning is eternal. And only God is eternal. And a little later: **O holy Trinity numbered in one name.** For it is not called a unity and a duality or a unity and a unity, **but a Trinity in a Unity and a Unity in a Trinity**, with one form, with one name. There is one God, the Father in the Son, the Son in the Father with the Holy Spirit. We know that the Father is the Father, the Son is the Son, the Holy Spirit is the

The Witness of God is Greater

Holy Spirit, a **Trinity in oneness**. For there is only one oneness of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit; one essence, one dominion, one will; one Church, one baptism, one faith. (Amphilochii episcopi Iconii Epistola Synodica, IV. From the *Elementa* of the Damascene in the *Codex Ruperfucaldinus*, Blessed Amphilochius, from his piece on the words "the Lord made me", starting with "the fourth"[from Prov. 8:22]; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, 2021)

- **Greek:** Τὸ ἄχρονον ἄκτιστον· τὸ δὲ ἄκτιστον ἄναρχον· τὸ δὲ ἄναρχον αἰδίων· αἰδῖος δὲ μόνος ὁ Θεός· Καὶ μεθ' ἕτερα· **Ἡ Τριάς ἀγία ἐν ἐνὶ ὀνόματι ἀριθμουμένη**· οὐ γὰρ λέγεται μόνος καὶ δυὰς, οὐδὲ μόνος καὶ μονάς· **ἀλλὰ Τριάς ἐν Μονάδι, καὶ Μονὰς ἐν Τριάδι**· μονοειδῶς μονωνύμως· Εἷς Θεός, Πατὴρ ἐν Υἱῶ, Υἱὸς ἐν Πατρὶ σὺν ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι· Ἡμεῖς οἶδαμεν Πατέρα, Πατέρα· Υἱὸν, Υἱὸν· ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· **Τριάδα ἐνότητι**· μία γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐνότης Πατρὸς, καὶ Υἱοῦ, καὶ ἀγίου Πνεύματος· μία οὐσία, μία κυριότης, ἓν θέλημα· μία Ἐκκλησία, ἓν βάπτισμα, μία πίστις. (Amphilochii episcopi Iconii Epistola Synodica, IV. From the *Elementa* of the Damascene in the *Codex Ruperfucaldinus*, Blessed Amphilochius, from his piece on the words "the Lord made me", starting with "the fourth"; Migne Graeca, PG 39.101)
- **He who does not acknowledge three hypostases in one essence:** when I say "essence" I do not mean something else than the divinity, and when I say "divinity" I do not mean something else than the essence. But since we are treating the topic with such precision, we shall call it "essence", so as to give no occasion for that kind of person to claim rashly that two different things are being referred to. (Amphilochii episcopi Iconii Epistola Synodica, XVII. From the *Elementa* of the Damascene in the *Codex Ruperfucaldinus*, By the same author, from the letter he wrote to the inhabitants of Suedran on the holy Trinity; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas.)
 - **Greek:** Ὁ μὴ ὁμολογῶν τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις ἐν μιᾷ οὐσίᾳ· οὐχ ἕτεραν δὲ λέγω οὐσίαν παρὰ τὴν θεότητα· οὐχ ἕτεραν δὲ θεότητα παρὰ τὴν οὐσίαν· Ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ οὕτως ἀκριβοῦν, οὐσίαν καλοῦμεν· ἵνα μὴ ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο ὁ τοιοῦτος ῥαδιουργεῖ. (Amphilochii episcopi Iconii Epistola Synodica, XVII. From the *Elementa* of the Damascene in the *Codex Ruperfucaldinus*, By the same author, from the letter he wrote to the inhabitants of Suedran on the holy Trinity; Migne Graeca, PG 39.101)

Comments:

- [Sarah VDP] Συεδραν; Suadrenses: The Greek speaks of a letter *πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Συεδραν*, which is word for word "to those in Suedran (this name just being a transliteration of the Greek)"; the Latin says *ad Suadrenses*, meaning to the inhabitants of a place which might have been called in Latin *Suadran*, *Suadra*, *Suadrum*... or something like that. (Translator note)

Letters of the Emperors Valentinianus and Valens (circa 375 AD)

- Flavius Valens (328 – 9 August 378) was Roman emperor from 364 to 378. He was the younger brother of the emperor Valentinian I, who gave Valens the eastern half of the Roman Empire to rule. Before 364, Valens had a largely unremarkable military career. In 378, Valens was defeated and killed at the Battle of Adrianople against the invading Goths, which astonished contemporaries and marked the beginning of barbarian encroachment into Roman territory. (Valens. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Valens>)
- Valentinian I (Latin: Flavius Valentinianus; 3 July 321 – 17 November 375), also known as Valentinian the Great,[2][3][4][5] was Roman emperor from 364 to 375. Upon becoming emperor he made his brother Valens his co-emperor, giving him rule of the eastern provinces while Valentinian retained the west. (Valentinian I. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Valentinian_I>)
- Gratian (/ˈɡreɪʃən/; Latin: Flavius Gratianus; 18 April 359 – 25 August 383) was Roman emperor from 367 to 383. The eldest son of Valentinian I, Gratian accompanied his father on several campaigns along the Rhine

The Witness of God is Greater

and Danube frontiers and was raised to the rank of augustus in 367. Upon the death of Valentinian in 375, Gratian took over government of the west while his half-brother Valentinian II was also acclaimed emperor in Pannonia. Gratian governed the western provinces of the empire, while his uncle Valens was already the emperor over the east. (Gratian. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gratian>)

- **Letters of the Emperors Valentinianus and Valens, written to the diocese of Asia about the Homoüsion, on hearing that some men in Asia and in Phrygia were in dispute about the divine decree.**
- Valentinian ordered a council to be held in Illyricum and sent to the disputants the decrees ratified by the bishops there assembled. They had decided to hold fast the creed put forth at Nicæa and the emperor himself wrote to them, associating his brother with him in the dispatch, urging that the decrees be kept.
- The edict clearly proclaims the piety of the emperor and similarly exhibits the soundness of Valens in divine doctrines at that time. I shall therefore give it in full. The mighty emperors, ever august, augustly victorious, Valentinianus, Valens, and Gratianus, to the bishops of Asia, Phrygia, Carophrygia Pacatiana, greeting in the Lord.
- Theodoret of Cyrus (393–466 AD), Ecclesiastical History, Book 4, Chapter 7. <www.newadvent.org/fathers/27024.htm>.

HITS:

- To this letter we subjoin the decrees of the synod, which are briefly as follows.
- *"In accordance with the great and orthodox synod we confess that the Son is of one substance with the Father. And we do not so understand the term 'of one substance' as some formerly interpreted it who signed their names with feigned adhesion; nor as some who now-a-days call the drafters of the old creed Fathers, but make the meaning of the word of no effect, following the authors of the statement that 'of one substance' means 'like,' with the understanding that since the Son is comparable to no one of the creatures made by Him, He is like to the Father alone. For those who thus think irreverently define the Son 'as a special creation of the Father,' but we, with the present synods, both at Rome and in Gaul, hold that there is one and the same substance of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in three persons, that is in three perfect essences. And we confess, according to the exposition of Nicæa, that the Son of God being of one substance, was made flesh of the Holy Virgin Mary, and has tabernacled among men, and fulfilled all the economy for our sakes in birth, in passion, in resurrection, and in ascension into Heaven; and that He shall come again to render to us according to each man's manner of life, in the day of judgment, being seen in the flesh, and showing forth His divine power, being God bearing flesh, and not man bearing Godhead. Them that think otherwise we damn, as we do also them that do not honestly damn him that said that before the Son was begotten He was not, but wrote that even before He was actually begotten He was potentially in the Father. For this is true in the case of all creatures, who are not forever with God in the sense in which the Son is ever with the Father, being begotten by eternal generation."*
- Theodoret of Cyrus (393–466 AD), Ecclesiastical History, Book 4, Chapter 7.

Greek:

- Τούτοις συνέζευξε τοῖς γράμμασι καὶ τῆς συνόδου τὰ δόγματα ἐν κεφαλαίῳ ταῦτα δηλώσας:
- « Ὁμολογοῦμεν ἀκολούθως τῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ ὀρθοδόξῳ συνόδῳ ὁμοούσιον εἶναι τῷ πατρὶ τὸν υἱόν· καὶ οὐχ οὕτω νοοῦμεν τὸ ὁμοούσιον ὡς καὶ πάλαι τινὲς ἐξηγήσαντο μὴ ἀληθινῶς ὑπογράψαντες, καὶ νῦν ἕτεροι πατέρας ἐκείνους καλοῦντες, τὴν δύναμιν τῆς λέξεως ἀθετήσαντες καὶ ἐπόμενοι τοῖς γράμμασι τὸ ὅμοιον δηλοῦσθαι διὰ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου, καθ' ὃ οὐδενὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κτισμάτων τῶν δι' αὐτοῦ γενομένων ἐμφορῆς ὁ υἱός, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνῳ τῷ πατρὶ ἀφωμοίωται. Οἱ γὰρ ταῦτα ἐξηγούμενοι κτίσμα ἐξαιρετόν ἀσεβῶς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ δογματίζουσιν. Ἡμεῖς δὲ φρονοῦμεν, ὡς καὶ αἱ σύνοδοι νῦν αἴ τε κατὰ Ῥώμην καὶ ἡ κατὰ Γαλλίαν, **μίαν εἶναι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν τρισὶ τελείαις ὑποστάσεσιν.** Ὁμολογοῦμεν δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἔκθεσιν τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ, καὶ σεσαρκῶσθαι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ὁμοούσιον ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου Μαρίας, καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐσκηνωκέναι, καὶ πεπληρωκέναι πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οἰκονομίαν, ἐν γενέσει καὶ πάθει καὶ ἀναστάσει καὶ τῇ εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀναβάσει· καὶ πάλιν ἦξει

The Witness of God is Greater

ἀποδιδόντα τὴν ὁμοίωσιν ἡμῖν τὴν θείαν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, θεὸν ὄντα σαρκοφόρον καὶ ἄνθρωπον θεοφόρον· καὶ τοὺς τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐναντία φρονοῦντας ἀναθεματίζομεν, καὶ τοὺς μὴ γνησίως ἀναθεματίζοντας τὸν εἰπόντα ὅτι πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν ὁ υἱός, ἀλλὰ γράψαντας ὅτι καὶ πρὶν ἐνεργεῖα γεννηθῆναι δυνάμει ἦν ἐν τῷ πατρὶ. Τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων ἐστὶ τῶν μὴ αἰεὶ ὄντων μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, καθ' ὃ ὁ υἱὸς αἰεὶ μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐστίν, αἰδίῳ γεννήσει γεγεννημένος.»

• Theodoret of Cyrus, Ecclesiastical History, Book 4, Chapter 7; Migne Graeca, PG 82.1136-1137.

Sancti Hilarii Epistola seu Libellus (circa 385 AD)

• [Morin] JEAN-Chrysostome Trombelli, canon regular of the Lateran, published in the last century, with preface, annotations, endless dissertations, a small writing in the form of a letter attributed by him to Saint Hilary and reproduced in the appendix of the works of this Father (Migne PL 10, 733-750). ...The pamphlet had been found by Trombelli in a manuscript collection of the works of Saint Jerome. But, judging with reason that it could not belong to this one, the editor set out in search of another ecclesiastical writer to whom he could attribute the authorship of the writing, and his choice fell on Hilaire of Poitiers. Despite the luxury of erudition he displayed on this occasion, he encountered nothing but disbelief and motivated opposition from the critics. In addition, the text published by him is obviously incomplete and faulty in many places. Even so, there is no question that the written word is old, and interesting from different points of view. Trombelli believed that his aim was to provide a newly elected bishop with a model of instruction for his people, because of these words which read towards the end in his manuscript: *I ask your most pure Holiness for forgiveness, begging your Holiness...* But the real lesson seems to be this, restored with the help of ms. lat. 289 from the Vatican collection (11th / 12th century):

- I ask your most pure Holiness for forgiveness, begging your Holiness, whose way has been approved by God as more skilled and holier, to either correct the mistakes or add what is missing in all the places where my mediocrity has either overlooked anything or been unable to explain the findings sufficiently. Should you find this little work to lack nothing as it was begun by me at your request and completed with the help of God, I beg you to remember me both in your own holy prayers and in those of all the brothers. Let my opponents be aware that my faith has been justified, let them recognize that it is in agreement with the Church, and let them take up service the more readily for it; so that I may have the joy not only to have believed but also to have been of some help to my enemies and the believers. (Sancti Hilarii Epistola seu Libellus, XXII; Migne Latina, PL 10.750)

• [Morin] The impression that these last lines produce, after a careful reading of the entire Epistle, is this. The author's orthodoxy had been questioned. An important personage, designated by the respectful terms *Prudentia vestra, tua Sanctitas*, asked him to put in writing, for his justification, the teaching he was giving to his people. Hence this apology, taken by Trombelli for a pastoral mandate. It is true that this is a "unique" (Latin: *sui generis*) apology: the allusion to the suspicions weighing on the author only becomes evident in the closing lines just quoted. Everything else is written in what you might call a "glorious" style pattern: confidence and pride of thought, use of fancy and bombastic expressions, like *subfecundare* 737 a. *splendificare* 738 d.

sacerdotare Deo 743 b. and above all frequent return of the following two adjectives **GLORIOSUS** (*David gloriosus* 733 b. *gloriosus evangelista* 733 d. *glorioso Paulo* 742 d. *gloriosi Dei testes* 749 a. *Paulus gloriosus* 749 c.) and **DEI FICUS** (*ad aedificationem deificam* 743 a. *deificum munus* 744 b. *deifice comparatam* 745 b. *rebus deificis* 745 c. *obsequium deificum* 749 b.) The nature of the writing, the condition of its author, its strangely characteristic manner, involuntarily bring to mind a certain Spanish bishop at the end of the fourth century, about whom Saint Jerome expresses himself thus in his *De viris illustribus*, c. 123:

- Tiberianus, the Baetican, in answer to an insinuation that he shared the heresy of Priscillian, wrote an apology in pompous and mongrel language. But after the death of his friends, overcome by the tediousness of exile, he changed his mind, as it is written in Holy Scripture the dog returned to his vomit, and married a nun, a virgin dedicated to Christ. (Jerome, Lives of Illustrious Men, c. 123)

The Witness of God is Greater

- [Morin] The disregard of the simple profession of virginity, devoid of the essential virtues that this state supposes (col. 747 ff.), Does not fit too badly with the determination attributed by Jerome to Bishop Tiberianus.
- G. Morin, "Une epistula ou apologie faussement attribuée à saint Hilaire de Poitiers," *RevBen* 15 (1898): 97-99.
- [Burrus] The accounts of Priscillian and Sulpicius Severus provide an outline of the events that led to the convening of the Council of Saragossa. According to Priscillian's Letter to Damasus (c. 381), he and his companions had lived quiet lives dedicated to God for several years before the council... Severus' Chronicle (c. 403) supports Priscillian's picture of a network of Spanish ascetics that included both laypeople and clergy, and he supplies the names—Instantius and Salvianus—but not the sees of two of the bishops associated with Priscillian during the period before the council. Severus further reports that the first opposition to the ascetics came from Hyginus, bishop of Cordoba in the southern Spanish province of Baetica. Hyginus is described as being "from the neighborhood" of Priscillian and his episcopal associates (*ex vicino*), and we furthermore know from Jerome that Tiberianus, one of Priscillian's early lay supporters, was a Baetican—two possible indications that Priscillian and his friends were initially active in Baetica. However, subsequent events suggest that the three were more likely from the nearby western province of Lusitania, and Severus' narrative quickly shifts the scene to that province. (Burrus, *The Making of a Heretic: Gender, Authority, and the Priscillianist Controversy*, 1995, p. 27)
- [Severus, Sacred History 2.50] ...the emperor being led astray by Magnus and Rufus, and turned from the milder course which Martin had counseled, entrusted the case to the prefect Evodius, a man of stern and severe character. He tried Priscillian in two assemblies, and convicted him of evil conduct. In fact, Priscillian did not deny that he had given himself up to lewd doctrines; had been accustomed to hold, by night, gatherings of vile women, and to pray in a state of nudity. Accordingly, Evodius pronounced him guilty, and sent him back to prison, until he had time to consult the emperor. The matter, then, in all its details, was reported to the palace, and the emperor decreed that Priscillian and his friends should be put to death.
- [Severus, Sacred History 2.51] Well, a certain Patricius, an advocate connected with the treasury, was then appointed accuser by Maximus. Accordingly, under him as prosecutor, Priscillian was condemned to death, and along with him, Felicissimus and Armenius, who, when they were clerics, had lately adopted the cause of Priscillian, and revolted from the Catholics. Latronianus, too, and Euchrotia were beheaded. Instantius, who, as we have said above, had been condemned by the bishops, was transported to the island of Sylina which lies beyond Britain. A process was then instituted against the others in trials which followed, and Asarivus, and Aurelius the deacon, were condemned to be beheaded, while Tiberianus was deprived of his goods, and banished to the island of Sylina. Tertullus, Potamius, and Joannes, as being persons of less consideration, and worthy of some merciful treatment, inasmuch as before the trial they had made a confession, both as to themselves and their confederates, were sentenced to a temporary banishment into Gaul. In this sort of way, men who were most unworthy of the light of day were, in order that they might serve as a terrible example to others, either put to death or punished with exile. ...Well, after the death of Priscillian, not only was the heresy not suppressed, which, under him, as its author, had burst forth, but acquiring strength, it became more widely spread. For his followers who had previously honored him as a saint, subsequently began to revere him as a martyr. The bodies of those who had been put to death were conveyed to Spain, and their funerals were celebrated with great pomp. Nay, it came to be thought the highest exercise of religion to swear by Priscillian.
- Severus, *Sacred History*. New Advent. <www.newadvent.org/fathers/35052.htm>

HITS:

- VII. But for now we have the Holy Spirit, we must believe in the Holy Ghost, through which he would inspire and sanctify, . . . (maybe one should add: by the sharing) of his substance, all the things that would later come to be. . . . 133. However ...**the three are one, Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit.** 134. Next, one should believe that there is one baptism by which men are purified, made the sons of God, and established in the faith; by which all the sins either of their birth or of the error of the ancient man are washed away; in which one does not put away the filth of the body:"but, the examination of a

The Witness of God is Greater

good conscience towards God by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.”(I Pet 3:21) (Sancti Hilarii Letter or booklet, 7)

- o **Latin:** VII. Sed quia iam mentionem fecimus Spiritus Sancti, dicemus credendum esse in Spiritum Sanctum, per quem universa, quae postmodum fierent, et inspiraret, et sanctificaret, suae substantiae (fortasse addendum communicatione) 133. Tamen **tres unum sunt, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus** 134. Deinde credendum, unum esse baptismum, quo homines purificati, et Dei filii facti in fide consignentur; quo universa vel nativitatis, vel erroris veteris hominis delicta purgarentur: In quo non corporis deponuntur sordes:”sed conscientiae purae interrogatio est bona in Deum de resurrectione Iesu Christi”(I Petri III, 21) 135. (Sancti Hilarii Epistola seu Libellus, VII; Migne Latina, PL 10.739)

Comment:

• [Timpe] Sancti Hilarii epistola seu libellus ed. Johannes Chrysostomus Trombelli, in Migne, Patrologia Latina, t. X, col. 734-750. The countless inaccuracies often make it difficult to understand the Libellus and, especially at the end, completely spoil the sense. Morin corrected the closing sentences that are most important to us. He accepts Bishop Tiberianus Bacticus, suspected of Priscillianism, as the author, only because the document generally fits him, who, according to Hieronymus (De vir. Ill., C. 123), wrote an Apologeticum demonstrating the orthodoxy and removing the suspicions of Priscillianism. (Timpe, "Die kirchenpolitischen Ansichten und Bestrebungendes Kardinals Bellarmin" in Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen, vol 3-4, 10 December 1904, p. 41, fn. 1)

Idacius Clarus. Contra Marivadum (Varimadum) Arianum (circa 350-385 AD)

• Idacius Clarus (350-385 AD) also known as "Ithacius of Ossonuba" and/or "Itacius Clarus". (infra)

• **The tract Contra Varimadum** (perhaps by the anti-priscillianist **Itacius Clarus, bishop of Ossonuba in Spain**; late 4th century; wrongly attributed to Vigilius of Thapsus)... (Foakes-Jackson & Lake & Ropes & Cadbury, The Acts of the Apostles, vol 3, 2002, p. 256, fn. 1)

• [Dorenkemper] **The majority of patrologists accept the attribution of the Contra Varimadum to "Idacius clarus Hispanus"** of J. Sichard's edition, as well as Bardenhewer's identification of this writer with Bishop Ithacius of Ossonoba (4th cent) Cf O. Bardenhewer, Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur. Freiburg 1924, IV, 555. B Steidle, Patrologia, Freiburg 1937, 198. Morin ...no longer shows any opposition to the commonly accepted view and seems to follow Bardenhewer in identifying the author as Bishop Ithacius. (Dorenkemper, The Trinitarian Doctrine and Sources of St. Caesarius of Arles, 1953, p. 199, fn. 30)

• **Idacius or Idathius surnamed CLARUS**, a Spanish prelate, was born in the first half of the 4th century. After his accession to the bishopric of Emerida he distinguished himself by the intemperate zeal with which, together with Ithacius (q.v.), bishop of Ossonoba, he opposed the heresy of Priscillian (q.v.). He wrote a refutation of the latter's doctrine under the title Apologeticus, which is now lost. In 388, after the death of the emperor Maximus, who had persecuted the Priscillianists, Idacius resigned his bishopric. Having subsequently attempted to regain it, he was exiled, and died about the year 392. According to Sulpitius Severus, Idacius's conduct was less severely judged by his contemporaries than that of Ithacius. The writings ascribed to him are given in the Bibliotheca Patrum, vol. 5. See Sulpitius Severus, Historia Sacra; Isidore of Seville, De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis; Antonio, Bibl. Hispana vetus, 1, 172; Hofer, Nouv. Biogr. Généralé, 29:775; Neander, Ch. Hist. 2, 111 sq.; Kurtz, Ch. Hist. 1, 214 sq. SEE PRISCILLIANISTS. (Idacius Clarus. The Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature. James Strong and John McClintock; Harper and Brothers; NY; 1880. <www.biblicalcyclopedia.com/l/idacius-or-idathius.html>)

• [Lardner] **Isidore of Seville (560-636 AD) writes:** Idacius, a Spanish Bishop, wrote a book, which was a sort of an apology; in which he showed the detestable doctrines of Priscillian, and his magical arts, and shameful lewdness. And he says, that one Mark of Memphis, a great magician, and disciple of Manes, was Priscillian's master. This Idacius, together

The Witness of God is Greater

with the bishop Ursancius, on account of the death of Priscillian, whose accusers they had been, was deprived of the communion of the church, and sent into banishment, where he died in the time of Theodosius the elder and Valentinian. (Isid. De Script. Ec. cap. 2.; Merino, 1964, p. 135; Translated from the Latin by Lardner, 1838, vol 4, p. 338-339; Migne Latina, PL 83.1092).

• [Chadwick] **Ithacius of Ossonumba** was to play a cardinal role in the story (always with Hydatius) the spearhead of the opposition to Priscillian, the principle accuser at his trial, and thereafter a divisive figure among the bishops of both Spain and Gaul. Isidore of Seville includes him in his catalogue of illustrious men and, while failing to mention his see, adds to our information by giving his "cognomen" [Def: an extra personal name given to an ancient Roman citizen, functioning rather like a nickname and typically passed down from father to son.] as Ithacius Clarus, and by saying that he "wrote a book in the form of an apologia, in which he shows Priscillian's hateful doctrines and arts of sorcery and disgraceful lechery, observing that the teacher of Priscillian was a certain Mark of Memphis, a disciple of Mani, and a most learned expert in the magic art." (Isid. Hispal., Vir. inl. 15; Migne Latina, PL 83, 1092). (Chadwick, Priscillian of Avila, 1997, p. 21)

• **[Edward Hills]:** The Early Existence of the Johannine Comma. The first undisputed citations of the Johannine Comma occur in the writings of two 4th century Spanish bishops, Priscillian [Vienna, vol. xviii, p. 6], who in AD 385 was beheaded by Emperor Maximus on the charge of sorcery and heresy, and Idacius Clarius [CCSL 90:20-21; MPL, vol 62, col. 359], Priscillian's principal adversary and accuser. (Hills, The King James Version Defended, 2006, p. 274)

• **Scholars that ascribe Idacius Clarus as the author of Contra Marivadum (Varimadum) Arianum**

1. Edward Freer Hills (1912–1981). (Hills, The King James Version Defended, 2006, p. 274)
2. Franz Karl Paul Hinschius (1835-1898). (Hinschius, Decretales pseudo-Isidorianae et capitula Angilramni, 1863, p. CXXXVIII)
3. Christopher Wordsworth (1807-1885). (Wordsworth, Six Letters to Granville Sharp, Appendix, 1802, p. 136)
4. Frederick Nolan (1784-1864). (Nolan, An Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate, 1815, p. 291);
5. Karl Künstle (Künstle, Das Comma Ioanneum, 1905, p. 16)
6. Antelmus in Nova de symbolo Athanasiano disquisitio, 1693. (Künstle, Das Comma Ioanneum, 1905, p. 16)
7. Montfaucon in Opera Athanasii II, 1618. (Künstle, Das Comma Ioanneum, 1905, p. 16)
8. Ballerini in Opera Leonis III, 1757. (Künstle, Das Comma Ioanneum, 1905, p. 16)

• **["Letter to the Parthians" only occurs in Latin Fathers before 9th century]** It is generally agreed that there was African influence as well on Cassiodorus (ca 560) who spoke not only of 1 John as an "Epistle to the Parthians" (PL 70, 1369-1370) but also of the Johannine Epistles as "those of John to the Parthians" (PL 70, 1125). From the ninth century on, 1 John was entitled "To the Parthians" in many copies of the Vulgate, e.g., Codex Vallicellianus." (Brown, The Epistles of John, 1983, p. 772)

• **[Cassiodorus ascribes the work to Augustine; Bede ascribes the work to Athanasius]** Chapter II. The First Epistle of John. (ii) The Persons addressed. S. Augustine in the heading [1. this heading is by some considered not be original : it occurs in the Indiculus Operum S. Augustini of his pupil Possidius.] to his ten homilies on the Epistle styles it 'the Epistle of John to the Parthians' (ad Parthos), and he elsewhere (Quaest. Evang. II. xxxix.) gives it the same title. In this he has been followed by other writers in the Latin Church. The title occurs in some MSS of the Vulgate. The Venerable Bede states that "Many ecclesiastical writers, and among them Athanasius, Bishop of the Church of Alexandria, witness that the First Epistles of S. John was written to the Parthians" (Cave Script. Eccles. Hist. Lit. ann. 701). But Athanasius and the Greek Church generally seem to be wholly ignorant of this superscription; although in a few modern Greek MSS. 'to the Parthians' occurs in the subscription of the second Epistle. Whether the tradition that S. John once preached in Parthia grew out of this Latin superscription, or the latter produced the tradition, is uncertain. (Plummer, The Epistles of S. John: Volume 61 of The Cambridge Bible for schools and colleges, 1890, p. 32)

• **Cassiodorus [ascribes the work to Augustine]:** ...This verse refers to harmony rather than separation of power, for it is often asserted in the divine Scriptures that in the Trinity there is equality of power or nature. These passages have been

The Witness of God is Greater

fittingly gathered by our father Augustine among others in his Book of Testimonies.(fn. 12. The reference is probably to Ps.-Augustine, *Contra Varimadum* III (ML 62.411 ff.):"in his testimoniis unitas Trinitatis ostenditur."See Fischer, *Biblica* 23 (1942) 154.) (Cassiodorus. Psalm 106 in *Explanation of the Psalms*, 1990, p. 89, 483; Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalterium* : Psalm CVI (106); Migne Latina PL 771-772 [772A])

• **Bede [ascribes the work to Athanasius]**: Rightly were the Letters of John placed in third, because he wrote to those who came to believe from the gentiles, since neither by race nor by belief had they been Jews. Accordingly, many church writers, among whom is Saint Athanasius, head of the church of Alexandria, assert that his first Letter was written to the Parthians. (David Hurst writes: This statement [by Bede] that 1 Jn was written to the Parthians I have not been able to find among the writings of Saint Athanasius. However, Saint Augustine - In Ioh. ep.; PI 35:1977 and Cassiodorus In ep. apost.; PL 70:1369 both say that it was written to the Parthians. Ancient Parthia lay to the south of the Caspian Sea, and presumably was regarded as an entirely pagan area.) (Bede, *The Commentary on the Seven Catholic Epistles*. Translated by David Hurst, 1985, p. 3; Migne Latina, PL 93.010)

• **[Contra Varimadum in Every Church Library]** Such handbooks against heresy, as they may be called, did exist, and had a widespread circulation in the West in the fifth and sixth centuries. It is possible to classify works which belong to this literary type into three categories, according to their contents and aims: all of them come [PAGE 188] under the general headings of useful works of reference containing concise explanations of heretical positions, refutations of such positions in brief and systematic form, or careful formulations of orthodoxy on difficult points. They were written for those engaged in pastoral instruction [i] Classification of Heresies; ii) Brief Refutations of Heresies; iii) Brief Formulations of Orthodoxy]

II. Brief Refutations of Heresies

1. Anonymous, Contra Varimadum.

2. Anonymous, *Solutiones Diversarum Quaestionum ab Haereticis Obiectarum*.

3. Pseudo-Quodvultdeus, *Contra Iudaeos, Paganos et Arrianos*

4. Pseudo-Quodvultdeus, *Adversus Quinque Haereses*.

5. Pseudo-Caesarius of Aries, *Breviarium Adversus Haereticos*.

6. Primasius, Bishop of Hadrumetum, *De Haeresibus*.

(McClure, *Handbooks against Heresy in the West, from the Late Fourth to the Late Sixth Centuries*, 1979, p. 187-188)

• **[Contra Varimadum Popular Answer Book]** One way of being prepared for difficult questions raised by Arians was to have all the right texts at your fingertips: and this is what *Contra Varimadum*, among other works, supplied. It was essentially a derivation of the ancient literary form of "testimonia", used to great effect by Cyprian in the third century, explicitly to supply ammunition to Christians who were in imminent danger of persecution. The *Contra Varimadum* is in three books: the first consists of seventy-three headings dealing with possible objections to the unity of the Trinity and the equality of the Son; the second concerns the equality of the Spirit with the Father and the Son, and the third has no less than an hundred headings containing the various names by which the three members of the Trinity were known in the Old and New Testaments. [PAGE 195] it was above all a useful book, written in the form of answers to precisely stated questions: 'If they say to you, "what can we learn of the unity of the Trinity in the Bible, when it never even mentions the problem of three in one, and one in three?"', this is what you can reply...' The utility of the work is testified by its Spanish and Gallic transmissions. One codex was corrected in Spain in the sixth or seventh centuries, another was used by the author of the *Breviarium adversus Haereticos*, which Dom Morin would like to attribute, if not to Caesarius of Arles, to someone from his atelier [times]. but the *Breviarium adversus Haereticos* was just another handbook aimed at pointing out as succinctly as possible the fundamental weaknesses of the Arian position. (McClure, *Handbooks against Heresy in the West, from the Late Fourth to the Late Sixth Centuries*, 1979, p. 194-195)

HIT:

- **Question:** If someone should say that the Son in the Gospel has said: My Father is Greater than I (John 14:28).
Answer: The Son is inferior to the Father when he assumes human form, but is truly equal to the father in nature

The Witness of God is Greater

of divinity and essence, it is he again who testifies: I and my Father are one. (John 10:30) And again: He that hath seen me hath seen the Father. (John 14:9) And also: That all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father. (John 5:23) And again: That they may be one, even as we are one: I in them, and thou in me. (John 17:22) And again: And all mine are thine, and thine are mine. (John 17:10) And again: All things that the Father hath are mine. (John 16:15) And again: I am in the Father, and the Father in me. (John 14:10) And again: The Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works. (John 14:10) **And John the evangelist says: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. (John 1:1) Also to the Parthians:"there are three", he says,"that bear witness in earth, the water, the blood and the flesh (body): and these three are in us."(1 John 5:8)"and there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit: and these three are one."(1 John 5:7)** And so we believe that the Father and the Son are in the nature of divinity, by which they are One; nor (do we think) that the Father preceded in time so that he is greater than the Son, or that the Son was born later, so that the divinity of the Father is diminished in the Son. (Idacius Clarus, Contra Varimadum (Marvidamun), Book 1. Chapter 5; CCSL 90:20-21; Migne Latina, PL 62 359)

- **Latin:** Si dixerint illud, quod Filius in Evangelio dixerit: Pater maior me est (Ioan. XIV, 28). Responso. (0359B) Filius minor est Patre in assumpti hominis forma, aequalis vero Patri est in deitatis naturae substantia, eodem protestante: Ego et Pater unum sumus (Ioan. X, 30) . Et iterum: Qui me vidit, vidit et Patrem (Ioan. XIV, 9) . Et item: Ut omnes honorificent Filium sicut honorificant Patrem (Ioan. V, 23) . Et iterum: Sint in nobis unum, sicut et nos sumus unum; tu in me, et ego in eis (Ioan. XVII, 22) . Et iterum: Omnia mea tua sunt, et omnia tua mea sunt (Ioan. XVII, 10) . Et iterum: Omnia quae habet Pater mea sunt (Ioan. XVI, 15) . Et iterum: Ego in Patre, et Pater in me (Ioan. XIV, 10) . Et iterum: Pater in me manens facit opera haec (Ibid.) . **Et Ioannes evangelista ait: In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum (Ioan. I, 1) . Item ipse ad Parthos: Tres sunt, inquit, qui testimonium perhibent in terra, aqua, sanguis et caro, et tres in nobis sunt (I Ioan. V, 8) . Et tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in coelo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus, et ii tres unum sunt (I Ioan. V, 7, 8) .** Nos itaque in natura deitatis, qua unum sunt, Patrem, et Filium credimus: nec Patrem aliquo tempore praecessisse ut maior sit Filio, nec Filium postea natum esse, ut deitas Patris minoretur in Filio. (Idacius Clarus, Contra Varimadum (Marvidamun), Book 1. Chapter 5; CCSL 90:20-21; Migne Latina, PL 62 359)

Didymus the Blind (313 – 398 AD) : De Trinitate

- Didymus the Blind (alternatively spelled Dedimus or Didymous)[1] (c. 313 – 398) was a Christian theologian in the Church of Alexandria, where he taught for about half a century. He was a student of Origen, and, after the Second Council of Constantinople condemned Origen, Didymus's works were not copied. Many of his writings are lost, but some of his commentaries and essays survive.
- Didymus became blind at the age of four, before he had learned to read.[2] He was a loyal follower of Origen,[3] and opposed Arian and Macedonian teachings.[4] Despite his blindness, Didymus excelled in scholarship because of his incredible memory. He found ways to help blind people to read, experimenting with carved wooden letters similar to Braille systems used by the blind today.[5] He recalled and contemplated information while others slept.
- According to Rufinus, Didymus was "a teacher in the Church school", who was "approved by Bishop Athanasius" and other learned churchmen. Later scholars believed he was the head of the Catechetical School of Alexandria. However, the Catechetical School of Alexandria may not have existed in Didymus' time, and Rufinus may have been referring to a different school.[2] Didymus remained a layman all his life and became one of the most learned ascetics of his time.[6] Palladius, Rufinus, and Jerome were among his pupils.
- Excerpts from Didymus's Biblical commentary have been found in the Catena. Modern knowledge of Didymus has been greatly increased by a group of 6th or 7th century papyrus codices discovered in 1941 at a munitions dump near Toura, Egypt (south of Cairo). These include his commentaries on Zechariah, Genesis 1-17, part of Job and parts (of uncertain authenticity) on Ecclesiastes and Psalms 20-46.[3]
- Didymus the Blind. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Didymus_the_Blind>.

The Witness of God is Greater

• [Steiger] The last eyewitness account of Didymus comes from the Lausiac History composed in 419-420 c.e. by Palladius of Galatia, who like the other three eyewitnesses had sojourned in Egypt at the conclusion of the fourth century.⁶¹ Though he was approximately 20 years younger than Jerome, Rufinus and Evagrius, like them he became a monk and lived in Nitria and Kellia, where he was a disciple of Evagrius. His account of Didymus appears in chapter four of his History and contains similar information to the others, but his description is much different, completely lacking the type of intertextual layering of biblical verses found in Jerome and Rufinus that was reminiscent of Didymus' own exegetical procedure. Instead, Palladius simply says that Didymus was a blind author in Alexandria whom he met four times over the course of the last decade of the fourth century. From his notice, it is clear he was in Egypt at the time of Didymus' death, since he states succinctly that the teacher died at the age of 85. (Steiger, *The Blessings of Blindness: Divine Illumination as Spiritual Health*, 2019, p. 106)

• [Hicks] Didymus is known to have composed three books *On the Trinity*. This treatise, though missing its title page, deals with the Trinity and is composed of three books. A compelling case can be made for the title *On the Trinity*. *De Trinitate* was written at some point between 384 and 429. The clearest deduction we can make from those who wrote about Didymus' work is that the blind theologian wrote his *On the Trinity* during the same window of time, between 384 and 398. At this same point the author of the work *De Trinitate* was 1) embroiled in controversy and 2) an old man. Didymus was certainly the latter, and could well have been the former, since at this period in his life his circle was involved in the early stages of the First Origenist Controversy. The author of the work is living in Egypt, as Didymus did throughout his life. The author of the work presides over the daily assemblies of a school, as Didymus does. Consonant with this office, the author has a habit of alluding to his own work, as does Didymus.

• Hicks, *Trinity, Economy, and Scripture: Recovering Didymus the Blind*. 2015, p. 68.

HITS:

- For in the Book of Genesis, when the tower was being built, God the Father revealed the blessed hypostases when he addressed his Son and his Son's Holy Spirit thus: "Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech." (Gen. 11:7) Furthermore, in my opinion, Moses was showing the equality of the Trinity when he mentioned the vine with three stems* without ever calling any one of these deeper than another (Gen. 40:9-10), so that no one should think that one hypostasis has precedence over another, **but we should all believe that the three belong to one divinity**. (Didymus the Blind, *On the Trinity*, Book 1, 18.19)
 - **Greek:** ἐν γὰρ βίβλῳ γενέσεως, ἐν τῇ πυργοποιίᾳ ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τὰς μακαρίας ὑποστάσεις ἐξέφηνεν πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα εἰρηκῶς· «δεῦτε καταβάντες συγγέωμεν ἐκεῖ αὐτῶν τὰς γλώσσας, ἵνα μὴ ἀκούσωσιν ἕκαστος τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ πλησίον». 18.20 Καὶ Μωϋσῆς δὲ τὴν ἰσότητα τῆς τριάδος, ὡς οἶμαι, δηλῶν ἐξέθετο μίαν ἄμπελον ἐν τρισὶ πυθμέσι, τοῦτον τοῦ ἄλλου πυθμένος οὐδαμοῦ προβαθέστερον εἰρηκῶς, ἵνα μὴ τις τὴν ὑπόστασιν ταύτην ἐκείνης προτερεῦειν νομίσει, **ἀλλὰ τὰς τρεῖς ἐν μιᾷ συντείνειν θεότητι πάντες πιστεύωμεν**. (Didymus the Blind, *De Trinitate*, Book 1, 18.19; Migne Graeca, PG 89.348)

Priscillian of Avila (d. 385)

• **Priscillian** (died c. 385) was a wealthy nobleman of Roman Hispania who promoted a strict form of Christian asceticism. He became bishop of Ávila in 380. Certain practices of his followers (such as meeting at country villas instead of attending church) were denounced at the Council of Zaragoza in 380. Tensions between Priscillian and bishops opposed to his views continued, as well as political maneuvering by both sides. Around 385, Priscillian was charged with sorcery and executed by authority of the Emperor Maximus. The ascetic movement Priscillianism is named after him, and continued in Hispania and Gaul until the late 6th century. Tractates by Priscillian and close followers, which had seemed lost, were discovered in 1885 and published in 1889. Priscillian was born around 340 A.D, into the nobility, possibly in western

The Witness of God is Greater

Hispania, and was well-educated. About 370, he initiated a movement in favour of asceticism.[1] Priscillian advocated studying not only the Bible, but also apocryphal books. His followers, who were won over by his eloquence and his severely ascetic example, included the bishops Instantius and Salvianus.[2] Some writings by Priscillian were accounted orthodox and were not burned. For instance he divided the Pauline epistles (including the Epistle to the Hebrews) into a series of texts on their theological points and wrote an introduction to each section. These canons survived in a form edited by Peregrinus. They contain a strong call to a life of personal piety and asceticism, including celibacy and abstinence from meat and wine. The charismatic gifts of all believers are equally affirmed. Study of scripture is urged. Priscillian placed considerable weight on apocryphal books, not as being inspired but as helpful in discerning truth and error.[2] It was long thought that all his writings had perished, but in 1885, Georg Schepss discovered at the University of Würzburg eleven genuine tracts, published in the CSEL in 1886. [14] Though they bear Priscillian's name, four describing Priscillian's trial appear to have been written by a close follower. (Priscillian. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Priscillian>).

- [Chadwick] In the passage of the first tractate ...monotheism is underpinned not only by texts from the Old Testament but also by the "Comma Johanneum" ...the three heavenly witnesses in the first epistle of John (5:7-8). **...However, the case for thinking Priscillian himself the author of the interpolation carries no conviction. It is surely older...** (Chadwick, Priscillian of Avila, 1997, p. 90)

- [González] **Orosius and Priscillianism.** Toward the end of the fourth century, when Augustine and Ambrose were still alive, a movement arose in Spain which is usually called "Priscillianism," after Priscillian, its supposed founder, who was bishop of Avila. ...He was condemned to death for immorality and witchcraft under the authority of Emperor Maximus. Beyond this, several ancient writers - Orosius, Sulpitius Severus, Jerome, Damasus, Ambrose, etc. - claim that he held a trinitarian doctrine similar to Sabellianism, [and] a Manichean dualism, and some Docetic views. (fn. Of these, it seems certain that Priscillian held a trinitarian doctrine akin to Sabellianism.) (González, A History of Christian Thought, 1987, vol 2, p. 65)

- In Christianity, **Sabellianism** in the Eastern church ("Patripassianism" in the Western church) is the belief that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are three different modes or aspects of God, as opposed to a Trinitarian view of three distinct [eternal] persons within the Godhead. (Sabellianism. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sabellianism>)

- [La Due] **Trinitarian Developments in the Early Middle Ages.** The church in the West also was not without its doctrinal crises in the area of trinitarian teaching. A wealthy Spanish gentleman named Priscillian popularized in the latter fourth century a Sabellian view of the Trinity, whereby the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit were to be considered merely as three modes or facets of the same Deity. Priscillian's [PAGE 62] teaching spread throughout Spain and even won over several Spanish bishops. Thus, the Priscillianist sect became extremely influential in Spain in the second half of the fourth century, and it was not until Priscillian and several of his colleagues were brought to trial at Trier on criminal charges that the principal agents of the movement were taken out of circulation. The first synod of Toledo (ca. 400) issued anathemas dealing with Priscillianism, including a strong condemnation of its Sabellian views on the Trinity. (La Due, The Trinity Guide to the Trinity, 2003, p. 61-62)

- [Chapman] **Priscillian found himself bound to defend the Comma.** In the Priscillianist creed "We confess the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit" ("Nos patrem et filium..."; See Caspari, Kirchenhistorische Anecdota, vol 1, 1883, p. 308, and Kunstle, Antipriscilliana, 1905, p. 67). We have a clear reference: "The Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit is God; These are one in Christ Jesus" ("Pater Deus, Filius Deus, et Spiritus sanctus Deus; haec unum sunt in Christo Iesu.") Now a few lines further on we read: "If any one has no faith in the truth of this, he cannot be said to be of the Catholic churches; he does not explain Catholic faith, but he is inappropriate, profane, rebellious against the truth." ("Si quis vero hanc fidem non habet, catholicas dici non potest; qui catholicam non tenet fidem, Alienus Est, Profanus Est, adversus veritatem rebellis est.") This is a citation of St. Cyprian, De Cath. Eccl. Unit. 6 "Whoever is separated from the Church and is joined to an adulteress, is separated from the promises of the Church; nor can he who forsakes the Church of Christ attain to the rewards of Christ. He is a stranger; he is profane; he is an enemy." ("Nec perueniet ad Christi praemia qui relinquit ecclesiam Christi; ALIENUS EST, PROFANUS Est, hostis est.") Why a citation from this particular

The Witness of God is Greater

chapter? Obviously because this is the chapter which contains the famous words: "and again it is written of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, "And these three are one." ("Et iterum de Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto scriptum est: et hi tres unum sunt,") to which so many moderns have unsuccessfully appealed to prove the antiquity of the reading in I John [5:7-8]. It seems plain that the passage of St. Cyprian was lying open before the Priscillianist author of the Creed (Priscillian himself?) because he was accustomed to appeal to it in the same way. In Priscillian's day St. Cyprian had a unique position as the one great Western Doctor. (Chapman, Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels, 1908, p. 264)

HIT:

- **Tractate 1:** For who is that who, reading the Scriptures and believing "in one faith, one baptism, one God," (Eph 4:5-6) does not condemn the foolish doctrines of the heretics who, while they want to put divine things in the same class with the human, divide the substance united in the power of God and break up the venerable greatness of Christ in the tripartite foundation of the church with the crime of the Binionites, because it was written: "I am God and there is no other who is just but me," (Is 45:21) and "there is no savior besides me," (Hos 13:14) and "I am the first and I am after this and besides me there is no god," (Is 44:6) [and] "who is like me?" (Is 44:7) and likewise in another passage: "I am and before me there was no other and after me there shall be no similar to me; I am God and besides me there is nobody who may save," (Is 43:10-11) and Moses says again: "The Lord is our God, the only God," (Deut 6:4) and Jeremiah declares: "this is our Lord and no other but him shall be considered, who found all the way of wisdom and gave it to Jacob his servant and to Israel his beloved; after this he was seen on earth and lived with men"? (Baruch 3:36-38) He is that who was, is and shall be, and appeared as "the Word" from eternity, "was made flesh, dwelled in us and," (Jn 1:14) after being crucified, since death had been conquered, was made heir of life; and by rising on the third day, as he was made the type of future, he showed the hope of our resurrection, and by ascending to the heavens he built the path for those who came to him, while he was "all in the Fathers and the Father in him," (cf. Jn 14:11) so that what was written might be manifested: "Glory to God in the highest peace on earth to people of good will;" (Lk 2:14) **[and] as John says: "There are three who testify on earth, the water, the flesh (body), and the blood, and these three are in one, and there are three who testify in heaven, the Fathers, the Word, and the Spirit, and these three are one in Jesus Christ." (I Jn 5:8,7)**
 - **Latin:** Quis enim est qui legens scripturas et "unam fidem unum baptisma unum deum" (Eph 4:5-6) credens hereticorum dogmata stulta non damnet, qui, dum uolunt humanis comparare diuina, diuidunt unitam in dei uirtute substantiam et magnitudinem Christi tripertito ecclesiae fonte uenerabilem Binionitarum scelere partiuntur, cum scriptum sit: "ego sum deus et non est alius praeter me iustus" (Is 45:21) et "saluator non est praeter me," (Hos 13:14) et: "eo primus et ego posthaec et praeter me non est deus," (Is 44:6) "quis sicut ego?" (Is 44:7) item alibi: "ego sum et ante me non fuit alius, et post me non erit similis mihi; ego deus et non est praeter me qui saluos faciat;" (Is 43:10-11) et iterum Moyse dicente: "dominus deus noster deus unus est," (Deut 6:4) Hieremias ait: "hic est deus noster nec reputabitur alius absque eum qui inuenit omnem uiam sapientiae et dedit eam Iacob puero suo et Istrahel dilecto suo; posthaec in terris uisus est et cum hominibus conuersatus est." (Baruch 3:36-38) Ipse est enim qui fuit, est et futurus est et uisus a saeculis "verbum caro factus inhabitauit in nobis" (Jn 1:14) et crucifixus deuicta morte uitae heres effectus est ac tertia die resurgens factus futuri forma spem nostrae resurrectionis ostendit et ascendens in caelos uenientibus ad se iter construit "totus in patre et pater in ipso," (cf. Jn 14:11) ut manifestaretur quod scriptum est: "gloria in excelsis deo et pax hominibus in terra bonae uoluntatis," (Lk 2:14) **sicut Iohannes ait: "tria sunt quae testimonium dicunt in terra: aqua, caro et sanguis et haec tria in unum sunt, et tria sunt quae testimonium dicunt in caelo: pater, uerbum et spiritus et haec tria unum sunt in Christo Iesu." (I Jn 5:8,7)** (Priscillian "Tractates" in Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum edited by Schepss 1889, vol 18, p. 5-6)

Comment:

The Witness of God is Greater

• **[Denk]** To the honor and the good reputation of the Spanish Church and its shepherds, one must surely suppose that they very carefully protected their text of the Bible as a literary deposit of faith and preserved it most anxiously against falsification. **So it is inappropriate to make Priscillian into the creator of the Comma Johanneum, and so into the falsifier of the Spanish Bible text. I have compared all the quotations in Priscillian [with the Bible] most carefully, for my studies of the Itala; they represent a very early, highly interesting and faithful form of the Itala. I have never encountered in his [Priscillian's] work a trace of conscious falsification.** Is it conceivable that such an exorbitant falsification, undertaken in the age of Jerome, would not have been exposed and destroyed by this student of the Biblical text - this relentless 'hammer of heretics'? (Joseph Denk, "Ein neuer Texteszeuge zum Comma Johanneum", 1906, p. 59-60; Translated by Brian Daley, correspondence, 2019.)

Diodore of Tarsus (d. 390)

• **Diodore of Tarsus (Greek Διόδωρος ὁ Ταρσεύς; died c. 390)** was a Christian bishop, a monastic reformer, and a theologian.[1] A strong supporter of the orthodoxy of Nicaea, Diodore played a pivotal role in the Council of Constantinople and opposed the anti-Christian policies of Julian the Apostate. Diodore founded one of the most influential centers of Christian thought in the early church, and many of his students became notable theologians in their own right. (Diodorus of Tarsus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diodorus_of_Tarsus>).

• **[Burgess]** According to Suidas, Theodorus Anagnosta says, that Diodorus (the preceptor of Chrysostom) wrote commentaries on the Old Testament, the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of St. John, concerning the Unity in Trinity (περὶ τοῦ εἰς Θεοῦ ἐν Τριάδι). Dorhout calls this authority 'omni exceptione majus;' and the learned prelate thinks that a discourse of this kind 'has every appearance of being founded on the seventh verse of the fifth chapter.' The Appendix, No. VII. [p. 157-158] contains an extract from M. Dorhout's Animadversiones. (Burgess, A Vindication of 1 John, V. 7. from the Objections of M. Griesbach, 1823, 2nd edition, p. 29).

• **[Sūidas, Greek lexicographer]** Nothing is known of him, except that he must have lived before Eustathius (12th–13th century), who frequently quotes him. Under the heading "Adam" the author of the lexicon (which a prefatory note states to be "by Sūidas") gives a brief chronology of the world, ending with the death of the emperor John Zimisces (975), and under "Constantinople" his successors Basil and Constantine are mentioned. It would thus appear that Sūidas lived in the latter part of the 10th century. The lexicon of Suidas is arranged alphabetically with some slight deviations, letters and combinations of letters having the same sound being placed together; thus, α and ε follow δ, and ε, η, ι follow ζ. It partakes of the nature of a dictionary and encyclopedia. It includes numerous quotations from ancient writers; the scholiast on Aristophanes, Homer, Sophocles and Thucydides are also much used. The biographical notices, the author tells us, are condensed from the Onomatologion or Pinax of Hesychius of Miletus; other sources were the excerpts of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the chronicle of Georgius Monachus, the biographies of Diogenes Laërtius and the works of Athenaeus and Philostratus. The work deals with scriptural as well as pagan subjects, from which it is inferred that the writer was a Christian. A prefatory note gives a list of dictionaries from which the lexical portion was compiled, together with the names of their authors. (Sūidas. Encyclopedia Britannica (1911). <en.wikisource.org/wiki/1911_Encyclopædia_Britannica/Sūidas>)

HIT:

- **Diodore of Tarsus (d. 390)** : [sc. At first] a monk, [sc. but later] in the times of Julian and Valens[1] bishop of Tarsus of Cilicia. He wrote a variety of things, as Theodore Lector[2] says in his Ecclesiastical History. They are as follows: Interpretations on the entire Old Testament: Genesis, Exodus, and so forth; and On the Psalms; On the Four Books of the Kingdoms;[3] On Inquiries into the Books of Chronicles, On the Proverbs, What is the Difference between Exposition[4] and Allegory, On Ecclesiastes, On the Song of Songs, On the Prophets, Chronology, straightening out the error of Eusebius [the spiritual son] of Pamphilos[5] about the times, On the

The Witness of God is Greater

Four Gospels, On the Acts of the Apostles, **On the Epistle of John the Evangelist, About the One God in Three**, Against the Melchisedekites,[6] Against the Jews, About the Resurrection of the Dead, About the Soul against the Various Heresies Concerning It, Chapters to Gratian,[7] Against Astronomers and Astrologers and Fate, About the Sphere and the Seven Zones and of the Contrary Motion of the Stars, About Hipparchus[8] Sphere, About Providence, Against Plato on God and the Gods, On Nature and Matter, in which is "What is the Just," Concerning God and the Falsely Imagined Matter of the Greeks, That the Unseen Natures are not from the Elements but Were Made from Nothing along with the Elements, To the Philosopher Euphronius[9] by way of Question and Answer, Against Aristotle concerning Celestial Body, How Hot is the Sun, Against Those Who Say the Heaven is a Living Being, Concerning the Question of How the Creator is Forever but the Created is Not, How is there the Capacity to Will and to be Unwilling in the God who is Eternal, Against Porphyry[10] about Animals and Sacrifices. (Suidas, ed. Gaisford & Küster. 1834, vol 1, p. 1006-1007; Translated by Roger Pearse, 1 John 5:7 in the fourth century?, roger-pearse.com, 2018)

- **Greek:** Διόδωρος ὁ Ταρσεύς, μονάζων, ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ Οὐάλεντος ἐπίσκοπῆσας Ταρσῶν τῆς Κιλικίας. οὗτος ἔγραψεν, ὡς φησι Θεόδωρος Ἀναγνώστης ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ ἱστορίᾳ, διάφορα. εἰσὶ δὲ τάδε: Ἑρμηνεῖαι εἰς τὴν παλαιὰν πᾶσαν: Γένεσιν, Ἔξοδον (89.1.217A) καὶ ἐφεξῆς: καὶ εἰς Ψαλμοὺς: εἰς τὰς δ' Βασιλείας: εἰς τὰ ζητούμενα τῶν Παραλειπομένων, εἰς τὰς Παροιμίας, τίς διαφορὰ θεωρίας καὶ ἀλληγορίας, εἰς τὸν Ἐκκλησιαστήν, εἰς τὸ ἄσμα τῶν ἀσμάτων, εἰς τοὺς προφήτας, Χρονικόν, διορθούμενον τὸ σφάλμα Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου περὶ τῶν χρόνων, εἰς τὰ δ' Εὐαγγέλια, εἰς τὰς πράξεις τῶν Ἀποστόλων, **εἰς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Εὐαγγελιστοῦ, περὶ τοῦ, εἷς θεὸς ἐν τριάδι**, Κατὰ Μελχισεδεκῶν, Κατὰ Ἰουδαίων, περὶ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως, περὶ ψυχῆς κατὰ διαφόρων περὶ αὐτῆς αἰρέσεων, Πρὸς Γρατιανὸν κεφάλαια, Κατὰ ἀστρονόμων καὶ ἀστρολόγων καὶ εἰμαρμένης, περὶ σφαίρας καὶ τῶν ζ' ζωνῶν καὶ τῆς ἐναντίας τῶν ἀστέρων πορείας, περὶ τῆς Ἰππάρχου σφαίρας, περὶ προνοίας, (89.1.217B) Κατὰ Πλάτωνος περὶ θεοῦ καὶ θεῶν, περὶ φύσεως καὶ ὕλης, ἐν ᾧ, τί τὸ δίκαιόν ἐστι, περὶ θεοῦ καὶ ὕλης Ἑλληνικῆς, Ὅτι αἱ ἀόρατοι φύσεις οὐκ ἐκ τῶν στοιχείων, ἀλλ' ἐκ μηδενὸς μετὰ τῶν στοιχείων ἐδημιουργήθησαν, Πρὸς Εὐφρόνιον φιλόσοφον κατὰ πεῦσιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν, Κατὰ Ἀριστοτέλους περὶ σώματος οὐρανοῦ, Πῶς θερμὸς ὁ ἥλιος, Κατὰ τῶν λεγόντων ζῶον τὸν οὐρανόν, περὶ τοῦ πῶς αἰεὶ μὲν ὁ δημιουργός, οὐκ αἰεὶ δὲ τὰ δημιουργήματα, πῶς τὸ θέλειν καὶ τὸ μὴ θέλειν ἐπὶ θεοῦ αἰδίου ὄντος, Κατὰ Πορφυρίου περὶ ζῶων καὶ θυσίων. (Wp/grc/Διόδωρος ὁ Ταρσεύς, incubator.wikimedia.org). Cf."Διόδωρος ὁ Ταρσεύς". (Suidas, ed. Gaisford & Küster. 1834, vol 1, p. 1006-1007; Wp/grc/Διόδωρος ὁ Ταρσεύς. incubator.wikimedia.org. <incubator.wikimedia.org/wiki/Wp/grc/Διόδωρος ὁ Ταρσεύς>).

Comment:

- **Ambrosius Dorhout (1699-1776 AD)**"It appears to me clearer than the [noonday] light that this [περὶ τοῦ, εἷς θεὸς ἐν τριάδι] refers to the 7th verse." (Brownlee, June 1825, p. 260; Dorhout, 1765, vol 1, p. 282-283)
 - **Dorhout (Ambrosius), born in Leeuwarden in 1699**, died March 27, 1776 in Dokkum. He probably studied at Franeker, became a candidate in theology, became a minister at Garijp, Eernewoude and Zuidmeer (1726), went to Oostmeer and Eestrum in 1731 and to Dokkum in 1745. Some linguistic, archaeological and theological works by his hand can be found in the Book Room, including in 1759: Treatise on Matthew II, 23, in I, 611 and De place 1 Chroniken III, 15 there II, 215. Separately appeared: The own arch of the Supper traced from Matth. XXVI: 26, 27, 28 and 1 Corinth. X and XI (Harlingen 1746). See: Book room 1726, II, 659; 1745, II, 122, 123; 1776, I, 481. (Molhuysen, 1911, vol 3, col. 295).
 - **Animadversiones in loca selecta:** In the year 1768, a work was published at Utrecht, by Ambrose Dorhout, entitled "Animadversiones in loca selecta, V.T." To this eminent scholar we are indebted for a new Greek authority, which had escaped the attention of all the writers in the Porsonian controversy: and which was first quoted in England by Dr. Burgess, very lately. It is that of Diodorus, bishop of Tarsus, of the fourth century: and the instructor of Chrysostom. The following is the quotation from Dorhout's Dissertation De 1 John, v. 7. "But let us pass to a document which is above all exception: We have asserted that the Greek writers did cite this text. We have a distinguished passage which will convince the eyes of every man not blinded by prejudice, that the prologue of St. Jerome reports correctly, which

The Witness of God is Greater

affirms, that the Greeks read this text of the heavenly witnesses in their manuscripts. Suidas (in voce Diodorus, &c.) relates out of Theodorus, the Lector's church history, that Diodorus, the Greek monk, who lived in the days of the emperors Julian, &c., and who was afterwards bishop of Tarsus, wrote various pieces: among these the following: Words on the whole of the Old Testament, viz. Genesis, Exodus, &c. Also on the Evangelists; on the Acts of the Apostles, and also on the Epistle of John concerning that passage which treats of the one God in the Trinity, &c."(Εἰς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Εὐαγγελιστοῦ, Περὶ τοῦ, εἷς θεὸς ἐν τριάδι.) as Dorhout adds,"that this refers to the 7th verse."For there is no other passage in the Epistle to which it can be referred. (Brownlee, 1823, p. 260; Dorhout, 1765, vol 1, p. 280-283)

Gregory of Nazianzus (329-390 AD)

• Gregory of Nazianzus (Greek: Γρηγόριος ὁ Ναζιανζηνός, Grēgorios ho Nazianzēnos; c. 329[2] – 25 January 390),[2][3] also known as Gregory the Theologian or Gregory Nazianzen, was a 4th-century Archbishop of Constantinople, and theologian. He is widely considered the most accomplished rhetorical stylist of the patristic age.[4] As a classically trained orator and philosopher he infused Hellenism into the early church, establishing the paradigm of Byzantine theologians and church officials.[4] Gregory made a significant impact on the shape of Trinitarian theology among both Greek- and Latin-speaking theologians, and he is remembered as the "Trinitarian Theologian". Much of his theological work continues to influence modern theologians, especially in regard to the relationship among the three Persons of the Trinity. Along with the brothers Basil the Great and Gregory of Nyssa, he is known as one of the Cappadocian Fathers. Gregory was born of Greek parentage[7] in the family estate of Karbala outside the village of Arianzus, near Nazianzus, in southwest Cappadocia.[8]:18 His parents, Gregory and Nonna, were wealthy land-owners. In AD 325 Nonna converted her husband, a Hysistarian, to Christianity; he was subsequently ordained as bishop of Nazianzus in 328 or 329.[4]:vii The young Gregory and his brother, Caesarius, first studied at home with their uncle Amphylokhios. Gregory went on to study advanced rhetoric and philosophy in Nazianzus, Caesarea, Alexandria and Athens. On the way to Athens his ship encountered a violent storm, and the terrified Gregory prayed to Christ that if He would deliver him, he would dedicate his life to His service.[4]:28 While at Athens, he developed a close friendship with his fellow student Basil of Caesarea and also made the acquaintance of Flavius Claudius Julianus, who would later become the emperor known as Julian the Apostate.[8]:19,25 In Athens, Gregory studied under the famous rhetoricians Himerius and Proaeresius.[9] Upon finishing his education, he taught rhetoric in Athens for a short time. Gregory's most significant theological contributions arose from his defense of the doctrine of the Trinity. (Gregory of Nazianzus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gregory_of_Nazianzus>)

HITS:

- **Oration 33.17.** These words let everyone who threatens me today concede to me; the rest let whoever will claim. The Father will not endure to be deprived of the Son, nor the Son of the Holy Ghost. Yet that must happen if They are confined to time, and are created Beings...for that which is created is not God. **Neither will I bear to be deprived of my consecration; One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism.** If this be cancelled, from whom shall I get a second? What say you, you who destroy Baptism or repeat it? Can a man be spiritual without the Spirit? Has he a share in the Spirit who does not honour the Spirit? Can he honour Him who is baptized into a creature and a fellow-servant? It is not so; it is not so; for all your talk. **I will not play You false, O Unoriginate Father, or You O Only-begotten Word, or You O Holy Ghost. I know Whom I have confessed, and whom I have renounced, and to Whom I have joined myself.** I will not allow myself, after having been taught the words of the faithful, to learn also those of the unfaithful; to confess the truth, and then range myself with falsehood; to come down for consecration and to go back even less hallowed; having been Holy Ghost?...Very good...this is perfect. Now was it into these simply, or some common name of Them? The latter. And what was the common Name? Why, God. In this common Name believe, and ride on prosperously and reign, and pass on from hence into the Bliss of Heaven. And that is, as I think, the more distinct apprehension of These; to which may we all

The Witness of God is Greater

come, in the same Christ our God, to Whom be the glory and the might, with the Unoriginate Father, and the Life-giving Spirit, now and forever and to ages of ages. Amen. (Gregory Nazianzus, Oration 33.17, NPN02 vol 7)

- **Greek:** Oratio XXXIII.IZ'. Τούτων παραχωρείτω μοι τῶν φωνῶν πᾶς ὁ ἀπειλῶν σήμερον· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων μεταποιείσθωσαν οἱ βουλόμενοι. Οὐκ ἀνέχεται Πατὴρ Υἱὸν ζημιούμενος, οὐδὲ Υἱὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· ζημιούται δὲ, εἴ ποτέ, καὶ εἰ κτίσματα. **Οὐ γὰρ Θεὸς τὸ κτιζόμενον. Οὐ φέρω ζημιούμενος, οὐδὲ ἐγὼ τὴν τε λείωσιν. Εἷς Κύριος, μία πίστις, ἓν βάπτισμα.** Εἰ τοῦτο ἀκυρωθεῖ μοι, παρὰ τίνος ἕξω τὸ δεύτερον; Τί φατέ, οἱ καταβαπτίζοντες, ἢ ἀναβαπτίζοντες; Ἔστιν εἶναι πνευματικὸν δίχα Πνεύματος; Μετέχει δὲ Πνεύματος ὁ μὴ τιμῶν τὸ Πνεῦμα; Τιμᾶ δὲ ὁ εἰς κτίσμα καὶ ὁμόδουλον βαπτιζόμενος; Οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐχ οὕτω, πολλὰ ἔρεϊς. **Οὐ ψεύσομαί σε, Πάτερ ἀναρχε· οὐ ψεύσομαί σε, μονογενὲς Λόγε· οὐ ψεύσομαί σε, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Οἶδα τίνι ὠμολόγησα, καὶ τίνι ἀπεταξάμην, καὶ τίνι συνεταξάμην.** Οὐ δέχομαι τὰς πιστοῦ φωνὰς διδαχθῆναι, καὶ μαθεῖν ἀπίστους· ὁμολογήσαι ἀλήθειαν, καὶ γενέσθαι μετὰ τοῦ ψεύδους· ὡς τελειούμενος κατελθεῖν, καὶ ἀνελθεῖν ἀτελέστερος· ὡς ζησόμενος βαπτισθῆναι, καὶ ἐννεκρωθῆναι τῷ ὕδατι, καθάπερ τὰ ταῖς ὠδῶσιν ἐναποθανόντα κυήματα, καὶ σὺνδρομον λαβόντα τῇ γεννήσει τὸν θάνατον. Τί με ποιεῖς μακάριον ἐν ταυτῷ καὶ ἄθλιον, νεοφώτιστον καὶ ἀφώτιστον, θεῖον καὶ ἄθεον, ἵνα ναυαγήσω καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς ἀναπλασεως; Βραχὺς ὁ λόγος· μνήσθητι τῆς ὁμολογίας. Εἰς τί ἐβαπτίσθης; εἰς Πατέρα; Καλῶς· πλὴν, Ἰου-δαϊκὸν ἔτι. Εἰς Υἱόν; Καλῶς· οὐκ ἔτι μὲν Ἰουδαϊκόν, οὕτω δὲ τέλειον. Εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα; Ὑπέρευγε· τοῦτο τέλειον. Ἄρ' οὐκ ἀπλῶς εἰς ταῦτα, ἢ καὶ τὴν κοινὸν τούτων ὄνομα; Ναὶ κοινόν. Τί τοῦτο; Δηλαδὴ τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Εἰς τοῦτο τὸ κοινόν 36.237 ὄνομα πίστευε, καὶ κατευδοῦ, καὶ βασίλευε, καὶ μεταβήθη ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τὴν ἐκειθεν μακαριότητα. Ἡ δὲ ἔστιν, ὡς ἐμοὶ γε δοκεῖ, ἢ τούτων αὐτῶν ἐκτυ-πτῆρα κατάληψις· εἰς ἣν φθάσαιμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἐν αὐτῷ Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ Πατρὶ, καὶ ζωοποιῷ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων Ἀμήν. (Gregorius Nazianzenus. Oratio XXXIII. Contra Arianos et de seipso. Λόγος λγ'. Πρὸς Ἀρειανούς, καὶ εἰς ἑαυτόν. Migne Graeca, PG 36, 236)

- **Letter 101.16.** If anyone does not believe that Holy Mary is the Mother of God, he is severed from the Godhead. If anyone should assert that He passed through the Virgin as through a channel, and was not at once divinely and humanly formed in her (divinely, because without the intervention of a man; humanly, because in accordance with the laws of gestation), he is in like manner godless. If any assert that the Manhood was formed and afterward was clothed with the Godhead, he too is to be condemned. For this were not a Generation of God, but a shirking of generation. If any introduces the notion of Two Sons, one of God the Father, the other of the Mother, and discredits the Unity and Identity, may he lose his part in the adoption promised to those who believe aright. For God and Man are two natures, as also soul and body are; but there are not two Sons or two Gods. For neither in this life are there two manhoods; though Paul speaks in some such language of the inner and outer man. And (if I am to speak concisely) the Saviour is made of elements which are distinct from one another (for the invisible is not the same with the visible, nor the timeless with that which is subject to time), yet He is not two Persons. God forbid! For both natures are one by the combination, the Deity being made Man, and the Manhood deified or however one should express it. **And I say different Elements, because it is the reverse of what is the case in the Trinity; for There we acknowledge different Persons so as not to confound the persons; but not different Elements, for the Three are One and the same in Godhead.** (Gregory Nazianzus, Letter 101.16, NPN02, vol 7)

- **Greek:** Epistle 101.16. Εἴ τις οὐ Θεοτόκον τὴν ἁγίαν Μαρίαν ὑπολαμβάνει, χωρὶς ἐστὶ τῆς θεότητος. Εἴ τις ὡς διὰ σωλήνος τῆς Παρθένου διαδραμεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐν αὐτῇ διαπεπλάσθαι λέγοι θεϊκῶς ἅμα καὶ ἀνθρωπικῶς (θεϊκῶς μὲν, ὅτι χωρὶς ἀνδρός· ἀνθρωπικῶς δὲ, ὅτι νόμῳ κυήσεως), ὁμοίως ἄθεος. Εἴ τις διαπεπλάσθαι τὸν ἀνθρωπινόν, εἶθ' ὑποδεδυκέναι λέγοι Θεόν, κατάκριτος. Οὐ γέννησις γὰρ Θεοῦ τοῦτο ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ φυγὴ γεννήσεως. Εἴ τις εἰσάγει δύο Υἱούς, ἓνα μὲν τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρός, δεύτερον δὲ τὸν ἐκ τῆς μητρός, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτόν, καὶ τῆς υἰοθεσίας ἐκπέσοι τῆς ἐπηγγελμένης τοῖς ὀρθῶς πιστεύουσι. Φύσεις μὲν γὰρ δύο Θεὸς καὶ ἀνθρωπος, ἐπεὶ καὶ ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα· υἱοὶ δὲ οὐ δύο, οὐδὲ Θεοί. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα δύο ἀνθρωποὶ, εἰ καὶ οὕτως ὁ Παῦλος τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τὸ ἐκτὸς προσηγόρευσε. Καὶ εἰ δεῖ συντόμως εἰπεῖν, ἄλλο μὲν καὶ ἄλλο τὰ ἐξ ὧν ὁ Σωτὴρ (εἴπερ μὴ ταῦτόν τὸ ἀόρατον τῷ ὀρατῷ καὶ τὸ ἄχρονον τῷ ὑπὸ χρόνον), οὐκ ἄλλος δὲ καὶ ἄλλος· μὴ γένοιτο. Τὰ γὰρ ἀμφοτέρα

The Witness of God is Greater

ἐν τῇ συγκράσει, Θεοῦ μὲν ἐνανθρωπήσαντος, ἀνθρώπου δὲ θεωθέντος, ἢ ὅπως ἂν τις ὀνομάσειε. **Λέγω δὲ ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο, ἔμπαιιν ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς Τριάδος ἔχει. Ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος, ἵνα μὴ τὰς ὑποστάσεις συγχέωμεν : οὐκ ἄλλο δὲ καὶ ἄλλο, ἐν γὰρ τὰ τρία καὶ ταῦτόν τῃ θεότητι.** (Gregorius Nazianzenus. Epistles, Migne Graeca, PG 37.180B)

- **Oration 45.30** But if we are to be released, in accordance with our desire, and be received into the Heavenly Tabernacle, there too it may be we shall offer You acceptable Sacrifices upon Your Altar, to **Father and Word and Holy Ghost**; for to You belongs all glory and honour and might, world without end. Amen. (Gregory of Nazianzus, Oration 45.30 The Second Oration on Easter; NPNF02 vol 7)
 - **Greek:** Oration 45.30 Εἰ δὲ καταλύσαιμεν ἀξίως τοῦ πόθου, καὶ δεχθῆίμεν ταῖς οὐρανίαις σκηναῖς, τάχα σοι καὶ αὐτόθι θύσομεν δεκτὰ ἐπὶ τὸ ἅγιόν σου θυσιαστήριον, **ὦ Πάτερ, καὶ Λόγε, καὶ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον**· ὅτι σοὶ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ, καὶ κράτος, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. (Migne Graeca PG 36, 663-664)
- **Poems. Historical poem. Book 2. Song Concerning One-self. Section 1. 310.** In the light of this, And I will bring them to thee, and to a great multitude, If he does not believe Christ, he is a prophet. But, oh Father, **Father and Logos, and the Spirit ever proceeding (unceasingly, tirelessly)**, the evil desires of life itself directing our behavior (against you). (Gregory of Nazianzus. Poems. Translated by Philipp Roelli. Correspondence, 2018.)
 - **Greek:** Poemata. Lib. II. Poemata historica. Sect. I. Carmen de se ipso. 310. Αὐξέν ὑπὸ στερεῇ θῆκα σαοφροσύνη, Ἥ μ' ἐκόμει τ' ἐφίλει τε καὶ ἐς μέγα κῦδος ἄεξεν, Ἐν δ' ἐτίθει Χριστοῦ χεῖρεσι προπηρονέως. Ἀλλὰ, Πάτερ, **Πατρός τε Λόγος, καὶ Πνεῦμα φαεινόν**, Ζωῆς ἡμετέρης ἔρμα κακοσταθέος. (Gregory of Nazianzus. Poems. Migne Graeca PG 37, 1375-1376)
- **Oration 34. On the Arrival of the Egyptians. 9.** This being so, if any be on the Lord's side let him come with us,¹² and let us adore the **One Godhead in the Three**; not ascribing any name of humiliation to the unapproachable Glory, but having the exaltations of the Triune God continually in our mouth.¹³ For since we cannot properly describe even the greatness of Its Nature, on account of Its infinity and undefinableness, how can we assert of It humiliation? But if any one be estranged from God, and therefore divideth the One Supreme Substance into an inequality of Natures, it were marvellous if such an one were not cut in sunder by the sword, and his portion appointed with the unbelievers,¹⁴ reaping any evil fruit of his evil thought both now and hereafter. (Gregory of Nazianzus. Oration 34.9. NPNF02 vol 7)
 - **Greek:** Oration 34.IX. Τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἐχόντων, ὄψω μὲν ἢ καρδία πρὸς Κύριον, ἴτω μεθ' ἡμῶν, **καὶ προσκυνῶμεν τὴν μίαν ἐν τοῖς τρισὶ θεότητα**, μηδὲν ταπεινότητος ὄνομα τῇ ἀπροσίτῳ δόξῃ προσάγοντες, ἀλλὰ τὰς ὑψώσεις τοῦ ἐνὸς Θεοῦ ἐν τοῖς τρισὶ διαπαντὸς ἐν τῷ λάρυγγι φέροντες. Ἦς γὰρ οὐδὲ μέγεθος φύσεως κυρίως ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, διὰ τὸ ἄπειρον καὶ ἀόριστον, πῶς ταύτη ταπεινότητα ἐπεισάζομεν; Ὅστις δὲ ἀλλοτριῶς ἔχει Θεοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τέμνει τὴν μίαν καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ὄντα οὐσίαν εἰς ἀνισότητα φύσεων, θαυμαστὸν, εἰ μὴ τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ τμηθῆσεται, καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων τεθῆσεται, πονηρὸν δρεπομένου πονηρᾶς δόξης καρπὸν, καὶ νῦν καὶ ὕστερον. (Gregory of Nazianzus. Oration 34.9, Migne Graeca PG 36, 249B)
 - **Preface to Oration:** This Oration was preached at Constantinople in 380, under the following circumstances: Peter, Patriarch of Alexandria, had sent a mission of five of his Suffragans to consecrate the impostor Maximus to the Throne occupied by Gregory. This had led to much trouble, but in the end the intruder had been expelled and banished. Shortly afterwards an Egyptian fleet, probably the regular corn ships, had arrived at Constantinople, apparently on the day before the Festival. The crews of the ships, landing the next day to go to Church, passed by the numerous Churches held by the Arians, and betook themselves to the little Anastasia. S. Gregory felt himself moved to congratulate them, especially on such an act, after what had recently passed, and accordingly pronounced the following discourse.
- **Hymn III.** Whereas **Holy Scripture makes a certain mention of Three**, in order that men should venerate what is announced by these three Divine Persons: but that we might at the same time extol the all-glorious Singleness

The Witness of God is Greater

of the Supreme. (Gregory of Nazianzus, Hymn III. Translated by Knittel, *New Criticisms on the Celebrated Text*, 1829, p. 70)

- **Greek:** Hymn III. [77] Εὐτε τριῶν τινα μνηστὶν ἔχη λόγος, ὡς τὸ μὲν εἶη [78] Τῶν τρισσῶν φαέων σεπτὸν κήρυγμα βροτοῖσι, [79] Τῷ δὲ μονοκρατὴν ἐριλαμπέα κυδαίνωμεν. (Gregory Nazianzen. *Carminum Liber I. Theologica. Section 1. Poemata Dogmatica. Carmina dogmatica. Hymn III. Migne Graeca PG 37 414A*).

Comment: Knittel: "I know not any passage of Holy Scripture which makes a certain mention of three, to the intent here stated; except it be, 'There are Three that bear record in heaven, [PAGE 71] the Father, the Word-, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one. If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater. Now this is the witness of God, which he hath testified of his Son' &c. to ver. 13." (Knittel, *New Criticisms on the Celebrated Text*, 1829, p. 70-71)

- **Oration 39.11** ...And when I speak of God you must be illumined at once by one flash of light and by three. Three in Individualities or Hypostases, if any prefer so to call them, or persons, for we will not quarrel about names so long as the syllables amount to the same meaning; but One in respect of the Substance — that is, the Godhead. For they are divided without division, if I may so say; and they are united in division. **For the Godhead is one in three, and the three are one, in whom the Godhead is, or to speak more accurately, Who are the Godhead.** Excesses and defects we will omit, neither making the Unity a confusion, nor the division a separation. (Gregory of Nazianzus. *Oratio XXXIX.11 Migne Graeca PG 36 345-346; NPNF02 vol 7*)
 - **Oration 39.11** ...Θεοῦ δὲ ὅταν εἴπω, ἐνὶ φωτὶ περιστράφθητε καὶ τρισὶ· τρισὶ μὲν, κατὰ τὰς ἰδιότητας, εἶπουν ὑποστάσεις, εἴ τινα φίλον καλεῖν, εἴτε πρόσωπα (οὐδὲν γὰρ περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων ζυγομαχῆσομεν, ἕως ἂν πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ἔννοιαν αἱ συλλαβαὶ φέρωσιν)· ἐνὶ δὲ, κατὰ τὸν τῆς οὐσίας λόγον, εἶπουν θεότητος. Διαίρεται γὰρ ἀδιαιρέτως, ἴν' οὕτως εἴπω, καὶ συνάπτεται διηρημένως. **Ἐν γὰρ ἐν τρισὶν ἡ θεότης, καὶ τὰ τρία ἐν. τὰ ἐν οἷς ἡ θεότης, ἡ, τό γε ἀκριβέστερον εἰπεῖν, ἃ ἡ θεότης.** Τὰς δὲ ὑπερβολὰς καὶ ἐλλείψεις ἐλλείψωμεν· οὔτε τὴν ἔνωσιν σύγχυσιν ἐργαζόμενοι, οὔτε τὴν διαίρεσιν, ἀλλοτριώσιν. (Gregory of Nazianzus. *Oratio XXXIX.11 Migne Graeca PG 36 345-346*)
- **Oration. 39.12** For to us there is but One God, the Father, of Whom are all things, and One Lord Jesus Christ, by Whom are all things; and One Holy Ghost, in Whom are all things; 2 Corinthians 8:6 yet these words, of, by, in, whom, do not denote a difference of nature (for if this were the case, the three prepositions, or the order of the three names would never be altered), but they characterize the personalities of a nature which is one and unconfused. And this is proved by the fact that They are again collected into one, if you will read — not carelessly — this other passage of the same Apostle, "Of Him and through Him and to Him are all things; to Him be glory forever, Amen." Romans 11:36 The Father is Father, and is Unoriginate, for He is of no one; the Son is Son, and is not unoriginate, for He is of the Father. But if you take the word Origin in a temporal sense, He too is Unoriginate, for He is the Maker of Time, and is not subject to Time. The Holy Ghost is truly Spirit, coming forth from the Father indeed, but not after the manner of the Son, for it is not by Generation but by Procession (since I must coin a word for the sake of clearness); for neither did the Father cease to be Unbegotten because of His begetting something, nor the Son to be begotten because He is of the Unbegotten (how could that be?), nor is the Spirit changed into Father or Son because He proceeds, or because He is God — though the ungodly do not believe it. For Personality is unchangeable; else how could Personality remain, if it were changeable, and could be removed from one to another? But they who make "Unbegotten" and "Begotten" natures of equivocal gods would perhaps make Adam and Seth differ in nature, since the former was not born of flesh (for he was created), but the latter was born of Adam and Eve. **There is then One God in Three, and These Three are One, as we have said.** (Gregory of Nazianzus. *Oratio XXXIX.12 Migne Graeca PG 36 345-346 to 347-348 [346D to 348A]; NPNF02 vol 7*)
 - **Oration 39.12** Ἡμῖν δὲ, εἰς Θεὸς ὁ Πατὴρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ εἷς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἐν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα· τοῦ ἐξ οὗ, καὶ δι' οὗ, καὶ ἐν ᾧ, μὴ φύσεις τεμνόντων (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν μετέπιπτον αἱ προθέσεις, ἢ αἱ τάξεις τῶν ὀνομάτων), ἀλλὰ χαρακτηριζόντων μιᾶς καὶ ἀσυχύτου φύσεως ἰδιότητος. Καὶ τοῦτο δῆλον, ἐξ ὧν εἰς ἓν συνάγονται πάλιν, εἴ τω μὴ παρέργως ἐκεῖνο ἀναγινώσκειται παρὰ

The Witness of God is Greater

τῷ αὐτῷ ἀποστόλῳ, τὸ, Ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα· αὐτῷ ἢ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. Πατὴρ ὁ πατήρ, καὶ ἄναρχος· οὐ γὰρ ἔκ τινος. Υἱὸς ὁ υἱός, καὶ οὐκ ἄναρχος· ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γάρ. Εἰ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ χρόνου λαμβάνοις ἀρχὴν, καὶ ἄναρχος· ποιητὴς γὰρ χρόνων, οὐχ ὑπὸ χρόνον. Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἀληθῶς τὸ πνεῦμα, προῖον μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς, οὐχ ὑικῶς δὲ, οὐδὲ γὰρ γεννητῶς, ἀλλ' ἐκπορευτῶς· εἰ δεῖ τι καὶ καινοτομήσαι περὶ τὰ ὀνόματα σαφηνείας ἕνεκεν. Οὔτε τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκστάντος τῆς ἀγεννησίας, διότι γεγέννηκεν· οὔτε τοῦ Υἱοῦ τῆς γεννήσεως, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου. Πῶς γάρ; οὔτε τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἢ εἰς Πατέρα μεταπίπτοντος, ἢ εἰς Υἱόν, ὅτι ἐκπεπόρευται, καὶ ὅτι Θεὸς, κἂν μὴ δοκῇ τοῖς ἀθέοις· ἢ γὰρ ιδιότης ἀκίνητος. Ἡ πῶς ἂν ιδιότης μένοι, κινουμένη καὶ μεταπίπτουσα; Οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀγεννησίαν, καὶ τὴν γέννησιν φύσεις Θεῶν ὁμωνύμων τιθέμενοι, τάχα ἂν καὶ τὸν Ἀδὰμ, καὶ τὸν Σὴθ ὅτι ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἀπὸ σαρκός· πλάσμα γάρ· ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῆς Εὐᾶς ἀλλήλων κατὰ τὴν φύσιν ἀλλοτριώσουσιν. **Εἷς οὖν Θεὸς ἐν τρισί, καὶ τὰ τρία ἐν, ὡσπερ ἔφαμεν.** (Gregory of Nazianzus. Oratio XXXIX.12 Migne Graeca PG 36 345-346 to 347-348 [346D to 348A])

- **[Oration 31.9]** What then, say they, is there lacking to the Spirit which prevents His being a Son, for if there were not something lacking He would be a Son? We assert that there is nothing lacking—for God has no deficiency. But the difference of manifestation, if I may so express myself, or rather of their mutual relations one to another, has caused the difference of their Names. For indeed it is not some deficiency in the Son which prevents His being Father (for Sonship is not a deficiency), and yet He is not Father. According to this line of argument there must be some deficiency in the Father, in respect of His not being Son. For the Father is not Son, and yet this is not due to either deficiency or subjection of Essence; but the very fact of being Unbegotten or Begotten, or Proceeding has given the name of Father to the First, of the Son to the Second, and of the Third, Him of Whom we are speaking, of the Holy Ghost that the distinction of the Three Persons may be preserved in the one nature and dignity of the Godhead. **For neither is the Son Father, for the Father is One, but He is what the Father is; nor is the Spirit Son because He is of God, for the Only-begotten is One, but He is what the Son is. The phrase "the three are one" is of such a nature, that neither the "one" supports the opinion of Sabellius, nor the "the three" the notion of those who falsely separate those Divine persons.** (Gregory Nazianzus, Oration 31.9, NPN02 vol 7; Knittel, 1829, p. 70)
 - **Greek:** Τί οὖν ἐστὶ, φησιν, ὃ λείπει τῷ πνεύματι, πρὸς τὸ εἶναι υἱόν; εἰ γὰρ μὴ λείπόν τι ἦν, υἱὸς ἂν ἦν. οὐ λείπειν φαμέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔλλειπής θεός· τὸ δὲ τῆς ἐκφάνσεως, ἴν' οὕτως εἶπω, ἢ τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα σχέσεως διάφορον, διάφορον αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν κλήσιν πεποίηκεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ υἱῷ λείπει τι πρὸς τὸ εἶναι πατέρα, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔλλειψις ἢ υἰότης, ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο πατήρ. ἢ οὕτω γε καὶ τῷ πατρὶ λείπει τι πρὸς τὸ εἶναι υἱόν· οὐ γὰρ υἱὸς ὁ πατήρ. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔλλειψεως ταῦτα ποθεν, οὐδὲ τῆς κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ὑφέσεως· αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ μὴ γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ τὸ γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἐκπορευέσθαι, τὸν μὲν πατέρα, τὸν δὲ υἱόν, τὸ δὲ τοῦθ' ὅπερ λέγεται πνεῦμα ἅγιον προσηγόρευσεν, ἵνα τὸ ἀσύγχυτον σώζηται τῶν τριῶν ὑποστάσεων ἐν τῇ μιᾷ φύσει τε καὶ ἀξίᾳ τῆς θεότητος. **οὔτε γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς πατήρ, εἷς γὰρ πατήρ, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ὁ πατήρ· οὔτε τὸ πνεῦμα υἱὸς ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἷς γὰρ ὁ μονογενής, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ὁ υἱός· ἐν τὰ τρία τῇ θεότητι, καὶ τὸ ἐν τρία ταῖς ιδιότησιν· ἵνα μήτε τὸ ἐν Σαβέλλιον ἦ, μήτε τὰ τρία τῆς πονηρᾶς νῦν διαίρέσεως.** (Gregory, Oration 31.9; Migne Graeca, PG 36.141-144)

Comment:

- **[Knittel]** ...Gregory says, in his 37th Discourse [31st Oration : See the Greek text in Knittel's footnote], "The phrase 'the three are one' (Greek: ἐν τὰ τρία) is of such a nature, that neither the 'one' (Greek: ἐν) supports the opinion of Sabellius, nor the 'the three' (Greek: τὰ τρία) the notion of those who falsely separate those Divine persons." We see, then, from this passage, that the phrase 'the three are one' (Greek: ἐν τὰ τρία) interested the Orthodox and the Heretics; both wishing to discover their opinions of it. Phrases which equally interested the Heretics and the Orthodox, and to which they mutually appealed, were none other than phrases in Scripture. This is notorious, and self-evident. Consequently, it is manifest, from the passage just quoted, [I might say] **"that the 'the three are one' (Greek: ἐν τὰ τρία), was a phrase in the Bible. Now, as Gregory and all other Greeks did not understand 1 John 5:8 of the Trinity, he must therefore have taken his 'the three are one' (Greek: ἐν τὰ τρία) from the 7th verse.**" The validity of this reasoning may be easily perceived and felt. For instance: if I say, "The Father of Jesus Christ is greater than He," and add, "This word 'greater' does not support the opinion of

The Witness of God is Greater

Arius; "it will be immediately inferred that the clause, "The Father of Jesus Christ is greater than He," is taken from Scripture. (Knittel, *New Criticisms on the Celebrated Text*, 1829, p. 69-70)

Phoebadius of Agen (d. 392)

• Phoebadius of Agen (also, Phaebadius, Foegadius, or, in French, Phébade; died ca. 392) was a Catholic bishop of the fourth century. At the Council of Ariminum in 359 and other councils, he was a supporter of Nicæan orthodoxy. He wrote several works, including a treatise against the Arians which still survives. Phoebadius was a Gaul by birth.[1] It seems likely that he was born in the province of Aquitania, since Sulpicius Severus refers to him as Foegadius noster ("our" Foegadius, a variant spelling of Phoebadius's name).[2] He may have even been born in Agen, where he was bishop.[1] When he became bishop is not known. It was very likely after 347, since he is not listed among the Gallic bishops who were present at the Council of Serdica in that year. In 357 Phoebadius published a treatise against the Arians. Commenting on this *Liber contra Arianos*, Butler remarks that it is "written in so masterly a manner, with such solidity, justness, and close reasoning, as to make us regret the loss of his other works." [4] Phoebadius figured prominently at the Council of Rimini in 359, where, along with Servatius of Tongeren, he advocated for the Nicæan position against the Arians.[4] When ambiguity in the creed was later discovered by Phoebadius, he disavowed the council and advocated against its authority.[4] He was a friend of Hilary of Poitiers, with whom he collaborated in fighting the influence of Arianism in Gaul.[5] Phoebadius attended several other councils after Ariminum. He was present at the Council of Paris in 360,[4], at the Council of Valence convened by the emperor Valentinian I in 374, and at the Council of Saragossa convened by his son and successor Valentinian II in 380. The year of his death is not known, but he was still living in 392. That is the year when Jerome wrote his work *De viris illustribus*, which mentions that Phoebadius was alive, although of an advanced age. (Phoebadius of Agen. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Phoebadius_of_Agen>)

• Phoebadius, bishop of Agen, in Gaul, published a book *Against the Arians*. There are said to be other works by him, which I have not yet read. He is still living, infirm with age. (Jerome. 108. Phoebadius. *De Viris Illustribus - On Illustrious Men*. NPNF02 vol 3.)

HIT:

- **Book Against the Arians.** Thus the Spirit is other than the Son, just as the Son is other than the Father. Thus the third is the Spirit, as the second person is the Son: **and so all are one God because the three are one.** (Phoebadius. *Book Against the Arians*. Chapter 22. Translated in Ayres, *Augustine and the Trinity*, 2014, p. 98)
 - **Latin:** *Liber contra Arianos. Sic alius a Filio Spiritus, sicut alius a Patre Filius. Sic tertia in Spiritu, ut in Filio secunda persona: unus tamen Deus omnia quia tres unum sunt.* (Phoebadius, *Agenni Galliarum episcopus. Liber contra Arianos. CAPUT XXII. CCSL 64:51; Migne Latina, PL 20.30A*)

Comment:

[Ben David] Phoebadius quotes it [I John 5:7] about the middle of the fourth century. Now, if nothing more was added, I should have concluded, with full confidence, that this writer alluded to the last clause of the disputed text; because no other passage existed which justified such an assertion. Accordingly he subjoins his reason for saying, that these three persons are one God, "Quia tres unum sunt." The causa "quia" leaves no doubt that the succeeding words ["the three are one"] are not an inference, as is supposed in Tertullian, but a scriptural quotation, which carried in it a proof of the assertion preceding it. (Ben David, *Letters to the Editor in the Monthly Repository*, vol 21, 1826, p. 276)

Aurelius Ambrose (340–397 AD)

• Aurelius Ambrosius[a] (c. 340–397), better known in English as Ambrose (/ˈæmbroʊz/), was an Archbishop of Milan who became one of the most influential ecclesiastical figures of the 4th century. He was the Roman governor of Liguria and Emilia, headquartered in Milan, before being made bishop of Milan by popular acclamation in 374. Ambrose was a staunch opponent of Arianism. Ambrose was born into a Roman Christian family about 340 and was raised in Gallia Belgica, the capital of which was Augusta Treverorum.[4] His father is sometimes identified with Aurelius Ambrosius.[5][6]

The Witness of God is Greater

a praetorian prefect of Gaul;^[1] but some scholars identify his father as an official named Uranius who received an imperial constitution dated 3 February 339 (addressed in a brief extract from one of the three emperors ruling in 339, Constantine II, Constantius II, or Constans, in the Codex Theodosianus, book XI.5).^{[7][8][9]} His mother was a woman of intellect and piety^[10] and a member of the Roman family Aurelii Symmachi,^[11] and thus Ambrose was cousin of the orator Quintus Aurelius Symmachus. He was the youngest of three children, who included Marcellina and Satyrus (who is the subject of Ambrose's *De excessu fratris Satyri*), also venerated as saints.^[12] There is a legend that as an infant, a swarm of bees settled on his face while he lay in his cradle, leaving behind a drop of honey. His father considered this a sign of his future eloquence and honeyed tongue. For this reason, bees and beehives often appear in the saint's symbology. After the early death of his father, Ambrose went to Rome where he studied literature, law, and rhetoric. He then followed in his father's footsteps and entered public service. Praetorian Prefect Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus first gave him a place in the council and then in about 372 made him governor of Liguria and Emilia, with headquarters at Milan.^[1] In 286 Diocletian had moved the capital of the Western Roman Empire from Rome to Mediolanum (Milan). Ambrose was the Governor of Aemilia-Liguria in northern Italy until 374, when he became the Bishop of Milan. He was a very popular political figure, and since he was the Governor in the effective capital in the Roman West, he was a recognizable figure in the court of Valentinian I. **Ambrose was one of the four original Doctors of the Church, and is the patron saint of Milan. He is notable for his influence on Augustine of Hippo. Ambrose studied theology with Simplician, a presbyter of Rome.^[10] Using to his advantage his excellent knowledge of Greek, which was then rare in the West, he studied the Old Testament and Greek authors like Philo, Origen, Athanasius, and Basil of Caesarea, with whom he was also exchanging letters.^[15] He applied this knowledge as preacher, concentrating especially on exegesis of the Old Testament, and his rhetorical abilities impressed Augustine of Hippo, who hitherto had thought poorly of Christian preachers. Traditionally, Ambrose is credited with promoting "antiphonal chant", a style of chanting in which one side of the choir responds alternately to the other, as well as with composing *Veni redemptor gentium*, an Advent hymn.** (Ambrose. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ambrose>)

HIT:

- [Of the Trinity]"By this is the spirit of God known. Every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God: And every spirit that dissolveth Jesus is not of God. And this is Antichrist, of whom you have heard that he cometh: and he is now already in the world."(1 John 4:2-3) And again"Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God? This is he that came by water and blood, Jesus Christ: not by water only but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit which testifieth that Jesus is the truth. **And there are three that give testimony on earth: the spirit and the water and the blood. And these three are one.**"(1 John 5:5,6,8) [end of chapter]
 - **Latin:** Quod confirmans beatus Ioannes apostolus et evangelista (I Ioan. IV, 2 et 3), dicit: In hoc cognoscitur Spiritus Dei, omnis spiritus qui confitetur Iesum Christum in carne venisse, ex Deo est, et omnis spiritus, qui solvit Iesum, ex Deo non est: et hic est antichristus, quem audistis quoniam venit; et nunc iam in mundo est; et iterum: Quis est qui vincit mundum, nisi qui credit quoniam Iesus est Filius Dei. Hic est qui venit per aquam et sanguinem Iesus Christus, non in aqua solum, sed in aqua et sanguine. Et Spiritus est qui testificatur quoniam Iesus est veritas; **quia tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua et sanguis, et tres unum sunt.** (I Ioan. v, 5,6,8) (Ambrose, De Trinitate Alias in Symbolum Apostolorum Tractatus. VII; Migne Latina PL 17.517)

Ambrose : De Trinitate Alias in Symbolum Apostolorum Tractatus	Codex Cavensis (circa 760 – 842 AD)
Hic est qui venit per aquam et sanguinem Iesus Christus, Et non in aqua solum sed in aqua et sanguine et Spiritus et qui testificatur qam IHS et veritas. Quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra. Spiritus et aqua et sanguis : et hic tres unum sunt. [end of chapter]	Hic est qui venit per aquam et sanguinem et spirit, IHS XRS non in aqua solum, sed in aqua et sanguine Et Spiritus est qui testificatur quoniam Iesus est veritas; quia tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra spiritus, aqua et sanguis, et tres unum sunt, in XRO IHU. Et tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in coelo, Pater, verbum. et SPS. et hii tres unum sunt.

Comment:

The Witness of God is Greater

• The clause "in earth" (Greek: ἐν τῇ γῆ) of the eighth verse, points to "in heaven" (Greek: ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ) of the seventh, and by consequence supposes the genuineness of the whole verse. Accordingly, the adversaries of the disputed text impugn the authenticity of "in earth" (Latin: "in terra"), and Greisbach has not scrupled to put it out of his text. "The truth is," says the Quarterly Reviewer, "that not a single manuscript can be produced wanting the seventh verse, and also reading 'in earth' in the eighth." If this be true, [PAGE 94] the converse of it must be true, namely, that the manuscript which contained this clause of the eighth verse, contained also the seventh verse. On the Reviewer's own principle then... ('Ben David' [John Jones], 'Letters to the Editor', The Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature, vol 21, 1826, p. 93-94.)

HIT:

[Hymn] Every threefold thrives under the majesty of the Thunderer.

Three are Father, Word and Holy Spirit, One.

Threefold types [or substances] come from the saving cross, one redemption.

Third light received the Lord's coming back from the dead.

Three days Jona continued in the bowels of the whale.

Three were the men that God exalted in the fiery furnace.

Three times Sabaoth [Isa. 6:3, note the use of Greek here 'Lord of hosts' is 'Kurios Sabaoth' in Greek] is rendered holy in the blessing it sings.

Three times immersed in water is he who receives the full grace of the bath.

By three witnesses also is firmly established every deed.

Three is the number wherein the months return their members to their seasons.

Three are the ages, blossom [youth], toughness and painful senility.

Three are the roles in trial, judge, solicitor and prosecutor.

Three are the stages of time, beginning, progression, end.

Three things flatter the hope, rest, light, glory in life.

(Ambrose, Hymn; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, February 2020)

Latin: Omnia trina vigent sub maiestate Tonantis.

Tres Pater, et Verbum, sanctus quoque Spiritus unum.

Trina salutaris species crucis, una redemptrix.

Tertia lux Dominum remeantem a morte recepit.

Trina dies Ionam tenuit sub viscere ceti.

Tres pueri crevere Deum flagrante camino.

Ter Sabaoth sanctum referens benedictio psallit.

Ter mergendus aqua est cui gratia plena lavacri.

Testibus et stabilis constat tribus actio cuncta.

Terno mense suis redeunt sua tempora membris.

Tres sunt aetates, flos, robur, et aegra senectus.

Tres moduli in causis, iudex, defensor, et actor.

Tres in saecula gradus, ortus, transcursio, finis.

Tres spem quae palpant, requies, lux, gloria vitae.

(Ambrose, Hymn; Migne Latina, PL 100.291 & PL 125.0822)

Comment:

• [Dijkstra] Ambrose was a prolific writer. Most of his works are of exegetical nature. The "Expositio euangelii secundum Lucam" is the only work devoted to the New Testament. The influence of Hilary is tangible in his hymns (especially with regards to theology), but the bishop of Poitiers was only one of Ambrose's many sources of inspiration.²⁸⁶ He wrote letters, published in ten books and many ethical, catechetical and doctrinal writings. Ambrose's authorship of the Carmen de temarii numeri excellentia (15 hexameters about the number three) is disputed. (p. 138)

• [Dijkstra] Ambrose's most famous poetic creations are his hymns, but his authorship of several of them is disputed. The oldest manuscripts date from the eighth century, but they contain many Milanese hymns (approximately 40) without any indication of the author. Moreover, due to the enormous success of Ambrose's hymns, apparently almost immediately after their publication, many people imitated them, which makes it very hard to separate the real Ambrosian hymns "from the forgeries".²⁹² Four hymns are generally accepted as authentic: Aeterne rerum conditor (1), Iam surgit hora tertia (3), Deus creator omnium (4) and Intende, qui regis Israel (5).²⁹³ They are mentioned in contemporary sources. Even if some of the hymns were not written by Ambrose himself, [PAGE 140] they date in all likelihood to the period contemporary to or immediately after Ambrose's life; they may have been written by Ambrose himself or by some of his pupils.²⁹⁴ The content of the other hymns is often the same as that which was dear to Ambrose, which is especially clear in the hymns

The Witness of God is Greater

about martyrs (e.g. 8: Agnes, 10: Victor, Nabor and Felix, 11: Protase and Gervase, 12: Peter and Paul, and 13: Laurentius). (Dijkstra, *The Apostles in Early Christian Art and Poetry*, 2016, p. 139-140)

Ambrose Hymn quoted by the fathers:

• [Alcuin (730-804 AD) : Epistle 90 to the Brothers of Lugdunensis (Year 798) He warns to be careful for the various errors of the Spaniards. He responds to questions about observing the Sabbath before the Lord's resurrection] There are also the verses of the blessed bishop Ambrose [340–397 AD], about the excellence of the most noble number 'three', which it seems right to insert into this epistle for the confirmation of the three immersions: (Alcuinus, Epistle 90 to the Brothers of Lugdunensis; Migne Latina, PL 100.291; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, February 2020)

Latin: Epistola XC. ad fratres Lugdunenses. (Anno 798.) Cavendum monet ab erroribus Hispanorum variis. Respondet quaestioni de observatione sabbati ante Dominicam Resurrectionis. Sunt etiam versus beati Ambrosii episcopi, de ternarii [numeri] excellentia nobilissimi, quos ad confirmationem trinae immersionis huic epistolae inserere placuit. (Alcuinus, Epistola XC. ad fratres Lugdunenses; Migne Latina, PL 100.291)

• [Hincmar (806–882 AD) : The meaning of Solomon's palanquin] Of two hundred and ten lines then, about the ecclesiastical doctrines against the poor opinions of the doctors saying their feelings, one discerns that this pillar consists: of which this calculation has the intention, that first we start with the lesser number, that is with ten, and from that we might make further progress afterwards. About the number ten the catholic doctors have naturally said many eloquent and forceful things, from which I have taken the trouble to record with diligence a certain amount here as a summary. For they say that it is consecrated in the decalogue: in which decalogue, conform the ten strings of the psalter, God gave ten commandments to His servant Moses on the mount written on two stone tables. Three on one table concerning God, for God is Triune, and in the mystery of our redemption there are three who give testimony, the Spirit, water and blood, and the three are one: the Spirit of sanctification, and the blood of redemption and the water of baptism: which three are one and remain inseparable, and there is indeed nothing by which one could separate the connection, as also the blessed Ambrosius [340–397 AD] sings: (Hincmar, *The meaning of Solomon's palanquin*; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, February 2020)

Latin: Ducentis etiam et decem versibus, de dogmatibus ecclesiasticis contra prave sentientes doctorum loquens sensibus, haec columna constare dignoscitur: cuius est supputationis ista intentio, ut primum incipiamus a minori numero, id est a decem, et ab eo progrediamur in postmodum. De denario quippe numero catholici doctores multa dixerunt diserta et fortia, ex quibus quaedam hic compendii studio adnotare curavi. (0821D) Dicunt namque quia in decalogo sit consecratus: cuius decalogi, psalterii videlicet decem chordarum, decem praecepta Deus famulo suo Moysi in monte in duabus tabulis lapideis conscripta dedit: tria in una tabula ad Deum pertinentia, quia Deus Trinitas est, et in redemptionis nostrae mysterio tres sunt qui testimonium dant, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis, et tres unum sunt: spiritus utique sanctificationis, et sanguis redemptionis, et aqua baptismatis: quae tria unum sunt et individua manent, nihilque etiam a sui connexionem se iungitur, et ut beatus cantat Ambrosius: (Hincmar, *Explanatio in ferculum Salomonis*; Migne Latina, PL 125.0822)

Comments:

• [Translator] **Alcuin is proving that one should be immersed three times in baptism** and in that context brings up the verses of Ambrose. (Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, February 2020)

• [Translator] **Hincmar is explaining the Scriptural numbers of Solomon's temple.** In the number ten he finds the Decalogue. It has always been a tradition of some to assign the first three commandments to the first table, because they relate to serving God, and the seven other commandments to the second table, because they relate to loving men. Anyone who owns Calvin's Institutes can read his discussion of this matter as he even points back to Augustine, whereas it is clear that this opinion is very old. Three commandments about serving God on One table should be a type of the Trinity. This leads Hincmar to some thoughts on the number three in 1 John 5:8 which is where he records a song of Ambrose. In this song it is evident that the first several "threes" are coming straight from Scripture. The first is a reference to 1 John 5:7. The second is a reference to 1 John 5:8, referring to the three types (Latin species) of material that were at the cross Spirit, water and blood yet being one redemption (Ambrose like many others compared 1 John 5:6-8 with John 19:30, 34). This is the phrase Hincmar refers to. The third is a reference to Jonah 1:17. The fourth is a reference to Daniel 3. The fifth is a reference to Isaiah 6:1. From then on the references begin to be more general or no longer related to Scripture. (Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, February 2020)

The Witness of God is Greater

Ambrose Hymn : Christian Latin Hymns

• [Carl Weyman] 3. **About the Pseudo-Ambrosian verses on the number three. R. Ehwald has delivered to us in his splendid edition of the works of Aldhelm (Monum. Germ. auct. ant. XV p. 381) fifteen"verses of the holy Ambrose about the Trinity,"which were inserted in the cod. Petropolitanus F XIV 1 (R) s. VIII-IX** between v. 676 and 677 of the poem *De virginitate* – so after the section that treats of Ambrose. It concerns – with one exception – the already known verses of the number three which Alcuin cites in *epist. 137 (Mon. Germ. epist. IV p. 213)* and later Hincmar of Rheims in his *Explanatio in ferculum Salomonis (Migne, Patrol. Lat. CXXV 821 f.)* both under the name of Ambrose. Verses which G. Mercati, *Studi e Testi XII (1904) p. 17ff.* is inclined to effectively hold for a poem of the great Milanese bishop, while F. Diekamp, *Theol. Revue 1904 Sp. 464* – and I think correctly – expresses his objections to this view. The Aldhelm-manuscript includes one extra verse compared to those handed down by Alcuin and Hincmar (v. 8"trina Petro et Johanni in monte refulsit imago"about the transfiguration of Christ) and also contributes to an improved text, as for instance v. 11"terno mense suis (here divided incorrectly:"ter nomen sesuis") redeunt stata (so thinks Ehwald, who's conjectures have repeatedly been confirmed by the Hincmar/Alcuin version, and is evidently correct compared to the ugly"statuta") tempora membris"– where"stata" certainly deserves precedence over the"sua"of Alcuin and Hincmar. Besides,"stata" is also found in the so far neglected citation of Julian of Toledo (see below). This concoction is unworthy of Ambrose in my opinion. It is rather a later (compare below note to v. 6) playing with the type of the *griphus ternarii numeri* of Ausonius (p. 200ff. Peiper) and received perhaps the name of this illustrious author from one of Ambrose's readers that was attentive to the role of the"mysticus numerus"(Expos. in evan. Luc. II 29 p. 56, 14 Schenkl; compare Mercati a.a. O. p. 21; J. B. Kellner, *Der hl. Ambrosius, Bischof von Mailand, als Erklärer des Alten Testaments, Regensburg 1893 S. 51f.*) in his exegesis. (Weyman, *Beiträge Zur Geschichte Der Christlich-Lateinischen Poesie, 1975, p. 43*; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, February 2020)

Symboli Apostolici et Athanasii Enarratio (circa 350-400 AD)

• Also known as Pseudo-Athanasian enarratio in *symbolum apostolorum (CPL 1744a)*

• The textual transmission of the pseudo-Athanasian enarratio in *symbolum apostolorum CPL 1744a*. The pseudo-Athanasian enarratio in *symbolum apostolorum CPL 1744a* was discovered in a sixth or seventh century manuscript by Josephus Blanchinus, the Veronensis LIX (57). Thus far, no further manuscripts of the text have been found. Blanchinus edited the enarratio in 1732 with an introduction, critical notes, and commentary. Blanchinus' text has been reprinted without any changes in the Supplement Series to Migne's *Patrologia Latina* by Hamman. A new edition of the text seems to be desirable for several reasons. The most important of these is that Blanchinus edition is rather hard to obtain nowadays. The reprint in Migne is faithful enough, but does not indicate where it departs from the manuscript because Blanchinus' notes have not been included. To make matters worse, Blanchinus made quite a number of emendations, but only printed those in the text that were so obvious as to exclude all possible doubt, though one or two instances remain open to discussion. His more brilliant corrections, together with his more modest proposals, only received a place in the critical notes (sometimes the clearly corrupt manuscript reading being printed in the text). The text that is offered below is based upon a fresh investigation of the manuscript. Many of Blanchinus' emendations have been adopted, in which case they are marked as such in the critical apparatus. In a few places, our text departs from Blanchinus', practically always on the basis of conjecture. Until new witnesses to the text of the enarratio emerge, this seems to be both the least and the most one can do. (Westra, *The Apostles' Creed, 2002, p. 459*)

• Giuseppe Bianchini (1704 in Verona – 1764 in Rome) was an Italian Oratorian, biblical, historical, and liturgical scholar. Clement XII and Benedict XIV, who highly appreciated his learning, entrusted him with several scientific labors. Bianchini had contemplated a large work on the texts of the Bible, *Vindiciae Canoniarum Scripturarum Vulgatae Latinae editionis*, which was to comprise several volumes, but only the first, in which, among other things, are to be found fragments of the Hexapla (*Codex Chisianus*), was published (Rome, 1740). Much more important is his *Evangeliarium quadruplex Latinae versionis antiquae, etc., 2 vols. (Rome, 1749)*. Among his historical works may be mentioned the fourth volume which Bianchini added to the publication of his uncle, Francesco Bianchini, *Anastasio bibliotheca rio Vitae Rom. Pontiff. (Rome, 1735)*; he also published the *Demonstratio historiae ecclesiasticae quadripartitae (Rome, 1752–54)*. The chief liturgical work of Bianchini is *Liturgia antiqua Hispanica, gothica, isidoriana, mozarabica, toletana mixta (Rome, 1746)*. He also

The Witness of God is Greater

undertook the edition of the works of B. Thomasius (Tomasi), but only one volume was issued (Rome, 1741).[1] (Giuseppe Bianchini. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Giuseppe_Bianchini>.)

- In one of the most recent studies of the Apostles' Creed and a close and careful study of variant manuscripts, Westra argues in support of the seventeenth-century theory of Usher and Vossius, "the earliest extant formulation of the Apostles' Creed should be connected with fourth century Rome", Liuwe H. Westra, "The Apostles' Creed: Origin, History, and Some Early Commentaries" (Turnhout, 2002), 403. (Wandel, 2015, p. 72, ft. 4)
- [Gamber] Probably also from Verona comes an "Enarratio in Symbolum Apostolorum" which is (somewhat defective) handed down only in Codex Veronensis LIX (57) from the 6th / 7th century under the name of Athanasius. [G. Bianchini, Enarratio pseudo-Athanasiana in Symbolum (Veronae 1732); Dekkers, Clavis No. 1744a p. 387; PL Suppl. I, 785-790; Lowe IV No. 509.] [PAGE 85] The symbol has an otherwise unknown version. [See F. Kattenbusch, Das apostol. Symbol I (Leipzig 1894); Hahn (1877) § 41.] The mentioned Symbolum catechesis (on the occasion of the "Traditio symboli") probably dates back to the 4th century. The African Vigilius of Thapsus (2nd half of the 5th century) is unlikely to be the author, as was occasionally assumed earlier. [The article "In sanctam matrem ecclesiam" may refer to Verona, where the "mater" to "ecclesia" often degenerates, but then as the name of the cathedral. The article "descendit ad inferna", testified to by Rufin's commentary for Aquileia, points to its proximity to this metropolis. In addition, since the only manuscript tradition comes from Verona, much speaks for the assumption that Verona is the home of the Symbolum and thus the author of the Enarratio.] (Gamber, Codices liturgici latini antiquiores: secunda editio aucta, 1968, p. 84-85)

HIT:

- "I believe in the Holy Spirit." That after the confession of so many mysteries now in the sacrament of our faith we confess the Holy Spirit, is not a damaging weakening of the deity, but a careful introduction to catholic faith; in case by chance, if the Spirit were to have been inserted earlier in the holy confession, some disorder of the persons were believed, in whom, once they have been separated under the splendour of one deity, it is human salvation to have believed. Since in the sacrament of everlasting hope Father and Son and Holy Spirit are in this way three persons, so that they are not three gods; God is one person in this way, so that one person is not. This Christ handed down to the Apostles, this the Apostles handed down to us: For these things are of the saviour who is going to go up to heaven when almost the final thing has been spoken towards the conclusion of the whole doctrine "Go, baptize these anointed peoples in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit" so that the indication of one name handed down one God; in fact a union after it had been added separated three persons. Let us see now, whether the faithful Disciples, after they received, preserved. John replies to us on behalf of all, the one who, while reclining on friendly terms in the breast of our Lord, is able to understand the secrets of the whole doctrine; who alone asked the Lord what the other Apostles longed to know; who, after the Lord had been seized, entered the hall of the priest, as one who was not going to deny, who while receiving you [him?] of the mother [1] as a beloved proxy for the Lord [Jn 19:26] was loved who hurrying on came to the tomb of the Lord before even Peter. **There are three," he says, "who bear witness in heaven, Father, Word and Spirit, and these three are one.**" Surely after this, for us it is both death to lose faith of such a kind and salvation to have protected it. Then is added "in the holy mother church", in order that that one church is regarded as holy among us, and mother, which the Lord's doctrine established among the Apostles. Amen. (Pseudo-Athanasius & Bianchini, 1744, p. 38-40. Translation by Rosalinda MacLahlan via correspondence dated 18 September 2019) [NOTE: Translator's Note: 1. As Bianchini's note points out, there is something amiss in the Latin here - second person "te" makes little sense, participle in wrong form, etc. - though the general gist referring to John 19:26 is there.]
 - **Latin:** "Credo in Spiritu Sancto." Quod post tantorum [PAGE 39] mysteriorum confessionem nunc in fidei nostrae sacramento sanctum spiritum confitemur, non injuriosa imminutio Deitatis est, sed Catholicae fidei cauta praescriptio; ne forte, si prius confessio Sancti Spiritus fuisset inserta, Personarum aliqua consusio crederetur, quas sub unius Deitatis majestate discretas, humana salus est credidisse; quia in Sacramento aeternae spei Pater, & Filius, & Spiritus Sanctus ita tres personae sunt, ne tres Dii sint; ita

The Witness of God is Greater

Deus unas est, ne una persona sit. Hoc Christus Apostolis tradidit, hoc nobis Apostoli tradiderunt : haec enim sunt Salvatoris ascensuri ad caelum poene ultima ad totius doctrinae conclusionem dicta "Ite, baptizate gentes unguentes eas in nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti" ut [PAGE 40] unius nominis significatio unum Deum traderet; tres vero personas conunctio adjecta disiungeret. Videamus nunc, an fideles Discipuli accepta servarint. Respondaet nobis pro cunctis Joannes qui in percore Domini nostri familiariter recubans, totius doctrinae potuit arcana cognoscere; aui, quod reliqui Apostoli scire cupiant, Dominum solus interrogat; qui comprehenso Domino atrium Sacerdotis non negaturus ingreditur; cujus suscipienti te Matris Vicarius affectus a Dominio diligatur; qui ad monumentum Domini etiam Petrum festinus antevenit. **"Tres sunt," inquit, "qui testimonium perhibent in caelo, Pater, Verbum, & Spiritus, & ii tres unum sunt."** Nonne post haec nobis iujusmodi fidem & mors est perdere, & sallus est custodisse. Subjungitur denique "in Sanctam Matrem Ecclesiam," ut illa una Ecclesia sancta apud nos habeatur, & Mater, quam in Apostolis Domini doctrina constituit. Amen. Explicit. (Pseudo-Athanasius & Bianchini, 1744, p. 38-40)

Synod at Constantinople 382 AD

• [Hefele] In accordance with the desire of the Synod of Aquileia, the Emperor Theodosius, soon after the close of the second General Council, summoned the bishops of his empire to a fresh Synod, not, however, as the Latins had wished, at Alexandria, but at Constantinople. He also twice invited S. Gregory of Nazianzus, but he excused himself on account of weak health, and said that in his experience such assemblies promised very little good. There were assembled here, in the beginning of the summer of 382, very nearly the same bishops who had been present at the second General Council. On their arrival at Constantinople, they received a letter from the Synod of Milan above mentioned, inviting them to a great General Council at Eome. They did not, however, go there, because, as they say in the Synodal Letter, they had only made arrangements for a shorter journey, and were, moreover, only authorized by their colleagues to act at Constantinople, and it was no longer possible in the short interval allowed them to obtain fresh authority, and prepare for so distant a journey. They remained, therefore, at Constantinople, and sent as an assurance of their friendship and unity of faith three bishops of their number, Syriacus, Eusebius, and Priscian, with a Synodal Letter to Pope Damasus, Archbishop Ambrose, and the other bishops assembled in Council at Piome. In this letter they first describe the numberless persecutions to which they and their Churches had been lately exposed under the Emperor Valens. They had now entered upon a better time, and their return to their Sees had become possible, yet even now the flock were still incessantly threatened by the wolves (the Arians). They proceed to excuse themselves for not being able to come to the Roman Synod, and affirm their adherence to the Nicene faith as being the oldest... (Hefele, vol 2, p. 378-379)

HITS:

- **According to this faith there is one Godhead, power and essence of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit; the dignity being equal, and the majesty being equal in three perfect hypostases and three perfect persons.** Thus there is neither room for the sickness of Sabellius by the confusion of the hypostases or removal of the properties; nor is the blasphemy of the Eunomians, of the Arians, and of the Pneumatomachi valid, which divides the essence, the nature and the Godhead and introduces on the uncreated coessential and co-eternal Trinity a nature, which is posterior, created and of a different essence. (Theodoret, Historia Ecclesiastica 5, 9)
 - **Greek: δηλαδὴ θεότητος καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ οὐσίας μιᾶς τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος πιστευομένης, ὁμοτίμου τε τῆς ἀξίας καὶ συναϊδίου τῆς βασιλείας, ἐν τρισὶ τελειοτάταις ὑποστάσεσιν, ἧγουν τρισὶ τελείοις προσώποις,** ὡς μήτε τὴν Σαβελλίου νόσον χῶραν λαβεῖν συγχεομένων τῶν ὑποστάσεων εἴτ' οὖν τῶν ἰδιοτήτων ἀναιρουμένων, μήτε μὴν τὴν Εὐνομιανῶν καὶ Ἀρειανῶν καὶ Πνευματομάχων βλασφημίαν ἰσχύειν, τῆς οὐσίας ἢ τῆς φύσεως ἢ τῆς θεότητος τεμνομένης καὶ τῆ ἀκτίστῳ καὶ ὁμοουσίῳ καὶ συναϊδίῳ τριάδι μεταγενεστέρας τινὸς ἢ κτιστῆς ἢ ἕτερουοῦσίῳ φύσεως ἐπαγομένης. (Theodoret, Historia Ecclesiastica 5, 9; Migne Graeca, PG 82.1215)

Two Dialogues Against the Macedonians (circa 350-400 AD)

• 30. Ps.-Athanasius, Two Dialogues Against the Macedonians

• **[Date]** end of the fourth or early fifth century.

• **[Summary]**

• The "Two Dialogues" are designed to refute the Penumatomachian doctrine, which denies the divinity of the Holy Spirit and is also known as "Macedonian" after Macedonius of Constantinople (mid-fourth century). The first dialogue, a composite text that draws on earlier texts, discusses the nature of the Holy Spirit and argues for His divinity on-par [i.e., equal] with that of God the Father and [God] the Son. The second dialogue addresses the related issue about the soul of Christ and opposes the view that Christ did not have a human soul. Neither dialogue ends in a pacification, and, perhaps unexpectedly, dialogue 2 closes on a rather confrontational note.

• Dialogue 1 consists of two main sections. The opening narrative preface aims to draw the attention to the excerpt that follows, a "memorandum" (Greek: σχεδᾶριον) of Macedonian doctrine, so that the reader may form an opinion on the doctrine of the Macedonians and could learn how the author intends to respond to it (1.1). The text that follows (1.1-8) is, perhaps surprisingly, an excerpt from a genuine Macedonian dialogue [c. 381-c. 390] between a Macedonian and a non-Macedonian speaker and is discussed in entry 25. After the excerpt from the Macedonian dialogue, there follows a second (and final) editorial passage in which the author declares that he will continue "the dialogue between two speakers [...] as if we were speaking with one of those who holds the same opinion as the (Macedonian) author of the memorandum" (1.9.2-4: Greek: διάλογον ἐκ δύο προσώπων [...] Συντυχόντες τινὶ τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ γράψαντι τὸ σχεδᾶριον φρονούντων ἔφημεν).

• The second part of dialogue 1 is thus a dialogue between two characters, an "Orthodox" and a "Macedonian", and is not interrupted by any narrative section; it shows no attempt at characterizing the speakers by anything other than their doctrinal affiliation (1.9-20). In this section, the two speakers discuss the nature of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and they often resort to Scriptural quotations. On one occasion, the Macedonian refers to the formula from "the Fathers" that does not convince the Orthodox, who conversely prefers to ground the discussion on the Scriptures (1.15). The dialogue is characterized by short exchanges, and is remarkable in that the doctrinal gap between the opposing positions in no way narrows through the conversation. On several occasions, despite finding some initial common ground, both speakers declare that the opponent's position on the crucial issues is not acceptable. The close, however, [PAGE 136] is a turning point, since the victory of the Orthodox is ratified by the admission of ignorance by the Macedonian (1.20.93), who nonetheless promises to bring along his teacher for further discussion (1.20.93-94).

• Rigolio, *Christians in Conversation: A Guide to Late Antique Dialogues in Greek and Syriac*, 2019, p. 134-136.

HIT:

Contra Macedonianos Dialogus I

• Macadonian: Once again, I say **the three are one**.

• Orthodox: With respect to the "persons" (hypostases), they are not one, but three.

• Macadonian: *How, then, shall I say they are one nature?*

The Witness of God is Greater

• Orthodox: In the same way, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit all have the Father's immortality. So just as Paul, Peter, and Timothy are of one nature and are three "persons" (hypostases), **so I say the Father and the Son and the Spirit are three "persons" (hypostases) and one nature.**

Greek:

• **Μακεδ.** Πάλιν οὖν τὰ τρία ἓν λέγω.

• **Ὁρθ.** Ταῖς ὑποστάσεσιν οὐχ ἓν, ἀλλὰ τρία.

• **Μακεδ.** Πῶς οὖν λέγω μίαν φύσιν;

• **Ὁρθ.** Ὅτι ὁμοίως ὁ Πατήρ, καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα, τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀθανάσιαν ἔχει. Καὶ ὡσπερ Παῦλος, καὶ Πέτρος, καὶ Τιμόθεος, φύσεως μιᾶς εἰσὶ, καὶ τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις: **οὕτως Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱὸν, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις λέγω, καὶ μίαν φύσιν**

• Athanasius, *Contra Macedonianos Dialogus*, 10; Migne Graeca PG, 28.1304B

Comment:

• [Knittel] **It is frequently said, by those who would dispute the authenticity of this text, "No Greek Author quotes 1 John V. 7." How anyone can affirm this, I am at a loss to conceive. The following testimonies to the contrary lie open to all the world:** ...Bishop Theodorite, in his First Dialogue against Macedonius, makes a partisan of that Heretic say, "**Once again, I say the three are one**" (Greek: Πάλιν οὖν τὰ τρία ἓν λέγω). The Orthodox replies: "**With respect to the 'persons' (hypostases), they are not one, but three.**" (Greek: Ταῖς ὑποστάσεσιν οὐχ ἓν, ἀλλὰ τρία). **The Heterodox therefore used this phrase, as well as the Orthodox. The only question was, How were the "three" (Greek: τρία) and the "one" (Greek: ἓν) to be explained?** We know that some ascribed this Dialogue to Athanasius. It is also usually printed in the Editions of Athanasius' Works. (Knittel, *New Criticisms on the Celebrated Text*, 1 John V. 7., 1829, p. 72, 75)

Contra Sabellianos (PG 28:96-121) (circa 360 AD)

Migne: De aeterna Filii et Spiritus sancti cum Deo existentia, et contra Sabellianos

• [Lienhard] The work *Contra Sabellianos* is a theological homily or discourse. The author defines two groups of opponents: Hellenizing Christians (97B) and Judaizing Christians (97B). He dismisses the Hellenizers in one sentence as "those who dare to call God's work 'god' and to worship it" (97B). His homily is really directed against the Judaizing Christians, and he expounds their error in detail. Essentially, the Judaizers deny "God from God": that is, they deny that God begot a Son, who is living Word and true Wisdom, and assert that God and his Word are one *prosopon* (97B-C). Among the Judaizing Christians are some who revive the error of Paul of Samosata (101B; 104C). When they are pressed, they say that there are two hypostases: one is the Father, who is God, and the other is the son, who is a man (101B), thus teaching that Christ is a mere man (φιλοδὸς ἄνθρωπος; 104D; cf. 104A). The author's own confession stands at the head of his homily: "We confess that the Son is from the Father, and is always with the Father" (97B). The author bases his theology on the credal phrase "God from God" (Greek: θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ), which for him implies the full deity of the Son and his eternal generation from the Father. (Lienhard, *Ps-Athanasius, Contra Sabellianos*, and Basil of Caesarea, *Contra Sabellianos et Arium et Anomoeos*, 1986, p. 367)

• [Lienhard] The author's theological position is of some help in dating the homily. The "Hellenizers" are "Arians," but the description of their error is so brief that the author is obviously unconcerned with them. The references to the Holy Spirit are few, and do not go much beyond the rule of faith (see below). One sentence may be an allusion to the Anomoeans, but this is no more than a possibility.² The homily is directed principally against Marcellus of Ancyra and his disciple Photinus of Sirmium. Hence, the date of the homily would have to be after 343, when Photinus was condemned, and before 381, when the Marcellians became insignificant. The coolness of the refutation of Photinus suggests a later, rather than an earlier, date, whereas the undeveloped doctrine of the Holy Spirit suggests a date not too late. The years around 360 are the most probable. (Lienhard, *Ps-Athanasius, Contra Sabellianos*, and Basil of Caesarea, *Contra Sabellianos et Arium et Anomoeos*, 1986, p. 368)

The Witness of God is Greater

• [Kim] And indeed, if Reinhard Hubner is correct, Epiphanius of Salamis (310–403 AD) actually had used as a source (for the Ancoratus and the Panarion) the Pseudo-Athanasian *Contra Sabellianos*, arguably written by Apollinarius (d. 382). [[**See R. Hubner**, "Die Hauptquelle des Epiphanius (*Panarion*, haer. 65) fiber Paulus von Samosata: Ps.-Athanasius, *Contra Sabellianos*," *ZKG 90* (1979): 201-20; *idem*, "Epiphanius, Ancoratus, und Ps.-Athanasius, *Contra Sabellianos*," *ZKG 92.2/ 3* (1981): 325-33; *idem*, *Die Schnft des Apollinarius von Laodicea gegen Photin (Pseudo-Athanasius, Contra Sabellianos) und Bacillus von Caesarea, Patristische Texte und Studien 30* (Berlin: Wal-ter de Gruyter, 198g), 1-46.]] **See also** Lienhard, *Contra Marcellum: Marcellus of Ancyra, 220-27*, who had earlier suggested Basil (330-370 AD) as the author, but changed his mind on the basis of work by Hubner. He also, however, does not agree with Hubner that Apollinarius is the author, and for him the question remains open. (Epiphanius, *Ancoratus*, 2014, p. 35, fn. 119)

HITS:

- **7.** He says, "But it was said, 'I am in the Father and the Father is in me'" (Jn 14:10). The Father is not a word in the heart of the Son, so neither is the Son a word in the heart of the Father. Rather, he is a living Word from the living God the Father, appearing by an eternal generation, being with the Father without beginning. So the Father cannot be considered to ever be alone. **For the Triad is always a triad and takes no addition to the deity. And the Son is not added to the Father later after previously not being with him, and neither does the Spirit come into being after the Son. For things made from some beginning are both products and servants and are in no way numbered with the Triad.** For he says, "Go and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" (Mt 28:19). (He did not enumerate one beginning or authority or power.) For it is impossible for uneternal things to be numbered with the eternal and things not partaking of the deity are not joined to the deity. So how is the begotten one in the begetter? And furthermore, how is the begetter in the begotten? How is he in that one and that one in him? Because he also is like that one and that one is like him. So also the two are one because they are not different or separated. And the Son is not considered to be according to a different image and foreign representation but he is God just as the Father is also. After he had said, "I and the Father are one" (Jn 10:30), the Jews were angry, saying, "You, although a man, make yourself God" (Jn 10:33). The Savior also then answered and confirmed what was said about him. For in claiming, "I and the Father are one," he was indicating nothing other than this, that because he is the Son of God he himself is also God. "If he called them 'gods' to whom the word of God comes, and Scripture cannot be broken, what about him whom the Father sanctified and sent into the world? Yet you say, 'You are blaspheming,' because I said I am the Son of God. If I do not do the works of my Father, do not believe me. But if I do them, even if you do not want to believe me, believe the works so that you may see and know that I am in the Father and the Father is in me" (Jn 10:35-38). Therefore the Son being in the Father and the Father being in the Son is this and nothing else: that the one begotten from God is the Son of God because he is God according to nature, which also the Father is, and he shows the Father's form in himself and is shown in the Father's hypostasis. (Athanasius, *Contra Sabellianos*, 7)
- **8.** So there is one and one, and the pair is not divided in nature, lacking nothing for completion. The Father, as the Father, has the whole fullness of the deity, and the Son, as the Son, has the whole fullness of the deity. For one form is understood through both, shown entirely completely in both. Let no one deny the life which has appeared in the world. He says, "It was with the Father and was revealed to us" (1 Jn 1:2). And at the time when it appeared it seemed to exist before it's appearing. For it was begotten eternally and exists with the Father. **Let no one deny the three and think he has found the monad. Let him rather understand the one in the Triad, having the chief part of the faith in baptism and in the three holy seals through which he is regenerated for salvation.** Remember the Apostle saying, "There is one God, the Father, from whom are all things, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things" (1 Cor 8:6). Remember the Father saying, "Before the dawn I brought you forth from the womb" (Ps 110:3) and the Son testifying that he was with the Father before the world, having the glory of the deity, for he says, "Glorify me beside you with the glory which I had beside you

The Witness of God is Greater

before the world existed”(Jn 17:5). He asks for glory according to the man but testifying that he had it according to God before the world. He had the glory because he was and existed. That which does not exist is not glorified. But if he existed, he also was begotten, for he is not a son unless begotten.”But if he was begotten,”he says,”he is outside the begetter and divided from him, but it is necessary for the Word to be undivided because it is in God and does not appear outside of God. For where also would it appear outside him, for God has filled all things, as it is written, “I fill heaven and earth,”says the Lord?”(Jer 23:24) (Athanasius, Contra Sabellianos, 8)

- **9.** With these kinds of imaginations they attempt to get rid of the generation of the Son and his eternal emanation from the Father and his existence with the Father and that the Father subsists completely by himself and the Son subsists completely by himself. So let them learn that”they do not understand the things they are saying or the things they speak so confidently about”(1 Tm 1:7) as they circumscribe God to a place and then further imagine the Son in another place and consider them to be separated, the one here and the other there, if the Son is confessed to have been begotten and to have appeared by himself apart from the Father.”What is the place of my stopping?”God says through the prophet (Is 56:1).”The heaven and the heaven’s heaven are not sufficient for you,”Solomon says to God (1 Kg 8:27). With great proof God persuades men that there is no place capable of receiving him and says,”For my hand made all these things”(Is 66:2). So the made things do not surround the one who made them, who also existed before them and whose being surrounds them, and they are supported by the very power of their maker. Therefore Paul says that from him are all things and through him are all things and for him are all things (Rom 11:36; 1 Cor 8:6), and furthermore,”For in him we live and move and exist”(Ac 17:28). (Athanasius, Contra Sabellianos, 9)
- **10.** So get rid of for me the idea of being fixed in a place, since you have this in mind concerning **God and the Word and the Spirit**. Get rid of the local separations and do not suspect the Father is one place and the Son is sent out from the begetting someplace else. **For these lies, or rather, godless reasonings, about the existence of the Son are causing you to stumble. And you have denied the Holy Spirit along with the Son through maintaining that all the things of the Father are possessed only by one.** Do not seek a place so great that it will be able to have room for the greatness of God. For the immeasurable is not based upon the measured, but he measures heaven with his finger-span, as the prophet metaphorically explains (Is 40:12). And he has also measured the water with his hand and all the earth with his finger. To him all things are tiny, as the prophet’s metaphor sufficiently demonstrates. How would he think to measure himself by a small and tiny creation? God has not filled all things such that he is measured by all things. For this is a bodily filling, just as if someone would appear to have filled the air between earth and heaven. But he did it by his power filling all things. For his power is bodiless, invisible, unencircling and unencircled. The same is true also about the Son and about the Holy Spirit. For through the Son and in the Spirit, God both put everything together and by filling it carefully guards it. So it is godless to both seek and understand God to be somewhere at some time or the Word to have happened upon some place or the Spirit to have been encircled in some dwelling. But if someone should say that the Son neither exists nor was begotten because the place of his essence is unintelligible and difficult to say, then such a person would say that never once was there a Father or did God exist, for no place is found for God either.”The fool said in his heart, ‘There is no God’(Ps 14:1). **Such people truly are fools, misleading themselves by the faulty reasoning of empty imaginations.** Of infants and the altogether mindless people are the words of those who want to take in the bodiless by eye and embrace it within a place.(Athanasius, Contra Sabellianos, 10)
 - **Greek:**
 - **7.** Ἄλλ' εἴρηται, φησὶν· «Ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοί· οὐκ ἔστι δὲ Λόγος ἐν καρδίᾳ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὁ Πατὴρ· οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ ὁ Υἱὸς Λόγος ἐν καρδίᾳ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἀλλὰ Λόγος ζῶν ἀπὸ ζῶντος Πατρὸς Θεοῦ, αἰδίῳ γεννήσει πεφηνῶς, ἀνάρχως τῷ Πατρὶ συνών· ὡς μηδέποτε μόνον ἐπινοεῖσθαι τὸν Πατέρα. **Ἄει γὰρ Τριάς ἢ Τριάς, καὶ προσθήκην θεότητος οὐ λαμβάνει. Οὐδ' ὁ μὴ πρότερον ὢν σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ προστίθεται ὕστερον ὁ Υἱὸς, οὐδὲ τῷ Υἱῷ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐπιγίνεται. Τὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ τίνος ἀρχῆς γεγενημένα καὶ ποιήματά ἐστι καὶ δοῦλα, καὶ τῇ Τριάδι συναριθμεῖται οὐδαμῶς·** «Πορευθέντες γὰρ,» φησὶ, «μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη,

βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.» Ἀρχὴν δὲ οὔτε μίαν, οὔτε ἐξουσίαν, 28.109 οὔτε δύναμιν συνηρίθμησεν· αἰδίῳ γὰρ τὰ μὴ αἰδία συναριθμεῖσθαι ἀδύνατον, καὶ τῇ θεότητι τὰ μὴ μετέχοντα τῆς θεότητος οὐ συντάττεται. Πῶς οὖν ἐν τῷ γεγεννηκότῳ ὁ γεγεννημένος; καὶ πάλιν ὁ γεννήτωρ ἐν τῷ γεννήματι; πῶς οὗτος ἐν ἐκείνῳ, κάκεινος ἐν τούτῳ; Ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς τοιοῦτός ἐστιν οἷος κάκεινος, κάκεινος οἷος οὗτος. Οὕτω καὶ ἐν τὰ δύο, τῷ μὴ διαλλάττειν, μηδὲ ἀπεσχοινίσθαι, μηδὲ καθ' ἕτερον εἶδος καὶ ξένον χαρακτηῖρα νοεῖσθαι τὸν Υἱὸν, ἀλλ' εἶναι Θεὸν, ὡσπερ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ. Ἐπεὶ καὶ εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ· «Ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἐν ἑσμεν,» ἠγανάκτουν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι λέγοντες, «Ὅτι σὺ, ἄνθρωπος ὢν, ποιεῖς σεαυτὸν Θεόν.» Καὶ ὁ Σωτὴρ ἀπεκρίνατο βεβαιῶν τὸ εἰρημένον ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ τοῦτο δεδηλωκώς ἐν τῷ φάσκειν· «Ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἐν ἑσμεν,» τὸ εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸν Θεὸν Υἱὸν ὄντα Θεοῦ· «Εἰ ἐκείνους θεοὺς εἶπε, πρὸς οὓς ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐ δύναται λυθῆναι ἡ Γραφή· ὃν ὁ Πατὴρ ἠγίασε, καὶ ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ὑμεῖς λέγετε, Ὅτι βλασφημεῖς· ὅτι εἶπον, ὅτι Υἱὸς Θεοῦ εἰμι; εἰ οὐ ποιῶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Πατρὸς μου, μὴ πιστεύετε μοι· εἰ δὲ ποιῶ, κἂν ἔμοι μὴ θέλητε πιστεύειν, τοῖς ἔργοις πιστεύετε· ἴν' εἰ δῆτε, καὶ γινώσκητε, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοί.» Οὐκοῦν ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ τὸν Υἱὸν εἶναι, καὶ τὸν Πατέρα ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ, τοῦτό ἐστι καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον, τὸν Υἱὸν εἶναι Θεοῦ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ γεγεννημένον, Θεὸν ὄντα κατὰ τὴν φύσιν, ὅπερ ὁ Πατὴρ, καὶ δεικνύντα τὸ πατρῶον εἶδος ἐν ἑαυτῷ, καὶ δεικνύμενον ἐπὶ τῆς πατρικῆς ὑποστάσεως. (Athanasius, Contra Sabellianos, 7; Migne Graeca, PG 28.108-109)

- **8.** Εἷς οὖν, καὶ εἷς, καὶ ἡ δυὰς οὐ μεμέρισται τῇ φύσει, ἀνευδαῖς οὐσα τῇ τελειότητι, ὅλον μὲν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος ὁ Πατὴρ, ὡς Πατὴρ, ὅλον δὲ τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος ὁ Υἱὸς, ὡς Υἱός. Ἐπειδὴ δι' ἀμφοτέρων ἐν εἶδος νοεῖται, ὀλοκλήρως ἐν ἀμφοτέροις δεικνύμενον. Μηδεὶς ἀρνεῖσθω τὴν φανερωθεῖσαν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ζωὴν· «Ἦτις ἦν,» φησὶ, «πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ ἐφανερῶθη ἡμῖν.» Καὶ πρὸ τῆς φανερώσεως τοῦτο ἔδοξεν εἶναι, ἠνίκα πεφανέρωται. Γεγέννηται γὰρ αἰδίως, καὶ ὑπάρχει μετὰ τοῦ ἰδίου Πατρὸς. **Μηδεὶς ἀρνούμενος τὰ τρία τὴν μονάδα εὐρίσκειν νομιζέτω· ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Τριάδι νοεῖτω τὸ ἐν, ἔχων τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς πίστεως ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι, καὶ ἐν ταῖς τρισὶν ἁγίαις σφραγῖσι, δι' ὧν εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀναγεγέννηται, μεμνημένος τοῦ Ἀποστόλου λέγοντος· «Εἷς Θεὸς ὁ Πατὴρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ εἷς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα,» μεμνημένος τοῦ λέγοντος Πατρὸς· «Ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἐωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε,» τοῦ τε Υἱοῦ μαρτυροῦντος, ὅτι ἦν πρὸ τοῦ κόσμου παρὰ τῷ Πατρὶ, τὴν δόξαν ἔχων τὴν τῆς θεότητος· «Δόξασόν με γὰρ,» φησὶ, 28.112 «Πάτερ, παρὰ σεαυτῷ τῇ δόξῃ ἣ εἶχον, πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι, παρὰ σοί,» τὴν μὲν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον δόξαν αἰτῶν, τὴν δὲ κατὰ Θεὸν ἔχων πρὸ τοῦ κόσμου μαρτυρῶν. Εἶχε δὲ τὴν δόξαν ὢν καὶ ὑπάρχων· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ μὴ ὢν δεδόξασται. Εἰ δὲ ἦν, καὶ γεγέννητο· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν υἱὸς μὴ γεγεννημένος· ἀλλ' εἰ γεγέννηται, φησὶν, ἐκτός ἐστι τοῦ γεννήσαντος, καὶ διήρηται· ἀδιαίρετον δὲ χρὴ εἶναι Λόγον ὄντα ἐν Θεῷ, καὶ μὴ φαινόμενον ἔξω τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ποῦ γὰρ ἂν καὶ φανείη ἐκτός, πάντα τοῦ Θεοῦ πεπληρωκός, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· «Τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐγὼ πληρῶ, λέγει Κύριος;» (Athanasius, Contra Sabellianos, 8; Migne Graeca, PG 28.109-112)**
- **9.** Τοιαύταις φαντασίαις ἀναιρεῖν ἐπιχειροῦσι τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς αἰδίον πρόοδον, καὶ τὴν μετὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑπαρξιν, καὶ τὸ τελείως μὲν ὑφεστάναι Πατέρα καθ' ἑαυτὸν, τελείως καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑφεστάναι. Μαθέτωσαν οὖν, ὅτι μὴ νοοῦσι, «μῆτε ἂ λέγουσι, μῆτε περὶ ὧν διαβεβαιοῦνται,» τόπῳ Θεὸν περιγράφοντες, καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν αὖ πάλιν ἐν ἑτέρῳ φανταζόμενοι τόπῳ, καὶ μεμερίσθαι, τὸν μὲν ἐκεῖ, τὸν δὲ ἐνθάδε νομίζοντες, ἐὰν γεγεννημένος καὶ πεφηνῶς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ Υἱὸς ὁμολογῆται. «Τίς τόπος τῆς καταπαύσεώς μου;» φησὶν ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου. «Ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οὐκ ἀρκέσουσί σοι,» Σολομών λέγει πρὸς τὸν Θεόν· τεκμηρίῳ με γίστω πείθων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὁ Θεός, ὅτι μηδεὶς αὐτοῦ τόπος δεκτικός. «Ἡ γὰρ χεὶρ μου,» φησὶν, «ἐποίησε ταῦτα πάντα.» Οὐ τοίνυν περιέχει τὰ ποιήματα τὸν πεποιηκότα, ὃς καὶ πρὸ τούτων ἦν, καὶ τούτοις παρέχει τὸ εἶναι, καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πεποιηκότος ἐπιστηρίζεται. Διὸ φησὶ Παῦλος· «Ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ εἰς ὃν τὰ πάντα,» καὶ πάλιν· «Ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν, καὶ κινούμεθα, καὶ ἐσμέν.» (Athanasius, Contra Sabellianos, 9; Migne Graeca, PG 28.112)
- **10.** Ἄνελε δὴ μοι τὸν ἐν τόπῳ ἐστηριγμένον, ὅτε διανοῇ **περὶ Θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Λόγου, καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος**· ἀνελε τοπικούς χωρισμούς, καὶ μὴ ἀλλαχοῦ τὸν Πατέρα ὄντα, ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ τὸν Υἱὸν

ἐκπέμπειν ἐκ τοῦ γεννῶν ὑποπτεύσης. Οὗτοι γὰρ οἱ ψευδεῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἄθεοι λογισμοὶ, περὶ τὴν ὕπαρξιν τοῦ Υἱοῦ σε σκανδαλίζουσι. Συνεξήρνηται δὲ σοι μετὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, διὰ τοῦ ὑφ' ἑνὸς προ κατέχεσθαι πάντα τοῦ Πατρός. Μὴ ζητεῖτε μέγεθος τόπου τοσοῦτον, ὃς δυνήσεται χωρῆσαι μέγεθος Θεοῦ· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι τὸ ἀμέτρητον ἐπὶ τῷ μεμετρημένῳ, ἀλλὰ σπιθαμῇ μὲν αὐτοῦ μετρεῖ τὸν οὐρανὸν, ὡς ὁ προφήτης παραβολικῶς ἔρμηνεύει· μεμέτρηκε δὲ καὶ 28.113 τὸ ὕδωρ τῇ χειρὶ, καὶ τὴν γῆν πᾶσαν δρακί. Ὡς δ' οὕτως ἐλάχιστα πάντα, ὡς ἡ προφητικὴ παραβολὴ μετρίως ὑποδείκνυσι, πῶς ἂν τῇ μικρᾷ καὶ ἐλαχίστῃ κτίσει συμπαρεκτείνεσθαι δόξειεν; Οὐ συμπαρεκτεινόμενος τοῖς πᾶσι πεπλήρωκε τὰ πάντα ὁ Θεός· σωματικὸν γὰρ τοῦτο, ὡσπερ εἰ τὸν ἀέρα φαίη πεπληρωκέαι τις τὸν μεταξύ γῆς καὶ οὐρανοῦ· ἀλλ' ὡς δυνάμις συνέχει τὰ πάντα· δυνάμις γὰρ ἀσώματος, ἀόρατος, οὐ κυκλοῦσα, οὐ κυκλουμένη. Τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· διὰ γὰρ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἐν Πνεύματι τὰ πάντα ὁ Θεός καὶ συνεστήσατο, καὶ συνέχων διαφυλάττει. Ἀσεβῆς τοίνυν καὶ ζητεῖν καὶ ἐννοεῖν τὸ ποῦ ποτέ ἐστιν ὁ Θεός, ἢ ὁ Λόγος τίνα τόπον εἴληχεν, ἢ τὸ Πνεῦμα τίνα οἴκησιν ἐκκληρώσατο. Εἰ δὲ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν Υἱὸν οὐκ εἶναι τις οὐδὲ γεγεννησθαι λέγοι, ὅτι τόπος αὐτοῦ τῆς οὐσίας ἀνεπινόητος καὶ ἀνεύρητος, ὁ τοιοῦτος οὐδὲ τὸν Πατέρα φαίη εἶναι καθάπαξ, οὐδ' ὑπάρχειν Θεόν· ἐπεὶ μηδὲ τόπος τις εὐρίσκεται Θεοῦ. «Εἶπεν ἄφρων ἐν καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ· Οὐκ ἔστι Θεός.» **Ἄφρονες ὡς ἀληθῶς οἱ τοιοῦτοι, κεναῖς φαντασίαις ἑαυτοῦ παραλογιζόμενοι**· νηπίων καὶ παντάπασιν ἀνοήτων τὰ ῥήματα, ὀφθαλμῶ λαμβάνεσθαι τὸ ἀσώματον καὶ τόπω περιλαμβάνεσθαι βουλομένων. (Athanasius, Contra Sabellianos, 10; Migne Graeca, PG 28.112-113)

Comment:

Note: The author uses both "Father, Son, Holy Spirit" and "God, Word, Spirit" in his exposition as being both from Scripture. Further, the author states "Let no one deny the three and think he has found the monad. Let him rather understand the one in the Triad" indicating that "the three" (Greek: τὰ τρία) and "one in three" (Greek: ἐν τῇ Τριάδι νοεῖτω τὸ ἓν) are both statements of confession based on Scripture. Finally, the author rejects reasoning (logical syllogisms), indicating that Scriptural truths are beyond the mind's ability to reason (without God and God's revelation). **"Such people truly are fools, misleading themselves by the faulty reasoning of empty imaginations."** The Author concludes this section with quoting "The fool said in his heart, 'There is no God'" (Ps 14:1) indicating that such "reasonings" are contrary to Scripture (God's revealed Truth) and thus obviously from the mind of a natural man (apart from the enlightenment given by God).

- **11.** Let us give them some short images from the bodiless things we can, remembering some examples which clearly are among us and appear in creation in the hope that by ascending through these it becomes possible to somehow understand the bodilessness of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and no longer imagine places for them or think of local divisions for the Triad. The law, being bodiless and spiritual, is in the mind of the one learned in the law. And in the same mind also are the prophets, gospels, and apostles. And it is said about the words of the law and prophets, "They have Moses and the prophets" (Lk 16:29). And the Savior says that the one having old and new things in his mind is like "the master of the house who carries out from his treasury old and new things" (Mt 13:52). And the mind of Moses received all the wisdom of Egypt and that which was given to him from God. And Daniel, having undertaken all the understanding of the Chaldeans, had room for the manifold thoughts of the wisdom of God, which God signified through Ezekiel: "Are you really wiser than Daniel? Every hidden thing was not shown to you" (28:3). The thoughtfulness of Solomon and the "size of his heart" was as uncountable "as the sand across the sea" (1 Kg 4:29). Seeing so great a multitude of wisdoms concerning one understanding, let them conclude that they are not in a place. For how great in size would a man have to be to be sufficient to receive such great things if he held individual things he sees in divided places? So since the spiritual things here, although there are many of them, do not require many places but are fixed around one and the same mind, let us also understand the bodiless things above us of themselves, that the Father and the Son and the Spirit do not require places nor are they divided by places. And let no one dare to suppose that either the Father or the Son or the Holy Spirit is non-existent because there is no place to divide and distribute to each. But the Father, having

The Witness of God is Greater

his being complete and unceasing, is the root and well of the Son and the Spirit. The Son is in the full deity, a living Word and the one begotten of the Father and lacking nothing. And the Spirit of the Son is full, not part of another but entirely complete in itself. **And so the Triad, truly existing, is joined together without distance, for there is nothing separating it, and is together eternally, for no age intervenes between them. And it shines forth one and the same form, for the Father is seen in the Son, and the Son is understood and shared by men in the Spirit.** For he says, "We all, reflecting with unveiled face the glory of the Lord, are being transformed into the same image from glory to glory, as from the Lord, the Spirit" (2 Co 3:18).

- **12.** So let us not imagine it as three indivisible bodily parts. For reasoning is godless and foreign to complete bodiless things. Let us accept the indivisible togetherness of those who are with each other without distance, and for the three truly subsisting let us understand one form beginning from the Father, shining in the Son, and revealed through the Spirit. Because of this those who possess the Spirit possess Christ. For he says, "If anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, he is not his. If Christ is in you, the body is dead because of sin," and so on (Rom 8:9,10). And John says, "From this we know that he is in us, from the Spirit which he gave us" (1 Jn 4:13). And Paul calls our bodies the temple of the Holy Spirit and says that Christ is in us. And when Christ is dwelling in our inner man, as is written, God is dwelling in us. For he says, "Do you not know that you are the temple of God and the Spirit of God dwells in you" (1 Co 3:16). **So in this way learn for me (in a thorough and godly manner) from the divine words the indivisibility of the deity, understanding one form in three, not one composite thing from three.** And they are undivided even in the things of their activity seen, as we hear the Apostle teaching and claiming, "There are divisions of gifts but the same Spirit, and divisions of ministries but the same Lord, and divisions of activities but the same God who works all in all" (1 Cor 12:4-6). And recounting the gifts, he adds, "One and the same Spirit works all these, dividing them to each one as he wants" (1 Cor 12:11). And since all things are worked by God through Christ in the Holy Spirit, I see that the activity of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit is undivided. (Athanasius, Contra Sabellianos, 12; Migne Graeca, PG 28.116-117)

- **Greek:**

- **11.** Δῶμεν δὲ αὐτοῖς βραχεῖας τινὰς εἰκόνας ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων ἀσωμάτων, τινῶν ἐπιμνησθέντες πραγμάτων, ἃ δὴ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὄντα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κτίσεως φαίνεται, εἴ πως δυνηθεῖεν διὰ τούτων ἀναβαίνοντες ἐννοῆσαι πῶς τὸ ἀσώματον τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· καὶ μηκέτι φαντάζεσθαι τόπους αὐτῶν, μηδὲ τοπικὰς διαιρέσεις τῆς Τριάδος ἐπινοεῖν. Ἀσώματος καὶ πνευματικὸς ὢν ὁ νόμος, ἔστιν ἐν τῇ τοῦ νομομαθοῦς διανοίᾳ· ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ δὲ καὶ οἱ προφηταὶ, Εὐαγγέλια καὶ ἀπόστολοι· καὶ εἴρηται περὶ τῶν νομικῶν καὶ προφητικῶν λόγων· «Ἐχουσι Μωϋσέα καὶ τοὺς προφήτας·» καὶ ὁ Σωτὴρ τὸν ἔχοντα παλαιὰ καὶ καινὰ ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ διανοίας εἰκέναι φησὶν ἂν θρώπῳ οἰκοδεσπότη, ὅστις προφέρει ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ αὐτοῦ καινὰ καὶ παλαιά. Ἐδέχετο δὲ ὁ Μωϋσέως νοῦς σοφίαν τε πᾶσαν Αἰγυπτιακὴν, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ. Καὶ Δανιὴλ, σύνεσιν πᾶσαν τὴν Χαλδαίων ὑποδεξάμενος, ἐχώρει καὶ τὰ ποικίλα τῆς θείας σοφίας νοήματα, ὅπερ σημαίνει δι' Ἰεζεχιὴλ ὁ Θεός· «Μὴ σὺ σοφώτερος εἶ τοῦ Δανιήλ; πᾶν κρύφιον οὐχ ὑπεδείχθη σοι.» Ἀναρίθμητος δὲ ἡ τοῦ Σολομῶνος φρόνησις, καὶ τὸ χύμα τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ, 28.116 ὡς ἄμμος, ἡ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν. Τὸ δὲ τοσοῦτον πλῆθος τῶν σοφῶν περὶ μίαν ὁρῶντες διάνοιαν, ἐνθυμίσθωσαν αὐτὰς οὐκ οὔσας ἐν τόπῳ. Πόσος γὰρ ἂν τῷ μεγέθει γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος, ἐξήρκεσεν εἰς τὴν τοσοῦτων ὑποδοχὴν, εἴ τόποις μεμερισμένοις τῶν θεωρημάτων ἕκαστα εἶχεν; Ὅταν οὖν τὰ ἐνταῦθα πνευματικὰ μὴ δέηται πλείονων τόπων πλείονα ὄντα, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὸν ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν στρέφηται νοῦν, ἐννοήσωμεν καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὰ ὄντα ἀσώματα, τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα μὴ τόπων δεόμενα, μηδὲ τόποις διαιρούμενα· καὶ μὴ διὰ τοῦτο ἀνύπαρκτον ἢ τὸν Πατέρα τις, ἢ τὸν Υἱὸν, ἢ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὑποτίθεσθαι τολμάτῳ· ὅτι μηδὲ ἔστι τόπον ἀφορίζειν καὶ κατανέμειν ἐκάστῳ. Ἄλλ' ἔστι μὲν ὁ Πατὴρ τέλειον ἔχων τὸ εἶναι καὶ ἀνελλιπές, ῥίζα καὶ πηγὴ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος· ἔστι δὲ ὁ Υἱὸς ἐν πλήρει τῇ θεότητι, ζῶν Λόγος, καὶ γέννημα τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀνευδές· πλήρης δὲ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Υἱοῦ, οὐ μέρος ἐτέρου, ἀλλ' ὁλόκληρον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ. **Καὶ οὕτως ἡ Τριάς, ἀληθινῶς οὔσα, συνῆπται μὲν ἀδιαστάτως. Τὸ γὰρ διορίζον οὐδὲν, σύνεστι δὲ αἰδίως· αἰὼν γὰρ οὐδεὶς μεταξύ παρεμπίπτει. Μορφὴ**

δὲ προφαίνει μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν, Πατρὸς μὲν ἐν Υἱῷ θεωρουμένου, Υἱοῦ δὲ ἐν Πνεύματι καὶ νοουμένου καὶ μετεχομένου ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου. «Ἡμεῖς γὰρ,» φησὶ, «πάντες ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ τὴν δόξαν Κυρίου κατοπτριζόμενοι, τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν, καθάπερ ἀπὸ Κυρίου πνεύματος.» (Athanasius, Contra Sabellianos, 10; Migne Graeca, PG 28.113-116)

- **12.** Μὴ τοίνυν ὡς ἐνσώματα ἀδιαίρετα μέρησαν ταζώμεθα τρία. Δυσσεβῆς γὰρ ὁ λογισμὸς, ἀλλότριος ἀσωμάτων τελείων. Ἀδιαίρετον δεχόμεθα συνουσίαν συνόντων ἀλλήλοις ἀδιαστάτως, καὶ τριῶν γε κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ὑφεστώτων, ἐν τῷ εἶδος ἐννοῶμεν, ἀρχόμενον μὲν ἐκ Πατρὸς, λάμπαν δὲ ἐν Υἱῷ, καὶ φανερούμενον διὰ Πνεύματος. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ τὸ Πνεῦμα φοροῦντες φοροῦσι Χριστόν· «Εἰ γὰρ τις,» φησὶ, «Πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχει, οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ. Εἰ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, τὸ μὲν σῶμα νεκρὸν διὰ ἁμαρτίαν, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Καὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης· «Ἐκ τούτου γινώσκομεν, ὅτι ἐν ἡμῖν ἔστιν, ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος, οὗ ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν.» Καὶ ναὸν μὲν ἁγίου Πνεύματος τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν ὁ Παῦλος ὀνομάζει, Χριστόν δὲ ἐν ἡμῖν εἶναι λέγει. Χριστοῦ δὲ οἰκοῦντος εἰς τὸν ἔσω ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπον, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, Θεὸς ἐστὶν ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικῶν· «Οὐκ οἶδατε, γὰρ, φησὶν, ὅτι ναὸς Θεοῦ ἐστε, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν.» **Οὕτως μοι τὸ τῆς θεότητος ἀδιαίρετον εὐσεβῶς ἐκ τῶν θείων λόγων καταμάνθανε, ἐν τρισὶν ἐν εἶδος κατανοῶν, οὐχ ἐν ἐκ τριῶν πρᾶγμα 28.117 συντιθείς.** Ἀχώριστα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ τῆς ἐνεργείας θεωρούμενα, ἀκούοντες τοῦ Ἀποστόλου μυσταγωγούντος καὶ φάσκοντος· «Διαιρέσεις δὲ χαρισμάτων εἰσὶ, τὸ δὴ αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα· καὶ διαιρέσεις διακονιῶν εἰσὶ, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς Κύριος· καὶ διαιρέσεις ἐνεργημάτων τῶν εἰσὶν, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Θεὸς ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι.» Καὶ καταλέξας τὰ χαρίσματα ἐπιφέρει· «Πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐνεργεῖ τὸ ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα, διαιροῦν ἴδια ἐκάστῳ, καθὼς βούλεται.» Ὅταν δὲ τὰ πάντα ἐνεργῆται ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, ἀχώριστον ὁρῶ ἐνέργειαν τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. (Athanasius, Contra Sabellianos, 12; Migne Graeca, PG 28.116-117)

Comment:

Note: The author indicates that the "divine words" (i.e., Scripture) gives us the "understanding one form in three" (Greek: **ἐν τρισὶν ἐν**). The extended citation from the work gives the context for the author indicating that these words are from Scripture.

Decimius Magnus Ausonius (310-395 AD)

• Ausonius, Decimus Magnus, a native of Bordeaux, was the son of Julius Ausonius, a physician of Cossium (Bazas), in Aquitania (Aus. Idyll. ii. 2). His poems, which are singularly communicative as to his private history, display him to us in riper years both as student and courtier, professor and prefect, poet and consul. At the age of 30 he was promoted to the chair of rhetoric in his native city, and not long after was invited to court by the then Christian emperor Valentinian I., who appointed him tutor to his son Gratian (Praef. ad Syagr. 15–26). Ausonius was held in high regard by the emperor and his sons and accompanied the former in his expedition, against the Alemanni. It was no doubt during the residence of the court at Trèves at this time that he composed his Mosella. From Valentinian he obtained the title of Comes and the office of Quaestor, and on the accession of Gratian became successively Prefect of Latium, Libya, and Gaul, and finally, A.D. 379, was raised to the consulship (Praef. ad Syagr. 35, etc.; Epigr. ii. iii., de fast.). After the death of Gratian, A.D. 383, although he seems to have enjoyed the favour of Theodosius (Praef. ad Theodos.), it is probable that he returned to the neighbourhood of his native city and spent the remainder of his life in studious retirement (Ep. xxiv.). His correspondence with Paulinus of Nola evidently belongs to these later years. The date of his death is unknown, but he was certainly alive in A.D. 388, as he rejoices in the victory of Theodosius over the murderer of Gratian at Aquileia (Clar. Urb. vii.). (Decimus Magnus Ausonius. Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature to the End of the Sixth Century, <en.wikisource.org/wiki/Dictionary_of_Christian_Biography_and_Literature_to_the_End_of_the_Sixth_Century, Ausonius,_Decimus_Magnus>)

• Ausonius taught in the famous schools of Burdigala (now Bordeaux, Fr.), first as a grammarian and then as a rhetorician, so successfully that Valentinian I called him to Trier to tutor Gratian, who, on his accession,

The Witness of God is Greater

elevated Ausonius to the prefecture of Africa, Italy, and Gaul and to the consulship in 379. After Gratian's murder, in 383, Ausonius returned to his estates on the Garonne River to cultivate literature and pursue his many friendships with eminent persons through a lively exchange of letters, often poetic epistles. Although he was a Christian, he wrote mainly in the pagan tradition, but, by the sheer volume of his preserved work, he was one of the forerunners of Christian Latin literature and of the literature of his own country. His last years were saddened by the action of his favourite and most outstanding pupil, Paulinus of Nola (later bishop and saint), in deserting literature for a life of Christian retirement. Ausonius' pleading, pained letters to Paulinus continued until his death. (Decimus Magnus Ausonius. Encyclopaedia Britannica. 20 July 1998, <biography/Decimus-Magnus-Ausonius>.)

• [Edwards] Such an age was that in which Decimus Magnus Ausonius lived, and he is its best interpreter. It was the fourth century of our era, the time of the pagan Emperor Julian and the Christian Theodosius, the epoch which witnessed the final triumph of Christianity over heathenism and the settlement of the Goths within the Roman empire -two events of tremendous portent for the civilized world. The men of this century idolized ancient Rome. They took the great writers of the Golden Age as their models, and echoed the thoughts, the sentiments, the language of Cicero and Vergil. (Edwards, "Ausonius, the Poet of the Transition. The Classical Journal," 1909, p. 250)

HITS:

- O mighty Father of all things ; to whom are subject earth, sea, and air, and hell, and all the expanse of heaven emblazoned with the Milky Way ; before thee tremble the folk guilty of offences, and contrariwise the blameless company of righteous souls extols thee with prayer and praise. Thou dost reward our course through these few years and the swift close of our frail being with the prize of everlasting life. Thou dost bestow upon mankind the gentle warnings of the Law together with the holy Prophets ; and, as thou didst pity Adam when beguiled by Eve, on whom the poison seized so that she drew him by her smooth enticements to be the fellow of her transgression, so thou dost keep us, their progeny. **Thou, gracious Father, grantest to the world thy Word, who is thy Son, and God, in all things like thee and equal with thee, very God of very God, and living God of the source of life. He, guided by thy behests, added this one gift alone, causing that Spirit which once moved over the face of the deep to quicken our dull members with the cleansing waters of eternal life. Object of our faith. Three, yet One in source, sure hope of our salvation!** Grant pardon and bestow on me the gift of life for which I yearn, if I embrace this diversity of Persons united in their powers. (Ausonius, "Personal Poems")
 - **Latin:** Magne pater rerum, cui terra et pontus et aer Tartarae et picti servit plaga lactea caeli, noxia quem scelerum plebis tremit almaeque russum concelebrat votis animarum turba piarum : tu brevis hunc aevi cursum celeremque caducae finem animae donas aeternae munere vitae. tu mites legum monitus sacrosque prophetas humano impertis generi servasque nepotes, deceptum miseratus Adam, quem capta venenis implicuit socium blandis erroribus Aevva. **tu verbum, pater alme, tuum, natumque deumque, concedis terris totum similemque paremque, ex vero verum vivaque ab origine vivum. ille tuis doctus monitis hoc addidit unum, ut, super aequoreas nabat qui spiritus undas, pigra inmortalis vegetaret membra lavacro. trina fides auctore uno, spes certa salutis** [da veniam et praesta speratae munera vitae] hunc numerum iunctis virtutibus amplectenti. (Ausonius, "Personal Poems" in Ausonius - translated by Evelyn-White - Loeb Classical Library, 1919, vol 1, p. 37)
- **The number three is above all, Three Persons and one God!** And that this conceit may not run its course without significance of number, let it have verses thrice then times three, or nine times ten! (Ausonius, "The Riddle of the Number Three")
 - **Latin:** tris numerus super omnia, tris deus unus. hic quoque ne ludus numero transcurrat inertis, ter decies ternos habeat deciesque novenos. (Ausonius, "The Riddle of the Number Three" in Ausonius - translated by Evelyn-White - Loeb Classical Library, 1919, vol 1, p. 368)

The Witness of God is Greater

Comment:

- [Knittel] Among the Latins also, in the 4th century, this expression "Three are one," was familiar as a sacred phrase. Ausonius, in his Poem bearing the name "Gryphus," says, "Tris numerus super omnia, Tris Deus unus." (Knittel, *New Criticisms on the Celebrated Text*, 1 John V. 7, 1785; 1829, p. 77)

Ausonius: The Christian

- [Evelyn-White] In connection, however, with his life something must be said on his attitude towards Christianity. **When and how he adopted the new religion there is nothing to show ; but certain of his poems make it clear that he professed and called himself a Christian, and such poems as the *Oraio (Ephemeris iii. and Domestica ii.)* which show a fairly extensive knowledge of the Scriptures...** (Ausonius, Decimus Magnus, and Hugh G. Evelyn-White "Introduction" in *Ausonius, with an English Translation*, p. xii-xiii)

- The question of the poet's [Ausonius'] religion has always been a matter of dispute. Voss, Cave, Heindrich, Muratori, etc., maintain that he was a pagan, while Jos. Scaliger, Fabricius, Funccius, and later M. Ampère, uphold the contrary view. Without assenting to the extreme opinion of Trithemius, who even makes him out to have held the see of Bordeaux, we may safely pronounce in favour of his Christianity. **The negative view rests purely upon assumptions**, such as that a Christian would not have been guilty of the grossness with which some of his poems are stained, nor have been on such intimate terms with prominent heathens (Symmach. *Epp. ad Auson. passim*), nor have alluded so constantly to pagan rites and mythology without some expression of disbelief. **On the other hand, he was not only appointed tutor to the Christian son of a Christian emperor, whom he seems at any rate to have instructed in the Christian doctrine of prayer (Grat. Act. 43); but certain of his poems testify distinctly to his Christianity in language that is only to be set aside by assuming the poems themselves to be spurious.** Such are (1) the first of his idylls, entitled *Versus Paschales*, and commencing *Sancta salutiferi redeunt solemnia Christi*, the genuineness of which is proved by a short prose address to the reader connecting it with the next idyll, the *Epicedion*, inscribed to his father. (2) The *Ephemeris*, an account of the author's mode of spending his day, which contains not merely an allusion to the chapel in which his morning devotions were performed (l. 7), but a distinct confession of faith, in the form of a prayer to the first two Persons of the Trinity. (3) The letters of the poet to his friend and former pupil St. Paulinus of Nola, when the latter had forsaken the service of the pagan Muses for the life of a Christian recluse. **This correspondence, so far from being evidence that he was a heathen (see Cave, etc.), displays him to us rather as a Christian by conviction, still clinging to the pagan associations of his youth, and incapable of understanding a truth which had revealed itself to his friend, that Christianity was not merely a creed but a life.** The letters are a beautiful instance of wounded but not embittered affection on the one side, and of an attachment almost filial tempered by firm religious principle on the other. **Paulinus nowhere chides Ausonius for his paganism; on the contrary, he assumes his Christianity** (Paulin. *Ep. ii. 18, 19*), and this is still further confirmed by a casual passage in one of the poet's letters to Paulinus, in which he speaks of the necessity of returning to Bordeaux in order to keep Easter (*Ep. viii. 9*). **Ausonius was not a Christian in the same sense as Paulinus; he was one who hovered on the borderland which separated the new from the old religion: not ashamed, it is true, to pen obscenities beneath the eye and at the challenge of his patron, yet in the quiet of his oratory feeling after the God of the Christians; convinced apparently of the dogma of the Trinity, yet so little penetrated by its awful mystery as to give it a haphazard place in a string of frivolous triplets composed at the dinner-table (Gryph. *Tern. 87*): keenly alive to natural beauty, and susceptible of the tenderest affection, he yet fell short of appreciating in his disciple the more perfect beauty of holiness, and the entire abnegation of self for the love of a divine master. Probably his later Christianity would have disowned his own youthful productions.** ("Ausonius" in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines*, edited by William Smith and Henry Wace, 1877, vol 1, p. 231)

The Witness of God is Greater

Epiphanius of Salamis (310–403 AD)

- Epiphanius of Salamis (Greek: Ἐπιφάνιος; c. 310–320 – 403) was the bishop of Salamis, Cyprus at the end of the 4th century. He is considered a saint and a Church Father by both the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches. He gained a reputation as a strong defender of orthodoxy. Epiphanius was either born into a Romaniote Christian family or became a Christian in his youth. Either way, he was a Romaniote Jew who was born in the small settlement of Besanduk, near Eleutheropolis (modern-day Beit Guvrin, Israel),^[3] and lived as a monk in Egypt, where he was educated and came into contact with Valentinian groups. He returned to Palestine around 333, when he was still a young man, and he founded a monastery at Ad nearby,^[4] which is often mentioned in the polemics of Jerome with Rufinus and John, Bishop of Jerusalem. He was ordained a priest, and lived and studied as superior of the monastery in Ad that he founded for thirty years and gained much skill and knowledge in that position. In that position he gained the ability to speak in several tongues, including Hebrew, Syriac, Egyptian, Greek, and Latin, and was called by Jerome on that account Pentaglossos ("Five tongued").^[5] His reputation for learning prompted his nomination and consecration as Bishop of Salamis, Cyprus,^[6] in 365 or 367, a post which he held until his death. He was also the Metropolitan of the Church of Cyprus. He served as bishop for nearly forty years, as well as travelled widely to combat unorthodox beliefs. He was present at a synod in Antioch (376) where the Trinitarian questions were debated against the heresy of Apollinarianism. He upheld the position of Bishop Paulinus, who had the support of Rome, over that of Meletius of Antioch, who was supported by the Eastern Churches. In 382 he was present at the Council of Rome, again upholding the cause of Paulinus.
- Epiphanius' best-known book is the Panarion which means "medicine-chest" (also known as Adversus Haereses, "Against Heresies"), presented as a book of antidotes for those bitten by the serpent of heresy. Written between 374 and 377, it forms a handbook for dealing with the arguments of heretics. It lists, and refutes, 80 heresies, some of which are not described in any other surviving documents from the time. Epiphanius begins with the 'four mothers' of pre-Christian heresy – 'barbarism', 'Scythism', 'Hellenism' and 'Judaism' – and then addresses the sixteen pre-Christian heresies that have flowed from them: four philosophical schools (Stoics, Platonists, Pythagoreans and Epicureans), and twelve Jewish sects. There then follows an interlude, telling of the Incarnation of the Word. After this, Epiphanius embarks on his account of the sixty Christian heresies, from assorted gnostics to the various trinitarian heresies of the fourth century, closing with the Collyridians and Messalians.^[11]
- In 402, Bishop Theophilus of Alexandria summoned a council in Constantinople, and invited those supportive of his anti-Origenist views. Epiphanius, by this time nearly 80, was one of those summoned, and began the journey to Constantinople. However, when he realised he was being used as a tool by Theophilus against Chrysostom, who had given refuge to the monks persecuted by Theophilus and who were appealing to the emperor, Epiphanius started back to Salamis, only to die on the way home in 403.
- Epiphanius of Salamis. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Epiphanius_of_Salamis>.

HITS:

- **[Panarion : Against Arians Nuts]** But I am obliged to speak further here, about the Holy Spirit, or, if I leave anything out, I may give the enemy, who want < to contradict >, a chance to hold their < wicked beliefs* >. For it is the same with the Holy Spirit, as the Lord himself testifies by saying "the Spirit of truth" and "the Spirit of the Father,"¹¹⁵ but the apostle by saying "Spirit of Christ." Thus, being the Spirit of the Father [and] the Spirit of the Son, the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of truth, the Spirit of God, just as God is true God, *just as he is true light*. **For there is one Trinity**, one glory, one Godhead, one Lordship. The Father is a father, the Son is a son, the Holy Spirit is a holy spirit. The Trinity is not an identity, not separate from its own unity, not wanting in perfection, not strange to its own identity, but is one Perfection, three Perfects, one Godhead. (Epiphanius of Salamis, Panarion, Anacephalaeosis V.33. Against the Arian Nuts; Translated by Frank Williams, 2017, vol 2, p. 361)
 - **Greek:** Ἐπι δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἀναγκάζομαι τοῦ λέγειν ἐνταῦθα, ἵνα μὴ παραλείψας τι δῶ τοῖς βουλομένοις <ἀντιλέγειν> ἐχθροῖς τὰς αὐτῶν ἔχειν * πρόφασιν. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος μαρτυρεῖ λέγων «τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας», «τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ πατρός», ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολος «πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ». ἄρα γοῦν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἀληθείας, πνεῦμα θεοῦ, ὡς θεὸς ἀληθινός, ὡς φῶς ἀληθινόν, ὡς πνεῦμα πατρός, ὡς πνεῦμα υἱοῦ. **μία γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ τριάς**, μία ἡ δοξολογία, μία ἡ θεότης, μία ἡ κυριότης. πατὴρ πατήρ, υἱὸς υἱός. ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἅγιον πνεῦμα, οὐ συναλοφῆ ἡ τριάς, οὐ

The Witness of God is Greater

διεστῶσα τῆς ἰδίας αὐτῆς μονάδος, οὐκ ἔλλιπῆς τῆς τελειότητος, οὐκ ἄλλοία τῆς ἰδίας ιδιότητος, ἀλλὰ πάντα τελειότης, τρία τέλεια, μία θεότης. (Eriphanius of Salamis, Panarion, Anacephalaeosis V.33 Against the Arian Nuts; Migne Graeca, PG 42.253)

- **[Panarion : Against Arians Nuts]** And again, to teach his disciples his co-essentiality with the Father, he says, "If any man open to me, I and my Father will come in and make our abode with him."215 And [here] he no longer said, "I shall be sent by my Father," but, "I and my Father will < make our abode > with him," with the Son knocking and the Father entering with him, so that it is everlasting, and neither is the Father separated from the Son nor the Son separated from his Father. (6) And so he says in another passage, "I am the way, and by me shall they go in unto the Father."216 And lest it be thought that < he > is less than the Father because they go in to the Father by him, he says, "No man can come unto me unless my heavenly Father draw him."217 (7) Thus the Father brings him to the Son and the Son brings him to the Father, but brings him in the Holy Spirit. **The Trinity is forever eternal**, one unity of Godhead, three Perfects, one Godhead. And the Arians' argument has failed. (Eriphanius of Salamis, Panarion, Anacephalaeosis V.54. Against the Arian Nuts; Translated by Frank Williams, 2017, vol 2, p. 380-381)
 - **Greek:** καὶ πάλιν φησί, δεικνύων τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς περὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ὁμοουσιότητος, λέγων· «ἐάν τις ἀνοίξη μοι, εἰσελθὼν ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατήρ μου μονὴν παρ' αὐτῷ ποιήσομεν». καὶ οὐκέτι εἶπεν ἀποσταλήσομαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου· ἀλλ' «ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατήρ <μονὴν ποιήσομεν> παρ' αὐτῷ», ὡς κρούοντος τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς σὺν αὐτῷ εἰσερχομένου, ὡς ἀεὶ εἶναι καὶ μηδέποτε διαλιπεῖν πατέρα ἀπὸ υἱοῦ καὶ υἱὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς. διὸ καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τόπῳ λέγει «ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ δι' ἐμοῦ εἰσελεύσονται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα». καὶ ἵνα μὴ τινες ἤσσανα <αὐτὸν> πρὸς τὸν πατέρα νομίσωσι διὰ τὸ δι' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα εἰσιέναι, φησὶν, «οὐδεὶς ἐλεύσεται πρὸς με, ἐὰν μὴ ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος ἐλκύσῃ αὐτόν». ὁ πατήρ οὖν φέρει πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν καὶ ὁ υἱὸς φέρει πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, εἰσφέρει δὲ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ. **ἀεὶ γὰρ πάντοτε ἡ τριάς ἐν μιᾷ ἐνότητι θεότητος**, τρία τέλεια, μία θεότης. καὶ διέπεσεν ὁ τοῦτων λόγος. (Eriphanius of Salamis, Panarion, Anacephalaeosis V.54. Against the Arian Nuts; Migne Graeca, PG 42.288)
- **[Panarion : Against Bardesianists]** For if he [the Holy Spirit] were a thing that is made he would not be reckoned in with the uncreated Father and the uncreated Son. But because he is uncreated he is so reckoned; the scripture said, "Go baptize in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit."238 And how can the Spirit be created when it is testified of him that "He proceeded from the Father"239 and "received of me,"240 and through him man's full salvation, and everything required for the human nature, was made complete. (11) For scripture says of the Lord, "God anointed him with the Holy Spirit."241 But the Father would not have anointed Christ's human nature, **which had been united in one Godhead with the divine Word**, with a creature. However, **since the Trinity is one**, three Perfects, one Godhead, this needed to be done for the Son in the dispensation of the incarnation, so that the Trinity, completely glorified in all things, would be observed to be < one >. I have cited no [mere] one or two texts against all the sects in my discussions of the Spirit, to prove that he is the Spirit of God, glorified with the Father and the Son, uncreated, changeless and perfect. And, in its turn, the argument against themselves that the trouble-makers < have invented > about him has proved a failure. (Eriphanius of Salamis, Panarion, Anacephalaeosis IV.56. Against Bardesianists; Translated by Frank Williams, 2017, vol 2, p. 383-384)
 - **Greek:** εἰ γὰρ ἦν τῶν γεγονότων, οὐκ ἂν τῷ ἀκτίστῳ πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ ἀκτίστῳ συνηριθμεῖτο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἄκτιστόν ἐστιν συναριθμεῖται· εἶπε γὰρ «ἀπελθόντες βαπτίσατε εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος». πῶς δὲ κτιστόν εἴη τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ μαρτυρούμενον ὅτι «ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται» καὶ «ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λαμβάνει», δι' οὗ καὶ ἡ τελεία τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρία καὶ ἔνσαρκος οἰκονομία εἰς πᾶσαν δικαίωσιν ἐπληρώθη. «ἔχρισε γὰρ αὐτὸν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ» φησὶν ἡ γραφή περὶ τοῦ κυρίου. οὐκ ἂν δὲ τὴν ἔνσαρκον οἰκονομίαν σὺν τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ ἠνωμένην εἰς μίαν θεότητα ἔχρισεν ὁ πατήρ κτίσματι, ἀλλ' **ἐπειδὴ μία ἐστὶν ἡ τριάς**, τρία τέλεια, μία θεότης, ἔδει ἐν τῷ υἱῷ οἰκονομικῶς τοῦτο γενέσθαι, ἵνα παντάπασι δοξαζομένη ἐν ἅπασιν <μία> νοηθῇ ἡ τριάς, καθάπερ κατὰ πασῶν τῶν αἰρέσεων περὶ πνεύματος διηγούμενοι οὐ μίαν, οὐ δύο μαρτυρίας εἰσενέγκαμεν, ὅτι θεοῦ ἐστὶ πνεῦμα σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ δοξαζόμενον, ἄκτιστον καὶ ἄτρεπτον

The Witness of God is Greater

καὶ τέλειον ὄν. ἐξέπεσε δὲ καὶ ὁ περὶ τούτου τῶν φιλονεικούντων λόγος ὁ καθ' ἑαυτῶν <ἐπιπνενοημένος>. (Eriphanius of Salamis, Panarion, Anacephalaeosis IV.56. Against Bardesianists; Migne Graeca, PG 42.292)

- **[Panarion : Against Paul the Samosatian]** 8,1 And so there are not two Gods, because there are not two Fathers. And the subsistence of the Word is not eliminated, since there is not one [mere] combination of the Son's Godhead with the Father. For the Son is not of an essence different from the Father, but of the same essence as the Father. He cannot be of an essence different from his Begetter's or of the identical essence; he is of the same essence as the Father. 8,2 Nor, again, do we say that he is not the same in essence as the Father; the Son is the same as the Father in Godhead and essence. And he is not of another sort than the Father, nor of a different subsistence; he is truly the Father's Son in essence, subsistence and truth. (3) But the Father is not the Son; and the Son is not the Father, but truly a Son begotten of a Father. Thus there are not two Gods, two Sons, or two Holy Spirits; **the Trinity is one Godhead, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and co-essential.** (Eriphanius of Salamis, Panarion, Anacephalaeosis V.65. Against Paul the Samosatian; Translated by Frank Williams, 2017, vol 2, p. 224)
 - **Greek:** 8. Οὐ δύο τοίνυν θεοί, ὅτι οὔτε δύο πατέρες· οὐδὲ ἀνήρηται ἡ ὑπόστασις τοῦ λόγου, ὅτι οὐ μία συναλοιφή θεότητος υἱοῦ πρὸς πατέρα. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἑτεροούσιος ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς, ἀλλὰ ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρί· οὐ δύναται δὲ εἶναι ἑτεροούσιος τῷ γεγεννηκότι οὐδὲ ταυτοούσιος, ἀλλὰ ὁμοούσιος. οὐδὲ πάλιν λέγομεν αὐτὸν μὴ εἶναι ταῦτὸν τῆ οὐσίας τῷ πατρί· ἔστι γὰρ ταῦτὸν τῆ θεότητι καὶ τῆ οὐσία ὁ υἱὸς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλοιός παρὰ τὸν πατέρα οὐδὲ ἀπὸ ἄλλης ὑποστάσεως, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἀληθῶς υἱὸς πατρὸς τῆ τε οὐσίας καὶ τῆ ὑποστάσει καὶ τῆ ἀληθείᾳ. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ πατήρ ἐστὶν ὁ υἱός, οὐδὲ ὁ υἱὸς ἐστὶν ὁ πατήρ, ἀλλὰ υἱὸς ἀληθῶς ἐκ πατρὸς γεγεννημένος. διὸ οὔτε δύο θεοὶ οὔτε δύο υἱοὶ οὔτε δύο ἅγια πνεύματα, ἀλλὰ **μία θεότης ἢ τριάς, πατήρ, υἱὸς καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ὁμοούσιος οὔσα.** (Eriphanius of Salamis, Panarion, Anacephalaeosis IV.56. Against Bardesianists; Migne Graeca, PG 42.25)

Expositio fidei catholicae: Clemens Trinitas (4th or 5th century)

- [Denzinger] This formula was also called "Fides catholica Sancti Augustini episcopi" (Codex Augiensis Reichenau XVIII, 9th century, ed. KüBS). It originated in the 5th or 6th century in the south of France and then came to Spain. Ed. I. A. de Aldama, in: Greg 14 (1933) 487f / KüA 65f / KüBS 147f; see 12. - Reg.: CIPL 1748. ("#73–74: Confession »Clemens Trinitas«" in Denzinger, Enchiridion symbolorum definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum, 2017, p. 44)
- [Aldama] The symbolic collection represented by the two codices of Paris B. N. lat. 2076 and 2341, is largely composed of anti-Arian symbols; such are that of Nicea, that of S. Gregorio Taumaturgo, the Libellas fidei of Gregorio de Elvira and the Fides S. Ambrosii more than once cited. These symbols in the manuscript transmission are not characteristic of any region, given the great diffusion they reached. The other group of symbols received in the collection is made up of the Quicumque, the Fides Damasi and the Clemens Trinitas. This group can be characteristic for the origin of the collection. In the current state of science, the presence in it of the Quicumque leads us to the south of Gaul. With this we can have an indication of the origin of the collection and of our symbol.
- [Aldama] On the other hand, we have numerous indications to place the collection's homeland in Gaul. We have indicated before, that the text of the Hispana used by the author is no longer legitimately Spanish, but one of the first that ran through Gaul; to the same region we are taken by Quicumque, Gennadio's Definitio ecclesiasticorum Dogmatum, Alcuino's treatises, and perhaps pseudo-Augustinian sermons 242, 237-239, etc. In fact, the author of the collection has used pieces of African origin for a long time, at the same time as Hispana and the works of S. Isidoro. But precisely all this falls very well in the region in which we locate the cradle of our symbolic collection. Thus, the two unique collections that up to the present have transmitted the symbol we are studying seem to have originated in Gaul. Both appear, in addition to our symbol, the Quicumque and the Fides Damasi. But there is a Spanish document, through which we can affirm that the

The Witness of God is Greater

Clemens Trinitas formula, even without belonging to the peninsula, actually entered it and in it he exerted his literary influence. The interesting thing is that our symbol does not appear there alone, but accompanied again by the Quicumque and the Fides Damasi.

• [Aldama] The collection of the Augiensis is well known that Künstle gave it as Spanish and of the sixth century; moreover, as an official of the church of Spain and composed in connection with the Council of Toledo in 589. It has recently been denied that the collection goes back to such an ancient time: there is no reason to suppose that the pieces of S. Isidoro, Alcuin and some more contained in it are later additions. We cannot even believe that it is Spanish. Neither the presence of the two Toledan symbols I and XI, nor that of the anathematisms corresponding to the first and the Toledo Councils of 589 and Braga of 563, neither the text of the Nicene symbol without the canons, nor the use of the Constantinopolitan, prove in any way, as Künstle wants, the Spanish origin of the collection. All these texts could be taken from Hispana, whose great diffusion is known, and we have certain indications to believe that the Hispanic used by the collector was the Hispanic who had already crossed the Pyrenees and had suffered not a little at the hands of imperious scribes. That Künstle alludes to are more decisive. For the pieces by an unknown author, which he also attributes to Spain, wanting to see in them a whole flourishing anti-Priscilianist literature; the vast majority certainly do not belong to the peninsula. (Aldama, "El Simbolo 'Clemens Trinitas' notas para su texto y su historia, 1933, p. 495-498)

HITS:

- The merciful Trinity is one divinity. That is why Father and Son and the Holy Spirit are one source, one substance, one force, one power. We say that the Father is God, the Son is God and the Holy Spirit is God, not three gods, but we profess one mercifully. For, naming three persons, we profess with a Catholic and apostolic voice that only one is the substance. **Therefore, Father and Son and Holy Spirit, and the three are one** [cf. I Jo 5.7]. Three, neither confused nor separated, but distinctly united and uniquely distinct; united in substance, but distinct in names, united in nature, distinct in people, equal in divinity, similar in majesty, agree in the Trinity, participants in splendor. **They are one, in such a way that we must not doubt that they are also three; there are three, in such a way that we must say that they cannot be separated from each other.** (Formula "Clemens Trinitas", 4-5th century)
 - **Latin:** Clemens Trinitas, una divinitas. Pater itaque et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, unus fons, una substantia, una virtus, una potestas est. Patrem Deum, et Filium Deum, et Spiritum Sanctum Deum, non tres deos esse dicimus, sed unum piissimi confitemur. Name tres manentes personas unam esse substantiam catholica atque apostolica profitemur voce. **Itaque Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, et tres unum sunt** [cf. 1 Jo 5,7]. Nec tres confusi, nec divisi, nec distincti, sed coniuncti, uniti substantia, sed discreti nominibus, coniuncti natura, distincti personis, aequales divinitate, consimiles maiestate, concordantes trinitate, participes claritate. **Qui ita unum sunt, ut tres quoque non dubitemus; ita tres sunt, ut separari a se non posse fateamur.** (Formula "Clemens Trinitas", 4-5th century; Denzinger, Enchiridion Symbolorum definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum, 1908, p. 14)

Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des Manuscrits. Latin 2341

• [Ommanney] Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 3241, is a bulky volume comprising apparently three distinct parts, but written throughout in handwriting of the same character. It is assigned to the ninth century by the catalogue, but by the present authorities of the MS department in the Bibliothèque is not considered earlier than the tenth. The second part of this volume contains first the Tractatus contra quinque haereses' attributed to St. Augustine. Its genuineness is denied by the Benedictine editors of that Father's works, who have in consequence relegated it to their Appendix. Then comes Altercatio Athanasii episcopi contra Arrium, which is edited among the works of Vigilii Tapsensis. This is succeeded by a series of Confessions of Faith preceded by the following list of titles... The seventh, entitled in the heading of the text "Exemplar fidei catholice," is the Confession frequently entitled "Fides Romanorum" or "Fides ecclesiae Romanae." It has much in common with the "Damasi Symbolum," but is still a distinct document. (Ommanney, A Critical Dissertation on the Athanasian Creed, 1897, p. 146-147)

The Witness of God is Greater

f149v.In.029.col.02 Incipit expositio fidei catholicae
f149v.In.030.col.02 Clemens Trinitas, una divinitas. Pater itaque et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus,
f149v.In.031.col.02 unus fons, una substantia, una virtus, una potestas est. Patrem
f149v.In.032.col.02 Deum, et Filium Deum, et Spiritum Sanctum Deum, non tres deos esse dicimus,
sed unum
f149v.In.033.col.02 piissimi confitemur. Name tres manentes personas unam esse
f149v.In.034.col.02 substantiam catholica atque apostolica profiteamur voce. Itaque Pater
f149v.In.035.col.02 et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, et **"tres unum sunt"**. Nec tres con-
f149v.In.036.col.02 fusi, nec divisi, nec distincti, sed coniuncti,
f149v.In.037.col.02 uniti substantia, sed discreti nominibus, coniuncti natura, distinc-
f149v.In.038.col.02 ti personis, aequales divinitate, consimiles maiestate, concordēs
f149v.In.039.col.02 trinitate, participes claritate. Qui ita unum sunt, ut tres quo-
f149v.In.040.col.02 que non dubitemus; ita tres sunt, ut separari a se non posse
f149v.In.041.col.02 fateamur.
<gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b85409594/f304.item>

Comments:

Note: Denzinger indicates that "tres unum sunt" as "cf. 1 Io 5,7" (f149v.In.035.col.02). (See: Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*, 2017, p. 44; #73-74)

De trinitate (Migne Graeca, PG 28.1604) (4th to 5th century)

• **Note:** This work is attributed to Athanasius. See Athanasius von Alexandrien Bibliographie edited by Christel Butterweck (1995, p. 19, 108).

HITS:

- You should glorify the nature of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit is one, and that there are these three hypostases: the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. That is also how we were baptized. For Jesus said: "*Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*" (Matt 28:19) You should glory in a single nature because honoring several and dividing it into many gods is something pagans would do. Yet you should believe in three hypostases or persons so as to leave no room for the opinion of the Jews; so that the Father "*of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named*" (cf. Eph 3:15) may not be without offspring and without a Word; so that the Word may not be more destitute than our word, if it had no Spirit; so that the perfect entity may exist in three perfect hypostases. For the Father, the Son and the Spirit are like the intellect, the word and the spirit in us. Furthermore, when you hear "the Spirit", you should understand it as the holy and hypostatic Spirit. We are perishable, and our spirits are dissolved (from our bodies). By contrast, the Spirit of him who is immortal is clearly immortal, being a hypostatic substance. So the three hypostases have one nature, one divinity, one will, one working power, one might, one purpose, one motion, one splendor springing forth from three. **The Father is God, the Son is God, the Holy Spirit is God, and these three entities are one God.** The Father is the perfect God, the Son is the perfect God, the Holy Spirit is the perfect God, with the same honor and the same might. These created all things, hold all things together and take care of all things. The three possess equally, without any difference and in the same manner, all the attributes that pertain to their being, to their not being something, to their attitude toward their creatures, to their operation, their might, their eternity, their pre-eminence and their causative-ness. For instance, they share the same being, the incorporeal being that cannot be comprehended, the same fact of reigning, of creating, of deifying, of being mighty, of being eternal, of being a beginning above every beginning, of being an essence above every essence, of being called the light. With reference to God, darkness is the things that are said about him symbolically, like being indignant or angry, asleep or awake. When we attribute these things to the single nature of God, we denote or refer to that nature not by means of things that belong to it, but by means of things that are around it. So, we know that the three hypostases have a single nature, and that they differ from one

The Witness of God is Greater

another in no other respect than these properties: the fact of begetting, the fact of being begotten, and the fact of proceeding; and in as much as one of them is the Father, another is the Son, and yet another is the Spirit; and in as much as the Father is a begetter and producer (the begetter of the Son and the producer of the Spirit), the Son a begotten entity, and the Spirit a produced one. The Father is unbegotten, the Son is begotten, the Spirit is proceeding. The Father is the cause, the Son and the Spirit are caused. The Father is a producer, the Son is only the Son, and the Spirit is proceeding. They do not relinquish their properties: the Father never stops being the Father, the Son never stops being the Son, and the Spirit never stops being the Spirit. But they have a common essence; **there is a single divinity to the three**; they are like three lights that are united but not commingled. Knowing these things constitutes sufficient theological knowledge. (Athanasius, De Trinitate; Migne Graeca, PG 28.1604-1605, CPG 2296)

- **Greek:** Μίαν φύσιν δόξατε Πατρός καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος τὴν θεότητα, καὶ τρεῖς ταύτας τὰς ὑποστάσεις, Πατέρα, Υἱὸν, καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, καθὼς καὶ βεβαπίσμεθα. "Πορευθέντες" γὰρ, φησὶ, "μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος." Μίαν μὲν φύσιν, ὅτι τὸ πλείους δοξάζειν καὶ κατατέμνειν εἰς πολλοὺς θεοὺς τὴν μίαν θεότητα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐστὶ τρεῖς δὲ ὑποστάσεις, ἦτον πρόσωπα, ἵνα μὴ σχῆ χώραν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἢ δόξα, καὶ ἵνα μὴ ἄγονος ἢ καὶ ἄλογος ὁ Πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ πάσα πατριά· καὶ ὁ Λόγος τοῦ ἡμετέρου λόγου ἐνδεέστερος, μὴ ἔχων Πνεῦμα· καὶ ἵνα τὸ τέλειον ἢ ἐν τρισὶ τελείαις ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι. Καὶ γὰρ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν νοῦ, λόγου τε καὶ πνεύματος, Πατήρ, καὶ Υἱός, καὶ Πνεῦμα. Πνεῦμα δὲ ἀκούων, ἅγιον ἐνυπόστατον νόει. Ἡμῶν μὲν φθαρτῶν ὄντων, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα λυόμενον· τοῦ δὲ ἀθανάτου πάντως τὸ πνεῦμα ἀθάνατον, ὡς οὐσία τις ἐνυπόστατος. Μία οὖν ἐστὶ τῶν τριῶν ὑποστάσεων φύσις, ἡ θεότης, καὶ μία θέλησις, καὶ μία ἐνέργεια, μία δύναμις, ἐν βούλημά τε καὶ κίνημα, καὶ ἔξαλμα τῆς λαμπρότητος τῶν τριῶν. **Θεὸς ὁ Πατήρ, Θεὸς ὁ Υἱός, Θεὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα, εἰς τὰ τρία·** Θεὸς τέλειος ὁ Πατήρ, τέλειος ὁ Υἱός, τέλειος τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· τῆς αὐτῆς τιμῆς, τῆς αὐτῆς ἐξουσίας. Δημιουργὰ τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων, καὶ συνεκτικὰ, καὶ προνοητικὰ, ὁμοίως πάντα τοῖς τρισὶ, καὶ ἀπαραλλάκτως καὶ ταυτῶς, ὅσα τοῦ εἶναι, καὶ ὅσα τοῦ τι μὴ εἶναι, καὶ ὅσα τοῦ πῶς ἔχει πρὸς τὰ κτιστὰ, καὶ ὅσα τῆς ἐνεργείας, καὶ ὅσα τῆς δυνάμεως, ὅσα τῆς αἰδιότητος, καὶ ὅσα καθ' ὑπεροχὴν, ἢ κατ' αἰτίαν εἶναι λέγεται. Οἷον τὸ εἶναι ταυτὸν, τὸ ἀσώματον εἶναι τὸν ἀκατάληπτον, τὸ βασιλεύειν, τὸ δημιουργεῖν, τὸ θεοῦν, τὸ δύνασθαι, τὸ αἰδῖον εἶναι, 28.1605 τὸ ἀρχὴν εἶναι ὑπεράρχιον, τὸ οὐσίαν εἶναι ὑπερ οὐσιον, τὸ φῶς λέγεσθαι. Τὸ δὲ σκότος τὰ συμβολικῶς λεγόμενα, οἷον θυμοῦσθαι καὶ ὀργίζεσθαι, ὑπνοῦν καὶ ἐγρηγορέναι. Ταῦτα πάντα τῇ μιᾷ φύσει προσ αρμόζοντες, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν δηλοῦμεν, ἢ νοοῦμεν αὐτὴν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν. Μίαν δ' οὖν τὴν φύσιν εἰδότες τῶν τριῶν ὑποστάσεων, οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαφερουσῶν ἢ ταῖς ιδιότησι ταύταις, τὸ γεννᾶν λέγω καὶ τὸ γεννᾶσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἐκπορεύεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι τὸ μὲν Πατήρ, τὸ δὲ Υἱός, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα· καὶ ὅτι ὁ μὲν Πατήρ γεννήτωρ καὶ προβολεὺς, γεννήτωρ μὲν τοῦ Υἱοῦ, προβολεὺς δὲ τοῦ Πνεύματος· ὁ δὲ Υἱός γεννημα, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα πρόβλημα. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Πατήρ ἀγέννητος, ὁ δὲ Υἱός γεννητὸς διὰ δύο "νν", τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα ἐκπορευτόν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Πατήρ αἴτιος, ὁ δὲ Υἱός καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα αἰτιατά. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Πατήρ προβολεὺς, ὁ δὲ Υἱός Υἱός μόνον, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκπορευόμενον· οὐ γὰρ ἐξίστανται τῶν ιδιοτήτων, οὔτε ὁ Πατήρ τοῦ εἶναι Πατήρ, οὔτε ὁ Υἱός τοῦ εἶναι Υἱός, οὔτε τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ εἶναι Πνεῦμα, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν οὐσία κοινὴ, **μία τῶν τριῶν ἢ θεότης**, ὡσπεροῦν φῶτα τρία ἀλλήλοις ἐνούμενα καὶ οὐ συγχεόμενα. Ταῦτα μὲν ἱκανὰ εἶδέναι περὶ τὴν θεολογίαν. (Athanasius, De Trinitate; Migne Graeca, PG 28.1604, CPG 2296)

De trinitate : P. Naqlun inv. 46/88 (575-625 AD)

• [Derda] The texts I have chosen to present in this paper come from Deir el-Naqlun, a monastic centre in the Fayum oasis excavated since 1986 by a Polish mission. (Derda, Some Non-Documentary Texts from Deir el-Naqlun, 1995, p. 41)

The Witness of God is Greater

- [Derda] The fourth text has not so far been identified, which in the age of computer tools may suggest that we have either a fragment of a new unknown text or a composition of some fragments coming from different works. (Derda, Some Non-Documentary Texts from Deir el-Naqlun, 1995, p. 41)
- [Derda] P. Naqlun inv. 46/88 was found during our excavation carried out on the kom, in its Sector B, where in the first centuries of the existence of the cenobitic monastery there was a vast refuse dump. The hand is an experienced, not rapid but also not too elegant script, similar to some extent to that of the previous text. This hand, however, shows some features characteristic for hands of the 5th century, and, as far as palaeography is concerned, could be dated to the end of this century or to the first half of the 6th. This papyrus would be, therefore, one of the earliest pieces from the kom where the archaeological evidence is not earlier than the turn of the 5th and 6th cent. (Derda, Some Non-Documentary Texts from Deir el-Naqlun, 1995, p. 46)
- [Derda] The text on the recto of P. Naqlun inv. 46/88 is of literary character. There are nomina sacra noted in abbreviated form with usual strokes. It is, however, worthy of note that the noun πατήρ is written in line 4 as a nomen sacrum while in line 11, where it without doubt refers to God, is noted in full. (Derda, Some Non-Documentary Texts from Deir el-Naqlun, 1995, p. 46)
- [Derda] As it was already mentioned, I was not successful in my attempts to identify this text. But the subject of our text is absolutely clear. It concerns the Arians (line 7: τῶν Ἀρειανῶν) and the nature of God (line 11: ὁ μὲν πατήρ ἀγέννητος ...). Line 1 (τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας) and line 10, where the noun πρόβλημα and nomen sacrum τὸν υἱὸν occur, are connected with the same question. The πρόβλημα then concerns the nature of Christ, which was the crucial point of theological disputes at the time, and its relation with God the Father. In order to enhance the importance of the arguments the author quotes a passage of the Scripture (line 2: κατὰ τὰς θείας [sc. γραφάς]). (Derda, Some Non-Documentary Texts from Deir el-Naqlun, 1995, p. 46)
- [Derda] Athanasius was of course the first author coming to mind while I was looking at this fragmentarily preserved text. But neither TLG nor Lexicon Athanasium gave a positive answer when consulted e.g. about the phrase ὁ μὲν πατήρ ἀγέννητος not far from the word πρόβλημα (line 10). The answer was also negative when the search was committed for other Christian writers on TLG version "D". (Derda, Some Non-Documentary Texts from Deir el-Naqlun, 1995, p. 47)
- [Derda] P. Naqlun inv. 46/88 does not come from a codex; its appearance is similar to that of P. Naqlun inv. 20/87. Both these texts may have been handy copies prepared for personal or liturgical use, what is however quite easily understandable in the case of the creed is much more difficult to accept for a 6th century fragment of a patristic text concerning the Arian controversy. It is an interesting question, how deeply people living 200 years later could be interested in such texts.11 (Derda, Some Non-Documentary Texts from Deir el-Naqlun, 1995, p. 47)
- [Derda] Some of the phrases and expressions which can be read in P. Naqlun inv. 46/88 lead us towards the works of Athanasius or attributed to him. If we in fact have here a compilation of fragments coming from different works, it would be the second text from Egypt with prose of this author. In the monastery of St. Epiphanius in Thebes there is a graffito containing Athanasius' famous letter to monks. In van Haelst's Catalogue there is no other item connected with him. But works by Athanasius were translated into Coptic which means of course that he was read at least in some milieus. (Derda, Some Non-Documentary Texts from Deir el-Naqlun, 1995, p. 47)

HITS:

- 46/88r.001 τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας
- 46/88r.002]οχουν κατὰ τὰς θείας
- 46/88r.003 [γραφάς] ἐπ' ἀναγκ[α]ια [
- 46/88r.004]π(ατέ)ρα. ἐπειδὴ περ[
- 46/88r.005]ππειν δὲ ἀκριβ[
- 46/88r.006].ους ἠγεῖται μ..[
- 46/88r.007]. τῶν Ἀρειανῶν [
- 46/88r.008]. ἐπιχειρησασ[
- 46/88r.009]ας οὐκ ἀνατρε.[.] σιν
- 46/88r.010 πρόβλημα τὸ εἰ μὲν τὸν υἱὸν
- 46/88r.011]... ὁ μὲν πατήρ ἀγέννητος ... [

The Witness of God is Greater

- Derda, Some Non-Documentary Texts from Deir el-Naqlun, 1995, p. 47-48.

Comment:

• [Derda] **Lines 10-11 Cf. e.g. Ps.-Athanasius, De trinitate (Migne, PG XXVIII, col. 1605):** καὶ ὅτι ὁ μὲν Πατὴρ γεννήτωρ καὶ προβολεὺς, γεννήτωρ μὲν τοῦ Υἱοῦ, προβολεὺς δὲ τοῦ Πνεύματος· ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς γέννημα, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα πρόβλημα. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Πατὴρ ἀγέννητος, ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς γεννητὸς διὰ δύο"ν", τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα ἐκπορευτὸν. (Derda, Some Non-Documentary Texts from Deir el-Naqlun, 1995, p. 48.)

Severian, Bishop of Gabala in Syria (d. 425)

• Severian, Bishop of Gabala in Syria (* before 380; † after 408, but probably before 425), was a popular preacher in Constantinople from around 398/399 until 404. He became the enemy of John Chrysostom and helped condemn him at the Synod of the Oak. Details of his life are scanty, and are preserved in Socrates Scholasticus and Sozomen. There is a brief life in Gennadius of Massilia.[1] These tell us that he came to Constantinople around 398/399. He preached in a definite Syrian accent, and became a favourite of the empress Eudoxia. When, by the end of 401, the then archbishop John Chrysostom went to Asia, he charged Severian with the pastoral care of the church of Constantinople. But Severian was opposed and insulted by the deacon Sarapion, whom Chrysostom had delegated the economic affairs of the church. When Chrysostom backed his own men, the two became enemies. Johannes Quasten described him as "full of hate" for Jews and heretics.[2]

• More than 50 of his sermons are extant. In Greek almost all of his homilies survive only among the works of his enemy Chrysostom. Several homilies, some of them lost in Greek, were translated into other languages (Latin, Coptic, Georgian, Armenian, Slavonic and Arabic, perhaps also in Syriac.[3]) Eight of his sermons were published in Venice in 1827 from an ancient Armenian translation by J. B. Aucher: six of them are lost in Greek or known only from catena quotations.[4] Almost none have been edited critically,[5] some have never been published, and the list is not certainly complete. Details of his works can be found in the Clavis Patrum Graecorum nos. 4185-4295. One is edited by Migne in the Patrologia Graeca 65; many among the spuria are attributed to John Chrysostom (Patrologia Graeca 48-63). Severian belonged to the Antiochene school of exegesis, and his interpretations can be very literal. He is notorious for his six sermons on the Creation, in which he expresses "absurdly literal"[6] views including support for the Flat Earth.[7] His Discourse on the Seals discusses the canon of the four Gospels.[8] His biblical commentaries also contributed to Greek catenas.

• Severian of Gabala. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Severian_of_Gabala>.

HITS:

- "And he measured a thousand, and water of remission passed through the water. And he measured another thousand, and the water rose up to the loins, and he measured for the third time a thousand." (cf. Ezek 47:3-5) When the fullness of knowledge was reached, it was then that a third time was added. **There was one measure, but applied three times: that is the one divinity, one power, one might of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, proclaimed in three names.** (Severian of Gabala, In Psalm 96)
 - **Greek:** Καὶ διεμέτρησε χιλίους· καὶ διήλθε διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος ὕδωρ ἀφέσεως. Καὶ ἐμέτρησεν ἄλλους χιλίους, καὶ ἀνέδη τὸ ὕδωρ ἕως ὀσφύος, καὶ ἐμέτρησε τρίτον χιλίους. Ὅτε τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς γνώσεως, τότε τὸ τρίτον ἐπετέθη. **Καὶ ἓν μὲν τὸ μέτρον, τρίτον δὲ ἐπιτιθέμενον, τούτέστι Πατρός, Υἱοῦ, καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, μία θεότης, μία δύναμις, μία ἐξουσία, ἓν τρισὶν ὀνόμασι κηρυττομένη.** (Severian of Gabala, In Psalmum 96; CPG 4190; PG 55.610)

Comment:

• [Translator] That "he measured..." is some version or paraphrasis of Ezek. 47:3-5. See: <www.ellopos.net/elpenor/greek-texts/septuagint/chapter.asp?book=48&page=47> (The numbering of the verses isn't quite the same in the English as in the Greek; the relevant passage starts in verse 3 in the Greek and verse 4 in the English.) The words διήλθε διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος (or διήλθεν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι in the link above) ὕδωρ ἀφέσεως, if taken as one sentence, mean "the water... passed through the water". I saw earlier in the Migne text that that is how our commentator interpreted it. In the English version in the link above, though, the corresponding words are taken as two sentences: διήλθεν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι —

The Witness of God is Greater

"he passed through the water" — and ὕδωρ ἀφέσεως — "[it was] water of a fountain". The word ἀφέσεως also seems problematic. It's translated as "fountain" in the link. That isn't the usual meaning of the word. But I suppose it could be applied by extension to a discharge of water, and thus a spring. The Latin translator, on the other hand, rendered it as remissionis, which in Christian Latin usually means "(of) remission/forgiveness (of sins)". I followed that in my translation, thinking it was likely that both the Latin translator and the original Greek commentator had taken it that way; but I still had to mention the ambiguity. (Sarah Van der Pas, Correspondence, October, 2021)

See definition of ἀφέσεως:

<www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0058%3Aentry%3Da)%2Ffesi s>.

Severian : *De zelo ac pietate, et de caeco nato*

• [Marx] The actual subject of this homily is already sufficiently indicated in the first part of the heading. The other details relate to irrelevant matters; for the blind-born and the good haggle are treated only as prime examples of "zealous piety". If it is to be ascribed to Severian, it is, like no other speech by the Syrian bishop, indicative of his initial attitude towards Chrysostom and, in the light of later events, instructive for an assessment of his character. Then he falls into the beginning of his guest role in Constantinople and is completely calculated to win the uninited guest the full trust of the patriarch. But it is not to be regarded as his introductory sermon. This seems to me to be present in his speech *in Apparitionem* (P. gr. 65, 15-2,5), which are artfully distinguished by their relative brevity, their linguistic purity and elegance, by the array of all rhetorical artifacts, such as antitheses, isocola. The chiasmic position of the clauses, anaphoras, rhymes, etc., by which they come closer to the style of Proclus and his imitator Basil of Seleucia, finally also noticeably differentiated from his later "conferences" through the refusal of any polemics. In contrast to these, it is carefully prepared sentence by sentence and shows that the speaker is not yet in an inner relationship with his audience. There is no evidence that it exists in a shortened form, as Zellinger suspects (*Studien* S. p. 46). It represents a skilful combination of scriptures, which are exegesis with the obvious intention of the speaker, with this homily, to prove both his rhetorical and his exegetical-dogmatic mastery. ... The fact that it was held in Constantinople is clear from the references to the magnificent imperial garb (col. 544) and the imperial courts of justice with their "government lawyers" (col. 546). Incidentally, Montfaucon himself places this sermon [because of the Greek used] in the chronological vicinity of Chrysostom. Full proof that we have a homily by Severian von Gabala, which was presented under the specified circumstances and with calculated intention in the presence of the great patriarch.... (B. Marx, "Severiana unter den Spuria Chrysostomi bei Montfaucon-Migne", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 5, 1939, p. 299-300)

HITS:

- **For our God is light; and his Word, which was begotten of him without passion before the ages, is called light; and the holy, consubstantial, life-giving Spirit is light. Light, and light, and light; but one light.** The soul that has received the word is called light, too. **But God is a trihypostatic light by nature**, while we are light through communion with him. Again, our Lord Jesus Christ himself is light, about whom John the Evangelist says "That was the true light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world." (John 1:9) (Chrysostom, *De zelo ac pietate, et de caeco nato*, 1; Migne Graeca, PG 59.543)
 - **Greek:** Ἔστι γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν φῶς· καὶ ὁ Λόγος αὐτοῦ ὁ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πρὸ αἰώνων ἀπαθῶς γεννηθεὶς, φῶς λέγεται· καὶ τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ὁμοούσιον καὶ ζωαρχικὸν Πνεῦμα, φῶς. Φῶς, καὶ φῶς, καὶ φῶς· ἀλλ' ἐν φῶς· καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ δεξαμένη τὸν λόγον, φῶς ὀνομάζεται. Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν Θεὸς φύσει τρισυπόστατον φῶς, ἡμεῖς δὲ κατὰ μετουσίαν ἐκείνου· καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς φῶς, περὶ οὗ ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς Ἰωάννης φησὶν· Ἦν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον. (Chrysostom, *Περὶ ζήλου καὶ εὐσεβείας, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐκ γενετῆς τυφλόν*, 1; Migne Graeca, PG 59.543)

Comments:

• [Marx] The very first words reveal his way of introducing himself. One source of light is the word of God. God himself is light and also the Logos and τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ὁμοούσιον καὶ ζωαρχικὸν Πνεῦμα, φῶς.

The Witness of God is Greater

Φῶς, καὶ φῶς, καὶ φῶς · ἀλλ' ἐν φῶς (col. 543). The strong emphasis on the deity of St. Spirit does not come by chance. Wherever the speaker speaks, Macedonius had led the shepherd's staff around 20 years ago and his heresy still has followers (see the previous speech!). Spiritually following "ternary formula" is not as characteristic of any preacher of his epoch as it is of Severian (Zellinger, *Studien*, pp. 171-173!). The believer also becomes light through participation in the divine light. (B. Marx, "Severiana unter den Spuria Chrysostomi bei Montfaucon-Migne", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 5, 1939, p. 300-301)

Theodoret of Cyrus : De Graecarum affectionum curatione (circa 420 AD)

- Theodoret of Cyrus or Cyrrhus (Greek: Θεοδώρητος Κύρρου; c. AD 393 – c. 458/466) was an influential theologian of the School of Antioch, biblical commentator, and Christian bishop of Cyrrhus (423–457). He played a pivotal role in several 5th-century Byzantine Church controversies that led to various ecumenical acts and schisms. He wrote against Cyril of Alexandria's 12 Anathemas which were sent to Nestorius and did not personally condemn Nestorius until the Council of Chalcedon. His writings against Cyril were included in the Three Chapters Controversy and were condemned at the Second Council of Constantinople. Some Chalcedonian and East Syriac Christians regard him as a "full" saint.
- Theodoret received an extensive religious and secular education. The actual evidence given to us by Theodoret suggests that his education was exclusively religious. He paid weekly visits to Peter the Galatian, was instructed by Macedonius and other ascetics, and at an early age became a lector among the clergy of Antioch. Though he speaks of Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia as his teachers, this is improbable - though it was certainly their theological tradition in which he was brought up. He clearly, also, though, received an extensive classical education, unsurprisingly for the child of prosperous parents in a city which had long been a centre of secular learning and culture. His correspondents included the sophists Aerius and Isokasius. He understood Syriac as well as Greek, but was not acquainted with either Hebrew or Latin.[5] In his letters he quotes from Homer, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Demosthenes and Thucydides.[6] When he was twenty-three years old and both parents were dead, he divided his fortune among the poor (Epist. cxiii; P.G., LXXXIII, 1316) and became a monk in the monastery of Nicerte not far from Apamea.[7] There he lived for about seven years.
- In 423 he left as he had been appointed Bishop of Cyrrhus, over a diocese about forty miles square and embracing 800 parishes, but with an insignificant town as its see city. Theodoret, supported only by the appeals of the intimate hermits, himself in personal danger, zealously guarded purity of the doctrine. He converted more than 1,000 Marcionites in his diocese,[8] besides many Arians and Macedonians;[9] more than 200 copies of Tatian's Diatessaron he retired from the churches; and he erected churches and supplied them with relics.
- His philanthropic and economic interests were extensive and varied: he endeavoured to secure relief for the people oppressed with taxation; he divided his inheritance among the poor; from his episcopal revenues he erected baths, bridges, halls, and aqueducts; he summoned rhetoricians and physicians, and reminded the officials of their duties. To the persecuted Christians of Persian Armenia he sent letters of encouragement, and to the Carthaginian Celestiacus, who had fled the rule of the Vandals, he gave refuge.
- The only thing known concerning him following the Council of Chalcedon is the letter of Leo charging him to guard the Chalcedonian victory (PG, lxxxiii. 1319 sqq.). With Diodorus and Theodore he was no less hated by the Miaphysites than Nestorius himself, and held by them and their friends as a heretic. After Chalcedon, he lived in Cyrrhus until his death, which may have been in 460.
- Theodoret. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theodoret>
- The *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio* (Cure of the Greek Maladies), subtitled *The Truth of the Gospel proved from Greek Philosophy*, arranged in twelve books, was an attempt to prove the truth of Christianity from Greek philosophy and in contrast with the pagan ideas and practises. As such, it forms one of the last Apologies written, since in an age when Christianity was dominant, the need for apologies gradually died out. The truth is self-consistent where it is not obscured with error and approves itself as the power of life; philosophy is only a

The Witness of God is Greater

presentiment of it. This work is distinguished for clearness of arrangement and style. (Theodoret. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theodoret>)

- [Millar] What we know of Theodoret's works is entirely consistent with his origin in a city whose high culture was entirely Greek, and where all attested public discourse, whether pagan or Christian, was conducted in Greek. All of Theodoret's substantial literary production was written in Greek, and derived from a wide knowledge of earlier literature in Greek. In this context a very significant place is occupied by his *Therapeutic of Hellenic Maladies* (De Graecarum affectionum curatione) in twelve books. Its importance lies first in the fact that, as was shown by its most profound modern commentator Pierre Canivet, it is an early work, contemporary with the brief period of persecution in the Sassanid empire in around 420-422. Theodoret will then have been probably no more than in his later 20s, and the work must be a product of his education, not of later study or experiences (which in any case all took place in the Syrian region. Secondly, it is unique among Christian works in the scale and detail of its engagement with pagan belief, thought, and philosophy. As he sets out in his Preface, his aim is to construct a systematic demolition of pagan thought, beginning by confronting pagan attacks on the lack of education of the Apostles, and continuing with views on the Universe, beliefs about the gods, and the nature of the world and of man, and so forth. Whatever allowance is made for derivative quotation not based on extensive reading of the original texts, it has to be significant that there are allusions to the doctrines of over a hundred pagan authors, among whom Plato plays a large part, in many cases accompanied by actual quotation. The monastery at Nikertai can hardly have been equipped with a library adequate for this ambitious enterprise - but it may seem surprising that even whatever earlier studies he had conducted at Antioch could have provided access to so wide a range of pagan literature. (Fergus Millar, "Theodoret of Cyrrhus: a Syrian in Greek Dress?" in *From Rome to Constantinople*, 2007, p. 115)
- [Millar] Writing this enormously ambitious early work in twelve books, his purpose is first to offer a conventional expression of modesty in the face of the highest products of Greek and other cultures, and then to warn against the placing of excessive value on literary style. There is no implicit comparison with any maternal Syriac culture or linguistic background. (Fergus Millar, "Theodoret of Cyrrhus: a Syrian in Greek Dress?" in *From Rome to Constantinople*, 2007, p. 117)

- [Kelly : Parisinus Coislinianus 250] For this thorough discussion [of pagan citations in Theodore's work], and above all for his careful analysis of the citations, patristic students have every reason to be grateful. But Pere Canivet has put them still further in his debt by providing also a fully equipped edition and translation of the *Curatio*. ...For the text he has based himself on H. Raeder's edition (1904); having personally collated Parisinus Coislinianus 250, which although not the best, is one of the most ancient manuscripts available. (J.N.D. Kelly, reviews of: *Histoire d'une entreprise apologétique au Ve siècle* by P. Canivet, 1958; *Théodoret de Cyr: Thérapeutique des maladies helléniques*. Edited and translated by P. Canivet. 2 vols, 1958 in , 1959, in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, Volume X, Issue 2, October 1959, p. 409)

- Fonds Coislin (French: Le fonds Coislin) is a collection (or fonds) of Greek manuscripts acquired by Pierre Séguier (1588-1672 : French statesman, chancellor of France), but named after Henri-Charles de Coislin, its second owner. It is now held in the National Library of France, as one of three fonds of Greek manuscripts: fonds grec, fonds Coislin, and supplément grec. The majority of these manuscripts were collected between 1643 and 1653, by Père Athanase the Rhetor, who bought them for Pierre Séguier (1588–1672), chancellor of France from 1635. Athanase bought the manuscripts in Cyprus, Constantinople, Mount Athos, and in other territories bordering the northern and western Aegean.[1] The collection contains almost 400 manuscripts. Athanase collected more than 300 manuscripts (probably 358) personally. After Séguier's death, all this collection was inherited by his grandson, Henri-Charles de Coislin (1664–1732), bishop of Metz.[2] He gave it to the Benedictine monks of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris. (Fonds Coislin. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fonds_Coislin>)

HITS:

The Witness of God is Greater

• We, on the other hand, do not teach anything visible that it is God, we honour people that are distinguished as virtuous as God favored persons, and worship only the God of the universe, his Logos and the all-holy Spirit. We call the same [i.e., God] as the only begotten Son, as Logos, Light and Truth and using many other terms we praise the divine nature. We not only name it in terms of what is due to it, but also in terms of what is not due to it. We apply the names the Only-Begotten Son, the Word, the Life, the Light and the Truth to the same, and we believe that he is the same. We call the All-Holy Spirit the Lord and the Life-Maker. **We believe that the three are one in substance and divinity and that the one is three with respect to individual properties.** (Theodoret of Cyrus, Graecarum Affectionum Curatio, Dis 2)

Parisinus Coislinianus 250 (11th century)

f41v.021 ἡμεῖς δὲ

f41v.022 τῶν μὲν ὀρωμένων μὲν θεολογοῦμεν οὐδέν,

f41v.023 τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἐν ἀρετῇ διαπρέψαντας

f41r.001 ὡς θεοῦ φίλους γεραίρομεν, μόνον δὲ τὸν τῶν

f41r.002 ὄλων προσκυνοῦμεν Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα καὶ τὸν

f41r.003 ἐκ ἐκείνου γε Λόγον, τὸν δὲ Λόγον· Υἱὸν μονογε-

f41r.004 νῆ καὶ ζωὴν καὶ Φῶς καὶ ἀλήθειαν πιστεύ-

f41r.005 ομεν εἶναι. καὶ τὸ πανάγιον Πνεῦμα, τὸ κύριον,

f41r.006 καὶ ζωοποιόν· **ἐν τὰ τρία πιστεύοντες τῇ**

f41r.007 **οὐσίᾳ καὶ τῇ θεότητι· καὶ τὸ ἐν τρία ταῖς**

f41r.008 **ιδιότησιν.**

Theodoret of Cyrus, Graecarum Affectionum Curatio, Dis 2

<gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b11004952n/f43.item.zoom>

Manuscripts : Theodoret Graecarum Affectionum Curatio

- Vaticanus graecus 2249, 10th cent. (K)
 - Bodleianus Auct. E.II.14, 11th cent. (B)
 - Laurentianus X 18, 11th cent. (L)
 - Marcianus graecus 559, 12th cent. (M)
 - Scorialensis X.II. 15, 11th cent. (S)
 - Parisinus graecus Coislinianus 250, 11th cent. (C)
 - Vaticanus graecus 626, 1307 CE (V)
 - Bodleianus Canonicianus 27, 16th cent. (D)
- P. Canivet, Théodore de Cyr. Thérapeutique des maladies helléniques, SC 57, 1958, vol. 1, pp. 88-89.

John Chrysostom (349-407 AD)

• **John Chrysostom (c. 349 – 14 September 407)**,^[6] Archbishop of Constantinople, was an important Early Church Father. He is known for his preaching and public speaking, his denunciation of abuse of authority^[7] by both ecclesiastical and political leaders, the Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom, and his ascetic sensibilities. The epithet Χρυσόστομος (Chrysostomos, anglicized as Chrysostom) means "golden-mouthed" in Greek and denotes his celebrated eloquence.^{[2][8]} Chrysostom was among the most prolific authors in the early Christian Church, exceeded only by Augustine of Hippo in the quantity of his surviving writings.^[9] He is honoured as a saint in the Oriental Orthodox, Eastern Orthodox, Catholic, Anglican, and Lutheran churches, as well as in some others. The Eastern Orthodox, together with the Byzantine Catholics, hold him in special regard as one of the Three Holy Hierarchs (alongside Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus). The feast days of John Chrysostom in the Eastern Orthodox Church are 13 November and 27 January. In the Roman Catholic Church he is recognized as a Doctor of the Church. Because the date of his death is occupied by the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14 September), the General Roman Calendar celebrates him since 1970 on the previous day, 13 September; from the 13th century to 1969 it did so on 27 January, the anniversary of the translation of

The Witness of God is Greater

his body to Constantinople.[10] Of other Western churches, including Anglican provinces and Lutheran churches, some commemorate him on 13 September, others on 27 January. The Coptic Church also recognizes him as a saint (with feast days on 16 Thout and 17 Hathor).[11] (John Chrysostom. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Chrysostom>)

• [Bonfiglio] While the Greek tradition of both the authentic and the spurious texts of the corpus Chrysostomicum has received a fair amount of attention, the medieval translations have, for the most part, been neglected, even in spite of the fact that they often bear witness to an early stage of the transmission of the corpus. In fact, considering that for the majority of the texts of the corpus Chrysostomicum the extant Greek manuscript tradition begins only in the ninth or tenth century, in many instances editors can make use of the oldest medieval translations to shed light on both the formative stages of the corpus Chrysostomicum and **the development of the early pseudo-Chrysostomica, namely the period roughly comprised between the death of John Chrysostom (407) and the ninth century.** (fn. 5. In general, this statement applies only to the direct, but not the indirect tradition (quotations, paraphrases, etc.), some of which ante-dates the ninth century. Additionally, **there are rare cases of early manuscripts in an uncial script that antedate the transliteration. For instance, this is the case of the famous sixth-century manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Helmst. 75a, which preserves parts of the In Matthaeum homiliae 1–90 [CPG 4424].** As for the pseudo-Chrysostomica, the production of spuria began already before the death of John and continued far beyond the ninth century. For a first orientation, see Voicu, "Confini del corpus," as well as above, n. 3.) (Bonfiglio, The Armenian Translations of John Chrysostom, 2020, p. 36)

HIT:

- [Sermon : St. John the Forerunner] Let us imagine that the great Jordan, which received its Creator when he was present in the flesh, is flowing here in the midst of us, and that John the Baptist is standing on the bank of the river; then let us watch Christ, the Lord, coming to his own servant, being baptized by him, and pointed out as though with a finger from heaven by the Spirit flying down upon him. **And let us, worshippers of the consubstantial Trinity, worship the Father who gave witness, the Son who was given witness, and the Holy Spirit that gave witness.** Let us follow the book of the Gospels leading us to what we desire, and as it were following in the footsteps of the divine Scriptures, let us run to the mystery celebrated throughout the world: "Then Jesus came from Galilee to Jordan to John to be baptized by him." The Lord has come to the Jordan: for the treasure of wisdom has accomplished nothing prematurely, or beyond reason, but has executed each one of those things which he received for the sake of our redemption, at an opportune time. For, since he is God and the creator of all time and of every interval, he determines the time; and by the actions of this dismissal he sprinkled, as it were, flowers of those beginnings which were in effect. (Chrysostom, Saint John the Forerunner)
 - **Greek:** Ὑποθώμεθα τὸν Ἰορδάνην ἐκεῖνον, τὸν ὑποδεξάμενον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δημιουργὸν παραγενόμενον ἐν σαρκί, ῥέειν διὰ μέσου ἡμῶν· καὶ νομίσωμεν Ἰωάννην τὸν Βαπτιστὴν ἐφιστάναί τοις χεῖλεσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ θεασώμεθα τὸν Δεσπότην Χριστὸν προσερχόμενον τῷ οἰκείῳ θεράποντι, καὶ βαπτιζόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ δακτυλοδεικτούμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὐρανόθεν τῇ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐπιπτώσει· **καὶ προσκυνήσωμεν οἱ τῆς ὁμοουσίου Τριάδος προσκυνηταὶ τὸν μαρτυρήσαντα Πατέρα, καὶ μαρτυρηθέντα Υἱὸν, καὶ μαρτυρήσαν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον.** Ἀκολουθήσωμεν τῇ βίβλῳ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων ὁδηγούσῃ ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὰ ποθοῦμενα, καὶ ταῖς θείαις λέξεσιν ὡς ἵχνεσιν ἐπιβαίνοντες, ἐπιδράμωμεν ἐπὶ τὸ παν ηγυριζόμενον τῆς οἰκουμένης μυστήριον. Τότε παρα γίνεται, φησὶν, ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην, τοῦ βαπτισθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Πρὸς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ὁ Δεσπότης ἀφ' ἴκετο· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀκαίρως οὐδὲ ἀλόγως εἰργάσατο ὁ τῆς σοφίας θησαυρὸς, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον, ὧν δι' ἡμᾶς ὡκο νόμησεν, εὐκαίρῳ καιρῷ διεπράξατο. Θεὸς γὰρ ὧν καὶ δημιουργὸς παντὸς χρόνου καὶ παντὸς διαστήματος, ἐπράξε τὸν χρόνον, καὶ ταῖς ἐκεῖ τότε συγκαταβάσεσιν ὡς ἄνθεσι κατέβαλε τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ γεγεννημένων τὰς ἀφορμάς. (Chrysostom, Saint John the Forerunner; Migne Graeca, PG 49.801)

The Witness of God is Greater

- [Chrysostom : Psalm 95] "Sing ye to the Lord a new canticle: sing to the Lord, all the earth. Sing ye to the Lord and bless his name: shew forth his salvation from day to day." (Psalm 95:1-2) **But when he orders him to sing thrice, he calls the Lord thrice, wishing the Trinity to be glorified in Christ. For through him we know both the Father and the Holy Spirit. Therefore he subjoins fittingly: "Bless his name;" whether you speak of the Father, or of the Son, or of the Holy Spirit; for the name of the Trinity is God; which the angels blessed, who have revealed a new song, at the very beginning, giving glory to God in the highest, "Declare from day to day the salvation of our God."** (Chrysostom, Psalm 95)
 - **Greek:** Τρίτον δὲ ᾄδειν προστάξας, τρίτον ὀνομάζει τὸν Κύριον, ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ βουλούμενος τὴν Τριάδα δοξάζεσθαι. Διὰ γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ τὸν Πατέρα ἔγνωμεν. Ὅθεν ἀρμοδίως ἐπήγαγεν, "Εὐλογήσατε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ." εἴτε καὶ Πατρὸς λέγοις, εἴτε τοῦ Υἱοῦ, εἴτε τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· ὄνομα γὰρ τῇ Τριάδι Θεός· ὅπερ εὐλόγησαν οἱ τὴν καινὴν ὥδην ἀποκαλύψαντες ἄγγελοι, ἐν προοιμίῳ τῷ ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμψαντες. "Εὐαγγελιζέσθε ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν". (Chrysostom, Psalm 95; Migne Graeca, PG 55.772)
- Again, those who are afflicted with the madness of Sabellius or the ravings of Arius have in both cases fallen away from the sound faith by going to extremes. Each of these parties bears the name of Christian, but if you examine their doctrines you will find the first group no better than Jews except for a difference of name, while the others have a great affinity with the heresy of Paul of Samosata; and both are beyond the pale of truth. There is, then, great danger in such cases, and strait and narrow is the way, with abrupt precipices on both sides. There is every reason to fear that, while trying to aim a blow at one enemy, you will be struck by the other. If someone says that the Godhead is one, Sabellius distorts the expression at once, to favour his own madness. If, on the other hand, someone makes a distinction and says that the Father is one, the Son another, and the Holy Ghost another, up gets Arius, twisting the distinction of Persons into a difference of Substance. **We must shun and avoid the impious confusion of the one party and the mad division of the other by confessing that the Godhead of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost is one, but adding that there are three Persons.** For by this means we shall be able to defend ourselves from the attacks of both. (Chrysostom, On the Priesthood, book IV.4; Translation by Johannes, 1977, p. 118)
 - **Greek:** Πάλιν οἱ τὴν Σαβελλίου μαινόμενοι μανίαν καὶ οἱ τὰ Ἀρείου λυπῶντες ἐξ ἀμετρίας ἀμφοτέρω τῆς ὑγιῶς ἐξέπεσαν πίστεως· καὶ τὸ μὲν ὄνομα χριστιανῶν ἀμφοτέροις ἐπίκειται, εἰ δὲ τις τὰ δόγματα ἐξετάσειε, τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲν ἄμεινον Ἰουδαίων διακειμένους εὐρήσει, πλὴν ὅσον ὑπὲρ ὀνομάτων διαφέρονται μόνον, τοὺς δὲ πολλὴν τὴν ἐμφέρειαν πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν Παύλου τοῦ Σαμοσατέως ἔχοντας, ἀμφοτέρους δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκτός. Πολὺς οὖν κίνδυνος καὶ στενὴ καὶ τεθλιμμένη ἡ ὁδὸς ἢ ὑπὸ κρημνῶν ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀπειλημμένη, καὶ δέος οὐ μικρὸν μὴ τὸν ἕτερον τις θέλων βαλεῖν ὑπὸ θατέρου πληγῆ· ἂν τε γὰρ μίαν τις εἴπῃ θεότητα, πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παροιμίαν εὐθέως εἴλκυσε τὴν φωνὴν ὁ Σαβέλλιος· ἂν τε διέλῃ πάλιν, ἕτερον μὲν τὸν Πατέρα, ἕτερον δὲ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα δὲ τὸ ἅγιον ἕτερον εἶναι λέγων, ἐφέστηκεν Ἄρειος εἰς παραλλαγὴν οὐσίας ἔλκων τὴν ἐν τοῖς προσώποις διαφορὰν. **Δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀσεβῆ σύγχυσιν ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν μανιώδη τούτου διαίρεσιν ἀποστρέφεισθαι καὶ φεύγειν, τὴν μὲν θεότητα Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος μίαν ὁμολογοῦντας, προσπιθέντας δὲ τὰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις·** οὕτω γὰρ ἀποτείχισαι δυνασόμεθα τὰς ἀμφοτέρων ἐφόδους. Πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἑτέρας ἐνὶ συλλέγειν συμπλοκὰς πρὸς ἃς ἂν μὴ γενναίως τις καὶ ἀκριβῶς μάχηται, μυρία λαβῶν ἅπεισι τραύματα. (Chrysostom, De sacerdotio, Book 4.4; Migne Graeca, PG 48.667)
- [De Cognitione Dei et in Sancta Theophania] But, **O Father, and Word, and Spirit, the triune being and might and will and power, deem us, who confess you** as the unconfused and indivisible substance, also worthy to be the ones standing at your right hand when you come from heaven to judge the world in righteousness, for rightly yours is the glory, honor, and worship, to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, now and for always, and for eternity."(Chrysostom, About the knowledge of God and the Holy Theophanies; Translation kjvtoday.com, <www.kjvtoday.com/home/the-father-the-word-and-the-holy-ghost-in-1-john-57>)

The Witness of God is Greater

- **Greek:** Ἄλλ', ὃ Πάτερ, καὶ Λόγε, καὶ Πνεῦμα, ἡ τρισυπόστατος οὐσία, καὶ δύναμις, καὶ θέλησις, καὶ ἐνέργεια, ἡμᾶς τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντάς σου τὰς ἀσυγχύτους καὶ ἀδιαιρέτους ὑποστάσεις, ἀξίωσον καὶ τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν σου στάσεως, ἡνίκα ἔρχῃ ἐξ οὐρανῶν κρῖναι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνη· ὅτι πρέπει σοι δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις, τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων. (Chrysostom, De Cognitione Dei et in Sancta Theophania; Migne Graeca, PG 64.6A).

Comment:

• **[Montfaucon]** The eleventh sermon [is] the shortest, About the knowledge of God and the Holy Theophanies, etc. of which the beginning is, the same way, those who in corporeal vision, in which, although very short, the beginning of the speech [in view of] the whole of the following is long; and thus all things are mixed, **so that no one does not judge this little work not to be of Chrysostom.** (Bernard de Montfaucon's monitum. Translated by "KP" <alc.academia.edu/KP>, 2014, p. 2; Migne Graeca, PG 64, 9-10)

• **Montfaucon, Bernard de (1655–1741), French scholar and critic**, was born at the chateau of Soulage (now Soulatgé, in the department of Aube, France), on the 13th of January 1655. Belonging to a noble and ancient line, and destined for the army, he passed most of his time in the library of the family castle of Roquetaillade, devouring books in different languages and on almost every, variety of subject. In 1672 he entered the army, and in the two following years served in Germany under Turenne. But ill-health and the death of his parents brought him back to his studious life, and in 1675 he entered the cloister of the Congregation of St Maur at La Daurade, Toulouse, taking the vows there on the 13th of May 1676. He lived successively at various abbeys—at Sorèze, where he specially studied Greek and examined the numerous MSS. of the convent library, at La Grasse, and at Bordeaux; and in 1687 he was called to Paris, to collaborate in an edition of Athanasius and Chrysostom, contemplated by the Congregation. From 1698 to 1701 he lived in Italy, chiefly in Rome in order to consult certain manuscripts, those available in Paris being insufficient for the edition of Chrysostom. After a stay of three years he returned to Paris, and retired to the abbey of St-Germain-des-Prés, devoting himself to the study of Greek and Latin MSS. and to the great works by which he established his reputation. He died suddenly on the 21st of December 1741. ("Montfaucon, Bernard de" in 1911 Encyclopædia Britannica. Wikisource. <en.wikisource.org/wiki/1911_Encyclopædia_Britannica/Montfaucon,_Bernard_de>)

Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom (circa 4th to 9th century)

• The Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom is the principal liturgy of the Byzantine Rite, used by both the Eastern Orthodox churches and Byzantine Catholics. The anaphora is plausibly attributed to John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople from 398 to 404, but the liturgy as a whole is a composite derived from earlier West Syriac tradition, with additional elements introduced between the 6th and 9th centuries. (Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom. Wikipedia. <en.wikisource.org/wiki/Divine_Liturgy_of_Saint_John_Chrysostom>)

HIT:

- Glory. The Father is light, the Son and Logos is light, the Holy Spirit is light, **but the three are one light; for there is one God in three persons**, but in one nature and principle, indivisible, unconfused, eternal. (Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, The Beatitudes. Resurrectional. Glory)
Greek: Δόξα. Φῶς ὁ Πατήρ, φῶς ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος, φῶς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, **ἀλλ' ἐν φῶς τὰ τρία· εἷς γὰρ Θεός, ἐν τρισὶ μὲν προσώποις, μιᾷ δὲ φύσει καὶ ἀρχῇ**, ἄτμητος, ἀσύγχυτος, πέλων προαιώνιος. (Λειτουργία ἁγίου Χρυσοστόμου, Οἱ Μακαρισμοί. Ἀναστάσιμα. Δόξα.; Orthodox Eastern Church, 1858, p. 551)

Liturgies of Alexandria & St. James (300-600 AD)

• **The Liturgy of St. Cyril [also known as the Liturgy of St. Mark]** According to liturgical tradition, Christianity was brought to Alexandria in Egypt by Saint Mark. The town then acquired importance as a center of church

The Witness of God is Greater

government and Christian theology with its Catechetical School. The liturgical uses that developed locally are known as the Alexandrian Rite, and the texts used for the celebration of the Eucharist are known as the Liturgy of Saint Mark.

The lingua franca of the Western world in the early centuries of Christianity was the Koine Greek, and the Liturgy of Saint Mark was in such a language. The translation of this liturgy in Coptic, used by most of Coptic population at that time, is attributed to Saint Cyril of Alexandria in the first half of the 5th century. Thus the Greek version of this liturgy is usually known as Liturgy of Saint Mark, while its Coptic version is regularly called Liturgy of Saint Cyril, even if the formal name of the latter is "the Anaphora of our holy father Mark the Apostle, which the thrice-blessed Saint Cyril the Archbishop established".[1]

The first millennium witnesses of the early stages of this liturgy are the following fragments:

- **Strasbourg papyrus, written in the 4th or 5th century**, includes the first part of the preface, with the paraphrase of Malachi 1:11 followed by some short intercessions and it ends with a doxology.
- **John Rylands parchment 465, written in Greek in the 6th century** and badly conserved, includes the text from the first epiclesis up to the end of the anaphora.
- **British Museum Tablet, written in Coptic in the 8th century**, includes the text from the first epiclesis up to the second epiclesis.
- Sahidic Coptic fragments : Cod. Borg. copt. 109 (9th/10th century)

The earlier manuscripts of the Liturgy of Saint Mark are: the Codex Rossanensis,[9] the Rotulus Vaticanus,[10] the incomplete Rotulus Messanensis.[11][12] Another witness is the lost manuscript of the library of the Greek Orthodox Church of Alexandria, copied in 1585–6 by Patriarch Meletius Pegas.[13] The Rotulus Vaticanus, and even more the text copied by Pegas, show a progress in the process of assimilation to Byzantine usages.[5]

Liturgy_of_Saint_Cyril. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liturgy_of_Saint_Cyril>

• **The Liturgy of Saint James** is a form of Christian liturgy used by some Eastern Christians of the Byzantine rite and West Syriac Rite. It is developed from an ancient Egyptian form of the Basilean anaphoric family, and is influenced by the traditions of the rite of the Church of Jerusalem, as the Mystagogic Catecheses of Cyril of Jerusalem imply. **It became widespread in Church of Antioch from the fourth or fifth century onwards**, replacing the older Basilean Liturgy of Antioch.[1] It is still the principal liturgy of the Syriac Orthodox Church, the Maronite Church, the Syriac Catholic Church, Syro-Malankara Catholic Church, the Malankara Orthodox Syrian Church and other churches employing the West Syriac Rite. It is also occasionally used in the Eastern Orthodox Church and Melkite Catholic Church. The Malankara Mar Thoma Syrian Church uses a reformed variant of this liturgy omitting prayers for Intercession to Saints. The liturgy is attributed with the name of James the Just, the brother of Jesus and patriarch among the Jewish Christians at Jerusalem. The historic Antiochene liturgies are divided between Alexandrian and Cappadocian usages. Among the these, the Liturgy of Saint James is one of the liturgies that evolved from the Alexandrian usage; others include Coptic Anaphora of Saint Basil, the Byzantine Liturgy of Saint Basil and the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom.[2] The liturgies attributed to Saint John Chrysostom and Saint Basil are the ones most widely used today by all Byzantine Rite Christians, including the Eastern Orthodox, Byzantine Rite Lutherans, and some Eastern Catholic Churches. Its date of composition is still disputed, but most authorities propose a fourth-century date for the known form, because the anaphora seems to have been developed from an ancient Egyptian form of the Basilean anaphoric family united with the anaphora described in The Catechisms of St. Cyril of Jerusalem.[3] The earliest manuscript is the ninth-century codex, Vaticanus graecus 2282, which had been in liturgical use at Damascus, in the diocese of Antioch..(Liturgy of Saint James. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liturgy_of_Saint_James>)

HITS:

- Priest (softly): Holy, most high, tremendous Lord, Who restest in the Saints, O Lord, sanctify us by the word of Thy grace and the indwelling of Thy most holy Spirit. For Thou, Lord, hast said: Be ye holy, for I am holy. **O Lord our God, incomprehensible Word of God, consubstantial and co-eternal, together without beginning with the Father and the Holy Spirit, receive the pure hymn, with the Cherubim and Seraphim, and from me a sinner and Thine unworthy servant, from unworthy lips,**

The Witness of God is Greater

crying out and saying: Exclamation: Holy Things for the holy! Choir: One Holy Father, one Holy Son, one Holy Spirit, in the unity of the Holy Spirit. Amen.[xix] (Neale, The Liturgies of S. Mark, S. James, S. Clement, S. Chrysostom, and the Church of Malabar, 1859, p. 29, 72)

- **Greek:** Ὁ ἱερεὺς εὐχεται. Ἄγιε, ὕψιστε, φοβερὲ, ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος, Κύριε, ἀγίασον ἡμᾶς τῷ λόγῳ τῆς σῆς χάριτος, καὶ τῇ ἐπιφοιτήσει τοῦ παναγίου σου Πνεύματος. Σὺ γὰρ εἶπας, Δέσποτα, Ἄγιοι ἔσεσθε, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἅγιος εἰμί. **Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἀκατάληπτε Θεοῦ Λόγε, τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι ὁμοούσιε, συναΐδιε, καὶ σύναρχε, πρόσδεξαι τὸν ἀκήρατον ὕμνον, σὺν τοῖς χερουβὶμ καὶ σεραφὶμ, καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ** καὶ ἀναξίου δούλου σου, δούλου σου, ἐξ ἀναξίων μου ξειλέων βοῶντα καὶ λέγοντα, Ὁ λαός. Κύριε ἐλέησον. Κύριε ἐλέησον. Κύριε ἐλέησον. ΤΑ ἍΓΙΑ ΤΟΙΣ ἍΓΙΟΙΣ. Ὁ λαός. Εἷς Πατὴρ ἅγιος, εἷς Υἱὸς ἅγιος, ἐν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, εἷς ἐνότητα Πνεύματος ἁγίου. Ἀμήν. (Neale, The Liturgies of S. Mark, S. James, S. Clement, S. Chrysostom, and the Church of Malabar, 1859, p. 29, 72)

Victricius Rothomagensis, Bishop of Rouen (c. 330 – c. 407 AD)

• Saint Victricius (French: Victrice; Italian: Vittricio) also known as Victricius of Rouen (c. 330 – c. 407 AD) was a bishop of Rouen (393–407), missionary, and author. His feast day is August 7. Victricius was Gallic by birth, the son of a Roman legionnaire. He also became a soldier and was posted to various locations around Gaul.[1] However, when he became a Christian, he refused to remain in the army. He was flogged and sentenced to death, but managed to avoid execution. He proselytized amongst the tribes of Flanders, Hainault, and Brabant. He became bishop of Rouen around 386 or 393. In 396, Ambrose of Milan sent Victricius (as well as Paulinus of Nola and others) some relics of Vitalis and Agricola.[2] Victricius wrote a sermon, *De Laude Sanctorum* (On the Praise of the Saints), celebrating the arrival of the relics from Italy. (Victricius. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Victricius>)

HIT:

- **[On the Praise of the Saints]** 4. Have mercy, therefore, have mercy; You have the power to pardon, we confess God the Father, and God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit. **We confess that the three are one.** (Victricius of Rouen, *On the Praise of the Saints*, IV).
 - **Latin:** Miseremini igitur, miseremini; habetis, quod ignoscatis, confitemur Deum Patrem; confitemur Deum Filium, confitemur sanctum Spiritum Deum. **Confitemur quia tres unum sunt.** (Victricius, *De Laude Sanctorum* 4; Migne Latina, PL 20.446B; CCSL 64, p. 74-75)

Comments:

- [Garcia] The earliest evidence of Victricius of Rouen's *De Laude Sanctorum* contains the earliest reference to the cult of saints in Britain. It implies that there were no saints' cults in Britain before the end of the fourth century. It also suggests that the cult of saints was introduced to Britain to promote orthodoxy against the threat of heresies such as Arianism. The sermon was composed c. 396, and is the only extant material by Victricius.¹⁴ He wrote *De Laude Sanctorum* in the style of an imperial panegyric for an adventus, an official ceremony usually performed for the arrival of a visiting emperor or his deputy, but on this occasion it was relics of martyrs sent to Rouen from Ambrose of Milan. The cult of relics is the central topic of the sermon. (Michael Moises Garcia, *Saint Alban and the Cult of Saints in Late Antique Britain*, 2010, p. 42)
- [Burn] Another confession of great interest was presented by Victricius, Bishop of Rouen, to Pope Innocent I. in 403. We know it only from the references in a letter written to him by his intimate friend, Paulinus of Nola. He was accused, it would seem unjustly, of a leaning to Arian or Apollinarian heresy, and wrote to the Pope to defend himself, expressing his faith in a co-eternal Trinity, of one divinity and substance, and in the incarnation as the assuming of full manhood in body and soul.”(Burn, *Introduction to the Creeds*, 1899, p. 130)

The Witness of God is Greater

- **Have mercy, therefore, have mercy! You have what you can pardon. We confess God the Father; we confess God the Son; we confess God the Holy Spirit. We confess that these three are one.** I said, one: indeed, they come from the One, just as the Son [comes] from the Father, thus the Father is in the Son; and just as the Holy Spirit [comes] from the Father and the Son, so the Father and the Son are in the Holy Spirit. They are one divinity and one substance, because there is one principle and one perpetuity, both existing before all things, and through whom all things were done. They are True God from True God because just as the one comes from the other so is the one in the other, Living One from the Living One, Perfect One from the Perfect One, Light from Light and Light in Light. Thus this Trinity's divinity comes from the One and resides in the One. The Father is the Father; the Son is the Son; the Spirit is the Spirit. Three names, three by one principle, three by one power, three by one action, three by one substance, three by one perpetuity. Indeed, just as they are three from one, so there is unity in these three. We confess the Trinity in this way because we believe it to be this way: undivided, to Whose level nothing can reach, and Whom the mind cannot conceive, through Whom all things, visible and invisible [were created] be they Thrones, be they Dominions, be they Principalities, be they Powers. All things were made by Him, and without Him nothing was made [Jn 1:31]. It is He who descended from on high for the salvation of the human race, received His flesh from Mary the Virgin to take on humanity, suffered His passion, was crucified and was buried, resurrected from the dead on the third day and rose up into heaven. He sits at the right hand of God the Father. He will come from there to judge the living and the dead. [We confess belief] in the Holy Spirit as well, because He Himself declared this mystery to the apostles when He said: When I rise up to my Father who is your Father I will pray the Father that He will give you another counselor, to be with you forever, the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it neither sees Him nor knows Him; but you know Him, for He dwells with you, and will be in you [Jn 14:16-17]. And elsewhere: When they will make you stand before the powers of this world, do not worry about what you shall speak out. For at that hour what you are to speak out will be given to you; your Father's Spirit will speak out in you [Mt 10:19]. In this unity, we confess the lights of your venerable passions. We read in the Gospel that You are the lights of the world [Mt 5:14]. We preach this in [time of] dangers and in [time of] happiness. This confession benefits sinners, because he who requests is heard, as the Lord says in the Gospel [see Mt 7:7-8]. For indeed when the robber; hanging on the cross, requested that the Savior would remember him, He answered: Truly I say to you, today you will be with me in Paradise [Lk 23:43]. Let no one investigate faults; let us implore pardon. (Victricius of Rouen, De Laude Sanctorum, IV)
 - **Latin: Miseremini igitur, miseremini; habetis, quod ignoscatis, confitemur Deum Patrem; confitemur Deum Filium, confitemur sanctum Spiritum Deum. Confitemur quia tres unum sunt.** Unum dixi; quia ex uno sicut Filius de Patre, ita Pater in Filio; sanctus Spiritus vero de Patre et Filio. Ita et Pater et Filius in Spiritu sancto. Una Deitas, una substantia, quia unum principium, et una perpetuitas, sive ante omnia, sive per quem omnia, verus Deus de Deo vero; quia ut alius de alio, ita alius in alio, vivus a vivo, perfectus a perfecto, lumen de lumine, et lumen in lumine. Ita huius Trinitatis Deitas ex uno et in uno permanens. Pater pater est, Filius filius est, Spiritus spiritus est. Tres nominibus, tres uno principio, tres una perfectione, tres una Deitate, tres uno lumine, tres una virtute, tres una operatione, tres una substantia, tres una perpetuitate, quia ut tres ex uno, ita unitas in tribus. Sic confitemur quia sic credimus individuum Trinitatem, ante quam nihil potest affingi, nec mente concipi: per quam omnia visibilia, et invisibilia, sive Throni, sive Dominationes, sive principatus, sive potestates. Omnia per ipsum, et sine illo factum est nihil, qui pro salute generis humani de sublimi descendens, de Maria Virgine incarnatus hominem induit, passus est, crucifixus, sepultus, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in coelum, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris, inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos. Et in Spiritu sancto, quia hoc sacramentum in Apostolis ipse firmavit dicens: Cum ascendero ad patrem meum, et ad patrem vestrum, rogabo Patrem, et alium advocatum dabit vobis, ut vobiscum sit in aeternum, spiritum veritatis; quem hic mundus non potest accipere, quia non videt eum, nec cognoscit eum. Vos autem nostis illum, quia apud vos manet, et vobiscum est. Et alibi: Cum vos statuerint ante potestates huius mundi, nolite solliciti esse quid loquamini, Spiritus Patris vestri loquetur in vobis. In hac unitate venerabilium passionum vestrarum lumina

The Witness of God is Greater

confitemur. In Evangelio legimus, quia vos estis lumina mundi. Hoc in periculis, hoc in laetitia praedicamus. Prosit peccatoribus ista confessio, quia hoc obtinuit ille, qui petivit, sicut Dominus in Evangelio loquitur: Nam cum latro in patibulo pendens ab eo peteret ut sui meminisset, ait Salvator: Amen dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in Paradiso. Delicta nemo discutiatur, veniam postulamus. (Sancti Victricij Rothomagensis Episcopi, Liber De Laude Sanctorum IV [ex ms codice S. Galli annorum plus mille]; Migne Latina, PL 20.446)

Comment:

- [T. Head] **Bishop Victricius composed the so-called De laude sanctorum for the festive arrival of relics into the city of Rouen (in the Roman province of Gaul, modern France), ca. 396/7. The ceremony of "transfer" or "translation" was patterned after the adventus, the reception into a city of the emperor or his representative, in which groups of citizens, organized in age groups and professional groups, greeted the incoming power.** This latter procession was called the occursus. In 396/7, the relics advent probably culminated in the consecration of a church's inner hall (aula) where these objects were to be deposited and permanently venerated. These relics consisted of small fragments of the bodies of several saints, apostles as well as martyrs, who had died a violent death for the Christian faith. They seem to have been transported in containers or reliquaries, which Victricius calls templa, that is, temples. Victricius weaves his De laude sanctorum among three distinct levels of discourse: on the orders of society, on Christology (the theology bearing on the God-Man Christ's nature), and **on Trinitarian thought (the Unity of the three divine persons, that is Father; Son, and Holy Spirit)**. A metaphor, that of Christ's body, connects together those (to us) different narratives. First articulated by the apostle Paul, it will become a root metaphor for the medieval notion of the Christian Church: the saints, united in the "communion of the saints," are par excellence the body of Christ, to which all good Christians also belong. (T. Head, Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology, 2001, p. 31)
- **[Philippians Commentary] Remember that God is one, his Son is one and his Holy Spirit is one, and all three are one. If so, then we too ought to be one in our thoughts, so as to "be of the same mind" with the one God.** Then it follows that we are to "have the same love." To be of the same mind pertains to knowledge, while to have the same love pertains to discipline, to the conduct of life. (Marius Victorinus; Epistles to the Philippians 2.5)
 - **Latin: Etenim si unus Deus, si unus eius filius, si unus Spiritus sanctus est, si omnia ista tria unum, ita debemus et nos unum habere quod sentimus, ut idem sentiamus omnes.** Deinde sequitur ut eadem dilectionem exerceamus. Hoc iam ad moralem disciplinam, id est ad vitam pertinet; illud ad scientiam. (Marius Victorini Afri, In Epistolam Pauli ad Philippenses Liber 2, verse 5; Migne Latina, PL 8.1205)

Niceta, Bishop of Remesiana (335-414 AD)

• Saint Nicetas (ca. 335–414) was Bishop of Remesiana, present-day Bela Palanka in the Pirot District of modern Serbia, which was then in the Roman province of Dacia Mediterranea.[1] Nicetas promoted Latin sacred music for use during the Eucharistic worship and reputedly composed a number of liturgical hymns, among which some twentieth-century scholars number the major Latin Christian hymn of praise, Te Deum, traditionally attributed to Saints Ambrose and Augustine. Because of his missionary activity, his contemporary and friend, Paulinus of Nola, lauded him poetically for instructing in the Gospel barbarians changed by him from wolves to sheep and brought into the fold of peace, and for teaching to sing of Christ with Roman heart bandits, who previously had no such ability.[2] However, it is doubtful whether these barbarians really were barbarians, or whether their mention is only a poetical topos. Indeed, Paulinus, who wrote a quite classical Latin poetry, probably used existing poetical authorities. For Dacia, where Nicetas was from, the poetical authority was Ovid, although the Dacia (probably the province Dacia Mediterranea) of that time did not correspond with the Getia where Ovid had been banished to.[3] In 398, Nicetas made a pilgrimage to Nola to visit the grave of St. Felix of Nola.[4] Lengthy excerpts survive of his principal doctrinal work, Instructions for Candidates for Baptism, in six books. They show that he stressed the orthodox position in Trinitarian doctrine. They contain the expression "communion of

The Witness of God is Greater

saints”about the belief in a mystical bond uniting both the living and the dead in a certain hope and love. No evidence survives of previous use of this expression, which has since played a central role in formulations of the Christian creed. (Nicetas of Remesiana. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nicetas_of_Remesiana>)

- [Introduction] Niceta knew Greek well enough, as one can see from his quoting of the Greek text of St. Paul, and still more from his knowledge of such a work as the Catechetical Instructions of St. Cyril of Jerusalem. (Nicetas de Remesiana, Writings. Translated by G. Walsh, B. Peebles, R.E. Morris, and J.R. O'Donnell, 1949, p. 7)
- [Introduction] Gennadius writes of Niceta as at the height of his influence c. 400: c. 22. Niceta, Bishop of the city of Remesiana, composed in simple and graceful language six books of Instruction for Candidates for Baptism. The first of these contains : 'How candidates who desire to obtain grace of Baptism ought to act'; the second 'On the errors of the Gentiles,' in which he relates that not far from his own time a certain Melodius, father of a family, on account of his liberality, and Gadarius a peasant, on account of his bravery, were placed by the heathen among the gods ; a third book 'On faith in one majesty'; a fourth 'Against the casting of horoscopes' (genethliologia); a fifth 'On the Creed'; a sixth 'On the sacrifice of the paschal lamb.' He addressed a work also To the Fallen Virgin, encouraging to amendment all who have fallen. (Nicetas, Bishop of Remesiana, and Andrew Ewbank Burn, 1905, p. xxxvi)
- [Turner] Niceta himself was definitely a Western churchman : his only travels, so far as we know them, were to Rome, he wrote only in Latin, and it is only Latins who cite him. But the authors whom he uses (and his literary dependence on his predecessors is one of the most interesting features of his writings) are, on the other hand, more often Greek than Latin. (Turner. Niceta and Ambrosiaster. 1906, p. 205).
- [Introduction] Niceta knew Greek well enough, as one can see from his quoting of the Greek text of St. Paul, and still more from his knowledge of such a work as the Catechetical Instructions of St. Cyril of Jerusalem. (Nicetas de Remesiana, translated by Gerald G. Walsh, 1964, Introduction, p. 7).
- [Burn] Paulinus was one of the most cultured men of the age (the favorite pupil of Ausonius [Decimus Magnus Ausonius (c. 310 – c. 395)]. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ausonius>)). Through him we find Niceta in touch with all that was noble in the literature of the West. Paulinus writes of him in a charming way to historian Sulpicius Severus (Ep. xxxix. 14; quoted p. 141), describing how he had had a visit from Niceta in January, and shortly afterwards from Melania, the great traveller and Lady Bountiful of the period. Paulinus was a true scholar and his admiration of Niceta's learning was based on a high standard. (Nicetas, Bishop of Remesiana, and Andrew Ewbank Burn, 1905, p. LVI).

HITS:

- (6) We may now turn to the other powers and works of the Holy Spirit. These will help us to realize His nature and greatness. It is only by their works that we know the Father and the Son -"believe the works,"(John 10:38) said the Lord. In the same way, we shall not fully know the nature of the Holy Spirit unless we know how wonderful are His works. And so, let no one feel annoyed if I summarize the powers of the Holy Spirit, nor close his ears when I set down the words of divine revelation. **One should believe heavenly witnesses [PAGE 30] rather than human fictions.** My only point in this is to draw attention to the undoubted tradition of the Lord. If it is not enough to be baptized in the name of the Father and the Son, without the Holy Spirit, neither are we made holy and started on the way to eternal life without the Holy Spirit. My purpose is to show that it is not only in baptism, but in other things, that the Holy Spirit has worked and will ever work with the Father and the Son. (Nicetas de Remesiana, Writings. Translated by G. Walsh, B. Peebles, R.E. Morris, and J.R. O'Donnell, 1949, p. 29-30)
 - **Latin:** 6. Veniamus ergo ad ceteras eius uirtutes et opera, ut quid et quantus sit Spiritus sanctus possit agnosci. Sicut enim Pater et Filius non nisi per opera agnoscuntur, ut ipse Dominus ait,"uel operibus meis credite"(Io. 10:36) ita et Spiritus sanctus, nisi per operum insignia, quid sit non potest plenius sciri. Nemo itaque anxiatur cum de Spiritu sancto uirtutum capitula proferimus ; nemo aures claudat cum diuina uerba recitantur: **plus debet credi caelestibus testimoniis, quam terrenis figmentis.** Quid ergo est quod

The Witness of God is Greater

uolumus? adsignare Dominicam sine dubio traditionem. Si enim in nomine Patris et Filii non sine Spiritu sancto renascimur, non sine Spiritu sancto sanctificamur, atque ad aeternitatem proficiscimur ; cupimus ostendere quia non solum in baptismo, sed etiam in aliis omnibus cum Patre et Filio Spiritus sanctus et operatus est et semper operatur. (Nicetas, Saint, Bishop of Remesiana. His Life and Works. Edited by A.E. Burn, 1905, p. 25)

- (5) It is enough, then, for the faithful to know that, while [PAGE 28] the Son was begotten, the Spirit proceeds from the Father. **Let us use the very words which the Scripture of God wishes us to use. No one who loves life and knows the Author of life and has received in baptism the sacrament of the Three Names with equal honor will look for any limit in One in whom, he believes, there was no beginning.** Hence, we believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and is neither the Son nor the Son of the Son - as is sometimes foolishly pretended - but the Spirit of Truth, the manner and measure of whose procession it is given to no one to understand. (Nicetas de Remesiana, Writings. Translated by G. Walsh, B. Peebles, R.E. Morris, and J.R. O'Donnell, 1949, p. 27-28)
 - **Latin:** 5. Sufficit itaque fidelibus hoc scire quia Filius quidem genitus est, Spiritus autem de Patre procedens est : **et ipsis utamur uerbis quibus uti diuina Scriptura nos uoluit. Qui autem diligit uitam, et uitae nouerit. autorem, et trium nominum socio honore suscepti in baptismo sacramentum, nec iam illic terminum quaerat, ubi certum habet non fuisse principium.** Credimus ergo Spiritum sanctum Paraclitum de Patre procedere : esse autem non Filium, neque Filium Filii, quod solent stulti conquirere; sed Spiritum ueritatis, cuius processio aut qualis aut quanta sit, nulli conceditur scire. (Nicetas, Saint, Bishop of Remesiana. His Life and Works. Edited by A.E. Burn, 1905, p. 23)

Jerome (347-420 AD)

• Jerome (Latin: Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus; Greek: Εὐσέβιος Σωφρόνιος Ἱερώνυμος; c. 347 – 30 September 420) was a Latin priest, confessor, theologian, and historian, commonly known as Saint Jerome. He was born at Stridon, a village near Emona on the border of Dalmatia and Pannonia.[3][4][5] He is best known for his translation of the Bible into Latin (the translation that became known as the Vulgate), and his commentaries on the Gospels. His list of writings is extensive.[6] (Jerome. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jerome>)

HITS:

- [Jerome : Homily 69 (Series 2: Psalm 91)] **It has come to my attention, brethren, that certain brothers had raised the question among themselves and were arguing about the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are both three and one.** You realize from the problem how dangerous such a discussion is. An earthen vessel of potter's clay that cannot even arrive at the principle of its own nature, argues about the Creator and curiously seeks to know about the mystery of the Trinity which the angels in heaven do not understand. (Jerome, Homily 69 (Series 2: Psalm 91); Translated by Marie Liguori Ewald, The Homilies of Saint Jerome, vol 2, 1962, p. 90)
 - **Latin:** Relatum est mihi, fratres, quia inter se quidam fratres disputando quaesissent, **quomodo Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus et tres sunt et unum sunt.** Videtis ex quaestione, quam periculosa sit disputatio : lutum et vas fictile de creatore disputat, et ad rationem siue naturae non potest pervenire ; et curiose quaerit scire de mysterio Trinitatis, quod angeli in caelo scire non possunt. (Jerome, Tractatus De Psalmo XCI in Tractatus sive homiliae in psalmos, vol 3, 1895, p. 74)

Comment:

• **[Denk] Anyone who knows Scripture will immediately recognize [in Jerome's response above] the striking similarity with I John 5.7,** the so-called 'Comma Johanneum'; except for the fact that the official text reads, 'Father, Word, and Holy Spirit, and these three are one.' ...These Tractatus are homilies Jerome delivered during his stay in Bethlehem, which lasted from 386 to 415 - according to Bardenhewer, Patrologie, p. 410, in the

The Witness of God is Greater

course of the year 401. (Joseph Denk, "Ein neuer Texteszeuge zum Comma Johanneum", 1906, p. 59-60; Translated by Brian Daley, correspondence, 2019.)

- [Charlemagne, Letter 19] ...Jerome similarly in his exposition of the Creed on this very subject of the procession of the Spirit among other things has this to say. "The Spirit which proceeds from the Father and Son is coeternal with the Father and the Son and is equal in all respects. This is the Holy Trinity, that is, Father, Son and Holy Spirit; there is one deity and power, one essence, that is, the Father who begot, the Son begotten, and the Holy Spirit who proceeds from Father and Son. **These three are one God.**"(Charlemagne the Great, Epistle 19 to Pope Leo III; Translated by Nigel Wilson, correspondence, 18 February 2020)
 - **Latin:** ...Hieronymus quoque de hac ipsa Spiritus sancti processione in Symboli expositione inter cætera sic ait:"Spiritus qui a Patre et Filio procedit, Patri Filioque coæternus et per omnia coæqualis est. Hæc est sancta trinitas, id est, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus, una est deitas et potentia, una et essentia, id est, Pater qui genuit, Filiusque genitus, et Spiritus sanctus qui ex Patre Filioque procedit. **Hæc tria unus Deus est.**"(Carolus Magnus, Epist. XIX, ad Leonem III papam; Migne Latina, PL 98.928)

Comment:

• **[Historical Context]** Smaragdus' Letter to Pope Leo III. After the Council of Aachen (809 AD) had sanctioned the Filioque ["and from the Son"] addition to the Ecumenical Creed and had presumably given imperial sanction to Theodulf's *De Spiritu Sancto* and perhaps also to the *Libellus de Processione Spiritus Sancti*, Charlemagne sought papal approval of his Council. He therefore commissioned Abbot Smaragdus (d. 840) to write an introductory letter to Pope Leo III (795-816) explaining the decision of the Council of Aachen. Smaragdus was also commissioned to head a Frankish delegation to Rome. Smaragdus begins his letter to Pope Leo III, written in the name of Charlemagne, with a description of the recent controversy on the procession of the Holy Spirit. ...In his appeal to patristic authority, Smaragdus quotes from the pseudo-Athanasian corpus, from Cyril of Alexandria, from Ambrose, and from Augustine's *Contra Maximinum* and *De Trinitate*. **Smaragdus concludes that "fed on the statements of the Divine books and overwhelmed by the weight of many Orthodox witnesses, no unfriendly person can resist the truth."**(Migne Latina, PL 98.929) (Haug, Photius and the Carolingians: The Trinitarian Controversy, 1975, p. 79 & 81)

Explanatio Fidei ad Cyrillum (circa 400-425 AD)

• **Note:** The story behind this **HIT** is complicated and was made even more complicated when the numbering of Jerome's letters was changed in other editions. Originally the Letter to Presbyter Marcus was numbered 17, and the *Explanatio Fidei ad Cyrillum* was numbered 77. Also, since *Explanatio Fidei ad Cyrillum* is part of Jerome's letters in many manuscripts and editions, it was originally claimed that Jerome wrote the work (hence the statement in Jerome's letter to Presbyter Marcus). Nevertheless, the written work is ascribed to "Pseudo-Jerome" and dated early 5th century. The work is well attested in many manuscripts as early as the 9th century (though sometimes with a different title "Expositio *fidei* Niceni concilii". See Peter Damian's Letters).

• **Marcus, a presbyter** who had some kind of pre-eminence and authority among the monks of the Chalcidian desert in Syria when Jerome lived among them, A.D. 375-379. He is called in some editions of Jerome, Teledensis, from Teleda, a city of Chalcis. He wrote to Jerome, though he had frequently seen and conversed with him on points of faith, to inquire as to his views in reference to the questions about the Trinity which then disquieted the monks in connection with the disputes about the see of Antioch. Jerome in reply complains of the condemnatory spirit of the monks, who from their caves and in their sack-cloth passed sentence on the world and all its best bishops. He begs that the hospitality of the desert may be allowed him and that he may be left free till the spring, when he will retire. He appeals to "the holy Cyril," Zenobius, and Marcus himself as the witnesses of his faith. (Jerome, ep. 17, ed. Vall.) (William Henry Fremantle, "Marcus [presbyter of Chalcidian desert in Syria]" in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines*, ed. by William Smith, Henry Wace, vol 3, 1882, p. 826)

The Witness of God is Greater

• **[The hermit life. § 13. Jerome and the dogmatic battles in Antioch]** In any case, Jerome did not spend much time in the desert, but soon returned to Antioch. ...In a letter he tells the Presbyter Marcus at Teleda in the Chalcis Desert his decision to leave the desert. (fn. ep. 17 ad Marcum presbyterum, Vallarsi I, 42) ... Marcus, urged by the Meletian monks, seems to have given Jerome a creed in which he should testify to his orthodoxy. Jerome has known his belief in the consubstantial Trinity and in three true, perfect, self-contained persons. But despite his agreement with Damasus of Rome and Peter of Alexandria with the whole Occident and Egypt, he was accused of Sabellian heresy. He was asked every day for his confession; he was not satisfied with the assurance of his orthodoxy; he was required to sign under the creed. Jerome told Marcus that he had signed it and given it to St. Cyril. (fn. This Cyril is not identical with the Bishop of Jerusalem, Cyril - Vallarsi I, 43, note a. It will be an unknown monk, who presented to Jerome the creed on behalf of Marcus [Explanatio fidei ad Cyrillum]). (Grützmacher, Hieronymus: eine biographische Studie zur alten Kirchengeschichte, vol 1, 1901, p. 173-174)

• **[Letter to Presbyter Marcus. Editor's Preface]** In this letter, addressed to one who seems to have had some pre-eminence among the monks of the Chalcedian desert, Jerome complains of the hard treatment meted out to him because of his refusal to take any part in the great theological dispute then raging in Syria. He protests his own orthodoxy, and begs permission to remain where he is until the return of spring, when he will retire from "the inhospitable desert." Written in A.D. 378 or 379. (Jerome. Letter To Presbyter Marcus. NPNF02 vol 6)

• **[Letter to Presbyter Marcus. § 4]** As regards the questions which you have thought fit to put to me concerning the faith, I have given to the reverend Cyril a written confession which sufficiently answers them. He who does not so believe, has no part in Christ. My faith is attested both by your ears and by those of your blessed brother, Zenobius, to whom, as well as to yourself, we all of us here send our best greeting. (Jerome. Letter To Presbyter Marcus. NPNF02 vol 6)

• **Date:** Beginning of the 5th century. (Tim Geelhaar, Christianitas, 2015, p. 423-424) (Cf. 317-318. Explanatio fidei ad Cyrillum, in Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta (BHM) vol 3a, p. 89-95. <doi.org/10.1484/M.IPM-EB.4.001152>)

HIT:

- **Letter 17. So we have one Father and one Son of his the true God, and one Holy Spirit, the true God, and these three are one**, one divinity and power and kingdom. But these are three persons, not two, not one, not as a result of revelation or combination or fusion, but always reminding divine persons. Faith in them is given by baptisms, from them remission of sin is granted, and eternal life is hoped for without the least doubt. By a true belief in the Trinity the holy and blessed patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs earned glory in martyrdom and obtained hope of eternal life, and have obtained their lot in the kingdom of heaven by an inheritance that is not to be doubted. (Marcus Celedensis, Epistola XVII. Marcus' exposition of the faith to Cyril III, Migne Latina, PL 30, 181C-D; CPL 633, nr. 1746.)
 - **Latin: Nobis igitur unus Pater, et unus Filius eius verus Deus, et unus Spiritus sanctus verus Deus: et hi tres unum sunt**, una divinitas, et (0181D) potentia, et regnum. Sunt autem tres personae, non duae, non una, non secundum revelationem, aut collectionem, aut confusionem, sed semper manentibus personis divinis. Harum fides datur in baptismo, ab his et remissio datur peccati, et vita aeterna sine aliqua dubitatione speratur. Huic Trinitati credentes vere sancti et beati patriarchae, prophetae, apostoli, martyres, et martyrii gloriam meruerunt, et spem vitae perennis adepti sunt, et regnum coelorum haereditatione non ambigua sortiti sunt. (Marcus Celedensis, Epistola XVII. Seu Expositione Fidei ad Cyrillum III, apud Hieronymum, Migne Latina, PL 30, 181C-D; CPL 633, Nr. 1746.)

Creed of Akakios, the bishop of Beroia (circa 431 AD)

Acacius of Beroea (circa 330-437 AD), a Syrian, lived in a monastery near Antioch, and, for his active defense of the Church against Arianism, was made Bishop of Beroea in 378 AD, by Eusebius of Samosata. While a priest, Acacius (with Paul, another priest) wrote to Epiphanius of Salamis a letter, in consequence of which the

The Witness of God is Greater

latter composed his Panarion (374–376). This letter is prefixed to the work. In 377–378, he was sent to Rome to confute Apollinaris of Laodicea before Pope Damasus I. He was present at the Ecumenical Council of Constantinople in 381, and on the death of Meletius of Antioch took part in Flavian's ordination to the See of Antioch, by whom he was afterwards sent to the Pope in order to heal the schism between the churches of the West and Antioch. Afterwards, Acacius took part in the persecution against Chrysostom,[1] and again compromised himself by ordaining as successor to Flavian, (Porphyrius, a man considered unworthy of the episcopate and also a meletian). He defended Nestorius against Saint Cyril when the former was charged with heresy, though was not himself present at the Council of Ephesus. At a great age, he labored to reconcile Cyril of Alexandria and the Eastern Bishops at a Synod held at Beroea in 432 AD. Acacius died 437, at the purported age of 116 years. Three of his letters remain in the original Greek, one to Cyril,[2] and two to Alexander, Bishop of Hierapolis. (Ibid, pp. 819, 830, c.41.55. §129, 143.) (Acacius of Beroea. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Acacius_of_Beroea>.)

HITS:

- **I believe in one God recognized in three persons**; eternal and creator of all things, uncreated, elusive, invisible, inconvenient, uncirculated, immutable, who cannot change, immortal, impassive. I say that there is only one principle without principle, which I say is susceptible of passion neither in itself nor in any other thing, for the divine nature is altogether impassible. I call God only the one who is truly God, thus avoiding pagan polytheism. At the same time, recognizing the one God in three persons is a subversion of Judaism. Indeed, the Father is in the Son and the Son is in the Father, and I acknowledge that the Spirit is in the Son and the Father. I bow down before Jesus Christ coeternal to the Father according to the divinity: he is in no way, neither by substance nor by existence, younger than the Father according to the divinity. Likewise (I bow down) also before the Holy Spirit. Because I say that the Son was begotten out of time and without principle, he has always existed with the Father according to the divinity; but on the other hand I believe in the Holy Spirit who proceeds from God the Father eternally. And I say procession of the Spirit, not begetting; but I say begetting of the Son, not procession. (Acacius of Beroea, Confession; Kinzig, p. 496; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, 2021.)
 - **Greek: Πιστεύω εἰς ἓνα θεὸν ἐν τρισὶ γνωριζόμενον προσώποις**: αἴτιον καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ἀπάντων, ἀγένητον, ἀκατάληπτον, ἀόρατον, ἀνεπινόητον, ἀπερίγραφον, ἄτρεπτον, ἀναλλοίωτον, ἀθάνατον, ἀπαθῆ· μίαν ἀρχὴν ἀναρχον, <ἦν οὔτε ἐν ἑαυτῇ> οὔτε ἐν ἑτέρῳ τινὶ πάθους εἶναι δεκτικὴν φημί· πάντη γὰρ ἀπαθῆς τυγχάνει ἡ θεία φύσις. Ἐνα γὰρ θεὸν λέγω τὸν ὄντως ὄντα θεόν, πολυθεῖαν Ἑλληνισμοῦ φεύγων. Ἐν τρισὶ δὲ προσώποις γνωρίζεσθαι τὸν ἓνα Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ ἐστὶν ἀνατροπή. Πατήρ γὰρ ἐν υἱῷ καὶ υἱὸς ἐν πατρὶ, καὶ πνεῦμα ἐν υἱῷ καὶ πατρὶ ὁμολογῶ. Προσκυνῶ δὲ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν συναΐδιον τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα· οὐκ οὐσίας, οὐχ ὑπάρξεως τρόπον νεότερον τοῦ πατρὸς κατὰ τὴν θεότητα. Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Τὸν μὲν γὰρ υἱὸν φημί γεγεννημένον ἀχρόνως καὶ ἀνάρχως, συνυπάρχοντα αἰεὶ τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα· τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς αἰδίως πιστεύω. Καὶ τὴν ἐκπόρευσιν τοῦ πνεύματος οὐ φημί γέννησιν, καὶ τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ υἱοῦ οὐ λέγω ἐκπόρευσιν. (Acacius of Beroea, Confession; Kinzig, 2014, p. 496; Cf. AMPHILOQUE, t. 2, Lettre à Séleucos, 1, 2012. p. 342-343.)

Comments:

• [Kinzig] The text ...has an eventful edition history (CPG 6481; 3245 [15]; 3248 [1]).¹ The Greek original is only partially preserved in scattered quotations. After preparatory work, especially by Karl Holl, Ferdinand Cavallera attempted to restore it on the basis of the previously known fragments in 1907. Cavallera's text was reprinted a good seventy years later by Cornelis Datema in his edition of the works of Amphilochius of Iconium. ...Admittedly, the researchers mentioned overlooked the fact that there is a late antique Latin translation of this text, which, however, has not survived under the name of Amphilochius but that of Akakios von Beroia (authoritative critical edition by Eduard Schwartz). The decisive clue for this is mine Knowledge first given to Michael Kohlbacher as early as 2004.⁶ The translation is part of the Collectio Casinensis, which was edited in 1682 from the estate of Christianus Lupus (Christian Wolf, 1612–1681) and can also be found in Mansi. At the end of this collection, which was translated into Latin by the deacon Rusticus around 565 in the

The Witness of God is Greater

Akoimet monastery in Constantinople, 9 there is the text in question with the information that it was taken from an old codex of the Akoimetes and had the title: "Creed of Akakios, the bishop of Beroia." This raises the question of the actual author of the text. Without knowledge of the Latin translation - in express contrast to Holl - Louis Salts and Gerhard Ficker already assumed that the Greek fragments were inauthentic. Conversely, the researchers who used the translation for ecclesiastical historiography of the 5th century saw no reason to discuss the text of Akakios, 13 whereby it is often assumed that the confession was presented at the Ephesus Council (431). The question of authorship must remain here; Suffice it to say at this point that the somewhat cumbersome confession with its pronounced christological interest can hardly belong in the lifetime of Amphilochius († 398/404). Instead, the proximity to the two Christmas sermons that Paulus of Emesa, Akakios' confidante, had given on his peace mission on behalf of John of Antioch at the turn of the year 432/433 in Alexandria, presided over by Cyril. This suggests that the traditional view should be the right one: the confession was probably written around 431 by Akakios, who was already very old at the time (* around 330, † around 433). (Kinzig, The Greek creed of Akakios of Beroia CPG 6481 restored, 2014, p. 486, 487-488)

Augustine Codex Speculum (circa 425 AD)

• **The Codex Speculum or Speculum Ps-Augustine**, designated by m, is a 5th-century Latin manuscript of the New Testament. The text, written on vellum, is a version of the old Latin. The manuscript contains passages from all the books of the New Testament except 3 John, Hebrews, and Philemon on 154 parchment leaves.[1] It also has a citation from the Epistle to the Laodiceans.[2] The Latin text of the codex is a representative of the Western text-type in itala recension.[3] The text of the manuscript was published by Cardinal Mai in 1843.[2][3] Currently it is housed at the Saint Cross monastery (Sessorianus) in Rome.[1] (Codex Speculum. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Codex_Speculum>)

• [Wiseman] **The work [St. Augustine's Speculum]** which we are considering consists of upwards of one hundred heads, including the most important points of Christian belief and practice. Upon each of these subjects all the texts of the Old and New Testaments are given, without a single remark or illustration. In the main, the work is nearly the same as was published under the title of St. Augustine's Speculum, by Jerome Vignier. "But it differs in one most important particular, that the text used in our manuscript is not the version of St. Jerome in the Old, nor his correction in the New [PAGE 14] Testament, but the old Vulgate found in the quotations of the Fathers, and collected in the great works of Nobilius, Bianchini, and Sabbatier. It in fact supplies many lacunae in the latter invaluable work, and is therefore a precious addition to our stores of sacred criticism. Indeed, the active and intelligent librarian of Santa Croce is preparing the entire work for publication, chiefly with a view to amending and improving our text of the ancient Vulgate." "The manuscript itself is a quarto on vellum : the character is uncial and square, resembling in form and size the Latin of the Codex Bezae or Cambridge MS. of the New Testament. It is, on the whole, beautifully written, and one must be cautious not to judge it from the specimen given by Bianchini," whose facsimiles, from not being traced, will be often found incorrect." "There can be no danger in attributing it to the sixth or seventh century. A fac-simile of it is prefixed to this essay. To come now to the most important point; this work quotes the text of the Heavenly Witnesses, as a dogmatical proof of the Trinity. (Wiseman, "Two Letters on 1 John v. 7, commonly called the Three Witnesses: Letter 1" in Essays on Various Subjects, 1853, vol 1, p. 13-14)

HITS:

- **Speculum Chapter 1.** And again in that place, "Because there are three that give testimony in earth, the spirit, the water, and the blood: and these three are one in Christ Jesus. And three there are that give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word and the Spirit and these three are one." (Speculum: Liber de divinis scripturis. Chapter I., CSEL 12:314; Mai 1852: p. 6)
 - **Latin:** Item illic: **Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in terra, spiritus, aqua et sanguis: et hii tres unum sunt in christo iesu. et tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in caelo, pater, uerbum et spiritus: et hii tres unum sunt.** (Speculum: Liber de divinis scripturis. Chapter I, CSEL 12:314; Mai 1852: PAGE 6)

The Witness of God is Greater

- **Speculum Chapter 3.** Also John in his letter 1: "It is the Spirit that bears witness, that the Spirit is the truth." Also there: "**There are three who bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and these three are one.**" (Augustine, *Speculum: Liber de divinis scripturis*. Chapter III, CSEL 12:325-326; Mai 1852, p. 9-10)
 - **Latin:** Item iohannes in epistula I: **Spiritus est qui testimonium reddit, quia spiritus est ueritas.** Item illic: **Tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in caelo, pater, uerbum et spiritus, et hii tres unum sunt.** (Augustine, *Speculum: Liber de divinis scripturis*. Chapter III, CSEL 12:325-326; Mai 1852, p. 9-10)

Augustine of Hippo (354-430 AD)

• Saint Augustine of Hippo (/ɔːˈɡʌstɪn/; 13 November 354 – 28 August 430 AD)[22] was a Roman African, early Christian theologian and Neoplatonic philosopher from Numidia whose writings influenced the development of the Western Church and Western philosophy, and indirectly all of Western Christianity. He was the bishop of Hippo Regius in North Africa and is viewed as one of the most important Church Fathers of the Latin Church for his writings in the Patristic Period. Among his most important works are *The City of God*, *De doctrina Christiana*, and *Confessions*. Augustine was born in the year 354 AD in the municipium of Thagaste (now Souk Ahras, Algeria) in the Roman province of Numidia.[44] His mother, Monica or Monnica,[45] was a devout Christian; his father Patricius was a Pagan who converted to Christianity on his deathbed.[46] Scholars generally agree that Augustine and his family were Berbers, an ethnic group indigenous to North Africa,[47][48][49] but that they were heavily Romanized, speaking only Latin at home as a matter of pride and dignity.[47] In his writings, Augustine leaves some information as to the consciousness of his African heritage. For example, he refers to Apuleius as "the most notorious of us Africans,"[47][50] to Ponticianus as "a country man of ours, insofar as being African,"[47][51] and to Faustus of Mileve as "an African Gentleman".[47][52] Augustine's family name, Aurelius, suggests that his father's ancestors were freedmen of the gens Aurelia given full Roman citizenship by the Edict of Caracalla in 212. Augustine's family had been Roman, from a legal standpoint, for at least a century when he was born.[53] It is assumed that his mother, Monica, was of Berber origin, on the basis of her name,[54][55] but as his family were honestiores, an upper class of citizens known as honorable men, Augustine's first language is likely to have been Latin.[54] Augustine was one of the most prolific Latin authors in terms of surviving works, and the list of his works consists of more than one hundred separate titles.[205] They include apologetic works against the heresies of the Arians, Donatists, Manichaeans and Pelagians; texts on Christian doctrine, notably *De Doctrina Christiana* (On Christian Doctrine); exegetical works such as commentaries on Genesis, the Psalms and Paul's Letter to the Romans; many sermons and letters; and the *Retractationes*, a review of his earlier works which he wrote near the end of his life. Apart from those, Augustine is probably best known for his *Confessions*, which is a personal account of his earlier life, and for *De civitate Dei* (The City of God, consisting of 22 books), which he wrote to restore the confidence of his fellow Christians, which was badly shaken by the sack of Rome by the Visigoths in 410. His *On the Trinity*, in which he developed what has become known as the 'psychological analogy' of the Trinity, is also considered to be among his masterpieces, and arguably of more doctrinal importance than the *Confessions* or the *City of God*. [206] He also wrote *On Free Choice of the Will* (*De libero arbitrio*), addressing why God gives humans free will that can be used for evil. According to his contemporary, Jerome, Augustine "established anew the ancient Faith". [a] In his youth he was drawn to Manichaeism and later to neoplatonism. After his baptism and conversion to Christianity in 386, Augustine developed his own approach to philosophy and theology, accommodating a variety of methods and perspectives. [23] Believing that the grace of Christ was indispensable to human freedom, he helped formulate the doctrine of original sin and made seminal contributions to the development of just war theory. When the Western Roman Empire began to disintegrate, Augustine imagined the Church as a spiritual City of God, distinct from the material Earthly City. [24] His thoughts profoundly influenced the medieval worldview. The segment of the Church that adhered to the concept of the Trinity as defined by the Council of Nicaea and the Council of Constantinople [25] closely identified with Augustine's *On the Trinity*. (Augustine of Hippo. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Augustine_of_Hippo>)

The Witness of God is Greater

HITS:

- **[Augustine : City of God]: Therefore God supreme and true, with His Word and Holy Spirit (which three are one)**, one God omnipotent, creator and maker of every soul and of every body; by whose gift all are happy who are happy through verity and not through vanity; who made man a rational animal consisting of soul and body, who, when he sinned, neither permitted him to go unpunished, nor left him without mercy; (Augustine. City of God. Book 5, Chapter 11"Concerning the Universal Providence of God in the Laws of Which All Things are Comprehended", NPNF01, vol 2, p. 93-94).
 - **Latin: Deus itaque summus et verus cum Verbo suo et Spiritu sancto, quae tria unum sunt**, Deus unus omnipotens, creator et factor omnis animae atque omnis corporis: cuius sunt participatione felices, quicumque sunt veritate, non vanitate felices: qui fecit hominem rationale animal ex anima et corpore; qui eum peccantem nec impunitum esse permisit, nec sine misericordia dereliquit; qui bonis et malis essentiam etiam cum; (Augustine, De civitate Dei; Migne Latina, PL 41, 0154)
- **[First Epistle of John : Homily 10.5]** And what meaneth"Christ is the end"? Because Christ is God, and"the end of the commandment is charity"and"Charity is God": because **Father and Son and Holy Ghost are One**.^[44] (Augustine, First Epistle of John. Homily 10.5; Augustine and Browne, Homilies, 1848, vol 2, p. 1224).
 - **Latin:** et quid est: finis christus? quia christus deus, et finis praecepti caritas, et deus caritas quia et **pater et filius et spiritus sanctus unum sunt**.(Augustine, In Epistolam Ioannis ad Parthos tractatus 10; Migne Latina, PL 35 2057)

Cyril of Alexandria (376–444 AD)

- Cyril of Alexandria (376 – 444 AD) was the Patriarch of Alexandria from 412 to 444. He was enthroned when the city was at the height of its influence and power within the Roman Empire. Cyril wrote extensively and was a leading protagonist in the Christological controversies of the late-4th and 5th centuries. He was a central figure in the Council of Ephesus in 431, which led to the deposition of Nestorius as Patriarch of Constantinople. Little is known for certain of Cyril's early life. He was born c. 376, in the small town of Didouseya, Egypt, modern-day El-Mahalla El-Kubra.^[5] A few years after his birth, his maternal uncle Theophilus rose to the powerful position of Patriarch of Alexandria.^[6] His mother remained close to her brother and under his guidance, Cyril was well educated. His writings show his knowledge of Christian writers of his day, including Eusebius, Origen, Didymus the Blind, and writers of the Church of Alexandria. He received the formal Christian education standard for his day: he studied grammar from age twelve to fourteen (390–392),^[7] rhetoric and humanities from fifteen to twenty (393–397) and finally theology and biblical studies (398–402).^[7]
- In 403 he accompanied his uncle to attend the"Synod of the Oak" in Constantinople,^[8] which deposed John Chrysostom as Archbishop of Constantinople.^[9] Theophilus died on 15 October 412, and Cyril was made Pope or Patriarch of Alexandria on 18 October 412, but only after a riot between his supporters and those of his rival Archdeacon Timotheus. According to Socrates Scholasticus, the Alexandrians were always rioting.^[13] Thus, Cyril followed his uncle in a position that had become powerful and influential, rivalling that of the prefect in a time of turmoil and frequently violent conflict between the cosmopolitan city's pagan, Jewish, and Christian inhabitants.^[14] He began to exert his authority by causing the churches of the Novatianists to be closed and their sacred vessels to be seized.
- Cyril was a scholarly archbishop and a prolific writer. In the early years of his active life in the Church he wrote several exegetical documents. Among these were: Commentaries on the Old Testament,^[37] Thesaurus, Discourse Against Arians, Commentary on St. John's Gospel,^[38] and Dialogues on the Trinity. In 429 as the Christological controversies increased, the output of his writings was so extensive that his opponents could not match it. His writings and his theology have remained central to the tradition of the Fathers and to all Orthodox

The Witness of God is Greater

to this day. Cyril is well known for his dispute with Nestorius and his supporter Patriarch John of Antioch, whom Cyril excluded from the Council of Ephesus for arriving late. He is also known for his expulsion of Novatians and Jews from Alexandria and for inflaming tensions that led to the murder of the Hellenistic philosopher Hypatia by a Christian mob. Historians disagree over the extent of his responsibility in this.

- Cyril died about 444, but the controversies were to continue for decades, from the "Robber Synod" of Ephesus (449) to the Council of Chalcedon (451) and beyond.
- Cyril of Alexandria. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cyril_of_Alexandria>

- **[McGuckin]** Cyril's literary work before the Nestorian controversy is largely concerned with books of exegesis. If they had not been subsequently overshadowed by his own brilliant apologetic works of christology, the Commentaries on the Old Testament which he produced could well have come to be regarded as his crowning glories. He composed at this period his Thesaurus (which is largely a digest of St. Athanasius' Discourses Against the Arians), his Commentary on St. John's Gospel, and the Dialogues On The Trinity. Even in the midst of pressing concerns he never allowed his scholarly work to falter. It was a workload that prepared him for the controversies to come, when in the years after 429 he was able to produce a phenomenal outpouring of writing at a rate his opponents could not match. (McGuckin, St. Cyril of Alexandria: The Christological Controversy, 2015, p. 15-16)

- **[McGuckin]** The *De Recta Fide* [written 430 AD in Greek] was sent to the Emperor personally, and separate treatises (*Ad Reginas*) to the Empresses Pulcheria and Eudoxia, and another to the Royal Princesses Arcadia and Marina. ...In his *De Recta Fide* Cyril presents the Emperor with a long line of unimpeachable authorities, and then attempts to isolate a central argument to the effect that although Nestorius was not mistaken in his desire to distinguish natures in Christ this was not much more than stating of the obvious (that deity is not flesh or vice versa). Cyril must have heard that it was already on this basis that the Alexandrian opposition heretically confused the natures that Nestorius had presented himself as a champion of orthodoxy to the Emperor and had thus gained his ear. Cyril wanted to disabuse Theodosius of that idea and thus pricked the bubble by going on to argue, in his apologia, that Nestorius moved from the statement of a truism of the difference of natures to a heretical and logical error in presuming that this differentiation must inevitably mean a separation of natures, and even worse a differentiation of subject centres in Christ.⁸⁴ (McGuckin, St. Cyril of Alexandria: The Christological Controversy, 2015, p. 39)

- **[McGuckin]** The patristic testimonies which Cyril was able to cite, both here and in his large works such as the *De Recta Fide* and the *Ad Reginas*, demonstrate that he was no mere plagiariser of old formulae. His proof texts are far ranging and sensitively contextualised across the spectrum of the great teachers of the past. His own preparatory studies (as later instanced by his ability to write a digest of the whole debate in his Scholia on the Incarnation) indicate how systematically Cyril had thought through the issues and put his finger on the one central question-the single subjectivity of the Incarnate Lord-at a time when Andrew of Samosata, Theodoret, and Nestorius were still obviously boxing in the dark. (McGuckin, St. Cyril of Alexandria: The Christological Controversy, 2015, p. 86)

- **[Florovsky : The Storm Cloud in Constantinople]** At the same time, St. Cyril was writing to various persons about disputed issues. He wrote three epistolary works *On the True Faith* [De recta fide]. The first was addressed to emperor Theodosius II and the two others were addressed "The Queens" (Greek: ταις βασιλίσσαις) (Latin: ad Reginas) without mentioning any specific names. **It is John of Caesarea, writing at the beginning of the sixth century, who claims that the first of the two others was addressed to the emperor's two younger sisters, Arcadia and Marina, and that the second was addressed to the emperor's elder sister Pulcheria and to the empress Eudocia.** In these epistles St. Cyril elucidates the

The Witness of God is Greater

dogma of the Incarnation in great detail and investigates mistaken opinions about it. He specifically addresses the issue of the Nestorians' objection to the true representation of Christ's God-Man hypostasis. In doing this, St. Cyril cites a large amount of testimony from the fathers. (Fr. Georges Florovsky. *The Byzantine Fathers of the Fifth Century*. Chapter 14. St. Cyril of Alexandria.

<www.holytrinitymission.org/books/english/fathers_florovsky_2.htm>)

• **[Burgess]** Calovius, in his **Biblia Illustrata [1719]**, quotes another work of Cyril (his treatise *de recta in Christum fide*) for the seventh verse. Calovius speaks of it without reference. But, **Peltanus (Acta Tertiae Gen. Synod. 1576)** in his version of Cyril's treatise, gives the Latin of the 7th verse. [*Also: Jodocus Coccius in Thesaurus Catholicus, 1599*] (Burgess, "Note to P. XXVIII" in *A Vindication of 1 John, V. 7*. from the *Objections of M. Griesbach, 1823, 2nd edition, p. XL*)

Cyrillus Alexandria Episcopus religiosibimis Reginis.

• **[Peltanus]** **I have used three Greek copies, the Romanum, Bavaricum and Fuggeranum, which were recently transferred by me.** Also, I have used the *Contianum edition* [??], though this book is imperfect and [badly] expresses the Greek words (wherefore there is often much obscurity, *?looking like an Oedipus work?*) still it is for those soaked in Greek literature not difficult to be able to understand what [readings] the Greek copy has. Most of the time I followed the Romanum before the Bavaricum, sometimes the latter before the first, now and then I followed neither, but either the Fuggeranum or Contianum. Nor have I been able to act differently, if in a faithful way, or did I want to do a convenient interpretation. **Certainly, the majority of the sentences in these copies are in agreement, yet whenever some words and other small things disagree** ... That both Testaments of Scripture might be preserved, I have retained the Latin Vulgate edition, even though about 70 verses run differently in Greek and not seldom disagree with ours [i.e. the Latin Vulgate]. (Peltanus, "Preface" in *Sacrosancti, magni et oecumenici concilii Ephesini, 1576, [p. 30]*; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, June 2020)

That Christ is God, the unity in the temple of the Divine Word and of his body wherein he was raised in Glory and Honor

HIT:

- **[De recta ad Deum Fide ad Reginas]** "Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God? This is he that came by water and blood, Jesus Christ: not by water only but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit which testifieth that Christ is the truth. **And there are Three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one. And there are three that give testimony on earth: the spirit and the water and the blood. And these three are one.**" (1 Jn 5:5-8) Consequently, what is conquering the world, that faith, Jesus is the Son of God... (Cyril of Alexandria, "Thesaurus" in *Council of Ephesus: Peltanus edition, 1576*)
 - **Latin:** "Quis est, qui vincit mundum, nisi qui credit, quoniam Iesus est Filius Dei? Hic est, qui venit per aquam & sanguinem, Iesus Christus; non in aqua solum, sed in aqua & sanguine. Et Spiritus est, qui testificatur, quoniam Christus est veritas: **Quoniam tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in coelo: Pater, Verbum, & Spiritus sanctus; et hi tres unum sunt. Et tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra: Spiritus, aqua & sanguis; & hi tres unum sunt.**" (1 Jn 5:5-8) Mundum itaque vincit, qui credit, Iesum esse Filium Dei.... (Cyril of Alexandria, *De recta ad Deum Fide ad Reginas, Ex prima epistola Ioannis; Peltanus, Acta Tertiae Gen. Synod. tom. i, cap. 5, 1576, p. 122-123.*)

The Witness of God is Greater

- **[De recta ad Deum Fide ad Reginas]** "If we accept testimony of humans, the testimony of God is greater; because it is the testimony of God that he testified about his Son. Whoever believes in the Son of God, he has got the testimony within him; whoever does not believe in God, he has proved him to be a liar, because he has not believed the testimony of God, that He has given about his Son." (1 John 5:9-10) The Father has testified to the Son through the Spirit [of the Son], and through his voice; because it is His own truthfully, For otherwise he testified that He is able to provide His Spirit to His holy ones, And through it [i.e. the Spirit] to perform powerful acts. And he said that "He shall glorify me." But he has testified also in another way: He glorified him at the Jordan River, saying: "This is my beloved Son, with whom I am well pleased." Therefore those who, by separating [or dividing off], assert [or say] that it is not a name of the sonship of the unclothed [or bare, mere] and only one Word from God, they are proving God a liar; for he showed the incarnate Word in the Jordan, and then the Spirit testified to him, That he is truthfully both God and Son. (Cyril of Alexandria, De recta fide ad Reginas; Translated by Pavlos Vasileiadis, correspondence, May 2020)
 - **Latin:** "Si testimonium hominum accipimus, testimonium Dei maius est: Quoniam hoc est testimonium, quod maius est, quoniam testificatus est de Filio suo. Qui credit in Filium; habet testimonium Dei in se. Qui non credit Filio, mendacem facit eum; qui non credit in testimonium, quod Deus testificatus est de Filio suo." (1 John 5:9-10) Et Spiritu & voce Pater Filio testimonium perhibuit: Nam verum illum esse Filium, hoc ipso testatum nobis fecit, quod hoc illi impertitus est, quo ex se Spiritum sanctum, patrandorum que miraculorum vim Sanctis dilargiri poslet. Atque huc utique tendebat, quando: "Ille me clarificabit," aiebat. Quin & alio quoque modo testimonium eidem perhibuit: Siquidem in Iordane eius modi elogio illum clarificavit: "Hic" (ait) "est Filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacui." Quicumque igitur divisione inducta eum, qui ex muliere natus est, verum Dei Filium esse negant; (Filii autem nomen illi soli nudoque Dei Verbo assignant) ii omnes Patrem mendacem faciunt; ut qui Verbum incarnatum esse evidenter ostenderit in Iordane. Quo etiam tempore Spiritus, & quod Deus esset, & quod verus Filius esset, diserte testatus est. (Cyril of Alexandria, De recta ad Deum Fide ad Reginas, Ex prima epistola Ioannis; Peltanus, Acta Tertiae Gen. Synod. tom. i, cap. 5, 1576, p. 122-123.)
- **"And it is the Spirit which testifieth because the Spirit is the truth. And there are Three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one. And there are three that give testimony on earth: the spirit and the water and the blood. And these three are one. If we receive the testimony of men, the testimony of God is greater."** (1 John 5:6-9) See now again, how the preacher of truth calls the Spirit by nature God, and of God; for having said, that it is the Spirit of God that witnesses, a little onward he has, "the witness of God is greater." (1 John 5:9) How then is he a creature, who is declared to be God with the Father of all things, and complete of the Holy Trinity? (Cyril of Alexandria, Thesaurus)
 - **Greek:** "Καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν τὸ μαρτυροῦν, ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια· Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ Πατήρ, ὁ Λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσι. Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῆ, τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα· καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσὶν. Εἰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαμβάνομεν, ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ Θεοῦ μείζων ἐστὶ." (1 John 5:6-9) Θεὰ δὴ πάλιν, ὅτι τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ κῆρυξ Θεόν τε καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ θυσικῶς τὸ Πνεῦμα καλεῖ. Εἰρηκῶς γάρ, ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμά ἐστι τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ μαρτυροῦν, μικρόν τι προελθὼν ἐπιφέρει, "Ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ Θεοῦ μείζων ἐστὶ." (1 John 5:9) Πῶς οὖν ἐστὶ ποίημα τὸ τῶν ὄλων Πατρὶ συνθεολογούμενον, καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος συμπληρωτικόν; (Cyril of Alexandria, Thesaurus; Migne Graeca, PG 75.616)

The Witness of God is Greater

Theodor Anton Peltanus (d. 1584 AD)

- Theodor Anton Peltanus. a German Jesuit, born at Pelte, near Liege, was professor of theology at Ingolstadt from 1562 to 1574, and died at Augsburg, May 2, 1584. He wrote, *De Peccato Originali: — De Christianorum Sepulturis, Exequiis et Anniversariis: — Theologia Naturalis et Mystica: — Paraphrasis ac Scholia in Proverbia Salomonis: — Catena Graecorum Patrum in Proverbia*. See Jocher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexikon*, s.v.; Furst, *Bibl. Jud.* 3:70; Winer, *Handbuch der theol. Lit.* 1:880, 883. (B.P., "Theodor Anton Peltanus" <www.biblicalcyclopedia.com/P/peltanus-theodor-anton.html>)
- Theodorus Peltanus was born in 1511 in Overpelt . His name is the Latin translation of the Dutch 'Van Pelt'. He enjoyed training as a theologian. From 1556 he taught at the Jesuit College in Ingolstadt . In 1562 he was promoted to professor of theology. As a theologian he published several works. From 1574 Peltanus lived in Augsburg. For health reasons he could no longer make large trips. He was obliged to stay near Augsburg. He died there in 1584 at 72/73 years of age [1]. In Overpelt a street has been named after him. (Theodorus Peltanus. Wikipedia. <nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theodorus_Peltanus>)

Abraham Calovius (1612-1686)

- Abraham Calovius (also Abraham Calov or Abraham Kalau; 16 April 1612 – 25 February 1686) was a Lutheran theologian, and was one of the champions of Lutheran orthodoxy in the 17th century. He was born in Mohrunen (Morąg), Ducal Prussia, a fief of the Crown of Poland. After studying at Königsberg, in 1650 he was appointed professor of theology at Wittenberg, where he afterwards became general superintendent and primarius.[1] Calovius opposed the Catholics, Calvinists and Socinians, and in particular attacked the syncretism of his bitter enemy, George Calixtus.[1] While Calixtus affirmed that the Apostles' Creed was an adequate definition of faith, Calovius rather held that one must believe every part of revealed truth in order to gain salvation. As a writer of polemics Calovius had few equals. His chief dogmatic work, *Systema locorum theologicorum*, (12 volumes, 1655–1677) represents the climax of Lutheran scholasticism. He produced a popular commentary on Martin Luther's translation of the Bible, "die deutsche Bibel," today known as the Calov Bible.[2] He also wrote a much larger professional exegetical work on the entire Bible called "Biblia Illustrata." It is written from the point of view of a very strict belief in inspiration, his object being to refute the statements made by Hugo Grotius in his Commentaries.[1] Calovius died in Wittenberg. (Abraham Calovius. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abraham_Calovius>)

HIT:

- [Calovius]: Note on 1 John 5:7. This is adduced by Athanasius somewhere in the dispute held with Arius or Arians at the Synod of Nicaea, and in book 1 to Theophilus *De Unita Deitate Trinitatis*, as recorded in book 7 of Idacius Clarus around 380 AD. Book 3 *Adversus Varimadus Tom. IV. Bibl. Patr.* again in the same century by Phaebadius in book 4 *Contra Arianos* chapter 45. **By Cyril of Alexandria, De Recta in Deum Fide ad Reginas.** In the fifth century by Victor Vitensis in *Africa Episcopo* book 2... (Calovius, *Biblia Illustrata*; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, June 2020)
Latin: Annotat Ad I. Johannis Cap. 5. v.7. Adductus est ab Athanasio in disp. in Synodo Nicena habita cum Ario vel Ariano quopiam, & libr. I ad Theophil. de unita *Deitate Trinitatis*, ut & libr. VII. necnon ad Idacio Claro circa ann. Christi 380. libr. III. *adversus Varimondum* Tom. IV. Bibl. Patr. itemque seculo eodem a Phaebadio libr. IV. *contra Arianos* cap. 45. **a Cyrillo Alexandino, de recta in Deum fide ad Reginas.** Seculo

The Witness of God is Greater

quinto a Victore Vicensi in *Africa Episcopo* libr. II... (Calovius, *Biblia Illustrata*, 1719, p. 1665 : Image 744. <reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10326552_00744.html>)

Jodocus Coccius, S.J. (1581-1622)

• **Coccius, Jodocus** a canon of Julich, who was born of Lutheran parentage, and died about 1618, is the author of *Thesaurus Catholicus* (Cologne, 1599, fol.; 1619, 2 volumes). See Hartzheim, *Bibl. Colon.* p. 210; Rass, *Convertiten*, 8:500; Streber, in *Wetzer u. Welte's Kirchen-Lexikon*, s.v. (B.P.) <[www.biblicalencyclopedia.com/C/coccius-jodocus-\(1\).html](http://www.biblicalencyclopedia.com/C/coccius-jodocus-(1).html)>

• [Backus] A Canon of Juliers, **Jodocus Coccius**, who converted [to Roman Church] from Lutheranism on discovering the continuity and antiquity of the Catholic faith, spent twenty-four years gathering together "the words of the Church Doctors which have flourished in continuous succession from the beginning of the Church until today and which have preserved and propagated the Catholic Doctrine by their perfect unanimity." (n. 46. Coccius died before the dedication of his "Thesaurus" drawn up by Laruent Trivius, dated 1599.) (Backus, "The Fathers in 17th Century Roman Catholic Theology" in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West*, 1997, p. 962)

HIT:

- [Coccius] These words in 1 John 5: There are three who give testimony in heaven, Father, Word and Holy Spirit, and these three are one, may not be expunged, for this canonical Scripture is powerfully confirmed by Ecclesiastical dogma. Greek fathers assert it. **Cyril of Alexandria (430 AD)**. *De recta in Deum Fide ad Reginas*: "From the first epistle of John: For there are three who give testimony in heaven, Father, Word and Holy Spirit, and these three are one." (Coccius, *Thesaurus Catholicus*; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, June 2020)
 - **Latin**: I. Ioannis 5 Verba Illa: Tres Sunt Qui Testimonium Dant in Caelo, Pater, Verbum, Et Spiritus Sanctus, et Hi tres unum sunt, non expungenda esse: sed ut canonicam scripturam valere ad ecclesiastica dogmata confirmanda. Asserunt Patres Graeci. **Cyrillus Alexandrinus (430 AD)**. *De recta in Deum fide ad Reginas* : **Ex prima epistola Ioannis: Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in caelo, Pater, Verbum, & Spiritus sanctus, & hi tres unum sunt.** (Coccius, *Thesaurus Catholicus*, 1599, p. 725)

De Trinitate Book 10, PL 62.237-334 (circa 350-450 AD)

• **[Quasten]** The twelve books *De Trinitate* attributed to St. Athanasius, which Migne (ML 62.237-334; CCSL 9:145) has printed among the works of the African bishop Vigilius of Thapsus, who lived in the second half of the fifth century, are not by Athanasius nor by Vigilius. They [*De Trinitate*] represent a collection of treatises by several unknown authors of the West, who composed them approximately in the second half [PAGE 34] of the fourth and in the fifth century. They [*De Trinitate*] are very valuable as documents of the struggle of the Western Church against Arianism. Their dependence upon the Greek Fathers and their influence on the later writers of the West, as for instance St. Ambrose, St. Augustine and others, has still to be investigated. A new

The Witness of God is Greater

edition is being prepared by M. Simonetti [Pseudo-Athanasii De Trinitate libri X-XII, 1956]. So far the last three books [De Trinitate books X, XI, XII] have been published comprising the "Expositio fidei catholicae" (p. 19-39), the "Professio Ariana et confessio catholica" (p. 41-68) and the "De Trinitate et De Spiritu Sancto" (p. 69-145). They are three independent works by three different authors. Since St. Augustine makes use of the first two treatises in his Ep. 148 n. 10, they must have been composed before 413-414 AD. The last tract is important for the doctrine of the Holy Spirit and seems to be of an earlier date. Simonetti proved that it must have been written before 381, because St. Ambrose shows acquaintance with it in his own "De Spiritu Sancto." Bulhart's new edition provides the complete text [CCSL 9 (1957)]. [Studies: Sul De Spiritu Sancti potentia di Niceta di Remesiana e sulle fonti del De Spiritu Sancto di S. Ambrogio: Maia 4 (1951) 239-248, proves that Nicetas depends on books X and XII and Ambrose on book XII.] (Quasten, g. Pseudo-Athanasii De Trinitate Libri XII" in Patrology, vol 3, 1986, p. 33-34)

• **[Chadwick]** Among the works of Vigilus, bishop of Thapsus in Byzacena (Migne, PL LXII), there stand twelve books "De Trinitate" which in the manuscripts are ascribed to Athanasius. The last three [De Trinitate X, XI, XII] stand apart, and are here given a critical edition. All three tracts belong to the Western anti-Arian literature of the late fourth and mid-fifth centuries. They are evidently not the work of a single author, but otherwise are not easy to place. Simonetti ventures some improbable guesses (p. 8). The first and third [Book 10 & 12] seem to me earlier than the second. The "Expositio fidei catholicae" is of about the time of Ambrose (340-397 AD); c. 6 cannot be as late as Augustine, whose "De Trinitate" [Augustine wrote a work with the same title consisting of 15 books] contains a polemic against the view there expressed. Similarly the last piece, "De Trinitate et de Spiritu Sancto", does not look later than the last quarter of the fourth century. On the other hand, the second item, "Professio ariana et confessio catholica", strenuously pleads for the doctrine of the double procession of the Spirit in a manner dependent upon Augustine, and a phrase in c. 9 ("Salva proprietate utriusque naturae") is cited from Leo's Tome of 449 AD. There is a strange misprint at p. 25, line 2. (Chadwick, Review of "Pseudo-Athanasii de Trinitate libri x-xii" by M. Simonetti, 1958, p. 148)

Note: *De Trinitate Book 10 (PL 62.289-298) consists of 2 parts: i) Expositio fidei catholicae ad Theophilum, PL 62.288-289; ii) Interrogationes haereticorum, et Responsiones Catholicorum, PL 62.290-298.*

• [Musurillo] The first opus (De Trinitate Book X), entitled "Expositio fidei catholicae", would really seem, I think, to be a composite work. §§ 1-2 are an exhortation to believe in the Trinity (credere iubemur...) against the Arian heresy (§1), and also in the fact that Christ was truly man, against the Doncetes (§2), with suggested proofs given from various texts from Scripture. It is at once an exhortation to Christians, a confession of faith and a "summula" of texts which might be used in disputation. **But with §§ 3-8 of the same expositio the form has changed ; these numbers consist of a dramatic dialogue, without introduction, between haereticus and catholicus on the deeper theological problems involved in an understanding of the Trinity. But the dialogue seems purely a form ; the catholicus is given the longest, most explanatory speeches, and the haereticus is reduced very often to asking merely for information (e. g., quaeso exponas). §§ 3-8 must therefore have been circulated as a catechetical manual for the instruction of catechumens or of the faithful. For the Expositio (or book X of the original edition) Simonetti has used five MSS, some fragments of a fine eighth century Verona codex and the quotations in the libellus emendationis which the Council of Carthage forced the Pelagian Bishop Leporius to sign in token of recantation. In this way the substance of the Expositio became incorporated in early doctrine.** (Musurillo. Review of "Pseudo-Athanasii De Trinitate libri X-XII, éd. Manlio Simonetti, Bologne, Cappelli, 1956". Latomus, 17(1), 1958, p. 126)

The Witness of God is Greater

A. Expositio fidei catholicae ad Theophilum, De Trinitate Book 10, PL 62.288-289

- **[Extended Quote from : Nicetas of Remesiana (335-414 AD) : present-day Bela Palanka, Serbia]**
 - [Burn] The manuscripts of Book III. Part 1., "de ratione fidei" (Cod. Vatic. 314. 15th century). The title given in this MS. "allocutio sancti Nicetae" agrees with the testimony of Gennadius [a.k.a. Gennadius Scholasticus (d.496)] that this treatise was first preached to Catechumens, but it may have been preached again in Italy. It has been suggested that Gennadius invented the title de fide unice maiestatis. Cassiodorus had simply de fide and later MSS. de ratione fidei. But in this, as in other cases, Gennadius expanded the title to give some idea of the main argument, and he does so very correctly. The main object of the author was to persuade men to worship the Son and the Spirit as of one majesty with the Father. But it is possible that Gennadius may have had in his mind the terms of the decree of Theodosius, dated July 30, 381: "We command all the Churches to be delivered to those Bishops who confess the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit to be of one majesty and power, of the same glory, of one brightness." There is a long quotation from this treatise in the [PAGE LXIII] "De Trinitate" lib. X. [PL 62.289D-290C], ascribed to Vigilius Tapsensis. I have quoted the variant readings in my apparatus [infra pages 15-17]. (Burn, "Introduction" in Niceta of Remesiana: His Life and Works, 1905, p. lxii-lxiii)
- **[Clear Parallels from : Gregory of Elvira (d. 392) : province of Baetica, Spain]**
 - [Marrou : Review of Pseudo-Athanasii De Trinitate Liber X-XII by Simonetti] ...From the discussion only partial conclusions emerge: our books X-XII are directly inspired by Lettres à Sérapion and des Sermons contre les Ariens d'Athanase (356- 359); Book X offers very clear parallels with De fide de d'Elvire (361); (Marrou, Review of "Pseudo-Athanasii De Trinitate LI. X-XII by Manlio Simonetti" in: L'antiquité classique, Tome 26, fasc. 2, 1957, p. 477-478; Translated by Google <translate.google.com>. March 2020.)

B. Interrogationes Haereticorum, et Responsiones Catholicorum, De Trinitate Book 10, PL 62.289-298.

- **[Verona Codex 8th century] Fragmentum Dialogi Hominis Catholici cum Haeretico. CH.**

Ediciones: Mai, Nova Patrum bibliotheca. vol. 1, p. 496-497. Roma 1852. codice capituli veronensis antiquissimo n. 59.

 - Mai, Angelo. Novae patrum bibliothecae. Romae: Typis sacri Consilii propogando christiano nomini, 1844. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/705960636>.
<books.google.com/books?id=ywFQAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
 - [Musurillo] **For the Expositio (or book X of the original edition) Simonetti has used five MSS, some fragments of a fine eighth century Verona codex and the quotations in the libellus emendationis which the Council of Carthage forced the Pelagian Bishop Leporius to sign in token of recantation. In this way the substance of the Expositio became incorporated in early doctrine.** (Musurillo. Review of "Pseudo-Athanasii De Trinitate libri X-XII, éd. Manlio Simonetti, Bologne, Cappelli, 1956". Latomus, 17(1), 1958, p. 126)
 - **MS. 59. Capituli Veronensis.** Codex Veronensis membranaceus, overgrown with many changes over time, is of minored square form, yet of capital (majuscule) letters, but written so clumsy and distorted that it is very difficult to read. **It is considered to be of the 8th century.** (Ballerini, Sancti Leonis Magni romani pontificis Opera Omnia, 1757, vol. 4, p. cclvii; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, March 2020)

The Witness of God is Greater

HIT:

- **Heretic:** It is established in my heart that you are not ignorant to the superior, reasonable and true exposition. But for the consummation of faith, I ask you to explain, why the persons and names are divided, when there is one substance of Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit?
- **Athanasius:** Do you not know that the Father is one God, and the Son is one God, and the Holy Spirit is one God? It is one Name, because one is Their Substance. **Which is why also John says in his epistle: There are Three who give testimony in heaven, Father, Word and Spirit, and They are One [unum, neuter] in Christ Jesus.** Yet not one [unus, masculine], because not one is Their Person. Surely, can it be understood otherwise that if the Father is truly One [unus] who begets, He must not be the same also who is begotten by Himself? And if the Son is One [unus] who does not beget, He must not be the Father? And that the Holy Spirit, who is nor Father nor Son, must be a different Person, if He is in addition referenced as one who neither begets nor is born? (Heretics questions, the response of Catholics : On the Trinity, Book 10; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, March 2020)
 - **Latin:** [59] Haereticus. Firmata in corde meo non nescias superiora rationabiliter et vere exposita, sed ad cumulum fidei quaeso exponas, cur personis et nominibus dividuntur, cum sit una substantia Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti? [60] Athanasius. Ignoras, quia Pater Deus unus est, et Filius (0297B) unus Deus est, et Spiritus sanctus unus Deus est? Unitum nomen est, quia una est eorum substantia. **Unde et Ioannes in Epistola sua ait: Tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in coelo, Pater, Verbum et Spiritus: et in Christo Iesu unum sunt (I Ioan. V, 7);** non tamen unus est, quia non est eorum una persona. Nunquid aliud sentiendum est, quam Pater verus unus qui genuit, idem non sit qui et genitus ab ipso est; et Filius unus qui non genuit, Pater non sit; et Spiritus sanctus, qui nec Pater, nec Filius, alter sit in persona, praeterea qui nec genuit, nec natus referatur. (Interrogationes Haereticorum, et Responiones Catholicorum : De Trinitate liber X; CCSL 9:144-145; Migne Latina, PL 62.297)

Prologue to the Catholic Epistles (circa 400-450 AD)

• About the latter end of the fourth century, Jerome was engaged by Pope Damasus to revise the Septuagint and the Christian Scriptures. For this arduous work he was eminently qualified by talents and skill in the Hebrew and Greek languages. In spite of every impediment thrown in his way, he persevered in the glorious task, his illustrious patron having died before its completion. Nearly thirty years had elapsed before he reached the seven canonical epistles. To his revision of these he prefixed a prologue... [PAGE 215] The adversaries of the verse were aware that, if this preface were allowed to be genuine, they could not well dispute the genuineness of John's text. They therefore suppose it to be spurious, the production of a later age, though it carries in itself unequivocal marks of authenticity beyond any document to be found in ancient records. It is brief indeed and summary, but it is full of solid matter, which, like the aged oak, the monarch of the forest, strikes its roots deep and strong into the circumstances of Jerome's life. The attacks of Griesbach and Porson have, it is true, - stripped it of its reputation; but it still stands and will forever stand: and its branches, though now shattered and rendered bare by their unhallowed blasts, will again recover their integrity and firmness, and descend to future ages, covered with the imperishable verdure of truth. ('Ben David' [John Jones], 'Letters to the Editor', The Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature, vol 21, 1826, p. 214-215.)

• Translation of the Bible into Latin (382–405 AD). Jerome was a scholar at a time when that statement implied a fluency in Greek. He knew some Hebrew when he started his translation project, but moved to Jerusalem to strengthen his grip on Jewish scripture commentary. A wealthy Roman aristocrat, Paula, funded his stay in a monastery in Bethlehem and he completed his translation there. He began in 382 by correcting the existing Latin language version of the New Testament, commonly referred to as the *Vetus Latina*. By 390 he turned to translating the Hebrew Bible from the original Hebrew, having previously translated portions from the Septuagint which came from Alexandria. He believed that the mainstream

The Witness of God is Greater

Rabbinical Judaism had rejected the Septuagint as invalid Jewish scriptural texts because of what were ascertained as mistranslations along with its Hellenistic heretical elements.[24] He completed this work by 405. (Jerome. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jerome>).

• [Chapman] St. Jerome revised the whole New Testament. It is time to give proofs. They are of overwhelming strength. (p. 283) ...Tradition is unanimous. Until the few rather hasty modern critics, not a voice was ever raised to suggest that St. Jerome did not revise the whole New Testament. The victorious career of the Vulgate is entirely due to the fact that it was universally believed in early times to be a revision carried out by the most learned of Western Doctors at the bidding of Pope Damasus. It is true that the Old Latin did not immediately expire, and that St. Gregory the Great at the very end of the sixth century declared that the Roman Church used the old version [PAGE 285] as well as the new. In theory, yes. But even from St. Jerome's time onwards, pure Old Latin is not often to be found for the N.T. We have Vulgate, impure Vulgate, and mixed Old Latin and Vulgate, but no longer a rival Old Latin. And behind this tradition we have absolutely definite and categorical statements by St. Jerome himself, that he revised the whole New Testament. (Chapman, St. Jerome and the Vulgate N.T., part 3, 1923, p. 284-285)

• [Chapman] ...the fact that this Prologue, which is found in almost all MSS of the Epistles entire, and as early as the Codex Fuldensis (542-546 AD)... (Chapman, Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels, 1908, p. 264)

HIT:

- **[Jerome's Prologue to the Canonical Epistles]** The order of the seven Epistles (meaning the Epistles of Peter, James, John and Jude) in those Greek copyists who think soundly and follow the right faith, is not the same as it is found in the Latin copies. As Peter is first, so his Epistles are placed in the former before the rest. But as I have long since corrected the evangelists according to the rule of truth, so these epistles I have restored to their proper order, which, if arranged agreeably to the original text and faithfully interpreted in Latin diction, would neither cause perplexity to the readers nor would the various readings contradict themselves, especially in that place where we read of the unity of the Trinity laid down in the Epistle of John. In this I found translators [or copyists] widely deviating from the truth, who set down in their own editions the names only of the three witnesses, that is, the Water, Blood and Spirit, but omit the **testimony of the Father, the Word and the Holy Spirit**, by which above all places the divinity of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit is proved to be one. How far my edition differs from those of others I leave to the discernment of the reader. But whilst thou, O Virgin of Christ, demandest of me the truth of Scripture, thou in a manner exposest my old age to the rancorous teeth of those malicious [PAGE 215] men who hold me forth as faithless and a perverter of the Sacred Writings. But in such an undertaking I neither dread the malice of rivals, nor shall I withhold the truth of the Holy Scriptures from those who demand it. (Prologue to the Catholic Epistles; Translated by 'Ben David' [John Jones], 'Letters to the Editor', The Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature, vol 21, 1826, p. 214-215.)
 - **Latin:** Non idem ordo est apud Graecos, qui integre sapiunt, et fidem rectam sectantur, Epistolarum septem, quae Canonicae nuncupantur, qui in Latinis codicibus invenitur: ut, quia [Mart. quod quia] Petrus primus est in numero apostolorum, primae sint etiam eius Epistolae in ordine caeterarum. (0824A) Sed sicut evangelistas dudum ad veritatis lineam correximus: ita has proprio ordini, Deo nos iuvante, reddidimus. (0825A) Est enim prima earum una Iacobi, Petri duae, Iohannis tres, et Iudae una. (0826A) Quae si, ut ab eis digestae sunt, ita quoque ab interpretibus fideliter in Latinum verterentur eloquium, nec ambiguitatem legentibus facerent, nec sermonum sese varietas impugnaret [Al. varietates impugnarent]: illo praecipue loco ubi de unitate Trinitatis in prima Iohannis Epistola positum legimus. (0829A) In qua etiam ab infidelibus translatoribus multum erratum esse a fidei veritate comperimus: trium tantum vocabula, hoc est, aquae, sanguinis, et spiritus, in sua editione ponentes; **et Patris, Verbique, ac Spiritus testimonium omittentes**: in quo maxime et fides Catholica roboratur, et Patris et Filii ac Spiritus sancti una divinitatis substantia comprobatur. In caeteris vero Epistolis, quantum a nostra aliorum distet editio, lectoris prudentiae derelinquo. (0832A) Sed tu, virgo Christi Eustochium, dum a me impensius Scripturae veritatem inquiris, meam quodam modo senectutem invidorum dentibus corrodendam exponis;

The Witness of God is Greater

qui me falsarium corruptoremque sanctarum pronuntiant Scripturarum. Sed ego in tali opere nec aemulorum meorum invidentiam pertimesco: nec sanctae Scripturae veritatem poscentibus denegabo. (Hieronymus, Prologus Epistolarum canonicarum; Migne Latina, PL 29.0823-0826; Codex Fuldensis, Ranke, 1868, p. 399)

Comment:

• [Martin] The most specious [absurd] of those which had been urged against this Preface, was that the seven Epistles are there called "*Canonical*", a name which F. Martianay, who is the Author of this remark, pretends was not given to these Epistles, 'till after the sixth Century, and consequently that it could not be St. Jerome, who wrote the Preface, where they are called by this name. This reason would be good, if the remark was just, but I have shewn from several Authors, that it is not: I hope I shall not offend, if I here add two other instances. The first is from Vigilius, Bishop of Tapsum in the fifth Century, who in his Book against Varimadus says, "*Tis written in the Canonical Epistles, my little children, this is the last time*": the quotation is from the first Epistle of St. John. The other instance is taken from St. Jerome himself, who in an Epistle to Paul, Marcellus, and Eustochium, the same Eustochium to whom the Prologue is addressed, says to them, "*Jude the Apostle and Brother of James had said in his Canonical Epistle, &c.*" F. Martianay, who has read so often over the works of St. Jerome, of which he has given us a most beautiful Edition, and adorned them with the most learned Prefaces which have appeared, would be much surprised, were he alive, to see his Criticism upon the word "*Canonical*", confuted by St. Jerome himself; but the most learned men are subject to such mistakes. (Martin, The genuineness of the text of the first Epistle of Saint John 5:7, 1722, p. 49)

Eustochium Julia (368-420 AD)

• **Saint Eustochium (c. 368 – September 28, 419 or 420).** Born Eustochium Julia at Rome, she was the daughter of Paula and is also venerated as a saint and was an early Desert Mother. She was the third of four daughters of the Roman Senator Toxotius.[2] After the death of her husband around 380 Paula and her daughter Eustochium lived in Rome as austere a life as the fathers of the desert.[3] Eustochium had three sisters, Blaesilla, Paulina, and Rufina, and a brother, Toxotius. Eustochium spoke Latin and Classical Greek with equal ease and was able to read the scriptures in the Hebrew text. Many of Jerome's Biblical commentaries owe their existence to her influence and to her he dedicated his commentaries on the prophets Isaias and Ezekiel. The letters which Jerome wrote for her instruction and spiritual advancement are, according to his own testimony,[4] very numerous. After the death of Paula in 404, Eustochium assumed the direction of the nunneries. Her task was a difficult one on account of the impoverished condition of the temporal affairs which was brought about by the lavish almsgiving of Paula. Jerome was of great assistance to her by his encouragement and prudent advice. When Jerome came to Rome from Palestine in 382, they put themselves under his spiritual guidance. Hymettius, an uncle of Eustochium, and his wife Praetextata tried to persuade the youthful Eustochium to give up her austere life and enjoy the pleasures of the world, but all their attempts were futile. About the year 384 she made a vow of perpetual virginity, on which occasion Jerome addressed to her his celebrated letter *De custodia virginitatis* (Ep. xxii in P.L., XXII, 394–425). A year later Jerome returned to Palestine and soon after was followed to the Orient by Paula and Eustochium. In 386 they accompanied Jerome on his journey to Egypt, where they visited the hermits of the Nitrian Desert in order to study and afterward imitate their mode of life. In the fall of the same year they returned to Palestine and settled permanently at Bethlehem. Paula and Eustochium at once began to erect four monasteries and a hospice near the spot where Christ was born. While the erection of the monasteries was in process (386–9) they lived in a small building in the neighbourhood. One of the monasteries was occupied by monks and put under the direction of Jerome. The three other monasteries were taken by Paula and Eustochium and the numerous virgins that flocked around them. The three convents, which were under the supervision of Paula, had only one oratory, where all the virgins met several times daily for prayer and the liturgy of the hours. Jerome testifies (Ep. 308) that Eustochium and Paula performed the most menial services. Much of their time they spent in the study of Holy Scripture under the direction of Jerome. (Eustochium. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eustochium>)

• **[Eustochium's letters]** Only three letters from Jerome to Eustochium are to be found in his collected letters, the one on virginity, ep.22, a thank-you note for gifts she had sent, ep.31, and a eulogy of her dead mother, Paula, ep.108. Jerome

The Witness of God is Greater

says, in *De viris illustribus*, ch.135, that he wrote to Paula and Eustochium every day while they were in Bethlehem. Those letters are not extant, but the prologues attached to the works and sometimes to the individual parts of the works he did for them are, and they constitute a fair-sized body of correspondence. Only one letter from Eustochium and her mother is extant, the one inviting Marcella to visit them in the Holy Land, which may be primarily the work of Paula (though, of course, it has also been attributed to Jerome). (Eustochium, *Medieval Women's Latin Letters*, <epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/woman/33.html>)

Corruption of John's First Epistle

- **[Socrates : Church History]** Nestorius (386–450 AD) thus acquired the reputation among the masses of asserting the blasphemous dogma that the Lord is a mere man, and attempting to foist on the Church the dogmas of Paul of Samosata and Photinus; and so great a clamor was raised by the contention that it was deemed requisite to convene a general council to take cognizance of the matter in dispute. Having myself perused the writings of Nestorius, I have found him an unlearned man and shall candidly express the conviction of my own mind concerning him: and as in entire freedom from personal antipathies, I have already alluded to his faults, I shall in like manner be unbiased by the criminations of his adversaries, to derogate from his merits. I cannot then concede that he was either a follower of Paul of Samosata or of Photinus, or that he denied the Divinity of Christ: but he seemed scared at the term Theotocos, as though it were some terrible phantom. The fact is, the causeless alarm he manifested on this subject just exposed his extreme ignorance: for being a man of natural fluency as a speaker, he was considered well educated, but in reality he was disgracefully illiterate. In fact he condemned the drudgery of an accurate examination of the ancient expositors: and, puffed up with his readiness of expression, he did not give his attention to the ancients, but thought himself the greatest of all. Now he was evidently unacquainted with the fact that in the First Catholic epistle of John it was written in the ancient copies, 'Every spirit that separates Jesus, is not of God.' The mutilation of this passage is attributable to those who desired to separate the Divine nature from the human economy: or to use the very language of the early interpreters, some persons have corrupted this epistle, aiming at 'separating the manhood of Christ from his Deity.' But the humanity is united to the Divinity in the Saviour, so as to constitute not two persons but one only. (Socrates, *Church History Book 7.32*; NPNF02, vol 2. <www.newadvent.org/fathers/26017.htm>.)
- **[Epiphanius of Salamis]** 50.3,1 Now these Alogi say (this is what I call them). They shall be so called from now on, and let us give them this name, beloved: Alogi. (2) For they believed in the heresy for which < that* > name < was a good one* >, since it rejects the books by John. As they do not accept the Word which John preaches, they shall be called Dumb.10 (3) As complete strangers to the truth's message they deny its purity, and accept neither John's Gospel nor his Revelation. 50.3,4 And if they accepted the Gospel but rejected the Revelation, I would say they might be doing it from scrupulousness, and refusing to accept an "apocryphon" because of the deep and difficult sayings in the Revelation. (5) But since they do not accept the books in which St. John actually proclaimed his Gospel, it must be plain to everyone that they and their kind are the ones of whom St. John said in his General Epistles, "It is the last hour and ye have heard that Antichrist cometh; even now, lo, there are many Antichrists."11 (6) For they offer excuses [for their behavior]. Knowing, as they do, that St. John was an apostle and the Lord's beloved, that the Lord rightly revealed the mysteries to him, and < that he* > leaned upon his breast, they are ashamed to contradict him and try to object to these mysteries for a different reason. For they say that they are not John's composition but Cerinthus', and have no right to a place in the church. 50.4,1 And it can be shown at once, from this very attack, that they "understand neither what they say nor whereof they affirm."12 How can the words which are directed against Cerinthus be by Cerinthus? (2) Cerinthus says that Christ is of recent origin and a mere man, while John has proclaimed that < he > is the eternal Word, and has come from on high and been made flesh. From the very outset, then, their worthless quibble is exposed as foolish, and unaware of its own refutation. (Epiphanius, *Panarion*, p. 28; Translated by Frank Williams, 2013.)

The Witness of God is Greater

Same Doctrines : John's Gospel & Revelation & Epistle

- [Eusebius] [20.1.1] **Dionysius [Bishop of Alexandria (d. 264 AD)]**, besides his epistles already mentioned, wrote at that time also his extant Festal Epistles, in which he uses words of panegyric respecting the Passover feast. He addressed one of these to Flavius, and another to Domitius and Didymus, in which he sets forth a canon of eight years, maintaining that it is not proper to observe the paschal feast until after the vernal equinox. Besides these he sent another epistle to his fellow presbyters in Alexandria, as well as various others to different persons while the persecution was still prevailing. ...Afterward he speaks in this manner of the Apocalypse of John: "[7.25.18] For the Gospel and Epistle agree with each other and begin in the same manner. The one says, 'In the beginning was the Word'; John 1:1 the other, 'That which was from the beginning.' 1 John 1:1 The one: 'And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father'; John 1:14 the other says the same things slightly altered: 'Which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes; which we have looked upon and our hands have handled of the Word of life — and the life was manifested.' 1 John 1:1-2 [7.25.19] For he introduces these things at the beginning, maintaining them, as is evident from what follows, in opposition to those who said that the Lord had not come in the flesh. Wherefore also he carefully adds, 'And we have seen and bear witness, and declare unto you the eternal life which was with the Father and was manifested unto us. That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you also.' 1 John 1:2-3 [7.25.20] He holds to this and does not digress from his subject, but discusses everything under the same heads and names some of which we will briefly mention. [7.25.21] Any one who examines carefully will find the phrases, 'the life,' 'the light,' 'turning from darkness,' frequently occurring in both; also continually, 'truth,' 'grace,' 'joy,' 'the flesh and blood of the Lord,' 'the judgment,' 'the forgiveness of sins,' 'the love of God toward us,' the 'commandment that we love one another,' that we should 'keep all the commandments'; the 'conviction of the world, of the Devil, of Anti-Christ,' the 'promise of the Holy Spirit,' the 'adoption of God,' the 'faith continually required of us,' 'the Father and the Son,' occur everywhere. In fact, it is plainly to be seen that one and the same character marks the Gospel and the Epistle throughout." (Eusebius of Caesarea, Church History, Book 7; NPNF02 vol 1 <www.newadvent.org/fathers/250107.htm>)
- **[Epiphanius of Salamis]** 34,1 Again, in their endless hunt for texts, to give the appearance of discrediting the holy apostle's books—I mean John's Gospel and Revelation and perhaps the Epistles as well, for they too agree with the Gospel and Revelation—these people get excited (2) and quote, "I saw, and he said to the angel, Loose the four angels which are upon the Euphrates. And I heard the number of the host, ten thousand times ten thousand and thousands of thousands, and they were clad in breastplates of fire and sulfur and hyacinth." (Epiphanius, Panarion, p. 67; Translated by Frank Williams, 2013.)
- **[Frederick Nolan (d. 1864)]** As far as I can collect from his [St. Epiphanius] words, [PAGE 569] he has implicitly declared that they [the Alogi] objected not less to the Epistles written by St. John, than to his Gospel. (fn. 244. St. Epiphanius expresses himself on the present subject in the following unqualified terms. ...The connexion of the sense, in the last clause of this sentence, apparently renders it necessary that we should suppose the Alogi rejected the Catholic Epistles; and Petavius [D. Petavius, SJ, 2 vols., Paris, 1622; repr. in J. P. Migne, PG 41–3] accordingly renders the first clause; "but they especially reject the books of John altogether" (Latin: sed com universos Joannis libros proprie rejiciant, &c.) (Nolan, An Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate, or Received Text of the New Testament, 1815, p. 568-569)

Quodvultdeus (d. 450 AD)

• Quodvultdeus (Latin for "what God wills", died c. 450 AD) was a fifth-century church father and bishop of Carthage who was exiled to Naples. He was known to have been living in Carthage around 407 and became a deacon in 421 AD. He corresponded with Augustine of Hippo, who served as Quodvultdeus' spiritual teacher.[1] Augustine also dedicated some of his writings to Quodvultdeus.[1] Quodvultdeus was exiled when Carthage was captured by the Vandals led by King Genseric, who followed Arianism. Tradition states that he and other churchmen (such as Gaudiosus of Naples) were

The Witness of God is Greater

loaded onto leaky ships that landed at Naples around 439 AD and Quodvultdeus established himself in Italy.[1] He would go on to convert dozens of Arian Goths to Orthodoxy in his lifetime. One of the mosaic burial portraits in the Galleria dei Vescovi in the Catacombs of San Gennaro depicts Quodvultdeus. (Quodvultdeus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quodvultdeus>)

HIT:

- [Sermon] If you recognize that the Father is God and that the Son is God, and if you believe that the Son is eternal like the Father, then do not say that the Son is inferior for having created you, because he was lowered to redeem you. But you answer that he himself said: "My Father is greater than me. (Jean, xiv, 28.) Yes, according to human nature, understand it this way, and you leave your error. He said, "My Father is greater than me," in the sense that the prophet said, "You have placed him below the angels for a little while. (Ps. VIII, 6.) For you, tell us in what respect do you find it inferior? Is it for power?" But the Father does not judge anyone, it is the Son. (John, v, 22.) Is it for the works?" But everything was done by the Son." (John, i, 3.) If according to the rule of temporal things, you were of your God, that as you are greater than your son, he is also greater than his Son, I pray God to remove these words from the ear of the faithful, for they are blasphemies against God. Indeed, if the Son, according to the Divinity, is the Word of God, as Saint John the Evangelist tells it: "In the principle was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God;" (John, i, 1) does that mean that there was a time when the Father was without the Word, or that there was a principle before the principle itself, since the Son says that he is the principle? The Jews once asked him, "Who are you?" "He replied: "The principle." (John, viii, 23.) This word of Genesis: "In the principle God made heaven and earth," (Gen., i, 1) must therefore be understood of the Son who is the principle. **So therefore God the Father is eternal, God the Son is eternal; for the Father has never been without being the Father, and never the Son without being the Son. And the Father, in order to father his Son, lost nothing of himself; but it has generated another kind of itself in such a way that it has not ceased to be entirely what it is. Now, the Holy Spirit proceeds, in an indivisible manner, entirely from an entire source without diminishing it by going out, and without increasing it by staying. And the three are one God, according to this saying of the prophet: "You are the one great God." (Ps. Lxxxv, 10.)** You, O' heretic, imagine degrees, separate the Trinity, make the Father greater, the Son less great, and the Holy Spirit coming after. But already we have spoken of the Son to say that he is equal to his Father, and we have said what was right; let's also talk about the Holy Spirit, which you claim to be inferior to the Father and the Son. For the Holy Spirit is himself the spirit of God. (Quodvultdeus, Sermon to the Catechumens on the New Song 7; Translated by Barreau, vol 22, 1870)
 - **Latin:** Si Patrem confiteris Deum, Deum Filium, æternumque credis et Patrem et Filium ; noli minorem facere Filium in eo quod fecit te, quia ideo minor factus [132] est, ut redimeret te. Sed ipse, iniquis, dixit : « Pater major me est. »39 Intellige secundum susceptum hominem, et deponis errorem. Secundum hoc dicit : « Pater major me est, » secundum quod de eo ait Propheta : « Minorasti eum paulo minus ab Angelis. »40 Tu autem dic, secundum quid eum minorem asseris ? Si secundum potestatem « Pater non judicat quemquam, sed Filius. »41 Si secundum opera : « Omnia per Filium facta sunt. »42 Si secundum tempus hoc credis de Deo tuo, quia sicut tu major es filio tuo, ita ille filio suo : avertat hoc Deus ab auribus fidelium ; indigna sunt ista credere de Deo. Si enim Filius secundum deitatem Dei Verbum est, sicut evangelista Joannes narrat : « In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum ;43 » fuit aliquod tempus quando Pater fuit sine Verbo, aut fuit aliquod principium ante ipsum principium, quoniam ipse Filius dixit se esse principium ? Interrogantibus quippe Judæis : « Tu qui es ? Respondit : Principium. »44 Ergo et illud quod in Genesi scriptum est : « In principio fecit Deus coelum et terram, »45 intelligitur in Filio, qui est principium. **Sic ergo semper Deus Pater, semper Deus Filius : quia nec ille aliquando non Pater, nec iste aliquando non Filius. Non enim ut Pater generaret Filium, minuit se ipsum : sed ita genuit de se alterum qualem se, ut totus maneret in se. Spiritus autem sanctus non præcedit unde procedit, sed integer de integro, nec minuit eum procedendo, nec auget haerendo. Et hæc tria unus Deus, de quo Propheta dicit : « Tu es Deus solus**

The Witness of God is Greater

magnus. »46 Tu autem, haeretice, compone gradus, separa Trinitatem : fac Patrem majorem, Filium minorem, Spiritum sanctum sequentem. Sed jam de Filio, quod aequalis sit Patri, [133] aliqua diximus, et quod occurrit, diximus : audi et de Spiritu sancto, quem minorem vis esse Patre et Filio. Nempe Spiritus sanctus ipse Spiritus est Dei. (Quodvultdeus, De cantico novo et de reditu ad coelestem patriam ac viæ periculis, sermo ad catechumenos 7, CCSL 60:389; Migne Latina, PL 40.684)

The Exile of Quodvultdeus, Bishop of Carthage

• [V. Vitensis] Geiseric was by no means slow to enjoin the Vandals to put bishops and noble laity to flight from their churches and residences, completely naked. And if they were slow to leave when given the choice, they were to stay behind as perpetual slaves. This is something which happened to many people, for we know of many bishops and laity, *clari* and *honorati*, who are slaves of the Vandals. But then he ordered that the bishop of the aforementioned city, that is, Carthage, a person well known to God and man, whose name was Quodvultdeus, and a great throng of the clergy, were to be placed naked on dangerous ships. Having been despoiled, they were to be driven away. In his merciful goodness the Lord graciously brought them to Naples, a town in Campania, after a safe passage. Geiseric badly treated a great number of senators and *honorati*, cruelly exiling them in the first place and subsequently driving them to lands beyond the sea. When the bishop had been driven out, together with the venerable clergy, as we said above, he immediately delivered the church called *Restituta*, in which the bishops had always had their throne, over to his own religion, and he carried away all the churches which were inside the walls of the town, together with their wealth. (Victor Vitensis, *History of the Vandal Persecution* 1.14-15; Translated by Moorhead, 1992, p. 8)

Quodvultdeus and Augustine of Hippo

- [Vopřada] At the end of his intellectual formation, Quodvultdeus became a deacon of the Church at some point during the long episcopate of the Carthaginian bishop Aurelius (393–430). ...However, the important fact for our depiction here is that Quodvultdeus served as a deacon of the Carthaginian Church from a relatively young age, and it was at least ten to fifteen years that passed from, at the latest, the year 421 until his episcopal ordination.²⁰ (Vopřada, 2019, p. 59)
- [Vopřada] We know almost nothing about the years of Quodvultdeus's service as a deacon, when he actively participated in the life of the Carthaginian Church and when he experienced many significant moments in this heart of the African Church; the exception is one episode which is brought to the attention by Augustine in his work *De haeresibus* and which is also mentioned by Possidius of Calama in Augustine's biography. (Vopřada, 2019, p. 59) ...the arrest of a group of Manichaeist 'chosen' (*electi*) took place at some point between 417 and 421. These were brought to a church where they were officially questioned by the bishops present, among these also Augustine,¹⁶ and the deacon Quodvultdeus was also present at the questioning. The episode also reveals that Quodvultdeus knew Augustine personally and not only through his writings. (Vopřada, 2019, p. 60)
- Vopřada, "Quodvultdeus and His Work". In *Quodvultdeus and His Work.*, 2019.

• [McClure] In 397 Augustine wrote to Jerome to criticize his "On Illustrious Men" (Latin: *De viris Illustribus*) on the grounds that, although it included some prominent heretics, it did not indicate the precise nature of their heterodox opinions. Augustine then tried to persuade Jerome to bring out a small volume devoted entirely to summarizing the teachings of all condemned heretics: a *de haeresibus*, in fact. This would be a help, Augustine argued, to those who were preoccupied with many duties, and who were ignorant of Greek. He obviously had busy western bishops, like himself, in mind. Others clearly felt the same. Filastrius, Bishop of Brescia, had been closely involved in Ambrose' Arian skirmishes in Milan: Filastrius was present at the Council of Aquileia, and was remembered after his death as a fierce opponent of heretics. He had the advantage of speaking Greek, and with the help of several Greek anti-heretical compilations, he drew up his own *Diversarum Hereseon Liber*. Two anonymous works of the same kind were also available in the West: a short catalogue, soon attributed to Jerome, and the *Anacephaleosis* [written in Greek], and abridgement in Greek of the formidably long *Panarion* of Epiphanius of Salamis. **So when in the 420s, the deacon Quodvultdeus of Carthage asked the ageing [PAGE 191] Augustine to bring out a list [of Heresies], Augustine could quite legitimately point to Filastrius' work in Latin and to the *Anacephaleosis*, which he thought was the original work of Epiphanius, in Greek, and decline**

The Witness of God is Greater

the task; not without reason, as Augustine was engaged in writing his *Retractiones* and in his and in his detailed rebuttal of the works of Julian of Aeclanum at the time. He tried to put off Quodvultdeus, and even to inveigle him into translating the *Anacephaleosis* into Latin, but the deacon was extremely persistent, and Augustine's *De Haeresibus* was the result. Augustine originally intended his *De Haeresibus* to be more than a handbook: in fact, he hoped to write quite a substantial work on the subject of heresy. Quodvultdeus had asked a list to provide for the instruction of clergy and laity of Carthage, he presumably knew well enough the uses. He appreciated the enormity of what he was asking: no exposition of all the heresies since the coming of Christ, of the Church's position on each of them, and even a description methods to be employed when each particular sect returned. Evidently it was intended, by Quodvultdeus at least, to work available for consultation in the case of specific need. After his initial reluctance, Augustine set to work. The treatise, he decided, would be the simple catalogue, and not prepared to do anything very original, bearing in books already in existence. So he read Filastrius carefully he ploughed his way through the *Anacephaleosis* in Greek, and not very felicitously translating useful sections of referred to the then anonymous *Indiculus de Haeresibus* posed long sections dealing with the heresies he had had himself: Manichaeism; Donatism, which [PAGE 192] heresy, once its adherents had built a theology around schism; and Pelagianism or Caelestinianism, as some called it. Taken as a whole, the first book of the *De Haeresibus* is testimony to Augustine's, and his contemporaries', belief in the possibilities of heterodox opinion in every conceivable aspect of Christian belief and behaviour. ...Augustine's handbook was to be the most influential. ...there are no fewer than eighty extant codices of Augustine's *De Haeresibus*, including one of the oldest extant manuscripts of Augustine, the Codex [PAGE 194] Bambergensis, which was written in southern Italy in the late sixth century. ...The Codex Bambergensis was taken to Rome at some point, according to Professor Lowe, and, no doubt as it contained a particularly useful combination of works for pastoral purposes, it was collected and taken over the Alps, probably sometime in the eight century, as its Insular marginalia testify. (McClure, HANDBOOKS AGAINST HERESY IN THE WEST, FROM THE LATE FOURTH TO THE LATE SIXTH CENTURIES, 1979, p. 190-192, 193-194)

Zacharias Rhetor (born c. 465 AD)

• Zacharias of Mytilene (c. 465, Gaza – after 536), also known as Zacharias Scholasticus or Zacharias Rhetor, was a bishop and ecclesiastical historian. The life of Zacharias of Mytilene can be reconstructed only from a few scattered reports in contemporary sources (the accounts are also partly conflicting – for example, some Syrian authors have "Melitene" instead of "Mytilene"). Zacharias was born and raised in a Christian family near Gaza, which hosted a significant school of rhetorics in late antiquity. That was also where he received his initial education. In 485, he travelled to Alexandria, where he studied philosophy for two years. In Alexandria, he was embroiled in a conflict between Christians and Pagans in connection with the Horapollon affair. It was also there he met Severus, who was later to become a notable patriarch of Antioch. Zacharias travelled in 487 to Beirut to study law at its law school. He stayed there, leading a very ascetic life, until 491, but he also made several journeys to different parts of Palestine in search for religious knowledge. He finally moved to Constantinople, where he worked as a lawyer for a long time. Zacharias, who was Miaphysite in Christology [i.e., theology concerning the nature of the incarnate Word], yet not ardently opposing Chalcedonians, seems to have often played with the thought of becoming a monk. He apparently had good contacts with the Imperial court and that probably won him the appointment as Bishop of Mytilene (on Lesbos). His successor is known to have taken the post in 553, setting the terminus ante quem for his death. He was certainly alive in 536, as he took part in the Synod in Constantinople that year. (Zacharias Rhetor. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zacharias_Rhetor>)

• **Miaphysitism** is Cyril of Alexandria's Christological formula holding that in the person of Jesus Christ, divine nature and human nature are united in a compound nature, the two being united without separation, without mixture, without confusion and without alteration.[1] (Miaphysitism. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Miaphysitism>)

The Witness of God is Greater

HIT:

B. This also seems to me to be right.

A. Well, O blessed one; we have finished with the issues of our dispute. Now it is time for us, turning our mind to prayer, to give praise to the Maker and Creator of everything. O Lord, and Creator of everything; **O Father, and Word, and Holy Spirit, O Divine Trinity, [PAGE 118] both threefold and holy unity**; Father without beginning, and not generated: Son begotten without beginning: Divine Spirit proceeding from the Father without beginning: Trinity ineffably recapitulated in Unity; Unity unutterably worshipped in Trinity, and not being able to be understood by us; uncreated, eternal, and consubstantial Trinity, first and blessed Nature, and the beginning (or, principle) of the existing ones, the abundant goodness and the real Being; give us the mind to be purged, and make it worthy of your splendor and your contemplation; so that purely, as much as possible, to you most pure One let us approach, if this is right."Give us"to drive out the evil characters from the soul, [PAGE 119] and marks: and to represent the first image with no haze; so that the great coming and the presence of the Trinity, of the one God, and Word will not be in vain for me; and the salvatory and marvelous sufferings, with the means of which we are set free from sin. Make our souls around virtue, with carelessness, do not lead, indeed before separation from bodies, meditation must be meditated; because we have not since [PAGE 120] we will be troubled when our bonds are broken, and we do not often turn to them because of the separation. Give us more to escape the list of punishments, and not to experience bitter exiting: but gather us, and place us in the supernal rooms, when you will like it the most, and when [PAGE 121] we will seriously think about it, honestly living in these frail bodies; in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. We have prayed enough: let's go now. (Zacharius of Rhetor. Disputatio de Mundi Opificio; Migne Graeca, PG 85.1141; Translated by Pavlos D. Vasileiadis, correspondence, December 2018)

Greek:

B. Δίκαιον ἐφάνη καὶ τοῦτο.

A. Εἶεν, ὦ μακάριε· πεπλήρωται ἡμῖν τὰ τῆς διαλέξεως. Νῦν δὴ καιρὸς εἰς εὐχὴν τὸν νοῦν τρέφαντας, ὑμνεῖν τὸν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς Ποιητὴν καὶ Δημιουργόν. Ὡ Δέσποτα καὶ Δημιουργέ τοῦδε τοῦ παντός, ὦ **Πάτερ, καὶ Λόγε, καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ὦ θεία Τριάς, καὶ τρισσὴ καὶ ἅγια μονάς**. Πάτερ ἀναρχε καὶ ἀγέννητε, Υἱὲ ἀνάρχως γεγεννημένε, Πνεῦμα θεῖον, προελθὸν ἀνάρχως ἐκ Πατρὸς, Τριάς ἀρρήτως εἰς μονάδα ἀνακεφαλαιουμένη, μονάς ἀνεκφράστως ἐν Τριάδι προσκυνουμένη, καὶ μὴ καταλαμβανομένη, Τριάς ἄκτιστε, αἰδίε καὶ ὁμοούσιε, ἡ πρώτη καὶ μακαρία φύσις, καὶ τῶν ὄντων ἀρχή, ἡ ἄφθονος ἀγαθότης καὶ τὸ ὄντως. Ὡν, δοίης ἡμῖν καθᾶραι τὸν νοῦν, καὶ ἄξιον ποιῆσαι τῆς σῆς ἐλλάμφεως καὶ θεωρίας, ἵνα καθαρῶς ὡς οἶόν τε, σοῦ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου ἐφαπτώμεθα, εἰ θέμις ἐστί· καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς χαρακτήρας καὶ τύπους τῆς ψυχῆς, ἐξελάσαι, δεῖξαι τε τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν πρώτην ἀθόλωτον, καὶ μὴ εἰς μάτην ἡμῖν γενέσθαι τὴν μεγάλην σου τοῦ τῆς Τριάδος ἐνὸς Θεοῦ καὶ Λόγου ἐπιδημίαν καὶ παρουσίαν, καὶ τὰ σωτήρια καὶ ὑπερφυῆ παθήματα, δι' ὧν τῆς ἀμαρτίας λελύμεθα. Ποιήσεις δὲ τὰς ἡμετέρας ψυχὰς, μὴ ἀμελετήτως ἔχειν πρὸς ἀρετήν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ μελετήσαι τὴν λύσιν, πρὸ τῆς λύσεως τῶν σωμάτων· ὡς ἂν μὴ παραχθείμεν λουμένων ἡμῖν τῶν δεσμῶν, καὶ πικρὰ στρεφώμεθα πρὸς τὰ ὧδε, δυσχεραίνοντες τὴν διάζευξιν. Δοίης δὲ γε διαφυγεῖν τὸν κατάλογον τῶν κολάσεων, καὶ μὴ πειραθῆναι πικρᾶς τῆς ἐκδημίας, ἀλλ' εἰς τὰς ἅνω μονὰς συνάπποις καὶ συντάπτοις, ἡνίκα σοι φίλον ἦ, καὶ ἡμῖν ἔχοι διὰ τῆς μελέτης καλῶς, καὶ τοῦ (85.1144) μετὰ τῶν σωμάτων βίου τῶν ἐπικλήρων, εἰς κόλπους Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ. Ἰκανῶς ἡμῖν ἠῦκται. Ἀλλ' ἴωμεν. (Zacharius of Rhetor. Disputatio de Mundi Opificio; Migne Graeca, PG 85.1141)

Comment:

[KJV Today] Not only are the persons of the Trinity named according to the wording of the Comma, the following clause, "both threefold and holy unity" mirrors the Comma's "there are three... and the three are one". (Zacharias Rhetor. Greek fathers knew of the Comma. Johannine Comma (1 John 5:7). KJV Today. <www.kjvtoday.com/home/the-father-the-word-and-the-holy-ghost-in-1-john-57>)

The Witness of God is Greater

Julianus Pomerius (495 AD)

Julianus Pomerius was a Christian priest in fifth century Gaul. He wrote five treatises, only one of which, *De Vita Contemplativa*, survives. He was renowned in rhetoric and grammar and was friends with Ennodius and Ruricius. He appears to have fled from Mauritania, North Africa to Gaul to escape the Vandals, towards the end of the century. He became an abbot and a teacher of rhetoric at Arles, where he was known for the teacher of Caesarius, a great conservator of Augustine of Hippo's teachings. It is known that their titles probably emphasized the ascetic ideal. (Julianus Pomerius. Wikipedia.

<en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Julianus_Pomerius>

HITS:

- Chapter 18. It profits a priest little to show by example what should be done, unless by teaching he also indicates what must be believed.
 - Even if all perfection were to consist in deed alone and not also in faith and if a man were to be asked on Judgement Day not what he had believed but what he had done, who would be so presumptuous as to flatter himself on his justice if he had disregarded the importance of the Church's doctrine? For we ought not only, according to the Apostle, to show an example to the faithful but also to teach those faithful who have been divinely entrusted to us for instruction: of the Father, how He is held to be the only unbegotten One; of the Son, how He is generated from the Father; of the Holy Spirit, how He, proceeding from the Father and the Son, can be called neither unbegotten nor begotten; **how these three are one, and how this one is not divided but is distinguished into three**; and how neither the Father nor the Holy Spirit, but only the Son, born ineffably of the Father alone, took on complete human nature without any change of His substance; and how He proved Himself true God and man by his virtues and His sufferings; allowed Himself to be captured; willed to be put to death; arose on the third day; by His own power raised into heaven the humanity He had taken from us; by the example of His resurrection gave us, reborn in Him, the hope of rising happily; made us His members; threatened with punishment not those who believe in Him but those who abandon Him; and promised His adherents the kingdom of heaven. (Julianus Pomerius, *The contemplative life*, book 1.18; Translated by Mary Josephine Suelzer, 1947, p. 39-40)
 - CAPUT XVIII. Quod parum valeat exemplo agenda monstrare, nisi etiam quae sint credenda docendo sacerdos ostenderit.
 - Et iam si tota perfectio in opere tantum, non etiam in fide consisteret, nec quid homo credidisset, sed quid egisset in die iudicii quaereretur, quis erit tantae arrogantiae, qui, ecclesiasticae doctrinae auctoritate neglecta, de sua sibi iustitia blandiatur? (0432D) cum non solum, secundum Apostolum (II Thess. III, 9; I Petr. V, 3) nos oporteat formam praebere fidelibus, sed etiam eos ipsos fideles, qui nobis divinitus instituendi commissi sunt, instruere debeamus: de Patre, quomodo solus accipiatur ingenitus; de Filio, quomodo ex ipso sit genitus; de Spiritu sancto, quomodo ex Patre et Filio procedens, nec ingenitus possit dici, nec genitus; **qualiter ista tria unum sint; et hoc unum non dividatur, sed distinguatur in tria**: quemadmodum nec Pater, nec Spiritus sanctus, sed solus Filius de solo Patre ineffabiliter natus, hominem totum sine ulla mutatione substantiae suae suscepit; ac se Deum et hominem verum per virtutes, passionisque probaverit, comprehendi permiserit, occidi voluerit, tertia die resurrexerit, in coelos hominem de nobis assumptum sua virtute levaverit, suae resurrectionis exemplo nobis regeneratis in se spem feliciter resurgendi praestiterit; membra sua nos fecerit; non credentibus sibi, vel a se recedentibus supplicium comminatus sit, et adhaerentibus sibi regnum coeleste promiserit. (Julianus Pomerius, *De Vita Contemplativa Libri Tres*, Book 1.18; Migne Latin, PL 59.432-433)

Justin Martyr : Exposition of the True Faith (5th century)

- [Vranic] The attribution [of Exposition of the True Faith] to Justin Martyr went unquestioned until the eighteenth century. Some two hundred years later, the work has been conclusively restored to Theodoret of

The Witness of God is Greater

Cyrrhus (393-457 AD), whose authorship has remained unchallenged since 1930. (Vranic, *The Constancy and Development in the Christology of Theodoret of Cyrrhus*, 2015, p. 74)

• [Vranic] In 1880 J.K.T. von Otto published his third edition of the works of Justin Martyr. In this critical edition, the *Expositio* was published among the "fragmenta pseudo-ivstini." In creating the critical text, von Otto used most of the extant manuscripts containing the *Expositio rectae fidei*: Codex (Regius) Parisinus MCCNCVIII—codex A; Codex (Regius) Parisinus CMXXXVIII—codex Ab; Codex (Regius) Parisinus MCCLIX A—coda B; Codex (Regius) Parisinus CDL—codex C; Codex Coislinianus CXX—codex D; Codex Coislinianus CCXXV—codex Db; Codex Claromontanus LXXXII—codex E and Eb; Coda Argentoratensis grace IX—codex F; Codex Gissensis DCLXIX—codex G; Coda Monacensis graecus CXXI—codex M; Codex Venetus graecus LXXXVI—codex V. Several codices containing the *Expositio* were not taken into consideration due to their inaccessibility but the chances that these manuscripts would substantially alter von Otto's critical text are negligible. Von Otto detected two recensions of the text, a shorter and a longer version. The shorter version is found in the reliable ancient codices D, G, and B, while the other manuscripts of the same family (A, Ab, Eb, V) contain the longer text. Von Otto's critical edition relies on this manuscript family. The rest of the manuscripts have the relatively corrupted text of the longer recension. (Vranic, *The Constancy and Development in the Christology of Theodoret of Cyrrhus*, 2015, p. 75)

• [Vranic] The two versions of the *Expositio rectae fidei* have existed since at least the tenth century. The longer recension is divided into eighteen chapters. The shorter version excludes chapters 1, 6, and 18, most of chapters 7, 8, and 16, and parts of chapters 5, 9, 10, and 13. As Sellers remarks, the shorter version is about three-fifths the length of the complete version **F.K. von Funk conducted a study of the two recensions and concluded that the shorter version is merely an abbreviation of the original text, pronouncing the longer version the *textus receptus*.** This text was critically analyzed and published by von Otto. (Vranic, *The Constancy and Development in the Christology of Theodoret of Cyrrhus*, 2015, p. 75-76)

• [Vranic] Only after the publication of von Otto's critical edition did the *Expositio* draw scholarly attention. The major breakthrough in restoring the authorship of the *Expositio* to Theodoret of Cyrrhus came in 1930. Soon after publishing a critical edition of the *Liber contra impium Grammaticum* of Severus of Antioch, J. Lebon published an article in which he argued for Theodoret's authorship. **Lebon's argument was based on the evidence provided by Severus. Writing in the year AD 518, Severus, a former patriarch of Antioch with passionate sympathies for Miaphysite doctrines, quoted passages from the *Expositio*, attributing them expressly to Theodoret of Cyrrhus.** The impact of Lebon's argument is evident in an article a few years later, when the great M. Richard advanced an argument about the date of composition of the *Expositio*, taking Theodoret's authorship as a given. (Vranic, *The Constancy and Development in the Christology of Theodoret of Cyrrhus*, 2015, p. 76)

• [Vranic] **Therefore, the composition of the *Expositio rectae fidei* is best dated to the period between Theodoret's ascent to the bishopric of Cyrrhus in AD 423 and the Nestorian schism at the Council of Ephesus in AD 431.** (Vranic, *The Constancy and Development in the Christology of Theodoret of Cyrrhus*, 2015, p. 82-83)

HITS:

- [§7] Yes, then, as was said (it is good to remember it with a more complete demonstration), in the teaching of discipline in Christ, in the instruction of baptism and also, certainly, not only by the divine doctrine but also by the creation of the universe, in the absolute power of authority, the same and identical things have been transmitted about the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, who is so clumsy as to argue about the communion of essence between them? **It was admitted, in effect, to agree that there is a Divinity, who makes himself known in the Father, in the Son and in the Holy Spirit, in which [the names] "Father", "Son" and "Holy Spirit" reveal the Persons of the one Divinity, and "God" implies the essential communion of Persons. It is conceived as One in Three, and it is known as Three in One.** (Justin Martyr, *Exposition of the True Faith*, 7)
 - **Greek:** Εἰ γάρ, ὅπερ εἶρηται (καλὸν γὰρ ἀναλαβεῖν πρὸς ἐντελεστέραν ἀπόδειξιν), ἐπὶ τε τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ τοῦ κόσμου μαθητείας, ἐπὶ τε τῆς διδασχῆς τοῦ βαπτίσματος, ἐπὶ μὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θείας διδασκαλίας καὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς δημιουργίας, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κατ' ἐξουσίαν αὐθεντίας, παραπλήσια καὶ ταῦτα περὶ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος παραδέδοται, τίς οὕτω σκαιὸς

The Witness of God is Greater

ὡς διαμφισβητεῖν περὶ τῆς κατ' οὐσίαν ἀλλήλων κοινωνίας; Ἔνα τοίνυν θεὸν προσῆκεν ὁμολογεῖν, ἐν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ καὶ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι γνωριζόμενον, ἧ μὲν πατὴρ καὶ υἱὸς καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τῆς μιᾶς θεότητος τὰς ὑποστάσεις γνωρίζοντας, ἧ δὲ θεός, τὸ κατ' οὐσίαν κοινὸν τῶν ὑποστάσεων νοοῦντας. Μονὰς γὰρ ἐν τριάδι νοεῖται, καὶ τριάς ἐν μονάδι γνωρίζεται. (Justin Martyr, *Expositio Rectae Fidei*, 7; Otto, *Corpus apologetarum christianorum saeculi secundī*, vol 3, part 1, 1880, p. 26)

- [§9] In this way, then, we think that the Son has been begotten from the Father, as a light is kindled from another light. The image is sufficient to establish the co-eternity, the identity of essence and the impassivity of the generation. If it was ignited, it coexisted eternally in what ignited it. At what exact moment did the light beam separate from the [source of] light? And if a light comes from another light, it would demonstrate the identity with the one from which it was generated. Furthermore, if what has been generated is also a light, its generation would be impassive.²³ The luminous ray does not arise from the light by separation, or effusion, or division, but comes impassively from its essence. We also retain the same notion about the Holy Spirit: as the Son proceeds from the Father, so also the Spirit; but it will certainly differ in mode of existence. For the Son, Light that arises from the Light, shone when he was begotten, but the Spirit, being the Light of Light also He, did not arise when he was begotten but by procession. In this way he is coeternal with the Father, identical in essence, and thus proceeded from there impassively. **In this way we understand the Unity in the Trinity, and we recognize the Trinity in the Unity.** Having attained these things and received this measure of knowledge from the Lord, we expose what was accomplished by intelligence to the children of the Church, exhorting them to think in this way until a more perfect illumination of knowledge is revealed to them, since it is wise to apply diligently to those [topics] that have been raised by us. **For we are not presenting an elaborate, bombastic or haughty exposition, but rather we put it forward in a pious way worthy of true knowledge, gathering, as far as possible, the knowledge of the Divinity one in three perfect Persons. And thinking in such a way about the Holy Trinity...** (Justin Martyr, *Exposition of the True Faith*, 9)

- **Greek:** Οὕτω τοίνυν νοοῦμεν τὸν υἱὸν ἐκ πατρὸς γεγενῆσθαι, ὡς φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς ἐκλάμψαν. Ἰκανὴ γὰρ ἡ εἰκὼν παραστήσῃ το τε συναΐδιον τό τε τῆς οὐσίας ταῦτόν τό τε τῆς γεννήσεως ἀπαθές. Εἰ γὰρ ἐξελάμψθη, τῷ ἐκλάμψαντι ἀχρόνως συνυπέστη. Τίνι γὰρ φωτὸς ἔκλαμψις χρόνου μέσῳ διακόπτοιο; Καὶ εἰ φῶς ἐκ φωτός, τὸ ταῦτόν ἐκείνῳ δηλώσειεν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ γεγέννηται. Εἰ δὲ πάλιν φῶς καὶ τὸ γεγεννημένον, ἀπαθὴς ἂν εἶη καὶ ἡ γέννησις. Οὐ γὰρ κατὰ τομὴν ἢ ρεῦσιν ἢ διάστασιν τοῦ φωτὸς ἡ ἔκλαμψις φίνεται, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῆς ἀπαθῶς προέρχεται. Τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ γνῶσιν καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος κατέχωμεν, ὅτι, ὡσπερ ὁ υἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς, οὕτως καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα· πλὴν γε δὴ τῷ τῆς ὑπάρξεως διοίσει. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, γεννητῶς ἐξελάμψεν, τὸ δὲ, φῶς μὲν ἐκ φωτὸς καὶ αὐτό, οὐ μὴν γεννητῶς ἀλλ' ἐκπορευτῶς προῆλθεν· οὕτως συναΐδιον πατρί, οὕτως τὴν οὐσίαν ταῦτόν, οὕτως ἀπαθῶς ἐκεῖθεν ἐκπορευθέν. **Οὕτως ἐν τῇ τριάδι τὴν μονάδα νοοῦμεν, καὶ ἐν τῇ μονάδι τὴν τριάδα γνωρίζομεν.** Ταῦτα χωρήσαντες καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέτρον παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τῆ γνώσεως λαβόντες τοῖς υἱέσι τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸ καταληφθὲν ἐκτιθέμεθα, οὕτω μὲν φρονεῖν παρακαλοῦντες, ἕως ἂν τελεωτέραν τῆς γνώσεως τὴν ἔκλαμψιν δέξωνται, ἐπεὶ γε τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν ἐκτεθεῖσιν σὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ προσέχειν σωφρονικόν. **Οὐ γὰρ τι κομψὸν ἢ ὑπέρογκον ἢ μεγαλαυχίας ἔχον ἀπόδειξιν ἐφαντάσθημεν, ὅσον δὲ εὐσεβὲς μᾶλλον καὶ πρέπον τῇ ἀληθεῖ γνώσει κατὰ δύναμιν συλλέξαντες τῆς μιᾶς θεότητος τὴν ἐν τελείαις τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν γνῶσιν ἐξεθέμεθα. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς ἀγίας τριάδος...** (Justin Martyr, *Expositio Rectae Fidei*, 9; Otto, *Corpus apologetarum christianorum saeculi secundī*, vol 3, part 1, 1880, p. 30, 32)

Comment:

- [Vranic] Moreover, the layout of the material of the *Expositio* points to a clear Trinitarian emphasis. Out of eighteen chapters, the first ten are dedicated to a clear and concise discussion of Trinitarian material. Theodoret was concerned with explaining the doctrine of the Trinity, arguing for the full divinity of the Logos and the Holy Spirit. (Vranic, *The Constancy and Development in the Christology of Theodoret of Cyrrhus*, 2015, p. 81)

The Witness of God is Greater

Fourth Oration Against the Arians (circa 401-500 AD)

- **[Newman]** ...the Fourth of these Orations is not written against the Arians, nor is an Oration, nor is even a continuous discussion, but is a collection of fragments or memoranda of unequal lengths, and on several subjects, principally on the Photinian heresy, partly on the Sabellian and Samosatene, and partly indeed, but least of all, on the Arian. ...the very opening of the Book shews that it is no Oration or Discourse of a character like the Three which precede it. The Second Oration and Third Oration begin with a formal introduction, in which allusion is made to the general argument of which they profess to be the continuation; but there is no pretence of composition or method in the commencement of the Fourth. It enters abruptly into its subject, whatever that be, for it does not propose it, with a categorical statement supported by the text: "The Word is God from God, for 'the Word was God,'" - a mode of treating so sacred a subject most unlike the ceremoniousness, as it may be called, which is observable in the Author's finished works.
- **[Newman]** ...we might even fancy that at least some passages of the Book were fragments of one or more treatises, or first draughts of trains of thought, or instructions for controversy, which have accidentally been thrown together into one. The interpolation formerly of an entirely heterogeneous tract, perhaps not Athanasius', in some of its MSS, has already been mentioned; and it is remarkable that this very Tract, in all the existing MSS noticed by the Benedictines but one. ...The abruptness too, already noticed for another reason, is of course also a proof of dissimilarity in the contents. ...Now the phrase "from the times of Eusebius" [οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον] occurs in §. 8. of this Oration, but Eusebius died A.D. 341, whereas the First Oration was written about A.D. 358. If Montfaucon then be correct in this remark, either the Oration called the Fourth was written many years prior to those which it is considered to follow, or it is made up of portions belonging to separate dates. ...Further, S. Athanasius frequently implies that he is opposing certain definite teachers of heresy, as well as heretical doctrine itself; yet very seldom does he use names, contrary to his practice when in controversy with the Arians, who are freely specified as "the Arians" (Greek: οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ) and "sharing the same opinion and being like minded with them" (Greek: οἱ Ἀρειομανῆται), "from the times of Eusebius" (Greek: οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον), not to mention the severe and condemnatory epithets by which he has noted them. Here however, though we read of "those have the same opinion as Paul of Samosata" (Greek: οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σαμοσάτεως), and vaguely of "according to Sabellius" (Greek: κατὰ Σαβέλλιον), we meet more frequently with anonymous opponents in the singular or plural... The omission of words of denunciation marks either the absence of an oratorical character in the Book, or suggests, what will presently come to be considered, the presence of other parties, perhaps known and tried friends, in the heretical company.
- **[Newman]** Next, it should be observed, that, though the heresy combated through the greater part of the Book is of Sabellian character, yet it is not Sabellianism proper, for he compares it to Sabellianism. It is observable too, that in contrasting the opposite heresies in a sentence at the end of §.3, while, as usual, he speaks of the "Arians" (Greek: Ἀρειανοὶ), he does not on the other hand speak of the "Sabellians" (Greek: Σαβελλιανοὶ), but of the "Sabellianism" (Greek: Σαβελλίζοντες); these, and not actual Sabellians, being the persons in controversy with him.
- **[Newman]** Also, he is opposing a heresy of the day; his mode of speaking of it shews this, and other heresies which he combats in his writings are such. Even when he speaks of the heresy of Paul of Samosata, (§. 30.) it is not as it existed a hundred years before, but in the shape it took in S. Athanasius' own time. Indeed it is not conceivable that in the midst of so fierce a struggle with living errors, dominant or emergent, as was the portion of this great Saint, he should address himself to the controversies of a past age.
- **[Newman]** All this leads to the suspicion, that the heresy which forms the principal subject of the Book, is that imputed to his friend Marcellus, and persons connected with him; for it is well known that in the exactly parallel

The Witness of God is Greater

case of Apollinaris, while he writes Tract after Tract against the heresy in the severest terms, he observes throughout a deep silence about its promulgator. Eusebius too argues with a like reserve against his Arian associates, Eccl. Theol. i.9, 10; as Vincent of Lerins is supposed to do in reference to St. Augustine. But it is needless to refer to parallel instances of a procedure so natural, that we find it in the schools of philosophy as well as in those of the Church.

- **[Newman]** An actual comparison of what is known of the teaching of the school of Marcellus and of the tenets opposed in this Oration, which I shall presently attempt, abundantly confirms this suspicion, and, as I think, makes it clear that the Oration is engaged with that teaching, and with the kindred doctrines of Sabellius and Paul of Samosata, and that as truly though not as systematically as the former Orations are engaged on Arianism. In saying this, I put aside the two sections 6 & 7, which certainly do treat of a definite Arian question, quite foreign to the general subject of the Book, whatever be the history of their introduction.

- John Henry Newman, "Introduction" in Select Treatises of S. Athanasius, 1842, vol 2, p. 499-502)

- **[Kaye]** I concur in the opinion expressed by the Oxford annotator in the Introduction to the fourth Discourse, that it cannot be called a Discourse against the Arians, but is rather a collection of remarks on different heresies, the Photinian, Sabellian, and that of Paul of Samosata : a very small portion being [PAGE 269] directed against the Arians. **The annotator thinks that the remarks are more immediately directed against Marcellus [Bishop of Ancyra (d. 374 AD)], whose disciple Photinus was.** (Kaye, Some Account of the Council of Nicea, In Connexion with the Life of Athanasius, 1853, p. 258-259)

- **[Meyer]** The most noteworthy of his apologetic and dogmatic writings is the two-part "Oration Against the Gentiles" (Latin: Oratio contra gentes) & "Oration on the Incarnation of the Word" (Latin: Oratio de incarnatione Verbi) and the three "Orations Against the Arians" (Latin: Orationes contra Arianos). The former was written around the year 318 and the anti-Arian tracts over the course of several years, running from 356-363. (fn. 4. **Several manuscripts contain a fourth discourse against the Arians. The Benedictine edition [JP Migne, 1698] includes the Oratio contra Arianos IV. It appears that a compiler added this letter to the original three at some later date since it differs significantly in style and phraseology, dealing with the Marcellians more than the Arians.**) (Meyer, The Soteriology of Saint Athanasius of Alexandria, 1992, p. 212)

HIT:

- **[Marcellian illustration from 1 Corinthians 12:4, refuted] 25.** Arius then raves in saying that the Son is from nothing, and that once He was not, while Sabellius also raves in saying that the Father is Son, and again, the Son Father, in subsistence One, in name Two; and he raves also in using as an example the grace of the Spirit. **For he says, 'As there are' diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit,' so also the Father is the same, but is dilated into Son and Spirit.'** Now this is full of absurdity; for if as with the Spirit, so it is with God, ***the Father will be Word and Holy Spirit,*** to one becoming Father, to another Son, to another Spirit, accommodating himself to the need of each, and in name indeed Son and Spirit, but in reality Father only; having a beginning in that He becomes a Son, and then ceasing to be called Father, and made man in name, but in truth not even coming among us; and untrue in saying 'I and the Father,' but in reality being Himself the Father, and the other absurdities which result in the instance of Sabellius. And the name of the Son and the Spirit will necessarily cease, when the need has been supplied; and what happens will altogether be but make-belief, because it has been displayed, not in truth, but in name. And the Name of Son ceasing, as they hold, then the grace of Baptism will cease too; for it was given in the Son. Nay, what will follow but the annihilation of the creation? For if the Word came forth that we might be

The Witness of God is Greater

created, and when He had come forth, we were, it is plain that when He retires into the Father, as they say, we shall be no longer. For He will be as He was; so also we shall not be, as then we were not; for when He is no more gone forth, there will no more be a creation. This then is absurd. (Athanasius, Four Discourses Against the Arians, Discourse 4 Against the Arians; NPNF02, vol 4

<www.newadvent.org/fathers/28164.htm>)

• **[the Son is the Co-existing Word, argued from the New Testament] 26. But that the Son has no beginning of being, but before He was made man was ever with the Father, John makes clear in his first Epistle, writing thus: 'That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the Word of Life; and the Life was manifested, and we have seen it; and we bear witness and declare unto you that Eternal Life, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us 1 John 1:1-2.'** While he says here that 'the Life,' not 'became,' but 'was with the Father,' in the end of his Epistle he says the Son is the Life, writing, 'And we are in Him that is True, even in His Son, Jesus Christ; this is the True God and Eternal Life.' But if the Son is the Life, and the Life was with the Father, and if the Son was with the Father, and the same Evangelist says, 'And the Word was with God John 1:1,' the Son must be the Word, which is ever with the Father. And as the 'Son' is 'Word,' so 'God' must be 'the Father.' Moreover, the Son, according to John, is not merely 'God' but 'True God;' for according to the same Evangelist, 'And the Word was God;' and the Son said, 'I am the Life.' Therefore the Son is the Word and Life which is with the Father. And again, what is said in the same John, 'The Only-begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father,' shows that the Son was ever. For whom John calls Son, Him David mentions in the Psalm as God's Hand, saying, 'Why do You not stretch forth Your Right Hand out of Your bosom?' Therefore if the Hand is in the bosom, and the Son in the bosom, the Son will be the Hand, and the Hand will be the Son, through whom the Father made all things; for it is written, 'Your Hand made all these things,' and 'He led out His people with His Hand ;' therefore through the Son. And if 'this is the changing of the Right Hand of the Most Highest,' and again, 'Unto the end, concerning the things that shall be changed, a song for My Well-beloved ;' the Well-beloved then is the Hand that was changed; concerning whom the Divine Voice also says, 'This is My Beloved Son.' This 'My Hand' then is equivalent to 'This My Son.' (Athanasius, Four Discourses Against the Arians, Discourse 4 Against the Arians; NPNF02, vol 4 <www.newadvent.org/fathers/28164.htm>)

• **[Oratio quarta contra Arianos] 25.** Μαίνεται μὲν οὖν Ἄρειος ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων εἶναι λέγων τὸν υἱόν, καὶ «ἦν ποτε, ὅτε οὐκ ἦν». Μαίνεται δὲ καὶ Σαβέλλιος λέγων τὸν πατέρα εἶναι υἱόν, καὶ ἔμπαλιν τὸν υἱὸν εἶναι πατέρα, ὑποστάσει μὲν ἓν, ὀνόματι δὲ δύο. Μαίνεται δὲ καὶ παραδείγματι χρώμενος τῇ τοῦ πνεύματος χάριτι. **Φησὶ γάρ· «ὥσπερ διαιρέσεις χαρισμάτων εἰσίν, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα», οὕτως καὶ ὁ πατήρ ὁ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐστίν, πλατύνεται δὲ εἰς υἱὸν καὶ πνεῦμα. Ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο μεστὸν ἀτοπίας. Εἰ γὰρ ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ πνεύματος, οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν, ἔσται ὁ πατήρ λόγος καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ᾧ μὲν γινόμενος πατήρ, ᾧ δὲ λόγος, ᾧ δὲ πνεῦμα πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἐκάστου ἀρμοζόμενος, καὶ ὀνόματι μὲν υἱὸς καὶ πνεῦμα, τῷ δὲ ὄντι πατήρ μόνον, ἀρχὴν μὲν ἔχων τὸ γίνεσθαι υἱός, παυόμενος δὲ τοῦ λέγεσθαι πατήρ, καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσας μὲν ὀνόματι, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ μηδὲ ἐπιδημήσας, καὶ ψευδόμενος μὲν τῷ λέγειν «ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατήρ», τῷ δὲ ὄντι αὐτὸς ὢν πατήρ; καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἄτοπα ἐπὶ Σαβελλίου ἀπαντᾷ.** Ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ παυθῆσεσθαι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς χρείας πληρωθείσης· καὶ ἔσται λοιπὸν ἄχρι παιδείας τὰ γινόμενα, ὅτι μὴ ἀληθείᾳ, ἀλλ' ὀνόματι ἐπεδείχθη. Παυομένου δὲ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ υἱοῦ κατ' αὐτοὺς παύσεται καὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἡ χάρις· εἰς γὰρ υἱὸν ἐδόθη. Καὶ τί ἀκολουθήσει ἢ ἀφανισμὸς τῆς κτίσεως; Εἰ γάρ, ἵνα ἡμεῖς κτισθῶμεν, προήλθεν ὁ λόγος, καὶ προελθόντος αὐτοῦ ἔσμεν, δῆλον, ὅτι ἀναχωροῦντος αὐτοῦ

εις τὸν πατέρα, ὡς φασιν, οὐκ ἔτι ἐσόμεθα. Οὕτως γὰρ ἔσται, ὡσπερ ἦν· οὕτως οὐκ ἔτ' ἐσόμεθα, ὡσπερ οὖν οὐκ ἦμεν. Οὐκ ἔτι γὰρ προελθόντος οὐκ ἔτι ἡ κτίσις ἔσται. (Athanasius, Oratio quarta contra Arianos, 25; Migne Graeca, PG 26.501)

• **[Oratio quarta contra Arianos] 26.** Ἄτοπα μὲν οὖν ταῦτα. Ὅτι δὲ ὁ Υἱὸς οὐκ ἀρχὴν ἔχει τοῦ εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως παρὰ τῷ Πατρὶ ἔστι, **δηλοῖ ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐπιστολῇ**, λέγων οὕτως, “Ὁ ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὁ ἀκηκόαμεν, ὁ ἐωράκαμεν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν, [*] ὁ ἐθεασάμεθα, καὶ αἱ χεῖρες ἡμῶν ἐψηλάφησαν περὶ τοῦ Λόγου τῆς ζωῆς· καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἐφανερώθη, καὶ ἐωράκαμεν, καὶ μαρτυροῦμεν, καὶ ἀπαγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον, ἣτις ἦν πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ ἐφανερώθη ἡμῖν.” Ἐνταῦθα λέγων, ὅτι ἡ ζωὴ οὐ γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ἦν πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, ἐν τῷ τέλει τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸν Υἱὸν εἶναι φησι τὴν ζωὴν· γράφει δ' οὖν· **Καὶ ἐσμὲν ἐν τῷ [*] ἀληθινῷ, ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ [*] ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς, καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος.** Εἰ δὲ ὁ Υἱὸς ἐστὶν ἡ ζωὴ, καὶ αὕτη πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ εἰ ὁ Υἱὸς ἦν πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, λέγει δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς, **καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν,** ὁ Υἱὸς ἂν [*] εἶη ὁ Λόγος, ὁ ἀεὶ ὢν πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα. Ὡσπερ δὲ ὁ Υἱὸς Λόγος ἐστὶν, οὕτως ὁ Θεὸς ὁ αὐτὸς ἂν εἶη ὁ Πατήρ. Ὁ μέντοι Υἱὸς κατὰ τὸν Ἰωάννην **Ἐθεός** οὐχ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλ' **ἀληθινὸς Θεός** ἐστὶ. Καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον, **καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος.** [*] ἔλεγέ τε ὁ Υἱὸς, **ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ζωὴ.** Οὐκοῦν ὁ Υἱὸς Λόγος ἐστὶ [*] καὶ ζωὴ ἡ οὕσα παρὰ τῷ Πατρὶ. Πάλιν δὲ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ εἰρημένον, ὁ μονογενὴς Υἱὸς, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Πατρὸς, [*] δεῖκνυσι τὸν Υἱὸν ἀεὶ εἶναι. Ὅν γὰρ λέγει ὁ Ἰωάννης **Υἱὸν,** τοῦτον **χεῖρα** ὁ Δαβὶδ ψάλλει λέγων· **Ἰνατὶ ἀποστρέφεις τὴν [*] χεῖρά σου καὶ τὴν δεξιάν σου ἐκ μέσου τοῦ κόλπου σου;** Οὐκοῦν εἰ ἡ χεὶρ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ, καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς ἐν κόλπῳ, ὁ Υἱὸς ἂν εἶη ἡ χεὶρ, καὶ ἡ χεὶρ ἂν εἶη ὁ Υἱὸς, δι' οὗ ἐποίησε τὰ πάντα ὁ [*] Πατήρ. **Ἡ χεὶρ σου** γὰρ, φησὶν, **ἐποίησε ταῦτα πάντα,** καὶ, [*] **τῇ χειρὶ ἐξήγαγε τὸν λαόν.** οὐκοῦν διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ. Εἰ δὲ καὶ [*] **αὕτη ἡ ἀλλοίωσις τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ ὑψίστου,** καὶ πάλιν, **εἰς τὸ τέλος, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοιωθησομένων, ὡδὴ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ** ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἄρα ἐστὶν ἡ χεὶρ ἀλλοιωθεῖσα, περὶ οὗ καὶ λέγει ἡ θεία φωνή· **Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητός,** ἴσον ἄρα [*] ἐστὶν **αὕτη ἡ χεὶρ μου** τῷ **οὗτος ὁ Υἱὸς μου.** (Athanasius, Oratio quarta contra Arianos, 25; Migne Graeca, PG 26.501)

Radegund of Thuringia (520-587 AD)

• Radegund (Latin: Radegunda; also spelled Rhadegund, Radegonde, or Radigund; c. 520 – 13 August 587) was a Thuringian princess and Frankish queen, who founded the Abbey of the Holy Cross at Poitiers. She is the patron saint of several churches in France and England and of Jesus College, Cambridge (whose full name is “The College of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Saint John the Evangelist and the glorious Virgin Saint Radegund, near Cambridge”).

• Radegund was born about 520 to Bertachar, one of the three kings of the German land Thuringia.[1] Radegund's uncle, Hermanfrid, killed Bertachar in battle, and took Radegund into his household. After allying with the Frankish King Theuderic, Hermanfrid defeated his other brother Baderic. However, having crushed his brothers and seized control of Thuringia, Hermanfrid reneged on his agreement with Theuderic to share sovereignty. In 531, Theuderic returned to Thuringia with his brother Clotaire I (also known as Chlothar). Together they defeated Hermanfrid and conquered his kingdom. **Clotaire I also took charge of Radegund, taking her back to Merovingian Gaul[1] with him. He sent the child to his villa of Athies in Picardy for several years, before marrying her in 540. Radegund was one of Clotaire I's six wives or concubines (the other five being Guntheuca who was the widow of his brother Chlodomer, Chunsina, Ingund, Ingund's sister Aregund and Wuldetrada the widow of Clotaire's grand-nephew Theudebald). She bore him no children.** Radegund was noted for her almsgiving. By 550 Radegund's brother was the last surviving male member of the Thuringian royal family. Clotaire had him murdered. **Radegund fled the court and sought the protection of the Church, persuading the bishop of Noyon to ordain her as a deaconess;**[1]

The Witness of God is Greater

founding the monastery of Sainte-Croix in Poitiers circa 560, where she cared for the infirm. Radegund was widely believed to have the gift of healing.[3]

- Living under the Rule for Virgins of Caesarius of Arles, the nuns were required to be able to read and write, and to devote several hours of the day to reading the scriptures and copying manuscripts, as well as traditional tasks such as weaving and needlework.[4] This Rule strictly enclosed women, to the point that nuns of Sainte-Croix were unable to attend Radegund's funeral. Radegund was known for her ascetic behaviour and has been described as an "extreme ascetic".[6][7] She refused all animal products. She ate nothing but legumes and green vegetables: neither fruit nor fish nor eggs.[6] Radegund also abstained from wine, mead and beer. During Lent she abstained from bread, oil, and salt, and only drank a little water.[6] She acted against the advice of others who warned her that her extreme asceticism might make her ill.[6] She bound her neck and arms with three iron circlets; her flesh was badly cut because of this. On one occasion she heated a brass cross and pressed it on her body.

- The poet Venantius Fortunatus and the bishop, hagiographer, and historian, Gregory of Tours, were close friends with Radegund and wrote extensively about her. She wrote Latin poems to Fortunatus on tablets that have been lost. The three of them seem to have been close and Fortunatus' relations with Radegund seem to have been based on friendship. There are two poems written in the voice of Radegund, *De Excidio Thoringiae* and *Ad Artachin*. While it has been proposed that Venantius wrote them, recent historians see her as the author. Another biography was written by the nun Baudovinia following a rebellion at the abbey described by Gregory of Tours. Her abbey was named for the relic of the True Cross that Radegund obtained from the Byzantine Emperor Justin II. Although the bishop of Poitiers Maroveus refused to install it in the abbey, at Radegund's request king Sigebert sent Eufronius of Tours to Poitiers to perform the ceremony. To celebrate the relic and its installation into Sainte-Croix, Venantius Fortunatus composed a series of hymns, including the famous *Vexilla Regis*, considered to be one of the most significant Christian hymns ever written, which is still sung for services on Good Friday, Palm Sunday, as well as the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.

- Radegund's funeral, which Venantius Fortunatus and Gregory of Tours attended, was three days after her death. She was buried in what was to become the Church of St. Radegonde in Poitiers. Her tomb can still be found in the crypt of that church, which remains the center of devotion to her. In the 1260s a church decoration program included stained-glass windows depicting Radegund's life. These were later largely destroyed by Huguenots. Radegund was a close friend of Junian of Maire; Junian and Radegund are said to have died on the same day, 13 August 587.[5]

- Radegund. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Radegund>

HITS:

- To the August Justin and Sophia
The highest glory of the father, son, and nourishing spirit,
one god to be adored in this trinity,
majesty, triple person, simple substance,
equal consort and coeval with itself,
one force remaining the same, **one power in three**
(which the father begetting, the spirit enables),
indeed distinct in persons, joined in vigor,
of one nature, equal in strength, light, throne,
the trinity was always with him, ruling without time,
lacking no use nor capable of seizing.

- Joan Ferrante, *Medieval Women's Latin Letters*. <epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letter/916.html>

- **Latin:** Ad Iustinum et Sophiam Augustos
Gloria summa patris natique ac spiritus almi,
unus adorandus hac trinitate deus,
maiestas, persona triplex, substantia simplex,
aequalis consors atque coeva sibi,
virtus una manens idem, **tribus una potestas**
(quae pater haec genitus, spiritus ipsa potest),

The Witness of God is Greater

personis distincta quidem, coniuncta vigore,
naturae unius, par ope luce throno,
secum semper erat trinitas, sine tempore regnans,
nullius usus egens nec capiendo capax.

• Venanti Fortunati Opera Poetica, ed. Fridericus Leo (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), Appendix, 275-78.

Comments:

• [Ferrante] Radegund asked the imperial couple to send her a relic from the cross, in a letter which was carried by an official of King Sigebert along with letters from the king. The relics they sent were installed in her monastery in 569, in honor of which Fortunatus composed the hymns "Vexilla regis prodeunt" and "Pange lingua gloriosi" (JoAnn McNamara, *Sainted Women of the Middle Ages* (Durham: Duke University, 1984), 63. This poem, along with the two other extant poems of Radegund, has been attributed to Fortunatus and is published in an appendix to his works, but since Fortunatus himself talks about the poems Radegund wrote and she inscribes her name in these, I see no good reason to deny her authorship of these. (Joan Ferrante, *Medieval Women's Latin Letters*. <epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letter/916.html>)

Joannes Maxentius (circa 520 AD)

Joannes Maxentius, or John Maxentius, was the Byzantine leader of the so-called Scythian monks, a christological minority. He appears in history at Constantinople in 519 and 520. The Scythian monks adapted the formula: "One of the Trinity suffered in the flesh" to exclude Nestorianism and Monophysitism, and they sought to have the works of Faustus of Riez condemned as being tainted with Pelagianism. On both these points they met with opposition. John Maxentius presented an appeal to the papal legates then at Constantinople.[1] When it failed to bring forth a favourable decision, some of the monks (not Maxentius, however) proceeded to Rome to lay the case before Pope Hormisdas. As the latter delayed his decision, they addressed themselves to some African bishops banished to Sardinia, and St. Fulgentius, answering in the name of these prelates, warmly endorsed their cause.[2] Early in August, 520, the monks left Rome. On 13 August, 520, Hormisdas addressed a letter to an African bishop, Possessor, then at Constantinople, in which he severely condemned the conduct of the Scythian monks, also declaring that the writings of Faustus were not received among the authoritative works of the Church Fathers and that the sound doctrine on grace was contained in the works of St. Augustine (Hormisdas ep., cxxiv in Thiel, p. 926). Maxentius assailed this letter in the strongest language as a document written by heretics and circulated under the pope's name.[3] This is the last trace of the Scythian monks and their leader in history. (Joannes Maxentius. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joannes_Maxentius>)

HITS:

- Then, if those [things] which according to some [criterion] are distinguished and numbered cannot, by any means, exist in unity, [I] ask: [if we consider] the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit – which not in themselves, but only for [our] knowledge, are distinguished one from the other – how do [they] exist not in division, but in unity of nature? **Wherefore, if these three are one, and keep the peculiarities of their persons not confusedly undiminished and perfect, and do not exist in division but in unity, [what it] is confirmed now [is] that, [referring to] all the things that [we] distinguish for the purpose of knowledge numbering [them], [we] should not also separate impiously the same things in themselves;** (John Maxentius, *Response Against the Ones without a Head*)
 - **Latin:** Deinde, inquit, si nullatenus ea, quae secundum aliquid discernuntur, et numerantur, possunt in unitate subsistere, quaero, et Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus, qui non reipsa, sed cognitione tantum ab invicem discernuntur, quomodo non in divisione, sed in naturae unitate subsistant. **Quod si hi tres unum sunt, et personarum suarum proprietates integras, et perfectas inconfuse custodiunt, nec in divisone, sed in unitate subsistunt, restat, ut jam non omnia, quae secundum cognitionem numerantes discernimus, etiam rebus ipsis nefarie dividamus.** (John Maxentius, *Responsio contra acephalos qui post adunationem: stulte unam profitentur in Christo naturam.*; CCL 85A: 43-47).

The Witness of God is Greater

- There is God the Father, the Son, and also the Holy Spirit: these are not three, but one God. God has one substance, or nature; one wisdom, one virtue, one dominion, one kingdom, one omnipotence, one glory. **But God has three co-substances, or persons, with each person forever in possession of their own and proper unchangeable properties, so that neither the Father is the Son or the Holy Spirit, nor the Son is the Father or the Holy Spirit, nor the Holy Spirit is the Father or the Son.** (John Maxentius, A Brief Confession of the Catholic Faith)
 - **Latin:** Est Deus Pater, Filius, Deus etiam Spiritus Sanctus, non tres sed unus Deus, una substantia sive natura, una sapientia, una virtus, una dominatio, unum regnum, una omnipotentia, una gloria, **tres tamen subsistentiae sive personae. Un aquae que persona incommutabiliter semper obtinens quod proprium est, ita ut nec Pater sit Filius aut Spiritus sanctus, nec Filius sit Pater aut Spiritus sanctus, nec Spiritus sanctus Pater sit aut Filius.** (John Maxentius, Item eiusdem professio brevissima catholicae fidei; CCL 85A: 33-36)

One word in Jonah

- [Augustine to Jerome]"I would indeed rather that you would translate the canonical Scriptures as they are authorized by the version of the Seventy [LXX]. For it would be a hard case if your version come to be adopted in many churches; since the Latin and Greek churches would thus be placed at variance."(Augustine, Letter 71.3 <www.newadvent.org/fathers/1102071.htm>)
- [Augustine to Jerome]"**A certain bishop, one of our brethren, having introduced in the church over which he presides the reading of your version, came upon a word in the book of the prophet Jonah, of which you have given a very different rendering from that which had been of old familiar to the senses and memory of all the worshippers, and had been chanted for so many generations in the church. Jonah 4:6** Thereupon arose such a tumult in the congregation, especially among the Greeks, correcting what had been read, and denouncing the translation as false, that the bishop was compelled to ask the testimony of the Jewish residents (it was in the town of Oea). These, whether from ignorance or from spite, answered that the words in the Hebrew manuscripts were correctly rendered in the Greek version, and in the Latin one taken from it. What further need I say? The man was compelled to correct your version in that passage as if it had been falsely translated, as he desired not to be left without a congregation — a calamity which he narrowly escaped. From this case we also are led to think that you may be occasionally mistaken. You will also observe how great must have been the difficulty if this had occurred in those writings which cannot be explained by comparing the testimony of languages now in use."(Augustine, Letter 75.3 <www.newadvent.org/fathers/1102071.htm>)
- [Jerome to Augustine] You tell me that I have given a wrong translation of **some word in Jonah, and that a worthy bishop narrowly escaped losing his charge through the clamorous tumult of his people, which was caused by the different rendering of this one word.** (Jerome, Letter 75.22 <www.newadvent.org/fathers/1102075.htm>)
- [Augustine to Jerome] I desire to have your version from the Septuagint, that those who decry your useful labours may at length understand, that **my reason for not wishing your translation from the Hebrew to be read in churches is, the fear that, by producing something new, at variance with the Septuagint, one may cause great scandal and disturbance among the faithful, whose ears and hearts are accustomed to that version; which moreover has been approved by the Apostles.** Wherefore, as to that shrub in the book of Jonah, if in the Hebrew it is neither 'gourd' nor 'ivy,' but something else which stands erect, supported by its own stem without other props, I would prefer to call it 'gourd' in all our Latin versions; for I do not think that the Seventy would have rendered it thus at random, had they not known that the plant was something like a gourd. (Augustine, Letter 82.35 <www.newadvent.org/fathers/1102082.htm>)

The Witness of God is Greater

The Miracle of the Trisagion 447 AD

- The Greek phrase Trisagion translates as "Thrice Holy"— as in this hymn God is described as holy in three different qualities; Agios o Theos means "Holy God". The hymn is of great antiquity, and perhaps much older than the event assigned by the Greek Menology as connected to its origin [447 AD]. The hymn was one of the exclamations of the fathers at the Council of Chalcedon (451), and is common not only to all the Greek Oriental liturgies but was used also in the Gallican Liturgy (see Saint Germain of Paris, d. 576), which shows that the hymn is ancient. Some believe it is extremely ancient, perhaps of apostolic-era origin. However this goes against the menology tradition regarding its origin. (Trisagion. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trisagion>)

- [Theophanes the Confessor (758-818 AD)] During Proclus' reign [434-446 AD] great earthquakes were occurring in Constantinople for four months continuously [Theodosios II was emperor]. Being struck with fear, the Romans went out of the city to the so-called Kampos, and were supplicating God and processing with the bishop night and day. One day, when the earth was shaking and all the people were continuously crying out the 'Kyrie eleison' (Lord have mercy), at about the third hour, suddenly and in sight of all a young child was taken up into the air, and a divine voice was heard around it announcing to the bishop and the people to process and to say thus: Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us, nothing else being added. Our father among the Saints, Proclus, accepting the decision, processed the people chanting thusly and the earthquake immediately ceased. The blessed Pulcheria and her brother, supporting the miracle, established that this divine hymn be chanted throughout the entire ecumene; and from that day all the churches sing to God each day. (Theophanes' Chronicle; Migne Graeca, PG 108.244B-248A)

• *Theophanes' Chronicle*

- [Chronicle] At the urgent request of his friend George Syncellus, Theophanes undertook the continuation of Syncellus' Chronicle (Χρονογραφία, Chronographia), during the years 810 to 815.[4] The language used occupies a place midway between the stiff ecclesiastical and the vernacular Greek.[5] He arguably made use of three main sources: first, material already prepared by Syncellus; second, he probably made the use of a set of extracts made by Theodore Lector from the works of Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomenus, and Theodoret; and third, the city chronicle of Constantinople.[1] Theophanes' part of the chronicle covered events from the accession of Diocletian in 284 (which is the point where the chronicle of George Syncellus ends) to the downfall of Michael I Rhangabes in 813. This part of the chronicle is valuable for having preserved the accounts of lost authorities on Byzantine history for the seventh and eighth centuries that would be otherwise have been lost.[6]

- [Chronicle] The work consists of two parts, wherein the first provides a chronological history arranged per annum, and the second contains chronological tables that are regrettably full of inaccuracies. It seems that Theophanes had only prepared the tables, leaving vacant spaces for the proper dates, but that these had been filled out by someone else (Hugo von Hurter, Nomenclator literarius recentioris I, Innsbruck, 1903, 735). In the chronological first part, in addition to reckoning by the years of the world and the Christian era, Theophanes introduces in tabular form the regnal years of the Roman emperors, of the Persian kings and Arab caliphs, and of the five ecumenical patriarchs, a system which leads to considerable confusion,[5] and therefore of little value. The first part, though lacking in critical insight and chronological accuracy, greatly surpasses the majority of Byzantine chronicles.[7] Theophanes's Chronicle is particularly valuable beginning with the reign of Justin II (565), as in his work, he then drew upon sources that have not survived his times.[8] Theophanes' Chronicle was much used by succeeding chroniclers, and in 873-875 AD a Latin compilation was made[9] by the papal librarian Anastasius from the chronicles of Nicephorus, George Syncellus, and Theophanes for the use of a deacon named Johannes in the second half of the ninth century and thus was known to Western Europe.[1]

- [Chronicle] In his treatise The Orthodox Faith, Saint John of Damascus (8th c.) adds that "it is traditional that the Thrice-Holy Hymn was also sung in this manner at the holy and great Fourth Ecumenical Synod - that which was held in Chalcedon, I mean - for so it is reported in the acts of this same holy synod." The Synod of Chalcedon was held in 451, but it is clearly accepted that the hymn was inserted into the liturgy between the years 430 and 450. Since then, of course, its use spread throughout almost every service of the Orthodox

The Witness of God is Greater

Church. Today, it is intricately combined even with the recitation of the Lord's Prayer, both in the churches and in private devotion in what are known as the "Introductory Trisagion Prayers" that begin the majority of divine services.

- Theophanes the Confessor. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theophanes_the_Confessor>

- [John Chrysostom (d. 407 AD)] Above, the hosts of angels sing praise; below, men form choirs in the churches and imitate them by singing the same doxology. Above the Seraphim cry out the Trisagion Hymn; below, the human throng sends up the same cry. The inhabitants of heaven and earth are brought together in a common assembly; there is one thanksgiving, one shout of delight, one joyful chorus. (St. John Chrysostom, In Matthaëum, Hom. LXVIII, 3; <www.turleytalks.com/blog-summary/the-song-of-the-seraphim-paradise-lost-and-restored-part-ii>)

- [Maximus the Confessor (580–662 AD)] The unceasing and sanctifying doxology by the holy angels in the Trisagion signifies, in general, the equality in the way of life and conduct and the harmony in the divine praising which will take place in the age to come by both heavenly and earthly powers, when the human body now rendered immortal by the resurrection will no longer weigh down the soul by corruption and will not itself be weighed down but will take on, by the changes into incorruption, potency and aptitude to receive God's coming. In particular it signifies, for the faithful, the theological rivalry with the angels in faith; for the active ones, it symbolized the splendor of life equal to the angels, so far as this is possible for men, and the persistence in the theological hymnology; for those who have knowledge, endless thoughts, hymns, and movements concerning the Godhead, which are equal to the angels, so far as humanly possible. (St. Maximus the Confessor, The Church's Mystagogy, Chapter 24; <www.stseraphimstjohnsandiego.org/St._Seraphim_of_Sarov_and_St._John_of_Kronstadt_Orthodox_Church/MYSTERIES/Entries/2017/7/10_St._Maximus_the_Confessor__On_the_Grace_of_the_Holy_Spirit_in_the_Divine_Liturgy.html>)

- [John of Damascus (675-749 AD)] Ecclesiastical historians, then, say that once when the people of Constantinople were offering prayers to God to avert a threatened calamity, during Proclus' tenure of the office of Archbishop, it happened that a boy was snatched up from among the people, and was taught by angelic teachers the "Thrice Holy" Hymn, "Thou Holy God, Holy and Mighty One, Holy and Immortal One, have mercy upon us:" and when once more he was restored to earth, he told what he had learned, and all the people sang the Hymn, and so the threatened calamity was averted. And in the fourth holy and great Œcumenical Council, I mean the one at Chalcedon, we are told that it was in this form that the Hymn was sung; for the minutes of this holy assembly so record it. It is, therefore, a matter for laughter and ridicule that this "Thrice Holy" Hymn, taught us by the angels, and confirmed by the averting of calamity, ratified and established by so great an assembly of the holy Fathers, and sung first by the Seraphim as a declaration of the three subsistences of the Godhead, should be mangled and forsooth emended to suit the view of the stupid Fuller as though he were higher than the Seraphim. But oh! the arrogance! not to say folly! But we say it thus, though demons should rend us in pieces, "Do Thou, Holy God, Holy and Mighty One, Holy and Immortal One, have mercy upon us." (John of Damascus, Exposition of the Faith, Chapter X. Concerning the Trisagium)

Constantinople : Trisagion riots (513 AD)

- **The Trisagion riots Violent** turbulences in the cities of the late Roman Empire were nothing uncommon. In particular, Alexandria was famous for the short temper of its inhabitants. At the close of the 4th century, the citizens burnt down the Serapeum. The famous Neoplatonic philosopher Hypatia was lynched by a mob; twenty years later, the archbishop Proterius suffered the same fate. Antioch witnessed similar acts of violence as well (in 511 AD, the clashes between Chalcedonians and Monophysite monks in the city resulted in a bloodshed), as did Constantinople (the most infamous unrest – the Nika riots – erupted on January 11th, 532 AD at the Hippodrome). Without doubt, the Trisagion riots may be included among the most notable of such events as well. Taking into account the proclivity to riot found widely among the citizens of the empire's great metropolises, as well as their famous theological passions, it is not difficult to understand the phenomenon. Contemporary authors like Evagrius Scholasticus had no trouble identifying its causes. When Timothy

The Witness of God is Greater

became patriarch, he was not able to restore order in the capital, as many refused to collaborate with him. **At that point, the emperor resolved to take the initiative. On Sunday, November 4th, 512, the Trisagion of Peter Fullo was accepted through an imperial edict.** Evagrius Scholasticus described the situation as follows:

- **[Evagrius Scholasticus] And at Byzantium, when the emperor wished to make an addition to the Trisagion of the phrase, 'Who was crucified for us',** a very great disturbance occurred on the grounds that the Christian worship was being utterly nullified. The most violent riot took place in the Hagia Sophia. Once the choir began to sing the Trisagion of Peter Fullo in accordance with the emperor's edict, the crowd responded with the Trisagion of Proclus. A brawl erupted, culminating with the death of many people and the arrest of numerous others. The riots continued on Monday in the church of St. Theodore. (Ecclesiastical History, Book 3.44; Whitby, 2000, p. 195)
- On November 6th, the true unrest started:
 - **[Evagrius Scholasticus]** Since, consequently, the people were carried out of control, those in authority came into mortal peril and many prominent places in the city were burnt. And when the populace found in the house of Marinus the Syrian a certain countryman who pursued the monastic life, they chopped off his head, saying that the phrase had been added at his suggestion; after affixing his head to a pole they contemptuously shouted: 'This indeed is the conspirator against the Trinity.' (Ecclesiastical History, Book 3.44; Whitby, 2000, p. 196.)
 - Amidst the riots, the rebellious people were searching for a new emperor; on November 7th, 512, Areobindus, the husband of Anicia Juliana, was chosen. And the disturbance reached such a pitch, plundering everything and exceeding all constraint, that the emperor was compelled to come to the Hippodrome in a pitiful state, without his crown; he sent heralds to the people proclaiming that with regard indeed to the imperial power, while he would abdicate this most readily, it was a matter of impossibility that all should ascend to this, since it was quite unable to tolerate many men, but that it would assuredly be a single man who took the helm of it after him. On seeing this spectacle, the populace turned about, as if from some divine intervention, and begged Anastasius to put on his crown, promising to remain quiet.
 - As soon as Anastasius regained control of the state, he inflicted severe punishment on the instigators. This marked the end of the revolt. Nevertheless, the conflict persisted and continued to escalate. The European provinces were definitely pro-Chalcedonian. In 512, the bishops of Illyricum wrote to the pope to reaffirm their fidelity to the Council of Chalcedon. In the following years, other European bishops joined the pope. (Ginter, The Trisagion Riots (512) as an Example of Interaction between Politics and Liturgy, 2017, p. 51)
- **[Burgess]** Of the extreme improbability of such an interpolation [of 1 John 5:7], the most unlearned reader may judge, from what Dr. John Pye Smith himself says of the censure and indignation which "would have been excited by any one, dishonest and daring enough to make alterations in the public copies of the sacred books, or any part of them. A circumstance quite in point (says Dr. Smith) occurred to this very **Emperor Anastasius. He directed "what he looked upon as an amendment to be made by the omission of a little clause of four words in an anthem, which was used in public worship. The innovation was treated with so much violence by the people of Constantinople, that many lives were lost, Anastasius was obliged to take refuge on board a ship, and it was with extreme difficulty, and the most humiliating concessions, that he escaped dethronement. Who can believe that he would have succeeded in an enterprise infinitely more hazardous, and which all parties would have regarded as most criminal, that of altering the text of the holy Gospels, or any part of the Scriptures whatever?"**. (Burgess, An Introduction to the Controversy on the Disputed Verse of St. John, As Revived by Mr. Gibbon, 1835, p. xiii-xiv)

- **Evagrius Scholasticus** (Greek: Εὐάγριος Σχολαστικός) was a Syrian scholar and intellectual living in the 6th century AD, and an aide to the patriarch Gregory of Antioch.[1] His surviving work, Ecclesiastical History (Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία), comprises a six-volume collection concerning the Church's history from the First Council of Ephesus (431) to Maurice's reign during his life. Evagrius Scholasticus was born in Epiphania, a Syrian town located next to the Orontes River in the heart of the Eastern Roman Empire. Controversy exists as to the date on which Evagrius was born, since historian G. F. Chesnut asserts that he was born in either 536 or 537, yet the researcher Whitby claims that he was born in 535.[2] His first written work addressed the plague outbreak which infected a vast segment of the population. Evagrius himself was infected by the outbreak yet miraculously managed to survive this disaster during his youth. According to his own account, close members of his family died from the outbreak, including his wife at the time.[3] Michael Whitby reasons that Evagrius was born into a wealthy aristocratic family with close ties to the political elite. His education was long-ranging and comprehensive since early childhood, starting with a specialization in Grammar and transitioning to classical Greek literature. This eventually culminated in Evagrius's pursuit of legal studies, which upon completion, earned him the prestigious title of "Scholasticus" when he was in his late 20s.[4] His first notable official endeavor was accompanying Gregory of Antioch to Constantinople in order to defend him against charges related to sexual misbehavior.[5] Evagrius again remarried in Antioch, where his own records testify to his prestige among the professional elite since

The Witness of God is Greater

displays of grandeur and a massive audience were present during this wedding ceremony.[6] Dedicated to the emperor Maurice Evagrius wrote many works on theological matters, but none of these survives.[7] His remaining work, The Ecclesiastical History was complete in 593, a six-volume compilation of Christian history from the first Council of Ephesus to his own present time.[8] Evagrius was explicitly a Christian in the Chalcedonian tradition, critiquing both Zacharias Rhetor and Zosimus for theological differences, two popular historians during his own time. He respected the former scholar for his contributions to the histories of the 5th and 6th centuries AD but chastised him for his Monophysite position. Evagrius's only surviving work, Ecclesiastical History, addresses the history of the Eastern Roman Empire from the official beginning of the Nestorian controversy at the First Council of Ephesus in 431 to the time in which he was writing, 593. The book's contents focus mainly on religious matters, describing the events surrounding notable bishops and holy men. Evagrius builds upon the documents written by Zachariah, Symeon Stylites the Elder, Eustathius of Epiphania, John Malalas, Zosimus, and Procopius of Caesarea.[15] The Ecclesiastical History is considered an important and relatively authoritative account of the timeline it traces, since Evagrius draws on other scholars' material, explicitly acknowledging his sources. He meticulously organizes information taken from other written historical works in order to validate his account more effectively than other theological scholars of his time, thus diminishing confusion for future historians interested in studying his work. (Evagrius Scholasticus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Evagrius_Scholasticus>)

Concerning the Trisagium ("the Thrice Holy") by John of Damascus (650 - 754 AD)

- This being so, we declare that the addition which the vain-minded Peter the Fuller made to the Trisagium or "Thrice Holy" Hymn is blasphemous; for it introduces a fourth person into the Trinity, giving a separate place to the Son of God, Who is the truly subsisting power of the Father, and a separate place to Him Who was crucified as though He were different from the "Mighty One," or as though the Holy Trinity was considered possible, and the Father and the Holy Spirit suffered on the Cross along with the Son. Have done with this blasphemous and nonsensical interpolation! For we hold the words "Holy God" to refer to the Father, without limiting the title of divinity to Him alone, but acknowledging also as God the Son and the Holy Spirit: and the words "Holy and Mighty" we ascribe to the Son, without stripping the Father and the Holy Spirit of might: and the words "Holy and Immortal" we attribute to the Holy Spirit, without depriving the Father and the Son of immortality. For, indeed, we apply all the divine names simply and unconditionally to each of the subsistences in imitation of the divine Apostle's words. But to us there is but one God, the Father, of Whom are all things, and we in Him: and one Lord Jesus Christ by Whom are all things, and we by Him. And, nevertheless, we follow Gregory the Theologian when he says, "But to us there is but one God, the Father, of Whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ, through Whom are all things, and one Holy Spirit, in Whom are all things:" for the words "of Whom" and "through Whom" and "in Whom" do not divide the natures (for neither the prepositions nor the order of the names could ever be changed), but they characterise the properties of one unconfused nature. And this becomes clear from the fact that they are once more gathered into one, if only one reads with care these words of the same Apostle, Of Him and through Him and in Him are all things: to Him be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

- For that the "Trisagium" refers not to the Son alone, but to the Holy Trinity, the divine and saintly Athanasius and Basil and Gregory, and all the band of the divinely-inspired Fathers bear witness: because, as a matter of fact, by the threefold holiness the Holy Seraphim suggest to us the three subsistences of the superessential Godhead. But by the one Lordship they denote the one essence and dominion of the supremely-divine Trinity. Gregory the Theologian of a truth says, "Thus, then, the Holy of Holies, which is completely veiled by the Seraphim, and is glorified with three consecrations, meet together in one lordship and one divinity." This was the most beautiful and sublime philosophy of still another of our predecessors.

- *Ecclesiastical historians, then, say that once when the people of Constantinople were offering prayers to God to avert a threatened calamity, during Proclus' tenure of the office of Archbishop, it happened that a boy was snatched up from among the people, and was taught by angelic teachers the "Thrice Holy" Hymn, "Thou Holy God, Holy and Mighty One, Holy and Immortal One, have mercy upon us:" and when once more he was restored to earth, he told what he had learned, and all the people sang the Hymn, and so the threatened calamity was averted. **And in the fourth holy and great (Ecumenical Council, I mean the one at Chalcedon, we are told that it was in this form that the Hymn was sung; for the minutes of this holy assembly so record it. It is, therefore, a matter for laughter and ridicule that this "Thrice Holy" Hymn, taught us by the angels, and confirmed by the averting of calamity, ratified and established by so great an assembly of the holy Fathers, and sung first by the Seraphim as a declaration of the three subsistences of the Godhead, should be mangled and forsooth emended to suit the view of the stupid Fuller as though he were higher than the Seraphim. But oh! the arrogance! not to say folly! But we say it thus, though demons should rend us in pieces, "Do Thou, Holy God, Holy and Mighty One, Holy and Immortal One, have mercy upon us."***

- St. John of Damascus : de fide orthodoxa: an exact exposition of the orthodox faith. Book 3.10.

The Witness of God is Greater

Salvian of Marseilles (d. 429)

- Salvian (or Salvianus) was a Christian writer of the 5th century in Gaul (modern France). His birthplace is uncertain, but some scholars have suggested Cologne[1] or Trier[2] some time between 400 and 405.
- Salvian was educated at the school of Trier and seems to have been brought up as a Christian. His writings appear to show that he had made a special study of the law; and this is the more likely as he appears to have been of noble birth and could describe one of his relations as being "of no small account in her own district and not obscure in family".[4] He was certainly a Christian when he married Palladia, the daughter of pagan parents, Hypatius and Quieta, whose displeasure he incurred by persuading his wife to retire with him to a distant monastery, which is almost certainly that founded by St Honoratus at Lerins. For seven years there was no communication between the two branches of the family, till at last, when Hypatius had become a Christian, Salvian wrote him a most touching letter in his own name, his wife's, and that of his little daughter Auspicola, begging for the renewal of the old affection.[5] This whole letter is a most curious illustration of Salvian's reproach against his age that the noblest man at once forfeited all esteem if he became a monk.[3][6]
- It was presumably at Lerins that Salvian made the acquaintance of Honoratus (died 429), Hilary of Arles (died 449), and Eucherius of Lyons (died 449). That he was a friend of the former and wrote an account of his life we learn from Hilary.[7] To Eucherius's two sons, Salonius and Veranus, he acted as tutor in consort with Vincent of Lérins. As he succeeded Honoratus and Hilary in this office, this date cannot well be later than the year 426 or 427, when the former was called to Arles, whither he seems to have summoned Hilary before his death in 429.
- Salvian continued his friendly intercourse with both father and sons long after the latter had left his care; it was to Salonius (then a bishop) that he wrote his explanatory letter just after the publication of his treatise *Ad ecclesiam*; and to the same prelate a few years later he dedicated his great work, the *De gubernatione Dei* ("The Government of God"). If French scholars are right in assigning Hilary's *Vita Honorati* to 430, Salvian, who is there called a priest, had probably already left Lyons for Marseilles, where he is known to have spent the last years of his life (Gennadius, ap. Migne, lviii. 1099). It was probably from Marseilles that he wrote his first letter — presumably to Lerins — begging the community there to receive his kinsman, the son of a widow of Cologne, who had been reduced to poverty by the barbarian invasions. It seems a fair inference that Salvian had divested himself of all his property in favour of that society and sent his relative to Lerins for assistance (Ep. i., with which compare *Ad eccles.* ii. 9, 10; iii. 5). It has been conjectured that Salvian paid a visit to Carthage; but this is a mere inference based on the minute details he gives of the state of this city just before its fall to the Vandals (*De gub.* vii. viii). He seems to have been still living at Marseilles when Gennadius wrote under the papacy of Gelasius (492–496)
- The *De gubernatione* (On the Government of God), Salvian's greatest work, was published after the capture of Litorius at Toulouse (439), to which he plainly alludes in vii. 40, and after the Vandal conquest of Carthage in the same year (vi. 12), but before Attila's invasion (451), as Salvian speaks of the Huns, not as enemies of the empire, but as serving in the Roman armies (vii. 9). The words "proximum bellum" seem to denote a year very soon after 439.
- Salvian. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salvian>

Salvian : Visigoths Corrupt the Scriptures

- **[Salvian]** You say that they read the same things that are read by us. **How can they be the same things when they were both wickedly interpolated and badly transmitted by authors who at the time were wicked? And because of this they are not now the same, because in no way can those things be called completely the same that in some part have been corrupted.** Indeed, those things that are not complete lose their completeness, nor do those things that have been deprived of the virtue of the sacraments preserve their validity. **We, therefore, have only scriptures that are complete, unchanged, and whole. We alone read them rightly.** (Salvian of Marseilles, *The Government of God*, Book 5.2; Translated by Berndt, 2016, p. 179)
- **[Salvian]** Even if there are those of the barbarian peoples who in their books seem to have sacred scripture that is less interpolated or broken up, they nevertheless have [scripture] that

has been corrupted by the traditions of their ancient teachers, and because of this they have tradition rather than scripture, because they do not retain what the truth of the law teaches, but what the depravity of wicked tradition has inculcated. For barbarians are men lacking in Roman, or rather human, erudition, who know nothing at all except for what they hear from their teachers, and what they hear, this they follow. (Salvian of Marseilles, *The Government of God*, Book 5.2; Translated by Berndt, 2016, p. 179-180)

Vandals Invade North Africa 429 AD (Council of Carthage 484)

- In 429, the Vandals, estimated to number 80,000 people, had crossed by boat from Spain to North Africa. They advanced eastward conquering the coastal regions of 21st century Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. In 435, the Roman Empire, then ruling in North Africa, allowed the Vandals to settle in the provinces of Numidia and Mauretania when it became clear that the Vandal army could not be defeated by Roman military forces. In 439 the Vandals renewed their advance eastward and captured Carthage, the most important city of North Africa. The fledgling kingdom then conquered the Roman-ruled islands of Mallorca, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica in the western Mediterranean Sea. In the 460s the Romans launched two unsuccessful military expeditions by sea in an attempt to overthrow the Vandals and reclaim North Africa. The conquest of North Africa by the Vandals was a blow to the beleaguered Western Roman Empire as North Africa was a major source of revenue and a supplier of grain (mostly wheat) to the city of Rome. The Vandal Kingdom ended in 534 when it was conquered by Belisarius in the Vandalic War and incorporated into the Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire. (Vandal Kingdom. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vandal_Kingdom>)

- Geiseric (c. 389 – 25 January 477), also known as Geiseric or Genseric (Latin: Gaisericus, Geisericus; reconstructed Vandalic: *Gaisarīx[1][2]), was King of the Vandals and Alans (428–477) who established the Vandal Kingdom and was one of the key players in the troubles of the Western Roman Empire in the 5th century. During his nearly 50 years of rule, he raised a relatively insignificant Germanic tribe to the status of a major Mediterranean power. Succeeding his brother Gunderic at a time when the Vandals were settled in Baetica, Roman Hispania (modern Andalusia, Spain), Gaiseric successfully defended himself against a Suebian attack and transported most of his people, around 80,000, to Northern Africa in 428. He might have been invited by the Roman governor Bonifacius, who wished to use the military strength of the Vandals in his struggle against the imperial government. Gaiseric caused great devastation as he moved eastward from the Strait of Gibraltar across Africa. He turned on Bonifacius, defeated his army in 430, and then crushed the joint forces of the Eastern and Western empires that had been sent against him. In 435 Gaiseric concluded a treaty with the Romans under which the Vandals retained Mauretania and part of Numidia as foederati (allies under special treaty) of Rome. In a surprise move on 19 October 439, Gaiseric captured Carthage, striking a devastating blow at imperial power. In a 442 treaty with Rome, the Vandals were recognized as the independent rulers of Byzacena and part of Numidia. He besieged Panormus (Palermo, Sicily) in 440 AD but was repulsed, and made an incursion near Agrigento in 456 but was repulsed there and defeated by Ricimer in a naval battle off the coast of Corsica.[3] In 455, he seized the Balearic Islands, Sardinia, Corsica, and Malta, and Gaiseric's fleet soon came to control much of the western Mediterranean. He occupied Sicily in 468 for 8 years until the island was ceded in 476 to Odavacer except for a toehold on the far west coast, Lilybaeum, which was ceded in 491 to Theodoric.[4] His most famous exploit, however, was the capture and plundering of Rome in June 455. Subsequently, the King defeated two major efforts by the Romans to overthrow him, that of the emperor Majorian in 460 or 461 and that led by Basiliscus at the Battle of Cape Bon in 468. After dying in Carthage at the age of 88, Gaiseric was succeeded by his son Huneric. (Gaiseric. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaiseric>)

- **Victor Vitensis (or Victor of Vita; born circa 430) was an African bishop of the Province of Byzacena** (called Vitensis from his See of Vita). His importance rests on his *Historia persecutionis Africanae Provinciae, temporibus Genseric et Hunirici regum Wandalorum* (A History of the African Province Persecution, in the Times of Genseric and Huneric, the Kings of the Vandals). Divided into three books, the work is a predominantly contemporary narrative of the cruelties practiced against the orthodox Nicene Christians of Northern Africa by the Arian Vandals. The first book provides an account of the reign of Genseric, from the Vandal invasion of Africa in 429 until the king's death in 477; whilst, the second and third record events of Huneric's reign (477-484) - of which **Victor was an eyewitness**. (Victor Vitensis. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Victor_Vitensis>)

The Witness of God is Greater

Victor Vitensis : A History of the African Province Persecution; (Translated by Moorhead, Liverpool Press 1992)

Invasion, Conquering North Africa, and Persecution

- **1.1** It is evident that this is now the sixtieth year since the cruel and savage people of the Vandal race set foot on the territory of wretched Africa [429 AD]. They made an easy passage across the straits, because the vast and broad sea becomes narrow between Spain and Africa, which are separated by only twelve miles.
- **1.2** A large number made the crossing, and in his cunning duke [King] Geiseric, intending to make the reputation of his people a source of dread, ordered then and there that the entire crowd was to be counted, even those who had come from the womb into the light that very day. Including old men, young men and children, slaves and masters, there was found to be a total of 80,000. News of this has spread widely, until today those ignorant of the matter think that this is the number of their armed men, although now their number is small and feeble.
- **1.3** Finding a province which was at peace and enjoying quiet, the whole land beautiful and flowering on all sides, they set to work on it with their wicked forces, laying it waste by devastation and bringing everything to ruin with fire and murders. They did not even spare the fruit-bearing orchards, in case people who had hidden in the caves of mountains or steep places or any remote areas would be able to eat the foods produced by them after they had passed. So it was that no place remained safe from being contaminated by them, as they raged with great cruelty, unchanging and relentless.³
- **1.4** In particular, they gave vent to their wicked ferocity with great strength against the churches and basilicas of the saints, cemeteries and monasteries, so that they burned houses of prayer with fires greater than those they used against the cities and all the towns.⁴ When they happened to find the doors of a sacred building closed they were keen to open up a way with the blows of their hatchets, so that of them it could then rightly be said: 'They broke its doors in pieces with their axes as if they were in a forest of trees; they cast it down with axe and hatchet: they set your sanctuary on fire: they cast the tabernacle of your name to the ground and defiled it.' (Ps 73:5-7 Vulg)
- **1.5** How many were the distinguished bishops and noble priests put to death by them at that time with different kinds of torments, as they tried to make them give up any gold or silver belonging to themselves or the churches! And so that the things which were in their keeping would be brought forth more easily under the pressure of pain, they inflicted cruel torments a second time on those who produced things, asserting that they had produced a part but not the whole, and the more a person gave, the more they believed he had still more.
- **1.6** Some had their mouths forced open with poles and stakes, and disgusting filth was put in their jaws so that they would tell the truth about their money. They tortured others by twisting cords around their foreheads and shins until they snapped. Devoid of mercy they offered many people sea water, others vinegar, the lees of olive oil, fish sauce and many other cruel things, while full wineskins were placed near their mouths. Neither the weaker sex, nor regard for nobility, nor reverence for the priesthood softened those cruel hearts; on the contrary, when they caught sight of some officeholder worthy of honour, the wrath of their fury was thereupon increased.
- **1.7** I am unable to recount the number of the priests and men holding the rank of *inlustris* on whom they placed enormous burdens, as if they were camels or other kinds of baggage animals, and forced to walk using iron goads. Some of them breathed their last in wretched fashion under their burdens. Mature age and that greyness, worthy of veneration, which whitens the hair of the head so that it looks like shining wool, obtained no mercy from the enemy.⁶ Indeed, in their barbaric frenzy they even snatched children from their mothers' breasts and dashed the guiltless infants to the ground.⁷ They held others by the feet, upside down, and cut them in two from their bottoms to the tops of their heads; then it was, perchance, that captive Zion sang: 'My enemy said that he would bum my lands, kill my little children and dash my infants to the ground.' (cf II Kings 8: 12)
- **1.8** In some buildings, namely great houses and homes where fire had been of less service to them, they smashed the roofs in pieces and levelled the beautiful walls to the ground, so that the former beauty of the towns cannot be deduced from what they look like now. And there are very many cities with few or no inhabitants, for after these events the ones which survive lie desolate; for example, here at Carthage they utterly destroyed the odeon, the theatre, the temple of Memoria and what people used to call the Via Caelestis.
- **1.9** To speak only of the most noteworthy things, in their tyrannical presumption they delivered over to their religion the basilica of the Ancestors where the bodies of SS Perpetua and Felicitas are buried, the basilica of Celerina and the Scillitani, and others which they had not destroyed. But where there were some defensive works against which the hostility of their barbaric frenzy was unable to prevail, countless throngs were brought together at the walls of the towns. These they put to death with their savage swords, so that when the corpses had rotted away they were able, by means of the stench of the decaying bodies, to bring about the death of those whom they had not been able to approach because of the sheltering walls which protected them.
- **1.10** Who will be able to declare how many and how numerous were the bishops who were then tortured by them? For it was then as well that Pampinianus, the venerable bishop of our town,¹⁰ was burnt all over his body by plates of glowing iron; in the same way Mansuetus of Urosi (Henchir Sougga) was burnt in the Porta Fornitana. At this time the city of Hippo Regius (Annaba), which the blessed Augustine, worthy of all praise, governed as its pontiff, was besieged.

The Witness of God is Greater

Hunric becomes King : The Edict

- **2.1** Following the death of Geiseric, his eldest son, Huniric, succeeded his father. In accordance with the subtlety of the barbarians, at the beginning of his reign he began to act in quite a mild and moderate fashion. This was particularly so with respect to our religion, so that meetings of the people were held even where it had previously been decided under king Geiseric that spiritual assemblies were not to take place. And, to show that he was a man of religion, he decreed that the Manichaeans were to be sought out with painstaking care.² He had many of these people burned, and he sold more of them for ships across the seas. He found that nearly all the Manichaeans were adherents of his religion, the Arian heresy, especially its priests and deacons; so it was that, the greater his shame, the more he was kindled against them.
- **2.38** The tyrant turned his mind to more violent actions against the church of God, so that having cut off some of the limbs he could destroy the whole body by tearing it in pieces. For on the day of the Ascension of the Lord,²² in the presence of Reginus, the legate of the emperor Zeno, he sent to bishop Eugenius an edict which was to be read out in the middle of the church. Its contents were as follows; he also forwarded it, by speeding post horses, to the whole of Africa.²³
- **2.39** "Hunirix, king of the Vandals and Alans, to all the homousian bishops.²⁴ It is well known that not once but quite often your priests have been forbidden to celebrate any liturgies at all in the territory of the Vandals, in case they seduce Christian souls and destroy them. Many of them have despised this and, contrary to the prohibition, have been discovered to have said mass in the territories of the Vandals, claiming that they hold to the rule of the Christian faith in its fullness. And because we do not wish for scandal in the provinces granted us by God, therefore know that by the providence of God and with the consent of our holy bishops we have decreed this: that on the first of February next you are all to come to Carthage, making no excuse that you are frightened, so that you will be able to debate concerning the principles of faith with our venerable bishops and establish the propriety of the faith of the Homousians, which you defend, from the divine scriptures. From this it will be clear whether you hold the faith in its fullness. We have sent a copy of this edict to all your fellow bishops throughout Africa. Given on 20 May 483 in the seventh year of Hunirix."
- **2.40** As soon as those of us who were present came to know this as it was read out, 'our heart was forthwith broken and our eyes grew dim' (Lam 5:17), and in truth, 'the days of our festival were turned to sorrow and our songs to lamentation'(Amos 8:10), since the contents of the edict revealed that a raging persecution was to come, especially where it said 'we do not wish for scandal in the provinces granted us by God,' as if it were saying 'we do not wish there to be Catholics in our provinces.' We discussed what was to be done. No remedy for the calamity which threatened was to be found, except for the proposal, a reasonable one were it possible for a barbarian's heart to be softened, made by the holy Eugenius.
- **2.52** That day of treachery which the king had appointed, 1 February, was now drawing near. There came together not only the bishops of the whole of Africa, but also those of many of the islands, worn out with suffering and grief.³¹
- **2.53** Finally the debate took place, needless to say at a place their enemies had selected. Our people chose to avoid the disturbances which loud voices would have caused, in case the Arians were later to say that they had been overpowered by the weight of numbers...
- **2.55** Our people turned round and said to Cyrila:"Say what you intend to do."Cyrila said:"I do not know Latin."Our bishops said:"We know very well that you have always spoken Latin; you should not excuse yourself now, especially since you have set this fire going."³⁵ And, seeing that the catholic bishops were better prepared for the debate, he flatly refused to give them a hearing, relying on various quibbles. But our people had foreseen this and wrote a short work concerning the faith, composed quite fittingly and with the necessary detail. They said:"If you wish to know our faith, this is the truth we hold."³⁶

Confession of the 460 Bishops Read Aloud

- **2.56** We are enjoined by a royal command to provide an account of the catholic faith which we hold. So we are setting out to briefly indicate the things which we believe and proclaim, aware of our lack of ability but supported by divine assistance. We recognize, then, that the first thing we must do is give an explanation of the unity of the substance of the Father and the Son, which the Greeks call homousion. Therefore: we acknowledge the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit in the unity of the divine nature in such a way that we can say with a faithful confession that the Father subsists as a distinct person, and the Son equally exists in his own person, and that the Holy Spirit retains the distinctiveness of his own person, not asserting that the Father is the same as the Son, nor confessing that the Son is the same as the Father or the Holy Spirit, nor understanding the Holy Spirit in such a way that he is the Father or the Son; but we believe the unbegotten Father and the Son begotten of the Father and the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father¹⁷ to be of one substance and essence, because the unbegotten Father and the begotten Son and the Holy Spirit who proceeds have one divine nature in common; nevertheless, there are three distinct persons.

HIT:

• **2.82 And so, no occasion for uncertainty is left. It is clear that the Holy Spirit is also God and the author of his own will, he who is most clearly shown to be at work in all things and to bestow the gifts of the divine dispensation according to the judgment of his own will, because where it is proclaimed that he distributes graces where he wills, servile condition cannot exist, for servitude is to be understood in what is created, but power and freedom in the Trinity. And so that we may teach the Holy Spirit to be of one divinity with the Father and the Son still more clearly than the light, here is proof from the testimony of John the evangelist. For he says: 'There are three who bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one.'**⁴⁷ Surely he does he not say 'three separated by a difference in quality' or 'divided by grades which differentiate, so that there is a great distance between them?' No, he says that the 'three are one.'

• Latin: Unde nullus ambiguitati relinquitur locus, quin clareat Spiritum sanctum et Deum esse, et suae voluntatis auctorem, qui cuncta operari, et secundum propriae voluntatis arbitrium divinae dispensationis dona largiri apertissime demonstratur. (0227C) Quia ubi voluntaria gratiarum distributio praedicatur, non potest videri conditio servitutis: in creatura enim servitus intelligenda est, in Trinitate vero dominatio ac libertas. **Et ut adhuc luce clarius unius divinitatis esse cum Patre et Filio Spiritum sanctum doceamus, Ioannis evangelistae testimonio comprobatur. (0228A) Ait namque: Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in coelo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt (I Ioan. V, 7) . Nunquid, ait, tres in differenti aequalitate seiuncti, aut quibuslibet diversitatum gradibus longo separationis intervallo divisi? sed tres, inquit, unum sunt.** (Victor Vitensis, Historia persecutionis Africae provinciae; Migne Latina, PL 58.227C)

• **3.1 When our little book had been presented to them and read out**, their blind eyes found it impossible to endure the light of the truth. They raved with intolerable shouts, taking it amiss that in the title of the book we had called ourselves 'Catholics'. Straightaway those liars declared to the king that we had created an uproar while rushing away from the hearing. He was immediately inflamed and, believing the falsehood, lost no time in doing what he wanted to do.

• **3.2** He had already drawn up a decree and secretly sent his men with it throughout the different provinces. So, while the bishops were in Carthage, in one day he closed the churches throughout Africa and he presented all the property of the bishops and churches to his own bishops as a gift.

• (Victor Vitensis, Victor of Vita: history of the Vandal persecution; Translated by Moorhead, Liverpool Press 1992)

Comment:

• **[Ben David]** The verse is quoted by above four hundred orthodox bishops, in a confession of faith presented to Hunneric, King of the Vandals, in Africa. This was in the year 484, and the confession has these words, which they ascribe to John the Evangelist: "Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in coelo. Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus." Observe, this is not a quotation of one writer, but of all the heads of the churches in Africa, [PAGE 280] in the Mediterranean islands, in Greece, in Rome, and in other places. **The quotation, therefore, virtually presents the united testimony of all the learned throughout the whole Christian world to the genuineness of the text of the three Heavenly Witnesses.** The king, who summoned them to appear at Carthage, was a furious Arian, bent on exterminating the orthodox. They produced the verse, they said, as placing the divinity of Christ in a point clearer than light. **Could they hope by forging it, to impose upon a powerful enemy, surrounded by all the Arian bishops, who were ready to refute or expose any unfair dealings in their opponents? The thing is impossible: they all knew that, though their interpretation of the verse was opposed, the authenticity of it could not be called in question.** ('Ben David' [John Jones], 'Letters to the Editor', The Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature, vol 21, 1826, 279-280.)

• **[Dorhout]** Thus Victor: The book is said to be the one on the Catholic Faith by the Bishop of Carthage Eugenius, but it is not [written by Eugenius]. **Victor, who composed the history of the Vandal persecution and was an eye- and ear-witness to the events, clearly relates that the members of this whole African Catholic council, all the bishops of Africa and of many islands, used this weapon against the Arians. That means that they recognized the authenticity of John's passage [I John 5:7] and were aware that the Arians could bring up nothing against it; otherwise they would have been foolishly charging at the enemy with a leaden sword. We may therefore state**

The Witness of God is Greater

as extremely likely that all the Scripture codices of the time, at least those in use in the whole of Africa and among the islanders, contained these words of 1 John 5:7, since not even the Arians were able to deny it. This one passage in Victor's work that we are citing is tantamount to hundreds of reputable 5th-century codices. So one wonders how those who hold the opposite view can argue that the oldest codices for the most part do not recognize those words. (Dorhout, Ambrosius. *Ambrosii Dorhout V.D.M. Dokkumani, Animadversiones in loca selecta V.T. ... Annexæ sunt III Dissertationes*, 1765. vol. 1, 275-276; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, June 2021)

Hefele : Sec. 214. Religious Conference at Carthage, A.D. 484.

• In the meantime there was held in Africa, if not a Synod proper, yet an unusually numerous and important assembly of bishops. Huneric, king of the Vandals, son of the successor of Geiseric, since his entrance on the government, A.D. 477, had not ceased to persecute the Catholics, and had endeavored by all means of craft and violence to obtain a victory for Arianism, which he and his people professed. To this end he sent out, in May 483, a circular letter to Eugenius of Carthage, and all Homoousion bishops, in which he gave orders that, on the first of February in the next year, they should be present at Carthage, in order to have a disputation with his "venerable" bishops on the Homoousion faith, and to examine whether it were scriptural or not.² [2. Mansi, t. vii. p. 1141; Hardouin, t. ii. p. 857.] **Eugenius declared that he was willing to attend, on condition that the Catholic bishops from the other side of the Mediterranean, particularly the Church of Rome, should be [PAGE 36] allowed to take part in the disputation, as the controversy would have reference to the Catholic creed, and not to the special creed of the African Church.**¹ [1. Mansi, t. vii. p. 1142; Hardouin, l.c.; Victor Vitensis (Victor of Vita), *De persecutione Afric.* lib. ii. in the *Biblioth. Max. PP.*, Lugd. t. viii. p. 682; also in *Baron. ad ann. 483, n. 93 sqq.*] He made this stipulation particularly, because the bishops who were not under Vandal rule could express themselves with much greater freedom than he and his colleagues who were living under that heavy oppression. King Huneric made the scornful reply: "When you make me master of the whole world, then what you want shall be done," that is to say, then shall the bishops be summoned from the whole world. To this Eugenius returned a befitting answer; but instead of complying, Huneric did the reverse, and drove into exile those Orthodox bishops of Africa who were pointed out to him as peculiarly learned and eloquent.² [2. Victor Vitensis, l.c.] **At last the first of February arrived, and no fewer than 461 Catholic bishops had appeared at Carthage, as is shown by the list of them which is still extant.**³ [fn. 3. In Mansi, t. vii. 1156; Hardouin, t. ii. p. 869. Sixteen sees were then made empty, or the bishops sent into exile, so that the Vandal kingdom counted 447 Catholic bishops.] Most of them were from Africa itself; some were from the islands of Sardinia, Majorica, and Minorica, which belonged to the Vandal kingdom. Huneric had some of the ablest of the Catholic bishops separated from the others and arrested, and Bishop Laetus of Neptis even killed, in order to strike terror into the others. The place of meeting was fixed by their opponents; but the Catholics immediately selected from their number ten speakers, so that the Arians should not be able to say that they were clamored down by the Catholic bishops by reason of their majority. There were, however, no real debates. At the very beginning the Arian Court Bishop Cyrila placed himself in the president's chair, and the Catholic bishops in vain appealed against this, and demanded an impartial president. When the royal notary gave to Cyrila the title of patriarch, the Orthodox asked "by whose authority Cyrila had assumed the title of patriarch"; and when the Catholic spectators made a noise at this, they were driven by blows from the place of [PAGE 37] assembly. Eugenius complained of violence; but, in order to get at the chief matter in dispute, the Catholic speakers requested Cyrila to open the proceedings, and to lay before them the points which were to be discussed. Cyrila replied, "Nescio latine," and persisted in his objection to the speaking of Latin, although he answered that he had elsewhere made copious use of this language. Victor Vitensis maintains (p. 683) that Cyrila had met the Catholic bishops with better preparation and more boldly than he had expected; but that they had taken the precaution of drawing up a confession of faith in writing of which he gives a copy (lib. iii.), and which is also given in Mansi and Hardouin. 1 [fn. 1. Mansi, t. vii. p. 1143; Hardouin, t. ii. p. 857.] Tillemont shows (p. 797) that, in the subscription of this formula, xii. Kal. Mart. instead of Mai. must be read. Huneric now put forth an edict, on February 24, in which he blamed the assembled Orthodox bishops that they had not either at the first or second day of sitting (so that the assembly lasted two days) proved the Homoousion from Holy Scripture, although they had been challenged to do so; but, on the contrary, had occasioned a rising and an uproar among the people. He therefore gave orders that their churches should remain closed until they should come and take part in the disputation. Further, the laws which the Roman Emperors, misled by the bishops, had promulgated against heretics, should now be directed against the maintainers of the Homoousion. They were therefore forbidden to hold meetings anywhere; they were not to have a church in any city or village; they must not take part in any baptism, ordination, or the like; and in case they continued in their perverseness, they should be punished with exile. Moreover, the laws of the Roman Emperors against heretical laymen should now be in force, and they should be deprived of the right to sell, to leave by will, and to succeed to legacies, inheritances, trusts, etc.; and, moreover, those who occupied dignities and offices should be stripped of them,

The Witness of God is Greater

and should be declared infamous. All books in which they defended their error (the Nicene doctrine) were to be burnt. Anyone, however, who should return from his error by the 1st of June, was [PAGE 38] to be free from all punishments. Finally, all the churches, together with church property, in the whole kingdom, were to be made over to the truth, that is, the Arian bishops and priests.¹ [fn. 1. Victor Vit. lib. iv. l.c. p. 687 sqq.; Mansi, t. vii. p. 1153 sqq.; Hardouin, t. ii. p. 867 sqq.; Baron. ad ann. 484, n. 54; Tillemont, t. xvi. p. 562.] **Besides this, King Huneric had the Catholic bishops present in Carthage sought for in their lodgings, deprived of their property, their servants, and horses, and driven out of the city. Whoever should receive them was to have his house burnt. Later on they were all excommunicated; the majority (302) being sent to different parts of Africa, where they had to live as country people without any spiritual functions, whilst forty-six were sent to the island of Corsica, where they had to hew wood for the royal ships. Victor adds that twenty eight had escaped, one had become a martyr, one a confessor, and eighty eight had died earlier.**² [2. Victor Vit. l.c. p. 693; Mansi, t. vii. p. 1164; Hardouin, t. ii. p. 875. Cf. Tillemont, t. xvi. p. 565 sqq.] (Hefele, A History of the Councils of the Church, From the Original Documents, 1895, vol 4, p. 35-38)

Notitia Provinciarum et Civitatum Africae (List of the Provinces and Cities of Africa)

• The Notice of the Provinces and Cities of Africa (Latin: Notitia Provinciarum et Civitatum Africae) is a Byzantine-era document listing the bishops and sees in the Roman provinces of North Africa.^[1] The cause of its preparation was the summoning of the episcopate to Carthage on 1 February 484 by the Arian king of the Vandals, Huneric (477–84). The Notitia Provinciarum et Civitatum Africae [Migne Latin, PL 58.267] is the conventional title long, in Latin but it is also known as the Notitia or Notitia Africae which is in turn, abbreviated in NA.^[6] It is a record of the Bishops of North Africa^[7] and represents a register of the provinces and cities of Africa, and the Organization of the Catholic Church (?) in North Africa at the end of the 5th century, an important time in the development of Catholic dogma. It also by inference describes the extent of the Vandal Kingdom at that time. The Notitia lists the Catholic Bishops (nomina episcoporum catholicorum) who participated in the conference held at Carthage, February 1 484,^[8] convened by Huneric. It summarizes the total number of bishops, in North Africa, the number of those who died in the Vandal Persecution, those who remained alive and, among these those who were relegated [exiled] (exciled), and those who fled (fugerunt). **It lists four hundred and eighty-three dioceses in seven provinces, five of which follow the secular Roman provinces. The order of the provinces seems to follow the chronological order of the creation of the primaties. Arranged according to provinces in this order: Proconsularis, Numidia, Byzacena, Mauretania Caesariensis, Mauretania Sitifensis, Tripolitana, Sardinia. It also names the exiled bishops and vacant sees, and is an important authority for the history of the African Church and the geography of these provinces. It is incorporated in the only extant manuscript to the history of the Vandal persecution by Bishop Victor Vitensis.**^{[2][3][4][5]} (Notitia Provinciarum et Civitatum Africae. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Notitia_Provinciarum_et_Civitatum_Africae>)

Prayer of Eugenius : 1st Miracle

- **2.47** But when the fire of persecution was already kindled and the flame of the attacking king burned everywhere, our God displayed through his servant Eugenius a miracle which I must not pass over. In that same town of Carthage there was a certain blind man, a citizen very well known in the town, whose name was Felix. This man was visited by the Lord and was told by him in a vision one night, when the day of the Epiphany was dawning, "Rise, go to my servant bishop Eugenius, and tell him that I have sent you to him. And at the time when he blesses the font so that those coming to the faith may be baptized, he will touch your eyes. They will be opened and you will see the light."^{2S}
- **2.48** Having been instructed by this vision, the blind man believed that he had been deluded by a dream, as often happens, and decided not to get up. But while he was sinking back to sleep, he was urged in the same fashion to go to Eugenius. Again he paid no attention, and a third time he was threatened, speedily and fiercely. He roused the boy who usually guided him by the hand, and went with all speed to the basilica of Faustus. When he came there he prayed with many tears and asked a deacon, Peregrinus by name, to announce his arrival to the bishop, indicating that he had a secret of some kind to make known to him.
- **2.49** Hearing of this the bishop ordered the man to come in. Because of the feast day that was being celebrated, the hymns of the night were already resounding throughout the church as the people sang. The blind man told the bishop the story of his vision and said to him: "I will not let you go until you let me have my sight back, just as you have been ordered by the Lord." The holy Eugenius said to him: "Depart from me, brother, for I am an unworthy sinner (cf Luke 5:8) and a wrongdoer above all men, seeing that even in these times I have been preserved."
- **2.50** But that man held onto his knees and said nothing beyond what he had said earlier: "Restore my sight to me, as has been ordered." Eugenius paid attention to his reverent trust and, because time was now pressing, he proceeded with him to the font in the company of the officiating clergy. There, immovable on his knees and groaning deeply, he disturbed heaven with his sobs. He blessed the rippling baptismal pool,²⁹ and when he had completed his prayer he arose and replied to the blind man in this way: "I have already told you, Felix my brother, that I am a sinful man; but may he who has deigned to visit you act in accordance with your faith and open your eyes." At the same time he signed his eyes with the

The Witness of God is Greater

standard of the cross, and immediately the blind man received his sight, as the Lord gave it back. The bishop kept him with him until all had been baptized in case the crowd, excited by such a great miracle, should crush the man who had received the light.

• **3.51** Afterwards the miracle was made public throughout the church. The man who had been blind went forward to the altar with Eugenius to return to the Lord a thank offering for the restoration of his health, in accordance with the custom. The bishop received it and placed it on the altar. In the joy that followed, an uproar which could not be controlled arose from the people. Immediately, a messenger went to the tyrant. Felix was seized, and he was asked what had happened and how he had received the light. He explained everything in proper order, and the bishops of the Arians said: "Eugenius did this through sorcery."

• (Victor Vitensis, *Victor of Vita: history of the Vandal persecution*; Translated by Moorhead, Liverpool Press 1992)

African Confessors : 2nd Miracle

• **3.29** But let us go on quickly to tell what was done to the glory of God in the town of Tipasa (Tifech) in greater Mauritania. When they saw that a former notary of Cyrila had been ordained as the Arian bishop for their town, to the perdition of souls, the entire town fled together all at once on the next sailing to Spain, leaving behind only a few who had not been able to sail.¹⁴ The bishop of the Arians began to put pressure on these people, first by blandishments and later by threats, in an attempt to make Arians of them. But they were strong in the Lord: not only did they laugh at the madness of the man who was exhorting them, but they also began to celebrate the divine mysteries in public, gathering together in a house. When the bishop found out about this, in secret he sent to Carthage a report about it which was hostile to them.

• **3.30** When this came to the attention of the king, in his wrath he sent a count with orders that the entire province was to be gathered together in the middle of the forum, and that he was to cut the tongues and right hands of these people completely off. But when this was done, thanks to the operation of the Holy Spirit they spoke, and continued to speak, just as they had spoken before. And if anyone finds this hard to believe, he should go to Constantinople now, and there he will find one of them, the subdeacon Reparatus, speaking correctly and in a faultless manner. For this reason he is held to be worthy of reverence in the palace of the emperor Zeno, and the queen in particular venerates him with an extraordinary devotion.

• (Victor Vitensis, *Victor of Vita: history of the Vandal persecution*; Translated by Moorhead, Liverpool Press 1992)

• [Twistleton] After several preliminary remarks, and after referring to the passage in Victor Vitensis, which I have already translated somewhat more fully, **Dr. Newman translates the evidence of six writers, viz. i) Aeneas of Gaza; ii) Procopius of Caesarea; iii) the Emperor Justinian; iv) Count Marcellinus; v) Victor bishop of Tonno; vi) Pope Gregory I.** [Newman, *Two Essays on Biblical and on Ecclesiastical Miracles*, 1892, §222-§230] Their evidence is set forth by him as follows:

• **1. Aeneas of Gaza** was the contemporary of Victor. When a Gentile, he had been a philosopher and a [PAGE 37] rhetorician, and did not altogether throw off his profession of Platonism when he became a Christian. He wrote a dialogue on the 'Immortality of the Soul and the Resurrection of the Body;' and in it, after giving various instances of miracles, he proceeds, in the character of Axiheus, to speak of the miracle of the African Confessors: 'Other such things have been and will be; but what took place the other day I suppose you have seen yourself. A bitter tyranny is oppressing the greater Africa, and humanity and orthodoxy have no influence over tyranny. Accordingly this tyrant takes offence at the piety of his subjects, and commands the priests to deny their glorious dogma. When they refuse, O the impiety! he cuts out that religious tongue, as Tereus in the fable. But the damsel wove the deed upon the robe, and divulged it by her skill when nature no longer gave her power to speak; they, on the other hand, needing neither robe nor skill, call upon Nature's Maker, who vouchsafes to them a new nature on the third day, not giving them another tongue, but the faculty to discourse without a tongue more plainly than before. I had thought it impossible for a piper to show his skill without his pipes, or harper to play his music without his harp; but now this novel sight forces me to change my mind, and to account for nothing fixed that is seen, if it be God's will to alter it. I myself saw the men, and heard them speak; and wondering at the [PAGE 38] articulateness of the sound, I began to inquire what its organ was; and distrusting my ears, I committed the decision to my eyes, and opening their mouth, I perceived the tongue entirely gone from the roots; and astounded, I fell to wonder not how they could talk, but how they had not died."He saw them at Constantinople.

• **2. Procopius of Caesarea** was secretary to Belisarius, whom he accompanied into Africa, Sicily, and Italy and to Constantinople, in the years between 527 and 542. By Belisarius he was employed in various political matters of great moment, and was at one time at the head of the commissariat and the fleet. He seems to have conformed to Christianity, but Cave observes, from his tone of writing, that he was no real believer in it, nay preferred the old Paganism, though he despised its rites and fables. He wrote the history of the Persian, Vandalic, and Gothic war, of which Gibbon speaks in the following terms: "His facts are collected from the personal experience and free conversation of a soldier, a statesman, and a traveller; his style continually aspires, and often attains, to the merit of strength and elegance; his reflections, more especially in the speeches which he too frequently inserts, contain a rich fund of political knowledge, and the historian,

The Witness of God is Greater

excited by the generous ambition of pleasing and instructing posterity, appears to disdain the prejudices of the people and the flattery [PAGE 39] of courts."Such is Procopius, and thus he speaks on the subject of this stupendous miracle : "Huneric became the most savage and iniquitous of men towards the African Christians. For forcing them to Arianize, whomever he found unwilling to comply, he burnt and otherwise put to death. And of many he cut out the tongue as low down as the throat, who even as late as my time were alive in Byzantium, and talked without any impediment, feeling no effects whatsoever of the punishment. But two of them having allowed themselves to hold converse with abandoned women, ceased to speak."

• **3. Our next witness, and of the same date, is the Emperor Justinian**, who, in an edict addressed to Archelaus, Praetorian Prefect of Africa, on the subject of his office, after Belisarius had recovered the country to the Roman Empire, writes as follows : "The present mercy which Almighty God has deigned to manifest through us for his praise and his Name's sake, exceeds all the wonderful works which have happened in the world — viz., that Africa should through us recover in so short a time its liberty, after being in captivity under the Vandals for ninety-five years, those enemies alike of soul and body. For such souls as could not sustain their various tortures and punishments by rebaptizing, they translated into their own misbelief; and the bodies of free men they subjected to the hardships of a barbaric yoke. Nay, the very churches sacred to [PAGE 40] God did they defile with their deeds of misbelief ; some they turned into stables. We have seen the venerable men who, when their tongues had been cut off at the roots, yet piteously recounted their pains. Others, after diverse tortures, were dispersed through diverse provinces, and ended their days in exile."

• **4. Count Marcellinus, chancellor to Justinian** before he came to the throne, is the fourth layman to whose testimony we are able to appeal. He, too, as two of the former, speaks as an eyewitness, and the additional circumstances with which he commences seem to throw light upon Aeneas's singular account, that the confessors spoke "more plainly than before." "Through the whole of Africa," he says, in his Chronicon, under the date 484, "the cruel persecution of Huneric, King of the Vandals, was inflicted upon our Catholics. For after the expulsion and dispersion of more than 334 bishops of the orthodox, and the shutting of their churches, the flocks of the faithful, afflicted by various punishments, consummated their blessed conflict. Then it was that the same King Huneric ordered the tongue to be cut out of a Catholic youth who from his birth had lived without speech at all ; soon after he spoke, and gave glory to God with the first sounds of his voice. In short, I myself have seen at Byzantium a few out of the [PAGE 41] company of the faithful religious men, with their tongues cut off and their hands amputated, speaking with perfect voice."

• **5. Victor, bishop of Tonno, in Africa, Proconsularis**, another contemporary, and a strenuous defender of the "Three Chapters" (Latin: Tria Capitula), which were condemned in the Fifth Ecumenical Council, has left behind him a Chronicon also, which at the same date runs as follows : "Huneric, King of the Vandals, urging a furious persecution through the whole of Africa, banished to Tubunnae, Macrinippi, and other parts of the desert, not only Catholic clerks of every order, but even monks and laymen, to the number of about four thousand, and makes confessors and martyrs, and cuts off the tongues of the confessors. As to which confessors, the royal city where their bodies lie attests that after their tongues were cut out they spoke perfectly even to the end. Then Laetus, bishop of the Church of Nepte, is crowned with martyrdom, &c. It is observable from this statement that the miracle was recorded for the instruction of posterity at the place of their burial."

• **6. Lastly, Pope Gregory I.** thus speaks in his Dialogues : "In the time of Justinian Augustus, when the Arian persecution raised by the Vandals [PAGE 42] against the faith of Catholics was raging violently in Africa, some bishops, courageously persisting in the defence of the truth, were brought under notice ; whom the King of the Vandals, failing to persuade to his belief with words and offers, thought he could break with torture. For when in the midst of their defence of the truth, he bade them be silent, but they would not bear the misbelief quietly, lest it might be interpreted as assent. Breaking out into rage, he had their tongues cut off from the roots. A wonderful thing, and known to many senior persons, for afterwards, even without tongue, they spoke for the defence of the truth, just as they had been accustomed before to speak by means of it. These then, being fugitives at that time, came to Constantinople. At the time, moreover, that I was myself sent to the emperor to conduct the business of the Church, I fell in with a certain senior, a bishop, who attested that he had seen their mouths speaking, though without tongues, so that with open mouths they cried out, 'Behold, and see ; for we have not tongues and we speak.' And it appeared to those who inspected, as it was said, as if their tongues were being cut off from the roots, there was a sort of open depth in their throat, and yet in that empty mouth the words were formed full and perfect. Of whom one, having fallen into licentiousness, was soon after deprived of the gift of miracle."

• **[Twistleton] Dr. Newman then recapitulates the evidence as** [PAGE 43] follows : "Little observation is necessary on evidence such as this. What is perhaps most striking in it, is the variety of the witnesses, both in their persons and the details of their testimony, together with the consistency and unity of that testimony in all material points. Out of the seven writers adduced, six are contemporaries ; three, if not four, are eye witnesses of the miracle ; one reports from an eye witness ; and one testifies to a permanent record at the burial-place of the subjects of it. All seven were living, or had been staying at one or other of the two places which are mentioned as their abode. One is a pope, a second a Catholic bishop, a third a bishop of a schismatical party, a fourth an emperor, a fifth a soldier, a politician, and a suspected infidel, a sixth a statesman and courtier, a seventh a rhetorician and philosopher. 'He cut out the tongues by the roots,' says Victor, Bishop

The Witness of God is Greater

of Vite ; 'I perceived the tongue entirely gone by the roots' says Aeneas ; 'as low down as the throat,' says Procopius ; 'at the roots,' say Justinian and St. Gregory. 'He spoke like an educated man without impediment,' says Victor of Vite ; 'with articulateness' says Aeneas, 'better than before' ; 'they talked without impediment,' says Procopius; 'speaking with perfect voice,' says Marcellinus ; 'they spoke perfectly even to the end,' says the second Victor ; 'the words were formed full and perfect' says St. Gregory."

• (Twisleton, Edward Turner Boyd. *The Tongue Not Essential to Speech; With Illustrations of the Power of Speech in the African Confessors*. London: J. Murray, 1873, p. 36-43)

460 Bishops "stood on the brink of death"

• [Brownlee] There is no trace of evidence that any of the different sectaries brought an accusation against the Christian fathers of having interpolated this verse. — It is a fact on record that our verse was received by the western churches in Europe, in general, at a very early period. Now on the supposition that this verse had not existed in the ancient genuine MSS. and that the Christian fathers had brought it forward, and quoted it publicly, without effective evidence of its authenticity, how is it to be accounted for, I pray you, that all the sectaries kept silence? The Sabellians, and the Arians, had both the disposition, and the power, and the means in their hands to expose the audacity, and to punish the sacrilegious deed of these fathers, who had committed the interpolation. If they could not discover the first who dared to add to God's word, they could easily discover the first who dared to make use of the fraud. How can it be accounted for that they never brought any charges of this kind? It cannot be affirmed that our verse never was quoted against them. This was done. It was done publicly by those brave Christian bishops, who, in Africa, "bearded the lion in his den." I allude to the famous assembly of bishops in Africa, who laid in their solemn testimony before the king of the Vandals, and the Arian bishops. In the year, 484, Hunneric, by an edict did summon all the orthodox bishops of Africa, and the isles dependent on his power, to appear before him in February of the following year, and to defend and establish out of the Scriptures, their doctrine of the unity of the three divine persons; their doctrine of the homoousian. They had nine months allowed them and their antagonists to prepare themselves; to confer, and to collect MSS. and to draw up their confessions of faith respectively. At the time fixed by the royal edict, there appeared, says Gibbon in his Roman History, four hundred and sixty bishops from the orthodox African churches. They presented their confession of faith to the king. They had known their danger from that man of blood. [PAGE 547] They stood on the brink of death. The bar of their God seemed as it were, almost immediately before them. They had made their preparations of proof for nine months. They knew that the eyes of all the churches of the east and west were on them. Would men ready to offer their lives on the altar of martyrdom—men who actually, after this, braved banishment and death—would these men interpolate, or bring forward a quotation, which by one word could be refuted and exposed by their learned and shrewd and powerful enemies? Would they do a deed which would expose their memory to infamy, before the eyes of all the churches? It is surely not supposable. They knew that their enemies had every facility to expose them by the possession of MSS. of the Scriptures. Hence they must have come conscious that what they were going to quote, they could sustain by ancient and authentic MSS. and by the testimony of the fathers. If they did not all this, then their act of quoting what was not scripture, and their offering what was interpolated, and not found in their enemies copies, was little else than a wanton and a gratuitous act of throwing themselves into the fangs and the jaws of the lion—an act of self destruction—when they had abundance of other texts to sustain them in the dispute. Now, the following is the clause of their confession, to which I have alluded. It is from Victor Vitensis."And further that we may teach it to be clearer than the light, that the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost have one divinity; it is proved from the testimony of the evangelist John: for he says, there are three that bear testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one."— *The Quarterly Review*, Mr. Editor, to get rid of this testimony, tried to impeach the authority of Victor Vitensis. But the able refutation by bishop Burgess has shown that Victor is sustained by the most unexceptionable authority—from that of the Emperor Justinian, even unto Gregory the Great. (Bp. Burgess's *Vindication of 1 Jo. v. 7*. p. 52. And Horne, vol. iv. p. 448.) Dr. Marsh supposes that the Arians did not stay to reply—or to reason the point. They resorted instantly to violence. But the Arians did reply—not at first by blows—not immediately by cutting out their tongues, but "with the most tumultuous clamours." They insisted that these words did not prove the point in debate. They insisted that they could not find, in as many words, in the scriptures, the very word — the homoousian — which was the word used by both antagonists in the Arian controversy. (See Kettneri, p. 105.) Hence they did not deny our text — but they denied that the homoousian was contained in the Verse. Others of our opponents suppose that the Arians must have objected to this text brought against them: but that this has not been recorded by the orthodox, from whom we have the account. To this it has been justly replied, that if they had objected, we should most assuredly have found on the pages of the orthodox some reply to the objection. For it is evident that these fathers could say enough for it, when permitted — and did persuade the whole western churches to receive it as a genuine portion of the word of God! We feel ourselves fairly entitled to say, that the Arians were silent on this point. They brought no such accusations. And this silence seems to us a proof that they had it in their MS. copies of the Bible. (Brownlee, Letter No. IV, in the *Christian Advocate*, vol 2, 1824, p. 546-547)

Theodoric the Great, King of the Ostrogoths (471–526) : Italy, Gaul, and Iberia

• **Theodoric the Great (454 – 30 August 526), also spelled Theoderic or called Theodoric the Amal (/θiˈ ɒdərɪk/; Latin: Flāvius Theodoricus, Greek: Θεουδέριχος, Theuderikhos), was king of the Ostrogoths (471–526), and ruler of the independent Ostrogothic Kingdom of Italy between 493–526,[3] regent of the Visigoths (511–526), and a patrician of the Roman Empire.** As ruler of the combined Gothic realms, Theodoric controlled an empire stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Adriatic Sea. As a young child of an Ostrogothic nobleman, Theodoric was taken as a hostage in Constantinople, where he spent his formative years and received Byzantine education. Theodoric returned to Pannonia around 470, and throughout the 470s he campaigned against the Sarmatians and the Thervingi. Byzantine Emperor Zeno made him a commander of the Eastern Roman forces in 483, and in 484 he was named consul. Nevertheless, Theodoric remained in constant hostilities with the emperor and frequently raided Byzantine lands. At the behest of Zeno, Theodoric attacked Odoacer in 489, emerging victorious in 493. **As the new ruler of Italy, Theodoric kept good relations between Ostrogoths and Romans, maintained a Roman legal administration and oversaw a flourishing scholarly culture as well as overseeing a significant building program across Italy.**[4] In 505 he expanded into the Balkans, and by 511 he had brought the Visigothic Kingdom under his direct control and established hegemony over the Burgundian and Vandal kingdoms. Theodoric died in 526 and was buried in a grand mausoleum in Ravenna. (Theodoric the Great. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theodoric_the_Great>)

• Theodoric the Great, as he is sometimes distinguished, was sometimes the friend, sometimes the enemy, of the Empire.[20] In the former case he was clothed with various Roman titles and offices, as patrician and consul; but in all cases alike he remained the national Ostrogothic king.[25] Theodoric is also known for his attainment of support from the Catholic Church and on one occasion, he even helped resolve a disputed papal election.[27] During his reign, Theodoric, who was an Arian, allowed freedom of religion, which had not been done before. However, he did try to appease the Pope and tried to keep his alliance with the church strong. He saw the Pope as an authority not only in the church but also over Rome itself. His ability to work well with Italy's nobles, members of the Roman Senate, and the Catholic Church all helped facilitate his acceptance as the ruler of Italy.[28] **Theodoric sought to revive Roman culture and government and in doing so, profited the Italian people.**[29] It was in both characters together that he set out in 488, by commission from the Byzantine emperor Zeno, to recover Italy from Odoacer. In 489, the Rugii, a Germanic tribe who dwelt in the Hungarian Plain, joined the Ostrogoths in their invasion of Italy under their leader Frideric.[30] By 493 Ravenna was taken, where Theodoric would set up his capital. It was also at this time that Odoacer was killed by Theodoric's own hand.[31] **Ostrogothic power was fully established over Italy, Sicily, Dalmatia and the lands to the north of Italy.** Around 500, Theodoric celebrated his thirtieth anniversary as King of the Ostrogoths.[32] In order to improve their chances against the Roman Empire the Ostrogoths and Visigoths began again to unite in what became a loose confederation of Germanic peoples.[33] The two branches of the nation were soon brought closer together; **after Theodoric was forced to become regent of the Visigothic kingdom of Toulouse, the power of Theodoric extended over a large part of Gaul and over nearly the whole of the Iberian peninsula.** Theodoric forged alliances with the Visigoths, Alamanni, Franks and Burgundians, some of which were accomplished through diplomatic marriages.[33] The Ostrogothic dominion was once again as far-reaching and splendid as it was in the time of Hermanaric [a Gothic king whose kingdom ranged from the Baltic to the Black Sea]; however it was now of a wholly different character. **The dominion of Theodoric was not barbarian, but a civilized power.** His twofold position ran through everything. Theodoric was at once king of the Goths and successor, though without any imperial titles, of the Western Roman emperors. The two nations, differing in manners, language and religion, lived side by side on the soil of Italy; each was ruled according to its own law, by the prince who was, in his two separate characters, the common sovereign of both.[25] The picture of Theodoric's rule is drawn for us in the state papers, in his name, the names of his successors, and by his Roman minister Cassiodorus. (Ostrogoths. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ostrogoths>)

• **Seeking to restore the glory of ancient Rome, Theodoric ruled Italy during one of its most peaceful and prosperous periods and was accordingly hailed as a new Trajan and Valentinian I for his building efforts and his religious toleration.**[80] His far-sighted goals included taking what was best from Roman culture and combining it with Gothic energy and physical power as a way into the future.[81] Relatively amicable relations between Goths and Romans also make Theodoric's kingdom notable.[8] (Theodoric the Great. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theodoric_the_Great>)

• **In 522 the philosopher Boethius became Theodoric's magister officiorum (head of all the government and court services). Boethius was a Roman aristocrat and Christian humanist, who was also a philosopher, poet,**

The Witness of God is Greater

theologian, mathematician, astronomer, translator, and commentator on Aristotle and other Greek luminaries.[74] **It is hard to overestimate this one-time servant of Theodoric for his influence on philosophy, particularly Christian philosophy, throughout the Middle Ages.** Boethius' treatises and commentaries became textbooks for medieval students and except for his Latin translations, the great Greek philosophers were unknown [to medieval Europe]. [75][h] The execution of Boethius did nothing to dissipate tensions between Arians and Catholics, but merely raised additional questions about barbarian imperial legitimacy. [76] (Theodoric the Great. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theodoric_the_Great>)

Theodosius' Greek Empire. (Fergus Millar, 2006)

- [Millar] We are talking of a coherent block, or half-circle, of territory surrounding the eastern Mediterranean, with roughly some two thousand kilometers [PAGE 14] separating Viminacium on the middle Danube, in its northwest corner, from Aela on the Red Sea, and approximately the same distance separating the northern coasts of the Black Sea from Libya (as we will see, Synesius was very well aware that this was a remote and neglected corner of the system). If we measure east-west, it was again some two thousand kilometers from the Roman-Persian border in Mesopotamia to the Ionian Sea west of Greece. It is worth underlining the significance of these facts, obvious as it may seem. Modern estimates tend to put the population of the Roman Empire at some fifty million, and may well be too low. What we are concerned with is, in broad terms, half of the Empire, but very probably represents what was always the more populous half. What is more, in those areas where we have relevant archaeological evidence - all of them, admittedly, in the secular diocese of Oriens - the indications are unmistakably of both the extension and an intensification of settlement: that is, in the Limestone Massif of northern Syria, in the neighboring north-Syrian steppe, along the frontier in Syria (the military road known as the Strata Diocletiana), along the frontier in present-day Jordan, and in the Negev. Far from this having been a period of "decline", we may hazard the guess, which can be no more than that, that this was a period of increased population. An estimate of thirty million for the population ruled from Constantinople in the reign of Theodosius II would probably be an underestimate.
- [Millar] This population supported a tax-gathering and administrative service of many thousands, whose management, grading, rights, privileges, and status on discharge formed one of the dominant themes of the Imperial communications collected in the "Codex Theodosianus." It also supported an army of perhaps three hundred thousand, which, as we will see, faced innumerable small, or local, problems of security along thousands of kilometers of frontier; which fought occasional significant, but brief, wars against Sassanid Persia; and which confronted really major threats only along the Danube. Even here, after invasions by the Huns under Attila in the 440s, no territory had actually been lost when Theodosius died unexpectedly in 450 AD.
- [Millar] The sheer scale, and geographical, administrative, and military coherence, of this half of what was in principle still a single Roman Empire, and in practical reality was one of a pair of twin Empires, are significant [PAGE 15] enough. But what is more significant still is its cultural, linguistic, and religious coherence. We will look more closely at these issues in later chapters, but the first thing to stress is that, as a historical phenomenon, this "Greek Roman Empire" represented the fulfillment of over a thousand years of the progressive extension of Greek culture, from the Greek colonization of the Archaic period to Alexander's conquests, to the role of the Roman Empire itself in protecting Greek urban culture, and actually founding new Greek cities, or renaming existing cities. This process still continued: we have already encountered "Eudoxiopolis," and there was also an "Arcadiopolis" and two different places called "Theodosiopolis." At the council of Chalcedon in 451 AD, the bishops were to provide explicitly for the consequences for the Church hierarchy if the Emperor founded a new city. Broadly speaking, what needs to be emphasized is that this very large, functionally coherent zone was not only an area of Greek culture but, in effect represented or incorporated the whole heritage of Greek culture and Greek expansion. There are qualifications to be entered as regards bilingualism, or biculturalism, in certain areas: a developed Christian literary culture in Syriac, dramatically represented by the earliest known codex in Syriac, written in Edessa in 411; the bi- or even tri-lingual religious culture (in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek) of Jews and Samaritans in Palestine; and a Christian community in Egypt within which both Greek and Coptic were current. We should certainly also allow for a continuing role for Latin, probably among the communities stretching along the Danube, and certainly as regards at least a few cities on the Adriatic coast.
- [Millar] Equally, it would be rash to deny the survival of Greek in Sicily, which belonged to the western Empire, or in the Sasanid half of Mesopotamia, or in Babylonia. But these are marginal exceptions. In broad terms Theodosius' empire was not only a "Greek-speaking world, it was the "Greek-speaking world.
- [Millar] By far our most important evidence for this fact is represented by the mass of material contained in the "Acta" of the three fifth-century Oecumenical [PAGE 16] Councils of the Church: Theodosius called the first at Ephesus in 431, and the second, again at Ephesus, in 449. The "Acta" of the latter [Ephesus 449], so far as preserved in Greece, owe their survival to the fact that they were extensively quoted in the "Acta" of the Council of Chalcedon, called by the Emperor Marcian in 451, a year after Theodosius' death, and contain also a vast range of other material from his reign.

The Witness of God is Greater

• [Millar] Various aspects of this material, which the truly great edition by Eduard Schwartz still leaves as an extremely difficult task for the historian to use, are explored in detail in the two appendixes to this study, and documents drawn from this collection will be discussed throughout the following chapters. But certain fundamental historical conclusions, which derive from this material and provide the framework within which the Imperial pronouncements in the "Codex Theodosianus" have to be understood, need to be presented starkly.

The three great Church Councils of the fifth century drew bishops from all parts of the Theodosian Empire except the northwestern corner of the Prefecture of Illyricum. The language of all three Councils was Greek. That is no doubt no more than would be expected - but it is essential to stress just how specific and how extensive is the evidence which these records provide for the currency of the Greek language. In broad terms, the "Acta" provide (a) a narrative, written in Greek; (2) quotation in Greek of documents or texts laid before the relevant session; (3) verbatim quotation of the spoken interventions made by individual bishops; (4) a record of the written "subscriptions" (in essence statements of individual assent to the collective decisions reached) by the bishops (and sometimes lower clergy) attending.

Between them, therefore, the record of hundreds, perhaps in total thousands, of spoken interventions and of the long lists of subscriptions written - on the original text - in the hand of the individual (with an explanation if he could not) represents both in quality and in volume some of the best evidence - and for spoken Greek by far the best evidence - for the Greek language that survives from Antiquity. Of course what is accessible to us is not the original autographs, but medieval manuscripts; and, as regards the texts of spoken interventions, we have to allow for the vagaries of recording procedures, and perhaps for subsequent correction of errors. But, if we think of the history of language, this apparently unexplored evidence is without parallel. [PAGE 17]

• [Millar] A philologist would need to analyze these texts to see if there were any traces of systematic variation between the spoken Greek of bishops from (say) Moesia or from Arabia. On the surface there is not the slightest indication that there was any difficulty in mutual understanding. Greek appears in the record as representing a wholly problem-free and variation-free common language, allowing mutual communication between bishops whose sees could lie up to two thousand kilometers apart.

• [Millar] As we will see more fully in chapter 3, other languages do appear, but through the medium of the Greek record: Syriac, in quite a significant way, though perhaps less so than might have been expected, given the contemporary flowering of the Syriac culture and literature; Coptic - but only once; and Persian, also only once. But the major historical conclusion that arises, and which needs to be stressed at this point, is the relation of the Greek-speaking Church to Latin.

• [Millar] The conclusion is clear and unambiguous. If we take the several hundred bishops from (almost) all over the Theodosian Empire who attended the three Councils as a reasonably representative sample of (to very varying degrees) educated men, they did not understand spoken Latin, and had to have all written material in Latin translated for them.

• [Millar] This evidence needs to be spelled out in more detail, since it is the basis for all the propositions which follow concerning the role of Greek and Latin in the Theodosian Empire. Firstly, in the complex written exchanges between the Emperor or his officials and the bishops attending the Councils, the issue of Latin does not arise: both the Emperor and officials communicated with the Church in Greek.

• [Millar] Secondly, as regards the participation of the bishops from within Theodorus' domains, not a single bishop is recorded as either making a spoken intervention in Latin or writing his subscription in Latin, except for two from places on the Adriatic coast: we shall look at the evidence in a moment. As hinted above, we might have expected a similar pattern on the part of bishops from cities lying along the Danube or in the province which was now called Scythia - that is, to the north of the Latin-Greek border as proposed in the excellent work of B. Gerov. But in fact we find that the bishops of, for instance, Novae and Durostorum in Moesia Secunda on the lower Danube both seem to have used Greek when attending a Council or hearing. What we lack is evidence from the cities lying further upstream, such as Ratiaria and Aquae in Dacia Ripensis, or Viminacium [PAGE 18] or Margus in Moesia Prima, very close to the (somewhat arbitrary) border with the western Empire. No bishops from these places attended any of the Councils; if they had, they might well have used Latin.

• [Millar] Nonetheless, the prevalence of Greek as (at least) the chosen vehicle for self-expression at a Greek-speaking council on the part of bishops from the lower Danube, and also from Scythia (Tomoi and Histria) is noteworthy. So far as the evidence from the "Acta" of the Councils goes, the only reflection of the existence of Latin-speaking Christian communities within Theodosius' domains is provided by the two places on the Adriatic coast mentioned above which we might well have assumed to have been Greek-speaking: Apollonia and Byllis (a single bishopric) in Epirus Nova, and Scodra in the northern-most Theodosian province on the Adriatic, now called Praevalitana. At the first Council of Ephesus in 431, Senecio, the bishop of Scodra, spoke in Latin with his intervention being recorded in the "Acta" in Greek, and both he and Felix, bishop of Apollonia, subscribed in Latin. In our manuscripts, with one exception, these "subscriptions" too appear in Greek translation. But one manuscript, which will play a significant part in this study, happens to preserve in Latin elements which were originally in Latin. So here we find, again of course in a medieval copy, the reflection of their two original autograph "subscriptions" in Latin: "Senecion episcopus Scodrinae civitatis subscripsi" (I, Senecion, bishop of the city Scodrina, subscribed), and "Felix episcopus civitatum Apolloniensium subscripsi" (I, Felix, bishop of the city Apolloniensium, subscribed).

The Witness of God is Greater

- [Millar] The same manuscript carries a similar reflection of the presence at Ephesus of three emissaries from the bishop of Rome, and of Bessulas, a presbyter from Carthage. Their subscriptions too are recorded here in Latin. IN all other versions of the "Acta", and in all the various relevant contexts, material in Latin, whether written or spoken, is both translated for the benefit of the immediate readers of hearers, and is then recorded only in its Greek version. This also applies to correspondence between bishops in West and East, for instance between Caelestinus of Rome and Nestorius in Constantinople and Cyril in Alexandria - and here the letters themselves contain occasional references to the process of translation. It equally applies to the [PAGE 19] very moving letter from Capreolus, bishop of Carthage, which was read before the first session of Ephesus I, on June 22, 431. He was unable to attend, he wrote, or even summon a regional synod in Africa to discuss the heretical doctrines of Nestorius, because of the Vandal invasion. What was more, Augustine, bishop of Hippo, whom Theodosius had specially invited to the Council, had, unknown to the Emperor, died in the previous year [430 AD]. In this case the record makes clear that the letter was read aloud twice, once in the original Latin, and once in Greek. But it was the Greek text which was recorded in the "Acta".
- [Millar] As mentioned above, three emissaries were sent by Caelestinus of Rome to participate in the Council, joining it for the first time at a session held on July 10. Their statements of support for the Cyrillian, or "one-nature", position were all delivered in Latin, and recorded in Greek; a letter from Caelestinus was, again, read in Both Latin and Greek, and recorded in Greek. After a further session on the following day, the emissaries from Rome gave their autograph subscriptions to the doctrines espoused by the Council, and the deposition of Nestorius. A Greek translation (hermeneia) of these subscriptions appears in the record. It is at this session that the Roman emissaries explicitly state that "there are many of our saintly brother-bishops who do not know Latin."
- [Millar] It is not necessary to set out in comparable detail the similar record (quoted at vast length in the "Acta" of Chalcedon) of the participation of Roman emissaries at Ephesus II, except to note that one of them was reduced, by indignation at the scandalous proceedings leading to the deposition of Favianus of Constantinople, to shout out [Latin] "Contradicatur!" ("It is objected!"), which was duly recorded in Greek transliteration, with an explanation of what the term meant.
- [Millar] As already mentioned, the implications for the history of language, and specifically for the currency of Latin among the educated men in the Greek East, are unambiguous. Latin was not current. An assembly of bishops from the various regions of the Greek Empire could not be expected to understand either spoken or written Latin. Everything had to be translated. In the entire, [PAGE 20] and enormously extensive, record of the two Councils of Ephesus (see appendix B on the verbatim reports of proceedings from Theodosius' reign), as of that of Chalcedon, precisely one bishop emerges, namely Florentius of Sardis who is capable of impromptu translation of spoken Latin for the benefit of his fellow bishops.
- [Millar] The full details of the way in which, firstly, written or spoken material in Latin was presented to the successive Councils, and second, of how the process of presentation and translation was recorded in the "Acta", could and should be analyzed more fully. But, as already stated, the overall conclusion is beyond question. In this half of the "Roman" Empire, Latin was not familiar.
- Millar, Greek Roman Empire - Power and Belief Under Theodosius II (408-450 AD). 2006, p. 13-20.

Education: The End of the School of Antiquity

Africa an Exception.

- [Marrou] The old education survived for a time in two regions **Vandal Africa**, and Italy. However brutal his actual conquest may have been, Genseric's subsequent African kingdom certainly did not deserve the bad reputation which it got from the Church chroniclers because of his Arian persecution of the Catholics (10). From the intellectual point of view Carthage in particular was extremely active under the "Vandal peace", as can be seen particularly from the compilation known as the *Anthologia Latina*, which reveals the existence of a teaching circle in the genuine classical tradition. After the victories by Belisarius [commander of the Byzantine armies], the Emperor Justinian [Justinian the Great] ...passed a Constitution in 533-534 AD providing for the upkeep of two grammarians and two rhetors in Carthage. (10) The number of teachers seems to have been very much reduced [compared to Augustine's day] and it is also to be noticed that Justinian did nothing of the same kind anywhere else outside Carthage. There is known to have been a great territorial decrease in the occupation of African soil between the Early Empire and Byzantine times: Vandal domination had been obliged to come to terms with the surge of independence that had come from the Berber tribes in the African interior. Some traces of Rome culture - Christianity, the use of Latin, certain municipal traditions - do indeed seem to have survived in Morocco and Orania until the time of the Arab invasion [7th century], but the classical education tradition had clearly become extremely tenuous and was only really to be found near the capital,

The Witness of God is Greater

Carthage. There at least it lasted until the collapse of the Byzantine domination: its end came with the capture of [PAGE 459] Carthage (695-697). **Christianity went on existing there until the eleventh century and, with Christianity, Latin - written Latin, hence education in Latin; but the culture of these later"Roumi"was essentially and strictly religious. (12) This relatively long survival of classicism in Africa was not without its effect on European culture. In the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries Africa produced a number of scholars who went bearing precious manuscripts into Southern Gaul, and still more into Spain and Southern Italy, and thus helped to build up the reserves from which medieval humanism was later to draw its strength.** (Marrou, *History of Education in Antiquity*, 1964, p. 458-459)

Italy Also an Exception

• [Marrou] The part played by Italy was even more important. In Italy more than anywhere else the twilight of classicism was long-drawn-out, and the way prepared unconsciously for the future. In Italy, naturally, the classical tradition had struck its deepest roots, and the result was that it managed to resist the ravages caused by the invasions which, probably from 401 onwards, descended upon it. The Germanic occupation did not lead to the disappearance of the old way of life; Italy was even more successful than Vandal Africa in her efforts to go on living according to the traditional standards under the Ostrogoth domination, especially during the long reign of their first king, the great theodoric (493-526). Theodoric really did reign"for the good of Rome"- Bono Romae 1 - as the motto said that was stamped on bricks he used to restore the old city's monuments. Without education himself, he nevertheless appreciated the greatness of classical culture, and like Stilicho he was determined that his daughter Amalasinthe should get the best education she could. Latin literature and Latin thought had their last brief spell of glory - it was a real renaissance, ultimately to prove of great value to the Middle Ages, thanks to the great work of Boethius and Cassiodorus (whose services, incidentally, Theodoric did not fail to make full use of). Through Cassiodorus - appointed magister officiorum, chief of the chancellery, in 523 - Theodoric encouraged learning² and maintained the State professorships that drew students from the provinces to Rome. Theodoric died in 533 and his daughter Amalasintha became regent. Cassiodorus was made prefect of the praetorium and managed to get the teachers' salaries put on the proper footing - a matter which had been neglected for a time³ - and when the Emperor Justinian [PAGE 460] reorganized Italy on the basis of his Pragmatic Sanction after reconquest (535), all he had to do was to ordain that the practices should be followed that had been in use in Theodoric's time.⁴ Thus it is clear that the old academic life lasted on in Rome until the middle of the sixth century. There were still men teaching grammar, rhetoric, law and medicine,⁵ with salaries paid by the State - one of the last holders of the chair of eloquence, which had been inaugurated so long before by Quintilian, was a certain Felix, who in 534 prepared a critical edition of Martianus Capella (13) and they were still teaching in rooms arranged around Trajan's Forum,⁶ which were also used for public recitations⁷ - for Imperial Rome hung on its literary customs as long as it did to its schools. Rome was still the main university town⁸ but academic life was just as active in the other big Italian cities, Ennodius of Arles, the future Bishop of Pavia (473/474-521), has described the school - auditorium - run by the grammarian and rhetor Deuterius in Milan.⁹ The pupils did all the usual classical subjects - Latin, Greek, grammar and rhetoric¹⁰ - and, as in the great days of Seneca the Elder, they"declaimed" in their controversiae [speeches on law-court themes] and their suasoriae [an exercise in rhetoric] on the same eternal subjects - the ungrateful son, tyrannicide, Diomedes, Thetis...¹¹ Even Ennodius himself, lawyer as he was,¹² was not above composing model copies - his Dictiones - for the edification of the young friends whose studies he was supervising. Besides Milan there was Ravenna, where one of Ennodius' disciples, the future poet Arator, studied law.¹³ The schools were still flourishing there thirty years later, as we can tell from Fortunatus, who studied there some time after 522 (14). (Marrou, *History of Education in Antiquity*, 1964, p. 459-460)

The Lombard Invasion

• [Marrou] But Italian prosperity had been shattered by the long and gruelling Gothic resistance to reconquest by Byzantium (535-555), and it was finally destroyed by the invasion of a late-comer among the German peoples, the Lombards, who entered Italy in 568, conquered the plain of the Po, infiltrated along [PAGE 461] the Apennine backbone, and reached Beneventum in 572. Under the Lombards the peninsula experienced the

The Witness of God is Greater

horrors that Gaul and the rest of Europe had gone through a hundred and fifty years earlier. Barbarism spread over the whole of the country, and for nearly a hundred years, from the end of the sixth century to the end of the seventh, the land which had been for so long the guardian of the classical tradition was forced to watch its intellectual standard decline to Merovingian level. This period was a kind of watershed, beyond which the only education that remained was almost entirely religious. As long as the classical tradition had lasted, sixth century Italy had presented a picture of the same strict dualism as had been manifest in the Late Empire and Byzantine period, between secular education faithful to the humanism it had inherited, from paganism and an ascetic religious education, violently at odds with it, supplied not by proper schools but by the clergy or the monasteries.

• [Marrou] Ennodius, Cassiodorus and St. Gregory the Great all had a double career, first in the world and then in the Church, and in his own way each illustrates the antagonism between the two kinds of education. As soon as Ennodius took Holy Orders, and while he was still merely a deacon to Bishop Epiphanius of Pavia, his spiritual master, whom he later succeeded, he solemnly broke with all the pomp of secular eloquence, 1 and refused with horror to concern himself as he had done so often before with the literary studies of one of his young nephews, whose mother had thought it would be a good idea for him to be ordained priest."I should be ashamed,"he said,"to give any secular instruction to a man of the Church."2 (15) Cassiodorus, who, as we know, was so keen to keep the chairs of secular learning filled in Rome, was disturbed to find sacred learning so completely without its own institutions. In 534 he was involved in Pope Agapetus' curious endeavour to create a great scholar's library in Rome itself and build up Christian schools, like the ones in Nisibis, round it (16). Then he retired from the world, and some years later he founded a double monastery on his estate in Vivarium, in the most sheltered part of Italy on the Ionian coast of Calabria. Here he set up a vast library, with a whole team of translators and copyists, in the effort to create a centre of purely religious studies based on the Bible, and integrating the traditional humanism in a Christian synthesis. The scheme set out in his [PAGE 462] two volumes of *Institutiones* gives an outline of this remarkable attempt at monastic culture. (17) More radical in his attitude, and from the beginning less deeply attached to the old culture, St. Gregory the Great broke entirely with classical culture as soon as he was converted to the monastic life. He had been born in about 540, so that he had been able to receive his education in Rome along more or less traditional lines, 6 but the tradition had been emptied of all its content by the prevailing decadence. Hence St. Gregory had never known the real depth of classical humanism, and, as we have seen, in his religious culture he reacted violently against it. It was in his monastery of the Clivus Scauri that he first received this culture from the first abbots he put in charge there, Hilarion and Maximianus. 7

• [Marrou] Then came the dark days of the Lombard conquest: the secular school, and with it all the old tradition, collapsed. As the only organized force in existence, the Church lived through the upheaval and preserved her own kind of education too. The educational centres that survived were first, and essentially, the monasteries: in Calabria there was Vivarium - after Cassiodorus' death it seems to have played rather a passive role, but it managed to hold on to, and later hand on, all its treasures, and that was something. In Naples there was the monastery of Pizzofalcone, famous for having, in earlier days, sheltered Eugippius; further to the north were St. Vincent of Volturno, Monte Cassino, the monastery in Bobbio which St. Columba had come from Great Britain and founded in 612 - the influence of Celtic monasticism was not beginning to be felt on the continent.

• [Marrou] Along with the monastic schools there developed episcopal schools, as had happened earlier in Gaul: if any active teaching seems to have been going on in decadent Rome in St. Gregory's time, it was the kind that needed to be given - as in Gaul, again - to the choir of young clerics - the *schola cantorum* - which, according to tradition, the great Pope himself, to his everlasting fame, had reorganized. Everywhere in Italy we come across signs of this kind of ecclesiastical education, which centred round the bishop, was given within the actual cathedral, and was clearly intended primarily as a means of ensuring a constant supply of educated priests. In 678-679 a bishop of Fiesole declared that this was the way he had been brought up in the church in Arezzo:"I was reared and instructed in letters in the church of Saint Donatus for several years."(Latin: *per plures annos in ecclesia Sancti Donati nutritus et litteras edoctus sum*). 8

The Witness of God is Greater

- [Marrou] But it should be emphasized [PAGE 463] that the change over from the old Italy to a mediaeval Italy was not as radical as in the rest of Europe. The barbarism of the Lombards was appalling, but it never entirely put a stop to the literary tradition, primarily because it never covered the whole of the peninsula: the coastal regions were protected by the Byzantine fleet and put up a long resistance - Ravenna lasted out until 751. Naples, Salerno, the far south and Rome in particular were never really barbarized: there was always something of Byzantine continuity in these special centres. When after a century the situation became comparatively stable, and, very diffidently, the Lombard Court in Pavia tried to link up with the literary tradition initiated by Theodoric, King Cunincpert (678-700) found a "magister" called Etienne who was prepared, probably rather dubiously, to play the part of court poet. 9 In 680 the same king presented the grammarian Felix with a walking stick decorated with gold and silver. 1 There were already sings of a Lombard renaissance. (18)
- [Marrou] Possible though it may have been, there is no reason to suppose that the slightest thread of the old academic tradition lasted through this iron century; the education that went on in the home was sufficient to ensure the transmission of the necessary minimum of knowledge and love of letters though several generations. Thus we are told that before he entered the religious life Attala of Bobbio, successor to St. Columba, had received his secular education from his own father, though this was in Burgundy and not in Italy. 2 Something of this domestic tradition still went on: the grammarian mentioned above, Felix of Pavia, brought up his own nephew Flavian, who was later to be tutor to the great Paul the Deacon. 3
- Marrou, History of Education in Antiquity, 1964, p. 460-463.

Restoration of the Roman Empire

• **Justinian I** (/dʒlˈstɪniən/; Latin: Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Iustinianus Augustus; Byzantine Greek: Ἰουστινιανός Α' ὁ Μέγας, romanized: Ioustinianós I ho Mégas; c. 482 – 14 November 565), **traditionally known as Justinian the Great and also Saint Justinian the Great in the Eastern Orthodox Church,[2][3] was the Eastern Roman emperor from 527 to 565.** During his reign, Justinian sought to revive the empire's greatness and reconquer the lost western half of the historical Roman Empire. Justinian's rule constitutes a distinct epoch in the history of the Later Roman empire, and his reign is marked by the ambitious but only partly realized *renovatio imperii*, or "restoration of the Empire".[4] Because of his restoration activities, Justinian has sometimes been known as the "Last Roman" in mid 20th century historiography.[5] This ambition was expressed by the partial recovery of the territories of the defunct Western Roman Empire.[6] His general, Belisarius, swiftly conquered the Vandal Kingdom in North Africa. Subsequently, Belisarius, Narses, and other generals conquered the Ostrogothic kingdom, restoring Dalmatia, Sicily, Italy, and Rome to the empire after more than half a century of rule by the Ostrogoths. The prefect Liberius reclaimed the south of the Iberian peninsula, establishing the province of Spania. **These campaigns re-established Roman control over the western Mediterranean, increasing the Empire's annual revenue by over a million solidi.[7]** During his reign, Justinian also subdued the Tzani, a people on the east coast of the Black Sea that had never been under Roman rule before.[8] He engaged the Sasanian Empire in the east during Kavād I's reign, and later again during Khosrow I's; this second conflict was partially initiated due to his ambitions in the west. A still more resonant aspect of his legacy was the uniform rewriting of Roman law, the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, which is still the basis of civil law in many modern states.[9] His reign also marked a blossoming of Byzantine culture, and his building program yielded works such as the Hagia Sophia. **When he died on 14 November 565, he left no children, though his wife Theodora had given birth to a stillborn son several years into his reign. He was succeeded by Justin II, who was the son of his sister Vigilantia and married to Sophia, the niece of Empress Theodora.** (Justinian I. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Justinian_I>)

• **Flavius Belisarius (Greek: Φλάβιος Βελισάριος, c. 500 – 565) was a military commander of the Byzantine Empire.** He was instrumental in the reconquest of much of the Mediterranean territory belonging to the former Western Roman Empire, which had been lost less than a century prior. One of the defining features of Belisarius' career was his success despite varying levels of available resources. His name is frequently

The Witness of God is Greater

given as one of the so-called "Last of the Romans". He conquered the Vandal Kingdom of North Africa in the Vandalic War in nine months and conquered much of Italy during the Gothic War. He also defeated the Vandal armies in the battles of Ad Decimum and played an important role at Tricamarum, compelling the Vandal king, Gelimer, to surrender. During the Gothic War, he took Rome and then held out against great odds during the Siege of Rome. (Belisarius. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Belisarius>)

• **Justin II (Latin: Iustinus Iunior; [3] Greek: Ἰουστινὸς ὁ νεώτερος; c. 520 – 5 October 578) was Eastern Roman Emperor from 565 to 574.** He was the husband of Sophia, nephew of Justinian I and the Empress Theodora, and was therefore a member of the Justinian Dynasty. His reign was marked by war with the Sassanid Empire, and the loss of the greater part of Italy. After 572, Justin was reported to have fits of insanity. John of Ephesus, whose Monophysite sect suffered persecutions under Justin, offered a vivid description of Justin's madness, in which he behaved like a wild animal, was wheeled about on a mobile throne and required organ music to be played day and night.[12] In 574, at Sophia's suggestion, he adopted the general Tiberius as his son and heir, and then retired in his favor. Sophia and Tiberius ruled together as joint regents for four years. When Justin died in 578, Tiberius succeeded him as Tiberius II Constantine. (Justin II. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Justin_II>)

• **Tiberius II Constantine (Latin: Tiberius Constantinus; Byzantine Greek: Τιβέριος Κωνσταντῖνος; 520 – 14 August 582) was Eastern Roman Emperor from 574 to 582.** Tiberius rose to power in 574 when Justin II, prior to a mental breakdown, proclaimed Tiberius Caesar and adopted him as his own son. In 578, Justin II, before he died, gave him the title of Augustus, under which title he reigned until his death on 14 August 582. (Tiberius II Constantine. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tiberius_II_Constantine>).

• **On 26 September 578, Tiberius was made Augustus by the rapidly-failing Justin II.**[7] He used that opportunity to give away 7,200 pounds of gold, a practice that he continued annually throughout the four years of his reign.[13] The ongoing success against the Persians in the East once again allowed Tiberius to turn his gaze westward. **In 579, he again extended his military activities into the remnants of the Western Roman Empire.** He sent money and troops to Italy to reinforce Ravenna and to retake the port of Classis.[12] He formed an alliance with one of the Visigothic princes in Spain, who was fomenting rebellion, and his generals defeated the rebellious Berbers under their king Garmul in North Africa.[12] He also intervened in Frankish affairs in the former province of Gaul, which had been largely free of imperial contacts for close to a century.[3] Consequently, he might have been the basis for the fictional emperor Lucius Tiberius of Arthurian legend, who sent envoys to former Roman provinces after a long period without an imperial presence. **The reality, however, was that the empire was seriously overextended.** In 579, with Tiberius occupied elsewhere, the Avars decided to take advantage of the lack of troops in the Balkans by besieging Sirmium.[15] At the same time, the Slavs began to migrate into Thrace, Macedonia and Greece, which Tiberius was unable to halt as the Persians refused to agree to a peace in the east, which remained the emperor's main priority.[15] Furthermore, the Army of the East was beginning to become restless, as it had not been paid, and it threatened to mutiny.[15] In 580, General Maurice launched a new offensive, raiding well beyond the Tigris. The following year, he again invaded Persian Armenia and almost succeeded in reaching the Persian capital, Ctesiphon, before a Persian counter invasion of Byzantine Mesopotamia forced him to withdraw in order to deal with that threat.[15] By 582, with no apparent end to the Persian war in sight, Tiberius was forced to come to terms with the Avars, and he agreed to pay an indemnity and to hand over the vital city of Sirmium, which the Avars then looted. The migration of the Slavs continued, with their incursions reaching as far south as Athens.[15] Although a new Persian invasion was halted with a significant defeat at Constantina in June 582, by now, Tiberius was dying, apparently having eaten some poorly-prepared or possibly-deliberately poisoned food.[13][16] **In his state, Tiberius initially named two heirs, each of whom married one of his daughters. Maurice was betrothed to Constantina, and Germanus, related through blood to the great emperor Justinian, was married to Charito.**[15] It appears that his plan was to divide the empire in two, with Maurice receiving the eastern provinces and Germanus the western provinces.[15] This plan was never implemented, and on 13 August 582, he elevated Maurice to the rank of Augustus.[16][17] Tiberius died

The Witness of God is Greater

on the following day, 14 August 582. (Tiberius II Constantine. Wikipedia.
<en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tiberius_II_Constantine>).

• **Maurice (Latin: Mauricius; Greek: Μαυρίκιος; 539 – 27 November 602) was Byzantine Emperor from 582 to 602.** A prominent general, Maurice fought with success against the Sasanian Empire. After he became Emperor, he brought the war with Sasanian Persia to a victorious conclusion. Under him the Empire's eastern border in the South Caucasus was vastly expanded and, for the first time in nearly two centuries, the Romans were no longer obliged to pay the Persians thousands of pounds of gold annually for peace. Maurice campaigned extensively in the Balkans against the Avars – pushing them back across the Danube by 599. He also conducted campaigns across the Danube, the first Roman Emperor to do so in over two centuries. In the west, he established two large semi-autonomous provinces called exarchates, ruled by exarchs, or viceroys of the emperor. In Italy Maurice established the Exarchate of Italy in 584, the first real effort by the Empire to halt the advance of the Lombards. With the creation of the Exarchate of Africa in 590 he further solidified the power of Constantinople in the western Mediterranean. His reign was troubled by financial difficulties and almost constant warfare. **In 602 a dissatisfied general named Phocas usurped the throne, having Maurice and his six sons executed. This event would prove a disaster for the Empire, sparking a twenty-six year war with Sassanid Persia which would leave both empires devastated prior to the Muslim conquests.** His reign is a relatively well documented era of late antiquity, in particular by the historian Theophylact Simocatta. The Strategikon, a manual of war which influenced European and Middle Eastern military traditions for well over a millennium, is traditionally attributed to Maurice. (Maurice Emperor. Wikipedia.
<en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maurice_(emperor)>)

Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos, Q. 139 (5th century)

• [Papadoyannakis] This collection of *erotarokriseis* [Questions and Answers literature] is valuable not only as a glimpse into the process of the formation of Christian orthodoxy, but also because it highlights features of this process which are not easily recoverable from other, more formal, accounts and sources. In cognitive terms they illustrate not only how religious instruction operated, but also some of the mechanisms that shaped religious views and opinion. The collection seeks to provide orthodox teaching on ethical, theological, liturgical and scriptural problems that arose in the religious environment within which its author lived. The main concern of many Christian authors in the fifth century was how Christian the empire had become. This concern permeates the *Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos* (QRO). From this perspective, the inquiries on theodicy, cosmology, exegesis among others cease to be isolated instances and emerge as essential parts of the process of the restructuring of religious belief. (Papadoyannakis, *Defining Orthodoxy in Pseudo-Justin's Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos*, 2008, p. 115-116)

Maran Argues for a 5th Century Date

• [Maran] The ease of disproving the attribution of the book to Justin is matched in equal measure by the difficulty not only of establishing but even of conjecturing whom it should be attributed to. **Clear clues enable us to determine that the author lived in the fifth century in Syria.** That he was not earlier is proven by these words from Quaest. 110: "How can it be that wealthy men and women, putting their resources together, went and sought the eremites in the deserts and relieved their poverty, as we understand from the histories of ancient holy men, if the Lord Christ has not brought his promise to fulfillment?"

• [Maran] He is not later than the fifth century, either. For he determined that Christ must have been born in the sixth millennium of the world, that is around the year 5500 according to the Seventy Translators (LXX); and then, from the fact that Christ is said to have been born "in the last days and when the fullness of time came", he conjectured that the world would not last beyond six thousand years. (Quaest. 71) This is evidence that the writer lived before people realized, from the events themselves, the inanity of such conjectures.

• [Maran] My guess that the author of the work was Syrian is based on the following clues. Firstly, he sometimes follows the translation of the Scriptures that was in use among Syrians, as in Quaest. 20, and even cites it expressly in Quaest. 63. Secondly, in Quaest. 65, he places the beginning of the day not at midnight,

The Witness of God is Greater

but in the hours of the morning, which was the custom among Syrians, as we can see from John Chrysostom's fifth homily, on Genesis.

- [Maran] Another suspicion could arise from these conjectures: whether it could be that of Theodoret [of Cyrus, 393-466 AD], the great light of Syria, should be considered the author of the work. Some have believed it, as the learned Dupin has mentioned.

- Prudentius Maran, "Admonitio" in *Justini philos. et martyris opera quae extant omnia necnon Tatiani, Athenagorae S. Theophili, Hermiae*, 1742, p. 434-435; Migne Graeca, PG 6.1241-1242.

- **Prudentius Maran** (14 October 1683, at Sezanne, Marne – 2 April 1762, at Paris) was a French Benedictine scholar of the Maurist Congregation, known as a patrologist. After studying humanities at Paris he became a Benedictine at the abbey of St. Faron near Meaux on 30 January 1703, and continued his studies at the abbey of St. Denis. He was then sent to Saint-Germain-des-Prés to collaborate with his confrere Antoine-Augustin Toussaint in the edition of the works of Cyril of Jerusalem. In 1734 he was forced to leave St. Germain-des-Prés at the instance of Cardinal Bissy, who suspected him of keeping his confreres from accepting the Bull Unigenitus. After spending a year at the abbey of Orbais, he was sent to St. Martin de Pontoise and in 1737 he was transferred to the abbey of Blancs-Manteaux, where he spent the remainder of his life. His masterpiece is the edition of the works of Justin Martyr: *Justini philos. et martyris opera quae extant omnia necnon Tatiani, Athenagorae S. Theophili, Hermiae*. (Prudentius Maran. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prudentius_Maran>)

- **[Photius Patriarch of Constantinople (820-893)]** I have read in a volume Justin Martyr's Apology for the Christians, both against the Pagans and against the Jews; and also a treatise against the First and Second Books of the Physics, that is against form, matter, and privation, a collection of dialectical, vigorous, and useful arguments; also against the Fifth Essence and Eternal Motion, which Aristotle has created by the aid of his clever reasoning; and, finally, a Summary Solutions of Doubts raised against the true faith. (Photius, *The Library*, cxxv; translation by John Henry Freese, *The Library of Photius*, 1920, p. 212)

- [Tóth] According to this hypothesis [of Maran], therefore, we may assume that the *Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos* (QRO), together with the accompanying sets of *erotakriseis* [Questions and Answers literature], **might already have formed part of the corpus of Justin's writings which Photius read.** (Tóth, "New questions on old answers: Towards a critical edition of the Answers to the Orthodox of Pseudo-Justin" in *The journal of theological studies*, 2014, p. 560)

HITS:

- **There is one God in the coexistence of three Divine persons or subsistences** ; which are differenced from one another, not in their essence, but in manner of subsistence. But the difference of the manners of existence doth not divide or difference what is in the essence. (Justin Martyr, *Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos*, Q. 139)
 - **Greek: Εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς τῆ συνυπάρξει τῶν θείων τριῶν ὑποστάσεων**, τῶν διαφορουσῶν ἀλλήλων οὐ τῆ οὐσία, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῆς ὑπάρξεως τρόποις· ἡ διαφορὰ δὲ τῶν τῆς ὑπάρξεως τρόπων οὐ διαιρεῖ τὸ ἐν τῆς οὐσίας. (Justin Martyr, *Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos*, Q. 139; Migne Graeca, PG 6.1392)

Comments:

- [Tóth] Unlike these compilations, which have continuously been copied, augmented, and excerpted in the later centuries, **Pseudo-Justin's questions and answers give the impression of an organic composition by one and the same author with a very characteristic style and scope.** Compared to the clear and simple wording of the later patristic and especially the Byzantine collections, the style of the *Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos* (QRO) seems to be a more sophisticated, philosophical prose that shows a particularly close affinity to Aristotelian philosophical terminology. Not only does the special technique of reasoning with hypothetical syllogisms occur very frequently in the text, but also there are some peculiarly Aristotelian technical terms and turns of phrase that come up throughout Pseudo-Justin's work. (Tóth, "New

The Witness of God is Greater

questions on old answers: Towards a critical edition of the Answers to the Orthodox of Pseudo-Justin”in The journal of theological studies, 2014, p. 552-553)

Pseudo-Fulgentius, *De Trinitate* (490-500 AD)

- CCSL 90:239-259; ed. by J. Fraipont (1961)
- Originally published as by Chiffet in 1649 as “Pro Fide Catholica Adversus Pintam Episcopum Arianum”(Migne Latina, PL 65.707-720) ascribed to Fulgentius of Ruspe.
- Pseudo-Fulgentius’ “Book on the Trinity”(CCSL: 239-259; Migne Latina, PL 65. 707-720) suggests an even tighter relationship to the consequences of contemporary ecclesiastical controversy. The biblical quotations on the titular theme (lines 120–557) are followed by a Nicene profession of faith (lines 558–616). They are also preceded by an extended polemical preface (1–119). In this introductory passage, Pseudo-Fulgentius rebuts a series of Homoian arguments about the identity of the true church, grappling with the relationship between the African Church in his own time and the same institution in the later Roman Empire and constructing a series of historical arguments based on the events of the fourth-century Arian controversy and the Donatist schism. He explicitly frames these arguments as responses to an unspecified libellus. This was most likely the anti-Nicene edict promulgated by Huneric on 24 February 484, 29 since Pseudo-Fulgentius tackles, point by point, the case made in that law for the criminalization of Nicene Christianity as Homoousian heresy.³⁰ (Whelan, *Being Christian in Vandal Africa*, 2017, p. 61)

HIT:

- **8. Testimony of the Trinity.** In the Gospel: Go, baptize the nations in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit”(Matth. 28:19). In name, not in names. Again, “The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took, and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened”(Matth. 13:33) This woman depicts the Church, which hid her faith in Father and Son and Holy Spirit in equal measure [i.e. three measures] in her heart. In the Revelation [of John]: “Holy, holy, holy, is Lord God Almighty”(Rev. 4:8) ‘Holy’ is heard thrice for one Lord God. Where [i.e. in the Revelation] again: “And he saith unto me, These are the true sayings of God. And I fell at his feet to worship him. And he said unto me, See thou do it not: I am thy fellow servant, and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus: and the spirit of prophecy.”(Rev. 19:9,10) What could be the clearest proof of the Trinity, but the truth of the Father, the testimony of the Son, the gift of prophecy of the Holy Spirit? In the Psalms: “For with thee is the fountain of life: in thy light shall we see light.”(Psalm 36:9) With God the Father is the fountain of life: Christ; and because the Light also is in Him, the Lightbringer Holy Spirit is seen. “Because he who does have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.”(Rom 8:9) In Psalm 66:8: “May God bless us, our God, may God bless us, and all the ends of the earth shall fear Him.” ‘God’ is heard thrice, but One [“Him”] it preaches must be feared. **In the epistle of John: “Three there are who testify in heaven, Father, Word, and the Spirit: and the three are one.”(1 Jn. 5:7)** (Book on the Trinity, 8. Testimony of the Trinity; CCSL 90:250; Migne Latina, PL 65:715)
 - **Latin:** 8. Testimonia de Trinitate. In Evangelio: “Ite, baptizate gentes in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti”(Matth. XXVIII, 19). In nomine, non In nominibus. Item: “Simile est regnum coelorum mulieri quae abscondit fermentum in farinae satis tribus, donec fermentaretur totum”(Matth. XIII, 33). Hic mulier ponitur Ecclesia, quae aequis ponderibus fidem Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti in corda credentium abscondit. (0715A) In Apocalypsi: “Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth”(Apoc. IV, 8). Tertio audio sanctus, et unum Dominum Deum. Ubi supra: “Et dixit mihi angelus: Haec verba vera Dei sunt. Et cecidi ante pedes eius ut adorarem eum; et dixit mihi: Vide ne feceris; conservus tuus sum, et fratrum tuorum habentium testimonium Iesu, et spiritus prophetiae”(Apoc. XIX, 9, 10). Quid tam luce clarius ad ostendendam Trinitatem, nisi verba vera Patris, testimonium Filii, donum prophetiae Spiritus sancti? (0715B) In Psalmis: Apud te est fons vitae, et in lumine tuo videbimus lumen (Psal. XXXV, 10). Apud Deum Patrem fons vitae Christus; et quia lumen est in ipso, illuminator videtur Spiritus sanctus: “quia qui

The Witness of God is Greater

Spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est eius”(Rom. VIII, 9). In psalmo LXVI, 8:”Benedicat nos Deus, Deus noster, benedicat nos Deus, et metuant eum omnes fines terrae.”Ter audio Deum, et unum praedicat metuendum. **In Epistola Ioannis:”Tres sunt in coelo qui testimonium reddunt, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus: et tres unum sunt”**(I Ioan. V, 7). (Liber de Trinitate, 8. Testimonia de Trinitate; CCSL 90:250; Migne Latina, PL 65:715)

Fulgentius of Ruspe (462-533 AD)

- Saint Fulgentius of Ruspe (462 or 467 – 1 January 527 or 533) was bishop of the city of Ruspe, Roman province of Africa, North Africa in modern day Tunisia, during the 5th and 6th century. He was also canonized as a Christian saint. Fabius Claudius Gordianus Fulgentius[2] was born in the year 462 at Telepte (modern-day Medinet-el-Kedima), Tunisia, North Africa, into a senatorial family.[1] His grandfather, Gordianus, a senator of Carthage, was despoiled of his possessions by the invader Genseric, then banished to Italy. His two sons returned after his death; though their house in Carthage had been taken over by Arian priests, they recovered some property in Byzacena.[3] His father Claudius died when Fulgentius was still quite young. His mother Mariana taught him to speak Greek and Latin. Fulgentius became particularly fluent with the former, speaking it like a native. His biographer says that at an early age Fulgentius committed the entire works of Homer to memory.[3] He quickly gained wide public respect for the conduct of his family's affairs. This reputation helped him to acquire a post as a procurator or tax collector of Byzacena. He quickly grew tired of the material life, and this combined with his religious studies, particularly a sermon of Augustine of Hippo on Psalm 36, which dealt with the transitory nature of physical life, convinced him to become a monk. (Fulgentius of Ruspe. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fulgentius_of_Ruspe>)

- Renewed Arian attacks on the area forced Fulgentius to leave for another nearby monastery. The abbot there, Felix, gave Fulgentius the duty of managing the temporal affairs of the monastery, while he managed the spiritual affairs. The two of them worked well together, and so in 499, during another wave of persecution, they both fled for Sicca Veneria. A local Arian priest had them arrested and tortured after learning the pair were preaching the orthodox Nicene teaching[6]. In 500, he visited Rome, where he prayed at the tombs of the apostles. His visit coincided with a formal address to the people by king Theodoric, which confirmed Fulgentius in his low esteem for the earthly vanities of this world. He then returned to Byzacena, where he built a monastery, electing to live in an isolated cell. Fulgentius's reputation quickly spread, and he was several times offered the post of bishop of one of the dioceses which had been vacated through the actions of the Arian king Thrasamund. He chose not to accept these offers, knowing Thrasamund had specifically ordered that only Arians be permitted to fill those seats.[5] (Fulgentius of Ruspe. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fulgentius_of_Ruspe>)

- In 502 Fulgentius was persuaded to take the post of bishop of Ruspe in Tunisia.[4] His obvious virtues made a strong impression on the people of his new diocese, but he was soon banished to Sardinia with some sixty other bishops who did not hold the Arian position. Pope Symmachus knew of their plight and sent them annual provisions of food and money. While in Sardinia, Fulgentius turned a house in Cagliari into a monastery, and determined to write a number of works to help instruct the Christians of Africa. In 515, he returned to Africa, having been summoned there by Thrasamund for a public debate with his Arian replacement. His book, An Answer to Ten Objections is supposed to have been collected from the answers he had made regarding objections to the catholic Nicene position. Thrasamund, impressed by Fulgentius' knowledge and learning, and fearing social discord if these persuasive arguments fell into the hands of his Arian subjects, ordered that all Fulgentius' future statements could only be delivered orally. Fulgentius responded with a further rebuttal to the Arian position, now known as the Three Books to King Thrasamund. Thrasamund's respect for Fulgentius grew, leading him to allow Fulgentius to stay in Carthage, but after renewed complaints from the local Arian clergy he banished Fulgentius back to Sardinia in 520. (Fulgentius of Ruspe. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fulgentius_of_Ruspe>)

The Witness of God is Greater

• Fulgentius founded several communities not only in Africa, but also in Sardinia.[1] In 523, following the death of Thrasamund and the accession of his catholic son Hilderic, Fulgentius was allowed to return to Ruspe and try to convert the populace to the catholic position. He worked to reform many of the abuses which had infiltrated his old diocese in his absence. The power and effectiveness of his preaching was so profound that his archbishop, Boniface of Carthage, wept openly every time he heard Fulgentius preach, and publicly thanked God for giving such a preacher to his church.[5] Later, Fulgentius retired to a monastery on the island of Circinia (Kerkennah), but was recalled to Ruspe and served there until his death on 1 January 527[4] or 533.[3] (Fulgentius of Ruspe. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fulgentius_of_Ruspe>)

• Fulgentius Ferrandus (disciple and biographer of Fulgentius of Ruspe) was a canonist and theologian of the African Church in the first half of the 6th century. He was a deacon of Carthage and probably accompanied his master and patron, Fulgentius of Ruspe, to exile in Sardinia, when the bishops of the African Church were banished from their sees by the Arian King of the Vandals, Thrasamund. After the death of Thrasamund and the accession of Hilderic, in 523, the exiles were permitted to return, and Ferrandus, although only a deacon, soon gained a position of great importance in the African Church. He was frequently consulted in regard to the complex theological problems of the time and was known as one of the most redoubtable champions of orthodoxy in Western Christendom. (Fulgentius Ferrandus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fulgentius_Ferrandus>)

Life of Fulgentius by Ferrandus (selections)

• [Ferrandus] The truly blessed Fulgentius, born of a noble line in the eyes of the world, had among his ancestors some of senatorial rank in Carthage. When King Gaiseric⁵ entered Carthage as a conqueror, he compelled very many, indeed, all the senators, to sail to Italy after he confiscated their possessions. His grandfather, Gordianus⁶ by name, was among those who [PAGE 7] willingly undertook the journey imposed on them, wishing at least, having lost his fortune, not to lose his freedom. After his death, two of his sons came back to the province of Africa in the hope of reclaiming their heritage, but they were not able to stay in Carthage, for their house had been given to Arian priests. But, with the partial restoration of their property by royal authority, they went to Byzacena [fn. 7. Byzacena was the Roman province of North Africa which correspond roughly to the central and southern sections of modern Tunisia], and there in the city of Thelepte, one of them, Claudius⁸ by name, whose wife was named Mariana,⁹ a Christian and a good woman, happily begot that one to whom so great a glory was due, and his mother, as if knowing what he would become in the future, named him Fulgentius.¹⁰ Since his father died not long after, **his religious mother first made him study Greek literature, and soon he had committed all of Homer to memory; he knew a great deal of Menander as well, but she did not permit him to be taught Latin literature. She wanted him, still in his tender years, to learn a foreign language by which he might more easily be able, having to live among the Africans, to speak the Greek tongue with expert pronunciation, as if he had been brought up there. His mother was not mistaken in making such a careful arrangement. Ever after, whenever he wished to speak Greek, even after a long period of disuse either in speaking or reading it, he still pronounced it so well that one would think that he had spent all his time living among Greeks. After having been taught a knowledge of Greek letters, he began the study of Latin letters at home, even though schoolmasters usually teach Latin, but he later went to a grammar school. The greatness of his mind and memory enabled him to retain all he had been taught.** (Ferrandus, *Life of Fulgentius*; Translated by Robert B. Eno in *Fulgentius selected works*, 1997, p. 7-8)

King Thrasamund vs. Fulgentius : Round 1

• [Ferrandus] Meanwhile, the implacable hatred and fearsome wrath of King Thrasamund⁴⁸ against the Catholic religion went on. [PAGE 39] Between harsh persecutions there were deceptive measures trying, sometimes by terror, at other times by promises, to force Catholics to deny that Christ was equal to God the Father. With the intention of deceiving, he began to simulate the desire to find out more about the Catholic religion, thinking that no one could be found whose arguments could convict him of error. He proposed the trap of foolish questions to many. If any were found willing to respond, he neither disdained nor refused them. He listened as if patiently but boasted that none satisfied him. And,

The Witness of God is Greater

indeed, who was able to shine the light of truth on one so hardened in heart? The daring steadfastness of their faith enabled a number of religious men on these occasions, prepared by the Lord, to refute the blasphemies of this king who was interested in learning. The king continued to seek someone who could most fully prove the truth of Catholic teaching by proofs accepted on both sides. They told him that among the bishops in exile there was the blessed Fulgentius who lacked nothing in knowledge, who abounded in grace, and who by his wisdom and eloquence could satisfy the king. Immediately, the king, wanting to test this bishop to whom the whole Church of our religion bore favorable witness, quickly sent an eager servant, by whom Fulgentius was taken and without delay brought back to Carthage, which he entered joyfully. Here, as a faithful dispenser, finding the opportunity for using the talents entrusted to him, in the little room where he was staying, he diligently began to instruct orthodox Catholics who came to him; explaining how the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, while the distinction of the three persons was maintained, were still preached as one God by the faithful. So pleasant was the eloquence of the blessed Fulgentius, such joy radiated from his countenance, that, almost as in a contest, holy charity drew all the faithful either to question the learned man or to hear how he answered the questions. ...Others, strengthened by his words and renewed in their faith by the salt of his teaching, confuted the Arian heretics with all confidence. Thus, by a marvelous grace, it came about that through one bishop, whose wisdom the king wished to put to the test, the number of wise men in Carthage grew and, through the ministry of the persecutor, the strength of the Catholic faith, rather than being diminished, actually increased. (Ferrandus, Life of Fulgentius; Translated by Robert B. Eno in Fulgentius selected works, 1997, p. 38-39)

King Thrasamund vs. Fulgentius : Round 2

• [Ferrandus] All these things the king learned through his secret informers. He put the genius of this outstanding bishop to the test, his wisdom, learning, faith, piety, mildness, **purity, and he acknowledged that the man deserved his reputation and was indeed such as he had been depicted. He sent him a book to be read right away, one full of the poison of infidelity, and demanded a rapid response. The most learned pontiff accepted the challenge, dividing up the collected fallacies of this very long statement into chapters, and adding his responses, which were brief, probative, of ineluctable logic, weighty with the authority of the witnesses invoked and bright with the logic of reason. Having discussed his answers in detail and at length with a number of wise men and having brought his work to the attention of the faithful, he then sent it to the king, who had been waiting impatiently for some time. The barbarous king read them over carefully**, but, because he was never predestined for salvation, though [PAGE 41] he praised the wisdom, marveled at the eloquence, extolled the humility, still he did not deserve to recognize the truth. The people of Carthage, however, sensing a spiritual triumph, spread the word joyously but quietly that the king's views had been refuted, and they gloried that the Catholic faith was still victorious, all this joined to the praises of the blessed Fulgentius. He praised the wisdom, marveled at the eloquence, extolled the humility, still he did not deserve to recognize the truth. The people of Carthage, however, sensing a spiritual triumph, spread the word joyously but quietly that the king's views had been refuted, and they gloried that the Catholic faith was still victorious, all this joined to the praises of the blessed Fulgentius. (Ferrandus, Life of Fulgentius; Translated by Robert B. Eno in Fulgentius selected works, 1997, p. 40-41)

King Thrasamund vs. Fulgentius : Round 3

• [Ferrandus] But the king desired to put the most learned man to the test once again and asked him questions about still other matters. He ordered that his questions be read to the blessed Fulgentius only once, allowing him no time to think about them or to write them down. For he was afraid that Fulgentius would put the king's words into his own responses as his arguments were refuted and that, in the eyes of the entire city, he would be ridiculed again as having been bested. The blessed Fulgentius, having difficulty recalling what had been read to him but once, put off his response. But the king became ever more insistent, asserting that the delay and the caution of the holy man indicated fear on his part. Because of this, the same pontiff, relying on the virtue of discretion, lest perchance lies be spread about through the populace to the effect that the blessed Fulgentius was not able or was not willing to counter the king's questions, wrote three marvelous little books. In these booklets, he addressed the above-mentioned king in all simplicity. He discussed all sides of the questions he had barely heard posed in passing. He taught that in the Incarnation, Christ the Lord had not been

The Witness of God is Greater

without a rational soul. Thereafter, the king, filled with great admiration, no longer dared to ask him anything. But one of his bishops, Pinta by name, attempted a response, more because he was unwilling to remain silent than because he had anything to say. Against him, the blessed Fulgentius then wrote another work in which he upheld the truth, a work entitled, *Against Pinta*,⁴⁹ and he showed that the adversaries who had been conquered in his first defense were foolhardy in trying to return to the fray. (Ferrandus, *Life of Fulgentius*; Translated by Robert B. Eno in *Fulgentius selected works*, 1997, p. 41)

Fulgentius Defeats Arian Bishops of the King : Round 4

• [Ferrandus] **To a priest named Abragil,⁵⁰ who asked a question about the Holy Spirit, he wrote a short Admonition, in which he brought forward much evidence, teaching that, together with the Father and the Son, the Spirit is to be confessed as one God. This Admonition he ordained should be written down between the other two works of this period; all faithful Catholics read these works and marveled.** The Arians, on the other hand, were put to shame and murmured against him in their chagrin. They found occasion for an evil suggestion which they brought to the king. The latter wanted to keep him in Carthage for a longer time, but these wicked men objected, "Your work is in vain, O King; your efforts have accomplished nothing. Bishop Fulgentius's teaching has been so successful that he has received some of your own priests. Unless you do something quickly to support our religion, it will go down to defeat, and whoever has been baptized by us will be reconciled and will again confess the homoousion. ⁵¹ And, if you try to stir up a persecution again, the royal wrath will no longer be feared. The very presence of Fulgentius strengthens many and reinforces all their bishops in their faith." **The king, as if compelled by a greater necessity, agreed with those who put forward such arguments and had the blessed Fulgentius sent back to exile in Sardinia. In the dead of night (for, so the king had ordered), the blessed Fulgentius, unbeknownst to the people, was taken to the ship. But the winds were blowing the wrong way, and they had to wait by the shore so that for many days almost the entire city came out, and, in bidding them farewell, he gave them communion with his own hand.** (Ferrandus, *Life of Fulgentius*; Translated by Robert B. Eno in *Fulgentius selected works*, 1997, p. 42)

Fulgentius in Exile : Requests from Rome & Constantinople Answered : Books & Tracts & Letters

• [Ferrandus] During the same period [Fulgentius' second exile], he wrote to the Carthaginians a letter noteworthy for its sublime exhortations in which, with [PAGE 47] great sadness, he enumerated almost all the tricks and misleading allurements by which unfortunate souls are lured to their death. In addition, he swiftly replied in two booklets concerning the forgiveness of sins to the religious man, Euthymius, who had sought his counsel. He usefully discussed the proofs for predestination and instructed one who wanted to know about the varieties of grace. **He wrote numerous friendly letters in which much spiritual edification is contained to people living near him in Sardinia, to those living in Africa, to people in Rome, especially senators, and to widows and virgins whose good reputations were well known. He wrote two brief books concerning fasting and prayer to the virgin of Christ, Proba. Fulgentius thus became better known to all people. Thus it was that two books were sent to the blessed Fulgentius to be critically evaluated by several monks in Constantinople who had been upset by them.** Faustus, a bishop in Gaul, had written them with misleading guile—against grace, secretly favoring the Pelagians, though he wanted to appear Catholic. Lest the harmful material spread unnoticed, Fulgentius replied in seven books, working more to expound than to refute, since just to expose his deceitful speech was to refute the arguments of a deluded person. The great labor involved in writing this work found its due reward almost immediately. For, very soon, just as he was completing its dictation, the chains of his long captivity were broken. King Thrasamund died, and there was the marvelous goodness of Hilderic,⁵⁷ who began his reign. He restored freedom to the Catholic Church throughout Africa; he gave the people of Carthage their own bishop and by his [PAGE 48] most clement [i.e. lenient] authority ordered that ordinations of bishops be held everywhere. (Ferrandus, *Life of Fulgentius*; Translated by Robert B. Eno in *Fulgentius selected works*, 1997, p. 46-48)

Fulgentius' Last Days

• [Ferrandus] Therefore, the blessed Fulgentius, after having battered the Pelagians in his wisdom, deserved to see Catholics rejoicing. Then, just as the Holy Spirit had foretold through him, he returned to Carthage with all his fellow

The Witness of God is Greater

bishops whence he had departed alone. Those whom he had left in sadness he now found joyous. Those whom he had left suffering the violence of persecution, he now found delirious with happiness. Those whom he had left lamenting the sorrows of their mother the Church, he now found with a spiritual father. Those whom he had left in mourning, he now found awaiting his return with joy. ...[PAGE 53] After his return from exile, Fulgentius wrote many new works: ten books refuting the false doctrines of the liar Fabianus, 64 three small works on the truth of predestination and grace, as well as many others which he wrote. If you wish to find out about them, you will find authentic copies in his monastery. But, now it is time for us to speak of how, after all his good works, he rested, taken up to the heavenly kingdom. (Ferrandus, *Life of Fulgentius*; Translated by Robert B. Eno in *Fulgentius selected works*, 1997, p. 48, 53)

• [Stevens] **The importance of Fulgentius, the exiled bishop of Ruspe (a.d. 503-523), as the spokesman of the orthodox African church against the Arian Vandals has long been recognized**, and so Fulgentius is primarily known for his polemical tracts addressed to the Vandal king Thrasamund (496-523) and other Arians.¹ His theology is not much admired, being largely derivative from Augustine; his style, likewise, compares poorly with that of the great bishop of Hippo.² Nevertheless, the real significance of Fulgentius as aristocrat, monk, bishop, and litterateur is revealed in his *Epistulae*. Fulgentius became bishop only a short time before his exile began, ca. 503, and consequently he was one of the most junior of the bishops exiled to Sardinia by the Vandals. As bishop of Ruspe, he did not hold a metropolitan see, nor was he primate of his native province of Byzacena.³ **Yet he not only represented the African church in the debates with Thrasamund ca. 515, but he also wrote synodal letters and tracts at the request of his colleagues exiled on Sardinia, and even private letters for some of the bishops to their own congregations in Africa. The reason for this, according to his secretary, the deacon Ferrandus, who was also the author of the surviving *Vita Fulgentii*, was his eloquence and learning. [PAGE 328] Clearly, by the time of his exile, Fulgentius' literary reputation was well established.**⁵ Fulgentius' literary activity in Africa, particularly his writing of letters, resembles the way other late Roman aristocrats exercised their literary talents. Parallels can be found in several provinces of the Western Empire, most notably in Gaul. The Gallic bishop Hilary of Aries (429-449), for instance, like Fulgentius, was an aristocrat, monk, and bishop, and had a circle of friends which included secular and ecclesiastical litterati.⁶ This and other parallels are instructive because they show the links between aristocratic background, literary activity, and the prominence of these individuals in the Church and in the state. The differences between the Gallic circles and that of Fulgentius are also revealing, and we will consider them in the conclusion of this article. But like contemporary Gallic letter-writers, Fulgentius' high social standing, in addition to his literary ability, was a strong reason for his prominence among the exiled bishops. It was the combination of his literary talents and his aristocratic connections, amply attested by the circle of friends represented in the bishop's correspondence, that made him an ideal choice as defender of the true faith against the Arian Vandals. Previous scholarship concentrated on Fulgentius as saint and theologian, but generally neglected his role in society. Though scholars have identified many of Fulgentius' correspondents in passing, they have not recognized the relationship of the correspondents to each other and to Fulgentius. The aim of this investigation is to show, **through Fulgentius' letters, that both his aristocratic background and the aristocratic connections he maintained by correspondence had an effect on his career in the Church. Indeed, Fulgentius' personal connections are closely tied to the increasingly strong influence of Africans on the church of Rome in the early sixth century.** The first part of this study will look at his letters and consider the evidence for the existence of a circle of correspondents around Fulgentius: the extent and circulation of his [PAGE 329] correspondence, the exchange of books and ideas among his correspondents, and their sharing of interests and aims. The second part will identify the members of this circle and discuss their relationships. The conclusion will consider the importance of the epistolary ties represented by the collection. (Stevens, *The Circle of Bishop Fulgentius*, 1982 (38), p. 327-329)

• [Mathisen] **...during the reign of Thrasamund (496-523)**, Fulgentius of Ruspe debated a group of Arian bishops led by the episcopus Pinta, who may have been the successor to Cyrila; he also disputed the topic of the Holy Spirit with the Vandal presbyter Abragila and published a refutation of an extant sermo of Fastidiosus, a Nicene presbyter who had converted to Arianism. (fn. 157. See *Vita Fulgentii* 47-48, PL 65:141; *Fulgentius Ruspensis, Ad Thrasamundum regem Vanda-* lorum libri tres, CCSL 91:97 ff.; *Sermo Fastidiosi ariani and Fulgentius, Contra sermonem Fastidiosi*, CCSL

The Witness of God is Greater

91A:280-308. Pinta's name is reminiscent of that of the master of soldiers Plinta of 419.) (Mathisen, Barbarian Bishops and the Churches" in *Barbaricis Gentibus*" During Late Antiquity, 1997, p. 687)

• **[Fabianus the Arian] The only time Fulgentius of Ruspe considered it necessary to quote Greek was when writing against the Arian Fabianus.** At some point between 523 and 533, Fabianus and Fulgentius had engaged in a public debate, **most likely in Carthage.** Fabianus published the proceedings in a manner so unflattering to his opponent that Fulgentius composed the ten-volume "Contra Fabianum" in response. **In the "Contra Fabianum", Fulgentius quoted Scriptures in Greek as well as in Latin, a practice not followed in his other works. He did so with the expectation that Fabianus would be able to follow the Greek, saying at one point that "I will bring forward the truth of the Greek reading in this place also, so that you might understand this (point) more fully."** Fabianus also apparently prided himself on his Latin: Fulgentius quotes Virgil to him and chides him by saying, "I think [PAGE 116] that a man like you who claims to be skilled in "latinitas" might know that 'subministrare' is not the same thing as 'ministrare'". **Fabianus is the best counterpart for the real Pseudo-Origen [author of the Arian commentary on Job] - an Arian scholar of late Vandal North Africa, literate in Latin and Greek, involved in debating the Greek Scriptures with his Nicene opponents.** (Dossey, *The Last Days of Vandal Africa: An Arian Commentary on Job and its Historical Context*, 2003, p. 115-116)

HITS:

- **[De Trinitate ad Felicem]** See, in short you have it that the Father is one, the Son another, and the Holy Spirit another, in Person, each is other, but in nature they are not other. In this regard He says: "The Father and I, we are one." He teaches us that "one" refers to Their nature, and "we are" to Their persons. **In like manner it is said: "There are three who bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and these three are one."** Let Sabellius hear "we are" [plural], let him hear "three", and let him believe that there are three Persons. Let him not blaspheme in his sacrilegious heart by saying that the Father is the same in Himself as the Son is the same in Himself and as the Holy Spirit is the same in Himself, as if in some way He could beget Himself, or in some way proceed from Himself. Even in created natures it is never able to be found that something is able to beget itself. Let also Arius hear one; and let him not say that the Son is of a different nature, if one cannot be said of that, the nature of which is different." (Fulgentius, *On the Trinity*, chapter 4; Translated by William A. Jurgens, 1970, vol 3, p. 291-292)
 - **Latin:** En habes in brevi alium esse Patrem, alium Filium, alium Spiritum sanctum: alium et alium in persona, non aliud et aliud in natura; et idcirco Ego, inquit, et Pater unum sumus (Ioan. X, 30) . Unum, ad naturam referre nos docet, Sumus, ad personas. (0500D) **Similiter et illud: Tres sunt, inquit, qui testimonium dicunt in coelo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus, et hi tres unum sunt (I Ioan. V, 7) .** Audiatur Sabellius sumus, audiatur tres, et credat esse tres personas, et non sacrilego corde blasphemet, dicendo ipsum sibi esse Patrem, ipsum sibi Filium, ipsum sibi Spiritum sanctum: tanquam modo quodam seipsum gignat, aut modo quodam a seipso ipse procedat; cum hoc etiam in naturis creatis minime invenire possit, ut aliquid seipsum gignere valeat. Audiatur scilicet et Arius, Unum, et non differentis Filium dicat esse naturae, cum natura diversa unum dici nequeat. (Fulgentius, *De Trinitate*, chap iv; Migne Latina, PL 65.500)
- **[Responsio contra Arianos]** In the Father, therefore, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, we acknowledge unity of substance, but dare not confound the persons. **For St. John the apostle, testifieth saying, "There are three that bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and these three are one."** Which also the blessed martyr Cyprian, in his epistle de unitate Ecclesiae (Unity of the Church), confesseth, saying, Who so breaketh the peace of Christ, and concord, acteth against Christ: whoso gathereth elsewhere beside the Church, scattereth. And that he might shew, that the Church of the one God is one, he inserted these testimonies, immediately from the scriptures; The Lord said, "I and the Father are one." And again, of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, it is written, 'And these three are one.' (1 John 5:7)." In the book on the Lord's Prayer as well, to show that

The Witness of God is Greater

the Trinity is of one divinity and does not have any separateness among itself, he mentioned Daniel and the three boys who would say a prayer every three hours. Thus, by the course of three hours and the service of one prayer, he evidently showed that the Trinity is one God. We, therefore, do not worship one God, [consisting] of three parts; but retaining without beginning, of the perfect and eternal Father, not unequal in power, and equal in nature ; and we also confess, that the Holy Spirit is no other than God, neither different from the Father, nor the Son, nor confounded in the Son, nor in the Father. (Fulgentius, Against the Arians; Translated by Thomas Hartwell Horne, 1825; Horne, "IV. Sect. V. On the First General Epistle of John" in Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, 1825, vol 4, p. 448)

- **Latin:** In Patre ergo et Filio et Spiritu sancto unitatem substantiae accipimus, personas confundere non audemus. (0224B) **Beatus enim iohannes apostolus testatur, dicens: Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in coelo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus; et tres unum sunt (I Ioan. V, 7) .** Quod etiam beatissimus martyr Cyprianus, in epistola de Unitate Ecclesiae confitetur, dicens: Qui pacem Christi et concordiam rumpit, adversus Christum facit; qui alibi praeter Ecclesiam colligit, Christi Ecclesiam spargit. Atque ut unam Ecclesiam unius Dei esse monstraret, haec confestim testimonia de Scripturis inseruit. Dicit Dominus: Ego et Pater unum sumus. Et iterum: De Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto scriptum est: Et tres unum sunt. Nam et in libro de Oratione dominica, ut ostenderet Trinitatem unius deitatis, esse nec inter se aliquam diversitatem habere, Danielem et tres pueros, ternarum horarum circulis revolutis, orationem fundere solitos memoravit. Ubi et in trium horarum curriculo, et in unius orationis officio, unum Deum esse Trinitatem evidenter ostendit. (0224C) Non ergo ex tribus partibus unum colimus Deum, sed apostolicae fidei regulam retinentes, perfectum et consempternum Filium, de perfecto et sempiterno Patre, sine initio genitum, et potestate non imparem, et natura fatemur aequalem. Sanctum quoque Spiritum non aliud fatemur esse quam Deum, nec a Filio nec a Patre diversum, nec in Filio nec in Patre confusum. (Fulgentius, Responsio contra Arianos; Migne Latina, PL 65.224)
- **[Contra Fabianus]** For man, being the image of God, is not limited to only one person of the divine, but of the whole of the Trinity. From the holy writings are shown in the Trinity and the nature of the unit. The Trinity in Persons, and the Unity of Essence [of the Godhead] proved from the Holy Scripture. ...This also the holy Apostle [St. Paul] confirms: Who, in respect to the distinction of persons [in the Godhead] says, "One God the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him; and that the faithful are built together for a habitation of God through the Spirit." Shewing also that the one God is a Trinity, he adds, "O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God!" And a little afterwards, "For of him, and through him, and in him, are all things : to him be glory forever." **But the holy Apostle St. John [proceeds further, for he] plainly says, "And the three are one"; which text concerning the Father, the Son [Filio] and the Holy Ghost we alleged, as we did before when ye required a reason from us [our belief].** (Fulgentius, Contra Fabianus, Fragmentum 21; Translated by George Travis, Letters to Edward Gibbon, 3rd edition, 1794, p. 38-39)
 - **Latin:** Homo factus est ad imaginem, non unius tantum personae divinae, sed totius Trinitatis. Dei ex Scripturis sanctis ostenditur et in personis Trinitas et in natura unitas. ...Hoc etiam beatus Apostolus firmat, qui ad discretionem personarum ait: Unus Deus Pater, ex quo omnia, et nos in ipso; et unus Dominus Iesus Christus, per quem omnia, et nos per ipsum (I Cor. VIII, 6) . Et fideles dixit coaedificari in habitaculum Dei in Spiritu (Ephes. II, 22) . Ostendens autem unum Deum esse Trinitatem ait, O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei (Rom. II, 33) ! Et paulo post: Quoniam ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso sunt omnia, ipsi gloria in saecula (Ibid., 36) . **Beatus vero iohannes apostolus evidenter ait: Et tres unum sunt (I Ioan. V, 7) ; quod de Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto dictum, sicut superius cum rationem flagitares ostendimus.** (Fulgentius, Contra Fabianus, Fragmentum 21; Migne Latina, PL 65.775-777)

Comments:

The Witness of God is Greater

• **[Armfield]** Surely it is quite clear from the writings of Fulgentius, both that he had himself seen the verse in the copies of the New Testament; and that **those (with whom he argues) had no objection to offer**. (Armfield, *The Three Witnesses, the Disputed Text*, 1883, p.172)

Faustus, Bishop of Riez (405-495 AD)

• Faustus was born between 405 and 410, and according to his contemporaries, Avitus of Vienne and Sidonius Apollinaris, in the island of Britain; although Sabine Baring-Gould says Brittany is more probable. In his youth he was devoted to the study of elocution and Christian philosophy.[1] He is thought by some to have been a lawyer but owing to the influence of his mother, famed for her sanctity, he abandoned secular pursuits as a young man and entered the monastery of Lérins. Here he was soon ordained to the priesthood and after about eight years, because of his extraordinary piety was chosen in 432 to be head of the monastery, in succession to Maximus who had become Bishop of Riez. His career as abbot lasted about twenty or twenty-five years during which he attained a high reputation for his wonderful gifts as an extempore preacher and for his stern asceticism.[2]

• After the death of Maximus he became Bishop of Riez. This elevation did not make any change in his manner of life; he continued his ascetic practices, and frequently returned to the monastery of Lérins to renew his fervour. He was a zealous advocate of monasticism and established many monasteries in his diocese. In spite of his activity in the discharge of his duties as bishop, he participated in all the theological discussions of his time and became known as a stern opponent of Arianism in all its forms. For this, and as is said for his view, stated below, of the corporeality of the human soul, he incurred the enmity of the Arian Euric, King of the Visigoths, who had gained possession of a large portion of Southern Gaul, and was banished from his see. His exile lasted eight years, during which time he was aided by loyal friends. On the death of Euric he resumed his labours at the head of his diocese and continued there until his death between 490 and 495.[2] His own diocesan flock considered him a saint and erected a basilica in his honour.

• **Faustus wrote *Libri duo de Spiritu Sancto* (P.L., LXII, 9), wrongly ascribed to the Roman deacon Paschasius. His *Libellus parvus adversus Arianos et Macedonianos*, mentioned by Gennadius of Massilia, seems to be lost.**

• Faustus of Riez. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Faustus_of_Riez>.

HITS:

- Chapter 5. **Even the liberal disciplines about the Trinity have thought of the three persons. We have therefore shown, with the words of God, that only one is the divinity: we now pass to teach that in it there are three realities, three names and not three kingdoms, three appellatives but not three powers, three essences or subsistences but not three substances.** It is clear that also the wisdom of the world has understood that the multitude of names, distributed in the course of all the centuries, is contained within the rule of the three persons. What are these three? It is easy to say: I, you; he. As we have said, therefore, even liberal studies, borrowing the teaching from the spiritual disciplines, have thought that in reality there are only three people, and it became evident to them that neither the second person can suffice for perfection nor it can go beyond the third, since fullness, which tends to number three, accuses duality of incompleteness, and perfection, brought to completion in the three, rejects quaternity. Having therefore rapidly reviewed these arguments, let us proceed instead to affirm, with sacred testimonies, that the Trinity subsists in unity. But you say: why do you put before me the terms "unity" and "trinity", which you do not find in the canonical text? It is not surprising that those who do not deserve to enter the penetrations of salvation are frightened and flee even in front of the door of truth. **What, in fact, is so consequent, so natural, so proper, as the fact that unity takes its name from the one and the trinity from the three, according to the universal definitions of the Fathers?** The words drawn from others that precede must not be discussed per se, and it has no logical basis to judge as *peregrine* [status of peoples of non-Roman Italy] those terms that arise from the one and from the three, that is to say from the property of a clear origin. Pay attention: in both cases the speech is not the result of arbitrating presumption, but of simple derivation. **These words have**

The Witness of God is Greater

been discovered by antiquity since the time of the primitive Church, the authority has put them into use, the long span of time has made them stable. (Faustus Reiensis, De spiritu sancto, book 1.v)

- **Latin: CAPUT V. De Trinitate vel liberales etiam disciplinas de tribus transisse Personis. Dei itaque Verbi unam monstravimus deitatem, tria nunc in una Deitate doceamus, tria nomina non tria regna; tres appellationes, sed non tres potestates; tres hypostases vel subsistentias, sed non tres substantias.** Manifestum est etiam saecularem intellexisse sapientiam, omnium multitudinem saecularium, intra trium personarum conclusam esse rationem. Quae sunt istae tres? Id est: Ego, Tu, Ille. Ergo, ut diximus, tres tantum in rebus esse personas, etiam liberalia studia de spiritualibus disciplinis instructione mutuata senserunt, eisque evidenter apparuit, nec secundam personam satisfacere perfectioni nec tertiam posse transcendere, quia dualitatem semiplenam esse ad tertium numerum tendens arguit plenitudo, quaternitatem vero respuit in tribus consummata perfectio. His ergo levi commemoratione transmissis, magis sacris testimoniis asseramus, Trinitatem in unitate mutatione subsistere. Sed dicis: Quid mihi profers unitatis ac Trinitatis verba, quae in canonica lectione non invenis? Non mirum, si is qui ingredi non meretur penetralia salutis, expavescit ac refugit etiam testimonium veritatis. **Quid enim tam proximum, tam naturale, tam proprium, quam ut de uno unitas, de tribus Trinitas, catholicis primum diffinitionibus nuncupetur?** Non ex se discutienda sunt verba quae de praecedentibus pendent, nec sane consequens est ut peregrina indicentur, quae ex uno et tribus, id est de manifesti exordii proprietate nascuntur. Adverte quia non est praesumptivus uterque hic sermo, sed derivativus. **Quae vocabula a tempore primitivae Ecclesiae antiquitas invenit, auctoritas protulit, aetas longa firmavit.** (Faustus Reiensis, De spiritu sancto, book 1.v; p. 107-108; CSEL 21; Migne Latina, PL 62.13)

Narsai (399-502 AD)

• Narsai (sometimes spelt Narsay, Narseh or Narses; Classical Syriac: ܢܪܨܝܐ, Narsai, name derived from Pahlavi Narsēh from Avestan Nairyō.sarhō, meaning 'potent utterance', the name of a yazata; c. 399 – c. 502) **was one of the foremost of Assyrian/Syriac poet-theologians, perhaps equal in stature to Jacob of Serugh, both second only to Ephrem the Syrian. He is the most important writer of the Assyrian Church of the East, in which he is known as the 'Harp of the Spirit'.** Although many of his works are likely lost, around eighty of his mêmê (ܡܡܝܐ), or verse homilies are extant. Narsai was born at 'Ain Dulba (ܐܝܢ ܕܘܠܒܐ) in the district of Ma'alta (ܡܥܠܬܐ) in the Sassanid Empire (today in Dahuk Governorate, Iraq). Being orphaned at an early age, he was raised by his uncle, who was head of the monastery of Kfar Mari (ܩܦܪ ܡܪܝ) near Beth Zabdai (ܒܝܬ ܙܒܕܝ). Narsai spent ten years as a student at the School of Edessa, and later returned there to teach (c. 437), eventually becoming head of the school. Perhaps in 471, Narsai left Edessa after disagreeing with the city's bishop Cyrus (471–498). With the help of his friend Barsauma, who was bishop of Nisibis, Narsai re-established the School of Nisibis. When his former school was ordered closed by Zeno in 489, it seems that many of his faithful staff and students came to join Narsai in Nisibis. Evidence from the first Statutes of the School of Nisibis, drafted in 496, shows that Narsai was still alive, and he must have been a venerable old teacher in his nineties. Narsai died sometime early in the sixth century and was buried in Nisibis in a church that was later named after him. (Narsai. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Narsai>)

HIT:

- II. A Homily on the Epiphany of Our Lord. The Renewal of Baptism. The voice of the Father was exalting him to an honour greater than anyone (else's) by testifying: "This is my beloved, and he fulfils My will"! The Father cries out and the Son is baptized and the Spirit descends: **three Witnesses Who have subscribed to the authority of the King.** (Narsai, II. Epiphany 416-420; Translated by McLeod in Narsia's metrical homilies, 1979, p. 97) (Note: Capitalization from original translation.)
 - **Syriac:** See McLeod for original Syriac.

The Witness of God is Greater

Philoxenus of Mabbug (d. 523 AD)

• Philoxenus of Mabbug (Syriac: ܦܝܠܘܟܝܢܘܫ ܡܒܘܓܘܝܐ, Aksenāyâ Mabûḡāyâ) (died 523), also known as Xenaias and Philoxenus of Hierapolis, was one of the most notable Syriac prose writers and a vehement champion of Miaphysitism. He was born, probably in the third quarter of the 5th century, at Tahal, a village in the district of Beth Garmaï east of the Tigris. He was thus by birth a subject of Persia, but all his active life of which we have any record was passed in the territory of the Byzantine Empire. His parents were from the Median city of Ecbatana.[1] The statements that he had been a slave and was never baptized appear to be malicious inventions of his theological opponents. He was educated at Edessa, perhaps in the famous "school of the Persians," which was afterwards (in 489) expelled from Edessa on account of its connection with Nestorianism. When Calandio, the Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch, was expelled by the Miaphysite Peter the Fuller in 485, Philoxenus was ordained bishop of Mabbug.[2] It was probably during the earlier years of his episcopate that Philoxenus composed his thirteen homilies on the Christian life. Later he devoted himself to the revision of the Syriac versions of the Bible, and with the help of his chorbishop Polycarp produced in 508 the so-called Philoxenian version, which was in some sense the received Bible of the Syriac Miaphysites during the 6th century. Apart from his redoubtable powers as a controversialist, Philoxenus is remembered as a scholar, an elegant writer, and an exponent of practical Christianity. Of the chief monument of his scholarship – the Philoxenian version of the Bible – only the Gospels and certain portions of Isaiah are known to survive (see Wright, Syr. Lit. 14). It was an attempt to provide a more accurate rendering of the Septuagint than had hitherto existed in Syriac, and obtained recognition among Syriac Miaphysites until superseded by the still more literal renderings of the Old Testament by Paul of Tella and of the New Testament by Thomas of Harkel (both in 616/617), of which the latter at least was based on the work of Philoxenus. ...As his quotations from Scripture appear to be made from the Peshitta, he probably wrote the homilies before he embarked upon the Philoxenian version. Philoxenus also wrote many controversial works and some liturgical pieces. Many of his letters survive, and at least two have been edited. Several of his writings were translated into Arabic and Ethiopic. (Philoxenus of Mabbug. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philoxenus_of_Mabbug>)

• **Miaphysitism**, sometimes called henophysitism, is Cyril of Alexandria's Christological formula holding that in the person of Jesus Christ, divine nature and human nature are united (heis, "one" or "unity"; feminine nominative singular: mia; stem: ěv, hen) in a compound nature ("physis"), the two being united without separation, without mixture, without confusion and without alteration.[1] (Miaphysitism. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Miaphysitism>)

HIT:

- **[Letter to Monks]** Who then or what is truth, if not Jesus Christ, the God Who is over all, He Who said, «I am the Truth, and the Light, and the Life». This Jesus, God the Word, is our truth, with His Father and with His Holy Spirit: one Trinity, one essence, one divinity, one nature from everlasting and from eternity. For there is not in Him (God) nature and nature, nor essence and essence, nor anything recent or old, **but One in Three and Three in One**; an eternal nature and eternal persons, one essence adored with its persons from everlasting and from eternity. (Philoxenus, "Letter to the Monks" (p. 93-105) in Three Letters of Philoxenus, Translated by Vaschalde, 1902, p. 96)
 - **Note:** Vaschalde used Syriac MSS. 135, 136, and 138 of the Vatican library, transcribed and edited by Prof. Guidi, 1902.

Procopius of Gaza (c. 465–528 AD)

• Procopius of Gaza (c. 465–528 AD) was a Christian sophist and rhetorician, one of the most important representatives of the famous school of his native place. Here he spent nearly the whole of his life teaching and writing, and took no part in the theological movements of his time. The little that is known of him is to be

The Witness of God is Greater

found in his letters and the encomium by his pupil and successor Choricus. He was the author of numerous rhetorical and theological works. Of the former, his panegyric on the emperor Anastasius alone is extant; the description of the Hagia Sophia and the monody on its partial destruction by an earthquake are spurious. His letters (162 in number), addressed to persons of rank, friends, and literary opponents, throw valuable light upon the condition of the sophistical rhetoric of the period and the character of the writer. The fragment of a polemical treatise against the Neoplatonist Proclus is now assigned to Nicolaus, archbishop of Methone in Peloponnesus (ft. 12th century). **Procopius' theological writings consist of commentaries on the Octateuch, the books of Kings and Chronicles, Isaiah, the Proverbs, the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes.** They are amongst the earliest examples of the "catenic" (catena, chain) form of commentary, consisting of a series of extracts from the fathers, arranged, with independent additions, to elucidate the portions of Scripture concerned. Photius (cod. 206), while blaming the diffuseness of these commentaries, praises the writer's learning and style, which, however, he considers too ornate for the purpose. (Procopius of Gaza. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Procopius_of_Gaza>)

• [Romeny] That Procopius could not be the "first link in the chain" (French: fondateur des chaînes) had in fact already been known as early as in 1883, when Theodor Zahn had demonstrated the dependence of Procopius' Catena on the Song of Songs on the Pseudo-Eusebian Catena on the same book. **The case of Procopius' Catena on Ecclesiastes now gives us an additional indication that he used both earlier collections made by others and the original sources. Although the title of this work in the manuscripts gives the term "epitome" (Greek: ἐπιτομή), this is a catena in the strict sense (like the Catena on the Song of Songs just mentioned): comments of various authors are grouped around the biblical text, and the names of the authors are indicated. It has recently become clear that Procopius used the earlier collection of Olympiodorus [495-570 AD]. As this collection does not give the names of the authors, Procopius must have used the original sources as well.** (Romeny, Procopius of Gaza and his Library, 2007, p. 182)

HITS:

- The word of faith was manifested by this, **the agreement of Father and Son and Holy Spirit, by the triplicity found in these Flowers. And One are the three Beginnings in colorfulness and fragrance [Greek: according to good-color and good-odor].** (Procopius Gazensis, Catena in Canticum canticorum; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, May 2020)
 - **Greek:** ἢ τὸν τῆς πίστεως λόγον διὰ τούτου παρεμφαίνει, τὴν εἰς Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ὁμολογίαν, διὰ τὴν τριπλόην τὴν εὕρισκομένην ἐν τοῖς ἄνθεσι τούτοις· καὶ ἐν τὰ τρία ὑπάρχοντα κατὰ τε εὐχροίαν καὶ εὐπνοίαν· (Procopius Gazensis, Catena in Canticum canticorum; Migne Graeca, PG 87/2.1665)
- In no other way did the Seraphim now shout out, when they saw that his glory on earth was sore illustrious, and that he would not accept any earthly substance; they should repeat the holy praises not only once, but often, even into an infinite number of times; while he showed "one to another" what he admired in particular; but in order that they might in turn offer the praises of restoring time. For it is not lawful to think that the things which are above are done with elegance and beauty. **Then repeating "the saint" three times, they conclude in that praise that they who call "Lord of Hosts" place the Trinity in one nature of the Godhead.** (Procopii Gazaei : Commentarii in Isaiam)
 - **Greek:** Καθὰ καὶ νῦν ἐβόα τὰ Σεραφεῖμ μέλλουσαν ἐκλάμπειν ἐπὶ γῆς ὀρῶντα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς γεώδους ζημιουμένην οὐσίας, τὸν δὲ ἀγιασμὸν οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀπειράκις ἐφθέγγετο, πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον ἕτερος τὸ ἴδιον θαῦμα δηλῶν· ἤγουν ἐξ ἀμοιβῆς ἀντιφωνοῦντα πρὸς ἀλληλα, οὐ διὰ τὸ κάμνειν, διὰ δὲ τὸ τὰς τιμὰς ἀλλήλοις παραχωρεῖν,

The Witness of God is Greater

ἀντιδωρεῖσθαί τε τὰς δοξολογίας· πάντα γὰρ ἐν κόσμῳ τὰ ἄνω. **Τρὶς δὲ τὸ ἅγιος λέγοντες, κατακλείουσι τὴν δοξολογίαν εἰς τὸ, Κύριος Σαβαώθ, ἐν μιᾷ θεότητος φύσει τὴν ἁγίαν τιθέντες Τριάδα.** (Procopii Gazaei : Commentarii in Isaiam; Migne Graece, PG 87/2.1936)

Eleutherius bishop of Tournai (456-531 AD)

• Eleutherius (10), St. commemorated Feb. 20, was the third bishop of Tournai, succeeding Theodorus and followed by St. Medardus. The authorities for his life are of a late date, the earliest of them an anonymous one (to be found in Boll. Acta SS., Feb iii, 187), being probably of the 8th or 9th century, and the recital is overlaid with legend. He was born at Tournai in the year A.D. 456, of Christian parents names Serenus and Blanda, whom the legends, ignoring the interval of about 150 years, call converts of St. Piatas. While he was still a young man a persecution of the Christians arose in Tournai, and the Franks, who were not yet converted, expelled the whole of them from the city. Eleutherius and his family, with many others, settled at Blandinum (presumably Blandain), a village a few leagues distant, where a church was built and Theodorus consecrated bishop. Upon his death Eleutherius, having first been sent by the Christians to Rome to obtain the sanction of the pope, was consecrated to the see. The date is variously given in 470, 483, 484, 487, 501, and 502. The weight of authority seems, however, in favour of the year 487. The first nine years of his bishopric were spent at Blandinium, but the conversion of Clovis and his followers enabled him to return to Tournai. His episcopate which lasted forty five years, seems to have been chiefly passed in struggles with the pagans and heretics. The latter belonged to sects of the Arians, whose doctrines at this time influenced the greater part of the Christian Gaul except the Franks. He is said to have visited Rome three times in all : first, on the occasion already mentioned, and twice when bishop during the pontificates of Symmachus and Hormisdas, the two latter visits being in connexion with his efforts against heresy. With the same object he convened a synod about the year 527, in which he expounded the true faith and confuted his opponents. These efforts entailed much persecution, and finally in A.D. 531 or 532 his enemies lay in wait for him as he quieted a church, and so maltreated him that he was left for dead. Seven weeks later he died of the injuries received on that occasion. Seven weeks later he died of injuries received on that occasion. He was buried at Blandinium, and his remains are said to have been translated twice. Among the miracles ascribed to him are the raising of a girl from the dead (see the somewhat romantic account in the first of the Lives, Boll. Acta SS. ut sup.) and the cures of a cripple, a blind man, and a leper. The following writings have been assigned to him: "Sermo", "seu Confessio de SS. Trinitate", said to have been presented by him pope Symmachus in the fourteenth year of his episcopate; "Transitus S. Eleutherii Episcopi"; "Sermo de Trinitate"; "Sermo de Incarnatione Domini"; "Sermo de Natali Domini"; "Sermo in Annuntiationis Festum"; and "Oratio Beati Eleutherii" (see Migne, Patr. Lat. LXV. 83-102), but without sufficient authority. (Rivet, "Hist. Lit. de la France", iii. 154; "Gall. Christ." i. 863.) (S.A. Bennett, "Eleutherius" in A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines, vol 2, 1880, p. 78)

• [Hefele : Synod of Tournai (520 AD)] Sec 234. Synods in Wales and at Tournai. We have very scanty information respecting two Synods [PAGE 124] which were held about this time in Wales, that part of Britain which had remained Christian, the one in the year 519, the other somewhat later. Occasion was given for the former by the Pelagian heresy. In order to suppress this in Wales, the bishops Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes had instituted a mission there about ninety years earlier, and with great results. But the tares had again grown rank, so that, in the year 519, the bishops of Wales (Cambria), with the abbots and many other clergy and laity of distinction, assembled in Synod at Brevi, in the district of Keretica (Cardigan). At first they could make no impression upon the heretical populace. Then one of them, Paulinus, proposed that the holy Bishop David of Menevia, who had not yet arrived, should be fetched, which was immediately done. David came, made an address accompanied by a miracle, and won their hearts to such an extent that all the heretics present renounced their error. In gratitude for this, David was raised to be metropolitan for all Wales; and this dignity, which formerly belonged to the "Urbs Letionum" (Caerleon on Usk), was now connected with the see of Menevia. At the other Synod in Wales, held somewhat later at Victoria (probably AD 520), they confirmed the decrees of the assembly just mentioned, which is here called "Synodus Menevensis," because the "Regio Keretica," in which it was held, belonged to the diocese of Menevia. Besides this confirmation, there were at this Synod, as at the former, many canons passed for the regulation of Church life in Wales, but they have not come down to us. To the year 520 is also

The Witness of God is Greater

assigned a Synod at Tournay or Doornick (Tornacum), in the ecclesiastical province of Reims (but now belonging to the kingdom of Belgium), held by the bishop of that city, S. Eleutherius, for the rooting out of heresy. As he summoned only clergy and laity of his own diocese to this Synod, as the very brief Acts relate, we have here only a diocesan Synod before us, which demands so much [PAGE 125] the less consideration, as we have no details except the speech which Eleutherius then addressed to the assembly, and in which he confessed the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity. (Hefele, History of the Councils of the Church, vol 4, 1895, p. 123-125)

• **Events depicted in the "Lives of Piat and Eleutherius"** can be found in written examples of each saint's "vita". The Life of Piat is preserved in two complete versions, one from the ninth century and one from the early eleventh, as well as in a "Passion of Piat," included in manuscripts dating from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries. Eleutherius' "vita" survives in four versions: two from the ninth century, one dated 1247, and a fourth, probably also dating from the thirteenth century. Although the imagery of the tapestry makes use of existing written sources, the specific episodes chosen, their place in the "vitae", and the formulation of the "tituli" do not correspond to any one of these texts. (fn. 17. The Bollandists have printed all four versions of the "vita" of Eleutherius of Tournai. **The first two are anonymous [BHL 2455, 2463] and were composed one at the beginning of the ninth century, the other [BHL 2468] just after the elevation of Eleutherius' relics in 897.** Guibert of Tournai, a Franciscan monk, wrote the third in 1247, just after translation of the saint's relics to the new "chasse". The fourth version is included in the Breviary. A French version of the "vita" is preserved in a single copy within a compilation of saint's lives, AA. SS, February, III, 180-208) (Weigert, Weaving Sacred Stories: French Choir Tapestries and the Performance of Clerical Identity, 2004, p. 156; Index scriptorum novus Mediae Latinitatis: Ab anno DCCC usque ad annum MCC. Qui afferentur in Novo glossario ab Academiis Consociatis juris publici facto, Volume 1, vol 2, 1973, p. 217.)

• **Piat and Eleutherius in Tournai.** Historians of saints argue that we can isolate certain "facts" concerning Piat and Eleutherius based on the manuscript tradition of their "vitae". Piat was a contemporary of Saint Remi, who ordained the future apostles of Tournai at the end of the third century, in Rome. Like Remi, Piat preached the faith in Gaul; he settled in Tournai, and was subsequently martyred there. The accepted "facts" concerning Eleutherius are more specific. He was born in 456 in Blandain, where his parents had fled from Tournai to avoid Clovis' persecution. In 496 Eleutherius became bishop of Tournai. He died in 531 and was buried next to his parents in Blandian. The importance of Piat and Eleutherius' cults in Tournai made their "vitae" particularly effective vehicles for conveying a local history of the city. Both saints were associated with the Christianization of Tournai. Piat, venerated as the first apostle to Tournai and patron of the city, was credited with the foundation of the Christian city and the conversion of its citizens. Although he was more likely the second or third, Eleutherius was honored as the first bishop of Tournai and patron of the cathedral. Unlike Saint Stephen, to whom the first church was dedicated in the fifth century, and the Virgin Mary, to whom the cathedral was dedicated upon construction of a second church in the episcopal group, shortly after the first, Piat and Eleutherius were local saints; their "vitae" involved Tournai and its church directly. because the cathedral possessed the relics of Eleutherius, it was the devotional center of the saint's cult. Eleutherius' relics were moved to the cathedral on August 25, 1064. On the same day in 1247, Bishop John transferred his relics to a new, ornate reliquary. This reliquary was displayed behind the high altar and was carried in processions. Readings on the saint's feast days repeatedly state that Eleutherius' bodily remains in their entirety were present in the cathedral. Although Saint-Piat in Seclin, a nearby church within the diocese of Tournai, claimed the body of Piat, members of the cathedral chapter and its bishop demonstrated their particular devotion to the saint. Bishops of Tournai were responsible for the invention and for two translations of Piat's relics. Members of the cathedral chapter of Tournai conducted an annual procession from Tournai to Seclin in honor of the saint. This continual affirmation of the importance of Seclin as the site of Piat's relics [PAGE 23] was all the more important given that their location was a matter of dispute. Both the church of Saint-Piat and the cathedral of Chartres argued they possessed the body of Piat. This debate continued until the nineteenth century. Even now, one can visit the body of the saint in Seclin and of Chartres. Consistent with these competing claims to Piat's body, manuscript versions of his life are said to have been produced in both the diocese of Tournai and in Chartres. The first complete version of his "vitae", contained in a manuscript dating from the ninth century, is from the library of the monastery of Anchin near Douai, a city within the diocese of Tournai. The second, which repeats the deeds mentioned in the first, was falsely attributed to Fulbert, bishop of Chartres (1007-1029 AD). In 1143 the canons of Seclin composed a third version of the "vita" of their patron saint, which is

The Witness of God is Greater

now lost. Devotion to the saint and competing claims to his relics provided the impetus for recording and preserving events Piat's life. Similarly, the strength of Eleutherius' cult in Tournai prompted the writing of his "vita" in the city. The presence of a manuscript in Tournai of the earliest known "vita" of the saint, compiled in the ninth century, is the only evidence to link this first version to the city. However, the circumstances in which the three other versions of his {vita} were written reflect the needs of the local community of Tournai. On the occasion of his translation of the saint's relics in 1247, Bishop John commissioned a new life of the saint from Guibert of Tournai. The fourth version is contained in the Breviary lessons read during the feast days celebrated in honor of the saint in the churches within the diocese of Tournai. Both Guibert's "Life of Eleutherius" and the Breviary version of his "vitae" repeatedly state that events in the life of the saint took place in or close to Tournai, thereby underscoring the ties between the saint and the city. Guibert's "Life of Eleutherius" establishes the relationship between the two sayings [Eleutherius & Piat of Chartres] and their connection to Tournai by integrating events in the "Life of Piat" into the "vita" of the later saint. Here, Piat's "vita" provides an introduction to the account of Tournai and its first bishop, which situates the "Life of Eleutherius" at a defined moment in the city's past. After a description of the centuries of Roman rule in Tournai, Guibert presents a synopsis of Piat's "vita". Although Piat is the primary actor in this section of the text, the events described display his association and cooperation with Eleutherius' ancestors. Piat's actions in Tournai thereby both introduce and lead into the events in the "Life of Eleutherius", which are located within a larger narrative account of the city's history. Through this brief description of the written "vitae" of Piat and Eleutherius, we can conclude that the tapestry follows an existing tradition that incorporates events in the lives of the two most honored saints in Tournai into an account of the city. In both the written and woven "vitae", the lives of the saints become a part of the past of the city [PAGE 24] for which they were produced. However, as I will argue the tapestry version, in conjunction with the ceremonies that always accompanied its display, added an immediacy and relevance to the "vitae" of the saints not found in other versions of their lives. (Weigert, *Weaving Sacred Stories: French Choir Tapestries and the Performance of Clerical Identity*, 2004, p. 22-24)

- **[Henschen]** § 16 to 19. At the time of Eleutherius, there spread a heresy which denied the divine nature of Christ. During the 14th year of his pontificate, he wrote a sermon on the divinity of Christ and delivered it to Pope Symmachus who received it with honor; on his return he convinced all the heretics and baptized more than nine thousand. In the 20th year of his pontificate, he returned to Rome. As a new heresy spread, he wrote a sermon on the Incarnation of Christ which he submitted to Pope Hormisdas. He brought back from Rome the relics of Saint Mary the Egyptian and the humerus of Saint Stephen. Dressed in dalmatic he was received with joy by the people: on Mont-Saint André, he showed them the relics which were flooded with light and miracles happened.
- **[Henschen]** § 21 to 24. Accordingly, when the blessed Eleutherius ruled the church of Tournai for 31 years already, and the Blandain church for 9 years, he was grieved hearing many confused sons of the church. Wherefore he declared on authority of the Roman Pope that either all the heretics would be expelled from that city or they must unanimously confess Christ the Son of God the Father. Therefore, forced by the prelate, they chose a proper day, at which Synod Eleutherius assembled the bishops of Christ. When the day wherein the Synod would be assembled arrived, there came Catholics sons mixed with heretics also. There attended few heretics that opposed this. But the man of God Eleutherius rose up and made silence with his hand and said: All who confess God the Father and his Son, with the Holy Spirit, hear me. You believe in one God, the Father Almighty, and in his Son our only Lord, Jesus Christ, who is the only-born Son of God the Father etc.
- *Appendix 2. Analysis of the Vita Prolixior*, by G. Henschen (AA SS) by Michèle Gaillard. "Les deux vitae anciennes de saint Éleuthère, évêque de Tournai : tradition manuscrite et contextes d'écriture", dans M. Cavalieri et E. De Waele, *Industria apium. L'archéologie : une démarche singulière, des pratiques multiples. Hommages à Raymond Brulet*, 2013, p. 351; Translated from the Latin by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, April 2020)

• **Around 900, a monk of Saint-Bertin** produced the *Liber miraculorum s. Bertini* [BHL 1291] as part of its recovery from the invasions that had struck Saint-Bertin in 861 and 891. This book of miracles was an important tool for proving that the institution had retained the relics of its patron saint through the chaos.⁹⁵ It also confirmed the relics' continuing ability to channel divine intercession. **During this same period, a hagiographer at Tournai also produced the *Vita prima s. Eleutherii Tornacensis* [BHL 2455] on Eleutherius (d. before 540), the first bishop of Tournai.** (Defries, *Constructing the past in eleventh century Flanders*, 2004, p. 57)

The Witness of God is Greater

• **[Hincmar Affirms Bishopric of Tournai]** The requirements current in his day for canonical election to suffragan bishoprics find expression in the correspondence and treatises of Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims. ...**Hincmar held to the view that under his predecessor, St. Remigius (c. 460-c. 533), twelve cities, with bishops of their own, viz., Soissons, Châlons-sur-Marne, civitas Veromandorum (Saint-Quentin, Noyon), Arras, Cambrai, Tournai, Senlis, Beauvais, Amiens, Thérouanne (Morinum), Boulogne, and Laon, had been subject to the Archbishop of Rheims.**² (fn 2. De jure metropolitanorum XIX, Migne Latina, PL 126.200B; that Hincmar thought of the twelve cities as having individual bishops is deduced from Opusculum LV, capitulum I, Migne Latina, PL 126.294-295A.) (Beck, "Selection of Bishops Suffragan to Hincmar of Rheims" in *The Catholic Historical Review*, 45, 1959, p. 273)

HIT:

- **[Confession on the Trinity]** And for that reason it is allowed to state that through the deeds of man is the resurrection from the dead, yet so must you understand this deed of man that it is the Word of God, and by Him the reign of death is destroyed. And how is this attested in Scripture! In the last of times one Son and Lord will come in the glory of the Father, to judge the world in equity. Necessary is also that you believe the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, his birth, circumcision, preparation, Gospel, passion, death, resurrection and ascension in heaven. For this is the orthodox faith. But because a virgin conceived him, a virgin bore him, the only God in flesh, with regard to nature, so you must also profess her the mother of Christ. Not that the Word obtained its existence starting with the birth from flesh, for in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God; and He is the founder of the heavens, the Father of universe. **Certainly, there are Three who give testimony in heaven Father, Word and Holy Spirit: and these Three are One.** Therefore there is in nature but one Creator of all, a Trinity in Persons you must confess, so you may serve well to arrive in the heavenly happiness, where the merits of the saints flourish, which happiness and joy will not end in all eternity, reigning with our Lord Jesus Christ, co-eternal with the Father, united in the grace of the Holy Spirit, to whom be praise and power for all ages and ages. Amen. (Eleutherius Bishop of Tournai, *Confession on the Trinity*; Migne Latina, PL 65.086; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, April 2020)
 - **Latin:** Seu Confessio De SS. Trinitate: Et ideo, licet dicatur quod per hominem facta est resurrectio mortuorum, tamen intelligere debetis hominem factum, verbum quod ex Deo est, et per eum mortis imperium esse destructum. Ut autem Scriptura attestatur, Veniet novissimis temporibus unus Filius et Dominus in gloria Patris, ut iudicet orbem in aequitate. Necessarium quoque est ut credatis incarnationem Domini nostri Iesu Christi, nativitatem, circumcisionem, apparitionem, Evangelia, passionem, mortem, resurrectionem, et in coelos ascensionem. Haec est enim fides recta. Sed quoniam Deum carne unitum iuxta subsistentiam virgo concepit, virgo peperit, idcirco eam Christi genitricem profiteamini: non quod verbi natura existendi principium de carne sortita sit. Erat enim in principio Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum: et ipse est conditor saeculorum, Pater universitatis. (0086C) **Tres quidem sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo, Pater, Verbum et Spiritus sanctus: hi tres unum sunt.** Igitur omnium creatorem unum in substantia, Trinitatem in personis confitemini, ut ad coelestia gaudia pervenire mereamini, ubi florent merita sanctorum, quorum gaudium et exultatio non desinet usque in sempiternum, regnante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, cum Patre coaeterno, cooperante gratia Spiritus sancti, cui sit laus, imperium, per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen. (Eleutherius Tornacensis, *Seu Confessio De SS. Trinitate*; Migne Latina, PL 65.086)

Severus of Antioch (459-538 AD)

• **Severus of Antioch (459-538 AD)** : Saint Severus the Great of Antioch (Greek: Σεβήριος; Classical Syriac: ܨܝܘܪܘܫܐܘܬܝܘܬܐ), also known as Severus of Gaza,^[1] was the Patriarch of Antioch, and head of the Syriac Orthodox Church, from 512 until his death in 538. He is venerated as a saint in the Oriental Orthodox Church, and his feast day is 8 February. Severus was born in the city of Sozopolis in Pisidia in c. 459,^[2] or c. 465,^[3] into an affluent Christian family, however, later monophysite sources would assert that his parents were pagan.^[4] His father was a senator in the city,^[5]

The Witness of God is Greater

and his paternal grandfather,[2] also named Severus,[6] was the Bishop of Sozopolis and had attended the Council of Ephesus in 431.[5] According to Severus' hagiography, he was named after his paternal grandfather as he had received a vision in which he was told,"the child who is for your son will strengthen Orthodoxy, and his name will be after your name".[6] After his father's death,[5] in 485, Severus travelled to Alexandria in Egypt to study grammar, rhetoric,[7] and philosophy,[4] in both Greek and Latin.[8] At Alexandria, he met Zacharias of Mytilene, a fellow student and friend, who persuaded him to read the works of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus, and Saint Basil of Caesarea, in particular his correspondence with Libanius. According to Zacharias, whilst students at Alexandria, he and Severus discovered and destroyed a hoard of pagan idols at the neighboring city of Menouthis.[5] In the autumn of 486,[5] Severus traveled to Berytus in Phoenicia and studied law and philosophy at the law school,[8] where he was later joined by Zacharias in 487.[5] At Berytus, Severus and Zacharias led the expulsion of necromancers and enchanters from the city, and Severus began to dedicate his free time to studying the works of the Fathers of the Church. At this time, he joined a group of students led by a certain Evagrius who prayed together at the Church of the Resurrection every evening. Severus was convinced to be baptised, as he had not yet undergone baptism due to Pisidian custom in which men could not be baptised until they had grown a beard.[5] In 488,[4] he was baptised at the Church of Saint Leontius at Tripolis with Evagrius as his sponsor.[5] (Severus of Antioch. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Severus_of_Antioch>)

HIT:

- **[Letter LXV. TO Eupraxius the Chamberlain 479]** : When we speak of the divine nature, we mean the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, separating the hypostases, but |183 uniting the Godhead. And, as the name 'Father' and the fact that he is not begotten by anything is the peculiar characteristic of the hypostasis of the Father, so also the name 'Son' and the fact that he is begotten by the Father is the peculiar characteristic of the hypostasis of the Son: similarly also the appellation 'Holy Spirit' and the fact that he is not begotten but proceeds from the Father is the peculiar characteristic of the hypostasis of the Holy Spirit. While therefore the hypostases or persons are recognised by the peculiar characteristics, and the Father is not converted into the Son or the Holy Spirit, nor does the Son pass into the Holy Spirit or the Father, nor yet is the Holy Spirit transformed so as to become the Father or the Son, **the three are one, in that they are of the same essence of the Godhead**; for the Father is God, and the Son God, and the Holy Spirit God, and, while |184 the hypostases remain unconfused, the Trinity is invariable in all points: for its essence 494 is one, its glory one, its everlastingness one, its kingship one, its power one, its will one, its operation one, and through it we hold that the Trinity is one God. (Severus of Antioch, Letter 65 to Eupraxius the Chamberlain 479 AD. Translated by E. Brooks, 1915, vol 2, p. 177-184)
 - **Note:** English and Syriac facing pages. See Brooks' for the original Syriac.

Codex Fuldensis (540 AD)

● **The Codex Fuldensis, also known as the Victor Codex (Hessian State Library, Codex Bonifatianus I)**, designated by "F", is a New Testament manuscript based on the Latin Vulgate made between 541 and 546.[2] The codex is considered the second most important witness to the Vulgate text; and is also the oldest complete manuscript witness to the order of the Diatessaron. It is an important witness in any discussion about the authenticity of 1 Corinthians 14:34-35[3] and the Comma Johanneum. It is one of the earliest dated manuscripts of the New Testament. It was corrected until 2 May, 546 AD. It contains the Diatessaron and 23 canonical books of the New Testament; plus the Epistle to the Laodiceans, and a copy of Jerome's Prologue to the Canonical Gospels. It represents the Italian type of text.[5] The four gospels are harmonised into a single continuous narrative, according to the form of Tatian's Diatessaron.[6] Its text is akin to that of Codex Amiatinus.[2] The harmonised gospel text is preceded by a listing of its sections, with a summary of their contents, which was copied unchanged from the Old Latin exemplar. From this it can be determined that the Old Latin source had lacked the Genealogy of Jesus (which Victor inserted); but that the source had included the passage of Jesus and the woman taken in adultery. The 1 John text section omits the Comma Johanneum. However, the Vulgate Prologue to the Canonical Epistles includes a direct reference to the heavenly witnesses, with the Prologue written as a first-person note from Jerome to Eustocium. In this Prologue unfaithful translators are criticized for removal of the verse. The Prologue from about 1700 on had often been attacked as a late forgery, not really by Jerome, at the time the earliest known extant

The Witness of God is Greater

Vulgate with the Prologue was about 800 AD. The Prologue was noted to be in the Codex Fuldensis in the mid-to-late 1800s. Victor of Capua (died 554) reports that he found an Old Latin harmony of the Gospels, which he recognised as following Tatian's arrangement of the Diatessaron. He substituted the Vulgate text for the Old Latin, appending the rest of the New Testament books from the standard Vulgate.[2] Boniface acquired the codex and in 745 gave it to the monastic library (Abb. 61), in Fulda, where it remains to the present day (hence the name of the codex).[5] It served as the source text for vernacular harmonies in Old High German, Eastern Frankish and Old Saxon. According to Malcolm Parkes, glosses to James are in Boniface's own handwriting.[9] Codex Sangallensis 56 was copied, in the 9th century, from the Diatessaron of the Codex Fuldensis. It also contains some extracts from the Acts of the Apostles.[10] Ernst Ranke published the text of the codex in 1868.[11] (Codex Fuldensis. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Codex_Fuldensis>)

- [Lamy] Although the Benedictine editors of the Works of St. Jerome admit that this Prologue was not composed by the holy Doctor [Jerome], it is, nevertheless, very ancient. For we find it in the Codex Fuldensis, written by the order of Victor of Capua towards the year 540. The author, whosoever he may be, accuses Latin translators of having omitted, in their editions, the celebrated verse. He [Victor] therefore looked upon it as belonging to the primitive text. So convinced was he of its [PAGE 473] genuineness that he is not afraid of stigmatizing the Latin he editors who omitted it as falsifiers. ...The Prologue existed as early as the middle of the sixth century, that is, only one hundred and fifty years after the redaction of the Vulgate, and from that date, as in all MSS of the following centuries, it was attributed to St. Jerome. It may, indeed, be his [Jerome's] work. [PAGE 474]...In any case the author [of the prologue], as we have said, is undoubtedly a very ancient one; and if he be not St. Jerome he is about coëval [contemporary] with him, since the Prologue was already attributed to him as early as 550 AD, not only by the Codex Fuldensis, but by its promoter, Victor of Capua. (Lamy, "The Decision of the Holy Office on the 'Comma Joanneum'" in American Ecclesiastical Review, 1897, p. 472-474)

- **Victor of Capua (Victor Capuanus) was a sixth-century bishop of Capua, in Italy.** About his life nothing is known except what is found in his epitaph (C.I.L., 4503), which has been preserved, though the tomb itself has disappeared. This inscription simply states that his episcopate of thirteen years ended in April, 554. The authenticity of the inscription and its chronological data admit of no doubt. Victor is commemorated in the Roman Martyrology on 17 October, as "conspicuous for his erudition and piety (or holiness)" (Latin: eruditione et sanctitate conspicuus). His original writings, preserved only in fragments, show him to have been a devoted student and a man of wide and varied learning. His best-known work is the Codex Fuldensis, one of the most ancient manuscripts of the Vulgate, prepared under his direction, and which he himself revised and corrected. In this codex the place of the Four Gospels is taken by a harmony of the Gospels, or as he himself terms it in the preface, a single Gospel composed from the four. Victor was not certain that the harmony he used was identical with the Diatessaron of Tatian. The discovery of the text of the latter work and recent investigation have made it clear that this Latin harmony used by Victor was drawn up about A.D. 500. The anonymous author of this work simply substituted the Latin of St. Jerome's Vulgate for the Greek of Tatian, and at times changed the order or inserted additional passages. Many of the discrepancies may be due however to subsequent changes. (Victor of Capua. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Victor_of_Capua>)

- [Burgess] The author of the Prologue answers for the absence of the verse from some Latin copies, that is, from such as were in his possession, or were known to him. He asserts also, that it was extant in the Greek, -- in some Greek copies at the least. If his authority be valid for the Latin copies, is it not equally so for the Greek? No, says the Reviewer. "We think not." Little could in general be known of Greek manuscripts, compared with what we know of Latin manuscripts," (p. 338.) But the question of fact here does not depend on the comparative number of Greek and Latin MSS. but on the competency of the voucher. And that will depend on the evidence we have of his antiquity. He could not have been later than the eighth century, because there are MSS. of that age which contain the Prologue. If, then, he was a contemporary of Alcuin in the eighth century, or of Bede in the seventh and eighth, or was the friend and contemporary of Cassiodorus in the sixth, the Latin Church was in no want of Greek MSS. in those periods. But Erasmus, Socinus, and Sir Isaac Newton ascribe the Prologue to Jerome; and Dorhout contends that it is his, from the style and spirit in which it is written. Mill allows, "For it is granted that in the Prologue's way of speaking [style] is a spirit and temper [stomach] that I know not to be unlike Jerome; and in the reasoning as well there is nothing which is unworthy of Jerome." (Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence 17 February 2020) (Latin: Licet enim in Prologi dictione sit spiritus et stomachi nescio quid,

The Witness of God is Greater

Hieronymiano non absimile; etiam et in argumento non nihil, Hieronymo non indignum [Mill & Burgess, Annotations, 1822, p. 20]) If then the Prologue be Jerome's, and even if, as Sir Isaac Newton contends, he first inserted the verse in the Latin Version, we know, that Jerome was in no want of Greek MSS. and that it was his professed object to correct the Latin by the Greek. Here, then, we might make our stand, if Mill did not take us still higher. But, even on this ground, if the verse was known to the fourth century, we have Dr. Bentley's authority that it ought to be considered as the authentic text of St. John. But, as I said, Mill carries the argument still higher. For, in the passage before quoted he says, that the testimonies of Tertullian and Cyprian, who quoted the seventh verse from the ancient Latin version, would be abundantly sufficient to prove its authenticity. (Burgess, A Vindication of 1 John, V. 7. from the Objections of M. Griesbach, 1823, 2nd edition, p. 47-48)

- **John Mill (c. 1645 – 23 June 1707) was an English theologian.**[1] **Mill is noted for his critical edition of the Greek New Testament which included notes on over thirty-thousand variant readings in the manuscripts of the New Testament.**[2] Mill's *Novum testamentum græcum, cum lectionibus variantibus MSS. exemplarium, versionum, editionum SS. patrum et scriptorum ecclesiasticorum, et in easdem nolis* (Oxford, fol. 1707) was undertaken with the encouragement of John Fell, his predecessor in the field of New Testament criticism; it took thirty years to complete and was a great advance on previous scholarship. The text is that of Robertus Stephanus (1550), but the notes, besides including all previously existing collections of various readings, add a vast number derived from his own examination of many new manuscripts, and Oriental versions (the latter unfortunately he used only in the Latin translations). Though the amount of information given by Mill is small compared with that in modern editions, it is probable that no one, except perhaps Tischendorf, has added so much material for the work of textual criticism. He was the first to notice the value of the concurrence of the Latin evidence with the Codex Alexandrinus, the only representative of an ancient non-Western Greek text then sufficiently known; this hint was not lost on Bentley. Mill's work noted over 30,000 discrepancies between some 100 extant New Testament manuscripts. His work was attacked by Daniel Whitby and Anthony Collins. Whitby's *Examen* claimed that Mill had destroyed the validity of the text; Collins received a reply from Bentley (*Phileleutherus lipsiensis*). Bentley defended Mill noting essentially that Mill was not responsible for the differences between the various manuscripts, he only pointed them out. Bentley further noted that Christendom had indeed survived despite the errors, essentially asserting that Whitby's attacks were unfounded. (John Mill (theologian). Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Mill_(theologian)>)

- **[Dolman] Everyone who has read anything of this discussion knows how important a place is held by a certain Prologue to the Canonical Epistles, commonly ascribed to St. Jerome.** The writer of that Prologue finds fault with certain unfaithful transcribers for omitting the verse containing the testimony of the Heavenly Witnesses. If it were but certain that this preface came from the pen of St. Jerome, there would be an end to the discussion ; or, rather, the discussion would never have had a beginning. All we know of the preface is this—that it was found in almost all the Latin Bibles from the ninth century downwards, with or without St. Jerome's name attached. Père Simon was the first to question the authenticity of the Prologue, and, finally, the Benedictine editors of St. Jerome added weighty reasons for denying it to be St Jerome's. Since their time the preface has been commonly rejected by critics, and looked upon as an impudent forgery of the ninth century. Thus, one of our strongest witnesses was discredited and driven out of court, to the great injury of the cause. Now, of late years fresh evidence has been adduced, which tends to prove that the critics were too hasty, and that in all probability the Prologue is the genuine work of St. Jerome. At Fulda there is an old Latin New Testament manuscript which bears an eventful history. It has long been [PAGE 429] treasured for centuries among the relics of St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, for it bears an old inscription, saying: "St. Boniface used this book as long as he lived" (Latin: Sanctus Bonifacius praesenti libro functus est dum vixit). St. James Epistle has a marginal gloss, written by an Anglo-Saxon hand, probably, Dr. Ranke thinks, by St. Boniface himself. But the age of this interesting MS is far greater than the time of St. Boniface. Happily, its date is not a matter of conjecture, for at the end of the Acts there is found the following inscription: "Victor servant of Christ and by grace Bishop of Capua read 2nd May AD 546" (Victor Famulus xpi...) This [colophon] being interpreted by the learned Editor [Ranke], means that Victor, Bishop of Capua, read or corrected this MS in the year five hundred and forty-six. Immediately following this note we find the Prologue to the Canonical Epistles. St. Jerome's name is not found, but the name of Eustochium sufficiently denotes who was the writer. Here, then we have the most important fact - the disputed Prologue, the cast-off forgery [PAGE 430] of the ninth century,

The Witness of God is Greater

is contained in a MS. written a little more than a century after St. Jerome's death. It is not improbable that the MS. is even older, and that the above date only records the time when the Bishop of Capua corrected the text and prefixed his own preface about the Ammonian sections (See: <www.newadvent.org/cathen/01431a.htm>). The scribe who copied the text copied also the Prologue, which must have stood in his exemplar. ...the Bishop of Capua, who ends the preface which he himself wrote with these words: "Prove all things as would the Apostle, pursuing that which is good." (Omnia probemus secundum apostolum et quae sunt bona sectemur). It is, then, quite clear that, proving all things, Victor of Capua, in 546, approved the Prologue to the Canonical Epistles as the genuine work of him whose name is inseparably linked with that of St. Eustochium. ...We have, then, to thank Dr. Ranke, the learned [PAGE 431] Editor of the "Codex Fuldensis," for making known the fact that the much disputed Prologue is no forgery of the ninth century, but in all probability the genuine work of St. Jerome, read and approved as such by Victor of Capua in 546. (Dolman, "Recent Evidence in Support of 1 John v. 7", 1882, p. 430-431)

• In the "Prologue to the Canonical Epistles," we find a testimony of no small importance. **The "Prologue" is of great antiquity. It is ascribed to St. Jerome by the most learned men, who have bestowed pains in investigating the matter: such as Erasmus, Le Clerc, Sir Isaac Newton, and I may add Bishop Burgess. Mill, and Dorhout have, perhaps, made it out to be the work of St. Jerome, as clearly as a case of this kind can be made out.** They have argued from the style and spirit of the work, and from the testimony of early writers. Walafrid Strabo, an illustrious scholar, from the school of Bede and Alcuin, and a very eminent writer of the ninth century, wrote a comment on the "Prologue of St. Jerome," and speaks of it as a thing well known to the learned as the work of St. Jerome. And Bengel (Apparat. Critic. sect. 23.) says, "Not only Nicolus Lyra, but also Walafrid commented on the prologue" (Latin: Neque enim Nicolaus Lyranus solum, sed etiam Walafridus in Prologum commentatur). And Schmidius (Hist. Canon. Veter. et Nov. Test. p. 557.) writes thus of the Prologue: "On which, as on an ancient work, Walafrid in the ninth century, writes a commentary" (Latin: In quam tanquam vetustam ineunte seculo nono Walafridus jam commentatur). The author of this "Prologue," according to Mill, lived in the seventh century; or, according to Bengel, in the sixth century. But according to Walafrid, and Erasmus, Le Clerc and Sir Isaac Newton, the author of it was no other than St. Jerome: who lived in the fourth century. Now from this very ancient document (the authenticity of which has never been questioned by the learned), I offer the following testimony. St. Jerome having lamented that the Latin translators and transcribers had not followed the Greek original copies, he singles out as an illustration, their presumptuous leaving out of the text of the heavenly witnesses. "Illo praecipuo loco ubi de unitate Trinitatis in prima epistola Johannis," &c. "Especially in that place where we read the passage concerning the unity of Trinity in the first epistle of John. In which we perceive that a great error from the verity of the faith has been committed, even by unfaithful translators; who have put in their edition only the three words, the water, the blood, and the Spirit; and have omitted the Father, the Word, and the Spirit." "Trium tantummolo vocabula, hoc est, aquae, sanguinis, et Spiritus, in ipsa sua editione ponentibus, et Patris, Verbi, et Spiritus omittentibus." "By which text," St. Jerome adds, "the Catholic faith is in the greatest degree strengthened; and the one substance of the deity of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is established." This testimony is decisive in proving the following points. 1. That it is a fact that at this early period, there were in existence Latin manuscripts, and Greek manuscripts; some of which did not contain the text of the heavenly witnesses, and some of which did contain it. 2. That the text of the heavenly witnesses was well known as a genuine passage of scripture, although it was omitted in some codices. 3. That those codices which did not contain this verse, were pronounced to be not the most correct; inasmuch as they had suffered, in the omission of this verse, from unfaithful transcribers and translators. 4. That the testimony of this very ancient writer is as decisive as to the fact that Greek MSS. contained our verse; as to the fact that some Latin MSS. had not our verse. I call it equally decisive, because he asserts the one as plainly and distinctly as he does the other. Hence there is a radical defect in the mode of argument pursued by the learned Professor Porson, and by the bishop of Peterborough; who have adduced this very passage of the writer of the "Prologue," to show their readers that our text was not, at that early period, in the Latin MSS. They seem not to be aware that they take only the one half of an entire testimony; and that half only which suited their views. Burgess had noticed and exposed this incongruity: and his reviewers, as our readers will be justly astonished to find, have actually taken the same ground. That is, when St. Jerome complains that unfaithful translators had not rendered this text into the Latin, but had omitted it; and that unfaithful transcribers had omitted it in copying, he is not to be understood as intimating that the text must have been in the original codices which these unfaithful men were translating: but he is only intimating that the text is wanting in the Latin copies, out of which they had omitted—that which stood before them in the Greek! That

The Witness of God is Greater

is, these men omit a verse in a translation from Greek to Latin. ...”If Jerome's authority be valid for the omission in the Latin, it must be equally so for the existence of it in the Greek,” says Burgess. ”No,” say the Quarterly Reviewers, ”we do not think so.” And pray why? ”We do not think so, because little could be known of Greek MSS. compared with what we know of Latin MSS.” Most logical conclusion of the profound Quarterly Reviewers! ”Because we” - they do not say Jerome or the ancients — but ”because we know more of Latin MSS.” therefore little could then be known of Greek MSS. by Jerome, or other learned men. ”Because we know little of Greek MSS. in comparison with Latin MSS. in present times,” therefore, little was known of Greek MSS. some twelve or fourteen hundred years ago! The reply of Burgess to this stupidity is very just. ”The question of fact does not depend on the comparative number of Greek and Latin MSS., but on the competency of the voucher.” And that competency depends on his character and antiquity: and of these the learned have admitted that there is the most satisfactory evidence. (Brownlee, ”Gleanings and Hints Towards an Argument for the Authenticity of John v. 7,” The Christian Advocate, vol 3, 1825, 300-306.)

Transcription:

f433r.028 EXP· ACTUS APOSTOLORUM
f433r.029 INC· EPISTULAE CANONICE
f433r.030 INC· PROLOGUS
f433v.001 Non ita ordo est apud grae
f433v.002 cos qui integre sapiunt
f433v.003 et fidem rectam sectan
f433v.004 tur· Epistularum septem
f433v.005 quae canonicae nuncu
f433v.006 pantur ut in latinis codicibus
f433v.007 invenitur quod petrus
f433v.008 primus est in numero
f433v.009 apostolorum primae sint
f433v.010 etiam eius epistulae in ordine
f433v.011 ceterarum· Sed sicut euan
f433v.012 gelistas dudum ad uerita
f433v.013 tis lineam correximus
f433v.014 ita has proprio ordine deo
f433v.015 nos iuuante reddidimus
f433v.016 Est enim prima earum
f433v.017 una iacobi· petri duae
f433v.018 iohannis tres· et iudae una
f433v.019 Quae si ut ab eis digestae sunt
f433v.020 ita quoque ab interpretaetibus
f433v.021 fideliter in latinum elo
f433v.022 quium uerterentur
f433v.023 nec ambiguitatem legen
f433v.024 tibus facerent nec ser
f433v.025 monum se uarietas in
f433v.026 pugnaret· illo praeci
f433v.027 pue loco ubi de unitate
f433v.028 trinitatis in prima iohan
f433v.029 nis epistula positum le
f433v.030 gimus in qua est ab infide
f433v.031 libus translatoribus mul
f433v.032 tum erratum esse fidei
f433v.033 ueritate conperimus
f433v.034 trium tantummodo voca
f433v.035 bula hoc est aquae sanguinis

The Witness of God is Greater

f434r.001 et spiritus in ipsa sua editione
f434r.002 potentes* et patris verbi
f434r.003 que ac spiritus testimonium
f434r.004 omittentes· In quo
f434r.005 maxime et fides catholi
f434r.006 ca roboratur et patris
f434r.007 et filii et spiritus sancti una diui
f434r.008 nitatis substantia con
f434r.009 probatur· In ceteris ue
f434r.010 ro epistulis quantum
f434r.011 nostra aliorum distet
f434r.012 editio lectoris pruden
f434r.013 tiae derelinquo· Sed tu
f434r.014 uirgo christi eustochium
f434r.015 dum a me inpensius
f434r.016 scriburae ueritatem
f434r.017 inquiris meam quodam
f434r.018 modo senectutem inui
f434r.019 dorum dentibus conro
f434r.020 dendam exponis qui me
f434r.021 falsarium corruptorem
f434r.022 que sanctarum pronuntiant
f434r.023 scriburarum· Sed ego
f434r.024 in tali opere nec aemu
f434r.025 lorum meorum inuiden
f434r.026 tiam pertimesco nec sanctae
f434r.027 scriburae ueritatem
f434r.028 poscentibus denegabo
• Transcribed by Sarah Van der Pas, February 2022

- f433r : Image 869 <fuldig.hs-fulda.de/viewer/object/PPN325289808/869/>
- f433v : Image 870 <fuldig.hs-fulda.de/viewer/object/PPN325289808/870/>
- f434r : Image 871 <fuldig.hs-fulda.de/viewer/object/PPN325289808/871/>

Comment:

- *A scribe's mistake for ponentes. (Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, February 2022)

HIT:

- End of the Acts of the Apostles; Here begin the Catholic Epistles; Here begins the prologue
- The order of the seven Epistles, which are named Canonical, as is found in Latin books is not thus among the Greeks who believe rightly and follow the correct faith. For as Peter is first in the order of the Apostles, first also are his Epistles in the order of the others. But as we have just now corrected the Evangelists to the line of truth, so we have restored, with God helping, these to their proper order. For the first of them is one of James, two of Peter, three of John, and one of Jude. If they were faithfully translated into Latin in the same order as they were arranged by their authors, the epistles would not cause ambiguity for readers and the variety of discourse would not contradict itself, especially in that place where we read what is put down about the oneness of the Trinity in the First Epistle of John. In which we find many things to be mistaken of the truth of the faith by the unfaithful translators, who put down in their own edition only three words, that is, Water, Blood, and Spirit, and who omit the witness of the Father and Word and Spirit, by which both the Catholic faith is greatly strengthened and also the one substance of the Divinity of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit is proved. Indeed, in

The Witness of God is Greater

the other Epistles, I leave to the judgment of the reader how much the edition of the others differs from ours. But you, O virgin of Christ Eustochium, while you zealously seek from me the truth of Scripture, you expose my old age, as it were, to the devouring teeth of the envious, who call me a falsifier and corrupter of the Holy Scriptures. But I, in such a work, am afraid of neither the envy of my rivals, nor will I refuse those requesting the truth of Holy Scripture. (Translation corrected by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, February 2022)

- **Latin:** Non ita ordo est apud graecos qui integre sapiunt et fidem rectam sectantur. Epistularum septem quae canonicae nuncupantur. ut in latinis codicibus inuenitur quod petrus primus est in numero apostolorum primae sint etiam eius 5 epistulae in ordine ceterarum. Sed sicut euangelistas dudum ad ueritatis lineam correximus ita has proprio ordine deo nos iuuante reddidimus Est enim prima earum una iacobi. petri duae iohannis tres. et iudae una 10 Quae si ut ab eis digestae sunt ita quoque ab inter praetibus fideliter in latinum eloquium uerterentur nec ambiguitatem legentibus facerent nec sermonum seu arietas inpugnaret. illo praecipue loco ubi de unitate trinitatis in prima iohannis epistula positum legimus in qua est ab infidelibus 15 translatoribus multum erratum esse fidei ueritate conperimus trium tantummodo uocabula hoc est aquae sanguinis et spiritus in ipsa sua editione potentes **et patri uerbique ac spiritus testimonium omittentes** » In quo maxime et fides catholica roboratur et patris et filii et spiritus sancti una diuinitatis 20 substantia conprobatur. In ceteris uero epistulis quantum nostra aliorum distet editio lectoris prudentiae derelinquo. Sed tu uirgo christi eustochium dum a me impensius scribaturae ueritatem inquiris meam quodammodo senectutem inuidorum dentibus conrodendam exponis qui me falsarium corruptorem²⁵ quae sanctarum pronuntiant scribaturarum. Sed ego in tali opere nec aemulorum meorum inuidiam pertimesco nec sanctae scribaturae ueritatem poscentibus denegabo. (Ernst Constantin Ranke, Codex Fuldensis. Novum Testamentum Latine, interprete Hieronymo, ex manuscripto Victoris Capuani edidit, prolegomenis introduxit, commentariis adornauit E. Ranke, etc. 1868, p. 398-399)

Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus (450-519 AD) : Contra Arrianos

• Alcimus Ecdicius^[3] Avitus (c. 450 – February 5, 517/518 or 519) was a Latin poet and bishop of Vienne in Gaul. His fame rests in part on his poetry, but also on the role he played as secretary for the Burgundian kings. Avitus was born of a prominent Gallo-Roman senatorial family related to Emperor Avitus. His father was Hesychius, bishop of Vienne,^[5] where episcopal honors were informally hereditary.^[6] His paternal grandfather was a western Roman emperor whose precise identity is not known. Apollinaris of Valence was his younger brother;^[7] their sister Fuscina became a nun.^[6] Avitus was probably born at Vienne, for he was baptized by bishop Mamertus.^[8] About 490 he was ordained bishop of Vienne. In 499 Vienne was captured by Gundobad, king of the Burgundians, who was at war with Clovis, king of the Franks, where he came to the attention of that king. Avitus, as metropolitan of southern and eastern Gaul, took the lead in a conference between the Catholic and Arian bishops held in presence of Gundobad at Sardiniacum near Lyons.^[9] He won the confidence of King Gundobad, and converted his son, King Sigismund to Catholicism. A letter of Pope Hormisdas to Avitus^[10] records that he was made vicar apostolic in Gaul by that pontiff; and in 517 he presided in this capacity at the Council of Epaon [Synod of Epaone] for restoring ecclesiastical discipline in Gallia Narbonensis. Avitus appears also to have exerted himself to terminate the dispute between the churches of Rome and Constantinople which arose out of the excommunication of Acacius; we gather from his later letters that this was accomplished before his death.^[11] Upon his death, Avitus was buried in the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul at Vienne.

• The literary fame of Avitus rests on his many surviving letters (his recent editors make them ninety-six in all)^[12] and on a long poem, Poematum de Mosaicae historiae gestis (also known as De spiritualis historiae gestis), in classical hexameters, in five books, dealing with the Biblical themes of original sin, expulsion from Paradise, the Deluge, and the Crossing of the Red Sea. The first three books offer a certain dramatic unity; in them are told the preliminaries of the great disaster, the catastrophe itself, and the consequences. The fourth and fifth books deal with the Deluge and the Crossing of the Red Sea as symbols of baptism. **Avitus deals freely and familiarly with the Scriptural events, and exhibits well their beauty, sequence, and significance. He is one of the last masters of the art of rhetoric as taught in the schools of Gaul in the**

The Witness of God is Greater

4th and 5th centuries. His poetic diction, though abounding in archaisms and rhythmic redundancy, is pure and select, and the laws of metre are well observed. Writing in the Catholic Encyclopedia, Thomas Joseph Shahan says "that Milton made use of his paraphrase of Scripture in writing Paradise Lost." [6] Avitus also wrote a poem for his sister Fuscina, a nun, "De consolatoriâ castitatis laude". There was once extant a collection of his homilies and sermons, but they have all perished except for two, and some fragments and excerpts from others.

- The letters of Avitus are of considerable importance for the ecclesiastical and political history of the years between 499 and 518. Like his contemporary, Ennodius of Pavia, he was strenuous in his assertion of the authority of the Apostolic See as the chief bulwark of religious unity and the incipient Christian civilization. "If the pope," he says, "is rejected, it follows that not one bishop, the whole episcopate threatens to fall" (Si papa urbis vocatur in dubium, episcopatus videbitur, non episcopus, vacillare. — Ep. xxxiv; ed. Peiper). **His letters are also among the important primary sources of early Merovingian political, ecclesiastical, and social history. Among them is a famous letter to Clovis on the occasion of his baptism.** Avitus addresses Clovis not as if he was a pagan convert, but as if he was a recent Arian sympathiser, possibly even a catechumen. [13] The letters document the close relations between the Catholic Bishop of Vienne and the Arian king of the Burgundians, the great Gundobad, and his son, the Catholic convert Sigismund.

- Avitus of Vienne. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Avitus_of_Vienne>.

- [Wood] **Avitus' theology was very much in tune with the orthodoxy which was being established in his own day. In the ninth century he was excerpted alongside such figures as Cyprian, Hilary, Ambrose, Pope Leo, Fulgentius, Paulinus of Nola and Augustine, hence the survival of fragments of the 'Treatise against the Arians' (Contra Arrianos) and other of his theological works. He was praised by Flows of Lyons and by Ado of Vienne for his faith, industry, doctrine and erudition.** This, however, marked the highpoint of his theological reputation. His use of the term assumptus ('adopted'), seems already to have been taken by Felix of Urguel as support for his own adoptionist theology, and this unwanted attention may have been a factor leading to the neglect of Avitus' theological writings, and as a result to their survival in no more than excerpted fragments — leaving his ever-popular versification of the opening books of the Old Testament as the surest guide to his theological position. (Wood, p. 13)

HITS:

- **When there seems to be a hint of plurality in divinity it should not be understood as duality, but as the Trinity, as in the tale of the destruction of Sodom (Gen. 18.1-3): 'And the Lord appeared unto him (= Abraham) ... and he sat in the tent door in the heat of the day; And he lift up his eyes and looked, and, lo, three men stood by him: and when he saw them, he ran to meet them ... and bowed himself towards the ground, and said, my Lord, if now I have found favour in thy sight, pass not away!' Clearly none of the three was better-dressed or taller. Yet Abraham, because he understood the sacrament of undivided divinity, prayed to the three by one name, because there are three persons in one, yet one substance in the Trinity.** The apostle said about it (sc. the Trinity) (Eph. 4.5), 'One Lord, one faith, one baptism'. Who would dare to disagree with the chosen vessel and confuse that unity with plurality? For Paul knew that the Holy Spirit rules with the Father and the Son, and he consecrated our bodies to it as if they were its home, when he said (1 Cor. 3.16), 'Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit dwelleth in you?' What more forceful testimony ever to prove the Holy Spirit to be God than [this] — that we are its dwelling-place and that God dwells in us? But Paul has long owed the belief [we accord him] to [his] divine calling. For in the Acts of the Apostles is written (Acts 13:2): 'As they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, "Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them:" His vocation, in my opinion, was spontaneous, not the result of the command of a superior. He asked [them] to be set aside for himself; He says that they are taken on by Him. It is God beyond a doubt who inspires, chooses, or sends forth apostles. Yet nonetheless the self-same Paul, even though in different places' he at one time or another teaches that the Father, Son, or Holy Ghost is God, sums up the high point of faith in the definition I mentioned earlier (Eph. 4.5), 'One Lord, one faith, one baptism'. Thus just as we cannot speak of two baptisms, or of two faiths, so likewise we cannot speak of two Gods. Pagans are eager to

The Witness of God is Greater

name [multiple] gods; the Jew believes that he is washed clean of sins by frequent baths, but neither Truth nor good Latinity permits 'faiths' in the plural, as if there could be many of them. There is one Lord: we do not divide [him]; one faith: we do not rend [it]; one baptism: we do not repeat [it]. We preserve its (sc. baptism's) honour, even when we take in Bonosiacs and other heretics, provided that they state that they have been baptised in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.³ What they did right to admit we receive and preserve; what they believed in error we heal by blessing, and what had been diminished when its name was omitted is supplied once belief has been reinforced. (Avitus, *Contra Arrianos*, 18)

- **Latin: Vbi plurale aliquid in divinitate subresonat, non dualitas videtur intellegenda, sed trinitas, sicut in ipso Sodomiticae urbis refertur exitio. Apparuit, inquit, dominus Abrahae sedenti in ostio tabernaculi in ipso fervore diei: cumque levasset oculos, apparuerunt ei tres viri; quos cum vidisset, cucurrit in occursum eorum et adoravit in terram et dixit: Domine, si inveni gratiam in oculis tuis, ne transeas servum tuum. Certe non in aliquo horum trium aut cultior habitus aut eminentior forma praestabat. Et tamen Abraham sacramentum indivisae divinitatis intellegens uno nomine tres precatur, quia trina in unitate persona et una est in trinitate substantia. De qua et apostolus dicit: Vnus deus, una fides, unum baptisma.** Quis praesumat contra vas electionis unitatem istam pluralitate confundere? Noverat namque cum patre vel filio dominari spiritum sanctum, cui quasi domum corpora nostia sacrabat dicens: Nescitis quia templum dei estis et spiritus dei habitat in vobis? Quo umquam magis testimonio deus probabitur spiritus sanctus, quam quod habitaculum ipsius sumus et deus habitat in nobis. Sed iam dudum huiusmodi credulitatem divinae vocationi Paulus debebat. Sic quippe in apostolorum actibus scribitur: Deservientibus autem illis et ieiunantibus dixit spiritus sanctus: Sequesterate mihi Paulum et Barnabam ad opus, ad quod vocavi eos. Non ex superioris praecepto, sed spontanea est, ut opinor, ista vocatio. Sibi sequestrari praecipit, sibi dicit adsumi. Deus est sine ambiguo, qui inspirat, eligit vel mittit apostolos. Et tamen idem sanctus Paulus, cum distincte aliquotiens patrem, filium vel spiritum sanctum dominum esse doceat, fidei culmen ea qua supra dixi definitione consummat: Vnus dominus, una fides, unum baptisma. Sic ergo non possumus duos deos sicut nec duas fides nec duo baptismata dicere. Deos nominare gentilitas appetit, crebro se lavacro a peccatis ablui Iudaeus credit, fides plurali numero quasi multas dici veritas prohibet nec Latinitas sinit. Vnus dominus est, non dividimus: una fides, non scindimus: unum baptisma, non iteramus. Cui honorem suum etiam in Bonosiacorum aliorumque receptione servantes si se in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti baptizatos esse respondeant, quod bene confessi sunt, servando recipimus, quod perperam crediderant, benedicendo sanamus et quod minus fuerat nominatione praemissa, suppletur credulitate firmata. (Avitus, *Contra Arrianos*, 18; Peiper, *Alcimi Ecdicii Aviti, Viennensis episcopi Opera quae supersunt*, 1883, p. 18)

Caesarius of Arles (468-542 AD)

• Caesarius of Arles (Latin: Caesarius Arelatensis; 468/470 – 27 August 542 AD), sometimes called "of Chalons" (Cabillonensis or Cabellinensis) from his birthplace Chalons-sur-Saône, was the foremost ecclesiastic of his generation in Merovingian Gaul.^{[1][2][3]} Caesarius is considered to be of the last generation of church leaders of Gaul that worked to promote large-scale ascetic elements into the Western Christian tradition.^[2] William E. Klinghohn's study of Caesarius depicts Caesarius as having the reputation of a "popular preacher of great fervour and enduring influence".^[4] Among those who exercised the greatest influence on Caesarius were Augustine of Hippo, Julianus Pomerius, and John Cassian. ...At the time of his birth, Germanic kings de facto governed Burgundy despite nominal Roman administration. Caesarius left home at seventeen and studied under Bishop Sylvester for a few years. Afterwards, he found his way to Lérins (Lerinum), an island monastery, which was known to be a major dynamo for creative forces of work in the Church of Roman Gaul.^[5] After training as a monk at Lérins he devoted himself to reading and applying the scripture in hopes of improving the quality and organization of Christian life and serving the poor. He rapidly became master of all the learning and discipline the monastery communicated and was appointed cellarer. ...At the death of Aeonius the clergy, citizens,

The Witness of God is Greater

and persons in authority proceeded, as Aeonius himself had suggested, to elect Caesarius to the vacant seat... Caesarius was consecrated in 502, being probably about 33 years of age. In the fulfilment of his new duties he was courageous and unworldly, but yet exhibited great power of kindly adaptation. ...The most important local council over which Caesarius presided was that of Orange (529). Its statements on the subject of grace and free agency have been eulogized by modern historians (see, e.g., Canon Bright, Church History, ch. xi. ad fin.). ...As a preacher, Caesarius displayed great knowledge of Scripture, and was eminently practical in his exhortations. (Caesarius of Arles. Wikipedia.

<en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caesarius_of_Arles>

• **[Marie Eugenie Lusby comments on "Breviarium adversus haereticos" by Caesarius]** After translating the "Breviarium adversus haereticos" of St. Caesarius, it is the opinion of this writer that the saint has taken a strong stand against the Arians who had given him so much difficulty in his own life-time. Anxious to keep his own flock from falling into heretical ideas, Caesarius carefully explains the doctrine of the Holy Trinity; then he enumerates the equality of operations of the Blessed Trinity, i.e., comforts, brings to life, chooses, creates, etc. Each time one of these operations is mentioned Caesarius is careful to say: "The Father performs this work, the Son performs this work, and the Holy Spirit performs this work." **Most of the writing on the Blessed Trinity has been borrowed from Pseudo-Itacius "Contra Varimadum", Bk. 3 (Migne 62-434) and perhaps from Victor Vitensis "Histor. Persecut. Afric. prov.", Bk. 2, 84.** (Marie Eugenie Lusby, "Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis Breviarium adversus haereticos", 1958, p. 77)

• **[Dorenkemper comments on "Breviarium Adversus Haereticos" by Caesarius]** St. Caesarius divides his "Breviarium Adversus Haereticos" [The Brief Against Heretics] into three parts; 1) The unity of substance of the Father and the Son and [PAGE 199] the sequels of this; 2) The divinity of the Holy Spirit; 3) The unity of operation between all three Persons. He owes **this division to Bishop Ithacius' only extant work, the "Contra Varimadum Arianum," where one finds the identical division.** The most significant dependence here one finds the identical division [See: Contra Varimadum, Book 1 "Quod Filius sit unums Deus com Patre"; Book 2 "Quod Spiritus Sanctus sit unus Deus cum Patre;" Book 3 "De Unitate Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti": Migne Latina, PL 62, 353-434]. The most significant dependence on this work, however, is a long series of diverse operations common to the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. This enumeration, which takes up the last part of the Breviarium, is a very close imitation of that contained in the Contra Varimadum. The very slight changes Caesarius makes are almost always merely a matter of choosing a different scriptural text to demonstrate the unity of operation. There are a few other indications of dependence which manifest the importance of the Contra Varimadum as a source for the Trinitarian doctrine of the Archbishop of Arles. [PAGE 200] Ithacius also furnishes the Archbishop of Arles with the refutation of the Arian argument that the Son is seen to be less than the Father in that Scripture names and Father first. The refutation is very simple because the supposition of the Arians is false. Scripture often reverses this order and mentions the Son first and then the Father. Caesarius improves on Ithacius' reply somewhat by pointing out that even if Scripture were always to mention the Father in the first place, this would be the becoming order, for it is the Son who precedes from the Father and not the Father from the Son [See: Contra Varimadum I, 49; Migne Latina, PL62, 384]. (Dorenkemper, The Trinitarian Doctrine and Sources of St. Caesarius of Arles, 1953, p. 198, 199, 200)

• **[G. Morin comments on the "Breviarium Adversus Haereticos" by Caesarius]** From here to about the middle of column 670 comes a whole series, imitated from Itacius (Contra Varimadum Arianum, book 3; Migne Latina, PL 62, 414-434), of the various operations common to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Each paragraph begins almost in the same way as the analogous formulas of the so-called symbol of Athanasius; for example "Just as the Father saves, so does the Son, and so does the Holy Spirit ... The Father chooses, so does the Son, and so does the Holy Spirit ... The Father is strong, the Son is strong, and the Holy Spirit is strong". And so on, each of the assertions being proven with the help of texts from Scripture. The whole thing ends (col. 670-672) with a rebuttal and energetic condemnation of the renaming carried out by the Arians: "For heretics also are wont to say regarding baptism that their baptism is better than ours... They should be asked... why are they so presumptuous baptizin in the same manner as we?... But it is certain that they also so baptize... But they state their faith badly since in a carnal way they make degrees in divinity, not fearing that which the Lord has said... whoever is wise knows that not without reason has this been said... and his soul is punished by everlasting death... And bread as we all know... he destroys its original dignity and turns into the blackness..." (Migne Latina, PL 13.669-671; Latin Translated by Marie Eugenie Lusby, Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis Breviarium adversus

The Witness of God is Greater

haereticos, 1958, p. 76-77) [PAGE 46] The last lines are absolutely Cesarean, as we will see later. Obviously, each of these expressions, taken in itself and in isolation, cannot provide a sufficient indication of identity; What is significant is their incessant return, and the fact that they are also found frequently in the writings of the Bishop of Arles which I have been able to group together so far. Then, we must consider the whole: this vivacity of language and argumentation which almost does not give the opponent time to breathe, "this practical and direct turn which makes the exhortations of Césaire so alive" (fn. #1: P. Lejay, *Le rôle théologique de Césaire d'Arles*, p. 12) However, if the result of my investigation had been limited to communicating it to the public. But there is something else: in the context of this discussion against Arianism, we come across a whole series of passages which remind so strikingly of certain parallel places in *De Trinitate*, that the question inevitably arises: how to explain this set of coincidences between the two writings? I will confine myself here to a small number of those which impressed me the most, designating by B the *Breviarium fidei*, by T the *De mysterio sanctae Trinitatis*. [PAGE 50] Besides, we can already see in Victor de Vite (fn. #2: *Historia persecutionis Africanae provinciae*, lib. 1, 19 (al. I, 6). This other source has been pointed out, as I have said, by the Ballerini; the corresponding place of the *Breviarium* is in Migne, XIII, 671-672.), a previous author for a few years, the martyr Sébastien alleging to Geiserich against the renaming a similar comparison, drawn from the nature of bread, produced from flour aid of water and fire, a comparison which the author of the *Breviarium* has similarly benefited. Likewise, I have no difficulty in admitting that several of the meetings mentioned above can be explained by the use, on both sides, of one or more previous sources, not only of Fulgence, but also, as I said, Pelagian books on the Trinity, similar work by Itacius and "Liber fidei catholicae" (fn. #3: Victor de Vita brought it into *Histor. persecut. II*, 56-101. It is perhaps from him that the author of the *Breviarium* borrowed the passage on divine prescience Migne, XIII, 667C which he adds to the extracts made by him from the work of Itacius.) by Bishop Eugène de Carthage, who died in exile near Albi in 505, therefore at the beginning of the episcopate of Césaire. In general, these treatises of the fifth and sixth centuries on the Trinity are very similar in substance; we usually find there the same arguments developed almost in the same terms, with relatively few truly personal traits. Also, from the only resemblances between the *De Trinitate* and the *Breviarium Fidei* which were exposed above I would dare to draw as certain only this conclusion, that the two pamphlets must have been composed at the same time, against the same adversaries, and in an identical environment. (Morin, "Le *Breviarium fidei* contre les Ariens produit de l'atelier de Césaire d'Arles", 1939, 45-51)

HITS:

- **[Sermon 83 On the Three Men Who Appeared to Blessed Abraham (Gen. 18:2)]** (5) Now where did this happen?"Near the holm-oak of Mamre," (Cf. Gen 18:1) which in Latin is interpreted as "vision" or "discernment." Do you see what kind of a place it is in which the Lord can have a feast? The vision and discernment of Abraham delighted Him; he was clean of heart, so that he could see God. Therefore, in such a place and in such a heart the Lord can have His feast. Of this vision our Lord spoke to the Jews in the Gospel when He said: "Abraham rejoiced that he was to see my day. He saw it and was glad." (Jn 8:56) He saw my day, He says, because he recognized the mystery of the Trinity. He saw the Father as day, the Son as day, the Holy Ghost as day, and in these three one day. Thus, the Father is God, the Son is God, the Holy Ghost is God, **and these three are one God**. For individually each person is complete God, and all three together are one God. Moreover, because the unity of substance, in those three measures of flour the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost is not unfittingly understood. (Cf. Gen. 18:6) (Caesarius of Arles. *Sermons*, vol 2, No. 83, 1956, p. 14. Translated by Sister Mary Magdeleine Mueller.)
 - **Latin:** 5. Ubi tamen factum sit hoc? Ad ilicem Mambre, quod in latina lingua interpretatur visio, sive perspicacia. Vides qualis sit locus in quo Dominus potest habere convivium? Delectavit enim eum visio et perspicacia Abrahae. Erat enim mundus corde, ut posset Deum videre. In tali ergo loco, et in tali corde potest Dominus [Am. Er. et Mss.: Haec enim in via. Quid est via? Fides est.] habere convivium. De ista visione Dominus in Evangelio locutus est ad Iudaeos dicens: Abraham exsultavit ut videret diem meum; vidit et gavisus est [Ioan. VIII, 56]. Diem, inquit, meum vidit; quia mysterium Trinitatis agnovit. Vidit Patrem diem, Filium diem, Spiritum sanctum diem, et in his tribus unum diem: sicut et Pater Deus, et Filius Deus, et Spiritus sanctus Deus, **et hi tres unus Deus**. Nam et singulatim singulae quaeque personae plenus Deus, et totae tres simul unus Deus. Nam et illis tribus mensuris similaginis, propter unitatem substantiae

The Witness of God is Greater

non incongrue Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus intelligitur. Quod tamen et alio modo potest accipi, ut Saram intelligamus Ecclesiam, tres mensuras similitudinis, fidem, spem et charitatem. In his enim tribus virtutibus universae fructus continentur Ecclesiae. Qui haec tria in se meruerit habere, securus potest ad convivium cordis sui totam Trinitatem excipere. (Caesarius of Arles, Sermon on Scripture 83.5; CCSL 103, 1953, p. 342-343)

- **[Sermon 212 On the Mystery of the Holy Trinity, and the Divine Nature of the Holy Spirit]** (3) When God had appeared to Abraham at the door of his tent [Cf. Gen 18] and in a wonderful manner three persons presented themselves before his eyes, in those three men Abraham, conscious of their majesty, adored **one in the three**. (Caesarius of Arles. Sermons, vol 3, No. 212, 1956, p. 103. Translated by Sister Mary Magdeleine Mueller.)
 - **Latin:** 3. Cum Abrahae in hostio tabernaculi apparuisset deus, et tres eius se oculis mirabiliter obtulissent, **in tribus unum** conscius maiestatis adoravit. (Sermon 212, CCSL 104, 1953, p. 845)

Victor's Chronicon (d. 570) : Greek Translators of North Africa

- [Swete] A perusal of Victor's Chronicon (d. 570) will shew that at this period there were not a few African Churchmen qualified by their knowledge, zeal, and enforced leisure for the performance of this task. [fn. Among the names are those of Reparatus, Archbp. of Carthage, Felix, hegumenus of an African monastery, Theodorus, Bp. of Cabarsussita, and the Bp. Musicus, Brumasius, Donatus and Chrysonius. (cf. Migne Latina, PL 68.937)] (Swete, Theodori Episcopi Mopsuesteni in Epistolas B. Pauli commentarii, 1880, p. liv)
 - **Victor of Tunnuna** (in Latin Victor Tunnunensis) (died circa 570) was Bishop of the North African town of Tunnuna, a chronicler from Late Antiquity, and considered a martyr by Isidore of Seville.[1] What little information we have on his life is derived from entries in his own chronicle. Victor was a staunch supporter of the Three Chapters which had been condemned by Justinian's edict of 544, and on this account he was arrested. His first imprisonment was a monastery in Mandracium near Carthage, followed by exile to the Balearic Islands and finally transferred to Egypt to a monastery in Canopus.[2] In 564[3]/565[2] he and five other African bishops were summoned before Justin II and Patriarch Eutychius in Constantinople and ordered to submit to the Emperor's edict. When they refused to submit, they were imprisoned in different monasteries throughout Constantinople. Victor died about 569, most likely still confined at the monastery in Constantinople.[3] Victor is the fifth author and continuator of the chronicle, the Chronicon, started by Sextus Julius Africanus (c. 160 - 240), in the early third century was continued by Eusebius (c. 260/5 - 339/40) Jerome (c. 347 - 420), and Prosper of Aquitaine (c. 390 - 455), spanning from the creation of the world to the end of the year 566, which Victor wrote while in confinement.[2] Only the part extending from 444 to 566 is extant.[2] It is of great historical value, dealing chiefly with the Eutychian heresy, the controversy about the Three Chapters, and provides details concerning the Arians and the invasion of the Vandals. In general, church matters receive more attention than other issues in this chronicle. It was continued to 590 by John of Biclaro, founder of the Abbey of Biclar in Visigothic Hispania on the Iberian Peninsula, comprising modern Spain and Portugal and followed at greater length by Isidore of Seville through 616.[4] (Victor of Tunnuna. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Victor_of_Tunnuna>)

Facundus of Hermiane (circa 546-548 AD)

- Facundus of Hermiana was a 6th-century Christian author, and bishop of Hermiana in North Africa. About his career little is known. His place in history is due entirely to the opposition which he offered to the condemnation (by the edict of Justinian in 543 or 544) of the "Three Chapters" (writings of the fifth-century Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Ibas of Edessa). Facundus was in Constantinople when this censure was pronounced, and shortly after its publication he and several other western bishops refused to subscribe to the decree, alleging that it was an attack on the Council of Chalcedon, which had accepted at least the letter of Ibas to the Persian Maris. This document was especially aimed at the decree of the emperor. Facundus also drew up a memorial in protest, but was prevented from presenting it by the arrival of Pope Vigilius. The conduct of the pontiff and his acquiescence in the condemnation of the "Three Chapters" spurred

The Witness of God is Greater

Facundus to complete this work, which he entitled *Pro Defensione Trium Capitulorum*. It is not known when the work was completed nor when it was presented to the emperor, so that nothing can be said of its immediate effect on the controversy. After its publication Facundus was compelled to fly from Constantinople and find safety in concealment. Because of the attitude of Vigilius in acceding to the emperor's insistence that he subscribe to the censure of the "Three Chapters", Facundus and many African bishops cut themselves off from communion with him. This schism lasted for many years, and during that time Facundus wrote two other works at the request of his fellow-bishops, in response to reproaches of insubordination (*Liber contra Mocianum Scholasticum* and *Epistola Fidei Catholicae in defensione trium capitulorum*). (Facundus of Hermiane. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Facundus_of_Hermiane>)

HITS:

FIRST BOOK. (PL 67 0534C), Chapter 3. Which one of the Trinity suffered.

- 1. I do not believe that it is really reasonable to pass over in silence the existence of Catholics who, ignoring, in our opinion, that the aforementioned Synod confirmed this formula, are vainly opposed to it for a word, because they think that we should not say: "One of the Trinity" was "crucified for us", but rather: "A person of the Trinity".
- 2. It is therefore these that we should in the first place bring close to us so that they too, with us, hold this profession in which, contrary to most formulas, the cunning of the Nestorians cannot be concealed, and to avoid that, in their futile struggle for a word, they do not understand the substantive debate less well.
- 3. In fact, in thus asserting that the Lord Jesus Christ is a person of the Trinity, they do not deny that there is only one subsistence of God which exists by the union of natures, that is to say the union of divinity and humanity, since they say that it is the same who is and also man, and that he is not God in one way and man in another, but the two in the same way, that is, by nature; so it seems to me that they are fighting for a word.
- 4. This is what they demonstrate even in their language. In fact, they reason, if we say: "One of the Trinity has been crucified for us", and we are asked which one we are talking about, we cannot answer God or the Son, because there are not in the Trinity three Gods or three Sons of whom one can say that one was crucified; and for this reason we rightly say: "One person of the Trinity was crucified", since there are three persons in the Trinity, only one of whom is said to have been crucified.
- 5. Now this is not a rule of general expression, but only a particular law which they have created for their struggle. Indeed, it is not necessary, far from it, to understand that there are three Gods or Son, if one says: "One of the Trinity was crucified", to the point that it is written in Genesis: "Behold, Adam has become as one of us". (Gen 3:22)
- 6. Since, of course, we think that we do not want to speak of the person of "only the Father" or of "only the Son" or of "only the Holy Spirit," but that we are led to say, that it is about the whole Trinity itself, that is to say Father, Son and Holy Spirit, this explains that it was said "of us" when speaking in the plural. So why in this passage does the Scripture not say, "Behold, Adam was made, one of our persons", but rather, "Behold, Adam has become as one of us"?
- 7. Should we understand a God "of us" as "of three"? or a Father "of us" as "of three Fathers"? or a Son or a Holy Spirit "of us" as "of three Sons" or "of three Spirits"? Who will be foolish enough to support such reasoning? Now, no one can speak better of the Trinity than the Trinity has spoken of itself.
- 8. So it does not follow that when we say, "One of the Trinity," "the Lord Jesus Christ", "one God" or "one Son", "one" is implying three Gods or Sons. However, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are three and it can rightly be said that the Lord Jesus Christ is one of them.
- 9. **In fact the apostle John also, in his letter speaks thus of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit: "There are three who bear witness on earth - the spirit, the water and the blood - and these three are one,"** By "the spirit," he means the Father, as the Lord did when he said to the Samaritan woman, according to the Gospel of the same Saint John: "Believe me, the hour will come when it will not be in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem that you will worship the Father. You worship what you do not know, we worship what we know, for salvation comes from the Jews. But the hour comes, and it is now, where the true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and in truth. Such, in fact, are the worshipers whom the Father desires. God is spirit, and those who worship him should worship him in spirit and in truth."
- 10. By "water," he means the Holy Spirit, as when he reveals in his same Gospel the words of the Lord who says: "If anyone is thirsty, let him come to me and drink. Whoever believes in me, as the scripture says, rivers of living water will flow from his bosom." He adds immediately after: "Now he said these words concerning the Spirit which those were to receive who would believe in him, for the Spirit was not yet given, since Jesus had not yet been glorified," [11] and by "blood" he means the Son, since it is he of the Holy Trinity who participated in flesh and blood. **So the apostle John when he speaks of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit does not say: "There**

The Witness of God is Greater

are three persons who testify on earth - the spirit, the water and the blood - and these three persons are one", but rather he says: "There are three that bear witness on earth - the spirit, the water and the blood - and these three are one".

- 12. What, then, is their response on behalf of John the Apostle? What are these three of masculine gender that are said to give testimony on earth and that are said to be one? Are they gods? Fathers? Sons or Holy Spirits? Certainly not, but these three are the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, even though no single masculine noun (in Latin) can apply to every one of them in the same way as the feminine noun "persona" (person) does.
- 13. Unless, perhaps, when he says: "**There are three who testify on earth - the spirit, the water and the blood - and these three are one,**" those who strive for a word do not want to understand that it is a question of the Trinity which is one God and that they answer in place of the apostle John, from the very words he used. They say "These three who bear witness on earth and who are one, can we call them spirits, waters or bloods?" Blessed Cyprian, bishop of Carthage and martyr, also understands in the letter or the book he wrote "On the Trinity" (Latin: quem de Trinitate scripsit) that this testimony of the apostle John designates the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, because he said: "The Lord said: 'The Father and I are one' and again: Of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit it is written: 'And the three are one.'"
- 14. Therefore, those who vainly cling to the traps of words should consider that we are not saying at the same time and jointly: "A Son of the Trinity has been crucified" so as to imply that we are speaking of three or of two Sons, but only after having first said what the great Synod confirmed: "One of the Trinity took flesh or suffered or was crucified", when we are asked who we call "one of the Trinity", then we will answer rightly: "the Son".
- 15. Of course, one does not rightly say at the same time: "A Son of the Trinity took flesh, suffered or was crucified." But it does not follow that what we cannot rightly say "at the same time", neither can we rightly say "separately". And lest they pretend not to have understood or that they cannot understand, it is by the example of their own words that they must be convinced or answered. 16. For they too, when they say correctly that a person of the Trinity has been crucified, they agree with what Augustine also said (blessed and admirable for his doctrine), in the work that he wrote "On the predestination and the perseverance of the Saints" : "The believer, I say; who in Him [in Christ] believes and confesses the true human nature that is our own, (however [that Christ's human nature which is] singularly elevated by assumption by God the Word into the only Son of God), so that He who assumed, and what He assumed, should be one person in Trinity." (Augustine, On the Predestination of the Saints, Book II.67)
- 17. As I said, therefore, they also rightly say, according to the teaching of the fathers, that a person of the Trinity has been crucified and likewise, when asked who this same person is, they correctly answer that it is the Son: in any case, what they say separately correctly, they could not say correctly all together and at the same time, that is, that "a person" ([referring to:] the Son of the Trinity) has been crucified, as if there were two persons of the Son. [18]. Therefore, although it is incorrect to say that "a person" ([referring to:] the Son of the Trinity) was crucified, it is nevertheless correct to say separately that "a person" ([one person] of the Trinity) was crucified and equally it is correct to say of this same "person" separately that He is "the Son"; in the same way, although it is not correct to say all together that "the Son", one of the Trinity, was crucified, nevertheless it is correct to say separately that one of the Trinity was crucified and equally of this one who is the Son. Consequently, it is correct to say that both "a person of the Trinity was crucified" and "a person of the Trinity". [19] But to say "a person" is less effective in excluding the new subterfuges of the Nestorians who, forced to admit from innumerable testimonies of the fathers that the Word God and the assumed man is one person, believe, or pretend to believe, that they have said this for the honor of authority, so that it means that the man Jesus Christ has clothed the person of the Word as did the Apostle, who wrote to the Corinthians: "In fact I also what I have forgiven, if I have forgiven something, I did it for you in the person of Christ, so that we may not be deceived by Satan "(2 Cor 2: 10-11); he would therefore not be one and the same, God and man.
- 20. It is instead correct to say that "one of the Trinity" or that "a person of the Trinity" has been "crucified for us"; and those who did not want to say that "one of the Trinity" became "incarnate", or "suffered" or "was crucified" for us, should approve of its usefulness [of this confession], since the great synod has sufficiently eliminated the Nestorians' deception.
- 21. And even if they were not engaged in it and if the authority of such a great Synod had not confirmed this expression, they would be better advised by following the opinion of the wise Gregory who declared that it was not necessary arguing about the diversity of vocabulary. For in the sermon entitled "On The Lights," he said: "And when I speak of God you must be illumined at once by one flash of light and by three. Three in Individualities or Hypostases, if any prefer so to call them, or persons [, for we will not quarrel about names so long as the syllables amount to the same meaning]" (Gregory, On Holy Lights, Homily 39.11)
- 22. A great purpose, therefore, drives us to this confession and this word is neither new nor unheard of, so that there is freedom to discuss whether it should be accepted or not; this word, we have learned, accords with the

The Witness of God is Greater

testimonies of the Scriptures and has been confirmed by the opinions of such fathers and one must not argue over the words: therefore, all must agree that it is said that "one of the Trinity (or of the Trinity)" has "been crucified" instead of "a person".

- 23. However, looking closely at the problem and looking deeper into the cause, it would appear that we do not say "one" for "one person", but rather "one person" for "one of the Trinity". **In fact, the Church of Christ (even when the name "of persons" was not yet used to distinguish Father, Son and Holy Spirit) has always believed and preached three, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, as we have shown before with the testimony of the apostle John, where it says: "There are three who bear witness on earth, spirit, water and blood, and these three are one."**
- 24. However the name "person" was not assumed in the use of preaching except out of necessity when Sabellius began to fight against the Church, for which those in whom it has always been believed and who have been called three, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. They are now called together with the one and common name of "persons". Then "subsistences" were also said, as pleased the Church, to indicate the Trinity and to attribute this name to the distinction of persons. And so it was that one day the question arose about this new vocabulary: is it necessary, in order to express the Trinity which is God, to admit "person" and "subsistence", as the very term of "Trinity" has also been admitted? **But it has never disputed what the Church has always held firm and preached, namely that there are three who bear witness on earth and "these three are one".**

- **LATIN:**

- 1. Sane tacendum non arbitror quod sint etiam catholici qui, sicut credimus, nescientes hoc ante memorata synodo confirmatum, superflue contra de verbo contendunt: quia videtur eis quod dici non debeat unum de Trinitate pro nobis crucifixum, sed potius unam de Trinitate personam. (0534D)
- 2. Hos ergo tanquam propinquos prius nobis sociare debemus, ut ipsi quoque nobiscum hanc confessionem teneant, in qua non potest, sicut plerisque videtur, Nestorianorum dolus abscondi: ne cum inaniter de verbo contendunt, rei controversiam minus examine definiant. (0535A)
- 3. Nam cum Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum sic perhibeant unam esse de Trinitate personam, ut et Dei subsistentiam unam esse non denegent, quae naturarum adunatione, id est divinitatis et humanitatis, existat; eundem esse dicentes Deum quem hominem, nec aliter Deum, aliter hominem, sed et hoc et illud similiter, id est naturaliter, de verbo contendere mihi videntur.
- 4. Siquidem hoc etiam suo sermone demonstrant. Si enim dicamus, inquit, unum de Trinitate pro nobis crucifixum, si quis interroget quid unum dicamus, non possumus respondere Deum aut Filium, quia non tres sunt in Trinitate dii vel filii, ex quibus unus crucifixus dicatur: et ideo recte dicimus unam de Trinitate crucifixam esse personam, quoniam tres sunt in Trinitate personae, ex quibus una crucifixa dicatur. (0535B)
- 5. At haec non generalis est loquendi regula, sed quaedam privata lex, quam sibi sua contentione fecerunt. Nam in tantum necesse non est tres intelligi deos aut filios, si unus de Trinitate crucifixus dicatur; ut ita in Genesi scriberetur: Ecce factus est Adam unus ex nobis (Gen. III, 22).
- 6. Quod utique non ex solius persona Patris, neque ex solius Filii, vel Spiritus sancti, dictum accipitur; sed tota ipsa Trinitas, id est Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus, illic inducitur loqui; ideo pluraliter ex nobis dictum est. Cur igitur non ibi Scriptura dicit, Ecce factus est Adam una persona ex nostris personis, sed potius, Ecce factus est Adam unus ex nobis?
- 7. Nunquid unus Deus ex nobis, quasi ex tribus? aut unus Pater ex nobis, quasi ex tribus patribus? (0535C) aut unus Filius, vel Spiritus sanctus ex nobis, quasi ex tribus filiis, vel spiritibus sanctis? Quis hoc vel insanus dixit? Nullus autem de Trinitate melius loqui potest, quam ipsa de se locuta est Trinitas.
- 8. Non ergo sequitur ut, cum dicitur unus de Trinitate Dominus Iesus Christus, unus Deus, aut unus Filius subaudiatur ex tribus diis aut filiis. Tres tamen sunt, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus, ex quibus unus recte dicitur Dominus Iesus Christus. (0535D)
- 9. **Nam et Ioannes apostolus in Epistola sua de Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto sic dicit: Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis, et hi tres unum sunt (I Ioan. V, 7) : in spiritu significans Patrem, sicut Dominus mulieri Samaritanae secundum ipsius Ioannis Evangelium loquitur, dicens; Crede mihi, quia veniet hora quando neque in monte hoc, neque in Hierosolymis adorabitis Patrem. Vos adoratis quod nescitis, nos adoramus quod scimus: quia salus ex Iudaeis est. Sed venit hora, et nunc est, quando veri adoratores adorabunt Patrem in spiritu et veritate: nam et Pater tales quaerit qui adorent eum. (0536A) Spiritus est Deus, et eos qui adorant eum, in spiritu et veritate oportet adorare (Ioan. IV, 21) .**

The Witness of God is Greater

- 10. In aqua vero Spiritum sanctum significans, sicut in eodem suo Evangelio exponit verba Domini dicentis: Si quis sitit, veniat ad me, et bibat. Qui credit in me, sicut dicit Scriptura, flumina de ventre eius fluent aquae vivae. Ubi subsecutus adiecit: Hoc autem dicebat de Spiritu, quem accepturi erant credentes in eum. Nondum enim erat Spiritus datus, quia Iesus nondum fuerat glorificatus (Ioan. VII, 37). [11] **In sanguine vero Filium significans, quoniam ipse ex sancta Trinitate communicavit carni et sanguini. Non ergo ait Ioannes apostolus loquens de Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto, tres sunt personae quae testificantur in terra, spiritus, aqua et sanguis, et hi tres unum sunt.**
- 12. Quid ergo pro Ioanne respondent apostolo? Qui sunt hi tres, qui in terra testificari, et qui unum esse dicuntur? num dii? num patres? (0536B) num filii, aut spiritus sancti? Non utique, sed hi tres, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus sunt, tamenetsi non invenitur unum nomen, quod de omnibus communiter masculino genere praedicetur, sicut communiter de illis personae praedicantur genere feminino.
- 13. Aut si forsitan ipsi qui de verbo contendunt, in eo quod dixit: **Tres sunt qui testificantur in terra, spiritus, aqua et sanguis, et hi tres unum sunt**, Trinitatem quae unus Deus est, nolunt intelligi, secundum ipsa verba quae posuit pro apostolo Ioanne respondeant. Nunquid hi tres, qui in terra testificari et qui unum esse dicuntur, possunt spiritus, aut aquae, aut sanguines dici? (0536C) Quod tamen Ioannis apostoli testimonium beatus Cyprianus Carthaginensis antistes et martyr in epistola sive libro quem de Trinitate scripsit, de Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto dictum intelligit. Ait enim (tom. II) : « Dicit Dominus, Ego et Pater unum sumus (Ioan. X, 30) ; et iterum de Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto scriptum est, et hi tres unum sunt (I Ioan. V, 7) . »
- 14. Proinde considerare debent qui verborum captionibus supervacue student, quia non simul et coniuncte dicimus unum Filium ex Trinitate crucifixum, ut tres aut duos filios inducere videamur; sed prius dicentes, quod magna synodus confirmavit, unum ex Trinitate incarnatum, vel passum, vel crucifixum, cum interrogati fuimus, quem unum de Trinitate dicamus, recte postea respondemus, Filium.
- 15. Non autem recte simul diceretur unus filius ex Trinitate incarnatus, aut passus, aut crucifixus. Sed non est consequens ut quae simul non recte dicuntur, etiam singillatim non recte dicantur. (0536D) Ac ne hoc dissimulent intelligere, aut fortasse non possint, verborum suorum vel convincantur vel admoneantur exemplo. (0537A) [16] Nam et ipsi, cum recte dicant unam ex Trinitate personam crucifixam, secundum quod ille etiam vir beatus et doctrinae admirabilis Augustinus, in opere quod scripsit de Praedestinatione et perseverantia sanctorum, docet: « Fidelis qui in eo veram naturam credit et confitetur humanam, id est nostram, quamvis singulariter suscipiente Deo Verbo, in unicum Dei Filium sublimatam: ita ut qui susceperit, et quod susceperit, una esset in Trinitate persona.»
- 17. Cum igitur et ipsi, quemadmodum docuimus, iuxta doctrinam Patrum recte dicant unam ex Trinitate personam crucifixam; et item interrogati cuius eandem dicant esse personam, recte respondeant, Filii; non tamen quod singillatim recte dicunt, etiam simul et coniuncte recte dicere poterunt, id est, unam personam Filii ex Trinitate crucifixam, quasi duae personae sint Filii. (0537B) [18] Sicut ergo, quamvis non recte simul dicatur una persona Filii ex Trinitate crucifixi, et recte item de ipsa persona singillatim dicitur quod Filii sit: ita quamvis non recte simul dicatur, unus filius ex Trinitate crucifixus, recte tamen singillatim dicitur unus ex Trinitate crucifixus, et una ex Trinitate persona. (0537C) [19] Sed unam dicere personam Nestorianorum nova subterfugia minus excludit: qui convicti innumeris testimoniis Patrum, quod Deus Verbum et assumptus homo una persona sit, pro auctoritatis dignitate ab eis hoc vel existimant dictum, vel existimare se fingunt, ut sic homo Iesus Christus dicatur Verbi gessisse personam, sicut etiam gessit Apostolus, qui scribens ad Corinthios dicit: Nam et ego quod donavi, propter vos in persona Christi, ut non circumveniamur a Satana (II Cor. II, 10) ; non ut unus idemque esset Deus et homo.
- 20. Cum vero et unus ex Trinitate, et una ex Trinitate persona pro nobis crucifixa recte dicatur, hanc utilitatem qua fraus Nestorianorum a sancta et magna synodo sufficienter exclusa est, intelligere et approbare iam debent qui dici nolebant unum de Trinitate pro nobis incarnatum, vel passum, vel crucifixum.
- 21. Qui etiam si nulla invitaret utilitas, neque hoc esset tantae synodi auctoritate firmatum, modestius facerent acquiescere sapienti Gregorio, qui de vocabulorum diversitate dissidendum non esse decrevit (Gregor. Nazianzenus orat. 39). In eo enim sermone cuius est titulus: De

The Witness of God is Greater

luminibus, ita locutus est: « Deum cum nomino, uno lumine illustramini, simul et tribus. Tribus quidem, secundum uniuscuiusque proprietates sive personas. (0537D) Nihil enim pro vocabulorum diversitate dissidendum est, cum ad eundem sensum omnium diversitas provocet intellectum. (0538A) »

- 22. Dum igitur et magna nos ad hanc confessionem invitet utilitas, et non inaudita et nova sit illa vox de qua nobis deliberare sit liberum an admitti debeat, quam divinarum Scripturarum testimoniis convenire etiam a tantis Patribus confirmatum esse docuimus, nihilque de verbo sit dissidendum, placere omnibus debet ut unus ex Trinitate, vel de Trinitate, crucifixus pro una persona dicatur.
- 23. Quanquam si quis rem diligenter attendat, et altius causam repetat, inveniet quod non sic dicimus, unus pro una persona, sed potius una persona pro uno ex Trinitate dicatur. (0538B) **Nam sic Ecclesia Christi, etiam cum necdum ad distinctionem Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti uteretur nomine personae, tres credit et praedicavit, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum; sicut testimonio Ioannis supra docuimus, quo dictum est: Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua et sanguis; et hi tres unum sunt (I Ioan. V, 7).**
- 24. Personarum autem nomen, non nisi cum Sabellius impugnaret Ecclesiam, necessario in usum praedicationis assumptus est; ut qui semper tres crediti sunt et vocati, Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, uno quoque simul et communi personarum nomine vocarentur. Deinde etiam subsistentiae dictae sunt, quoniam Ecclesiae placuit, ad significandam Trinitatem, et hoc nomen distinctioni personali tribuere. Quaestio itaque aliquando de novo nomine personae et subsistentiae fuit, utrum ad significandam Trinitatem, quae Deus est, **deberet admitti, sicut et ipsius Trinitatis nomen admissum est: non de eo quod semper tenuit et praedicavit Ecclesia, quia tres sunt qui testificantur in terra, et hi tres unum sunt.**

Comment:

• **[Brownlee]** To the evidence derived from the *most ancient* Latin MSS which contained our verse, we may add the testimony still found on the face of a class of ancient MSS which do not contain our verse. I allude to the singular fact that in the ancient class of MSS to which our reference is made, there are found in [PAGE 401] the 8th verse the words "in [the] earth" (Latin: in terra), which had, in some unaccountable, but providential manner, escaped the erasing hands of men who deprived these copies of our verse. - **Our opponents, Porson and Marsh, were fully aware of the conclusion drawn from the existence of these words "in [the] earth" (Latin: in terra), in the 8th verse; that of consequence the corresponding words "in heaven" (Latin: in coelo), must somewhere precede - and of course that the 7th verse, of which these words are a part, must precede** : and they have zealously denied that these words are to be found in any genuine copy. But it is known to the learned that these words "in [the] earth" (Latin: in terra), are found in genuine MSS. Griesbach does not mention such manuscripts: and he states that such have also been mentioned by Stephens, by Lucas Brugensis, and by Hentenius. (fn. 1. Burgess, p. 143) And the existence of them is put beyond reasonable doubt by Facundus, the bishop of Hermianum, in the year 547. - In his *Defense of the Three Chapters* (Latin: Defensio Trium Caputum), in the council of Chalcedon, he has, according to Burgess, **quoted the 8th verse, or a part of it, with "in earth" (Latin: in terra) six times.** On inspection, I count the quotation seven times. Porson does indeed deny the authenticity of these words "in [the] earth" (Latin: in terra). But he offers only his conjectures. He produces neither quotations nor MSS to sustain his conjectures. **And on inspecting the pages of Facundus, it will be seen that the phrase is not only often repeated, but interwoven into the argument. For the nature of the heresy which Facundus was combating, made it essentially necessary that the phrase "in [the] earth", should be in the sacred passage opposed to that heresy. He is proving that one of the persons of the Most Holy Trinity came into the world, and lived "in [the] earth" (Latin: in terra), in order to redeem us. If the words, therefore, "in [the] earth" (Latin: in terra), be left out, as Porson proposes, and zealously insists that they ought to be; then the very force and life of the argument of Facundus is utterly destroyed.** (Brownlee, "Gleanings and Hints Towards an Argument for the Authenticity of John v. 7" in *The Christian Advocate* vol 3, September 1825, vol. 3, p. 400-401)

"Defense of the Three Chapters" Facundus Translated Greek Fathers works into Latin

• **[Fraïsse-Bétoulières]** We can also study the text of Paul of Emesis cited in I, V, 37-38. The Latin text (col. Sichardiana, ACO I, 1, 4, p. 12, L. 2-3) is very different from the text of Facundus: parts of sentences skipped or added, different constructions, not respected parallelisms. On the other hand, the limitation of the Greek text

The Witness of God is Greater

is striking: same constructions of sentences, same parallelisms (σκηνή; σκῆνος; tabernaculum; tabernaculo). Similarly, the extract from the letter from Jean d'Antioche to Cyril cited in 1, v, 29-32 is very different in its vocabulary and its construction from the three Latin versions (coll. Cas., Coll. Veron., Coll. Quesn.), But very close to the Greek version (coll. Athen.). **It seems obvious, given the many differences between his quotations and the Latin versions, that Facundus himself translates the texts he had in front of him into Latin: he had, moreover, been able to copy them during his stay in Constantinople.** (Anne Fraïsse-Bétoulières, "Introduction" in *Défense des Trois chapitres à Justinien*. Tome I, Livres I-II, 2002, p. 11-13.)

• **[Oltean : Library at Akoimentos]** Finally, the monastery was well known for its rich library and the intellectual quality of some of its monks. In the Life of Alexander the Akoimetos, the author notes that the monks "possessed nothing more than the parchments on which they kept the holy Scriptures." Markellos was a copyist and he surely encouraged the activity of the scriptorium. From 564, Rusticus, nephew of Pope Vigilius and one of the leaders of resistance against the Three Chapters, gathered from the library of the Akoimetai many documents related to the councils of Ephesus (Synodicon) and Chalcedon, including the lost Tragedia of Irenaeus of Tyre, a friend of Nestorius. In the same library, Rusticus found the collection of 2000 letters by Isidor of Pelusium, previously studied by **Facundus, bishop of Hermiane in North Africa. Facundus also quotes from several of Theodore of Mopsuestia's lost works (Against the Allegorists, 56 Against Eunomius, On the Mysteries, Against Apollinaris, etc.), which he probably discovered in the same monastic library, famous even among the Akoimetai's enemies.** Given the high intellectual level of some Akoimetai, Rudolph Riedinger has stated that the Areopagite's corpus, the Erotapokriseis of Pseudo-Caesarius, and the Homilies of Macarius/Symeon all belonged to the milieu of the Sleepless ones. (Oltean, East Syrian Networks in Constantinople: Mar Aba, Paul the Persian, and the Sleepless Monks. *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 29, 2021, p. 247-248)

• [Jansen] ...the section of the Praefatio cited at the beginning and reveals a few things about the Facundus' general handling of its sources:

• **"Certainly, since, as I have said, these books have not yet been handled by me, certain testimonies of the manuscripts from which we had placed them, or because of the negligence of the translations, contained otherwise, which were thus transcribed into that reply. For this reason, therefore, I have taken pains to speak beforehand, and to caution, that no one who, having read the above-mentioned reply, should happen to be offended by these books;** but there he pardons him who hastens, and believes him rather. For even some things that have been brought up there with the disturbance are treated with more moderation and more orderly action." (Facundus, *Pro defensione trium capitulorum*, PRAEFATIO, Migne Latina, PL 67.528)

• [Jansen] **From this remark it can be concluded that Facundus a) where he is given the opportunity, compares several editions in order to obtain the best possible text for his quotation, b) that at least in some cases he uses the Greek text as a basis in Latin translation controls and improves, c) that he does not follow the order of an apologetically motivated Florilegium, for example, in the selection of the quotations, but arranges them independently.** Facundus shows a very careful and conscientious handling of its source material. This can also be seen in the use of the sources for the quotations from *De incarnatione*, and this not only due to the fact that Facundus is the only one to offer precise book and chapter information, which also suggests that this work by Theodor is more readily available.

• Jansen, Till, and Theodore. Theodor von Mopsuestia, *De Incarnatione*, 2009, p. 91.

• [Swete] The African Bishop Pontianus indeed in his letter to Justinian (A.D. 546) avows that these [works of Theodore Bishop of Mopsuestia] were as yet unknown to his countrymen. But within the next two years Facundus, then at Constantinople, quotes copiously from them; and as in his preface he complains of the "incuria translatorum", it may be assumed that some attempts had already been made to clothe portions of Theodore's writings in a Latin dress. ...On the other hand, although the solitary passage which he cites from Theodore's exposition of the Epistle to the Romans is perhaps as Prof. Jacobi says "too short to admit of a serious comparison with the style of our translation," **it is impossible not to be struck by the general resemblance in manner and occasional agreement in diction between the latter and the various**

The Witness of God is Greater

Theodorean extracts scattered through the work of Facundus. If Facundus himself was not the translator, it is at least not improbable that he was the means of transmitting to Africa the commentary on Galatians and the nine following Epistles. (Swete, Theodori Episcopi Mopsuesteni in Epistolas B. Pauli commentarii, 1880, p. liv)

Edictum rectae fidei (551 AD) Justinian the Great

Justinian I (/dʒʌˈstɪniən/; Latin: Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Iustinianus; Byzantine Greek: Ἰουστινιανός Α', romanized: Ioustinianós I; c. 482 – 14 November 565), also known as Justinian the Great (Greek: ὁ Μέγας, romanized: ho Megas), was the Eastern Roman emperor from 527 to 565. (Justinian I. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Justinian_I>)

• [Wesche] The stir created by the condemnation of the Three Chapters [by Emperor Justinian I] prompted another edict [by the Emperor] against the Three Chapters, published in 551 under the title, "Edict on the True Faith" (Latin: Edictum rectae fidei). This confession was extremely offensive to Pope Vigilius. On May 14, 553, Vigilius published his Constitutum Vigili, in which he refused to condemn the Three Chapters and forbade anyone else to do so. Justinian responded by removing Vigilius' name from the diptychs. On Dec. 8, 553, Vigilius published his Decretal Epistle in which he recanted and accepted both the Fifth Ecumenical Council and its decree condemning the Three Chapters.' The imperial condemnation of the Three Chapters was thus ecclesiastically endorsed by Vigilius and by every Pope after him. The bishops of the Fifth Ecumenical Council drew from the Edict in formulating their ecclesiastical condemnation of the Three Chapters. The Edict is of value for this reason, and also because it presents the theological reasoning behind the Fifth Council's decisions. But its importance lies elsewhere as well. For, even though the acts of the Fifth Council have been officially ratified by the West, "de facto" the theological understanding informing the Fifth Council's decisions continue to be a source of controversy between theologians of the Western and Eastern traditions. The Edict is therefore an important source for studying fundamental principles that distinguish typically Latin from typically Byzantine theology. (Wesche, On The Person of Christ. The Christology of Emperor Justinian, 1991, p. 161)

HIT

- [Justinian I] The confession of true faith is the foundation of every Christian's salvation. This is why, following the precepts of the Gospel, and the symbol which contains the doctrine of the Holy Fathers, we exhort all our subjects to make only one Church, and to hold only one faith, believing a Father, a Son, and a Holy Spirit, a consubstantial Trinity, a Deity, a Nature, and a substance which is indeed the same as truly as it is confessed, and as it is professed, believing that the three hypostases, or the three Persons have only the same force, the same power, and the same operation. It is in the name of these three Persons that we have been baptized, it is they that we believe, and to whom we are united. **We worship oneness in the Trinity, and the Trinity in oneness.** This Trinity has a distinction, and a union which is admirable. **There is only one divinity, and one substance. But there are three persons.** The deity divides without division, if it is permitted to speak thus, and communicates with some sort of division. The divinity which is one is in the three Persons, and these three Persons are one God. When the human spirit separates by its thought the persons who are inseparable in themselves, it recognizes God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit. That is to say a God in three persons, who have only one inclination, and the same nature. You have to confess one God, and recognize three persons. We do not make the union one of confusion as did Sabellius who said that the Trinity is one prosopon with three names, the same [prosopon] being Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, nor do we separate [the three Persons] by dividing the Son or the Holy Spirit from the essence of God the Father in accordance with the madness of Arius who cut the Godhead up into three different essences. But there is one God the Father, from whom are all things, and one only-begotten Son

The Witness of God is Greater

through whom are all things, and one Holy Spirit, in whom are all things. (Justinian I, Edict on the right faith)

- **Greek:** Ὁμολογοῦμεν τοίνυν πιστεύειν εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τριάδα ὁμοούσιον, μίαν θεότητα ἥτοι φύσιν καὶ οὐσίαν καὶ δύναμιν καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν ἥτοι προσώποις δοξάζοντες, εἰς ἃ βεβαπίσμεθα, εἰς ἃ πεπιστεύκαμεν καὶ οἷς συντετάγμεθα, τὰς μὲν ιδιότητος χωρίζοντες, ἐνοῦντες δὲ τὴν θεότητα. μονάδα γὰρ ἐν τριάδι καὶ τριάδα ἐν μονάδι προσκυνοῦμεν παράδοξον ἔχουσαν καὶ τὴν διαίρεσιν καὶ τὴν ἔνωσιν, μονάδα μὲν κατὰ τὸν τῆς οὐσίας ἢ γοῦν θεότητος λόγον, τριάδα δὲ κατὰ τὰς ιδιότητας ἢ γοῦν ὑποστάσεις ἥτοι πρόσωπα διαιρεῖται γὰρ ἀδιαίρετως, ἴν' οὕτως εἴπωμεν, καὶ συνάπτεται διηρημένως· **ἐν γὰρ ἐν τρισὶν ἡ θεότης καὶ τὰ τρία ἐν τὰ ἐν οἷς ἡ θεότης**, ἡ τό γε ἀκριβέστερον εἶπεῖν, ἃ ἡ θεότης, θεὸν ἕκαστον, ἂν θεωρῆται μόνον τοῦ νοῦ χωρίζοντος τὰ ἀχώριστα, θεὸν τὰ τρία μετ' ἀλλήλων νοούμενα τῷ ταυτῷ τῆς κινήσεως καὶ τῆς φύσεως, **ἐπειδὴ χρὴ καὶ τὸν ἕνα θεὸν ὁμολογεῖν καὶ τὰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις κηρύττειν ἢ γοῦν τρία πρόσωπα** καὶ ἕκαστην μετὰ τῆς ιδιότητος. καὶ οὔτε τὴν ἔνωσιν σύγχυσιν ἐργαζόμεθα κατὰ Σαβέλλιον ἐν πρόσωπον τριώνυμον λέγοντα τὴν τριάδα, τὸν αὐτὸν πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, οὔτε διαιροῦντες ἀλλοτριοῦμεν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίας τὸν υἱὸν ἢ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κατὰ τὴν Ἀρείου μανίαν εἰς τρεῖς διαφόρους οὐσίας κατατέμνοντος τὴν θεότητα. εἰς τοίνυν θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ εἰς υἱὸς μονογενῆς, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἐν πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα. (Justinian I, "Edictum rectae fidei" in Evagrius Scholasticus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Book 5.4; Bidez & Parmentier, 1898 <remacle.org/bloodwolf/eglise/evagre/eglise5.htm>)

Bilingual Arians : Greek, Latin, & Gothic languages

Ulfila & His Disciples

• [Berndt] **The topic of theological debate raises another important issue, that of just what was the language of the barbarian Arian theological discourse. Back in the mid-fourth century, when Ulfila was initially bringing Arian Christianity to the previously pagan Goths, Ulfila created a Gothic alphabet, translated the Bible into Gothic, and, according to Auxentius, wrote other "tractates", and "preached .. in the Greek, Latin, and Gothic languages."** (fn. 162. Diss. Max. 27. Et haec omni de divinis scripturis eum dixisse et nos describisse, qui legit, intellegat; qui et ipsis tribus linguis plures tractatus et multae interpretationes uolentibus ad utilitatenn ed ad aedificationem ...dereliquid. Gryson, SC 267, p. 46) Ulfila is but one representative of an often overlooked tradition of Gothic intellectual activity. Other known writings in Gothic include the "skeireins" (commentaries on the gospels), and "vulthres" (Gothic annotations to translated passages). **The Gothic ecclesiastical calendar and Gothic martyrs have already been mentioned. But the question also arises of just how widespread the use of the Gothic language actually was in barbarian Arian churches. The best known barbarian intellectuals of the fourth and fifth centuries, including Ulfila himself, were at least bilingual and probably trilingual, and often, or even usually, wrote in Latin. One such would have been Auxentius, bishop of Durostorum (Siliistra) in Moesia Secunda who lost his see circa 380 as a result of the anti-Arian legislation. Subsequently, perhaps in 384 or 385, he became the Arian bishop [PAGE 178] of Milan in opposition to the zealous Nicene bishop Ambrose (374-398). (fn. 165. He was the author of a "Letter on the Faith, Life, and Death of Ulfila".) Ambrose polemicized him as a native of "Scythia", that is, as a Goth, and reported that he had "four or five gentiles (barbarians) as his cognitores (spokesman), if he chose any at all." Another Arian author was the bishop Maximinus who debated Augustine in the 420s and went on to write, at some time after 438, an extant Arian commentary on the Council of Aquileia of 381. Nearly 30 Arian sermons in Latin also survive.** The actual use of Gothic in Arian barbarian kingdoms is very poorly attested. Indeed, the best known example is not even religious, but the work of three geographers, the "philosophers" Athanarid, Heldebal, and Marcomir, who worked at the court of King Theoderic - their works were excerpted by an anonymous eighth century cosmographer of Ravenna, who, it seems, understood Gothic. and there is in fact no evidence that in any of the celebrated debates [PAGE 179] between Arian and Nicene bishops anything but Latin scripture was used.

The Witness of God is Greater

This certainly was the case in the debates between Maximinus and Augustine and Agilanis and Gregory of Tours, and would appear likewise to have been the case in the debates in Vandal Africa, Visigothic Gaul, and Burgundian Gaul. For example, the claim of the Vandal patriarch Cyrila at the Council of Carthage of 484 that he did not know Latin - made for political rather than linguistic reasons - was dismissed by the Nicene bishops, who responded, "We know very well that you always spoke Latin." (fn. 171. Vic. Vit. HP 2.55: Cyrila dixit, nescio latine. Nostri episcopi dixerunt: semper te latine esse loctum manifesto novimus.") And no hint anywhere of any Gothic scripture being cited. In fact, one might well ask whether these Arian clerics [Vandals in Carthage] even knew Gothic well enough to be able to argue in Gothic, and that even assuming that they possessed any Gothic texts. [PAGE 180] This, it seems likely that many, if not almost or even nearly all Arian barbarians took the path of least resistance and used Latin scripture. Indeed, the only evidence for the use of Gothic in Arian churches comes from post-Ostrogothic Italy. but even there, if some Ostrogoths write in Gothic, others wrote in Latin. **In Ravenna, for example, "Master Viliaric the copyist" (magister Viliaric antiquarius, or Gothic, Wiljarith bokareis), oversaw a scriptorium that [PAGE 181] produced manuscripts including a Latin text of Orosius, now in Florence, and several copies of the Gothic Bible, partly extant, including the famous Codex argenteus, an elaborately produced and illustrated edition from which 188 of 336 leaves still are extant in Uppsala.** And one might suggest that these deluxe editions of the Gothic Bible were more for show than for actual use. (Berndt, *Arianism: Roman Heresy and Barbarian Creed*, 2016, p. 177-181)

Nicene Converts

• [Dossey] **By the early sixth century, a scholarly Arian, literate in Greek as well as Latin (and not specifically identified with the Vandal population) would have been unusual, but not impossible, partly because so many Nicenes had gone over to the Arian side.** From the 480s on, the Vandal kings made a concerted effort at conversion, and by the early sixth century had achieved some success, particularly in the elite circles eager for government promotion. **As conversions of the non-Vandal population increased, so did the level of education of the Arian intellectuals. We find such educated non-Vandal Arians in the polemics of Fulgentius of Ruspe.** For example, an Arian named Fastidiosus wrote a sermon against the Homoousians during the 520s. He was a former Nicene monk and priest who had fallen into "fornication" (possibly marriage) and become an Arian. Fabianus, another of Fulgentius' Arian opponents, prided himself on his "latinitas" and even appears to have read Greek. From a Byzantine North African source, we hear of the "scholasticus" Mocianus, who had been an Arian when the Vandals were in power. The names of these men - Fabianus, Fastidiosus, Mocianus - suggest a Roman, not Germanic ethnicity. Pseudo-Origen [the author of the Arian commentary on Job] would have fitted [PAGE 112] comfortably among these sixth-century collaborators - an educated man possibly of Catholic or Donatist background, friendly towards the Vandal monarchy, but no Vandal himself. (Dossey, *The Last Days of Vandal Africa: An Arian Commentary on Job and its Historical Context*, 2003, p. 111-112)

The Graeco-Romans and Graeco-Latin

• [3.2. Intermediaries: interpreters, translators, and popularizers] The *Itinerary* of Egeria offers an unusual and interesting copulative compound, Graeco-latini, in the course of **an account of the services of Holy Week in Jerusalem**, in which [PAGE 85] three linguistic communities (Aramaic, Greek, and Latin) were taking part: **"The bishop always speaks Greek; a simultaneous translation into Aramaic is provided so that everyone can follow. But if there are any Latins present - that is, speakers of neither Aramaic nor Greek - they are not disappointed because they also get a rendering. For there are other brothers and sisters who know Greek and Latin, and they provide a rendering in Latin for them."** [Greek: (20) Egeria 47.3-4: episcopus ... semper Graece loquitur ...; episcopo Graece dicente Siriste interpretatur, ut omnes audiant quae exponuntur ...sane quicumque hic Latini sung, id est qui nec Siriste nec Graece nouerunt, ne contristentur, et ipsis exponitur eis, quia sunt alii fratres et sorores Graecolatini, qui Latine exponunt eis.] (Biville, *The Graeco-Romans and Graeco-Latin: A Terminological Framework for Casus of Bilingualism.*, 2002, p. 84-85; Cf. Criore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*, 2001, p. 15 ff.)

The Witness of God is Greater

Maximinus : Arian Bishop

• [Mathisen] Yet another example of an Arian bishop accompanying a Roman army of Goths is found in North Africa, where **Count Sigisvult**—certainly a German and probably a Goth—was sent in 427 to take charge of the war against the rebel Count Boniface.⁹⁸ **At some point during the campaigns, which dragged on until 429-30, he sent the elderly Arian bishop Maximinus, who may have been a Goth himself, on a special, and apparently hasty, mission to Hippo Regius in an attempt to effect a reconciliation between Boniface and the imperial government.**⁹⁹ He would have been an especially effective emissary because c. 426 Boniface had married Pelagia, an Arian barbarian who had become a Nicene just before the marriage.¹⁰⁰ But she [PAGE 680] must have recanted because they had their daughter baptized by an Arian.¹⁰¹ An Arian bishop, therefore, might have been expected to have special influence with Boniface. **While he was in Hippo, Maximinus became distracted by theological differences. A friendly discussion with the Nicene priest Heraclius soon turned into a heated argument, in which Heraclius was soundly thrashed. The latter then appealed to his superior to step in, and the result was an impromptu debate between Maximinus and Augustine himself.**¹⁰² The extant minutes begin, “When Augustine and Maximinus met together at Hippo Regius, Maximinus said, ‘I have not come to this city for the purpose of instigating an altercation with Your Reverence, but, sent by Count Sigisvult, I have come with thoughts of peace.’”¹⁰³ In spite of his disclaimer, Maximinus proceeded to dominate the discussion. His haste to depart left Augustine protesting that he had not had enough time to make his case, and he subsequently published a separate tract expressing what he would have liked to have said.¹⁰⁴ As for Maximinus, he went on to write, at some time after 438, a commentary on the Council of Aquileia of 381 and the Apology of Palladius.¹⁰⁵ And once again, it would seem that an army of Arian Goths was accompanied by its own Arian bishop.¹⁰⁶ (Mathisen, *Barbarian Bishops and the Churches* in *Barbaricis Gentibus*”During Late Antiquity, 1997, p. 679-680)

7th Century : The Greek Diaspora in North Africa and Rome

• [Strickler] The Persian invasions of the beginning of the seventh century and the subsequent Arab invasions had a dramatic effect on the population and led to widespread displacement. A large number of the Greek population, among them important members of the intelligentsia and influential monastics, fled invading armies and found refuge in North Africa, in particular Carthage.⁶¹ In 626, during the siege of Constantinople, a number of monks who would grow to be influential fled the region, including Sophronius as well as Maximus.⁶² As we have seen, Pyrrhus found a comfortable refuge in North Africa after his flight from Constantinople. Monotheletism and in particular the Emperor Constans II were met with great hostility in North Africa under the leadership of the Exarch Gregory. According to the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho*, it was under the auspices of Gregory that the disputation between Pyrrhus and Maximus took place. In 645, the same year as the disputation, Gregory led a revolt against Constans II. Gregory would eventually be killed by Arab armies in 647. Rome was also home to a large diaspora community of military, political and religious refugees. After the fall of Jerusalem in 638, Rome became the sole patriarchate willing or able to resist Monotheletism. ⁶⁴ This made the Eternal City a particularly attractive location for those who fled due to imperial religious policy. Brandes speculates that the effects of the influx of dyothelite refugees may have been felt as early as 641 and contributed to John IV’s aggressive stance against Constantinople.⁶⁵ At any rate, the number of refugees increased dramatically after the failure of Gregory’s uprising and the Arab invasion of North Africa, and the diaspora community became so influential that a number of Greek refugees were elected to the Papacy, including John IV’s successor Pope Theodore I (642-649).⁶⁶ Theodore, who was a refugee from Palestine, continued an active resistance against Monotheletism. It was Theodore, with the help of Maximus, who arrived in 646, who initiated the process of holding a council to condemn Monotheletism outright.⁶⁷ (Strickler, *A Dispute in Dispute: Revisiting the Disputatio cum Pyrrho* Attributed to Maximus the Confessor, 2017, p. 25-26)

• [Strickler] The Disputation, the Recantation, and the Lateran Synod. In July of 645 a formal debate took place between Maximus and Pyrrhus over the question of Monotheletism. ...the fact that the dispute took place and its outcome are witnessed elsewhere and generally accepted. Pyrrhus declared that he was in error and converted to the dyothelite cause. Pyrrhus immediately departed for Rome, according to the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* to be restored by Pope Theodore in person.⁸⁸ Maximus followed soon after, arriving in Rome in 646.

The Witness of God is Greater

(Strickler, *A Dispute in Dispute: Revisiting the Disputatio cum Pyrrho* Attributed to Maximus the Confessor, 2017, p. 30-31)

- [A. Cameron] What little information we have about the later sixth century in Africa does suggest that Latin culture in the old sense was dying out. The next phase of literary production and intellectual activity will be conducted in Greek, the "lingua franca" of the late sixth to seventh century Mediterranean. Africa did not produce a Cassiodorus or an Isidore to make convenient compendia and manuals for those not able or not inclined to read the texts for themselves, there is activity in Africa, all conducted in Greek. ...It may seem curious that the first half of the seventh century was to see a vigorous intellectual activity in Africa, all of it conducted in Greek. (Averil Cameron, "Byzantine Africa: The Literary Evidence," in *Excavations at Carthage* 1978, 1982, p. 32-33)
- [Trilling] The Byzantine use of Augustan political thought had a special place in Christian thought as the instrument of God's will, the ruler whose establishment of a far-flung yet peaceful empire made possible the spread of Christianity. More important for our study, the late seventh-century chronicle of John of Nikiu recounts that when Heraclius arrived at Constantinople in 610 to claim the throne, his North African followers proclaimed, "This emperor Heraclius will be like Augustus. It is the continuing influence of Vergil's own work which raises questions for which only tentative answers as yet exist. Latin was known and used in Constantinople through the sixth century, not only in legal and official spheres but in literary ones as well. It is particularly telling that as late as 566 Corippus' panegyric on Justin II was written in Latin. As Barry Baldwin puts it, "there is no point in writing, of all things, encomia, if no one can read them." It is also clear, however, that the early seventh century was a watershed in the relation of Byzantine society to the Latin language, and that the reign of Heraclius, in particular, saw the triumph of Greek even in the official contexts previously reserved for Latin. As for knowledge of Vergil's own work in the Byzantine world, there is a thread of documentation, albeit a thin one, extending as far as the late sixth century, but apparently no further.
- [Trilling] It may of course be a mistake to see the problem exclusively in terms of the state of Latin learning in seventh-century Constantinople. The creator of the Palace mosaic may have read the *Georgica* in translation: there are tantalizing references to a Greek version of the poem, though its date and readership are unknown. A second possibility is that the mosaic was conceived by a Latin speaker from the western part of the empire, who came to Constantinople in Heraclius' entourage. Although Heraclius and his family were native speakers of Greek, as the son of the exarch of Carthage the future emperor spent at least eight years of his young manhood in a Latin-speaking region. The passage from John of Nikiu, cited above, clearly links the comparison of Heraclius and Augustus with the emperor's North African background. We may safely assume that the comparison was officially sanctioned, the popular reflection of a more sophisticated ideological current within Heraclius' following. If the Augustan connection was a theme in Heraclius' bid for power, nothing is more likely than that the most learned of Heraclius' Latin-speaking followers should have evoked Vergil, the Augustan author par excellence, in support of their victorious emperor. (fn. 155. According to Averil Cameron, "the first half of the seventh century was to see a vigorous intellectual activity in Africa, all of it conducted in Greek" ("Byzantine Africa: The Literary Evidence," 53; italics mine). Cameron refers to the controversies surrounding two refugees from the upheavals in the east, Maximus Confessor and Sophronius, whose careers involved them in religious politics on the highest levels of the empire. Since neither arrived in Africa until Heraclius' rule in Constantinople was well established, the resurgence of interest in Greek which they stimulated can have no effect on the emperor's own background or that of his early associates.)
- James Trilling, *The Soul of the Empire*, 1989, p. 60-61.

Cassiodorus (485-585 AD)

- **Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator (c. 485 – c. 585),**[1] commonly known as Cassiodorus, was a Roman statesman, renowned scholar of antiquity, and writer serving in the administration of Theodoric the Great, king of the Ostrogoths. Senator was part of his surname, not his rank. He also founded a monastery, Vivarium, where he spent the last years of his life. Cassiodorus was born at Scylletium, near Catanzaro in Calabria, Italy. His ancestry included some of the most prominent ministers of the state extending back several generations.[2]

The Witness of God is Greater

His great-grandfather held a command in the defense of the coasts of southern Italy from Vandal sea-raiders in the middle of the fifth century; his grandfather appears in a Roman embassy to Attila the Hun, and his father served as Count of the sacred largesses and count of the private estates to Odovacer[2] before transferring his allegiance to Theoderic. Under Theoderic, Cassiodorus' father (who bore the same name), rose to an even higher position, achieving the office of Praetorian Prefect, which held, under the Gothic kings, the same influence that it had previously in the court of Rome. Cassiodorus began his career under the auspices of his father. When his father was appointed Praetorian Prefecture, Cassiodorus was given the office of Consiliarius. In the judicial capacity of the prefect, his father held absolute right of appeal over any magistrate in the empire (or Gothic kingdom, later) and his son, Cassiodorus, who was the consiliarius served as a sort of legal advisor in cases of greater complexity. Evidently, therefore, Cassiodorus had received some education in the law.[3] During his working life he worked as quaestor sacri palatii c. 507–511, as a consul in 514, then as magister officiorum under Theoderic, and later under the regency for Theoderic's young successor, Athalaric. (Cassiodorus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cassiodorus>)

- Cassiodorus kept copious records and letterbooks concerning public affairs. At the Gothic court his literary skill, which seems mannered and rhetorical to modern readers, was so esteemed that when in Ravenna he was often entrusted with drafting significant public documents. His culminating appointment was as Praetorian Prefect for Italy, effectively the prime ministership of the Ostrogothic civil government[4] and a high honor to finish any career. Cassiodorus also collaborated with Pope Agapetus I in establishing a library of Greek and Latin texts which were intended to support a Christian school in Rome. Athalaric died in early 534, and the remainder of Cassiodorus' public career was dominated by the Byzantine reconquest and dynastic intrigue among the Ostrogoths. His last letters were drafted in the name of Vitiges. Around 537–38, he left Italy for Constantinople, from where his successor was appointed, where he remained for almost two decades, concentrating on religious questions. He notably met Junillus, the quaestor of Justinian I there. His Constantinopolitan journey contributed to the improvement of his religious knowledge. Cassiodorus spent his career trying to bridge the 6th-century cultural divides: between East and West, Greek culture and Latin, Roman and Goth, and between an Orthodox people and their Arian rulers. He speaks fondly in his *Institutiones* of Dionysius Exiguus, the calculator of the Anno Domini era. (Cassiodorus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cassiodorus>)

- Cassiodorus' Vivarium "monastery school"[6] was composed of two main buildings: a coenobitic monastery and a retreat, for those who desired a more solitary life. Both were located on the site of the modern Santa Maria de Vetere near Squillace. The twin structure of Vivarium was to permit coenobitic monks and hermits to coexist. The Vivarium appears not to have been governed by a strict monastic rule, such as that of the Benedictine Order. (Cassiodorus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cassiodorus>)

- Cassiodorus devoted much of his life to supporting education within the Christian community at large. When his proposed theological university in Rome was denied, he was forced to re-examine his entire approach to how material was learned and interpreted.[12] His *Variae* [a work by Cassiodorus] show that, like Augustine of Hippo, Cassiodorus viewed reading as a transformative act for the reader. It is with this in mind that Cassiodorus designed and mandated the course of studies at the Vivarium ["monastery school" founded by Cassiodorus], which demanded an intense regimen of reading and meditation. By assigning a specific order of texts to be read, Cassiodorus hoped to create the discipline necessary within the reader to become a successful monk. The first work in this succession of texts would be the Psalms [Expositio Psalmorum by Cassiodorus], with which the untrained reader would need to begin because of its appeal to emotion and temporal goods.[13] By examining the rate at which copies of his Psalmic commentaries were issued, it is fair to assess that, as the first work in his series [Expositio Psalmorum], Cassiodorus's educational agenda had been implemented to some degree of success.[13] Beyond demanding the pursuit of discipline among his students, Cassiodorus encouraged the study of the liberal arts. He believed these arts were part of the content of the Bible, and some mastery of them—especially grammar and rhetoric—necessary for a complete understanding of Scripture.[13] These arts were divided into trivium (rhetoric, idioms, vocabulary and etymology) and quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy). (Cassiodorus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cassiodorus>)

The Witness of God is Greater

• Cassiodorus' work *Institutiones* was written to guide the monks' studies. To this end, the *Institutiones* focus largely on texts assumed to have been available in Vivarium's library ["monastery school" founded by Cassiodorus]. The *Institutiones* seem to have been composed over a lengthy period of time, from the 530s into the 550s, with redactions up to the time of Cassiodorus' death. Cassiodorus composed the *Institutiones* as a guide for introductory learning of both "divine" and "secular" writings, in place of his formerly planned Christian school in Rome: "I was moved by divine love to devise for you, with God's help, these introductory books to take the place of a teacher. Through them I believe that both the textual sequence of Holy Scripture and also a compact account of secular letters may, with God's grace, be revealed.[7]" The first section of the *Institutiones* deals with Christian texts, and was intended to be used in combination with the *Expositio Psalmorum* [by Cassiodorus]. The order of subjects in the second book of the *Institutiones* reflected what would become the Trivium and Quadrivium of medieval liberal arts: grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. While Cassiodorus encouraged study of secular subjects, he clearly considered them useful primarily as aids to the study of divinity, much in the same manner as St. Augustine. Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* thus attempted to provide what Cassiodorus saw as a well-rounded education necessary for a learned Christian, all in "one work" (Latin: *uno corpore*), as Cassiodorus put it.[8] The library at Vivarium was still active c. 630, when the monks brought the relics of Saint Agathius from Constantinople, dedicating to him a spring-fed fountain shrine that still exists.[9] However, its books were later dispersed, the *Codex Grandior* of the Bible being purchased by the Anglo-Saxon Ceolfrith when he was in Italy in 679–80, and taken by him to Wearmouth Jarrow, where it served as the source for the copying of the *Codex Amiatinus*, which was then brought back to Italy by the now aged Ceolfrith.[10] Despite the demise of the Vivarium ["monastery school"], Cassiodorus' work in compiling classical sources and presenting a sort of bibliography of resources would prove extremely influential in Late Antique Western Europe.[11] (Cassiodorus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cassiodorus>)

• Cassiodorus is rivalled only by Boethius in his drive to preserve and explore classical literature during the 6th century AD.[14][15] He found the writings of the Greeks and Romans valuable for their expression of higher truths where other arts failed.[13] Though he saw these texts as vastly inferior to the perfect word of Scripture, the truths presented in them confirmed Cassiodorus' educational principles. Thus he is unafraid to cite Cicero alongside sacred text, and acknowledge the classical ideal of the practice of rhetoric as practical and "good".[13] His love for classical thought also influenced his administration of Vivarium. Cassiodorus connected deeply with Christian neoplatonism, which saw beauty as concomitant [naturally associated] with the "good" [i.e., the Creator]. This inspired him to adjust his educational program to support the aesthetic enhancement of manuscripts within the monastery. Classical learning would by no means replace the role of Scripture within the monastery; it was intended to augment the education already under way. It is also worth noting that all Greek and Roman works were heavily screened to ensure only proper exposure to text, fitting with the rest of the structured learning.[17] (Cassiodorus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cassiodorus>)

• Cassiodorus' legacy is quietly profound. Before the founding of Vivarium, the copying of manuscripts had been a task reserved for either inexperienced or physically infirm devotees, and was performed at the whim of literate monks. Through the influence of Cassiodorus, the monastic system adopted a more vigorous, widespread, and regular approach to reproducing documents within the monastery.[18] This approach to the development of the monastic lifestyle was perpetuated especially through German religious institutions.[18] This change in daily life also became associated with a higher purpose: the process was not merely associated with disciplinary habit, but also with the preservation of history [and education].[19] During Cassiodorus' lifetime, theological study was on the decline and classical writings were disappearing. Even as the victorious Ostrogoth armies remained in the countryside, they continued to pillage and destroy religious relics in Italy.[14] Cassiodorus' programme helped ensure that both classical and sacred literature were preserved through the Middle Ages. (Cassiodorus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cassiodorus>)

• [Historia tripartita] ...sometime after 540, Cassiodorus compiled the *Historia (ecclesiastica) tripartita*, a church history based on the works of three fifth-century Greek historians: Sozomen, Socrates, and Theodoret. It was then translated from Greek into Latin by Epiphanius, a member of the Vivarium community. Troncarelli suggests that the sixth century codex BAV, Vat. lat. 5074 [Troncarelli, Vivarium, p. 37-38], where marks in the margin are believed to be in Cassiodorus' hand, shows the process of translation. Cassiodorus' method was to edit style and orthography from a text already

The Witness of God is Greater

compiled and translated. Cassiodorus indicates in both the preface to the *Historia tripartita* and in the description of his *Institutiones* that he himself compiled the text, and there is no reason to disbelieve him. Possibly with the help of Epiphanius, Cassiodorus did so from the Greek texts. The *Historia tripartita* combines [PAGE 35] an historical narrative of synods and imperial interference with church affairs, short hagiographical anecdotes, and documentation in the form of letters and council acts. The period encompassed in the *Historia tripartita* runs from Constantine I to Theodosius II, for no other apparent reason than that this is the time also covered by the three Greek church histories. [fn. 3. Described by Cassiodorus in his *Institutiones* I.XVII: "Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret wrote of the events in the Greek world in the period following the history of Eusebius; with God's aid I have had these works translated by the learned Epiphanius in a collection of twelve books so that eloquent Greece cannot boast that it possesses an indispensable work that has not been available to us."] (Désirée Scholten, "Cassiodorus' *Historia tripartita* before the earliest extant manuscripts" in *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe*, 2015, p. 34-35)

HIT:

- [Commentary 1 John 5] "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God, &c." He who believeth Jesus to be God, is born of God the Father; he without doubt is faithful, and he who loves the Father, loves also the Christ who is born of him. Now we so love him, when we keep his commandments, which to just minds are not heavy : but they rather overcome the world, when they believe in him who created the world. **To which thing witness on earth three mysteries, the water, the blood, and the spirit, which were fulfilled, we read, in the passion of the Lord; but in heaven the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit ; and these three is one God.** (Cassiodorus, *Commentary on the Epistles*. 1 John 5; Translated by Porson, 1790, p. 348-349.)
 - **Latin:** Omnis qui credit quia Jesus est Christus, ex Deo natus est, et reliqua. Qui Deum Jesum credit, ex Deo Patre natus est, iste sine dubitatione fidelis [1373] est; et qui diligit genitorem, amat et eum qui ex eo natus est Christus. Sic autem diligimus eum, cum mandata ejus facimus, quae justis mentibus gravia non videntur; sed potius vincunt saeculum, quando in illum credunt qui condidit mundum. **Cui rei testificantur in terra tria mysteria: aqua, sanguis et spiritus, quae in passione Domini leguntur impleta: in coelo autem Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus; et hi tres unus est Deus.** (Cassiodorus, *Complexiones in Epistulas*. 1 John 5; Migne Latina, PL 70.1373A)

Comment:

• [Lamy] Tischendorf acknowledges that Cassiodorus, a man deeply versed in Holy Scripture, knew the text of the three heavenly witnesses. In his [Cassiodorus'] work entitled *Complexiones in Epistolis Apostolorum*, which Scipio Maffei edited from an almost contemporaneous manuscript, Cassiodorus thus expresses himself on I. Joan., v. [Latin] Cassiodorus, like St Eucherius, mystically interprets water, blood and spirit, as three symbols concerning the Passion of Christ. **To those three earthly symbols in terra, he opposes the three heavenly witnesses in coelo, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one God.** Evidently we have here verse 7. Cassiodorus does not cite it textually, but he gives the sense of it. He puts it in opposition to verse 8, for he contrasts in coelo with in terra. The last words: "And these three are one" (Latin: Et hi tres unus est Deus) can be referred only to verse 7, since Cassiodorus refers "the three are one" (Latin: tria unum sunt) of verse 8, to the Passion of Our Saviour. It is also to be remarked that Cassiodorus uses the pre-hieronymian Vulgate and not the version of St. Jerome. Maffei's conclusion is therefore justified when he says: Verse 7 was read not only in Africa, but in the most ancient and the most accurate Codices of the Roman Church, since Cassiodorus recommended to the monks to seek, above all else, the correct copies and to compare them with the Greek. (Lamy, "The Decision of the Holy Office on the Comma Johanneum" in *American Ecclesiastical Review* 1897, p. 468)

• [Maffei] See this much talked-of place of St. John about the Trinity, about which there is a most vigorous battle at this day. I even composed a book collecting those things brought forward to this question by most of the learned men. **The heavenly testimony, as they call it, that he approaches here finds of course a very valid defense from this work of Cassiodorus; as in the end it corresponds to the fact that not only in the African, but also in the most ancient codices of the Roman Church this verse is provided.** About those of Africa, at least, there can be no doubt. (Maffei, *Istoria teologica delle dottrine*, 1742, vol 1, p. 145, fn. a; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, March 2020)

The Witness of God is Greater

Canons of the Second Council of Braga (572 AD)

• The Second Council of Braga, held in 572, **presided over by Martin of Braga**, was held to increase the number of bishops in Gallaecia. Twelve bishops assisted at this council, and ten decrees were promulgated: (1) that the bishops should in their visitations see in what manner the priests celebrated the Holy Sacrifice and administered baptism and the other sacraments, thanking God if they found everything as it should be, and instructing the priests if they were found wanting in knowledge, and obliging all catechumens to attend instructions for twenty days before baptism and to learn the creed; (2) that the bishop must not be tyrannical towards his priests; (3-4) that no fee must be accepted for Holy orders, and the holy chrism must be distributed free; (5-6) that the bishop must not ask a fee for consecrating a church, that no church should be consecrated without the bishop being sure of the endowment of the ministers, and that no church built on private property for the purpose of emolument should receive consecration; (8) that if a cleric should accuse any one of unchastity without the evidence of two or three witnesses he should be excommunicated; (9) that the metropolitan should announce the date of Easter, and have it made known to the people after Christmas, so that they might be prepared for the beginning of Lent, when litanies were to be recited for three days; on the third day the Lenten fast should be announced after the Mass; (10) that any one saying Mass without fasting, as many did, as a result of Priscillianist tendencies, should be deprived of his office. This council was attended by the bishops of the suffragan sees of Braga, and by those of the Diocese of Lugo, and Pope Innocent III removed all doubt as to its authenticity. (Second Council of Braga. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Council_of_Braga>)

• **Saint Martin of Braga** (in Latin Martinus Bracaraensis, in Portuguese, known as Martinho de Dume c. 520–580 AD) was an archbishop of Bracara Augusta in Gallaecia (now Braga in Portugal), a missionary, a monastic founder, and an ecclesiastical author. According to his contemporary, the historian Gregory of Tours, Martin was *plenus virtutibus* ("full of virtue") and in *tantum se litteris imbuat ut nulli secundus sui temporis haberetur* ("he so instructed himself in learning that he was considered second to none in his lifetime").[1] He was later canonized in the Catholic Church as well as in the Eastern and Oriental Orthodox churches, for his work in converting the inhabitants of Gallaecia to Chalcedonian Christianity,. His feast day is 20 March. Born in Pannonia, in Central Europe, Martin made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where he became a monk.[2] He found his way to Hispania, decided to settle in Gallaecia. "His intentions in going to a place so remote by the standards of his own day are unknown," writes Roger Collins. But his arrival in Gallaecia was historically significant, for he played an important role in converting the Suevi from their current Arian beliefs to the Chalcedonian Christianity of their Fifth-century king Rechiar. While there he founded several monasteries, the best known of which was at Dumium (modern Dumio);[2] around 550 he was consecrated bishop of Braga, whence comes his surname. In May 561, Martin attended the provincial First Council of Braga as bishop of Dumio. He presided over the Second Council of Braga held in 572 as archbishop of Braga,[2] having been elevated to the archdiocese between the two events; **Laistner notes "His authorship of ten chapters submitted and approved in 572 is certain and there is little doubt that he also compiled the Acts of both Councils."** [M.L.W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe: A.D. 500 to 900*, second edition (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1957), p. 117] **Martin of Braga was a prolific author. Besides his contributions to the two provincial councils, he translated into Latin a collection of 109 sayings attributed to Egyptian abbots, while at his instigation the monk Paschasius, whom Martin had taught Greek translated another collection of sayings, entitled *Verbum seniorum*. But for modern scholars, his most interesting works were two treatises he wrote in the final decade of his life, *De ira* and *Formula vitae honestae*, because they were adapted from two essays of Seneca the Younger which were subsequently lost. "Martin's tract are valuable evidence that some at least of Seneca's writings were still available in the land of his birth in the sixth century," writes Laistner.** Three other short essays on ethics demonstrate his clear familiarity with the works of John Cassian. [See: M.L.W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe: A.D. 500 to 900*, second edition (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1957), p. 117] (Martin of Braga. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martin_of_Braga>)

HITS:

The Witness of God is Greater

- 55 What ought to be offered on the altar? There must be nothing else to be offered in the sanctuary besides bread, wine, and water, these are blessed in the type of Christ, because while he was hanging on the cross blood and water flowed out of his body. **These three are one in Christ Jesus:** this sacrifice and the oblation of God for a sweet odor. (Canons of the Second Council of Braga)
 - **Latin:** LV. Quid in altari offerri oporteat. Non oportet aliquid aliud in sanctuario offerri præter panem et vinum et aquam, quæ in typo Christi benedicuntur, quia dum in cruce penderet de corpore eius sanguis effluxit et aqua. **Hæc tria unum sunt in Christo Iesu,** hæc hostia et oblatio Dei in odorem suavitatis. (Canons of the Second Council of Braga; Migne Latina, PL 84:582)

Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila (6th century)

• The Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila is a Greek Christian text giving a dialogue, akin to that of Dialogue with Trypho, between Timothy, a Christian, and Aquila, a Jew. **The text was earlier thought to date to 200 CE, however recent studies assign a later date, as late as the 6th century.** (Dialogue_of_Timothy_and_Aquila. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dialogue_of_Timothy_and_Aquila>)

• [Prologue] When the manifestation of our Savior and Lord Jesus Christ had taken place throughout all the inhabited world and when the prophetic oracles were being fulfilled and the apostolic teachings were shining forth, faith in the holy and trinity (the persons of the Trinity being defined as: homoousian) was being established both for everyone and everywhere in the whole inhabited world. Intemperance was being expelled and virtue was being administered, brotherly hatred was being condemned and hospitality was being multiplied, the devil was being shamed but God was being glorified. And when the demon who hates the good saw God being glorified and worshipped, and saw his own works destroyed and spit upon, he was very irritated and entered into a certain **Jewish man named Aquila**. The same way that in Paradise he entered through the serpent into a weak vessel, the woman, so now he also entered into a Jew. Now it is clear that he was not able to speak against Christ through a Christian. Indeed our Lord Jesus Christ was from Jews according to the flesh, and he was proclaimed by Jews, and again this is clear to all, for all the prophets were from Israel. Now, this **Aquila** was going around in the synagogues and teaching the divine scriptures, saying this: "*The one whom the Christians now worship is not the Messiah, but he was a man even as we are. He was condemned to be crucified as a blasphemer because he said that he was God. For the Divine scriptures teach us to worship one God only. For it is written: Hear, Israel, the Lord your God is one and there is no god besides me (Deut. 6:4; Isa. 44:6). And again He says to Moses in the Bush. I am the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob your fathers (Exod. 3:6). Also through all the prophets and in the historical books and in every place generally He teaches us to worship one God and not two. And this Jesus – we know from where he came. We know the name of his father and his mother. But when the Messiah comes, no one will know from where he is.*" Then, on one day, **Aquila** was sitting in the Jewish Quarter and was speaking about these matters to the Jews who were gathering there. And while he was saying these things, **a Christian named Timothy arrived**. And when he heard him saying these things, he made the seal in Christ, that is, the sign of the cross on his forehead and his heart. He then said to Aquila, "*Are you willing to sit together in some place and search out together this issue from the holy scriptures?*" And **Aquila** said: "*Yes, if you wish to, we can do that.*" And the **Christian** said: "*When do you wish?*" And **Aquila** said: "*Tomorrow.*" (Varner, Ancient Jewish-Christian dialogues, 2004, p. 141.)

HITS:

- *Aquila said:* If then there are two persons of the Father and the Son, is the third the Holy Spirit?
Christian said: **There are three substances but one being. And there are three persons, but one Deity, a unity in trinity and a trinity in unity.**
 - Varner, Ancient Jewish-Christian dialogues, 2004, p. 195.
 - **Greek:** ὁ ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· εἰ οὖν δύο πρόσωπάεστιν πατὴρ καὶ υἱός, τρίτον δὲ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.

The Witness of God is Greater

Greek: ὁ χριστιανὸς εἶπε· τρεῖς μὲν ὑποστάσεις, μία δὲ οὐσία· καὶ τρία πρόσωπα, μία δὲ θεότης, μὸνὰ ἐν τριάδι καὶ τριάς ἐν μονάδι.

• Conybeare, *The dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*, p. 81 : f101r.

Comments:

- [Conybeare] The dialogue of Timothy and Aquila, is taken from a codex in the Vatican, No. 47 of the codices Graeci Pii PP. II, described on p. 164 of Signor Enrico Stevenson's catalogue, Rome, 1888, as "membr. in 16, saec. XII, fol. 153." The greater part of the volume, apart from the dialogue, consists of grammatical matter taken from Dionysius Thrax and Theodosius of Alexandria. This fills foil. 2-66. (Conybeare, "Prolegomena" in *The Dialogues of Athanasius and Zacchaeus and of Timothy and Aquila*, 1898, p. ix)
- [Conybeare] The title affixed to the dialogue of Timothy and Aquila describes the debate as having taken place in Alexandria in the days of the Archbishop Cyril, and to this date belong the allusions to the Trinity (f75v, f101v, f103r). But this title really no more than marks the time at which the work assumed its present form. For that it is a recension of some older dialogue is evident from the archaic character of the gospel texts embedded in it, and from the fact that the other dialogue of Athanasius and Zacchaeus is also an independent working up of that older and lost document. (Conybeare, "Prolegomena" in *The Dialogues of Athanasius and Zacchaeus and of Timothy and Aquila*, 1898, p. xxxiv)
- [Conybeare] The dialogue of Timothy and Aquila was held in the public promenade at Alexandria, a place where rhetorical displays took place, and before a considerable audience gathered to hear it. (Conybeare, "Prolegomena" in *The Dialogues of Athanasius and Zacchaeus and of Timothy and Aquila*, 1898, p. liv)
- [Conybeare] It is probable that the dialogue of Timothy and Aquila better represents this lost basis than the dialogue of Athanasius and Zacchaeus. Its halting and defective Greek style ; its affectation of a knowledge of Hebrew shown in the interpretations of the words Emmanuel in f82v, of "mine" (Greek: ὀιδιχ) in f83r, of manna in f99r, of Amalek in f99v ; its belief that the Antichrist will come of the tribe of Dan, in f91r ; its acceptance of the Testament of Solomon as the sage's own work ; its constant use of an archaic form of Gospel—these characteristics, mostly absent in the dialogue of Athanasius and Zacchaeus, indicate that it preserves better than the dialogue of Athanasius and Zacchaeus the lost common basis. (Conybeare, "Prolegomena" in *The Dialogues of Athanasius and Zacchaeus and of Timothy and Aquila*, 1898, p. lvi)

Feast of the Entrance of the Theotokos (500 to 750 AD)

- [Olkinuora] The topic of this study is the feast of the Entrance of the Theotokos (Τὰ Εἰσόδια τῆς Θεοτόκου), which belongs to the cycle of the twelve great feasts of the Orthodox Church. It is celebrated on November 21 and is particularly important for contemporary monastics. The feast commemorates the dedication of Mary as a three-year-old child by her parents, Joachim and Anna in the temple of Jerusalem, her reception by the elderly Zacharias, and the beginning of her residence there. The Theotokos was accompanied by a procession of women. (Olkinuora, *Byzantine Hymnography for the Feast of the Entrance of the Theotokos*, 2015, p. 24)
- [Olkinuora] The earliest precise evidence of the official celebration was, then, discovered by Kishpaugh. Germanos I of Constantinople wrote two homilies that were supposed to be read on the feast day of the Entrance. Germanos died either in 730 or 742, so the celebration must have become fixed before this date, at least in Constantinople. According to the statement of Theodore Balsamon in the 1100's, the entrance was celebrated for the first time in Constantinople in 730. (Olkinuora, *Byzantine Hymnography for the Feast of the Entrance of the Theotokos*, 2015, p. 35)

HITS:

Second Ode of the Kanon of the Feast, 1st mode.

Triadikon:

O Father, Ruler of All,

**Son and Word of God
and the Divine Spirit**, have mercy
on those who worship you in faith
and chant unto you
as one God without beginning.

Greek:

**Πάτερ Παντοκράτορ,
Υἱὲ καὶ Λόγε Θεοῦ,
καὶ τὸ θεῖον Πνεῦμα οἰκτείρισον,**
τοὺς προσκυνούντας πίστει,
καὶ ὡς Θεὸν ἀναρχον,
ἕνα σὲ ὑμνοῦντας.

• Sinait. gr. 570, 11th century : f79r-f79v; (Olkinuora, 2015, p. 289)

Second Unpublished Kanon of the Feast, 3rd mode.

Triadikon:

The Trinity, one in essence,
as rays of light are hymned
unceasingly by the cherubim,
the three luminaries
that distinctly send forth
one radiance.

Greek:

Ἐν μιᾷ οὐσίᾳ ἡ Τριάς,
ὥσπερ ἀκτῖνες φωτὸς,
ὑμνεῖται ἀκαταπαύστως,
τοῖς ἄνω χερουβείμ,
τὰ τρία φῶτα διηρημένως,
μίαν αἴγλην ἐκπέμποντα.

• Paris. gr. 259 : Menaion of November, 12th century : f.215v–218r; (Olkinuora, 2015, p. 309)

Triadikon:

I worship God both as one and three;
honouring him as one in might and in essence,
yet three in accordance with their properties,
as Father, Son, and Spirit.

Greek:

Καὶ ἕν καὶ τρία σέβω τὸν Θεόν,
ἕν μὲν τῷ κράτει αὐτὸν καὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ τιμῶν,
τρία πάλιν δὲ ταῖς ἰδιότησι,
καὶ γὰρ Πατὴρ καὶ Ὑἱὸς καὶ Πνεῦμα.

• Paris. gr. 259 : Menaion of November, 12th century : f.215v–218r; (Olkinuora, 2015, p. 310)

Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus (530-609 AD)

• Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus (c. 530 – c. 600/609 AD) was a Latin poet and hymnodist in the Merovingian Court, and a Bishop of the Early Church. He has been venerated as Saint Venantius Fortunatus since the Middle Ages.[1] Venantius Fortunatus was born between 530 and 540 AD at Duplavis (or Duplavilis), near Treviso in Venetia, Italy.[2] He grew up during the Roman reconquest of Italy. Sometime in the 550s or 60s, he travelled to Ravenna to study. While there, he was given a classical education, in the Roman style. His later work shows familiarity with not only classical Latin poets such as Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Statius, and Martial, but also Christian poets, including Arator, Claudian, and Coelius Sedulius, and bears their influence. In addition, Fortunatus likely had some knowledge of the Greek language

The Witness of God is Greater

and the classical Greek writers and philosophers, as he makes reference to them and Greek words at times throughout his poetry and prose. Fortunatus eventually migrated, arriving in the spring of 566 in Metz at the Merovingian Court, probably with the specific intention of becoming a poet in the court. It was there his successful career really began. To reach Metz, he took a winding route, passing through four modern countries: Italy, Austria, Germany and France. Fortunatus himself explains two entirely different reasons for this route. Describing the first reason, he "portrays himself in the guise of a wandering minstrel, his journey just one in a series of adventures." [4] The second reason is more religious, explaining in his Vita S. Martini that he took this route to worship at the shrine of St Martin in Tours, visiting other shrines as he went. [5] Fortunatus' arrival in Metz coincides with the marriage of King Sigibert and Queen Brunhild, and at the ceremony he performed a celebration poem for the entire court. After this incident, Fortunatus had many noble patrons, as well as bishops, who wished him to write poetry for them. About a year after he arrived in Metz, Fortunatus travelled to the court of King Charibert, Sigibert's brother, in Paris, and stayed there until Charibert's death in 567 or 568. Due to danger presented by King Chilperic, brother of Sigibert and Charibert, Fortunatus had to move south to Tours, returning to Sigibert's lands. From there, he ventured to Poitiers where he met Rade Gund. They became close friends, and Fortunatus wrote many poems in her honour and in support of her political campaigns. Fortunatus had made another great friendship in Tours and Poitiers: with Gregory of Tours, who was installed as Bishop of Tours in 573, from whom Fortunatus also received patronage. In 580, Fortunatus wrote a poem defending Gregory against treasonous charges placed upon him at Chilperic's court. After the death of Sigibert, and that of Chilperic, Fortunatus moved to Childebert's court in Poitiers. Childebert was Sigibert's son. Sometime around 576, he was ordained into the church. [6] He stayed there until around the year 599-600, when he was appointed Bishop of Poitiers, to replace Plato, Bishop of Poitiers. Fortunatus died in the early 7th century. He was called a saint after his death, but was never formally canonized. [7] (Venantius Fortunatus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Venantius_Fortunatus>)

• **[Waterland]** A.D. 570. The first comment to be met with on this Creed is one of the sixth century, composed by Venantius Fortunatus, an Italian by birth, but one that travelled into France and Germany, became acquainted with the most eminent scholars and prelates all over the west, and was at length made Bishop of Poitiers in France. His comment on this Creed has been published from a manuscript about 600 years old*, out of the Ambrosian library at Milan, by Muratorius, in his second tome of Anecdota, in the year 1698. There can be no reasonable doubt but that the comment really belongs to the man whose name it bears. 1. Because in the same book there is also a comment upon the Apostles' Creed ascribed to Fortunatus, and which is known to belong to Venantius Fortunatus, and has been before printed among his other works. 2. Because it appears highly probable from what Venantius Fortunatus has occasionally dropped in his other undoubted works, that he was [PAGE 135] really acquainted with the Athanasian Creed, and borrowed expressions from it. 3. Because in the expositions of the Apostles' and Athanasian Creeds, there is great similitude of style, thoughts, and expressions; which shews that both are of the same hand, and indeed, the other circumstances considered, abundantly proves it. It would burden my margin too much, otherwise it were easy to give at least half a dozen plain specimens, where either the expressions or turn of thought, or both, are exactly parallel. Such as think it of moment to examine, may easily be satisfied by comparing the comment on the Apostles' Creed, in the tenth tome of the last Bibliothéque, with the comment on the Athanasian, in Muratorius. (Waterland, "The Athanasian Creed" in The Works of Rev. Daniel Waterland, Vol 3, 1843, p. 134-135)

HIT:

- **[Expositio Fidei Catholicae]** Nor let us confuse the Persons, as Sabellius errs, who says that the Father Himself is the Person that is also the Son Himself and the Holy Spirit; therefore let's not confuse the Persons, because the Three are altogether complete Persons. For here is a Begetter, a Begotten and a Proceeder. The Begetter is the Father, who begot the Son; the Begotten is the Son, whom the Father begot; the Proceeder is the Holy Spirit, because He proceeds from the Father and Son. The Father and Son are both co-eternal, of equal age, and co-operators, as it is written: "By the Word of the Lord were the heavens established," i.e. created by the Son of God; "by the Spirit of His mouth all their host" (Ps. 33:6). When in singular number it is said His Spirit, the Trinity of the Persons is clearly described, **because the Three are One, and the One is Three.** (Venantius Honorius

The Witness of God is Greater

Clementianus Fortunatus. Exposition on the Catholic Faith [Athanasius Creed]. Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, 2019.)

- **Latin:** Neque confundentes personas, ut Sabellius errat, qui ipsum dicit esse Patrem in persona, quem et Filium ipsum, et Spiritum sanctum; non ergo confundentes personas, quia tres personae omnino sunt. Est enim gignens, genitus et procedens. Gignens est Pater, qui genuit Filium; Filius est genitus, quem genuit Pater; Spiritus sanctus est procedens, quia a Patre et Filio procedit. (0587C) Pater et Filius coaeterni sibi sunt, et coaequales, et cooperatores, sicut scriptum est: Verbo Domini coeli firmati sunt, id est a Filio Dei creati; Spiritu oris eius omnis virtus eorum (Psal. XXXII, 6) . Ubi sub singulari numero Spiritus eius dicitur, Trinitatem personarum aperte demonstrat, **quia tres unum sunt, et unum tres.** (Expositio Fidei Catholicae [Athanasius creed] Fortunati; Migne Latina, PL 88.587)

Comment:

• [Translator] Especially noteworthy (which gets lost in translation) is the double use of unum and tres. This is a deliberate play of grammatical gender. Unum as a neuter refers to One essence. Tres as feminine refers to Three Persons (in Latin personas is feminine). That this is left implicit even for the Latin reader supports in my eyes the idea that the author quotes Scripture here. The whole weight of his argument lies in the grammatical gender of the scriptural phrase 'tres unum sunt', similar to the argumentation of Tertullian and Cyprian. (Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, December 2019)

An Exposition of the Catholic and Apostolic Faith (501-799 AD)

• [Swainson] The first of the four Formulae of Faith contained in this Quesnel collection (the four are numbered XXXVII, XXXVIII, XXXIX, XL), is "An Exposition of the Catholic and Apostolic Faith against the Arian Heresy". Some manuscripts entitle it simply "Expositio Fidei Catholicae": others simply "De Fide Catholica". **This is found not only in the Quesnel collection (Maassen, p. 394), but also in the collections i) of the MS. of Saint Blaise, which Prof. Maassen describes, p. 504: and ii) of the manuscript of Diessen, p. 624. Of the former, one manuscript is of the sixth century. Of course, therefore, the Creed is at least as old as the sixth century.** (Swainson, The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds: Their Literary History, 1875, p. 254-255)

HIT:

- An Exposition of the Catholic and Apostolic Faith against the Arian Heresy. We confess the Father, Son and Holy Spirit in a perfect Trinity, so that there shall be both a fulness of Divinity and a Unity of power. For he who separates the Godhead of the Trinity, speaks of Three Gods. **The Father is God, the Son God, the Holy Ghost God, and the three are one (unum) in Christ Jesus.** There are therefore three Persons, but one Power. Diversity makes more than one, but unity of power excludes quantity of number, because unity is not a number. Therefore there is one God, one Faith, one Baptism. *If any one has not this Faith he cannot be called a Catholic, because he does not hold the Catholic Faith. He is a liar, profane, and rebellious against the truths.* (Appendix ad opera S. Leonis Magni. CAPITULUM XXXVII.; Migne Latina, PL 56.582)
 - **Latin:** Expositio fidei catholicae atque apostolicae contra haeresim Arianam. Nos Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum sanctum confitemur, ita in Trinitate perfecta, ut et plenitudo sit Divinitatis, et unitas potestatis. Nam tres Deos dicit qui Divinitatem separat Trinitatis. **Pater Deus, Filius Deus, Spiritus sanctus Deus, et tres unum sunt in Christo Iesu.** Tres itaque personae, sed una potestas. Ergo diversitas plures facit; unitas vero potestatis (0582B) excludit numeri quantitatem: quia unitas numerus non est. Itaque unus Deus, una Fides, unum Baptisma. *Si quis vero hanc fidem non habet, catholicus non potest dici, quia catholicam non tenet fidem; alienus est, profanus est, et adversus veritatem rebellis.* (Appendix ad opera S. Leonis Magni. CAPITULUM XXXVII.; Migne Latina, PL 56.582)

Codex Sanblasiana (Cologne 213)

- [Elliot] According to one scholar's recent assessment, *Collectiones Sanblasiana* 'holds a prominent place among the historically organized pre-Carolingian canon law collections.' Unfortunately, **relatively little research has been done on this collection in the last hundred years**, and much remains to be learned about its origins, design and development. (Elliot, "Canon Law Collections in England ca 600–1066: The Manuscript Evidence", 2013, p. 232)
- [Elliot] *Collectiones Sanblasiana* is not quite so ancient as either *Collectiones Quesnelliana* or *Collectiones Dionysiana*. Large parts of *Collectiones Sanblasiana* are, as will be seen, based on translations (known as 'priscan') of the Greek canons that were made some time after those translations (known as 'Isidorian') used in *Collectiones Quesnelliana*. Moreover, and again as will be seen, several passages in *Collectiones Sanblasiana* have been lifted from Dionysius's collection, and so *Collectiones Sanblasiana* cannot antedate that work. Finally, since *Collectiones Sanblasiana* contains a full complement of forgeries from Pope Symmachus's pontificate (498–514), at least in its present form *Collectiones Sanblasiana* cannot have been compiled earlier than that period. So much for *termini post quos*. **A terminus ante quem is much more difficult to establish, since the earliest extant manuscripts of *Collectiones Sanblasiana* date from the early eighth century. Two collections derivative of *Collectiones Sanblasiana*, the *Colbertina* and the *Diessensis prima* (see below), date to before the eighth century, but it is difficult to say by how much: the *Diessensis prima* seems to have originated in the seventh century, while the *Colbertina* may be as early as the middle of the sixth century or as late as the eighth. At present, therefore, it seems impossible to establish on textual grounds a firm date before which *Collectiones Sanblasiana* must have been composed.** (Elliot, "Canon Law Collections in England ca 600–1066: The Manuscript Evidence", 2013, p. 233-234)
- [Elliot] Source, affiliate, and derivative collections: Maassen classed *Collectiones Sanblasiana* with three other chronological collections—the *collectiones Vaticana*, *Iustelliana*, and *Teatina* (i.e. the *Chieti* collection)—which arose in Italy at about the same time. While each collection in Maassen's Italian group is quite different from the other in contents and organization, all four have a number of important features in common. ...Most importantly, however, all four collections contain eastern canons in their so-called *prisca* or 'ancient' translation. By this feature more than any other are the four collections of the Italian group to be distinguished from the two other major collections that arose in Italy around this time, namely *Collectiones Quesnelliana* (which contains eastern canons in the so-called 'Isidorian' translation) and *Collectiones Dionysiana* (which, of course, contains Dionysius's translations). The origins of the *versio prisca*—which, like the *versio Isidori*, is in fact a primitive Latin canon law collection, now lost—are mysterious, but it seems to have appeared sometime in the second half of the fifth century, and almost certainly in Italy, though the poor style of the Latin translations may indicate an origin outside of Rome. ...***Collectiones Sanblasiana*, which has never been edited before, was named by Maassen after the manuscript which he believed most closely represented the collection in its original state, namely Sp, called *codex Sanblasianus* because it had rested until 1809 in the library of St Blaise's Abbey in the Black Forest.** (Elliot, "Canon Law Collections in England ca 600–1066: The Manuscript Evidence", 2013, p. 241)

Latin: (Translation above)

f141r.line 006 incipit de Fide catholica

f141r.line 007 Nos patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum confitemur

f141r.line 008 ita ut in trinitate perfecta et plenitudo sit di-

f141r.line 009 uinitatis et unitas potestatis nam tres deos di-

f141r.line 010 cit qui diuinitatem separat trinitatis **pater deus et**

f141r.line 011 **filius deus et spiritus sanctus deus et tres unum sunt in iesu christo**

f141r.line 012 tres itaque formae sed una potestas ergo diuersi-

f141r.line 013 tas plures facit unitas uero potestatis excludit nu-

f141r.line 014 meri quantitatem quia {unitas numerus non *add. in mg.*} est. sic itaque unus deus una

f141r.line 015 fides unum baptisma. Si quis uero hanc fidem non

f141r.line 016 catholicus non potest dici quia catholicam non

f141r.line 017 tenet fidem alienus est profanus est aduersus uer-

f141r.line 018 itatem rebellis est.

The Witness of God is Greater

- <individual.utoronto.ca/michaelelliot/manuscripts/texts/transcriptions/sanblasiana.pdf>
- <imagines.manuscriptorium.com/loris/UZK___-EDUD__COD_213_____3H54I3E-xx/kn28-0213-141r/full/full/0/default.jpg>

Isidore archbishop of Seville (A.D 560-636)

• **Saint Isidore of Seville (Latin: Isidorus Hispalensis; Seville, c. 560 – Seville, 4 April 636), was a scholar and, for over three decades, Archbishop of Seville. He is widely regarded, in the oft-quoted words of the 19th-century historian Montalembert, as "the last scholar of the ancient world."**[2] (Isidore of Seville. Wikipedia.

<en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isidore_of_Seville>)

• **[Education]** Isidore was born in Cartagena, Spain, a former Carthaginian colony, to Severianus and Theodora. Both Severianus and Theodora belonged to notable Hispano-Roman families of high social rank.[4] His parents were members of an influential family who were instrumental in the political-religious maneuvering that converted the Visigothic kings from Arianism to Catholicism. The Catholic Church celebrates him and all his siblings as known saints: i) An elder brother, Saint Leander of Seville, immediately preceded Saint Isidore as Archbishop of Seville and, while in office, opposed King Liuvigild; ii) A younger brother, Saint Fulgentius of Cartagena, served as the Bishop of Astigi at the start of the new reign of the Catholic King Reccared; iii) His sister, Saint Florentina, served God as a nun and allegedly ruled over forty convents and one thousand consecrated religious. This claim seems unlikely, however, given the few functioning monastic institutions in Iberia during her lifetime.[5] **Isidore received his elementary education in the Cathedral school of Seville. In this institution, the first of its kind in Iberia, a body of learned men including Archbishop Saint Leander of Seville taught the trivium and quadrivium, the classic liberal arts. Saint Isidore applied himself to study diligently enough that he quickly mastered Latin,[6] and acquired some Greek, and Hebrew.** After the death of Saint Leander of Seville on 13 March 600 or 601, Isidore succeeded to the See of Seville. On his elevation to the episcopate, he immediately constituted himself as the protector of monks. Saint Isidore recognized that the spiritual and material welfare of the people of his See depended on the assimilation of remnant Roman and ruling barbarian cultures, and consequently attempted to weld the peoples and subcultures of the Visigothic kingdom into a united nation. He used all available religious resources toward this end and succeeded. Isidore practically eradicated the heresy of Arianism and completely stifled the new heresy of Acephali at its very outset. Archbishop Isidore strengthened religious discipline throughout his See. Archbishop Isidore also used resources of education to counteract increasingly influential Gothic barbarism throughout his episcopal jurisdiction. His quickening spirit animated the educational movement centered on Seville. Saint Isidore introduced Aristotle to his countrymen long before the Arabs studied Greek philosophy extensively. (Isidore of Seville. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isidore_of_Seville>)

• **[Works]** Isidore was the first Christian writer to try to compile a summa of universal knowledge, in his most important work, the *Etymologiae* (taking its title from the method he uncritically used in the transcription of his era's knowledge). It is also known by classicists as the *Origines* (the standard abbreviation being *Orig*). This encyclopedia — the first such Christian epitome—formed a huge compilation of 448 chapters in 20 volumes.[9] In it, as Isidore entered his own terse digest of Roman handbooks, miscellanies and compendia, he continued the trend towards abridgements and summaries that had characterised Roman learning in Late Antiquity. In the process, many fragments of classical learning are preserved which otherwise would have been hopelessly lost;"in fact, in the majority of his works, including the *Origines*, he contributes little more than the mortar which connects excerpts from other authors, as if he was aware of his deficiencies and had more confidence in the *stilus maiorum* than his own"his translator Katherine Nell MacFarlane remarks.[10] The fame of this work imparted a new impetus to encyclopedic writing, which bore abundant fruit in the subsequent centuries of the Middle Ages. It was the most popular compendium in medieval libraries. It was printed in at least ten editions between 1470 and 1530, showing Isidore's continued popularity in the Renaissance. Until the 12th century brought translations from Arabic sources, Isidore transmitted what western Europeans remembered of the works of Aristotle and other Greeks, although he understood only a limited amount of Greek.[13] The *Etymologiae* was much copied, particularly into medieval bestiaries.[14][15][16] (Isidore of Seville. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isidore_of_Seville>)

• **[Councils]** At a time of disintegration of classical culture,[3] and aristocratic violence and illiteracy, he was involved in the conversion of the Arian Visigothic kings to Catholicism, both assisting his brother Leander of Seville, and continuing

The Witness of God is Greater

after his brother's death. He was influential in the inner circle of Sisebut, Visigothic king of Hispania. Like Leander, he played a prominent role in the Councils of Toledo and Seville. The Visigothic legislation that resulted from these councils influenced the beginnings of representative government. (Isidore of Seville. Wikipedia.

<en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isidore_of_Seville>

• **[Eulogy]** Saint Isidore of Seville died on 4 April 636 after serving more than 32 years as archbishop of Seville. His fame after his death was based on his *Etymologiae*, an etymological encyclopedia which assembled extracts of many books from classical antiquity that would have otherwise been lost. (Isidore of Seville. Wikipedia.

<en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isidore_of_Seville>

• Faustino Arévalo (23 July 1747 at Campanario, Badajoz in Extremadura, Spain – 7 January 1824 at Madrid) was a Spanish Jesuit hymnographer and patrologist.[1] He entered the Society of Jesus in 1761, but was deported to Italy on the occasion of the deportation of the Jesuits from Spain (1767). There he won the esteem and confidence of Cardinal Lorenzana, who proved a patron for the young Spanish Jesuit, bore the expenses of his academic work, and made him his executor.[1] Arévalo held various offices of trust in Rome, among them that of "pontifical hymnographer". He was made theologian of the Penitenziaria in 1809, in succession to Alfonso Muzzarelli. In 1815 he returned to Spain, recalled by King Ferdinand, entered the restored Society, and became provincial of Castile (1820). Arévalo stands in the front rank of Spanish patristic scholars.[1] (Faustino Arévalo. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Faustino_Arévalo>)

HITS:

- [Etymologiae 6.19] 43. The Greek term 'baptism' (baptismum, cf. βαπτισμός), is the equivalent of the Latin tinctio ("dipping," "dyeing") because in it a person is changed by the spirit of grace into a better thing, and is made a far different thing than he was. 44. For we were filthy before with the ugliness of sins, but in that bathing we become beautiful in the whitening of the virtues, whence it is written in the Song of Songs (8:5, in an older version), "Who is this that cometh up whitened?" 45. **The mystery of baptism is not completed unless one is named, accompanied by the naming of the Trinity, that is, of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, as the Lord said to the apostles (Matthew 28:19), "Go, teach ye all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit."** 46. **Thus, just as every statement is confirmed by three witnesses, so the threefold number of divine names confirms this sacrament.** (Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae 6.19.43-46)
 - **Latin:** [43] Baptismum Graece, Latine tinctio interpretatur; quae idcirco tinctio dicitur, quia ibi homo spiritu gratiae in melius inmutatur, et longe aliud quam erat efficitur. [44] Prius enim foedi eramus deformitate peccatorum, in ipsa tinctione reddimur pulchri dealbatione virtutum; unde et in Canticis scribitur canticorum (8,5): 'Quae est ista quae ascendit dealbata?' [45] **Cuius mysterium non aliter nisi sub Trinitatis designatione, id est Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, cognominatione completur, dicente Domino ad Apostolos (Matth. 28,19): 'Ite docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti.'** [46] **Sicut enim in tribus testibus stat omne verbum, ita hoc sacramentum confirmat ternarius numerus nominum divinorum.** (Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae 6.19.43-46; Migne Latina, PL 82.256)

Comment:

• [Phelan] **Most illuminating, and perhaps influential, for subsequent Christians is the bishop of Seville's synthetic explanation of the working of the sacrament of baptism.** He viewed the legal and theological contexts as complementary. For Isidore, baptism's theological significance was grounded in a legal understanding of testimony. After a citation of Jesus' commission to the Apostles at the close of Matthew's Gospel, **he explained why Christians were baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. He reported that any statement's truth was usually established by three witnesses, which in the case of baptism meant the three persons of God witnessed and confirmed the validity of the sacrament.** 69 (fn. 69. Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae 6.19.46-7. "Sicut enim in tribus testibus stat omne verbum, ita hoc sacramentum confirmat ternarius numerus nominum divinorum.") (Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe*, 1.2. Sacramentum in Early Christianity, p. 2015, p. 27)

The Witness of God is Greater

- [Testimonia] The distinction of persons Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. **In the [First] Letter of John: Since there are three which give testimony on earth: the Spirit, water, and the Blood; and the three are of one in Christ Jesus; and there are three which declare a testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and the three are one.** (Isidore of Seville, Testimonia divinae Scripturae Chapter 2)
 - **Latin:** De distinctione personarum Patris, Filii, et Spiritus sancti. **In Epistola Joannis. Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, Spiritus, aqua, et sanguis; et tres unum sunt in Christo Jesu; et tres sunt, qui testimonium dicunt in coelo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus, et tres unum sunt.** (Isidore Hispalensis, Testimonia divinae Scripturae 2; Migne Latina, PL 83.1203C)

Comment:

- [Scopio Maffei] The next is a collection of ‘Testimonia divinae Scripturae’ from an ancient hand and there are many indications that **this was the work of St. Isidore of Spain.** (Scoipione Maffei, Cassiodorii Complexiones Catholicis Dogmatibus Egrege Concineri, 1742; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, 17 February 2020.) **Latin:** In altero Testimonia divinae Scripturae ab antique manu coacervata sunt S. Isidori Hispalensis Iaborem suisse, plura indicia comprobant. (Scoipione Maffei, Cassiodorii Complexiones Catholicis Dogmatibus Egrege Concineri, 1742, p. 175)
 - **Francesco Scipione Maffei** (1 June 1675 – 11 February 1755) was an Italian writer and art critic, author of many articles and plays. An antiquarian with a humanist education whose publications on Etruscan antiquities stand as incunables of Etruscology, he engaged in running skirmishes in print with his rival in the field of antiquities, Antonio Francesco Gori. Maffei was of the illustrious family that originated in Bologna; his brother was General Alessandro Maffei, whose memoirs he edited and published. He studied for five years in Parma, at the Jesuit College, and afterwards, from 1698, at Rome,[1] where he became a member of the Accademia degli Arcadi; on his return to Verona he established a local Arcadia. In 1703, he volunteered to fight for Bavaria in the War of Spanish Succession,[1] and saw action in 1704 at the Battle of Schellenberg, near Donauwörth.[2] His brother, Alessandro, was second in command at the battle. In 1709, he went to Padua, where he briefly collaborated with Apostolo Zeno and Antonio Valisnieri in editing the ambitious literary periodical the Giornale de' Letterati d'Italia, which had but a short career.[3][1] In 1710, he spent some time studying the manuscripts in the Royal Library at Turin; while there he arranged the collection of objects of art which the late Carlo Emanuele, Duke of Savoy had brought from Rome. From 1718 he became especially interested in the archaeology of his native town, and his investigations resulted in the valuable Verona illustrata (1731–1732).[1] Maffei devoted the years 1732–1726 to travel in France, England, the Netherlands and Germany. In 1732 he went to the south of France for purposes of archaeological research and from there he went to Paris, where he remained four years and was received as a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. On a visit to London in 1736, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society[4] and received at Oxford University, where he was honoured with a doctoral degree; he returned through Holland and Germany to Verona. He was a friend of Francesco Algarotti, who wrote him many letters. On his return to Verona, he built a museum, which he bequeathed, together with his valuable archaeological and artistic collection, to his native city. He bequeathed his collection of manuscripts to the canons of the cathedral of Verona. In later life he became interested in astronomy and physics, and built an observatory to study the stars. (Francesco Scipione, marchese di Maffei. Wikipedia.
<en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francesco_Scipione,_marchese_di_Maffei>.)

- [Künstle] **Faustino Arévalo [editor of S. Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Hispaniarum Doctoris Opera omnia, denuo correctata et aucta, ed. Faustino Arévalo, 7 vols, Rome: 1797-1803] is likely to be right when he attributes the Testimonia divinae scripturae et patrum to Isidore of Seville; and we are not surprised to find the Comma Johanneum with him [Isidore] since we have encountered it at so many of his countrymen.** (Künstle, Das Comma Ioanneum, 1905, p. 23; Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, February 2020) **Latin:** Arévalo hat wohl recht, wenn er die Testimonia divinae scripturae et partrum dem Isidore von Sevilla zuweist (fn. 2. Isidore Hispal. Opera VII 290; PL 83.1303); und wir wundern uns auch nicht, das C.I. bei ihm zu finden, da es uns bei so vielen seiner Landsleute begegnet ist. (Künstle, Das Comma Ioanneum, 1905, p. 23)
 - **Künstle, Karl (1859-1932 AD).** After attending high school in Freiburg i. Br. K. started studying theology here in 1880 and fell under the spell of F. X. Kraus. In 1881/82 he studied in Würzburg, then again in

The Witness of God is Greater

Freiburg. After ordination in 1884, he first worked in pastoral care. In autumn 1888 he received a chaplaincy at Campo Santo in Rome and spent two years under G.B. de Rossi studying Christian archeology. In 1890 he became Dr. theol. PhD (habilitation 1895), 1896 ao. Professor of Patristics and Church History. In 1903 he was appointed honorary professor and in 1905 director of the archaeological institute (until 1911). In 1911 K. received the chair for pastoral theology and pedagogy, subjects to which he had no internal connection. Despite these commitments, he had the energy to complete his "Iconography of Christian Art" (2 vols., 1926–28), thereby creating a standard work that was indispensable for half a century. He also made a special contribution to researching the art of Reichenau. (Hubert Schiel, "Künstele, Karl" in: Neue Deutsche Biographie, vol 13, 1982, S. 227 [Online-Version]. <www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd116591633.html>)

- [Etymologiae] 1. **The Trinity (Trinitas) is so named because from a certain three (thres) is made one (unum) whole**, as it were a "Tri-unity" (Triunitas) - just like memory, intelligence, and will, in which the mind has in itself a certain image of the divine Trinity. Indeed, **while they are three, they are one**, because while they persist in themselves as individual components, they are all in all. 2. **Therefore the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are a trinity and a unity, for they are both one and three. They are one in nature (natura), three in person (persona)**. One because of their shared majesty, three because of the individuality of the persons. 3. For the Father is one person, the Son another, the Holy Spirit another - but another person (alius), not another thing (aliud), because they are equally and jointly a single thing (simplex), immutable, good, and coeternal. 4. Only the Father is not derived from another; therefore Only the Father is not derived from another; therefore he is called Begotten (Genitus), Only the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son; therefore it alone is referred to as "the Spirit of both."... 11. This tenet of faith concerning the Trinity is **put in this way in Greek**: "one being (Greek: οὐσία)," as if one were to say "one nature" (natura) or "one essence" (essentia); "three hypostasis (Greek: ὑποστάσεις)," which in Latin means "three persons" (persona) or "three substances" (substantia). 12 **Now Latin** does not speak of God properly except as "essence"; people say "substance," indeed, but metaphorically, for in Greek the term "substance" actually is understood as a person of God, not as his nature. (Isidorus Hispalensis, Etymologiae, Liber septimus. De Deo, Angelis, et Fidelium Ordinibus. CAPUT IV. De eadem Trinitate)
 - **Latin: 1. Trinitas appellata, quod fiat totum unum ex quibusdam tribus**, quasi Triunitas, ut memoria, intelligentia et voluntas, in quibus mens habet in se quamdam imaginem divinae Trinitatis. Nam dum tria sint, unum sunt, quia et singula in se manent, et omnia in omnibus. 2. **Pater igitur, et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus, Trinitas et unitas. Idem enim unum, idem et tria. In natura unum, in personis tria.** Unum propter Maiestatis communionem, tria propter personarum proprietatem. 3. Nam alius Pater, alius Filius, alius Spiritus sanctus; (0271B) sed alius quidem, non aliud, quia pariter simplex, pariterque incommutabile bonum et coaeternum. 4. Pater solus, non est de alio, ideo solus appellatur ingenitus. Filius solus de Patre est natus, ideo solus dicitur genitus. Spiritus sanctus solus de Patre et Filio procedit, ideo solus amborum nuncupatur Spiritus. 11. 11. Fides apud Graecos de Trinitate hoc modo est: una οὐσία, ac si dicatur una natura, aut una essentia; tres hypostases, quod resonat in Latinum, vel tres personas, vel tres substantias. (0272A) 12. Nam Latinitas proprie non dicit de Deo, nisi essentiam; substantiam substantiam vero non proprie dicit, sed abusive, quoniam vere substantia apud Graecos persona intelligitur, non natura. (Isidorus Hispalensis, Etymologiae, Liber septimus. De Deo, Angelis, et Fidelium Ordinibus. CAPUT IV. De eadem Trinitate; Migne Latina, PL 82.271)

De Trinitate PG 77.1119 : (circa 650 AD)

- [Fraigneau-Julien] II. Originality of the Trinitarian and Christological synthesis of Pseudo-Cyril. Approximate date of treaty. The only analysis of the Trinitarian and Christological treatise of Pseudo-Cyril suffices to reveal its importance. The brief mention of the main borrowings from the earlier Greek Fathers shows their deeply

The Witness of God is Greater

traditional character. We have noticed, in passing, that among his predecessors, the author was inspired above all by the Catechetical Discourse of Gregory of Nyssa for the rational elaboration of divine processions as well as of the speeches of Gregory of Nazianze for the relations between unity of nature and the Trinity of people. Among these speeches, the Theological Discourses are most often cited, and more particularly the 2nd, 3rd and 5th. (Now, 28, 29 and 31). Alongside these two authors, the Pseudo-Cyril also knows and uses Basil in his *Against Eunome*, the Pseudo-Dionysius as regards negative theology, Didyma of Alexandria in his *Against Eunome* (Books IV and V of *Contre Eunome de Basil*), Cyril of Alexandria especially in his *Thesaurus*, Léonce of Byzantium and Maximus the Confessor for the Christological part of the treaty.

• Fraigneau-Julien, "Un traité anonyme de la Sainte Trinité attribué à saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie." *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, 49:2 (1961), p. 386.

• [Fraigneau-Julien] 3. Approximate date of the treaty. We said at the beginning of this study that M. Prestige, after having fixed the date of the anonymous treaty towards the beginning of the eighth century, had agreed to go back to the middle of the 6th century. Let us note first of all that, not possessing to our knowledge any evidence of external criticism on this treaty, only the arguments of internal criticism make it possible to specify the date of the work. The influence of Maximus the Confessor gives us as *terminus a quo* the mid-6th century, and, on the other hand, the use of the work by John of Damascus gives us the years 730 to 735 as *terminus ad quem* 141.

• [Fraigneau-Julien] Three texts by Maximus allow us greater precision in the dating of the Pseudo-Cyril treatise [De Trinitate]. The first is the letter to Priest Marin on the procession of the Holy Spirit. Assuming that there was no direct influence of this letter on the notion of the procession of the Spirit of Pseudo-Cyril, the identity of doctrine would suppose a date close to that of this letter. However, the mention of the *Ecthesis* by Maximus and the absence of any mention of the Lateran Council defining the duality of wills in Christ impose the years 638 and 649 as the end dates for this letter. We have with these two dates a first deadline. for our treaty.

• [Fraigneau-Julien] The second text of Maximus is the *Dispute with Pyrrhus* in which Maximus, while recognizing the two wills, denies the existence in Christ of a deliberative will (*ἑλέλημα γνώμικόν*). The date of this dispute, sustained in 642, gives us for our treaty a *terminus a quo* close to Lellre to the priest Marin. The third text is the *Tome dogmatique au deacon Marin*, a passage of which contains an affirmation of the theandric operation very similar to that of Pseudo-Cyril, including a sentence from which the latter author was inspired in a more or less literal manner. Now this volume clearly affirms the existence in Christ of two wills: it is consequently posterior to the separation of Maximus from Pyrrhus, that is to say that it must be dated at the earliest to the years 641-642.

• [Fraigneau-Julien] These three texts by Maximus therefore give us the years 642 to 650 as the earliest date for the composition of the treatise on Pseudo-Cyril. Moreover, given the warming of spirits in the monothelite quarrel in the East, it seems difficult to us to conceive that a work of an irenic style such as this one could have appeared between the publication of the *Typos* and the reconciliation of the emperor with the Pope Vitalien immediately after the election of the latter, that is to say between 648 and 657. The *terminus a quo* of the work must therefore be lowered to 657.

• [Fraigneau-Julien] It is more difficult to give a late deadline. Two opposing hypotheses are possible: given the total absence of any mention or allusion to the Council of Constantinople of 681, we can suppose that this anonymous treatise was composed before that date, that is to say between 657 and 681. The other hypothesis consists, on the contrary, in relying on the fact that the author of the treaty did not speak of the Council of Constantinople because the monothelite quarrel was already several decades prior when he wrote: this amounts to dating the work between 700 and 730. Given the relatively considerable importance of the notions of the two wills, of theandric operation, of the negation of the single will which each provide the material for a chapter, we believe that the monothelite quarrel is still alive at the time the author writes, although he does not make controversy; therefore we adopt the first hypothesis and consider that the Pseudo-Cyril treatise was written between 657 and 681.

• Fraigneau-Julien, "Un traité anonyme de la Sainte Trinité attribué à saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie." *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, 49:2 (1961), p. 400-402.

The Witness of God is Greater

HITS:

- Because the very first and most necessary thing of all for us Christians is to know proper piety, to embrace it, to live with it and depart from this life with it, it is right that we should believe, confess and proclaim that **there is one God**; that is, one Divinity, an essence without beginning, without end, eternal and older than time, unbegotten, uncreated, unchangeable, unalterable, ungraspable, incomprehensible, uncircumscribable, simple, uncompounded, incorporeal, impalpable, invisible, **existing in the three perfect hypostases: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.** (De Trinitate, Chapter 1)
 - **Greek:** Ἐπειδὴ πρῶτιστον ἡμῖν τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς καὶ πάντων ἀναγκαιότατον εἶδέναι τὴν εὐσέβειαν, καὶ ταύτην ἀσπάζεσθαι, καὶ ταύτην συζῆν, καὶ ζωῆς τῆς παρούσης συνεκδημεῖν· ἄξιόν ἐστι πιστεῦειν καὶ ὁμολογεῖν καὶ κηρύττειν ἡμᾶς, **ὅτι Θεὸς εἷς ἐστίν**, ἡγουν μία Θεότης, οὐσία ἄναρχος, ἀτελεύτητος, αἰώνιος τε καὶ προαιώνιος, ἀγέννητος, ἄκτιστος, ἄτρεπτος, ἀναλλοίωτος, ἀκατάληπτος, ἀπερινόητος, ἀπερίγραπτος, ἀπλοῦς, ἀσύνθετος, ἀσώματος, ἀναφής, ἀόρατος, **ἐν τρισὶ τελείαις ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι, τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι.** (De Trinitate, Chapter 1; Migne Graeca, PG 77.1120)
- But yet **in the three perfect hypostases we believe that one essence** [that is] simple, supreme and omniperfect [existing/being] in three perfect hypostases. (De Trinitate, Chapter 9)
 - **Greek:** ἀλλ' ἐν τρισὶ τελείαις ὑποστάσεσι μίαν οὐσίαν ἀπλῆν ὑπερτελεῆ καὶ παντέλειον. (De Trinitate, Chapter 9; Migne Graeca, PG 77.1141)
- And again we say that **there are three persons (hypostases) that coexist one another (in the same essence)**, in order not to induce a multitude and crowd of the gods. (De Trinitate, Chapter 9; Migne Graeca, PG 77.1141)
 - **Greek:** καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἀλλήλαις τὰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις λέγομεν, ἵνα μὴ πλῆθος καὶ δῆμον θεῶν εἰσαγάγωμεν. (De Trinitate, Chapter 9; Migne Graeca, PG 77.1141)
- For verily **there is one God, and His Word and Spirit.** (De Trinitate, Chapter 9; Migne Graeca, PG 77.1141)
 - **Greek:** Εἷς γὰρ ὄντως Θεὸς ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ ὁ Λόγος, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ. (De Trinitate, Chapter 9; Migne Graeca, PG 77.1141)

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14096 (640-660 AD)

• [McNally] In 1933 Dom De Bruyne published a careful analysis of the citations from Holy Scripture, which appear in the **Testimonia divinae scripturae et patrum, a work whose connection with St. Isidore** seems to rest solely on the authority of Francesco S. Maffei (1675-1755). The work itself is preserved in two manuscripts, Verona, Bibl. Capit. LVI (54) of the late ninth century, and Clm. 14096, a Regensburg manuscript of the first quarter of the ninth century 9, is rightly dated by Dom De Bruyne in the first half of the seventh century. A further study of the Testimonia from the viewpoint of the patristic citations which it contains, and the pronounced Celtic character of the script and contents of the Regensburg manuscript, might throw new light on the ultimate origin of this interesting, early mediaeval collectaneum, falsely ascribed to St. Isidore. (Robert E. McNally, *Isidorian Pseudepigrapha in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 306-307)

• [Iglesias] In addition to the Regula communis, another monastic rule that seems to have arisen plausibly from the surroundings of Fructuoso de Braga towards the middle of the s. VII is known as Regula Cassiani (hereinafter RCA). This rule, preserved only in two manuscripts that transmit two somewhat different versions of the same text, is made up of a set of rules originating in their entirety from the first four books of the Institutiones de Cassiano (CPL 513) and compiled not so much with the in order to regulate the common life of a monastery, such as serving as exemplary reading on the occasion of the so-called "conferences", that is, weekly meetings on designated days in which the monks listened to the abbot's teachings, or attended Selected readings that allowed reviewing the norms established by the rules of the Holy Fathers, in order to remind those who ought to know them or to teach them to those who ignored them. (José Carlos Martín Iglesias, "Reglas monásticas" in *Escritores visigóticos*, 2011, p. 13)

The Witness of God is Greater

• [Iglesias] **Regula Cassiani (RCA) can be located, therefore, in a fruitful environment, in El Bierzo, and date to the years 640-660. However, Vogüé himself has drawn attention to a chronological note dated BC. 633/4 and preserved by one of the codices containing the aforementioned Testimonia diuinae Scripturae et Patrum (specifically München, BSB, Clm 14096), among whose sources RCA appears.** This note and the absence of passages extracted from the works of Isidore of Seville in the aforementioned florilegium suggest that it may date from the end of the s. VI or early s. VII, at the most. Even so, Vogüé considers that these two elements are not entirely decisive when it comes to setting the possible date of production of the Testimonia diuinae Scripturae et Patrum, and by extension, of RCA. (José Carlos Martín Iglesias, "Reglas monásticas" in *Escritores visigóticos*, 2011, p. 18)

HITS:

folio.63r.line.008 DE DISTINCTIONE PER
folio.63r.line.009 SONARUM PATRIS ET FILII ET SPIRITUS SANCTI
folio.63r.line.010 **Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra**
folio.63r.line.011 **spiritus aquae et sanguis et hi tres unum sunt in christo ihesu;**
folio.63r.line.012 **et tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in caelo pater**
folio.63r.line.013 **uerbum et spiritus sanctus et hi tres unum sunt.** ^item^ quoniam multi falla
folio.63r.line.014 ces prodierunt in hunc mundum qui non confiten
folio.63r.line.015 tur dominum nostrum ihesum christum in carne venisse, hii
folio.63r.line.016 sunt fallaces et antechristi
• <daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0003/bsb00035053/images/index.html?id=00035053&nativeno=63>

Arator (6th century) : Acts of the Apostles

• Arator was a sixth-century Christian poet from Liguria in northwestern Italy. His best known work, *De Actibus Apostolorum*, is a verse history of the Apostles. Arator was probably of Ligurian origin. An orphan, he studied at Milan under the patronage of the Bishop Laurentius and of Magnus Felix Ennodius, then went to Ravenna by the advice of Parthenius, nephew of Ennodius. He took up the career of a lawyer.

• Treated with distinction by Theodoric on account of his oration in behalf of the Dalmatians, and protected by Cassiodorus, he entered the service of the Gothic court, but resigned at the time of the struggle with Byzantium (about 536). Pope Vigilius made him Subdeacon of the Roman Church. It was there that he wrote in hexameters two books *De Actibus Apostolorum*, about 544.[1] He follows the story of the Acts of the Apostles; the first book, dedicated to St. Peter, concludes with Chapter XII; the second, dedicated to St. Paul, with the martyrdom of the two Apostles. Many important events are omitted, others only alluded to.

• Arator himself declared that his aim was to give the mystical and moral meaning of the book. Accordingly, he often gives strange interpretations of numbers and names. He endeavours to praise St. Peter at the expense of St. Paul and the other Apostles. His style and versification are fairly correct,[1] and he cleverly evades the entanglements of symbolism. The poem was very successful. Vigilius had the author read it in public at the church of San Pietro in Vincoli in Rome. The reading lasted four days, as the poet had to repeat many passages by request of his audience. His works remained popular during the Middle Ages, when they became classics. We have also two addresses in *distichs* ("verse lines" or "couplet") written by Arator to the Abbot Florianus and to Vigilius, as well as a letter to Parthenius. The latter two pieces contain biographical details.

• The date of the poet's death is unknown.

• Arator. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arator>

• [Green] About Arator's early life we are relatively well informed. The sources are three verse letters of his own, preserved with the *Historia Apostolica*, a letter written by Cassiodorus on behalf of the Gothic king Athalaric (Cassiodorus, *Variae* 8. 12. 4), and various writings of Ennodius, the well connected Christian rhetorician and man of letters whose abundant and varied writings shed so much light on life in northern Italy in the early sixth century. It emerges from Cassiodorus' letter that Arator was born in Liguria; this was probably in the last decade of the 5th century. The family was noble, and Arator was "most distinguished man" (Latin: *vir clarissimus*) from an early age. His father was well educated, or at least very eloquent. After being orphaned (but not, it seems, before his father had been able to pass on some of his eloquence), Arator was brought up by Laurentius, bishop of Milan, and educated there in the school of the learned grammarian Deuterius. One of

The Witness of God is Greater

his contemporaries in this school, which he evidently entered in 504, was a nephew of Ennodius, Parthenius, for a short time before Parthenius left to study in Rome. Ennodius showed interest in both of them, and was close enough to Arator to send him birthday wishes (the year is uncertain) and to write epigrams about his whip (*flagellum*) of silver and gold— not necessarily a toy, for Ennodius speaks of “beautiful wounds” (Latin: *vulnera pulchra*). He later urged Arator to marry and have children, rather than prolong his dalliance with the frivolities of verse composition in ‘the camp of the Muses’, but there is no sign either of human offspring or of poetic creation from this period. Ennodius was to claim that Arator owed to him ‘whatever knowledge he generously imparted from his riches with God’s help’; this learned activity, whatever it was, must date from Arator’s early life, and probably before Ennodius became bishop of Ticinum (Pavia) in 514, and is otherwise quite unattested. There is no doubt that Ennodius contributed greatly to his development. (Green, Latin epics of the New Testament, 2006, p. 254)

- [Green] With such a good education and background Arator flourished, no doubt with some more helpful ploughing from Parthenius and Ennodius. The letter of Cassiodorus makes it clear that his performance on an embassy from Dalmatia to the Ostrogothic king Theoderic had made a good impression. This may have happened early in his career, though not quite so early as Hillier’s words might suggest. Cassiodorus, who himself became quaestor (an office for which eloquence was essential) in his early twenties, notes that Arator was young when he became an advocate. Arator remained a trusty member of the court under Theoderic’s successor, his grandson Athalaric, as may be inferred from Cassiodorus’ letter, usually dated to 526. The exact function of this letter is not entirely clear, but must refer to one of the two high administrative positions mentioned in another source, namely the *subscriptio* in a Reims manuscript, now lost. This states that the codex of the *Historia Apostolica* was offered by Arator “an illustrious companion of his own family, a private companion of a religious man, a deacon of the holy Roman church” (Latin: *inlustri ex comite domesticorum, ex comite privatarum, viro religioso, subdiacono sanctae Romanae ecclesiae*). (Green, Latin epics of the New Testament, 2006, p. 256)

The Official Record of the Presentation of the *Historia Apostolica*

- With the aid of the blessed saint Peter, a manuscript of this kind was offered by Arator the subdeacon to the holy Roman church and to the holy and apostolic Pope Vigilius, and received by him on 6 April in the presbytery before the confession of St Peter, in the company of many bishops, priests, and a very large portion of clergy also. When, in the same place, soon afterwards, he had caused it to be read in some part he gave it to Surgentius, the “chief officer” (Latin: *primicerius*) of the school of notaries, to be placed in the archives of the church. All the lettered and most learned men immediately asked his blessedness to order it to be recited publicly; when he had given orders for this to be done in the church of St Peter which is called ad Vincula, a crowd assembled of both religious and lay but also of various people from the congregation, and with the same Arator reciting on specified days the two books were heard in four tranches, since in a single day only a small part of a book was read because of the constant repetitions that they demanded with manifold applause. So the recitation was made on these days: the first on 13 April, the second on 17 April, the third on 8 May, and the first on 30 May, in the third year after the consulship of the “most distinguished man” (Latin: *vir clarissimus*) Basilus, in the seventh indiction. (Green, Latin epics of the New Testament, 2006, p. 391-392)

Comment:

- [Green] This is a version of the notice or ‘minute’ found in several manuscripts describing how Arator offered his work to Pope Vigilius and later read it to a large gathering of people in St Peter ad Vincula. It is based on the text given in Châtillon (1963a, 73), which he took from Arntzen, and which uses three manuscripts (Voss. Q 15 and Q 86, and Vat. Pal. Lat. 1716). Schwind (1990, 11) mentions eleven extant manuscripts, and one lost one, over and above these three. (Green, Latin epics of the New Testament, 2006, p. 391)

HITS:

- The third hour became celebrated by the heavenly sayings: **the one God has this number, a single Substance distinguished by three Persons**; [a Substance] which many proofs demonstrate to us is also at the same time demonstrated by the hour. (Arator, Acts of the Apostles, Book 1)

The Witness of God is Greater

- Tertia sidereis inclaruit hora loquelis.
Hunc numerum Deus unus habet, substantia simplex Personis distincta tribus; quam plurima nobis Instrumenta patent, simul hoc et tempora monstrant.
 - Arator, De actibus apostolorum, librum 1; Migne Latina, PL 68.110
- When Christ says to his disciples, that three loaves ought to be given to him that asks by night (Luke 11:5) that night is the world, in which if any desires the meat of the word, you ought to produce your stores, and teach him, **that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, are one God, a single substance in a triple number.** The sacred precepts repeat this more than once. Whoever presses you one mile, go with him also the other two; (Matt 5:41) does he not seem to say; if any man in error asks you, **what God is, tell him that he is first the Father, next subjoin that he is the Son and the gracious Spirit, three in number and yet one.** (Arator, Acts of the Apostles, Book 2)
 - Discipulis quod Christus ait, iam nocte roganti
Tres panes debere dari: nox ista profecto est
Mundus, ut, hic si quis verbi desideret escas,
Exhibeas, quaesite, dapes, doceasque volentem,
**Quod Pater et Natus, quod sanctus Spiritus unus
Sint Deus, et numerum triplicet substantia simplex.**
Nec semel hoc pia iussa canunt. Angariat, inquit,
Te quicumque petens, ut pergas praevis unum,
Caetera vade simul duo millia: nonne videntur
Hoc mandata loqui? si quis te consulit errans
Ignarusque viae, **quid sit Deus, edere malis,
Prode Patrem, subiunge libens, quod Filius, et quod
Spiritus est almus, numero tres, et tamen unus.**
 - Arator, De actibus apostolorum, librum 2; Migne Latina, PL 68.225

Alexandrian Pact of Union (633 AD)

- [Feraru] On June 3, 633, Patriarch Cyrus of Alexandria succeeded to unite Theodosians (the moderate faction of the Egyptian Monophysites) with the Chalcedonian Melkite Church, based on the formula of one single energy of Christ. Cyrus issued a Pact of Union in the form of a confession of faith which represents the dogmatic basis of this union. The Pact of Union drawn up by the Alexandrine Patriarch represents the main premise of Monoenergism. We attempt herein an in depth theological commentary on the Pact of Union. (Feraru, [Abstract], The Alexandrian Pact of Union between the Imperial Church and the Theodosian Monophysites, 2018.)
- [Feraru] Cyrus initiated religious union negotiations with the Severine Monophysites¹⁴ of Alexandria, also known as Theodosians⁵. On June 3, 633, Patriarch Cyrus succeeded to unite Theodosians (the moderate faction of the Egyptian Monophysites) with the Chalcedonian Melkite Church, based on the formula of one single energy of Christ¹⁶. The union was officially proclaimed in the patriarchal cathedral of Alexandria, at a solemn Divine Liturgy officiated by the Alexandrine patriarch. In the letter addressed to Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople, Cyrus writes that the entire Theodosian clergy took communion from his hand". The dogmatic support of this union is a union agreement, written in the form of a confession of faith, made up of nine articles (Kecooulaia) or anathematisms; this union agreement was read by Patriarch Cyrus from the ambo of the patriarchal church, in the presence of numerous clergymen and officials from the two groups — that of the Chalcedonians and that of the Theodosian Monophysites. (Feraru, The Alexandrian Pact of Union between the Imperial Church and the Theodosian Monophysites, 2018, p. 74.)

The Witness of God is Greater

• [Allen] The monenergist compromise succeeded in uniting the Armenian church with imperial 'orthodoxy' in 630, and also had limited success in the churches of Syria and Mesopotamia. It enjoyed greatest success in Egypt under the monenergist convert Cyrus who, as patriarch of Alexandria, promulgated the Alexandrian Pact of Union or Nine Chapters (CPG 7613) in June 633 (1). The last chapter anathematizes anyone who accepts the writings of Theodoret, the letter of Ibas, and the person and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia. It affirms the use of the Marian title 'Theotokos' (ch. 5); the theopaschite formula derived from Cyril (ch. 2) and Cyril's own theopaschite statement (ch. 3); his statement of One incarnate nature of God the Word'; and a single theandric activity in Christ, citing the monenergist version of the words of ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite (ch. 7). It makes no mention of a single will in Christ. The Theodosian party of Alexandria (2) agreed to its terms and was reconciled, to the great satisfaction of Cyrus and Sergius (3). (Allen, Maximus the Confessor and His Companions, 2002, p. 11)

HITS:

- Article of Faith I. If someone does not confess **Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, consubstantial Trinity, one Godhead in three hypostases**, let him be anathema. (Feraru, The Alexandrian Pact of Union between the Imperial Church and the Theodosian Monophysites, 2018, p. 77)
 - **Greek:** Κεφάλαιον α'. Εἴ τις οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τριάδα ὁμοούσιον, μίαν θεότητα ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. (Feraru, The Alexandrian Pact of Union between the Imperial Church and the Theodosian Monophysites, 2018, p. 75)

Sixth Ecumenical Council (Constantinople) (680-681 AD)

• The Sixth Ecumenical Council took place in Constantinople in 680-681 AD, and is also known as the Third Council of Constantinople. The sixth of the seven Ecumenical Councils, called together by St. Constantine the New, dealt with the following: Condemning the heresy of the Monothelites. By this point, Arianism had become largely marginalized and many Arians were accepted back into the Church. But a new attack on the Person of Christ emerged in the form of the Monothelites. The Monothelites argued that Christ has only one will, for He is one person albeit with two natures. The Council felt that this "impaired the fullness of Christ's humanity," and that human nature without human will would be incomplete. That affirmed that since Christ was true man and true God, He must have two wills: a human will and a divine will. Monothelitism was condemned as heresy. In addition to the condemnation of Monothelitism, the council anathematized as heretics Pope Honorius I of Rome and Sergius I of Constantinople, as well as Cyrus of Alexandria, Paul II and Peter of Constantinople, and Theodore of Pharan for their part in propagating the heresy of Monothelitism. (Sixth Ecumenical Council. Orthodoxwiki. <orthodoxwiki.org/Sixth_Ecumenical_Council>)

• [The Sentence Against the Monothelites. Session XIII] ...**We have also examined the synodal letter of Sophronius of holy memory, some time Patriarch of the Holy City of Christ our God, Jerusalem, and have found it in accordance with the true faith and with the Apostolic teachings, and with those of the holy approved Fathers.** Therefore we have received it as orthodox and as salutary to the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, and have decreed that it is right that his name be inserted in the diptychs of the Holy Churches. (L. and C., Concilia, Tom. VI., col. 943. <www.tertullian.org/fathers2/NPNF2-14/Npnf2-14-126.htm>)

• **Sophronius I of Jerusalem was the Patriarch of Jerusalem from 634 to 638.** He was patriarch during the time that Jerusalem fell to Umar I and his Saracens in 637. He was a staunch opponent of the heresy of monothelitism. He is feast day on March 11. Sophronius (Greek: Σωφρόνιος) was born in Damascus, Syria in the year 560. He was of Arab descent. Nothing is known of his early life. He was a monk and theologian. A teacher of rhetoric, he became an ascetic in Egypt about 580 and then joined the Monastery of St. Theodosius near Bethlehem. During the times of the Christological controversies, Sophronius was a strong defender of the orthodox position. In his late teens and early twenties, he traveled throughout the monastic centers in Asia Minor, Egypt, and Rome, in company with his friend the Byzantine chronicler John Moschus. In 605, Sophronius fled to Alexandria before the Persians invading Palestine. Then in 616, again he fled from Alexandria to Rome ahead of the Persian invasion of Egypt. After Moschus' death in Rome in 619, Sophronius

The Witness of God is Greater

accompanied his body to Jerusalem for a monastic burial. There he lived in St. Theodosius' Monastery until the heresy of monothelism arose with the patriarchs of Alexandria and Constantinople. When Patr. Cyrus of Alexandria began to preach monothelism, he traveled to Alexandria, Egypt to convince Cyrus against his acceptance of the heresy. Then in 633, he journeyed to Constantinople to press Patr. Sergius of Constantinople on the same issue, both times without success. In 634, he was elected patriarch of Jerusalem. He continued his stand against monothelism in Jerusalem, dedicating his sermon on the day of the Nativity of Our Lord to strengthen the clergy to maintain the Chalcedonian view of God. In those times the Arab Muslims were gaining control of Palestine. In 637, he was said to have negotiated recognition, in the Umaru Treaty, of civil liberties for the Christian population in exchange for tribute (jizya). Apparently, disheartened over the fall of Jerusalem, Patr. Sophronius died on March 11, 638 in Jerusalem shortly after its fall. (Sophronius I of Jerusalem. Orthodoxwiki. <orthodoxwiki.org/Sophronius_I_of_Jerusalem>)

• **Sophronius was one of the most influential figures spanning the ecclesiastical troubles in East and West during the sixth to the seventh centuries. Poet, hagiographer, dogmatician, homilist, and liturgist, he was a widely-travelled monastic who had close ties with the see of Rome and an unrivalled knowledge of the workings of the anti-Chalcedonian churches, revealed in his Synodical Letter.** Sophronius despatched this epistle to other church leaders when at an advanced age he became patriarch of Jerusalem in AD 634. The letter was read out at the Sixth Ecumenical Council in 680-1, and provided the only sustained rebuttal of the monoenergist doctrine which was used by eastern emperors and church leaders alike as a political strategy to unite Christians in the early Byzantine empire. Pauline Allen provides the first complete annotated translation of the Synodical Letter into a modern language. A comprehensive introduction situates the work in the context of the aftermath of the Council of Chalcedon (AD 451). It is accompanied by a dossier of translated documents by other writers of the time which illustrate the progress of the debate and its political and ecclesiastical repercussions in the first half of the seventh century. (Pauline Allen, Abstract of "Sophronius of Jerusalem and seventh century heresy", 2009, <researchbank.acu.edu.au/ftp_pub/1674/>)

HIT:

- [Sophronius] ...But there is one God, one Godhead shining forth in [PAGE 83] three hypostases, and three hypostases and persons revealed in one Godhead. Because of this the Father is perfect God, the Son is perfect God, the Holy Spirit is perfect God, since each person has one and the same unportioned and unailing and perfect Godhead. And as God each exists itself, contemplated individually when the mind separates the inseparable, but as Father and Son and all-holy Spirit each is given a different name, and hence these components are proclaimed by divines as being individually God, **and yet the three are proclaimed to be a single God.** (Sophronius' Synodical Letter to Sergius, [2.2.5] Migne Graeca, PG 87/3.3157; Translated by Pauline Allen in Sophronius of Jerusalem, 2009, p. 82-83)
 - **Greek:** ἀλλ' ἔστιν εἷς θεός, μία θεότης ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσι λάμπουσα καὶ τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις καὶ πρόσωπα ἐν θεότητι μιᾷ γνωριζόμενα. διὰ τοῦτο τέλειος θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, τέλειος θεὸς ὁ υἱός, τέλειος θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἐπειδὴ τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ μίαν ἕκαστον πρόσωπον ἀμέριστον καὶ ἀνελλιπή καὶ τελείαν ἔχει θεότητα· καὶ ὡς μὲν θεὸς τὸ αὐτὸ καθέστηκεν ἕκαστον καθ' ἑαυτὸ θεωρούμενον τοῦ νοῦ χωρίζοντος τὰ ἀχώριστα· ὡς δὲ πατήρ καὶ υἱὸς καὶ πνεῦμα πανάγιον ἕτερον καὶ ἕτερον καὶ ἕτερον λέγεται, κἀντεῦθεν ταῦτα τοῖς θεολήπτοις κηρύττεται θεὸς καὶ θεὸς καὶ θεός, **ἀλλ' εἷς τὰ τρία θεός.** (Sophronius' Synodical Letter to Sergius, [2.2.5] Migne Graeca, PG 87/3.3157; Acts of the Sixth Ecumenical Council (681), in: Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum, II.2: Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium, ed. R. Riedinger, 2 vols., Berlin, 1990–1992, vol. I, p. 426.7–14)

Comment:

- The Text and its Transmission. **The Greek text of the synodical Letter which Agatho, lector and notarios (secretary) of the patriarch of Constantinople, read out at the eleventh session of the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680/681) was that of Sophronius' synodika to Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople.** 177 It was this version which received a respectable Latin rendering when the Greek originals in the conciliar proceedings were translated in Rome during the years 682-701. The Greek text of the Letter and its Latin translation were edited by

The Witness of God is Greater

I.D. Mansi in volume XI of his collection of conciliar documents and in 1990 received a modern edition at the hands of Rudolf Riedinger in ACO ser. sec. I, 410-494. The translation of the Synodical Letter below, which is the first complete version of the document to appear in a modern language, 179 is essentially based on Riedinger's Greek text, although sometimes his punctuation and division into paragraphs are amended. (Pauline Allen, *Sophronius of Jerusalem and seventh-century heresy*, 2009, p. 63)

Council of Constantinople II Authenticates Citations of the Fathers (680 AD)

• [Florilegia of the Council of Constantinople II (680/681 AD)] the third session... Macarius of Antioch... was given the choice of supporting his doctrine on the basis of patristic authority. Macarius asked for a period of time, apparently in order to collect the "sources" that would serve his own purposes. ...One month later (fifth session, 7 Dec. 680, CPG 9424), **Macarius offered two books with "testmonia" taken from the works of the holy fathers that favored the single will and operation of Christ. They were read out loud, and more than two months later (12 Feb. 681, CPG 9425), during the sixth session, a third "book" (Greek: κωδίκιον) with "testmonia" (Greek: χρήσεις) presented by Macarius was also read out and then sealed. Thereupon, the legates of the pope objected that the quotations offered by Macarius and his followers were mutilated and asked for them to be collated with the original texts from the books of the patriarchal library. They also offered a "book" (Greek: κωδίκιον) of their own orthodox and heretical "testmonia" to be read. In the seventh session (13 Feb. 681, CPG 9426), the Roman Florilegium of orthodox and heretical extracts was cited and the papal legates inquired if the participants agreed with the letter of Agathon and that of his synod. George of Constantinople and Macarius of Antioch requested the collation of the quotations with the original text of each work. Accordingly, all the "books" (Greek: κωδίκιον) were sealed to ensure that nothing would be altered after their official submission. In the next session, the eighth (7 March 681, CPG 9427), after the declaration of Patriarch George that he accepted as orthodox the letters and "testmonia" sent by Agathon and his synod, the bishops who were present at the council, one by one, stated their agreement with the dogmatic content of the letter of Agathon. Macarius alone and his followers stood in opposition in their refusal to accept two wills or two operations in Christ, and they continued to defend "single will" (Monothelism). The "confessio fidei" of Macarius was also recited. [PAGE 26] **The time came for the collation of the quotations included in the patriarchal library in Constantinople. The first five quotations of the "quotes with commentary" (florilegium) of Macarius were found to be drastically abridged, and the patriarchal secretaries read out the suppressed parts of the original text. Macarius was accused of using heretical methods. The reading of the "quotes with commentary" (florilegium) of Macarius was continued in the ninth session (8 March 681, CPG 9428). The seventh quotation (Ps.-Athanasius, "De incarn. contra Arianos"), after a brief discussion, was judged to be "two wills" (pro-dyothelite - i.e., orthodox), while the last one (Cyrillus Alex., "Comm. in Matt.") was again found to be abridged. At that moment Macarius found himself deprived of any patristic argument in support of his views. The verdict of the assembly held that the extracts presented by him not only did not favor his "single will" (monothelite) belief, but also, on the contrary, lent support to the orthodox "two wills" (dyothelite) views, when placed in their context. Consequently Macarius was deposed, and any further discussion on the remaining quotations he had submitted was denied. It then came time for the collation of the Roman Florilegium with the original texts. In the tenth meeting of the council (18 March 681, CPG 9429), the sealed "books" (Greek: κωδίκιον) was presented before the assembly and unsealed. The recitation of the orthodox quotations began, and each extract was compared with the corresponding passage from the books of the patriarchal library of those that the papal legates had brought with them. All of the quotations, according to the secretaries of the patriarchate, agreed with the passages of the original text. The orthodox extracts were followed by another "quotes with commentary" (florilegium) of twenty heretical quotations from the same Roman codex.... (Alexakis, *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1115 and Its Archetype*, 1996, p. 24, 25-26)****

The Witness of God is Greater

Latin African Councils"Quickly Translated to Greek"

• Carthage was formerly the head of the whole of Africa, as St. Augustine tells us in his Epistle CLXII. From this cause it happened that a great number of councils were held there, gathered from all the provinces of Africa. Especially while Aurelius as Archbishop was occupying the throne were these meetings of bishops frequently held; and by these, for the establishing of ecclesiastical discipline in Africa, many canons were enacted. At last, after the consulate of Honorius (XII.) and Theodosius (VIII.), Augustuses, on the eighth day before the Kalends of June, that is to say, on May 25, in the year of our Lord 419, another Council was held in the same city at which all the canons previously adopted were considered, and the greater part of them were again confirmed by the authority of the synod. These canons, thus confirmed by this council, merited to be called from that day to this "The Code of Canons of the African Church." **These canons were not at first adopted in Greek but in Latin, and they were confirmed in the same language. This Dionysius Exiguus distinctly testifies to this in his preface to the "Code of Ecclesiastical Canons," in which they are included. It is uncertain when the canons of this Carthaginian synod were done into Greek. This only is certain, that they had been translated into Greek before the Council in Trullo (692 AD) by which, in its Second Canon, they were received into the Greek Nomocanon, and were confirmed by the authority of this synod; so that from that time these canons stand in the Eastern Church on an equality with all the rest.** (NPNF02, vol. 14. Introductory Note. <www.tertullian.org/fathers2/NPNF2-14/Nprnf2-14-145.htm>)

Council of Chalcedon Translated into Latin by 564 AD

• [Council of Chalcedon] **Extant Latin translations of the complete acts seem to have been produced not at the pope's court but in Constantinople itself, where translators would have had ready access to the Greek originals. Schwartz has identified three successive editions of the Latin Acts prepared during the middle decades of the sixth century, probably in connection with the ongoing disputes between Rome and Constantinople over the Three Chapters.** In contrast to the Greek editors of the previous century, these Latin translators tended to favour the papal position. The first edition (*versio antiqua*) was probably prepared in connection with Pope Vigilius' involuntary sojourn in Constantinople between 547 and 553. The translator omitted the letter collections of the fifteenth session. This version was known to popes of the late sixth and seventh centuries, and several codices are extant. Soon after the Council of 553 a revised version (*versio antiqua correcta*) was prepared. This editor made various corrections and prefaced the Acts with some of the collected letters, which were arranged in a more strictly chronological order than in the Greek versions. The canons were moved towards the end of the text. The last and most thorough revision of the Latin Acts (*versio rustici*) was undertaken by the deacon Rusticus, nephew of Pope Vigilius, who suffered excommunication and was exiled to Egypt for his stubborn defence of the Three Chapters. **Returning to Constantinople in 563, Rusticus took refuge at the monastery of the Acoemete monks, who were zealous supporters of Chalcedonian orthodoxy against imperial attempts to compromise with "one will" (miaphysite) positions. Here he found several Latin and Greek codices from which he worked in 564 and 565 to prepare his comprehensive Latin edition. Rusticus' marginal comments give us useful information about the state of the sources available to him. The Greek codices used by him were more complete than those extant to us, preserving all *sententiae* and signature lists and incorporating the full text of the session that produced the [PAGE 85] seventh canon of Ephesus I. A copy of Rusticus' version eventually found its way from Constantinople to Charlemagne's court: the earliest surviving manuscript is the ninth-century Codex Parisinus 11611, from which most other extant copies in Western Europe seem to have derived.** Rusticus' edition is the primary basis for Schwartz's Latin version, and in our translation we have used it to restore material missing from the Greek Acts. (Council of Chalcedon. The acts of the Council of Chalcedon, 2005, p. 84-85)

Julian of Toledo (642–690 AD)

• Julian of Toledo (642–690) was born in Toledo, Hispania. [1] He was well educated at the cathedral school, was a monk and later abbot at Agali, a spiritual student of Saint Eugene II, and archbishop of Toledo. He was the first bishop to have

The Witness of God is Greater

primacy over the entire Iberian Peninsula and he helped centralize the Iberian Church in Toledo. His elevation to the position of primate of the Visigothic church was a source of great unhappiness among the kingdom's clergy. And his views regarding the doctrine of the Trinity proved distressing to the Vatican. He presided over several councils and synods and revised the Mozarabic liturgy. A voluminous writer, his works include Prognostics, a volume on death (and by far his most influential work); a history of King Wamba's war with dux Paul in Septimania (a Sallustian work, and one of the few examples of historical writing from the late Visigothic kingdom); and a book on the future life (687). A lost work, apparently dedicated to King Erwig, dealt with the issue of Jews owning Christian slaves. He encouraged the Visigothic kings in Hispania to deal harshly with the Jews. For example, in presiding over the Twelfth Council of Toledo, he induced King Erwig to pass severe anti-Jewish laws. At Erwig's request, in 686, he wrote *De Comprobatione Aetatis Sextae Contra Iudaeos*, a work dealing with messianic prophecies of the Bible in a way intended to convert the Jews. He died at Toledo in 690 of natural causes. Julian's memorial is held March 8. (Julian of Toledo. Wikipedia.

<en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Julian_of_Toledo>

HIT:

- [Commentary on Nahum] But, even the blessed Ambrose reminds us, they are one [Trinity], not with the nature of the same substance, but to the same of the mystery of operation. For "The Spirit," as the same one says (Lib. III de Spirit. sanct., cap. 10) "renews the mind, the water is serviceable for the laver, and the blood refers to the price. For the Spirit makes us sons of God by adoption, the water of the sacred font washes us, the blood of the Lord redeems us. **'But these three there are that bear witness on earth, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood.'** (1 John 5:8) Another, therefore, is the invisible and another is the visible testimony that we obtain with the spiritual sacrament." [Ambrose, On the Holy Spirit, Book 3.10; NPN02, vol 10. <www.newadvent.org/fathers/34023.htm>] (Julian of Toledo, Commentary on Nahum; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, August 2020)
 - **Latin:** Sed, ut nobis asserit beatus Ambrosius, unum sunt, non natura eiusdem substantiae, sed eiusdem mysterii operatione. Nam « Spiritus, ut idem ait (Lib. III de Spirit. sanct., cap. 10), mentem revocat, aqua perficit ad lavacrum, sanguis spectat ad pretium. (0730A) Spiritus per adoptionem nos filios Dei facit, sacri fontis unda nos abluit, sanguis Domini nos redemit. **'Haec autem sunt tria, quae testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis'** (I Ioan. V, 8) . Alterum igitur invisibile, alterum visibile testimonium sacramento consequimur spiritali.» [Ambrosius Mediolanensis, De Spiritu Sancto. Book 3, chapter 10; Migne Latina, PL 16.792] (Iulianus Toletanus, Commentarius in Nahum; Migne Graeca, PG 96.0730A)

León Palimpsest (Palimpsestus Legionensis) (601-700 AD)

• The León Palimpsest, designated I or 67 (in the Beuron system), is a 7th-century Latin manuscript pandect of the Christian Bible conserved in the cathedral of León, Spain. The text, written on vellum, is in a fragmentary condition. In some parts it represents the Old Latin version, while in others it follows Jerome's Vulgate. The codex is a palimpsest.[1] From its location in León, this palimpsest is sometimes referred to as the Codex Legionensis; but this name is more commonly applied to the 10th-century Vulgate Bible at the Basílica de San Isidoro, León (133 in the Beuron system). Nor should the León palimpsest be confused with another 10th-century pandect in León, of which the second volume is conserved in the cathedral archive and is number 193 in the Beuron system. The text of the New Testament has survived on 40 leaves of the codex. The leaves measure 37 by 24 cm. The text is written in 2 columns of 38-55 lines per page.[2] The text is written in a semi-uncial hand, in Visigothic characters. The fragments contain texts of James 4:4 - 1 Peter 3:14; 1 John 1:5 - 3 John 10; Acts 7:27-11:13; 14:21-17:25. It contains also a fragment of the Books of Maccabees.[3] **The text of the codex represents a Vulgate with Old Latin elements, especially in the First Epistle of John.**[1] **The biblical underwriting has been dated by F. H. A. Scrivener, Samuel Berger, and Bruce M. Metzger [1][5] to the 7th century.**[6] It was discovered by Rudolf Beer. It was examined and described by Samuel Berger[1][7] It was examined by Bonifatius Fischer and Thiele.[3] Fischer edited its text in 1963.[5] Currently it is housed in the archive of León Cathedral, where it is designated as codex 15.[3] The manuscript is cited in several critical texts of the Greek and Latin New Testament.[6] (León palimpsest. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/León_palimpsest>)

The Witness of God is Greater

• **[H.A.G. Houghton: Leon Palimpsest]** VL 67 León, Archivo Catedralicio, 15 Palimpsestus Legionensis. Remains of a Latin Bible (epcar). Copied in the seventh century, possibly in Toledo. Palimpsested in the tenth century with Rufinus' translation of Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica* in Visigothic minuscule. Spanish half-uncial script. The original manuscript consisted of around 322 folios, of which 48 remain (original size at least 48x35 cm). Two columns of 71–6 lines (36½x28½ cm). Parchment; black ink. (Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*, 2017, p. 240)

• **[H.A.G. Houghton]** A different combination of Old Latin and the Vulgate (of Jerome) is seen in VL 67 (the Leon Palimpsest). This is the oldest surviving Latin biblical pandect, a large format manuscript copied in Toledo in the seventh century but re-used three centuries later. The surviving pages show that, while its text of the Pauline Epistles is Vulgate, the Catholic Epistles and part of Acts have an Old Latin affiliation with similarities to Cyprian and [PAGE 64] Tyconius, as well as the fifth century Portuguese writer Orosius (*Contra Varimadum*). (Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*, 2017, p. 63-64)

HIT:

- **[1 Jn 5:6-8]** This is the one who is coming in water and Spirit and blood, Jesus Christ and not so great as in water only but in water and blood and the Spirit is the witness because the Spirit is the truth Since there are three that are witnessing in earth the Spirit, and the water and the blood and the three are one because there are three that are witnessing in heaven the Father and the Word and the Spirit Holy and these three are one in Christ Jesus. (Translated by M.A. Ferrando)
 - **Latin:** Hic est qui venit per aquam et SPM et sanguinem IHS XRS et non tantum in aqua sed in aqua et sanguine et SPS est testimonium quia SPS est veritas quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra SPS et aqua et sanguis et tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in caelo pater et verbum et SPS SCS et hi tres unum sunt in XPO IHU si testimonium hominum accipimus testimonium DI qui testi- ficatus est de filio suo. (Transcribed by Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, 1893, p. 10)

Jacob of Edessa (d. 708)

• Jacob was born at the village of Ayndiba in the province of Antioch, most probably about 633. The name of his father is thought to be Isaac. Under Father Cyriacus, the *periodeutes* (visiting cleric) of his province he studied the principles of the sciences, the books of the two Testaments and the books of the doctors of the church. Then he went to the Monastery of Qinnesrin where he became a monk and studied the literature of the Greek language under Severus Sabukht. Together with his companion Athanasius of Balad, who was older than he, he completed his studies and became well-versed in philology, philosophy and theology. Also he became well-trained in the ascetic and virtuous life. Then he journeyed to Alexandria to penetrate more deeply into the minutiae and incomprehensibilities of philosophy. He returned to al-Sham, became a monastic at Edessa and studied Hebrew. At Edessa, he achieved wide fame. He was sought by scholars and lovers of learning, who corresponded with him about problems which he competently answered. In 672 he was ordained a deacon and then a priest. In 684, he was chosen and was ordained by his friend Athanasius II, a metropolitan of Edessa, from which he received his generic name. He remained in Edessa four years, during which he became very strict with the monks and clergy concerning the observation of laws that had been neglected. He expelled those who disobeyed him. In the meantime, the patriarch John III and the bishops advised him to temporize and treat the clergy as tolerantly as conditions would permit. This suggestion made him more furious and, thereupon, he openly burned a copy of the neglected canonical rules, resigned his post and left the diocese, taking with him his pupils Daniel and Constantine to the Monastery of St. Jacob in Kaysum. He wrote two treatises, or two poems, in one of which he criticized one of the pastors; in the second he rebuked those who violate the canonical rules.³⁶⁰ After a short period, he was appointed a teacher of the Greek language at the Monastery of Eusebuna in the province of Antioch, where he remained for eleven years, revitalizing the study of this language. He also commented on the Holy Scriptures according to the Greek version. And when some of the monks who hated the Greeks showed disagreement, he left for the Monastery of Talada accompanied by seven pupils. He remained at Talada about nine years, devoting his time to the revision of the translation of the Old

The Witness of God is Greater

Testament. The Book of Kings which he had translated in 705 is preserved at the library of Paris.³⁶¹ When at the end of 707, Metropolitan Habib, who was ordained in place of Mar Jacob, passed away, the congregation of Edessa requested Jacob to return to them, recognizing his excellence. He returned to Edessa at the end of January, 708. Four months later he went to the Monastery of Talada to collect his books, and he died on the fifth of June, which is also the day of his commemoration. He was nicknamed "the man who preferred toil" or "the militant" as well as "the translator of books." (Mar Jacob of Edessa in Syriac Scholars and Writers on The American Foundation for Syriac Studies website www.syriacstudies.com

<[www.syriacstudies.com/AFSS/Syriac_Scholars_and_Writers/Entries/2008/3/25_109._Mar_Jacob_of_Edessa_\(d._708\).html](http://www.syriacstudies.com/AFSS/Syriac_Scholars_and_Writers/Entries/2008/3/25_109._Mar_Jacob_of_Edessa_(d._708).html)>

• [Mar Jacob of Edessa] A man unique in the extent of his knowledge and chief among the doctors of the church, Jacob had a brilliant mind, critical temperament, sharp wit and sound judgment. He was a grammarian, a man of letters, a poet, a translator, an historian, a commentator, a legislator and a philosopher-theologian. He was prominent in each one of the sciences which he had acquired, showing great capability and skill in writing. In the earlier periods he had no equal, and among the scholars of later periods, his extensive knowledge was rivalled only by that of Bar Hebraeus. By his vocalization of the Books of the two Testaments, he preserved the Holy Bible from distortion and misspelling; his revision of translations of some works of the doctors of the church, show that he was highly proficient in philology. His philosophical and theological books prove that he was the most distinguished and the finest scholar of his time; his interesting letters contain knowledge and wisdom; his legal opinions and juristic ideas prove that he had a sound mind, a guiltless heart and perceptive individual judgment. Consequently he shows himself judge of creative as well as traditional knowledge within both of which lies the final decision. This is due to the fact that he used opinions of the Christian authorities and blended them with his own intelligent opinions. Finally his ritual books leave no doubt that he is the greatest doctor of the church and the bearer of the banner of its glory. His books are the end beyond which there is no further quest for a researcher. It is no surprise that he is considered unequalled in all the East and the most prominent of all the Syrian scholars in the ancient world as well as in the Middle Ages. (Mar Jacob of Edessa in Syriac Scholars and Writers on The American Foundation for Syriac Studies website www.syriacstudies.com <[www.syriacstudies.com/AFSS/Syriac_Scholars_and_Writers/Entries/2008/3/25_109._Mar_Jacob_of_Edessa_\(d._708\).html](http://www.syriacstudies.com/AFSS/Syriac_Scholars_and_Writers/Entries/2008/3/25_109._Mar_Jacob_of_Edessa_(d._708).html)>

HIT:

- **On the Holy Mysteries: The sanctuary to the saints, the soul and the body and reason, sanctified by three sanctuaries, by water and blood and spirit, and further by the Father and by the Son and by the Spirit, and indeed man is in position a likeness of God by virtue of this trinity of its composition,** the soul as well as the father, the body as well as the corporeality of the Son, of reason as well as of the Holy Spirit, and thereby He is a parable of God. (Jacob of Edessa, On the Holy Mysteries from Baumstark, "Ein syrisches Citat des 'Comma Johanneum'" in Oriens christianus, 1902, vol. 2, p. 438-441; Translated by Brian Daley, SJ, correspondence, March 2019).
 - **Note:** Syriac in Baumstark's article.

Comment:

• [Baumstark] The utterly secondary character - or better, the irrelevance - of both thoughts for the text's present purpose rules out the supposition that Jacob himself was the one who first re-shaped the text by connecting the Peshitta version of I John 5.7 with the command to baptize in Matt 28.19. **Rather, no one free of prejudice can fail to notice here the citation of a version of John 5.7 closely related to Priscillian and the Vulgate. In which language Jacob (who knew Greek as well as Syriac) read the text, whether it was really in a Syriac text of the Bible or in some Greek manuscript he had come to know - there is no evidence at all to help us decide this question. It is also basically of less importance. More important is the question whether we can restore the actual text of this version with a certain measure of likelihood. In any case, it was located in an Eastern, not a Latin Bible, towards the end of the 7th century.** It was not the text of Priscillian. For Jacob and all the rest of the tradition mention "water, blood and spirit"-

The Witness of God is Greater

not, as the Spanish heretic reads, "water, flesh and blood"; and (Jacob), unlike (Priscillian) and all the rest of the tradition, calls the second divine person "Son," not "Logos". On the other hand, like Priscillian, he mentions Father, Son and Spirit in the second place, and calls the third divine person, as Priscillian does, simply "the Spirit," with no addition; in doing this he shows a sharp difference from the textus receptus of the Vulgate. He also deviates from that text in the inner arrangement of what is there the second - with him, the first - list of witnesses, in that he puts the Spirit in the third, not the first place, in agreement with the text of Ambrose, which can be seen as secondary. Unfortunately, Jacob gives no immediate information on three elements of the text: the variants "in unum" and "unum"; the opposition between heavenly and earthly witnesses; and the placement in Priscillian of the phrase "in Christo Iesu" (which suggests a Sabellian coloring) after the second of these alternatives. The first of these [= in unum or unum] can, without any hesitation at all, be claimed to suggest the text he [= Jacob] read. For it is basically indispensable, as soon as two sets of witnesses are named, and in fact is not missing from any known text where that is the case. The additional phrase, "in Christ Jesus," is found, in contrast to Priscillian, after the unum sunt of the first list of witnesses in the Toledo manuscript collated by Bianchini, and in individual manuscripts of Ambrose's *De spiritu sancto* I, 7.77 - and so possibly in the text read by Ambrose. In this phrase we find Jacob agreeing with the sequence of earthly witnesses. The Spanish manuscript of the Bible, however, is in agreement with him [= Jacob] in putting the heavenly witnesses second, as also in having "Spirit" rather than "Holy Spirit." In the context of such a notable relationship precisely with these three Western texts, one may be inclined to attribute also the phrase "in Christ Jesus" after the first set of witnesses to the Eastern tradition. In the same way, his agreement with the simple reading unum, which appears in all the Western witnesses except Priscillian, might be taken as more or less certain from the start. Yet it is precisely here, where a copyist's mistake seems to be at work, that it seems prudent to be tentative. **By way of conjecture, I would like to offer the following picture of the passage given to us by Jacob of Edessa - either directly or through the mediation of a Greek text known to the Syriac Bible translations, at the latest by the end of the seventh century:** "There are three who bear witness on earth: water and blood and spirit - and the three are one in Christ Jesus; and there are three witnesses in heaven: the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and the three are one." (ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῆ, τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ αἷμα καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς [εἰς ?] τὸ ἓν εἰσὶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ· καὶ τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ Πατήρ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ οἱ τρεῖς [εἰς] τὸ ἓν εἰσὶν) **Without wishing to approach, as an uninvited observer, any closer to the question of the original phrasing of our passage and its continuing historical development, I would simply hasten to point out a new, and certainly unexpected, witness to the text to all who are interested in it.**

(Baumstark, "Ein syrisches Citat des 'Comma Johanneum'" in *Oriens christianus*, 1902, vol. 2, p. 438-441; Translated by Brian Daley, SJ, correspondence, March 2019)

Codex Guelferbytanus 99 Weissenburgensis (700-725 AD)

• **Weissenburg Abbey** in Alsace was founded around AD 650 in the course of the missionary movement emanating from the Franconian Empire, which began with the baptism of the ruler Chlodwig in 498 AD. Initially an outpost on the outskirts of the Christian world, it soon moved to the center of the Frankish empire with the increasing spread of Christianity. Weissenburg was of great religious, economic and political importance among the Carolingians. The monastery flourished in the 9th century under Abbot Grimald, and the library was greatly expanded under him. Many of the manuscripts presented in this exhibition date from this period. In 1523 the monastery was converted into a collegiate monastery, i.e. into a community of canons or canons, and finally dissolved in 1789. A large part of the monastery library came to Wolfenbüttel in the 17th century. <www.hab.de/ausstellungen/weissenburg/einleitung.htm>.

• **[Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg : Letter]** The fate of the Weissenburg manuscripts after the monastery was converted into a collegiate foundation in the 16th century has not been fully clarified. The majority of the monastery library probably came into the possession of the Sponheim Monastery, or its abbot, the scholar Johannes Trithemius (1462 -1516) before the conversion. From there they came to Cologne and then to Mainz.

• **[Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg : Letter]** In Mainz around the middle of the 17th century, the manuscripts aroused the interest of Heinrich Julius von Blum (c. 1628-1693), who worked with manuscripts in Prague. After unsuccessful efforts to sell the Weissenburg manuscripts to Duke August, whereby Blum tried to win August's interest by donating a manuscript (Cod. Guelf. 10. 11. Aug. 4 °), Blum began negotiations with his son in 1678 Duke Anton Ulrich. This first approach of

The Witness of God is Greater

Blum to Anton Ulrich was in the form of the letter that can be seen here. Initially, the manuscripts should cost a total of 2,000 thalers (... I will graciously treat myself to an affordability of around two thousand thalers ...). But that was too expensive for the Duke of Guelphs, and so the trade dragged on. It wasn't until 1690 - Blum canceled half of his claim, so that Anton Ulrich was able to acquire the collection for 1,000 thalers - the Weissenburg holdings came to Wolfenbüttel. This happened during the tenure of Casper Adam Stengers, who was the predecessor of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz from 1685 - 1690 librarian in Wolfenbüttel.

• *Letter from Heinrich Julius von Blums to Duke Anton Ulrich von Braunschweig-Lüneburg from 1678.*

<www.hab.de/ausstellungen/weissenburg/expo-01.htm>

• **The Herzog August Library** was founded by Julius, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg in 1572.[1] In the 17th century it was the largest library north of the Alps. The library was named after Duke Augustus (1579–1666), who greatly enlarged the collection, which was kept at Wolfenbüttel. Armies passed by, back and forth, over the centuries, but the collection was well protected. It was so highly regarded that generals placed the library under special protection, and the library is one of the oldest in the world to have never suffered loss to its collection.[2] In 2006 the library housed around 11,500 manuscripts and 900,000 books, of which 350,000 were printed between the 15th to 18th centuries.[3] Of these, 3,500 are incunabula, 75,000 are from the sixteenth century, 150,000 are from the seventeenth century, and 120,000 are from the eighteenth century.[2] (Herzog August Library. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herzog_August_Library>)

• [Herzog August Bibliothek] **99. Weissenb, Peryam. 19.5 x 12.5 cm. 154 Bll. 7th-8th Nr. 4183**: extremely strange initials, as Bethmann testifies, who expresses himself about the handwriting in the following way: "One of the most beautiful manuscripts of genuinely Merovingian cursives, very remarkable because of the almost completely correct word division and even more because of the extremely colorful and richly decorated initials, the richest that I have ever known from the Merovingian era. Her style is completely Merovingian in color, drawing and composition, with motifs that are mostly taken from fish, and even more from birds, sometimes also from monsters. Particularly peculiar to them is the foliage, which is often used and treated very delicately in almost every initial, and which I have never encountered in this measure or in this way. It almost always represents oak leaves, the birds that occur are mostly peacocks. For the palacography of the initials, this manuscript deserves the highest attention. "On the second page of the flyleaf, the almost completely extinguished furbige[?] drawing of a triumphal arch encircling a plant. Opposite (f. 1) a similar drawing, depicting a square star with a sun in the middle, over which a hand of the 10th-11th centuries Century wrote the word: "bethlehem". (Herzog August Bibliothek, Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel, Part 2, Issue 5, 1908, p. 317-318)

• [Knittel] This Codex [99 Mst. Weisenb] is written in the old Franco-Gallic, or Merovingian letters, and was therefore executed prior to the reign of Charlemagne. Consequently it is false to assert that 1 John V.7 is not extant in any Latin Codex, hitherto discovered, anterior to the days of Charlemagne. It is also worthy of remark that this Codex reads "The Spirit is the truth" (Latin: Spiritus est veritas), instead of "Christ is the truth" (Latin: Christus est veritas). Therefore it cannot be said that the reading "Christus est veritas" is peculiar to, and uniformly found in, the Latin Version. This Codex also omits "in earth" (Latin: in terra). ...Is the "in heaven" (Latin: in caelum) a fragment of some antique and semi barbarous Version? Meantime it is evident that, in the days of Charlemagne, there were two recensions of the First Epistle of John. (Knittel, New Criticisms on the Celebrated Text, 1829, p. 99-100)

TM 67535 / LDAB 8804

Date: AD 700 about - 725

Provenance: Luxovium (Luxeuil) - France (Gallia - Germania Superior) [written]

Language/script: Latin (script: Luxueil minuscule)

Material: parchment codex (154 fol.); columns per page: 1;

Content: Various: Caesarius Arelatensis, Sermons; Augustine Sermons; Jerome (Hieronymus) letter; Catholic Epistles; Pauline Epistles; Theodosius Archidiaconus, De situ Terrae Sanctae; etc.

The Witness of God is Greater

• TM 67535 = Butzmann, *Die Weissenburger Handschriften* 1 (Kataloge Wolfenbüttel N.R. 10) p. 283-287 = Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Weissenburg 99; Latin; parchment; France, Gallia - Luxovium (Luxeuil); AD08 <www.trismegistos.org/text/67535>

HIT:

- [1 John 5:6-9a]

This is he that came by water and blood,

even Jesus Christ; not by water only, but by water and blood.

And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, And there are three that bear witness

the Spirit, and the water, and the blood. And these three are one. Just as in

heaven there are three [that bear record], the Father, the Word, and the Spirit. And these three are one.

f117v.Ln.07 Hic est qui venit per aquam et sanguinem

f117v.Ln.08 ihesus christus non in aqua solum. sed in aqua et in sanguine.

f117v.Ln.09 Et spiritus est veritas quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant

f117v.Ln.10 spiritus et aqua et sanguis. et tres unum sunt. **Sicut et in**

f117v.Ln.11 caelum tres sunt pater. verbum. et spiritus. et tres unum sunt

f117v.Ln.12 Si testimonium hominum

(f.117v : Image 00246; <diglib.hab.de/mss/99-weiss/start.htm?image=00246>)

Note: Variant: *Omitted* "the Spirit is the truth". Variant: "Sicut etiam". Variant preposition "in heaven" before "tres sunt".

Variant: *Omitted* "testimonium" [but understood from grammar context].

Sasanian Conquest of Jerusalem (602-628 AD)

• The Sasanian Empire conquered Jerusalem after a brief siege in 614, during the Byzantine–Sasanian War of 602–628, after the Persian Shah Khosrau II appointed his general Shahrbaraz to conquer the Byzantine controlled areas of the Near East. Following the victory in Antioch, Shahrbaraz conquered Caesarea Maritima, the administrative capital of the province.[4]:206 By this time the grand inner harbor had silted up and was useless, however the Emperor Anastasius had reconstructed the outer harbor and Caesarea remained an important maritime city, providing the Persian Empire with access to the Mediterranean Sea.[5] The Sasanian Persians were joined by Nehemiah ben Hushiel[6] and Benjamin of Tiberias (a man of immense wealth), who enlisted and armed Jewish soldiers from Tiberias, Nazareth and the mountain cities of Galilee, and together with a band of Arabs and additional Jews from southern parts of the country they marched on Jerusalem. Some 20,000 Jewish rebels joined the war against the Byzantine Christians.[7] Depending on the chronicler figures of either 20,000 or 26,000 are given.[1] The Persian army reinforced by Jewish forces led by Nehemiah ben Hushiel and Benjamin of Tiberias would capture Jerusalem—without resistance,[4]:207 or after a siege and breaching the wall with artillery, depending on the source. (Sasanian conquest of Jerusalem. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sasanian_conquest_of_Jerusalem>)

• **In 2013, a treasure was found in the Old City of Jerusalem by archaeologists**, containing a large hoard of Persian coins from the 5th to early 7th centuries and a golden medallion.[46] According to Hebrew University archaeologist Dr. Eilat Mazar, the contents of the discovery in early September 2013 were two bundles containing thirty-six gold coins, gold and silver jewelry, and a gold medallion, ten centimeters in diameter, adorned with images of a menorah, a shofar and a Torah scroll. The item is thought to have been a decoration to hang around a Torah scroll as a breast plate.[46] The find was discovered in a ruined Byzantine public structure a mere 50 meters from the Temple Mount's southern wall.[46] The way the items were found suggests one bundle was carefully hidden underground, whereas the second was apparently abandoned in haste and scattered across the floor.[46] Given dating, Dr. Mazar suggested the items were abandoned following the Christian re-establishment of control of the city.[46] Since there was only a small Jewish presence in Jerusalem during the Byzantine period, Mazar thinks the treasure was brought to the city by Jewish emissaries after the Persian conquest in 614 CE. (Sasanian conquest of Jerusalem. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sasanian_conquest_of_Jerusalem>)

The Witness of God is Greater

• [Frøyshov] **During the 7th century** a new wave of hymn writing arose in the Jerusalem church. Its earliest known hymnodist, Sophronios of Jerusalem* (ca. 560-638), might even have written hymnody in the late 6th century. In the aftermath of dramatic political and social upheavals resulting from the Persian **destructions of 614 and the Arabic occupation of Jerusalem from 638, the new hymnody gained momentum. Although new hymns must have been composed continuously at Jerusalem, at some point a body of hymnody began to appear which would replace the old one. This new wave included the liturgical peripheries of Jerusalem (apparently including Damascus) and quickly spread to the Byzantine Empire through the emigration of hymnodists trained in Jerusalem such as Andrew of Crete***. We shall here deal with that hymnody and those hymnodists which remained within the integral Hagiopolite rite. (Frøyshov, "Jerusalem Rite" in *Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*, 2013, [p. 21])

The Lateran Council of 649 AD

- The Lateran Council of 649 was a synod held in the Basilica of St. John Lateran to condemn Monothelism, a Christology espoused by many Eastern Christians. The Council did not achieve ecumenical status in either East or West, but represented the first attempt of a pope to convene an ecumenical council independent of the Roman emperor. The council was attended by 105 bishops, all but one from the western portion of the Byzantine Empire.[9] Stephen of Dor, a Palestinian, was the only bishop whose See was not in Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, or Africa.[8] Transalpine Europe, Spain, Greece, and Crete—despite lying within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Rome—were not represented.[9] One-fourth of the bishops were (as indicated by their names) likely of Eastern ethnicity or origin and thus probably Greek-speaking.[8]
- The most prominent speaking roles were taken by (in descending order): Pope Martin I, Bishop Maximos of Aquileia, Bishop Deusdedit of Cagliari in Sardinia, Bishop Maurus of Cesena (in lieu of the archbishop of Ravenna), Sergius of Tempesa, Benedict of Ajaccio from Corsica, and Leontios of Naples (probably Leontios of Neapolis).[10] With the exception of Leontios, these were also the highest-ranking bishops present.[11] The other ninety-eight bishops were essentially spectators, speaking (allegedly) in unison only five times, present only to bolster the council's claim to ecumenical status.[11] Most of these were not well-educated enough to understand the complexities of the Monothelite controversy, with many knowing only that Monothelism diverged from the Council of Chalcedon.[11]
- The council's acts and decrees were disseminated along with a papal encyclical claiming the "faith of the universal church" by virtue of having "exercised the collective power of the episcopate." [3] Of course, as Martin and Maximus were aware, all the previous councils regarded as ecumenical were convened by the emperor, not the pope.[4] This encyclical itself was likely written by Maximus.[16] **Until recently, the predominant historical view was that the acts and proceedings of the council were written in Latin and then translated into Greek; Riedinger's more recent analysis of the texts suggests the opposite to be true.**[17] None of the council's prime movers were native Latin speakers, in particular Maximus the Confessor.[14] The council's formal pronouncements amounted to 20 canons.[16] Canons X and XI are the ones which specifically take up the subject of Christ's two wills and two energies, based predominantly on Maximus's earlier disputation against Pyrrhus while in Carthage.[16]
- **The council's canons were promulgated widely in Western Europe, being sent to: bishop Amandus of Maastricht (to arrange for Sigebert III to convene a Frankish synod), bishop John of Philadelphia, bishop Theodore of Esbas in Arabia, bishop Anthony of Bacatha, archimandrite George of St. Theodosios's monastery, bishop Pantaleon of Dor, bishop Paul of Thessalonica, and the Christian communities of Jerusalem and Antioch.**[16]
- Lateran_Council_of_649. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lateran_Council_of_649>.

• [Preface] Meanwhile, the history of the Lateran Synod has itself been rewritten. Its Acts exist in two editions, both going back to the time of the synod, one in Latin and one in Greek. Linguistic analysis that accompanied the production of the first critical edition of the Acts (that appeared in 1984) showed that, even though the synod must have conducted its business in Latin, and even though these Acts present the Greek text as a translation of the Latin, the reverse is the case: **the Greek is the original, and the Latin (save in the case of**

The Witness of God is Greater

a few inserted documents) is the translation. What did this mean for the procedure with which the synod conducted its business? And what does this mean for the relation between the synodal proceedings and the Acts? The answers to these questions are far from obvious, and scholars are not in agreement. (“Preface” in The Acts of the Lateran Synod of 649, 2016, p. viii)

HITS:

- Martin, the most holy and most blessed pope of God’s holy, catholic and apostolic church of Rome, said: “Let the Ekthesis of the emperor Heraclius be taken and read.” And, taking it, Anastasius, regional notary of the apostolic see, read out, translated from Greek into Latin: (The Acts of the Lateran Synod of 649, 2016, p. 226-227)
- [157] The Ekthesis of the orthodox faith made by our God-preserved and most pious lord the great prince Heraclius, on account of the dispute raised by some on the question of operation, and which accords with all five holy and ecumenical councils. It has been received with great satisfaction and favour by the bishops together with the patriarchal sees. They have assented to it gladly, as bringing peace to the holy churches of God. (The Acts of the Lateran Synod of 649, 2016, p. 226-227)
- [156] We believe in Father and Son and Holy Spirit, a consubstantial trinity, one Godhead or nature and essence and power and authority in three hypostases or persons. We acknowledge the particularity of each hypostasis, unity in trinity and trinity in unity, a unity in respect of the principle of the essence or Godhead, and a trinity in respect of the hypostases or persons. For neither in holding the oneness in essence do we abandon the difference of the persons, nor in believing in a trinity of persons do we reject the one Godhead. **There is one God the Father, one God the Son, and one God the Holy Spirit; the three are one God in the sameness and immutability of the Godhead**, for the difference of the persons does not introduce a division of Godhead or essence. Therefore we uphold one Godhead, while preserving the particularities without fusion and not merging the three into one person with three names, like Sabellius; nor do we divide the one Godhead into three essences, or separate the Son or the Holy Spirit from the essence of the Father, in accordance with the madness of Arius, “for the Godhead is one in three,” as the great theologian Gregory says, “and the three are one – those in whom is the Godhead, or (to speak more truly) who are the Godhead.” [Gregorius Naz., Or. 39.11; Migne Graeca, PG 36.345] (The Acts of the Lateran Synod of 649, 2016, p. 226-227)
 - • **Greek:** Μαρτίνος ὁ ἀγιώτατος καὶ μακαριώτατος πάπας τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἁγίας τοῦ θεοῦ καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας εἶπεν: “Ἡ Ἔκθεσις Ἡρακλείου τοῦ βασιλέως ληφθήτω καὶ ἀναγνωσθήτω.” Καὶ λαβὼν Ἀναστάσιος νοτάριος ῥεγεωνάριος τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμαίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐρμηνευθεῖσαν φωνῆς ἀνέγνω.
 - [Note: 157 is only in Latin]
 - **Greek:** [156] Πιστεύομεν εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τριάδα ὁμοούσιον, μίαν θεότητα ἧτοι φύσιν καὶ οὐσίαν καὶ δύναμιν καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν ἧγουν προσώποις, γνωρίζοντες ἐκάστης ὑποστάσεως τὴν ἰδιότητα, μονάδα ἐν τριάδι καὶ τριάδα ἐν μονάδι, μονάδα μὲν κατὰ τὸν τῆς οὐσίας ἧτοι θεότητος λόγον, τριάδα δὲ κατὰ τὰς ὑποστάσεις ἧτοι πρόσωπα. οὔτε γὰρ τὸ ἐν κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν φρονοῦντες τῆς τῶν προσώπων διαφορᾶς ἐξιστάμεθα, οὔτε τριάδα προσώπων πιστεύοντες τὴν μίαν ἀθετοῦμεν θεότητα. **εἷς θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ, εἷς θεὸς ὁ υἱός, εἷς θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, εἷς τὰ τρία θεὸς τῷ ταυτῷ καὶ ἀπαραλλάκτῳ τῆς θεότητος.** ἢ γὰρ τῶν προσώπων διαφορὰ θεότητος ἢ οὐσίας οὐκ εἰσάγει διαίρεσιν. μίαν τοίνυν πρεσβεύομεν θεότητα, τὰς ἰδιοτήτας ἀσυγχυτοὺς θυλάττοντες καὶ οὐκ εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον τριώνυμον συναλείφοντες τὰ τρία κατὰ Σαβέλλιον, οὐδὲ εἰς τρεῖς οὐσίας τὴν μίαν θεότητα διαιροῦντες ἢ ἀλλοτριοῦντες τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίας τὸν υἱὸν ἢ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κατὰ τὴν Ἀρείου μανίαν. “ἐν γὰρ ἐν τρισὶν ἢ θεότης”, ὡς φησὶν ὁ μέγας ἐν θεολογίᾳ Γρηγόριος, “καὶ τὰ τρία ἐν, τὰ ἐν οἷς ἢ θεότης, ἢ τότε ἀληθέστερον εἰπεῖν, ἢ ἢ θεότης”. [Gregorius Naz., Or. 39.11; Migne Graeca, PG 36.345] (Riedinger, Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum. Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum, 2013, p. 156)

The Witness of God is Greater

Andrew of Crete (650-740 AD)

• Saint Andrew of Crete (Greek: Ανδρέας Κρήτης, c. 650 – July 4, 712 or 726 or 740), also known as Andrew of Jerusalem, was an 8th-century bishop, theologian, homilist,[1] and hymnographer. He is venerated as a saint by Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic Christians. Born in Damascus in c. 650, to Christian parents. From birth, Andrew was a mute until he was the age of seven. According to his hagiographers, he was miraculously cured after receiving Holy Communion. He began his ecclesiastical career at fourteen in the Lavra of St. Sabbas the Sanctified, near Jerusalem, where he quickly gained the notice of his superiors. Theodore, the locum tenens of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem (745–770) made him his Archdeacon, and sent him to the imperial capital of Constantinople as his official representative at the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680–681), which had been called by the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, to counter the heresy of Monothelism. Shortly after the Council he was summoned back to Constantinople from Jerusalem and was appointed Archdeacon at the "Great Church" of Hagia Sophia. Eventually, Andrew was appointed to the metropolitan see of Gortyna, in Crete. Although he had been an opponent of the Monothelite heresy, he nevertheless attended the conciliabulum of 712, in which the decrees of the Ecumenical Council were abolished. But in the following year he repented and returned to orthodoxy. Thereafter, he occupied himself with preaching, composing hymns, etc. As a preacher, his discourses are known for their dignified and harmonious phraseology, for which he is considered to be one of the foremost ecclesiastical orators of the Byzantine epoch. Church historians are not of the same opinion as to the date of his death. What is known is that he died on the island of Mytilene, while returning to Crete from Constantinople, where he had been on church business. His relics were later transferred to Constantinople. In the year 1350 the pious Russian pilgrim Stefan of Novgorod saw his relics at the Monastery of Saint Andrew of Crete in Constantinople. At modern Skala Eresou on Lesbos (ancient Eresos) is a large Early Christian basilica church in honour of St. Andrew. His masterpiece, the Great Canon (also known as the Canon of Repentance or the Great Canon of Repentance), is the longest canon ever composed (250 strophes). It is written primarily in the first person, and goes chronologically through the entire Old and New Testaments drawing examples (both negative and positive) which it correlates to the need of the sinful soul for repentance and a humble return to God. It is divided into four parts (called methymony) which are chanted at Great Compline on the first four nights of Great Lent (one part per night); later, it is chanted in its entirety at Matins on Thursday of the fifth week of Great Lent. (Andrew of Crete. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andrew_of_Crete>)

HITS:

- **Great Canon:** Over every authority, sharing the same form, all powerful **Holy Trinity: O Father, Word, Holy Ghost**, O God, Light, and Life, guard your flock.”(Andrew of Crete, The Great Canon. Song 8. Tone 6; Migne Graeca, PG 97.1345; Translated by Pavlos D. Vasileiadis, correspondence, November 2019).
 - **Greek:** Ὑπεράρχιε, σύμμορφε, πανσθενεστάτη **Τριάς ἁγία· Πάτερ, Λόγε, Πνεῦμα ἅγιον·** Θεέ, Φῶς, καὶ Ζωή, φύλαττε τὴν ποίμνην σου. (Andrew of Crete, The Great Canon. Song 8. Tone 6; Migne Graeca, PG 97.1345).
- **Great Canon: Let us bless the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, the Lord. To The Trinity: Eternal Father, co-eternal Son, gracious Comforter, Spirit of Truth; Father of the Divine Word, Word of the Eternal Father, living and creative Spirit, Trinity Unity**, have mercy on us. (Andrew of Crete, Magnus Canon ;Translated by Priest Seraphim Holland. <www.orthodox.net/greatlent/great-canon-fifth-week.html>)
 - **Greek:** Εὐλογοῦμεν Πατέρα, Υἱὸν, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Ἄναρχε Πάτερ, Υἱὲ συνάναρχε, Παράκλητε ἀγαθὲ, Πνεῦμα τὸ εὐθὲς, Λόγον Θεοῦ Γεννήτοπ, Πατρὸς ἀνάρχου Λόγε, Πνεῦμα ζῶν καὶ κτίζον, **Τριάς Μονάς**, ἐλέησόν με. (Andrew of Crete, Magnus Canon; Migne Graeca, PG 97.1377)
- **[Homily 21]** In name God. The uncountable and incomprehensible, the unsearchable as well as unspeakable, who became like me, and through his Name again revealed himself publicly. Not only is the Son called so with the most proper name, but equally is the Father from having begotten [called] Father, and is the Spirit from having proceeded called Spirit, **because also the Three are One God and in these is the Divinity**. (Andrew of Crete, Homilie 21. About the circumcision of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the holy Kingdom; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence March 2020)

The Witness of God is Greater

- **Greek:** Ἐν κλήσει Θεός. Ὁ ἄποσος καὶ ἀσυνείκαστος, ἀνεξερεύνητος τε καὶ ἀνώνυμος, τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ γενόμενος, καὶ δι' ὀνομασίας πάλιν φανερώς γνωρίζεται. Οὐκ ἔστι μόνον Υἱὸς τῷ ἰδικωτάτῳ ὀνόματι λεγόμενος ὡσπερ καὶ Πατήρ διὰ τὸ γεννήσαι, Πατήρ καὶ Πνεῦμα. διὰ τὸ ἐκπορευτώως ἔχειν, καλεῖται Πνεῦμα ἐπεὶ **καὶ τὰ τρία εἷς Θεός τα ἐν οἷς Θεότης**. (Andrew of Crete. Homiliae XXI, Εἰς τὴν περιτομὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Βασίλειον. Migne Graeca, PG 97.913)
- **[Birthday of Mary]** Glory. We adore you, Father without beginning in essence; we sing the praise of your timeless Son, and we worship the co-eternal Spirit, **as three that are one God in nature**. (Andrew of Crete, September 8, birthday of the Most Holy Lady Mother of God)
 - **Greek:** Δόξα. Σε προσκυνοῦμεν Πάτερ ἀναρχε τῆ οὐσία, ὑμνοῦμεν ἄχρονον τὸν Υἱόν σου, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα συναΐδιον σέβομεν, **ὡς ἓνα τὰ τρία φύσει Θεόν**. (Andrew of Crete, "Septembris Octava die : Natale sanctissima Domina Deipara", in SS. Patrum Amphiloicii Iconiensis, Methodii Patarensis, et Andreae Cretensis : opera omnia quae reperiri potuerunt, 1644, p. 259)
- **[Canon]** Glory. We all praise the one divine Being in the Trinity, Three existences, uncreated, undivided, **the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, because the Three are also one Being**. (Andrew of Crete. Canones et Triodia. Canon in Mediam Pent.; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, March 2020)
 - **Greek:** Δόξα. Τὴν μίαν ἐν Τριάδι Θεότητα, οὐσίαν τρισυπόστατον, ἄκτιστον, ἀμέριστον πάντες δοξολογοῦμεν, **Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱόν, καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ὡς τρία οὐσαν καὶ ἓν**. (Andrew of Crete, Canones and Trinity. Canon in Mediam Pent.; Migne Graeca, PG 97.1428)

Comment:

- **[Prelipcean]** The second allusion with polemical purpose concerns the Pneumatological heresy. Throughout the Great Canon, the Byzantine author draws attention to the veneration of the Holy Spirit, saying that "I sing praises to the Holy Spirit Who shines forth with the Father and the Son"¹⁸. Obviously such an expression reflects the very teaching of the Church against the Macedonian heresy, according to which the Holy Spirit was created by the Son of God and was thus subordinate to the Father and the Son. Of course, because of this reason the Holy Spirit does not get the same honor as the other two Persons of the Trinity. In another stanza Andrew does not forget to emphasize the doctrinal truth that the whole Church glorifies the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit¹⁹. Other theological issues which concerned or made allusions to the anti-Trinitarian heresies are missing. (Prelipcean, Does the Great Canon of Andrew of Crete Speak about the Heresies and their Combating?", 2017, p. 526)

Eastern Orthodox Hymns (4th to 11th century)

- **The Triodion** (Greek: Τριῳδίων, Triōdion; Slavonic: Постная Триодь, Postnaya Triod; Romanian: Triodul, Albanian: Triod/Triodi), also called the Lenten Triodion (Τριῳδίων κατανυκτικόν, Triodion katanyktikon), is the liturgical book used by the Eastern Orthodox Church.[note 1] The book contains the propers for the fasting period preceding Easter and for the weeks leading up to the fast. (Triodion. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Triodion>)

HITS:

- Glory. I celebrate **the three are one**, being one in essence, and the one as three in persons: Father, Son and Holy Spirit, one power, will and energy, one God thrice holy, one kingdom, absolute supreme sovereignty.
 - **Greek:** Δόξα. **Τὰ Τρία Ἐν**, Οὐσιότητι, καὶ τὸ Ἐν, Προσώποις τρία ὑμῶ, ταῦτα Πατήρ, Υἱός, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, μία δύναμις, βουλή καὶ ἐνέργεια εἷς Θεὸς ὁ τρισάγιος, βασιλεῖον ἐν μοναρχικώτατον.
 - Triodion. <glt.goarch.org/texts/Tri/t56.html>

The Witness of God is Greater

- Glory. **You are one in three (that is in persons - three)**, God of the universe I celebrate you Father, Son and Holy Spirit.
 - **Greek:** Δόξα. Ἔνα σε ἐν τρισὶ τοῖς προσώποις, Θεὸν ἀπάντων ὑμῶν, τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ τὸν Υἱόν, καὶ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.
 - Triodion. <www.imkorinthou.org/keimena/texts/Tri/t33.uni.htm>.
- Glory. **I unite the Three in the one Nature** of the Godhead, and divide the One into three Persons; and I reject equally the opposing heresies of Sabellius and Arius.
 - **Greek:** Δόξα. Τὰ τρία μιᾷ φύσει συνάπτων, τὸ ἐν δέ, τρισὶ τέμνων προσώποις, ἃ ἡ Θεότης ἐστὶ, Σαβέλλιον τε καὶ τὸν Ἄρειον, τοὺς ἰσομέτρους κρημνοὺς διαφεύγω.
 - Triodion. <www.imkorinthou.org/keimena/texts/Tri/t47.uni.htm>
- Glory. Without beginning you are, O Father; uncreated you are, O Son; on the same throne you sit, O Spirit: **one are the three (one by nature, and three in persons)**, the one true God.
 - **Greek:** Δόξα. Ἄναρχος εἶ ὁ Πατήρ, ἄκτιστος εἶ ὁ Υἱός, σύνθρονον καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἐν τὰ τρία τῆ φύσει, καὶ τρία τοῖς προσώποις, εἷς Θεὸς ἀληθινός.
 - Triodion. <www.imkorinthou.org/keimena/texts/Tri/t94.uni.htm>
- Glory. **The Three are one [nature]**, I glorify the persons of the image, Father, Son, and Spirit, one is the power of the Godhead, King and Brightness of the universe.
 - **Greek:** Δόξα. Τὰ τρία τῆς μιᾶς, μορφῆς πρόσωπα δοξάζω, Πατέρα, Υἱὸν καὶ Πνεῦμα, ἐν τὸ κράτος τῆς Θεότητος, βασιλείαν ἀπάντων καὶ λαμπρότητα.
 - Triodion. <www.imkorinthou.org/keimena/texts/Tri/t73.uni.htm>
- We bless the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Glory to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit: **because the one God is three**; we mortals celebrate you with the angels (who praise you without ceasing), Trinity most holy, for all the eternity.
 - **Greek:** Εὐλογοῦμεν Πατέρα, Υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Δόξα Πατρί, καὶ Υἱῷ, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι· εἷς Θεὸς γὰρ τὰ τρία, σὺν Ἄγγελοις ἀπαύστως, βροτοὶ ἀνευφημοῦμεν, σὲ παναγία Τριάς, εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.
 - Triodion. <www.imkorinthou.org/keimena/texts/Tri/t23.uni.htm>
- I celebrate you in your consubstantiality, Trinity without beginning, venerable, supreme origin of life, inseparable Monad: **O incomprehensible Father, O Word and begotten Son, Holy Spirit**, save us who sing to you.
 - **Greek:** Ὁμοουσιότητι, ἀνυμνῶ σε, ἄναρχε Τριάς, σεπτῆ ζωαρχικῆ, ἄτμητε Μονάς. Πατήρ ὁ ἀγέννητος, καὶ γεννητέ, Λόγε καὶ Υἱέ, Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἡμᾶς σῶσον τοὺς ὑμνοῦντάς σε.
 - Triodion Vol 1, p. 186; Vol 2, p. 288. <www.liturgiabizantina.it/Testi_liturgici/triodion%20I.pdf>.
- Ode 9: [Canticle of the Mother of God and of Zechariah] The Piously Faithful, every one of us - we all magnify you with hymns, **Father and Sovereign who have no beginning, with the Word coeternal, and the Holy Spirit**.
 - **Greek:** Ὁδὴ θ'. Σὲ τὸν ἄναρχον, Πατέρα καὶ Δεσπότην, καὶ τὸν συνάναρχον Λόγον, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, εὐσεβῶς οἱ πιστοί, πάντες μεγαλύνομεν.
 - Triodion Vol 2, p. 120-121. <www.liturgiabizantina.it/Testi_liturgici/triodion%20II.pdf>.
- Father without beginning, coeternal Son, and loving Comforter, the Spirit of righteousness; Begetter of the Word of God, **Word of the eternal Father, Spirit living and creative**: O Trinity in Unity, have mercy on me.

The Witness of God is Greater

- **Greek:** Εὐλογοῦμεν Πατέρα, Υἱόν, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Ἄναρχε Πάτερ, Υἱὲ συνάναρχε, Παράκλητε ἀγαθέ, Πνεῦμα τὸ εὐθέξ, Λόγου Θεοῦ Γεννήτορ, **Πατρὸς ἀνάρχου Λόγε, Πνεῦμα ζῶν καὶ κτίζον.** Τριάς Μονὰς ἐλέησόν με.
 - The Great Compline, p. 39. <www.agesinitiatives.com/dcs/public/dcs/p/s/2021/03/18/co/green/se.m03.d19.co.pdf>
 - Triodon Vol 2, p. 230. <www.liturgiabizantina.it/Testi_liturgici/triodion%20II.pdf>.

- **Prosómia** are a large, specific group of hymns of the Eastern Orthodox Church, which are used as models and paradigms for the composition of other hymns. In laymen's terms, a prosómion (singular) is a "hymn-tune". When its title, which is the first words of the hymn appears above other hymn-texts, it signifies that they are to be sung to the tune of that particular prosomion. A hymn is called a prosomion – meaning in Greek "similar to" – when hymns modeled after the Original Melody match it note for note, syllable for syllable, and accent for accent. A prosomion is called Podóben in Slavonic.
 - Byzantine Prosomia The Chanter's Companion. A Booklet Containing The Music and Text For All the Hymns Chanted on the CD's. 2005, Holy Transfiguration Monastery, Brookline, MA. <antiochianladiocese.org/files/sheet_music/prosomia-lyrics.pdf>.

HITS:

- Let us all extol Athanasius, the Hierarch of Christ. He completely demolished all the teachings of Arius; and he emphatically proclaims the dominion of the Holy Trinity to all the world: **one God, in three persons, inseparable.** And now he intercedes with God, on behalf of us who faithfully observe his memory.
 - **Greek:** Χριστοῦ τὸν ἱεράρχην Ἦχος πλ. β´. Χριστοῦ τὸν ἱεράρχην, ὑμνήσωμεν ἅπαντες Ἀθανάσιον, ὅτι Ἀρείου τὰ διδάγματα πάντα κατήργησε, καὶ τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος τὸ κράτος, εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον τρανώς καταγγέλλει, **ἓνα Θεὸν ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις ἀμέριστον,** ᾧ καὶ πρεσβεύει ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, τῶν ἐν πίστει τελούντων τὴν μνήμην αὐτοῦ.
 - Prosomia. <www.imkorinthou.org/keimena/misc/Prosomia.htm>

- **The Menaion** (Greek: Μηναιόν; Slavonic: Минїа,[1] Miniya, "of the month") is the liturgical book used by the Eastern Orthodox Church[^{note 1}] containing the propers for fixed dates of the calendar year, i.e. entities not dependent of the date of Easter. The Menaion is the largest volume of the propers for the Byzantine Rite and is used at nearly all the daily services. (Menaion. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Menaion>

HITS:

- Glory. The Holy Trinity, **Father Word Spirit,** The *Divine Theologian* taught to believe, one God indivisible.
 - **Greek:** Δόξα. Τριάδα τὴν σεπτὴν, **Πατέρα Λόγον Πνεῦμα,** ὁ **θεῖος Θεολόγος,** ἐδίδαξε πιστεῦειν, ἓνα Θεὸν ἀχώριστον.
 - Orthodox Eastern Church, Mēnaion tou Ianouariou [Hours of January], vol 1, 1905, p. 197. <books.google.com/books?id=aOtSAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>

• Various Orthodox Hymns

HITS:

- To the Holy Trinity. I sing to you, Supersubstantial Trinity, in persons thrice-counted persons, unmistakable, indivisible, Monad by nature unknowable, one God Almighty, **Father, Word and Holy Spirit.**

The Witness of God is Greater

- **Greek:** Τριαδικόν. Ὑμῶ σε τρισάριθμον τοῖς χαρακτηῆρσι, Τριάς ὑπερούσιε, ἀσύγχυτον ἀμέριστον, Μονάδα ἐν φύσει δὲ ἀπερινόητον, ἓνα Παντοκράτορα Θεόν, **Πατέρα Λόγον καὶ Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον.**
 - Memory of our Holy Father Hilarion the Younger, Abbot of the Monastery of Dalmatia. March 28th. <www.imkorinthou.org/keimena/texts/Mar/28.uni.htm>
- How generous among the martyrs. Thrice-radiant Godhead, You who are most radiant near the three-solar Divinity, Michael, the first leader, cheers joyfully with the supernal hosts: Holy you are, **oh Father, Holy, you who are coeternal with the Holy Word and Holy Spirit:** one glory, one kingdom, one nature, one divinity and power.
 - **Greek:** Ὡς γενναῖον ἐν Μάρτυσι ΤΟ ΑΚΟΥΥΤΕ. Τρισηλίου θεότητος, παραστάτης φαιδρότατος, Μιχαὴλ δεικνύμενος, ἀρχιστράτηγε, μετὰ τῶν ἄνω Δυνάμεων, κραυγάζεις γηθόμενος, **Ἅγιος εἶ ὁ Πατήρ, Ἅγιος ὁ συνάναρχος, Λόγος Ἅγιος, καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα:** μία δόξα, βασιλεία, μία φύσις, μία Θεότης καὶ δύναμις.
 - Commemoration of the Miracle of the Archangel Michael at Colossae, September 6th. <www.imkorinthou.org/keimena/texts/Sep/06.uni.htm>
- Glory. We celebrate you God without beginning, **in three persons, but in one nature,** eternal [being] with the incorporeal [angels], **Father, Word, Spirit,** with kingdom and power undivided.
 - **Greek:** Δόξα. Ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις, μιᾷ φύσει δέ, ἀναρχον Θεόν, ὑμνήσωμεν ἀπαύστως μετὰ τῶν ἀσωμάτων, **Πατέρα, Λόγον, Πνεῦμα,** βασιλείαν ἔχουσας, καὶ κράτος ἀμερές.
 - Paralithic Sunday At the Great Vespers After Christ is risen, [n.d.], p. 12.

Eastern Orthodox Hymns (4th to 11th century) : Early Manuscripts

Christian Greek Hymn : P. Oxy. XV 1786 (3rd century)

• The Oxyrhynchus hymn (or P. Oxy. XV 1786) is the earliest known manuscript of a Christian Greek hymn to contain both lyrics and musical notation. It is found on Papyrus 1786 of the Oxyrhynchus papyri, now kept at the Papyrology Rooms of the Sackler Library, Oxford. The manuscript was discovered in 1918 in Oxyrhynchus, Egypt, and later published in 1922. The hymn was written around the end of the 3rd century AD.

The Phos Hilaron and the Oxyrhynchus hymn constitute the earliest extant Christian Greek hymn texts reasonably certain to have been used in Christian worship, but are neither drawn from the Bible nor modeled on Biblical passages. (Oxyrhynchus hymn. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oxyrhynchus_hymn>)

• [Grenfell] This interesting fragment of what is by far the most ancient piece of Church music extant, and may be placed among the earliest written relics of Christianity, is contained on the verso of a strip from an account of corn, mentioning several Oxyrhynchite villages and dating apparently from the first half of the third century, though later than the Constitutio Antoniniana, since some of the persons named are Aurelii. The text on the verso is written in long lines parallel with the fibres in a clear upright hand which approximates to the literary type but includes some cursive forms, e. g. the ε of [π]ατερα in line 4. Above each line of text the corresponding vocal notes have been added in a more cursive lettering, whether by the same hand or another is not easy to determine. The character of both scripts appears to point to a date in the latter part of the third century rather than the early decades of the fourth. This hymn was accordingly written before either P. Amh. 2 or Bed. Klassikedexte VI. vi. 8, which are both assigned to the fourth century. Unfortunately only its conclusion is preserved, and that very imperfectly, four lines out of the five being disfigured by large initial lacunae. Nevertheless the general purport of what remains is fairly clear. **Creation at large is called upon to join in a chorus of praise to Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and the concluding passage is the usual ascription of power and glory to the "only giver of all good gifts". The original extent of the hymn cannot be gauged from the recto, for though the strip evidently came from the latter part of the column of accounts, the breadth of this is unknown, and a second column, or more, may of course have followed.** (Grenfell, The Oxyrhynchus papyri, 1898, vol 15, p. 21-22)

The Witness of God is Greater

Hymn:

May none of God's wonderful works
Keep silence, night or morning.
Bright stars, high mountains, the depths of the seas,
Sources of rushing rivers:
May all these break into song as we sing
To Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

May all the angels in the heavens reply:

Amen! Amen! Amen!

Power, praise, honor, eternal glory
To God, the only giver of grace.
Amen! Amen!

Greek:

1786.r.001 [Σε Πάτερ κόσμων, Πάτερ αἰώνων, μέλπωμεν] ὁμοῦ, πᾶσαι τε Θεοῦ λόγιμοι δο[ῦλο].
Ἔσα κ[όσμος ἔχει πρὸς ἐπουρανίων ἀγίων σελάων.]

1786.r.002 [Πρ]υτανήω σιγάτω, μηδ' ἄστρα φασφόρα λ[αμπέ]-

1786.r.003 σθων, [ἀπ]ολε[όντων] ῥ[ιπαί] πνοιῶν, πηγαί] ποταμῶν ῥοθίων πᾶσαι. Ὑμνούντων δ'
ἡμῶν

1786.r.004 [Π]ατέρα χ' Υἰὸν χ' Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, πᾶσαι δυνάμεις ἐπιφωνούντων· Ἀμήν,
Ἀμήν.

Κράτος, αἴνος [ἀεὶ καὶ δόξα Θεοὶ

1786.r.005 δωτῆρι μόνῳ πάντων] ἀγαθῶν· Ἀμήν, Ἀμήν.

• <rickbrannan.github.io/StuffEarlyChristiansRead/data/html/P.Oxy.%201786.html>

• <www.trismegistos.org/text/64184>

• Image: <commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:POxy_1786.jpg>

21319 Berliner Griechische Papyri (6th century)

• Papyrus fragment of a 6th-century tropologion found in Egypt, marked in red are the modal signature and some early ekphonic signs of the following theotokion ("another one") which is composed in a melos of echos plagios devteros. (P. 21319: Marianische "Troparia". P. Sarischouli, P.Berl.Sarisch. 5.
<berlpap.smb.museum/04510/>)

• [Gampel] In a small fragment of papyrus at the Egyptian Museum in Berlin, P.Berol 21319 (Figure 10),55 dated to the 6th or 7th century, four lines of a Troparion to the Theotokos, Mother of God, have survived on either side. The last legible line on the verso has the word "other" (Greek: ἄλλος) followed by the modal indication πλάγιος β' (plagal beta). The word "other" (Greek: ἄλλος) indicates that another hymn will follow. However, the papyrus was damaged or torn and this subsequent hymn text has not survived. Nevertheless, there are several extant signs and partial signs below the octoechos indication. The first of these signs resembles a small circle followed by an attached, diagonally ascending line. The next symbol resembles a small "v" with a very extended right line. Further on the same interlinear space, there are three other partial signs. These are not the upper portions of letters. Separate publications by the papyrologist Sarischouli and the musicologist Alexandru suggest musical functions for symbols on this fragment. Sarischouli sees a parallel between the signs over the epsilon of the word ἔλθη, "come" (recto, line 4) and the three signs at the bottom of the other side of the papyrus (verso, line 5). He writes that these signs resemble petaste signs, the interval of a rising second in Byzantine musical notation of the 11th-12th century. Without other examples of this sign prior to the 11th century, there is no way of developing a theory of continuity. However, this papyrus suggests that elements of Byzantine neumatic notation may already have existed in the early Middle Ages. (Gampel, Papyrological Evidence of Musical Notation from the 6th to the 8th centuries, 2012, p. 24, 25)

Hymn:

21319r.001 And entered into the house of Zacharias, and saluted Elisabeth. [cf. Luke 1:40]

21319r.002 Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb. [cf. Luke 1:42]

The Witness of God is Greater

21319r.003 Blessed is the babe of your womb [cf. Luke 11:27??]
21319r.004 that the mother of my Lord should come to me? [cf. Luke 1:43]
21319v.001 ???
21319v.002 ??? fleece cover with dew, Mary. Daniel ?? O unquarried [mountain] ??
21319v.003 Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee [cf. Luke 1:28]
21319v.004 Another plagal beta

Greek:

21319r.line 001 ν μαρίαν εἰς οἶκον τοῦ Ζαχ[αρίου] ἰοῦσα?
21319r.line 002]φη πρὸς αὐτῆς εὐλογητὴ σὺ[έν γυναιξίν?
21319r.line 003 ε]ὐλογητός ἐστιν ὁ Βρέφος ὁ ἐ[ν τῇ κοιλίᾳ σου?
21319r.line 004 ἴν]α ἢ μή(τη)ρ τοῦ κ(υρίου)υ μου ἔλθῃ πρὸς[ε ἐμέ
21319v.line 001]υμενην · χαῖρ[ε
21319v.line 002 ?πόκον ἐνδ]ροσο Μαρία Δανιήλ · λιθομηθ[εῖς ?
21319v.line 003 χαῖρ[ε κεχαριτωμένη ὁ · κ(ύριο)ς μετὰ σ[οῦ
21319v.line 004] ἄλλ(ος) π(λάγιος) Β

- Alexandrou, *The Palaeography of Byzantine Music*, 2017, p. 232
- Images: <berlpap.smb.museum/04510/>

Eastern Orthodox Hymns (4th to 11th century) : Pilgrimage of Etheria (381-386 AD)

• [The re-discovery of Egeria's Pilgrimage] **The text about the travels of Egeria was lost for about seven hundred years.** Only the middle part of Egeria's letter has been preserved in a manuscript known today as "Itinerarium Egeriae" or "The Pilgrimage of Egeria". This manuscript is part of the Codex Aretinus VI, 3. In 1884, the Italian scholar Gian Francesco Gamurrini discovered Codex Aretinus in the monastic library of S. Maria in Arezzo in Tuscany. The script of the Codex indicates that the text was copied in the area of Monte Cassino between the 9th and 12th century. (Egeria. The Egeria Project. <www.egeriaproject.net/about_egeria.aspx>)

• **Egeria (Etheria or Aetheria) was a woman, widely regarded to be the author of a detailed account of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land about 381–386.** The long letter, dubbed "Peregrinatio" or "Itinerarium Egeriae", is addressed to a circle of women at home. Historical details include the journey in the early 380s, making it the earliest of its kind. It survives in fragmentary form in a later copy—lacking a title, date and attribution.[1] The middle part of Egeria's writing survived and was copied in the Codex Aretinus, which was written at Monte Cassino in the 11th century, while the beginning and end are lost. This Codex Aretinus was discovered in 1884 by the Italian scholar Gian Francesco Gamurrini, in a monastic library in Arezzo.[2] In 2005 Jesús Alturo identified two new fragments from one manuscript circa 900 in Caroline script.[3] Gamurrini published the Latin text and theorised the author was Saint Sylvia of Aquitaine.[4] **In 1903 Marius Férotin claimed the author is one Aetheria or Egeria, known from a letter written by the 7th century Galician monk Valerio of Bierzo. He dated her pilgrimage to about 381–384, during the reign of Theodosius I.** (Egeria pilgrim. Wikipedia. <[en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egeria_\(pilgrim\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egeria_(pilgrim))>.)

• [Aherne] **Valerio of Bierzo**, lived during the second half of the seventh century in the province of Astorga in northwestern Spain. The only contemporary account of him is found in his writings, three short treatises of which are autobiographical in character. (He was contemporaneous with Isidore, bishop of Astorga, whose signature is found in the acts of the third provincial council of Braga in 675.) Later references to Valerio in the mediaeval period are few. St. Benedict of Aniane (d. 821) includes the treatise, "Dicta sancti Valerii de genere monachorum", in his *Concordia regularum*. In 895 San Genadio restored the monastery of San Pedro de Montes. In an inscription dating from the time of Genadio commemorating the consecration of this monastery in 919 Valerio is compared with St. Fructuosus. In his testament drawn up in 919 Genadio calls him "sanctus Valerius." Evidence of some attention to Valerio during the later middle ages is seen in the copying of his works which are extant in manuscripts from the ninth through the thirteenth, and from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. (Valerio of Bierzo, *An Ascetic of the Late Visigothic Period*, 1949, p. 1-2)

The Witness of God is Greater

• [Aherne] **Valerio's treatise, "Vita et epistola beatissimae Egeriae"**, is one of his most interesting and important works : interesting for the unusual enthusiasm which his subject evokes, important for the preservation of the name of Egeria. She was a fourth century nun who wrote the story of her pilgrimage to the Holy Land. (Valerio of Bierzo, *An Ascetic of the Late Visigothic Period*, 1949, p. 45)

Letter in Praise of the Blessest Aetheria Addressed to the Brothers of Bierzo

• **[Valerius]** I ask that you consider carefully, holy brothers and sisters who are pleasing to God, how great the exercise of the various works is in order to obtain the rewards of the kingdom of heaven. As we contemplate the deeds of virtue of the bravest and most holy men, the perseverance of virtue of a frail woman is admired even more, as told in the unique story of the most blessed Aetheria, the woman who was braver than all men of the century. When the nourishing sound of the Catholic faith and the immeasurable splendor of the holy religion overflowing with light had illuminated the outermost regions of this western greater region, our most blessed nun Aetheria, kindled by the flame of longing for divine grace, made herself with the help of the That makes divine majesty with all strength and fearless heart on the immeasurable way over the whole world. And so she gradually came, moving under God's guidance, to the most holy and longed-for places of the birth, the passion and the resurrection of the Lord and to the corpses of innumerable holy martyrs in different provinces and cities, for the sake of prayer and for edification. The more she was captured by the sacred dogma, the more the inextinguishable flame burned in her heart. (Valerio, *Letter*; Migne Latina, PL 87.421)

• **Manuscript: Valerius' letter to his brethren introducing Etheria's journey.**

<archive.org/details/pilgrimageofethe00mccliala/page/n111/mode/1up>

• **Egeria set down her observations in a letter** now called *Itinerarium Egeriae* ("Pilgrimage of Egeria"). It is sometimes also called *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* ("Pilgrimage of Aetheria") or *Peregrinatio ad Loca Sancta* ("Pilgrimage to the Holy Lands") or some other combination. It is the earliest extant graphic account of a Christian pilgrimage.[7] The text has numerous lacunae.[6] The text is a narrative apparently written at the end of Egeria's journey from notes she took en route, and addressed to her 'dear ladies': the women of her spiritual community back home. In the first extant part of the text, she describes the journey from her approach to Mount Sinai until her stop in Constantinople. Staying for three years in Jerusalem, she made excursions to Mount Nebo and to the tomb of Job in ancient Carneas or Karnaiā[8] (modern Al-Shaykh Saad, Syria). Additionally, she visited the burial places of Haran, the brother of Abraham, as well as the site where Eliezer met with Rebecca.[9] She spent time at the Sea of Galilee and comments on the traditions, which include that of Christ feeding the multitude and the place where he performed his miracles.[10] On her way back to Europe she stopped at Hagia Thekla—i. e. the shrine of Saint Thecla's near Seleucia Isauriae (modern Silifke, Turkey), particularly venerated by women. Upon her return to Constantinople, she planned to make a further trip to St. John's at Ephesus. (Egeria (pilgrim). Wikipedia. <[en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egeria_\(pilgrim\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egeria_(pilgrim))>.)

• [Feltoe] **Egeria also speaks of "hymns" and "antiphons" being used.** The practice of "singing or saying" hymns other than the Psalms of David in Divine service was of very early origin, certainly in the East, and almost as certainly in the West ; so that in any case Etheria would not have been entirely unaccustomed to it. But in the fourth century largely in consequence of the efforts of the orthodox or catholics to counteract the spread of Arian views by this means hymn-writing and singing had received a very great impetus, and such compositions, whether metrical (as in the West) or merely rhythmical (as in the East), had become a regular part of public worship throughout Christendom. Thus, at Constantinople we know that S. Chrysostom had encouraged their use, and at Milan S. Ambrose had himself written hymns for the purpose, while at Edessa the famous Syriac hymns of Ephraem belong to about the same period, and were intended as a counterblast to the unsound teaching conveyed by the older songs of Bardesanes. With regard to the "antiphons" which Etheria mentions, it is difficult to say whether she means compositions strictly so called, because they were sung antiphonally, or in a more general sense "anthems" as we call them, for both kinds were already probably in use. (McClure & Feltoe, *The Pilgrimage of Etheria*, Introduction, 1919, p. xxxix-xl)

Egeria's Pilgrimage : Points of Liturgical Interest

1. Epiphany.
 2. The Purification (Feb. 14).
 3. Lent at Jerusalem lasted eight weeks when Etheria was there, the forty days.
 4. The observances of Holy Week are all of great interest in view of the early date of the record. They included the following :
 - (a) The children's waving of olive or palm branches on Sunday. This, again, started in Jerusalem.
 - (b) The celebration of the Communion in the late afternoon of Maundy Thursday : for this practice see further below on p. xiii.
 - (c) The adoration of the Cross and the observance of the Three Hours on Good Friday.
 - (d) King Solomon's ring and the ancient anointing horn of the kings were also exhibited and venerated.
 5. Ascension Day itself was kept
 6. The following were the Daily Offices :
 - (a) Vigilide nocturnae before dawn.
 - (b) Mattins (at dawn).
 - (c) Terce (only in Lent).
 - (d) Sext.
 - (e) No mention is made of Prime or Compline.
 - (f) Lucernaire (Vespers).
 7. Fasting.
 8. The Eucharist.
 9. The use of incense.
 10. Etheria was struck by the use of the Kyrie eleison as a response by the numerous choir boys standing by during the recitation of the names from the diptychs at vespers.
 11. Holy Baptism.
 12. The Dedication Festival
 13. Martyr Memorials.
 14. Officers of the Church.
 15. Eulogiae.
- Feltoe. The Pilgrimage of Etheria, 1919, p. Xxxvii-xlv

• **[Egeria]** On the next day, crossing the sea, I arrived at Constantinople, giving thanks to Christ our God who deigned to give me such grace, unworthy and undeserving as I am, for He had deigned to give me not only the will to go, but also the power of walking through the places. When I had arrived there, I went through all the churches of the Apostles and all the martyr memorials, of which there are very many and I ceased not to give thanks to Jesus our God, Who had thus deigned to bestow His mercy upon me. From which place, ladies, light of my eyes, while I send these (letters) to your affection, I have already purposed, in the Name of Christ our God, to go to Ephesus in Asia, for the sake of prayer, because of the memorial of the holy and blessed Apostle John. And if after this I am yet in the body, and am able to see any other places, I will either tell it to your affection in person, if God deigns to permit me this, or in anywise, if I have another project in mind, I will send you news of it in a letter. But do you, ladies, light of my eyes, deign to re- member me, whether I am in the body or out of the body. Now that your affection may know what is the order of service day by day in the holy places, I must inform you, for I know that you would willingly have this knowledge. (Feltoe, The Pilgrimage of Etheria, 1919, p. 43-44)

• Full Text: <archive.org/details/pilgrimageofethe00mccliiala>.

The Witness of God is Greater

• [Aherne] **Valerio's letter closes** with an exhortation to walk while there is light. He who perseveres to the end will be saved. As each is now, such will he be at the judgment where everyone will be rewarded according to his works. (Valerio of Bierzo, *An Ascetic of the Late Visigothic Period*, 1949, p. 51)

Comments:

- [Feltoe] **Egeria's usual name for the Bible is Scriptura** (either in the singular or the plural, and with or without the epithet "Holy"). Twice she uses the expression "the Scriptures of God" (pp. 16 and 40). She characterizes the Pentateuch, from which she naturally quotes most often, as "the (holy) books of (holy) Moses." The most interesting of the titles she uses, however, is (on p. 38) *scriptura canonis* ("the Scripture of the Canon"). (McClure & Feltoe, *The Pilgrimage of Etheria*, Introduction, 1919, Introduction, p. xxxi)
 - **Note:** The term "canon" is also found in the writings of **Amphilochius** of Bishop of Iconium in Galatia (circa 380 AD) after listing the books of the OT and NT gives the following statement: "**This would be the most unerring This would be the most unerring canon of the divinely inspired scriptures.**" (Greek: οὗτος ἀψευδέστατος κανὼν ἂν εἴη τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν. *Amphilochius Iconiensis, Iambi ad Seleucum*; *Migne Graeca*, PG 138.928)
- [Feltoe] **Egeria is by no means without knowledge of Greek** for she uses quite a large number of Greek words and phrases and transliterates them as a rule with accuracy. Besides that she displays great intelligence and exercises great powers of observation and appreciation of what she sees and hears wherever she goes. And this makes her narrative always lively and entertaining in spite of the defects in her style and occasional obscurity of meaning. (McClure & Feltoe, *The Pilgrimage of Etheria*, Introduction, 1919, Introduction, p. x-xi)
- [Feltoe] Egeria quotes the bishop of Haran's statement to her that at that time the Persians held the district of Nisibis and Ur, and the Romans had no place there (p. 39). **As the Emperor Jovian had yielded the district to King Sapor in 363**, that seems to be the explanation of the statement. (McClure & Feltoe, *The Pilgrimage of Etheria*, Introduction, 1919, Introduction, p. xiii-xiv)
- [Feltoe] Egeria expressly says she went to Edessa to pray at the martyrion of S. Thomas the Apostle, whose whole body is there. And when she arrived there, she and her companions went at once to the church and the martyrion of S. Thomas. She found the great and beautiful church had been rebuilt in a new form (*nova compositione*). This the Emperor Valens had finished in 372 (*Socr., Hist. Eccl. iv. 18*). Her language seems, though not at all certainly, to imply that the martyrion was still separate from the church. **The Chronicle of Edessa says the tomb was transferred to the new church in 394**, when Cyrus was bishop, who had succeeded Eulogius on his death in 388. This again seems to corroborate the date we have accepted for her pilgrimage. (McClure & Feltoe, *The Pilgrimage of Etheria*, Introduction, 1919, Introduction, p. xxiii-xxiv)
- [Feltoe] Egeria gives us an account that will be read with interest of what she was told about the **letters of Abgar to our Lord** and His answer. This account differs from that of Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl. ii. 13*), in mentioning the promise of Christ that no enemy should ever enter the city. Eusebius knows nothing of such a promise of immunity, though later historians relate it (see Bernard's note, p. 36), and it was known to Ephraem Syrus (about 390). (McClure & Feltoe, *The Pilgrimage of Etheria*, Introduction, 1919, Introduction, p. xxiv)
- [Aherne] Lambert ("*Egeria ou Aetheria*," *Revue Mabillon*, 1936, p. 72.) disposes of the objection raised by some modern scholars that a prejudice would have existed against **a pagan name in the mediaeval period** by presenting an instance of the use of the name in the very section of Spain from which the converging lines of evidence show that Egeria must have come. The name appears in a deed of the year 899, a kind of pactum between Tegil, a deacon, and the Abbot Riciulfus. The original of this

The Witness of God is Greater

deed, written in Visigothic cursive, is kept in the capitular archives of Ovideo; on it thirty three witnesses, among whom are several priests, have put their mark beside their names. Among them appears the name of "Egeria testis". Lambert conjectures that she was probably a "deo vota" or a "conversa". He refutes the argument that a fourth century nun would not have a pagan name by quoting the statistics of Harnack who found that 270 of the 284 bishops appearing on the episcopal lists of Nicea had pagan names. (Valerio of Bierzo, *An Ascetic of the Late Visigothic Period*, 1949, p. 47-48)

John of Damascus (675-749 AD)

• Saint John of Damascus (Greek: Ἰωάννης ὁ Δαμασκηνός, romanized: Ioánnēs ho Damaskēnós, IPA: [joˈanis o ðamasciˈnos]); Latin: Ioannes Damascenus; Arabic: يوحنا الدمشقي, romanized: Yūḥannā ad-Dimashqī), also known as John Damascene and as Χρυσόροας / Chrysorroas (literally "streaming with gold"—i.e., "the golden speaker"), was a Byzantine monk and priest. Born and raised in Damascus c. 675 or 676, he died at his monastery, Mar Saba, near Jerusalem on 4 December 749.[5] John was born in Damascus in the third quarter of the 7th century AD, to a prominent Damascene Christian family known as "Mansour".[14] The family was named after John's grandfather, Mansour ibn Sarjun, who had been responsible for the taxes of the region during the reign of Emperor Heraclius.[15][16] Mansour seems to have played a role in the capitulation of Damascus to the troops of Khalid ibn al-Walid in 635 after securing favorable conditions of surrender.[15][16] Eutychius, a 10th-century Melkite patriarch, mentions him as one high-ranking official involved in the surrender of the city to the Muslims.[17] A polymath whose fields of interest and contribution included law, theology, philosophy, and music, he is said by some sources to have served as a Chief Administrator to the Muslim caliph of Damascus before his ordination.[6][7] He wrote works expounding the Christian faith, and composed hymns which are still used both liturgically in Eastern Christian practice throughout the world as well as in western Lutheranism at Easter.[8] He is one of the Fathers of the Eastern Orthodox Church and is best known for his strong defence of icons.[9] The Catholic Church regards him as a Doctor of the Church, often referred to as the Doctor of the Assumption due to his writings on the Assumption of Mary.[10] (John of Damascus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_of_Damascus>)

• [D. Thomas] John of Damascus wrote a number of polemical tracts against the adversaries of his ecclesiastical denomination. Prominent among them are his tracts "Against the Jacobites," "the tract" "On the Two Wills in Christ," "the tracts" "Against the Nestorians," "the letter" "On the Trisagion," "[Thrice-Holy] and the dialogue" "Against the Manichaeans." Clearly they cover the primary polemical agenda of the Melkites, and as such they define those theological ideas in reaction to which the Melkite theological identity clarified and defined itself. They are all adversaries very much present to John of Damascus and his associates in Syria in the early Islamic period. There is no evidence that in the ensemble they preoccupied the ecclesiastics of Byzantium in the second/eighth century. [...] **It is significant that John of Damascus' tract "Contra Manichaeos" has survived in so few manuscripts, only a dozen, by comparison with the number of manuscripts in which most of the others have come down to us. Mani's teachings were in fact alive and well in the early Islamic period, not least among the intellectuals of the new elite among the Muslims. But in the west, where John of Damascus' work circulated widely in the medieval period, Mani's teachings posed little or no immediate challenge. The Jewish, Christian and Muslim debate with the Manichees in the early Islamic period involved not only the theoretical issue of dualism and the ontological status of good and evil, but the question of God's knowledge and foreknowledge of human actions, and the role of human freedom in the moral sphere. John's tract is in the form of a dialogue between an "Orthodox" protagonist and a "Manichaean" adversary. They discuss all the major issues that one would expect to find in such an encounter. While John is certainly dependent on earlier Christian writers for much of his material, he does not here name his sources and, in fact, his narrative is fresh and original in a way that suggests he is engaging in an active, contemporary debate.** (D. Thomas, *Syrian Christians Under Islam: The First Thousand Years*, 2001, p. 34,36)

The Witness of God is Greater

HITS:

- **[On the Orthodox Faith]** Owing to the three subsistences, there is no compoundness or confusion: while, owing to their having the same essence and dwelling in one another, and being the same in will, and energy, and power, and authority, and movement, so to speak, we recognise the indivisibility and the unity of God. **For verily there is one God, and His word and Spirit.** (John of Damascus, Orthodox Faith, Book I.8; NPNF02, vol 9, p. 10)
 - **Greek:** Διὰ μὲν τῶν τριῶν ὑποστάσεων τὸ ἀσύνθετον καὶ ἀσύγχυτον, διὰ δὲ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου καὶ ἐν ἀλλήλαις εἶναι τὰς ὑποστάσεις καὶ τῆς ταυτότητος τοῦ θελήματός τε καὶ τῆς ἐνεργείας καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας καὶ τῆς κινήσεως, ἴν' οὕτως εἴπω, τὸ ἀδιαίρετον καὶ τὸ εἶναι ἓνα Θεὸν γνωρίζομεν. **Εἷς γὰρ ὄντως Θεὸς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ὁ Λόγος καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ.** (John of Damascus, Orthodox Faith, Book I.8; Migne Graeca, PG 94.826D-828A)
- Ode 8. **Of the Father who has no beginning, as from a root, likewise without beginning have sprung up the Word and the Spirit, as shoots of the Godhead beyond being.** They have revealed the one glory and power of the Trinity, whom all we believers praise to the ages.
- Glory. With your beacon fires you train the heavenly Ranks to raise the hymn with never-silent thrice-holy songs, O Father, Word, one with him in form, and Spirit, might equal in strength and with triple light; therefore we sing your praise to all the ages.
- Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 58.
 - **Greek:** Ὡδὴ η'. **Ἀστέκτω πυρὶ Ἀνάρχου Πατρὸς ὡς ἐκρίζης, Λόγος, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα συνανάρχως πεφυκότες,** ὡς βλαστοὶ τῆς ὑπερουσίου θεαρχίας, ἔδειξαν τῆς Τριάδος, δόξαν μίαν τε καὶ δύναμιν, ἣν ὑμνοῦμεν πάντες πιστοὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
 - • Δόξα. Ἰθυμίζει ταῖς σαῖς φρυκτωρίαῖς, τάξεις οὐρανίους ἀναμέλπειν ἀσιγήτως, τρισαγίοις ἄσμασι θείοις, Πάτερ, Λόγε σύμμορφε, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα, τρίφωτον, κράτος καὶ ἰσόρροπον· ὅθεν σε ὑμνοῦμεν εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.
 - Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 58.
- **Nature without principle, nor borders makes divine hypostasis known in only three: trusting in the one God, Father, Son and Spirit, the pious emperor is saved.** (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 29)
 - **Greek:** Ἡ ἀναρχὸς φύσις καὶ ἀπεριόριστος, ἐν τρισὶ γνωρίζεται, μόναις θεαρχικαῖς ὑποστάσεσι· μία Θεότης Πατρί, Υἱῷ τε καὶ Πνεύματι, ἐφ' ἧ ὁ θεόφρων βασιλεὺς πεποιθὼς σῶζεται. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 29)
- Holy Trinity, our God, have mercy on us and save us. A double shoot has sprung from the Father as from a root, the Son and the right Spirit, shoots of one nature and divine plant, and flowers like him without beginning, **as being three lights of the Godhead.** (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 56)
 - **Greek:** Ἁγία Τριάς, ὁ Θεός, ἐλέησον καὶ σῶσον ἡμᾶς. Στέλεχος διπτόν, ἐκ Πατρὸς ὡς ρίζης ἐβλάστησεν, ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ Πνεῦμα τὸ εὐθέες, οἱ συμφυσεῖς βλαστοὶ καὶ θεόφυτοι, καὶ ἄνθη συνἀναρχα, **ὡς τρία εἶναι φῶτα τῆς Θεότητος.** (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 56)
- Both now. Theotokion. You have drawn us to your love, most merciful Word of God, who without change became incarnate for our sake and led us **into the mystery of the one Godhead with triple light.** Therefore we glorify you. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 56-57)
 - **Greek:** Καὶ νῦν. Θεοτοκίον. Ἔθελξας ἡμᾶς, εἰς ἀγάπην σὴν, πολυέλεε, Λόγε τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ δὲ ἡμᾶς σωματωθεὶς ἀτρέπτως, **καὶ τρίφωτον τὴνμίαν Θεότητα, μυσταγωγήσας·** ὅθεν σε δοξάζομεν. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 56-57)
- **We proclaim One (form of Divinity) in three individuals (hypostatic attributes) and distinct persons,** Father, Son and Holy Spirit, acclaiming: Blessed are you, God of our fathers. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 58)

The Witness of God is Greater

- **Greek: Θεότητος τὴν μορφήν, μίαν καταγγέλλομεν, ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστατικαῖς, καὶ διαιρεταῖς ιδιότησι, Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος·** Εὐλογητὸς εἶ κράζοντες, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 58)
- With your lights you direct the celestial hosts to sing ceaselessly, with the divine songs of the trisagion, the **Father, the Word conforming to him and the Spirit**, triluminos power and equal dignity; therefore we praise you for all ages. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 58)
 - **Greek: Ῥυθμίζει ταῖς σαῖς φρυκτωρίαῖς, τάξεις οὐρανίους ἀναμέλπειν ἀσιγήτως, τρισαγίοις ἄσμασι θείοις, Πάτερ, Λόγε σύμμορφε, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα,** τρίφωτον, κράτος καὶ ἰσόρροπον· ὅθεν σε ὑμνοῦμεν εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 58)
- We glorify the good Spirit with the Father and the only begotten Son, **the faithful venerating one in three, one power and one divinity and acclaiming:** Blessed are you, God of our fathers. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 67)
 - **Greek: Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἀγαθόν, Πατρὶ συνδοξάσωμεν, καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ τῷ μονογενεῖ, μίαν ἐν τρισί, πιστοὶ σέβοντες ἀρχήν, καὶ μίαν θεότητα.** Εὐλογητὸς εἶ κράζοντες, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 67)
- Holy Trinity, our God, have mercy on us and save us. **Let us glorify the Godhead, Trinity in persons, but a single nature of the three**, co-eternal, equal in majesty, whom we entreat, saying: Save those who glorify you with faith! (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 76)
 - **Greek: Ἁγία Τριάς, ὁ Θεός, ἐλέησον καὶ σῶσον ἡμᾶς. Τριάδα θεαρχικὴν δοξάσωμεν, ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι, μοναδικὴν δὲ φύσιν τῶν τριῶν,** συναίδιον σύνθρονον, ἣν δυσωποῦντες λέγομεν· Σῶσον τοὺς πίστει σε δοξάζοντας. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 76)
- Holy Trinity, our God, have mercy on us and save us. The Son was anointed by the Father With the Spirit, the divine oil of gladness, and he became mortal, **and taught the triple personhood of the one Godhead.** (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 76)
 - **Greek: Ἁγία Τριάς, ὁ Θεός, ἐλέησον καὶ σῶσον ἡμᾶς. Ἐχρίσθης ὑπὸ Πατρὸς τῷ Πνεύματι,** ἀγαλλιάσεως, θεουργικῶ ἑλαίῳ ὁ Υἱός, καὶ βροτὸς ἐχρημάτισας, **καὶ τῆς μιᾶς Θεότητος, τὸ τρισυπόστατον ἐδίδαξας.** (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 76)
- Both now. Theotokion. You gave birth ineffably, O All-pure, to the Maker of all things who delivers mortals from the ancient curse and the corruption of death; and through you we acknowledge **one God in three persons.** (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 76)
 - **Greek: Καὶ νῦν. Θεοτοκίον. Ἀφράστως τὸν ποιητὴν γεγέννηκας, τῶν ὄλων Πάναγνε, τῆς παλαιᾶς λυτρούμενον ἄρας, τοὺς βροτοὺς καὶ θανάτου φθορᾶς, καὶ διὰ σοῦ ἐπέγνωνμεν, ἓνα Θεὸν τὸν τρισυπόστατον.** (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 76)
- Glory. **O God, who are one testifying as three persons**, clearly uncircumscribed, incomprehensible to all, deliver our souls from every affliction. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 77)
 - **Greek: Δόξα. Ὁ χαρακτηῆσιν, ἐν τρισὶν εἰς Θεὸς πιστευόμενος,** ἀπερίγραπτος σαφῶς, ἀπερινόητος ἅπασι, ῥῦσαι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν, ἐκ πάσης θλίψεως. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 77)
- Theotokion Incomprehensible, **the unbegotten Father and the Word conforming to him and the Spirit on the same throne**, substance, power, existence, supersubstantial, inexplicable, operator of great things Triad Monad, guard your flock through the intercession of the Theotokos, since by nature you love men. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 80)
 - **Greek: Θεοτοκίον. Νοῦς μὲν ὁ ἀγέννητος Πατὴρ, καὶ Λόγος σύμμορφος, καὶ Πνεῦμα σύνθρονον,** οὐσία δύναμις ὑπαρξίς, ὑπερούσιε ἀνέκφραστε, μεγαλουργε Τριάς Μονάς,

The Witness of God is Greater

φρούρει τὴν ποιμνὴν σου, ταῖς πρεσβείαις, τῆς Θεοτόκου, ὡς φύσει φιλόανθρωπος.
(Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 80)

- Raise our mind and our intellect to you, Most High, enlighten us with your most pure radiance, **Father, Word, Paraclete who dwells in the inaccessible light of glory**, or dominating sun of light, because we always glorify you, the only tri-hypostatic Sovereign God. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 80)
 - **Greek:** Ὑψωσον ἡμῶν, καὶ νοῦν καὶ διάνοιαν, πρὸς σὲ τὸν Ὑψιστον, φώτισον ταῖς λάμπουσιν, ἀχράντοις, **Πάτερ, Λόγε, Παράκλητε, ὁ φῶς οἰκῶν ἀπρόσιτον**, τῆς δόξης Ἥλιε, φωτοκράτορ, πάντοτε δοξάζειν σε, τὸν μονάρχην Θεὸν τρισυπόστατον. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 80)
- Let us glorify the first mind, the cause of all things, **the only uncaused Father, the Word without beginning, the Paraclete Spirit, the one God and Lord and creator of the universe**, venerating the coherent Trinity and exalting it for all centuries. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 91)
 - **Greek:** Τριαδικὸν. Νοῦν πρῶτον καὶ αἴτιον ἀπάντων, **Πατέρα μόνον ἀναίτιον δοξάζομεν, Λόγον τε τὸν ἄναρχον, Πνεῦμα τὸ Παράκλητον, ἓνα Θεὸν καὶ Κύριον**, καὶ ποιητὴν τοῦ παντός, Τριάδα συμφυῆ προσκυνοῦντες, καὶ ὑπερυψοῦντες εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 91)
- What a mighty wonder! In his love for humankind, the Creator of things invisible suffered in the flesh, and he who is immortal, rose. Come, all you nations, and let us worship him. **We have learned to praise one God in three persons** who in his compassion delivered us from error. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 97)
 - **Greek:** Μέγα θαῦμα! ὁ τῶν ἀοράτων Κτίστης, διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν σαρκὶ παθῶν, ἀνέστη ὁ ἀθάνατος. Δεῦτε πατριαὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν, τοῦτον προσκυνήσωμεν: τῇ γὰρ αὐτοῦ εὐσπλαγχνία ἐκ πλάνης ῥυσθέντες, **ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν, ἓνα Θεὸν ὑμνεῖν μεμαθήκαμεν**. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 97)
- Glory. Let me be worthy to describe your divinely working rays, O unapproachable light, **compassionate Father, Word and Spirit**, that I may ever be pleasing to you, Lord of all. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 103)
 - **Greek:** Δόξα. Σύ με πρὸς τὰς σὰς, θεουργικὰς ἀκτῖνας, δέρκειν καταξίωσον, φῶς τὸ ἀπρόσιτον, **Πάτερ οἰκτίρμον, καὶ Λόγε καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα**, τοῦ εὐαρεστεῖν σοι, ἀεὶ Κύριε πάντων. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 103)
- Glory. **O Father, Mind without beginning, O consubstantial Word of God and divine Spirit**, good and upright, guard all who faithfully sing your praise, as you are compassionate. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 121)
 - **Greek:** Δόξα. **Ὁ Νοῦς ὁ ἄναρχος Πατήρ, σύμμορφε Θεοῦ Λόγε, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον**, τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐθές, τοὺς ἀνυμνοῦντας πιστῶς, τὸ σὸν κράτος φρούρησον ὡς εὐσπλαγχνος. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 121)
- Glory. **From eternal light, co-eternal light, Word generated by the Father with the Spirit [Father-Word-Spirit], proceeding light**, with faith we glorify and exalt you for all ages. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 124)
 - **Greek:** Δόξα. **Ἐκ φωτὸς αἰδίου, φῶς συναῖδιον, τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα Λόγον σὺν Πνεύματι**, τῷ ἐκπορευτῷ φωτὶ πίστει δοξάζομεν, καὶ ὑπερυψοῦμεν, εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 124)
- Holy Trinity, our God, have mercy on us and save us. **A branch you appeared from the Father, as from a root without beginning, God the Word and equal in strength with the Spirit of like nature**

The Witness of God is Greater

and divine; and therefore we the faithful glorify **one Lordship, triple in persons.** (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 144)

- **Greek:** Ἁγία Τριάς, ὁ Θεός, ἐλέησον καὶ σῶσον ἡμᾶς. **Ῥάδαμνος ὡφθης ἐκ Πατρός, ὡς ἀπὸ ρίζης ἀνάρχου, Θεὸς Λόγος καὶ ἰσοσθενής, σὺν τῷ συμφυεῖ καὶ θείῳ Πνεύματι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ πιστοί, τριαδικὴν τοῖς προσώποις, μίαν Κυριότητα δοξάζομεν.** (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 144)
- In the Holy Spirit every divine man sees and speaks as a prophet. He does sublime miracles, **praising the one God in three persons.** For though It is three lights, yet the Godhead rules as monarch. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 172)
 - **Greek:** Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, πᾶς τις θεῖος βλέπει καὶ προ λέγει, τερατουργεῖ ὑψιστα, **ἐν τρισὶν ἓνα Θεὸν μέλπων·** εἰ γὰρ καὶ τριλαμπεῖ, μοναρχεῖ τὸ θεῖον. (Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 172)
- **[Carmina] O Omnipotent Father, and Word, and Spirit, three persons [yet] in nature one substance,** highest essence and highest divinity, in you [we are] baptized, and you we bless always and forever. (John Damascus, Carmina et Cantica: In Dominicam Pascha; Translation by KJV Today <www.kjvtoday.com>)
 - **Greek:** Πάτερ παντοκράτωρ, καὶ Λόγε, καὶ Πνεῦμα, τρισὶν ἐνιζομένη ἐν ὑποστάσει φύσις, ὑπερούσιε καὶ ὑπερθεε, εἰ σὲ Βαβαπτίσμεθα, καὶ αἱ εὐλογοῦμεν αἰεὶ εἰ τοῦ αἰῶνας. (John Damascus, Carmina et Cantica: In Dominican Pascha; Migne Graeca, PG 96.844)
- **The Father is light; the Son (that is, the Logos) is light; the Holy Spirit is light, but the three are one light; For God is one, although in three persons,** yet one in nature, one in rule, undivided, unconfused, from before the ages.
 - **Greek:** Φῶς ὁ Πατήρ, φῶς ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος, φῶς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἀλλ' ἐν φῶς τὰ τρία· εἷς γὰρ Θεός, ἐν τρισὶ μὲν προσώποις, μιᾷ δὲ φύσει καὶ ἀρχῇ, ἄτμητος, ἀσύγχυτος, πέλων προαιώνιος.
 - Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 162.
- O Mind, **unbegotten Father, and Word generated from him, or divine Spirit** who inconceivably proceeds from it, divine tri-solar Majesty, I sing to you: Blessed be the God of our fathers.
 - **Greek:** Ὁ νοῦς ὁ ἀγέννητος, Πατήρ, καὶ Λόγος ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον, ἀκαταλήπτως ἐκπορευτὸν πεφυκός, Θεὲ μονάρχα τρισήλιε, ψάλλω σοι: Εὐλογητός ὁ Θεός, ὁ τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν.
 - Damascenus, Oktoechos, 1823, p. 169.

Comment:

- [Hymnology Archive] St. John Damascene's best-known canon is for Resurrection Sunday, beginning αναστάσεως ἡμέρα ("The day of resurrection"). This is often called "The Golden Canon," "The Paschal Canon," or "The Queen of Canons." This canon by John of Damascus includes eight odes, omitting the second ode, and therefore omitting any allusion to the Second Song of Moses. Each ode has a different poetic meter, and thus also a different melody. The first stanza of each ode is called the irmos, which sets the meter and melody, followed by additional troparia (stanzas) of the same type. The odes of this Paschal Canon are of different lengths, containing either three or four stanzas. <www.hymnologyarchive.com/the-day-of-resurrection>
- [Homily on Sacred Sabbath] This is our divinity to whom we serve: The Father is the Father of the Son, the same is unbegotten, because from none: the Son is the offspring of the Father, and begotten of the Father: the Holy Spirit of God and of the Father, as proceeding from him; He commands created affairs; but not having existence from it. One God, because there is one Godhead, one power, one essence, one will, one undivided operation and indistinguishable in discrete and distinct persons, or properties of existence. For it belongs to the Father alone to be unbegotten; to the Son alone, that He might be begotten of the Father without time and eternal; alone with the Holy Ghost, that He may proceed without time and eternally. Finally, there is one simple trinity, devoid of composition, infinite substance, incomprehensible light, potentiality limited by no bounds, the main goodness, **one God, celebrated inseparably among the three perfect persons.** (John Damascene, Homilia in sabbatum sanctum)

The Witness of God is Greater

- **Greek:** Τοῦτ' ἡμῖν ἐστί τὸ λατρευόμενον. Πατὴρ Υἱοῦ γεννήτωρ ἀγέννητος· οὐ γὰρ ἔκ τινος· Υἱὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς γέννημα, ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγεννημένος· Πνεῦμα ἅγιον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς, ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον, ὅπερ καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ λέγεται, ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ φανερούμενον, καὶ τῇ κτίσει μεταδιδόμενον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔχον τὴν ὑπαρξίν. Εἷς Θεὸς, ὅτι μία θεότης, μία δύναμις, μία οὐσία, μία βούλησις, μία ἐνέργεια, ἀμέριστος ἐν μεμερισμέναις μόναις ταῖς ὑποστάσεσιν, ἥτοι ταῖς τῆς ὑπάρξεως ιδιότησι. 96.608 Μόνω γὰρ τῷ Πατρὶ τὸ ἀγέννητον, Μόνω τῷ Υἱῷ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀνάρχως ἀχρόνως καὶ αἰδίως γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἐκπορευέσθαι ἀχρόνως καὶ αἰδίως μόνω τῷ Πνεύματι. Τριάς μία, ἀπλή, ἀσύνθετος, οὐσία ἄπειρος, φῶς ἀκατάληπτον, δύναμις ἀπεριόριστος, πέλαιος ἀγαθότητος, **εἷς Θεὸς ἐν τρισὶ τελείαις ταῖς ὑποστάσεσιν ἀμερίστως δοξολογούμενος.** (John Damascene, Homilia in sabbatum sanctum; Migne Graeca, PG 96.606)
- **[Dialogue Against the Manichees]** And if I say there are three hypostasis [existences], but I say one source; *For the Father is the source of the Son and the Spirit*, not according to time, but according to cause. **For from the Father is the Word and the Spirit**, though not after the Father. For just as light is from fire, and yet the fire does not precede the light according to time; For it is impossible that fire is without light [litt. lightless], and the fire is both the source and cause of its own light [litt. the light from itself]; **so also the Father is the source and cause of the Word and the Spirit**; For Word and Spirit are from the Father; Though He does not precede them in time; for it is impossible that the **Father would be from the Son or the Word from the Spirit. Therefore I confess the Father as the one source and the one cause and the one nature of Word and Spirit.** (John of Damascus, Dialogue Against the Manichees; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, June 2020)
 - **Greek:** Εἰ καὶ τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις λέγω, ἀλλὰ μίαν ἀρχὴν φημι· ἀρχὴ γὰρ ὁ Πατὴρ Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος οὐ κατὰ χρόνον, ἀλλὰ κατ' αἰτίαν. **Ἐκ Πατρὸς γὰρ Λόγος καὶ Πνεῦμα**, εἰ καὶ μὴ μετὰ Πατέρα. Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς φῶς, καὶ οὐ προτερεύει κατὰ χρόνον τὸ πῦρ τοῦ φωτὸς· ἀδύνατον γὰρ εἶναι πῦρ ἀφώτιστον, ἀρχὴ δὲ ἐστί καὶ αἰτία τὸ πῦρ τοῦ ἐξ' αὐτοῦ φωτὸς· **οὕτω καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἀρχὴ καὶ αἰτία τοῦ Λόγου καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος· ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γὰρ Λόγος καὶ Πνεῦμα**· οὐ προτερεύει δὲ χρόνῳ· ἀδύνατον γὰρ εἶναι Πατέρα ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἢ Λόγον ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος. **Μίαν οὖν ἀρχὴν ὁμολογῶ ὡς καὶ αἴτιον φυσικὸν τὸν Πατέρα Λόγου καὶ Πνεύματος.** (S. Joannis Damasceni, Dialogus Contra Manichaeos; Migne Graeca, PG 94.1509-1512; Kotter, 1981, vol 4, p. 354)
- **[On the Faith against the Nestorians]** It was necessary for us who are being saved by God through the his only begotten son, whom he gave redemption on our behalf, according to the word of the Lord to believe in the **Father and Son and the Holy Spirit, one God and one divine essence in three hypostases**, because the Word of God on account of our salvation immutably became flesh and tabernacled among (or inside) us, who obey the sacred Gospels.
 - **Greek:** Ἔδει μὲν ἡμᾶς τοὺς ὑπὸ θεοῦ σεσωσμένους διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὃν ἔδωκε λύτρον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, κατὰ τὸν τοῦ κυρίου λόγον πιστεύειν εἰς **πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ἓνα θεὸν καὶ μίαν οὐσίαν θεότητος ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν**, ὅτι τε ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν σὰρξ ἀτρέπτως ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, πειθομένους τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὐαγγελίοις. (Damaskos, De fide contra Nestorianos in Opera polemica Band 4 Liber de haeresibus, 2011, p. 238)
- **[Homily on the Holy Sabbath]** One God, that is one Godhead, one power, one nature, one will, one operation, inseparable in the three equally perfect and truly distinct hypostases, or in mode of existence. The unbegotten by the only Father, to one who has been begotten eternally even out of the Father without beginning and before time, and the one who has proceeded the only Spirit eternal and before time. Three are one, simple, uncompounded, boundless being, light incomprehensible, unrestricted power, ocean of goodness. **Glorify one God in three perfect inseparable hypostases.** (John Damascus, Homily on the Holy Sabbath 4)
 - **Greek:** Εἷς Θεὸς, ὅτι μία θεότης, μία δύναμις, μία οὐσία, μία βούλησις, μία ἐνέργεια, ἀμέριστος ἐν μεμερισμέναις μόναις ταῖς ὑποστάσεσιν, ἥτοι ταῖς τῆς ὑπάρξεως ιδιότησι. Μόνω γὰρ τῷ Πατρὶ τὸ ἀγέννητον, Μόνω τῷ Υἱῷ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀνάρχως ἀχρόνως καὶ αἰδίως γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἐκπορευέσθαι ἀχρόνως καὶ αἰδίως μόνω τῷ Πνεύματι. Τριάς μία, ἀπλή, ἀσύνθετος, οὐσία

The Witness of God is Greater

ἄπειρος, φῶς ἀκατάληπτον, δύναμις ἀπεριόριστος, πέλαγος ἀγαθότητος, εἷς Θεὸς ἐν τρισὶ
τελείαις ταῖς ὑποστάσεσιν ἀμερίστως δοξολογούμενος. (John Damascus, Homily on the
Holy Sabbath 4; Migne Graeca, PG 96.605,608)

Great Octoechos (500 to 899 AD)

- The liturgical book called Octoechos (from the Greek: ἡ Ὀκτώηχος Greek pronunciation: [ok'toixos];[1] from ὀκτώ"eight"and ἦχος"sound, mode"called echos; Slavonic: Осмогласникъ, Osmoglasnik from ὀσμή"eight"and гласъ"voice, sound") contains a repertoire of hymns ordered in eight parts according to the eight echoi (tones or modes). Originally created as a hymn book with musical notation in the Studios monastery during the 9th century, it is still used in many rites of Eastern Christianity. The hymn book has something in common with the book tonary of the Western Church. Both contained the melodic models of the octoechos system, but the tonary served simply for a modal classification, while the book octoechos is as well organized as a certain temporal of several eight week periods and the word itself means the repertoire of hymns sung during the celebrations of the Sunday Office.
- The Great Octoechos (ὄκτώηχος ἢ μεγάλη) or Parakletike contained as well the proper of office hymns for each weekday.[5] The hymns of the books Octoechos and Heirmologion had been collected earlier in a book called" Troparologion" or" Tropologion". It already existed during the 6th century in the Patriarchate of Antiochia, before it became a main genre of the centers of an Octoechos hymn reform in the monasteries of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai and Mar Saba in Palestine, where St. John Damascene (c. 676–749) and Cosmas of Maiuma created a cycle of stichera anastasima.[6] Probably for this reason John of Damascus is regarded as the creator the Hagiopolitan Octoechos and the Hagiopolites treatise itself claims his authorship right at the beginning. It has only survived completely in a 14th-century copy, but its origin dates probably back to the time between the council of Nicaea and the time Joseph the Hymnographer (~816-886), when the treatise could still have introduced the book Tropologion. The earliest papyrus sources of the Tropologion can be dated to the 6th century:
 - [Averky] Choral singing saw its most brilliant development in the temple of Holy Wisdom in Constantinople during the reign of Emperor Justinian the Great. National Greek musical harmonies, or modes — the Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, and Mixolydian modes — were adapted to the needs of Christian hymnography. Then John of Damascus started a new, third period in the history of Church singing. He introduced what is known as the osmoglasie — a system of singing in eight tones, or melodies —, and compiled a liturgical singing book bearing the title"Ochoechos,"which literally signifies"the book of the eight tones." (Averky, Lectures on Liturgics, Trinity Seminary, 1951-1953. <www.holytrinitymission.org/books/english/liturgics_averky_e.htm>)
- The earliest version of a Tropologion dedicated to the repertoire of Octoechos was created by Severus of Antioch, Paul of Edessa and John Psaltes between 512-518.[9] The Tropologion was expanded upon by St. Cosmas of Maiuma († 773), Theodore the Studite († 826) and his brother Joseph of Thessalonica († 832),[10] Theophanes the Branded (c. 775-845),[11] the hegoumenai and hymnographers Kassia (810-865) and Theodosia, Thekla the Nun, Metrophanes of Smyrna († after 880), Paul, Metropolitan of Amorium, and by the emperors Leo VI and Constantine VII (10th century) as well as numerous anonymous authors. The earliest state of an octoechos collection of the Sunday canons is Ms. gr. 1593 of the Library at Saint Catherine's Monastery (about 800).[12] This reduced version was simply called Octoechos and it was often the last part of the sticherarion, the new notated chant book of the reformers.
- Octoechos liturgy. Wikipedia. <[en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Octoechos_\(liturgy\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Octoechos_(liturgy))>

The Witness of God is Greater

HITS:

- Ode 8. Daniel stretched out his hands. Unique light thrice-radiant, substance without principle, inexplicable beauty, O Sovereign, dwell in my heart and make me a luminous and pure temple of your Divinity, while I cry: All works of the Lord, bless the Lord (2).
- Deliver me from various passions, the undivided Trinity, the unmistakable Monad, and from the storm of sins, enlightening me with your divine rays, so that I may have a vision of your glory and praise you, Lord of glory.
- Theotokion. Mind [or, Intellect] is **the unbegotten Father, and the Word (of the same form with him), and the Spirit (on the same throne)**, essence force existence, ineffable above super-celestial-being, magnificent Triad Monad, guard your flock through the intercession of the Theotokos, since by nature love men.
- Ode 9. Daniel stretched out his hands. All my heart now I direct to you, mind and all faculties of soul and body, O my shaper and liberator, Trilucient Monarch, while to you I cry: Save me, your servant, from all sorts of dangers and afflictions.
- **Raise our mind and intellect to you, Most High, enlighten us with your most pure radiance, Father, Word, Paraclete who dwells in the inaccessible light of glory, or dominating sun of light, because we always glorify you, the only tri-hypostatic Sovereign God.**

Greek:

- [Ode 8] Ἰδὴ ἡ'. Ἦχος δ'. Χείρας ἐκπετάσας Δανιὴλ ΤΟ ΑΚΟΥΤΕ, Φῶς μοναρχικὸν καὶ τριλαμπές, Οὐσία, ἄναρχε, κάλλος ἀμήχανον, ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου οἴκησον, καὶ ναὸν τῆς σῆς Θεότητος, φωτοειδῆ καὶ καθαρὸν, δεῖξόν με κράζοντα· Εὐλογεῖτε, πάντα τὰ ἔργα Κυρίου τὸν Κύριον.
 - Ἀπὸ τῶν ποικίλων με παθῶν, Τριάς ἀμέριστε, Μονὰς ἀσύγχυτε, καὶ τῆς ζοφώσεως λύτρωσαι, τῶν πταισμάτων καὶ καταύγασσον, μαρμαρυγαῖς σου θεϊκαῖς, ἵνα φαντάζωμαι τὴν σὴν δόξαν, καὶ ἀνυμνῶ σε τῆς δόξης τὸν Κύριον.
 - Θεοτοκίον. Νοῦς μὲν ὁ ἀγέννητος Πατήρ, καὶ Λόγος σύμμορφος, καὶ Πνεῦμα σύνθρονον, οὐσία δύναμις ὑπαρξις, ὑπερούσιε ἀνέκφραστε, μεγαλουργὲ Τριάς Μονάς, φρούρει τὴν ποιμήνην σου, ταῖς πρεσβείαις, τῆς Θεοτόκου, ὡς φύσει φιλόανθρωπος.
 - [Ode 9] Ἰδὴ θ'. Ἦχος δ'. Ἄπας γηγενῆς ΤΟ ΑΚΟΥΤΕ. Ὅλην νῦν πρὸς σέ, κινῶ τὴν καρδίαν μου καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ τὰς διαθέσεις δέ, ψυχῆς ἀπάσας, καὶ τὰς τοῦ σώματος, τὸν πλαστουργὸν καὶ ῥύστην μου, Μονάρχα τρίφωτε, καὶ βοῶ σοι· Σώσόν με τὸν δοῦλόν σου, πειρασμῶν ἐκ παντοίων καὶ θλίψεων. (Δίς)
 - Ὑψωσον ἡμῶν, καὶ νοῦν καὶ διάνοιαν, πρὸς σέ τὸν Ὑψιστον, φώτισον ταῖς λάμπεσιν, ἀχράντοις, Πάτερ, Λόγε, Παράκλητε, ὁ φῶς οἰκῶν ἀπρόσιτον, τῆς δόξης Ἦλιε, φωτοκράτορ, πάντοτε δοξάζειν σε, τὸν μονάρχην Θεὸν τρισυπόστατον.
- <glf.goarch.org/texts/Och/Tone4Sun.html>
 - Johannes Damascenus, Oktoechos (Octas hymnorum. Praemissae sunt precatones variae, in fine accesserunt Constantini Porphyrogenetae hymni, qui ex aposteilaria dicuntur, nec non Leonis Philosophi Imperatoris codina idiomela i.e. hymni sub ortum solis canendi.) (graece) Glykys, 1823, p. 79-80.

Barlaam and Josaphat (circa 750 AD)

- Saint Josaphat (also known as Jehoshaphat or Josaphat) is said to have lived and died in the 3rd century or 4th century in India. According to legend, a King Abenner (or Avenier) in India, persecuted the Christian church in his realm, founded by the Apostle Thomas. When astrologers predicted that his own son would someday become a Christian, Abenner had the young prince Josaphat isolated from external contact. Despite the imprisonment, Josaphat met the hermit Saint Barlaam and converted to Christianity. Josaphat kept his faith even in the face of his father's anger and persuasion. Eventually, Abenner himself converted, turned over his throne to Josaphat, and retired to the desert to become a hermit. Josaphat himself later abdicated and went into reclusion with his old teacher Baarlam. The story of Josaphat and Baarlam was popular in the Middle

The Witness of God is Greater

Ages, appearing in such works as the Golden Legend. Josaphat and Barlaam were canonized in the Roman Catholic Church (feast day November 27) and are recognized among the Eastern Orthodox. (Josaphat. Orthodox wiki. <orthodoxwiki.org/Josaphat>)

• [Preface] There is no doubt that the author of Barlaam and Iosaph himself regarded his story as a true narrative of the lives of real characters and that this view was universally held until quite recent times. The names of Saint Barlaam and Saint Iosaph have figured in the Calendars both of the Roman and of the Greek Church and still retain their place in the latter. ...**The whole work is steeped in the language of the Bible and of the Christian Fathers; and it is this fact that has led the translators to adopt a style modelled on that of the Authorised Version. The task is not easy or without its perils; but in no other way, we believe, could the unity of the book be maintained; the Biblical quotations, frequent as they are, would harmonise badly with a more modern style.** ...The question of the authorship of Barlaam and Iosaph cannot be passed over in silence, but considerations of space will only allow us to sum up the arguments and conclusions as briefly as possible. ...**Throughout the Middle Ages down to quite recent times the book was almost universally attributed to St. John of Damascus. No other attributions need be seriously considered, and the only question for us to decide is whether we can accept the traditional authorship of the Damascene or must let the book remain anonymous. The earliest MSS. mention as author a certain "John the Monk"; but a Latin MS. of the twelfth century in the British Museum gives it to John of Damascus by name, and after that time the tradition becomes increasingly strong in his favour.** ...Our general conclusion then is this. There is a tradition in favour of St. John of Damascus as the author of Barlaam and Iosaph. The book was undoubtedly written during the Iconoclastic Controversy, in the eighth century, probably at a time when the Iconoclasts were in the ascendant (c. 750 A.D. ?). **It was written either by St. John of Damascus himself or by another monk bearing the name of John, who was intimately acquainted with the works of the Damascene, quoted freely from the same authors, held the same views on general points of doctrine and took the same side in the Iconoclastic Controversy.** (Woodward & Mattingly, "Preface" in St. John Damascene Barlaam and Iosaph, 1914.)

• Barlaam and Josaphat are legendary Christian martyrs and saints. Their life story is likely to have been based on the life of the Gautama Buddha.[1] (Barlaam and Josaphat. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barlaam_and_Josaphat>)

HIT:

- [Iosaph] **As the Father is, so also is the Son, and as the Son, so also the Holy Ghost. And there is one God in three, one nature, one kingdom, one power, one glory, one substance, distinct in persons, and so only distinct.** One is the Father, whose property it is not to have been begotten; one is the only-begotten Son, and his property it is to have been begotten; and one is the Holy Ghost, and his property it is that he proceedeth. Thus illuminated *by* that light, which is the Father, *with* that light, which is the Son, *in* that light, which is the Holy Ghost, **we glorify one Godhead in three persons.** And he is one very and only God, known in the Trinity: for of him and through him, and unto him are all things. By his grace also, I came to know thy case, and was sent to teach thee the lessons that I have learned and observed from my youth even to these grey hairs."If then thou shalt believe and be baptized, thou shalt be saved; but if thou believe not, thou shalt be damned."(Mark 16:16) (John Damascene, Barlaam and Iosaph, chapter 10; Translated by Woodward & Mattingly, 1914, p. 142-143)

The Witness of God is Greater

- **Greek:** ὡς ὁ Πατήρ καὶ ὁ Υἱός, ὡς ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, εἷς δὲ Θεὸς ἐν τρισί, μία φύσις, μία βασιλεία, μία δύναμις, μία δόξα, μία οὐσία, διαιρετὴ ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι καὶ μόνον. εἷς γὰρ ὁ Πατήρ, ὧ καὶ ἴδιον ἢ ἀγεννησία: εἷς δὲ ὁ μονογενὴς Υἱός, καὶ ἴδιον αὐτῷ ἢ γέννησις: ἐν δὲ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, καὶ ἴδιον αὐτῷ ἢ ἐκπόρευσις. οὕτω γὰρ ἡμεῖς, ἐκ φωτὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς φῶς περιλαμφθέντες τὸν Υἱὸν ἐν φωτὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, **μίαν δοξάζομεν θεότητα ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσι:** καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ἀληθινὸς καὶ μόνος Θεός, ὁ ἐν Τριάδι γινωσκόμενος, ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα. Τούτου τῆ χάριτι τὰ κατὰ σὲ γνοὺς κάγω ἀπεστάλην διδάξαι σε ἃ μεμάθηκα καὶ τετήρηκα ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰς τήνδε τὴν πολιάν."εἰ οὖν πιστεύσεις καὶ βαπτισθῆς, σωθήσῃ· εἰ δὲ ἀπιστήσεις, κατακριθήσῃ."(Mark 16:16) (St. John Damascene, *Historia animae utilis de Barlaam et Ioasaph* in *Die Schriften Des Johannes Von Damaskos*. Herausgegeben vom Byzantinischen Institut Der Abtei Scheyern VI/2, 2009, p. 99-100 [945]; *Migne Graeca*, PG 96.945)

On the Triune Nature of God (circa 755 AD)

• **The Earliest Arab Christian Theologian.** With the possible exception of two texts now preserved in several papyrus fragments, the oldest apology for Christianity in Arabic, and thus the earliest original Christian composition in Arabic now known, is undoubtedly the work preserved in an old parchment manuscript from Sinai (Siani Arabic MS 154). In 1899 most of it was published and translated into English under the title "On the Triune Nature of God". ...The treatise "On the Triune Nature of God" is anonymous as it has come down to us, and some of the last pages are missing, but at one point in the text the author provided an indication of the date of his writing. Speaking of the stable endurance of Christianity against all odds, even up to his own day he wrote "If this religion were not truly from God it would not have stood so unshakably for seven hundred and forty-six years." (Sinai Arabic MS 154, f. 100v) If we reckon the beginning of the Christian era from the beginning of the year of the Incarnation, according to the computation of Alexandrian world era, which Palestinian scribes were likely to use prior to the tenth century, we arrive at a date not too far removed from AD 755 for the composition of the treatise. This date makes it the oldest known work of Christian theology originally composed in Arabic. (Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque*, 2008, p. 53-54)

HIT:

- **[On the Triune Nature of God]** Thou, O God, art Lord of all things, God of all things. Creator of all things. Open our mouths, loosen our tongues, soften our hearts, and open our breasts to the praise of Thy noble and high and great and blessed and holy name. Verily there is no god before Thee, and no god after Thee. To Thee [shall we] return ; Thou art the Almighty. To Thee be the praise, O God, **Creator of the heavens and the earth, and of all that is therein by Thy Word and Thy Spirit.** To Thee be the praise, O God, who dwellest in light. Creator of the angels and the spirit that they may adore Thy name. Thy holy name ; for the message of Thy name and for the authority of Thy power, and they do not weary of Thy majesty and Thy holiness, saying, Holy, holy, holy is the mighty Lord, who filleth the heavens and the earth with His honour. Verily they adore Thee, and set their seal to one Lord, [PAGE 3] that men may know that **the angels adore God and His Word and His Spirit, one God and one Lord.** We worship Thee, our Lord and our God, in Thy Word and Thy Spirit. Thou, O God, by Thy Word hast created the heavens and the earth and all that is therein, and by the Holy Spirit Thou causest to live the hosts of angels ; we praise Thee, O God, and we adore Thee and we glorify Thee in Thy creative Word and Thy holy life-giving Spirit, one God and one Lord and one Creator. **We do not distinguish God from His Word and His Spirit. We worship no other god with God in His Word and His Spirit. God shewed His power and His light in the Law and the Prophets and the Psalms and the Gospel, that God and His Word and His Spirit are one God and one Lord.** (Gibson, *An Arabic Version*, 1899, p. 2-3)
 - **Arabic:** See Gibson for Arabic text.

The Witness of God is Greater

Theosteriktos the Monk (d. 807) : Small Paraklesis (circa 775)

- Saint Theosteriktos the Confessor and His Struggle For the Holy Icons Theosteriktos the Confessor, abbot of Pelekete Monastery near Prusa, suffered for the Holy Icons under the impious emperor Constantine Copronymos (741-775). His feast day is February 29th in the Slavic Churches and March 17th in the Greek Churches. Theosteriktos was born in Triglia of Bithynia and became a monk at a young age at the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, known also as Pelekete Monastery, where he later became abbot. During the persecution of Emperor Constantine V Copronymos, his general in Asia Minor, Michael Lachanodrakon, began a fierce persecution especially against the monastics who venerated the Holy Icons. On the night of Holy and Great Thursday in 763 the General came to Pelekete Monastery during the celebration of the Divine Liturgy. Abbot Theosteriktos was celebrating the Divine Liturgy together with 780 monks under him, 70 of which were hieromonks. Suddenly loud knocks at the Gate of the Monastery interrupted the solemn atmosphere, and 2,000 soldiers of the General were outside yelling, causing chills and tremors. The soldiers broke the Gate with axes and the mob entered the courtyard. General Michael Lachanodrakon rushed into the church with his army and approached the Abbot. Violently the General took the Holy Chalice and smashed it on the ground, and punched the Abbot in the face. This resulted in a fight between the monks and the soldiers.
- [Note: Many monks were murdered and the monastery was burned to the ground. The rest were taken prisoner and brought before the Emperor. Those who did not repent were beheaded.]
- The next day the Emperor called forth again the Abbot, and receiving from him the same answers, it was ordered that his nose, ears and fingers be cut off. Then with pliers strips of skin were pulled from his body, and in a bloody state he was thrown into a dark prison where he was not to be given neither food or water, in order to die there. Yet Abbot Theosteriktos survived in this prison for nine years, thanks to the generosity of certain soldiers who sneaked in bread and water.
- In the year Copronymos died (775), Leo IV, his son, succeeded him to the throne. Though frail in body, he had a merciful soul. Leo freed all prisoners who venerated the Sacred Icons. Abbot Theosteriktos was released also and brought back to his Monastery, which now lay in ruin. Theosteriktos received offers from nearby monasteries to take him in, but he refused, preferring rather to live in his own Monastery, where he had lived with his children and lived happily. In the corner of the ruins he built himself a wooden hut and decided to live there for the rest of his life alone. It was there, among the ruins of his Monastery and after the experience of so much suffering, that he at some point composed the Small Paraklesis Canon to the Theotokos. After three years in seclusion, new monastics came to this holy Elder, who had no fingers, nose or ears, and asked him to be their abbot. Daring not to go against the will of God, Theosteriktos took them under his supervision, and within months 800 monks gathered in the Monastery. Abbot Theosteriktos lived another 25 years with his Brotherhood, and the Pelekete Monastery was revived. On the 17th of March in 807, the soul of Theosteriktos met his martyred children.
- John Sanidopoulos, Saint Theosteriktos the Confessor abbot of Pelekete Monastery near Prusa, August, 1, 2011. <www.johnsanidopoulos.com/2011/08/history-of-small-paraklesis.html>

The History of the Small Paraklesis (Supplication) Canon to the Theotokos.

- There are two forms of the Paraklesis Canon to the Theotokos: the Small Paraklesis which is composed by Theosteriktos the Monk in the 8th century (or some say Theophanes), and the Great Paraklesis. During the majority of the year, only the Small Paraklesis to the Theotokos is changed. However, during the Dormition Fast (August 1-14), the Typikon prescribes that the Small and Great Paraklesis be changed on alternate evenings. (John Sanidopoulos, The History of the Small Paraklesis (Supplication) Canon to the Theotokos, August, 1, 2011. <www.johnsanidopoulos.com/2011/08/history-of-small-paraklesis.html>)

The Authorship and Origins of the Small Paraklesis Canon.

- The Small Supplication Service is older than the Great Supplication Service and its authorship is attributed by some to Theosteriktos the Monk, who lived in the 8th century. Others speculate it to be the work of Metropolitan Theophanes the Confessor of Nicaea who lived in the same century. Some even put forward St. John the Damascene as the composer. In the liturgical book Horologion it simply states as the author: "A poem of Theosteriktos the Monk. Others support Theophanes." Some say that these two names actually belonged to the same person: Theophanes was the name of Theosteriktos before he became a monk. Recent research on

The Witness of God is Greater

the authorship of the Small Paraklesis states that it was authored by Saint Theosteriktos the Confessor. He used the previously authored Canon to the Theotokos by St. Theophanes the Branded and other liturgical and ecclesiastical sources to compose the Small Paraklesis. The Canon of Theophanes the Branded was used as the first canon of Matins on the feasts of major saints. In turn, Theophanes the Branded used previously existent verses from the Canon of St. John the Damascene which he wrote for the feast of the Raising of Lazarus to write his hymns. Specifically he borrowed the following Eirmos: 1, 3, 6, and 7 Odes. The rest he either composed himself or borrowed from other liturgical sources. In this way, the Small Paraklesis Canon took a similar form and shape as that of the Great Paraklesis Canon. (John Sanidopoulos, The Authorship and Origins of the Small Paraklesis Canon, August, 1, 2011. <www.johnsanidopoulos.com/2011/08/history-of-small-paraklesis.html>)

• [Mango] It has often been stated that the monastery of Pelekete was founded in 709. For this we can find no authority other than that of the worthy Euangelides. The earliest mention of this monastery occurs, if we are not mistaken, in the Vita of St. Stephen the Younger. During his last incarceration in the Praetorium (hence, presumably, in 764) Stephen found himself in the company of three hundred forty-two imprisoned monks, among whom was Theosteriktos, the aged abbot of Pelekete [Θεοστήρικτος πρεσβύτερος καὶ γηραλέος τοῦ εὐαγούς φροντιστηρίου τῆς Πελεκητῆς; Migne Graeca, PG 100.1164]. This unfortunate cleric, whose nose had been cut off and whose beard had been burned by the iconoclasts, told the following story. On the previous Holy Thursday (hence either in 763 or 764), while he was celebrating divine service in his monastery, the notorious Lachanodrakon, "governor of the Asiatic land," broke in with a band of soldiers; he put thirty-eight monks in fetters, while others were flogged, burned or (like the abbot) had their noses amputated and their beards tarred and set on fire. Not content with this, Lachanodrakon had the entire monastery burned to the ground, including the stables and "the churches" (τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν). The thirty-eight arrested monks were conveyed to Ephesus and buried alive in the vaulted chamber of an ancient bath. From this account it may be deduced that in the middle of the eighth century Pelekete was a large establishment with upward of forty monks and more than one church. ...As for Theosteriktos, his subsequent fate is not recorded. His memory is celebrated on February 17. (Mango, Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara, 1973, p. 243-244; Cf. Nikephoros I of Constantinople, "Vita S. Stephani junioris", Migne Graeca, PG 100.1164-1165)

HITS:

• Glory to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.

Father, Word, and Spirit, Trinity in oneness, wash away my many person offenses.

Now and forever and to the ages of ages. Amen.

Through the intercessions of the Theotokos, merciful One, wash away my many personal offenses.

Verse: Have mercy upon me, O God, according to Your great mercy; and according to the multitude of your compassions blot out my transgressions. (Psalm 51:1)

• The Service of the Small Paraklesis to the most Holy Theotokos, Edited by Dimitrios Tobias, 2018, p. 23.

• **Greek:** Ἦχος β' Δόξα Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι.

Πάτερ Λόγε, Πνεῦμα, Τριάς ἢ ἐν μονάδι, ἐξάλειψον τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἐμῶν ἐγκλημάτων.

Καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Ταῖς τῆς Θεοῦ πρεσβείαις, Ἐλεῆμον, ἐξάλειψον τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἐμῶν ἐγκλημάτων.

ψαλμὸς: Ταῖς τῆς Θεοτόκου πρεσβείαις, Ἐλεῆμον, ἐξάλειψον τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἐμῶν ἐγκλημάτων. ἐλέησόν με ὁ θεὸς κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεός σου καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου ἐξάλειψον τὸ ἀνόμημά μου. (Psalm 51:1)

• The Service of the Small Paraklesis to the most Holy Theotokos, Edited by Dimitrios Tobias, 2018, p. 24.

The Witness of God is Greater

Nicetas of Byzantium (circa 850 AD)

- [Dadoyan] Around the year 850, Emperor Michael III (842-867) allegedly received a request from the Arabs and asked the Byzantine philosopher Niketas Byzantios (fl. c. 850) to reply on his behalf. The caliph at the time must have been al-Mutawakkil (847/233H-861/874H), but the actual adversary, if there was one, is anonymous. Niketas was a scholar from the circle of Bishop Photius. He was said to be better acquainted with Islam than others, at least he had read the whole Qur'an. ...Niketas was strictly theoretical and systematic, and followed the text of the Qur'an closely. Two answers were written on this occasion in defense of the Trinitarian and other Christian doctrines. (Dadoyan, *The Armenians in the Medieval Islamic World: Armenian Realpolitik in the Islamic World and Diverging Paradigms - Case of Cilicia Eleventh to Fourteenth Centuries*, 2017, p. 157-158)

- [Lee] Niketas was hugely influential in the twelfth century upon Euthymios Zigabenos (d. after 1118)³⁷. Zigabenos relied on Niketas Byzantios for his *Panoplia dogmatica*, chapter twenty-eight, and this work was influential in popularizing Niketas' views. Zigabenos was a close associate of Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118), and his text devotes more attention to the Bogomils than the Muslims. The preoccupation with the Bogomils in the reign of Alexios confirms the pattern that internal heresies were always of more concern to Byzantine Christian intellectuals than »other« external religions. The antepenultimate Byzantine emperor, Manuel II Palaiologos (1391-1425), continued the tradition of Niketas by emphasizing that Islam was illogical. His treatise is modeled after a Platonic dialogue, a turn away from the strictly syllogistic method of Niketas but with the same arguments against Islam. In the late Byzantine Empire, numerous Latin philosophical works and polemics against Islam were translated into Greek, as religious polemic became more of an intellectual preoccupation of the entire Mediterranean world. The Byzantines followed Niketas, not John of Damascus, in their intellectual conception of Islam. (Benjamin de Lee, "Niketas Byzantios, Islam, and the Aristotelian Shift in Ninth-century Byzantium" in *Ambassadors, artists, theologians: Byzantine relations with the Near East from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries*, edited by Zachary Chitwood, 2019, p. 223)

HITS:

- Our theology, which remains grounded in common notions and the divine prophets and possesses strength and solidity, **speaks of the three — the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit — as one God**. You, however, do not understand things that way. Thinking that the Father is called one God individually and particularly, and therefore concluding and supposing that the Son was brought in from outside the one God, you have contrived your fallacy. (Nicetas of Byzantium, *Rebuttal and utter confutation of the second letter sent by Muslims to Emperor Michael son of Theophilus to slander the Christian faith*, 6; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, 2021)
 - **Greek:** Μενοῦνγε ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς θεολογία ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἐννοιῶν καὶ τῶν θείων προφητῶν ἡρτημένη, καὶ τὸ βέβαιον καὶ πάγιον κληρωσαμένη, **Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπὶ τῆς θεολογίας ὡς ἓνα Θεὸν τὰ τρία θεολογεῖ**· σὺ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἐκλαβὼν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἓνα Θεὸν λέγεσθαι τὸν Πατέρα ἰδίως καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος· εἶτα τὸν Υἱὸν ὡς ἕξωθεν τοῦ ἐνὸς Θεοῦ παρεισκρινόμενον λογισάμενος καὶ νοήσας, τὸν παραλογισμὸν συνεσκευώρησας· (Nicetas of Byzantium, *Rebuttal and utter confutation of the second letter sent by Muslims to Emperor Michael son of Theophilus to slander the Christian faith*, 6; Migne Graeca, PG 105.828)

Carolingian Renaissance (750-900 AD)

- The Carolingian Renaissance (set in motion by Charlemagne, lasting ca. 750-900) was the first of three medieval renaissances, a period of cultural activity in the Carolingian Empire. It occurred from the late 8th century to the 9th century, which took inspiration from the Christian Roman Empire of the fourth century. During this period, there was an increase of literature, writing, the arts, architecture, jurisprudence, liturgical reforms, and scriptural studies. The Carolingian Renaissance occurred mostly during the reigns of Carolingian rulers Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. It was supported by the scholars of the Carolingian

The Witness of God is Greater

court, notably Alcuin of York.[1] Charlemagne's *Admonitio generalis* (789) and *Epistola de litteris colendis* served as manifestos.

- A lack of Latin literacy in eighth-century Western Europe caused problems for the Carolingian rulers by severely limiting the number of people capable of serving as court scribes in societies where Latin was valued. Of even greater concern to some rulers was the fact that not all parish priests possessed the skill to read the Vulgate Bible. An additional problem was that the vulgar Latin of the later Western Roman Empire had begun to diverge into the regional dialects, the precursors to today's Romance languages, that were becoming mutually unintelligible and preventing scholars from one part of Europe being able to communicate with persons from another part of Europe. To address these problems, Charlemagne ordered the creation of schools in a capitulary known as the *Charter of Modern Thought*, issued in 787.[27] A major part of his program of reform was to attract many of the leading scholars of the Christendom of his day to his court. Among the first called to court were Italians: Peter of Pisa, who from 776 to about 790 instructed Charlemagne in Latin, and from 776 to 787 Paulinus of Aquileia, whom Charlemagne nominated as patriarch of Aquileia in 787. The Lombard Paul the Deacon was brought to court in 782 and remained until 787, when Charles nominated him abbot of Montecassino. Theodulf of Orléans was a Spanish Goth who served at court from 782 to 797 when nominated as bishop of Orléans. Theodulf had been in friendly competition over the standardization of the Vulgate with the chief among the Charlemagne's scholars, Alcuin of York. Alcuin was a Northumbrian monk and deacon who served as head of the Palace School from 782 to 796, except for the years 790 to 793 when he returned to England. After 796, he continued his scholarly work as abbot of St. Martin's Monastery in Tours.[23] Among those to follow Alcuin across the Channel to the Frankish court was Joseph Scottus, an Irishman who left some original biblical commentary and acrostic experiments. After this first generation of non-Frankish scholars, their Frankish pupils, such as Angilbert, would make their own mark. The later courts of Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald had similar groups of scholars. The Irish monk Dicuil attended the former court, and the more famous Irishman John Scotus Eriugena attended the latter.

- One of the primary efforts was the creation of a standardized curriculum for use at the recently created schools. Alcuin led this effort and was responsible for the writing of textbooks, creation of word lists, and establishing the trivium and quadrivium as the basis for education.[28] Another contribution from this period was the development of Carolingian minuscule, a "book-hand" first used at the monasteries of Corbie and Tours that introduced the use of lower-case letters. A standardized version of Latin was also developed that allowed for the coining of new words while retaining the grammatical rules of Classical Latin. This Medieval Latin became a common language of scholarship and allowed administrators and travellers to make themselves understood in various regions of Europe.[29] Carolingian workshops produced over 100,000 manuscripts in the 9th century, of which some 6000 to 7000 survive.[30] The Carolingians produced the earliest surviving copies of the works of Cicero, Horace, Martial, Statius, Lucretius, Terence, Julius Caesar, Boethius and Martianus Capella.[31] No copies of the texts of these authors were made in the Latin West in the 7th and 8th centuries.[31]

- Carolingian Renaissance. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carolingian_Renaissance>

The local church, priests' handbooks and pastoral care in the Carolingian period

- [Rhijn] In recent years, a lot has happened that has significantly increased what we can discover about the local church, its ministers and its lay communities. Two developments are especially important here, one concerning the local priests' manuscripts just mentioned, and one regarding the edition of the episcopal statutes. First of all there is the late Susan Keefe's discovery of many manuscripts that were once owned and used by local priests in the ninth century. Over the past ten years, Keefe has gathered and published two admirable studies of manuscripts pertaining to the Carolingian clergy, their education and their local ministries – material that turns out to be a veritable goldmine 15. A substantial number of these manuscripts, so she argues, were either once owned by local priests, or used for their education in a monastery or at a bishop's school. Keefe's work, which focuses on baptismal tracts and explanations of the Creed respectively, has produced some two dozen manuscripts which she calls 'instruction-readers'.

The Witness of God is Greater

These manuscripts are handbooks or works of reference, that contain series of texts useful for a local priest 'in the field'. They can be recognised as such first of all by their contents, for they consist of collections of texts that are exclusively suitable for local priests and the priestly ministry. There is ample attention for rituals like baptism and penance, for instance, which were the prerogatives of sacerdotess, but none at all for rituals that were the exclusive terrain of bishops, such as the confirmation of the laity and the dedication of churches. Apart from that, the manuscripts can also be recognised by their form, for these are often small, grubby and undecorated books made out of low quality parchment and written in rather irregular hands.

- [Rhijn] In addition to these handbooks, Keefe has discovered a larger number of manuscripts probably used to educate the local clergy in either monastic or episcopal schools. These manuscripts are generally of a better quality than the instruction-readers, with margins wide enough to contain glosses and a somewhat wider range of texts and subjects. Here, too, the contents of the books betray their intended audience, which no doubt included future priests.
- [Rhijn] These two categories of manuscripts were clearly related, for a lot of material we find in the school books also turns up in the handbooks for local priests. It is beyond the scope of this article to discuss these schoolbooks in any depth; the manuscripts that concern us here are of the second kind, the handbooks owned by local priests. Let it suffice to mention that the more than 60 manuscripts that Keefe has discovered as either schoolbooks or handbooks is a substantial amount of evidence that can be directly or indirectly connected to the local church and its priests. Moreover, it does not stop there, for other, similar manuscripts have been discovered and there is little doubt that more will come to the light.
- Rhijn, *The local church, priests' handbooks and pastoral care in the Carolingian period*, 2014, p. 695-696

Carolingian Reform : Codex 1370 (800-850 AD)

- [Contents] A florilegium consisting of an excerpt from a letter of Alcuin on catechizing new converts (Ep. XXXIII in PL 00.189), and excerpts on the ceremonies of baptism attributed to Jerome, Augustine, Neceta, [Ps.]Clement, Isidore, Alcuin, Gregory, Bede, Athanasius, and Pope Leo. It also includes a complete exposition on the creed. ("Text 34" in Keefe, *Water and Word*, vol 2, 2002, p. 467)
- [Description] Codex; Parchment; 120 sheets; 18.0 x 13.0 cm; wooden lid covered with light leather; previous signature Rec. 3324. - Furniture: writing area 14.5 x 9.0 cm; single column; 17-19 lines; several simple initials; Headings in red capital letters. - Script: Carolingian minuscule by several hands from the 1st half of the 9th century. History of Resource: Codex according to the writing in the 1st half of the 9th century, probably in the Benedictine abbey Mondsee. <glossen.germ-ling.uni-bamberg.de/manuscripts/13203>. <data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13959082>.

HITS:

- [Catechising of the Uninstructed] On Baptism. Likewise in the book on baptism."What does it mean to be reborn through baptism if not to be renewed from oldness? And how is one renewed from oldness if not through the forgiveness of past sins?"[De Baptismo contra Donatistas, Book 1.16; Caillau, *Opera omnia*, vol 7, 1840, p. 251] **Athanasius in [De Trinitate] book two.**"Listen. In that wonderful and sovereign precept, in which all the sacraments in relation to the divine Trinity are included in strict union, in having begun the formula with the expression in the name, evidently he wanted to declare only one divinity in the Trinity, and having continued with the words of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit he intended to distinguish, for each single name, the single Persons."(cf. Mt 28:19) [De Trinitate, Libro primus; CCSL 9:5 - 9; Migne Latina, PL 62.238] **Again in book one**"while it is in these three persons that, in baptism, the name of the unity of nature grants life to those who believe? This is the hope in which we are all called. This hope of our faith is first to confess in baptism the united name of the divinity so as to earn the remission of sins in these persons."[De Trinitate, Libro primus; CCSL 9:14 - 48, 49; Migne Latina, PL 62.243] ("Text 34" in Keefe, *Water and Word*, vol 2, 2002, p. 477.)

The Witness of God is Greater

- **Latin:** De Baptismo. Item in libro de baptismo. "Quid est enim renasci per baptismum, nisi a vetustate renovari? Quomodo autem renovatur a vetustate, nisi quia peccata praeterita dimittantur?"[De Baptismo contra Donatistas, Book 1.16; Caillau, Opera omnia, vol 7, 1840, p. 251] **Athanasius in libro duo.**"Audi in hoc admirabile ac regale decretum, in quo omne sacramentum in deitate Trinitatis uniter continetur. Quia dixit in nomine, evidenter unam deitatem in Trinitate consistere declaravit. Et quod prosecutus est, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti, per singula nomina singulas personas inesse distinxit."(cf. Mt 28:19). [De Trinitate, Libro primus; CCSL 9:5 - 9; Migne Latina, PL 62.238] **Item in libro uno.**"In tribus his personis in baptismo vitam credentibus tribuat? In qua spe omnes nos vocati sumus. Quae spes fidei nostrae haec est, ut in baptismo unitum divinitatis nomen prius confitearis, ut remissam peccatorum in his personis consequi merearis."[De Trinitate, Libro primus; CCSL 9:14 - 48, 49; Migne Latina, PL 62.243] ("Text 34" in Keefe, Water and Word, vol 2, 2002, p. 477.)

Comment:

• Note: **De Trinitate was known and used even on the local church level.** The Heavenly witnesses were known throughout Christendom even in the local church as Scripture. This is evident because I John 5:7 is in the next sentence or two following the second quote. (See: Carolingian Renaissance) In De Trinitate book 1, the second quote is immediately followed by:"In the same way, this doctrine is illustrated in this other passage of Scripture. In it, quite clearly, the names of the Divine Persons are expressed, and together the unique name of the divine nature is confirmed, **since this is precisely how John the Evangelist expresses himself in his letter:"There are three who bear witness in heaven: the Father and the Word and the Holy Spirit, and in Christ Jesus they are one."**(1 John 5:7)"

Ambrose Autpert (d. 778 AD)

• St. Ambrose Aut-pert [also known as: Ambrose Ansbert; Ambrose Authpert] . **Benedictine monk and tutor of Charlemagne. An official in the court of King Pepin the Short of the Franks, Ambrose entered the Benedictine Monastery of St. Vincent in Benevento, Italy. He became the friend and tutor of Emperor Charlemagne and was known for his theological treatises and his commentaries on the lives of the saints.** In 778, Ambrose was elected the abbot of St. Vincent's, but was opposed by another. Summoned to Rome by Pope Adrian I in order to settle the matter, Ambrose died on the way [Death: 778]. (Ambrose Autpert. catholic.org. <www.catholic.org/saints/saint.php?saint_id=1319>)

• Ambrose Authpert, or Autpert, was a native of France, and became abbot of St. Vincent in Abrezzo, Italy, about A.D. 760. ...**his great work is, his Commentary on the Apocalypse, in ten Books.** See Cave, Historia Litter., tom. i., and Mabillon, Acta Sanctor. ord. Bened., tom. iv., p. 234, &c. ("45. Ambrose Authpert" in Mosheim, Institutes o Ecclesiastical History, 1841, vol 2, 1841, p. 31; Translated by James Murdock.)

• [Matter] The commentary of Ambrose Autpert, in contrast, provides an exhaustive spiritual reading of the Apocalypse for future generations Written between 758 and 767 in the Lombard duchy of Benevento, the ten books of this treatise absorb the Apocalypse commentaries of Victorinus [of Pettau], Jerome, Tyconius, and Primasius, as well as large sections of Augustine's De civitate Dei and the Moralia of Gregory the Great.⁴⁸ By far the most visible source for this commentary is Primasius (d. 560 AD), who is quoted literally hundreds of times. A study of the sources makes it clear that one motivation for Ambrose Autpert was to create a smooth conflation of his sources; yet his own selection of biblical texts, particularly from epithalamic writings such as Song of Songs, Psalms, and Ephesians, focuses the commentary on a special theme, Christ's Incarnation and his spiritual marriage with the Church. This focus is especially evident in the long prologues to Books 5 and 9, books that cover Apocalypse 8:1-12:12 (the opening of the seventh seal and the persecution of the Woman by the Dragon) and 19:1, 1-21:8 (the binding of the Dragon and the rise and fall of Gog and Magog).⁴⁹ Although

The Witness of God is Greater

the Apocalypse commentaries of Victorinus/Jerome, Tyconius, and Primasius still circulated and were even recopied after the eighth century, **the particular selections from this earlier tradition compiled and arranged by Bede and Ambrose Autpert became the major sources for Carolingian commentary. An excellent example of the weaving together of Bede and Ambrose Autpert can be seen in the incomplete Apocalypse commentary of Charlemagne's schoolmaster, Alcuin, a text written around the turn of the ninth century. 5° Alcuin begins with Bede's seven periods, to which he immediately appends (word for word) Ambrose Autpert's discussion of the commentaries from the fourth to the seventh century.** (fn. 51. Compare PL 100:1087 to PL 93:129-131 and CCCM 27, p. 5. Alcuin's commentary is divided into five books following the first five books of Ambrosius Autpert.) The Carolingian dependence on Bede is even clearer in an anonymous, unpublished question-and-answer text on the Apocalypse that may be associated with Alcuin; here, the "questions" are all verses of the Apocalypse "answered" by selections from Bede's commentary. 52 **The commentary of Haimo of Auxerre is also a conflation of Bede and Ambrose Autpert:** it is organized in seven books, showing the influence of the former, but these divisions are adapted from the ten books of the latter. 53 Haimo characterizes the Apocalypse as an "intellectual vision" about the present and future Church, a vision that can be related to the prayer said every day by Christians: "thy kingdom come." 54 (E. Ann Matter, "Exegesis of the Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages", in M. Frassetto, *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium*, 2002, p. 35)

• [Cunningham] The very first of these writers of any prominence, **Ambrose Autpert (c. 785) -the teacher of Alcuin, Haymon, and Remi of Auxerre, among others...** (Cunningham, Francis L. B. (1958) "The Relationship Between Mary and the Church in Medieval Thought," in *Marian Studies*: Vol. 9, Article 8, p. 54)

HIT:

- [Exposition of John's Apocalypse] 1:3 "Who is the faithful witness, the first-born from the dead, and the first among the kings of the earth." By that rule of speaking, which is premised above, the expression of faithful witness refers to the Son alone, **so at the same time both the Father and the Holy Ghost give a faithful testimony of themselves, as it is written: "There are three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word and the Holy Spirit and these Three are One."** (1 John 5:7) Yet it must be known that just as these Three are One, so also we learn that these testimonies are one, where the testimony of one insinuates the testimony of the other. For so the Father gives testimony of the Son, that He is life eternal, as it is written: "If we accept the testimony of men, the testimony of God is greater, because He testified of his Son, sending Him as Saviour of the world on earth." (1 John 5:9; 4:14) And little later: "And this is the testimony, that God has given us life eternal and this life is in the Son. Whoever has the Son, has life, whoever has not the Son, has not life." (1 John 5:11-12) But so also the Holy Spirit says a testimony of the Son that He is truth, as it is written: "It is the Spirit who testifies that Christ is the Truth." (1 John 5:6b) (Ambrose Autpert, *Exposition of John's Apocalypse*, Liber I; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, April 2020)
 - **Latin:** 1:3 "Qui est testis fidelis, primogenitus mortuorum, & princeps regum terae." Ea locutionis regula, quam supra praemisimus, solus hoc loco filius testis vocatur fidelis, **cum & Pater & Spiritus sanctus simul testimonium fidele perhibeant de ipsis, sicut scriptum est: "Tres sunt qua testimonium dant in caelo: Pater, verbum & Spiritus sanctus: & hi tres unum sunt."** [1 John 5:7] Sciendum autem, quia sicut hi tres unum sunt, sic horum testimonium unum esse cognoscitur, quanquam alterius testimonio alter insinuetur. Nam cum Pater perhibeat de filio, quod sit vita aeterna, sicut scriptum est: "Si testimonium hominum accipitis, testimonium Dei maius est", [1 John 5:9a] quia testificatus est de filio suo, mittens eu Salvatorem mundi super

The Witness of God is Greater

terram. Atque post pauca: "Et hoc est testimonium, quoniam vitam aeternam dedit nobis Deus, & hac vita in filio est. Quoi hab filium, habet vitam: qui non habet filium, vitam non habet." [1 John 5:11-12] Sed & cum Spiritus sanctus de filio testimonium dicit quod sic veritas, sicut scriptum est: "Spiritus est qui testificatur, quoniam Christus est veritas" [1 John 5:6b] (Ambrosii Ansberti, Expositio in Apocalypsin, Book 1, 1677, p. 415)

Codex Sangallensis 907 (700-799 AD)

• **The Codex Sangallensis 907, designated S, is an 8th-century Latin manuscript of the New Testament.** The text, written on vellum, is a version of the Latin Vulgate Bible. It contains the text of the Catholic epistles, Book of Revelation, and non-biblical material (an Etymological dictionary, Four ages). The manuscript did not survive in a complete condition and some parts of it have been lost. The codex contains the Comma Johanneum. **The manuscript was written by the monk Winithar** [2] and examined and described by Gustav Scherrer and Samuel Berger. [3] The manuscript was collated by Henry Julian White. John Wordsworth Wordsworth designated the manuscript by siglum S2. [4] It was digitised and it is available on the site of the Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland. [1] Currently it is housed at the Abbey library of Saint Gall (907) in St. Gallen. [1] (Codex_Sangallensis_907. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Codex_Sangallensis_907>)

• **Manuscript compilation for the monastery school of St. Gall, written by the monk Winithar.** (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 907: Composite manuscript: Etymological dictionary, Ages of the world, Grammar, Excerpts from the Bible (Cath Apc 1,1-7,2) <www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0907>)

• **[Houghton] St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 907 [Codex Sangallensis 907]. Miscellany including Catholic Epistles and part of Revelation.** Copied in St Gall in 760–80 by the scribe Winithar. Alemannic minuscule script. (Houghton, The Latin New Testament, 2017, p. 261)

HIT:

• **1 John 5:6-8**

This is he that
came by water and blood, Jesus Christ:
not by water only but by water and blood
and the Spirit which testifieth that
Christ is the truth. **And there are three that give
testimony: the Spirit, and the water and the blood.
And these three are one. Since in heaven there are three
the Father Word and Spirit and these three are one.**

[13] hic est qui

[14] venit per aqua & sanguinem IHS CRS

[15] Non in aqua solum sed in aqua & san-

[16] guine & SPS quia est testificatur quoniam

[17] XRS est veritas **Quia tres sunt qui testimo-**

[18] nium dant SPS & aqua & sanguis &

[19] tres unum sunt. Sicut in celo tres sunt

[20] pater verbum & SPS Et tres unum sunt.

(f. 287r, Lines 13-20, <www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0907/287/0/Sequence-708>)

The Witness of God is Greater

Codex Theodulphianus (circa 700-800 AD : Houghton; Lowe)

• The Codex Theodulphianus (8th Century : Lowe), designated Θ, is a 10th-century Latin manuscript of the Old and New Testament. The text, written on vellum, is a version of the Latin Vulgate Bible. It contains the whole Bible,[1] with some parts written on purple vellum. The Book of Psalms and the four Gospels are written on purple parchment in letters of silver (initial letters are in gold).[1] The text is written in a minute minuscule hand.[1][2] The Latin text of the Gospel is a representative of the Theodulphianus recension of the Vulgate, and is considered the most important witness of this recension (other manuscripts are Codex Amiatinus and Codex Hubertanus).[1] It bears a strong textual resemblance to the Codex Hubertanus, although it is written in a smaller hand.[2] The text of the Gospel of Matthew is very close to the Codex Cavensis. The Books of Kings, Book of Chronicles, Book of Ezra, and Pauline epistles (partially) are close textually to the Spanish type of the Vulgate. In Book of Genesis, Book of Joshua, and Book of Judges, the text is close to the Codex Amiatinus.[3] **E. A. Lowe dated the manuscript to the eight or ninth century.**[1] Formerly it belonged to the Cathedral of Orleans, the family of the Mesmes, then to the National Library of France.[1] The manuscript was examined and described by Samuel Berger.[1] It was collated by John Wordsworth and H. J. White for their edition of the text of the Vulgate.[2] Currently the manuscript is housed in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (Lat. 9380).[1] (Codex_Theodulphianus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Codex_Theodulphianus>)

• **Elias Avery Lowe** (15 October 1879 – 8 August 1969), known in print as E. A. Lowe, was a Russian-American palaeographer at the University of Oxford and Princeton University. He was a lecturer, and then reader, at the University of Oxford from 1913 to 1936, and a professor at Princeton's Institute for Advanced Study from 1936. After studying at the College of the City of New York (now City College of New York) from 1894 through 1897, Lowe obtained a BA at Cornell University in 1902. Thereafter he studied briefly at the University of Halle, and then at the University of Munich where, under the supervision of Ludwig Traube, he completed his doctorate in 1908. He first lectured at the University of Oxford in 1913. The following year, Oxford granted him a regular appointment as lecturer, appointing him reader in 1927. Nearly all of Lowe's palaeography teaching occurred at the latter institution. Although he became one of the first professors at Princeton's Institute for Advanced Study (where no teaching was required) in 1936, he continued to lecture at Oxford during Trinity terms until 1948. In addition, he acted as a consultant in palaeography for the Library of Congress, and, from 1911 to 1953, as research associate in palaeography for the Carnegie Institution of Washington.[1] Lowe wrote several important works on early medieval palaeography, including The Beneventan Script (his 1914 study of the oldest extant manuscript of St Benedict's rule), and his collected Palaeographical Papers, 1907–1965 (published posthumously in 1972). He remains best known, however, for the eleven-volume Codices Latini Antiquiores (CLA) which offers a palaeographical guide to all extant Latin literary manuscripts copied in scripts antedating the ninth century. Published 1934–1971, this monumental work covers over 1,800 manuscripts from repositories in twenty-one countries, providing detailed descriptions and one or more facsimiles for each manuscript.[1][3] **An internationally respected authority in his field, Lowe received formal recognition from numerous academies, institutes, and scholarly societies. He was awarded the Medieval Academy of America's Haskins Medal in 1957, the gold medal of the Bibliographical Society in 1959, and had honorary doctoral degrees conferred on him by the University of Oxford (1936), the University of North Carolina (1946), and the National University of Ireland (1964).**[1] **From 1954 until his death in 1969, he was an Honorary Fellow of Corpus Christi College of Oxford University.** A series of lectures on palaeography, the Triennial E. A. Lowe Lectures, continues to be held at the College in his memory.[4] (Elias_Avery_Lowe. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elias_Avery_Lowe>)

• **[Houghton]** Codex Theodulfianus, Codex Mesmianus, Mesmes Bible. Bible: Old and New Testaments. **Copied in Orléans or Fleury around 800.** Caroline minuscule script. 349 folios (32x23 cm). Two columns of 62 lines (23½x16 cm). Purple parchment with silver and gold ink in the Gospels (ordo euangelicus); normal parchment with black and red ink in the rest of the New Testament (ordo apostolicus). (Houghton, The Latin New Testament, 2017, p. 280)

HITS:

- **1 John 5:6-8**

The Witness of God is Greater

This is he that came by water and Spirit and blood,
Jesus Christ: not by water only but by water and blood; the Spirit is
which testifieth that Christ is the truth. **And there are three that give testimony
on earth: the Spirit, water and blood. And these three are one. And there are Three
who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. And these
three are one.**

[30] hic est qui venit per aquam & SPM & sanguine

[31] IHS XRS non in aqua solum sed in aqua & sanguine & SPS est qui tes-

[32] tificatur quoniam XRS est veritas. **quia tres sunt qui testimonium**

[33] dant in terra SPS aqua & sanguis Et tres unum sunt. Et tres sunt

[34] qui testimonium dicunt in caelo pater & filius & SPS SCS & hi

[35] tres unum sunt. (f. 308r : left column, Lines 30-35;

<gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8452776m/f621.image>)

- **Jerome's Prologue** (f. 305r <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8452776m/f615.image>)

Eterius & Beatus (circa 730-800 AD)

• Saint Beatus of Liébana (c. 730 – c. 800) was a monk, theologian and geographer from the former Duchy of Cantabria and Kingdom of Asturias, in modern Cantabria, northern Spain, who worked and lived in the Picos de Europa mountains of the region of Liébana. He is best remembered today as the author of the Commentary on the Apocalypse. He is best remembered today as the author of the Commentary on the Apocalypse, written in 776, then revised in 784 and again in 786. The Commentary was popular during the Middle Ages and survives in at least 34 manuscripts (usually called a beatus) from the 10th through the 16th centuries. Not all of the manuscripts are complete, and some exist only in fragmentary form. Twenty-six of these manuscripts are lavishly decorated in the Mozarabic, Romanesque, or Gothic style of illumination. (Beatus of Liébana. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beatus_of_Liébana>)

• Beatus and Etherius (Bishop of Osma) was a strong opponent of the Adoptionist Christology put forward by Elipandus (Bishop of Toledo). In *Adversus Elipandum*, written in response to Elipandus' Adoptionist teachings, Beatus chastised Elipandus for what he saw as a misuse of the word *servus* ("slave" or "servant"), arguing that Philippians 2 referred to Christ's servanthood in relation to God. (Spanish Adoptionism. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spanish_Adoptionism>)

HIT:

- **[Letter to Elipandum. Book 1.26]** If anyone will say that I love God, and hates his brother, he is a liar. For, who does not love his brother whom he sees, how can he love God whom he sees not? And we have this commandment from Him: who loves God shall also love his brother. All who believe that Jesus is Christ are born of God. And all who love Him who bore, love him who is born from Him. In this we know that we love the Son of God, if we shall love God and do His commandments. For this is the love of God that we keep his commandments: and His commandments are not grievous. Because all that is born of God conquers the world. And this is the victory in which he conquers the world: our faith. Who is it that conquers the world except he who believes that Jesus is the Son of God? **This is He who came through water and blood, Jesus Christ. Not in water alone, but in water and blood and flesh. And it is the Spirit who testifies that Christ is the truth. Because there are three who give testimony on earth: the water and blood and flesh. And these three are one. And there are three who give testimony in heaven: the Father, Word and Spirit. And these three are one in Christ Jesus.** If we accept the testimony of men, the testimony of God is greater. Because this is the testimony of God that is greater which He has testified about his Son, whom He sent as Saviour upon the earth. And the Son brings forward testimony when professing in Scripture. And we bring forward testimony that we have

The Witness of God is Greater

seen Him, and we make it known to you so that you may believe. (Heterii et Sancti Beati, Ad Elipandum Epistola. Liber 1.XXXVI; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence January 2020)

- **Latin:** Ad Elipandum Epistola. Liber primus. XXVI. « Si quis dixerit quoniam diligo Deum, et fratrem suum odit, mendax est. Qui enim non diligit fratrem suum quem videt, Deum, quem non videt, quomodo poterit diligere? Et hoc mandatum habemus ab eo ut qui diligit Deum, diligat et fratrem suum. (0909A) Omnis qui credit quoniam Iesus est Christus, ex Deo natus est. Et omnis qui diligit eum qui genuit, diligit eum qui natus est ex eo. In hoc cognoscimus, quoniam diligimus Filium Dei, cum Deum diligamus et mandata eius faciamus. Haec est enim charitas Dei, ut mandata eius custodiamus: et mandata eius gravia non sunt. Quoniam omne quod natum est ex Deo, vincit mundum. Et haec est victoria, quae vincit mundum, fides nostra. Quis est qui vincit mundum nisi qui credit quoniam Iesus est Filius Dei? **Hic est qui venit per aquam et sanguinem Iesus Christus. Non in aqua solum, sed in aqua, et sanguine, et carne. Et Spiritus est qui testificatur quoniam Christus est veritas. Quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terris: aqua, et sanguis, et caro. Et tria haec unum sunt. (0909B) Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus. Et haec tria unum sunt in Christo Iesu. Si testimonium hominum accipimus, testimonium Dei maius est.** Quoniam hoc est testimonium Dei [I John 5:4-9], quod maius est, qui testificatus est de Filio suo, quem misit Salvatorem super terram. Et Filius testimonium perhibuit inter Scripturas proficiens: et nos testimonium perhibemus quoniam vidimus eum, et annuntiamus vobis, ut credatis. (Heterii et Sancti Beati, Ad Elipandum Epistola. Liber 1.XXXVI; Migne Latina, PL 96.909)

Comment:

- [Translator] It seems to be a word by word Scripture quote until he starts paraphrasing in the last line. A curious detail is that he is comfortable with using 'tria [neuter] unum sunt' even though he uses 'tres [masculine] sunt qui testimonium dant' immediately before. (Jeroen Beekhuizen. Translator. correspondence, January 2020)

Alcuin of York (c. 735-804 AD)

• Alcuin of York (Latin: Flaccus Albinus Alcuinus; c. 735 – 19 May 804 AD) – also called Ealhwine, Alhwin or Alchoin – was an English scholar, clergyman, poet and teacher from York, Northumbria. He was born around 735 and became the student of Archbishop Ecgbert at York. At the invitation of Charlemagne, he became a leading scholar and teacher at the Carolingian court, where he remained a figure in the 780s and '90s. During this period he invented Carolingian minuscule, an easily read manuscript hand using a mixture of upper and lower case letters.[2] Alcuin wrote many theological and dogmatic treatises, as well as a few grammatical works and a number of poems. **He was made Abbot of Tours in 796, where he remained until his death.** **"The most learned man anywhere to be found", according to Einhard's Life of Charlemagne[3] (ca. 817-833),** he is considered among the most important architects of the Carolingian Renaissance. Among his pupils were many of the dominant intellectuals of the Carolingian era. (Alcuin. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alcuin>)

HITS:

- **[The belief in the Holy and Undivided Trinity]**

All triple things thrive under the majesty of the Thunderer.

The Father, the Word and the Holy Spirit are three, though one.

The appearance of the saving cross is triple, though the one redemptrix.

The third light welcomed the Lord returning from death.

Three days kept Jonah in the entrails of the whale.

Three boys sang of God while the furnace blazed.

The blessing calls the Lord Sabaoth "holy" three times in its singing.

A triple vision shone for Peter and John on the mount.

You must be immersed in water three times to receive the full grace of baptism.

An entire lawsuit is secured with three upright witnesses.

Fixed times return to their limits every three months.

There are three ages: the flower, the vigor and sickly old age.

The Witness of God is Greater

There are three sides in a trial: the judge, the defense and the prosecution.

There are three stages in each age: the beginning, the passing and the end.

There are three things that excite hope: rest, light and the glory of life.

(Alcuin, The belief in the Holy and Undivided Trinity; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, August 2020)

Latin:

Omnia trina uigent sub maiestate tonantis.

Tres, pater et uerbum, sanctus quoque spiritus, unum.

Trina salutaris species crucis una redemptrix.

Tertia lux dominum remeantem a morte recepit.

Trina dies Ionam tenuit sub uiscere ceti.

Tres pueri cecineredeum flagrante camino.

Ter sabaoth sanctum referens benedictio psallit.

Trina Petroet Iohanni in monte refulsit imago.

Ter mergendus aqua est, cui gratia plena lauacri.

Testibus est stabilis sanctis tribusactio cuncta.

Terno mense suis redeunt stata tempora metis.

Tres sunt aetates: flos, robor, aegra senectus.

Tres moduli in causis: iudex, defensor et actor.

Tres in saecula gradus: ortus, transcursio, finis.

Tres spem quae palpant: requies, lux, gloria uitae.

(Alcuin, De fide Trinit, III. Inuocatio ad S. Trinitatem; Migne Latina, PL 101.55A-B)

Comment:

• [Dales] In a letter to his friend, Arno Archbishop of Salzburg, written in 802, Alcuin mentioned the completion of his recent book ["...which I recently wrote concerning the Catholic Faith and directed to our Lord Emperor through this boy (who ferried correspondence). In no way let this little book slip from your hands, but by all means make a copy so that you have one, because it is very necessary to know willingly the Catholic faith in which the highest things of our salvation consist." Alcuin, Epistola 258. Translated by Owen M. Phelan, 2014, p. 134] on the Catholic faith The belief in the Holy and Undivided Trinity (De Fide sanctae et individuae Trinitatis), which at the request of their friend Adalhard, later Abbot of Ferrieres, he was sending to Arno as well as to Charlemagne, who had commissioned it, perhaps with the forthcoming synod of Aachen in view. He asked that the book should not leave his hands but instead be widely copied so that the heart of the Christian faith might be properly understood. To judge from the proliferation of accurate manuscripts of this work that still remain from the ninth century and their likely provenance, Arno had a key role in fulfilling his friend's request. ...In some ways Alcuin's compilation is a little Summa Theologica, perhaps even an official Carolingian textbook of theology.' It was certainly regarded as such for many centuries after Alcuin's death, to judge from the large number of manuscripts remaining that contain De Fide often with its accompanying works. It was only in the eleventh and twelfth centuries that De Fide came to be copied alongside other texts. It would seem that from the time of Alcuin, the original grouping of texts associated with De Fide was intentional, giving a valuable insight therefore into the theological education of the clergy and monks, and also of some of the nobility, men and women, at the Carolingian court in the ninth century after his death. ...**Until the Reformation and well into the age of printing, Alcuin's De Fide was regarded as a cogent and seminal exposition of the heart of Christian Latin theology.** (Dales, Alcuin II: A Study of his Theology, 2013, p. 94)

- **[Commentary on the Apocalypse of John]** "Who is the faithful witness, the first begotten of the dead, and the prince of the kings of the earth." (Rev. 1:5) It is obviously a way of speaking when he calls Christ specifically the faithful witness, **while there are three who give testimony: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and the three are one God. (Cf. 1 John 5:7)** One may also call the Son specifically, in the role of man he assumed, a faithful witness, in that he went as far as the death of the flesh for the sake of the testimony of the truth. For while the whole Church, in the holy preachers, gives testimony concerning Christ, the ones called martyrs, that is "witnesses,"⁶ are principally those who suffered physical death for Christ. (Alcuin, Commentary on the Apocalypse, book 1; Translated by Sarah Van Der Pas. Edited by John Litteral. 2016, p. 13)
 - **Latin:** Qui est testis fidelis primogenitus mortuorum, et princeps regum terrae. Manifesto genere locutionis Christum dicit, specialiter testem fidelem, **cum tres sint qui testimonium dant, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus, et tres unus Deus sunt.** Potest et specialiter Filius in assumpto homine dici testis fidelis, eo quod pro testimonio veritatis usque ad mortem pervenerit carnis. Nam cum omnis

The Witness of God is Greater

Ecclesia in sanctis praedicatoribus testimonium de Christo perhibeat, illi principaliter martyres, id est testes, dicuntur qui pro Christo mortem pertulerunt corporis. (Alcuin, Commentariorum in Apocalypsin libri prima; Migne Latina, PL 100.1093)

Comment:

• [Introduction] As a theologian, Alcuin wrote some commentaries on the Bible. He was not an original thinker but rather a compiler of quotes from earlier commentators, especially the Venerable Bede. Alcuin was influenced by Bede at an early age from his mentor Archbishop Ecgbert, who was a disciple of Bede. Throughout Alcuin's Bible commentaries he supplied little of his own interpretations when compared to his great dependence upon earlier patristic writers and **commentators as well as Ambrose Autpert (730-784), who was a contemporary.** ...As for the book of Revelation, which is presented in this book, an incomplete commentary (ending at Rev. 12:12) has been attributed to Alcuin as well as a questions and answers manual. **The primary source for the commentary on Revelation is Ambrose Autpert.** ...The incomplete commentary on Revelation (PL 100.1086-1156) was written "at the end of the eighth century. Cardinal Angelo Mai discovered and published it in 1838; it exists only in a single manuscript, Vat. lat 651 of the ninth century."The commentary is divided into five books and covers the first five books of Ambrose Autpert. Although there are differences of opinions of the Alcuinian authorship of the commentary, some very notable scholars support the position that Alcuin is the author while some other very notable scholars question the attribution. ("Editor's Introduction" in Alcuin of York Commentary on Revelation. Translated by Sarah Van Der Pas. Edited by John Litteral. 2016, p. vii, viii)

Michael Syncellus (ca. 760-846) : Libellus De Recta Fide

• [Cunningham] The saint was born in Jerusalem in about 761 and spent the first half of his life engaged in spiritual training at the monastery of St Sabas. Several years after he was appointed synkellos, or assistant, to the patriarch of Jerusalem in 811, Michael was sent to Constantinople in company with his disciples Theodore, Theophanes and Job. There were two reasons for this journey, which probably occurred in 812 or 813 during the reign of Michael. A dispute had arisen between the Greek and Frankish monks in Jerusalem over the clause 'Moque' which the Latins were inserting in the Creed. Also, many of the Greek monasteries in Palestine had been devastated because of raids by the Arabs in 809 and 812. Michael the Synkellos and his disciples were chosen by the patriarch to carry messages to the pope in Rome, seeking both his arbitration and material aid. The four monks broke their journey in Constantinople and for some reason delayed their journey to Rome for several years. Thus they were in Constantinople when the emperor Leo V re-introduced iconoclasm in 815 and were thrown into prison for refusing to accept this policy.

• [Cunningham] During the second period of iconoclasm the monks underwent various punishments and exiles under Leo V, Michael H and Theophilos. Because of the bizarre punishment which Theophilos chose to administer to the brothers, Theodore and Theophanes Graptoi are well known to all who are familiar with the history of second iconoclasm. Probably in 836 the emperor commanded that the faces of the two monks be tattooed with iambic verses intended to ridicule them. After the death of Theophilos in 842 the holy icons were restored by his widow Theodora. The saints were released from prison and like many other iconophile heroes were now honoured for their steadfast opposition to iconoclasm. Michael the Synkellos was appointed abbot of the monastery of Chora in Constantinople and synkellos to the newly appointed patriarch Methodios. While his brother Theodore died too early to see the restoration of icons, Theophanes Grams became bishop of Nicaea. In 846 Michael the Synkellos died peacefully, having restored the devastated monastery of Chora to its former glory and gained the devotion and reverence of his many disciples.

• Cunningham, "Introduction" in The life of Michael the Synkellos, 1991, p. 1-2.

• [Veder] The Libellus de recta fide of Michael Syncellus (ca. 760-846), written before the Seventh Council of 879. (Veder, Michael Syncellus' Libellus De Recta Fide, 2017, p. 6)

HITS:

- For there is the Father perfect God, the Son perfect God, the Holy Spirit perfect God, but not three gods. **For there is one God, he said and one Godhead in three persons co-eternal**, which are not

The Witness of God is Greater

divided by nature or by location. For wherever the Father is, there even is the Son and the Spirit; and wherever the Son is, there is the Father and the Spirit; and wherever the Spirit is there is even the Father and the Son. but simply to say, I worship the trinity in unity and the unity in trinity, unity of the thrice-hypostasis and trinity in same essence, same power, same honor, and they are together without beginning. I confess one Godhead of the holy Trinity, one nature, one being, one power, one authority, one sovereign ruler, one king. (Michaelis Synceli, Libellus de Fide Orthodoxa)

- **Greek:** Θεὸς γὰρ τέλειος ὁ πατήρ, θεὸς τέλειος ὁ υἱός, θεὸς τέλειος τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἀλλ' οὐ τρεῖς θεοί. **Εἰς γὰρ θεός, ἐπεὶ καὶ μία θεότης ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις συναϊδίῳις**, οὐ φύσει διαστελλομένοις, οὔτε τόπῳ (var. Τρόπῳ)· ὅπου γὰρ ὁ πατήρ, ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ υἱός, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα· καὶ ὅπου ὁ υἱός, ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ πατήρ, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα· καὶ ὅπου τὸ πνεῦμα, ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ πατήρ, καὶ ὁ υἱός. Ἀπλῶς δὲ φάναι, τριάδα προσκυνῶ ἐν μονάδι καὶ μονάδα ἐν τριάδι, μονάδα τρισυπόστατον καὶ τριάδα ὁμοούσιον, καὶ ὁμοδύναμον, καὶ ὁμότιμον, καὶ συνάναρχον. Μίαν ὁμολογῶ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος θεότητα, μίαν φύσιν, μίαν οὐσίαν, μίαν δύναμιν, μίαν ἐξουσίαν, μίαν κυριότητα, μίαν βασιλείαν. (Michaelis Synceli, Libellus de Fide Orthodoxa; Montfaucon, Bibliotheca Coisliniana olim Segueriana, 1715, p. 90.)

Joannicius the Great (762-846 AD)

• Joannicius the Great (Greek: Ὅσιος Ἰωαννίκιος ὁ Μέγας; born 762, Bithynia - November 4, 846 in Antidium) was a Byzantine Christian saint, sage, theologian and prophet. Well-known for his devoted asceticism and defense of icon veneration, Joannicius spent the majority of his life as a hermit on Mount Uludağ, near what is today Bursa, Turkey. Joannicius lived during the reign of Emperor Theophilus, a noted iconoclast, which contrasted with Joannicius's embrace of icon veneration. Icon veneration was later restored to the Byzantine Empire under the reign of Empress Theodora, a move that some devotees ascribe to Joannicius's influence and prophecies.[1] He is venerated with a feast day on November 4 in the Eastern Orthodox Church and Roman Catholic Church (November 17 in the Old Calendar). According to his hagiography, Joannicius was born in 762 (or 754) to Myritzikios and Anastaso, of the Boilas family.[4] He is known to have had at least one sister.[4] His family was poor, and possibly of an iconoclast persuasion.[4] Joannicius was spiritual from a young age, and often sought solitude in order to pray and contemplate.[1] When Joannicius reached young adulthood (c. 772/3), he was drafted into the elite regiment of the Excubitors by Leo IV. He served there until 792, distinguishing himself by saving Emperor Constantine VI from being captured at the Battle of Marcellae.[4] Following Marcellae, he left the army and joined the Antidion Monastery.[4] Although he wished to immediately retreat to the wilderness, he remained at the monastery for two years, during which time he memorized the Psalms by heart. After two years, he escaped to Mount Uludağ. Joannicius spent the rest of his life as an ascetic on Uludağ, with years dedicated to solitude, study, and prayer. Joannicius spent most of his time reciting the psalms and meditating on the life of Jesus, but the hagiographies also ascribe some miracles and prophecies to him.[5] Among the many stories related in the hagiographical sources, Joannicius is attributed with saving the island of Thasos from snakes,[1] leading Greek captives out of prison,[1] and saving a nun from breaking her vow. In one of the more famous stories, Joannicius found a nun near Uludağ running away from her cloister, intending to marry.[6] Joannicius intervened, allegedly taking on all the pains of her sin and allowing her to remain a devout nun. Joannicius was allegedly so close to God and so devoted to solitude, he was capable of making himself invisible.[2]

• Outside of the miraculous narratives, Joannicius is also given some importance in Byzantine history, particularly regarding icon veneration. Although Joannicius was born into an iconoclastic family, he later became a devout believer in icon veneration. During the reign of the iconoclast Theophilus, Joannicius prophesied that the Byzantine church would eventually re-embrace icon veneration, a prophecy that is interpreted by devotees to have been fulfilled during the reign of Theodora when she restored icon veneration to the Orthodox Church.[5] Joannicius is also credited with blessing a young Photios I, who would become a widely venerated Patriarch of Constantinople.

• Joannicius the Great. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joannicius_the_Great>

The Witness of God is Greater

• [Charalampakis] Of particular interest to scholarship is the Life of Saint Ioannikios the Great (762-846) from Bithynia.¹ The Life has survived in two main versions, written shortly after the saint's death, as well as one more which was elaborated later, around the mid-10th c., by Symeon Metaphrastes. The first version of the Life, attributed to a certain Peter, is to be found in only one manuscript, dated in the 10th-11th c. (Paris. Coisl. 303), while the second, attributed to a Savvas, has survived in four manuscripts (Paris. gr. 1519, 11th c.; Vindob. Caes. Aug. 5, 11th c.; Vatic. gr. 807, 12th c. and Vatic. gr. 1256, 15th c.). According to scholars, Peter's version is the earliest, written not long after Ioannikios' death, probably after mid-June of 847 and certainly not later than 852-853. Savvas' version is dated in the 850's, but later than that of Peter.² Apart from said texts, Ioannikios' life is narrated by the anonymous author(s) of the so-called Menologion of Basil II (Vatic. gr. 1613, late 10th-early 11th c.; this version provides no information about his village or his parents), as well as by several synaxarium and other (later) sources, all of which seem to have drawn from the earlier Lives. Below is cited the passage which is important to our study, in its various forms depending on the recension. (Charalampakis, Once again on St. Ioannikios the Great and the Slavs of Bithynia in Zgodovinski časopis, 2017, p. 513)

HITS:

- After receiving that precious, God-inspired writing and showing it to those in power, the patriarch reflected on the things that were said in it in accordance with God's judgement, and he purged away all the iconomachists, dismissed the schism-makers, and gave a gift of deep peace to the Church, governing it by the grace of God. Then several of those who had been purged away began to talk against the venerable father Joannicius, saying that he was godless and lawless for having such thoughts. The true fiery column of prophetic grace that was Joannicius was not unaware of their talk and one day, when a crowd of pious men, I mean bishops, priests and monks, had come to visit him, he said to them, filled with the Holy Spirit: *Brothers and fathers, since some people, spurred by envy, are suspicious of me and jabber about me, saying that I, an ignorant man of low station, do not hold the right beliefs, I will declare my view about God, so that you may hear it. God is a superessential, uncreated essence, being the cause and producer of all essences, unseparately separate and separately united, comprised of three suns, three hypostases, which is incessantly praised in song by angelkind in one kingship, glory and lordship. Indeed the seraphim do not say "holy" only once, to leave no place for the opinion of the Jews; nor do they say it twice, "holy, holy", not to bring in the impiety of the Arians and Macedonians; but they say it thrice, "holy, holy, holy Lord": not "Lords" but "Lord", for there is one lordship. Therefore, I hold the same belief as the seraphim: I believe in three hypostatic holinesses; I adore one lordship and Godhead: God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit, each one being thought and said to be God in himself because of their trihypostatic consubstantiality and the singleness and uncompoundedness of divine nature. **But I do not adore three gods. For these three are one God**, thought of and counted with one another; not compounded with one another or gathered together, since there is the identity of their motion, the unmixed circumincession of the hypostases in one another, and the indivisible trihypostatic kingship of the Godhead. The mind, however, separates things that are inseparable and that, paradoxically, possess both division and unity. Regarding the Father: the Father is without beginning, unbegotten, uncreated, for he is from no other. The Word and Son: the Son has existed unchangingly and impassibly since before the ages, having been begotten, not created, from the mind of his Father and having the Father himself as a kind of beginning without beginning; and so he is, like the father, without beginning. As for the Spirit: the Holy Spirit is likewise without beginning; he exists not through begetting like the Son, nor does he exist through creation, but through procession: he proceeds from the Father and is manifested to the world through the Son.* (§48, 1894, vol 63, p. 376-377; Acta Sanctorum. Novembris, Tomi Secundi Pars Prior.)
 - **Greek:** τοῦτο τὸ τίμιον καὶ θεόπνευστον γράμμα ὁ πατριάρχης δεξάμενος καὶ τοῖς βασιλεύουσιν ἐπιδείξας τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ θεόκριτα λογισάμενος, τοὺς εὐκονομάχους ἅπαντας καθαίρει καὶ τοὺς σχίζοντας ἑαυτοὺς διαιρεῖ καὶ εὐρήνην βαθεῖαν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ χαρίζεται, οὐακίζων ἐν ταύτῃ θεοχαρίτωτα. ἐξ οὗ δὴ τῶν καθαιρεθέντων οἱ πλείους κατὰ τοῦ σεβασμίου πατρὸς Ἰωαννικίου εὐς γλωσσαλγίαν ἐτράπησαν, ὡς ἀντίθεός ἐστι ταῦτα φρονῶν καὶ ἀντίνομος φάσκοντες. ὅπερ οὐκ ἄγνωῶν ὁ ὄντως ὦν προφητικῆς χάριτος πύρινος στύλος, παρόντος πλήθους ἐν μιᾷ πρὸς

αὐτὸν ἀνδρῶν εὐσεβῶν, ἐπισκόπων, λέγω, ἱερέων καὶ μοναχῶν, πνεύματος ἁγίου πλησθεὶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἶπεν· <<ἐπειδὴ τινες ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες, ὑδιώτην ὄντα με τὸν ταπεινὸν φθόνῳ νυπτόμενοι μὴ ὀρθῶς πιστεύειν θρυλοῦσι καὶ [B] ὑποπτεύουσιν, εὐς ὑπήκοον ὑμῶν πάντων ἀνακηρύξω τὴν δόξαν μου τὴν περὶ θεόν. θεὸς οὖν ἐστὶν ὑπερούσιος οὐσία καὶ ἄκτιστος, ὡς πασῶν οὐσιῶν αὐτία τε καὶ προαγωγὸς διηρημένη ἀδιαιρέτως καὶ συνημμένη διηρημένως, τρισήλιος, τρισυπόστατος ἐν μιᾷ βασιλείᾳ καὶ δόξῃ καὶ κυριότητα ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγγελικῆς φύσεως ἀκαταπαύστως ἀνυμνουμένη. οὐ γὰρ ἅπαξ λέγει τὰ Σεραφίμ ἅγιος, ἵνα μὴ ὑουδαϊκὸν ἦ τὸ φρόνημα, οὐδὲ πάλιν ἅγιος, ἅγιος ἵνα μὴ τὴν τῶν Ἀρειανῶν ἢ Μακεδονιανῶν ἐπεισαγάγῃ ἀσέβειαν, ἀλλὰ τρίτον ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος κύριος οὐ κύριοι, ἀλλὰ κύριος, ἐπειδὴ μία κυριότης. διό, ὡς πιστεύει τὰ Σεραφίμ, πιστεύω τρισὶν ἐνυποστάτοις ἁγιασμοῖς, μίαν κυριότητα προσκυνῶ καὶ θεότητα, θεὸν τὸν πατέρα, θεὸν τὸν υἱόν, θεὸν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, θεὸν ἕκαστον τούτων καθ' ἑαυτὸν νοούμενον καὶ λεγόμενον, διὰ τὴν τρισυπόστατον ὁμοουσιότητα καὶ τὸ ἀπλοῦν τῆς θείας φύσεως καὶ ἀσύνθετον· καὶ οὐ τρεῖς θεοὺς, εἷς γὰρ τὰ τρία θεὸς σὺν ἀλλήλοις νοούμενά τε καὶ ἀριθμούμενα, οὐ συντιθέμενα, οὐ συναλειφόμενα διὰ τὸ ταῦτον τῆς κινήσεως καὶ τὴν ἐν ἀλλήλαις τῶν ὑποστάσεων ἀσύγχυτον περιχώρησιν καὶ ἀδιαίρετον τῆς [C] τρισυποστάτου θεότητος μοναρχίαν, τοῦ νοῦ χωρίζοντος τὰ ἀχώριστα παράδοξον ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν διαίρεσιν καὶ τὴν ἔνωσιν. πατὴρ γάρ· ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ἄναρχος, ἀγέννητος, ἄκτιστος, οὐ γὰρ ἕκτινος. λόγος καὶ υἱός· ὁ υἱὸς πρὸ αὐάνων ἀρρεύστως καὶ ἀπαθῶς ὡς ἐκ νοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ γεννηθεὶς, οὐ κτισθεὶς καὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων ἀρχὴν ἄναρχον, οὐ καὶ ὑπάρχει συνάναρχος. πνεῦμα δέ· πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ συνάναρχον, οὐ γεννητῶς κατὰ τὸν υἱόν, οὐ κτιστῶς, ἀλλ' ἐκπορευτῶς ἐκ πατρὸς προερχόμενον καὶ διὰ υἱοῦ τῷ κοσμῷ φανερωθέν. (§48, 1894, vol 63, p. 376-377; Acta Sanctorum. Novembris, Tomi Secundi Pars Prior.)

Theodulf Bible (800-815 AD) : Add MS 24142 : Codex Hubertianus

• **Theodulf of Orléans (c. 750 – 18 December 821)** was a writer, poet and the Bishop of Orléans (c. 798 to 818) during the reign of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. He was a key member of the Carolingian Renaissance and an important figure during the many reforms of the church under Charlemagne, as well as almost certainly the author of the *Libri Carolini*, "much the fullest statement of the Western attitude to representational art that has been left to us by the Middle Ages".[1] He is mainly remembered for this and the survival of the private oratory or chapel made for his villa at Germigny-des-Prés, with a mosaic probably from about 806.[2] It was in Bible manuscripts produced under his influence that the Book of Baruch and the Letter of Jeremiah (as Chapter 6 of the Book of Baruch) became part of the Western (Vulgate) Bible canon. Theodulf was born in Spain, probably Saragossa, between 750 and 760, and was of Visigothic descent.[3] He fled Spain because of the Moorish occupation of the region and traveled to the South-Western province of Gaul called Aquitaine, where he received an education.[4] He went on to join the monastery near Maguelonne in Southern Gaul led by the abbot Benedict of Aniane. During his trip to Rome in 786, Theodulf was inspired by the centres of learning there, and sent letters to a large number of abbots and bishops of the Frankish empire, encouraging them to establish public schools.[5] Charlemagne recognized Theodulf's importance within his court and simultaneously named him Bishop of Orléans (c. 798) and abbot of many monasteries, most notably the Benedictine abbey of Fleury-sur-Loire.[6] He then went on to establish public schools outside the monastic areas which he oversaw, following through on this idea that had impressed him so much during his trip to Rome. **Theodulf quickly became one of Charlemagne's favoured theologians alongside Alcuin of Northumbria and was deeply involved in many facets of Charlemagne's desire to reform the church, for example by editing numerous translated texts that Charlemagne believed to be inaccurate and translating sacred texts directly from the classical Greek and Hebrew languages.**[7] He was a witness to the emperor's will in 811. (Theodulf_of_Orléans. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theodulf_of_Orléans>)

• **[Add MS 24142]** This is one of the six extant copies of the thorough critical revision of St Jerome's text of the Vulgate carried out around the year 800 by Theodulf (d. 821), bishop of Orléans and abbot of Fleury (c. 798-818). Arranged in three columns and written in a small hand more often used for glossing. Imperfect, wanting [absent] much of Genesis, the Minor Prophets, the Catholic Epistles, and all of the Acts and Book of Revelation.

(<www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_24142>)

The Witness of God is Greater

HIT:

- **Jerome, prologue to the Catholic Epistles.** ff. 247v-248r:
f. 247r <www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_24142_f247r>
f. 247v <www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_24142_f247v>

Charlemagne's Bible (circa 830-840 AD) Add MS 10546

• In early 800, the Englishman Alcuin of York (d. 804) prepared a corrected version of the Bible for the Emperor Charlemagne (r. 768–814) as part of his reforms to the Church. Alcuin was appointed abbot of the monastery of St Martin in Tours in 796 and, under his direction and that of his successors, St Martin's became a major centre for the production of Bibles. Alcuin's revised text of the Latin Vulgate (a late 4th-century translation of the Bible largely the work of St Jerome (d. 420)) used the Gallicanum rather than the Romanum version of the Book of Psalms and contained its own sequence of biblical books and prologues. The copies produced at Tours are particularly large. Many consist of a single huge volume or 'pandect' (the entire Bible in one volume). Three of the surviving Tours pandects are spectacularly illustrated. The earliest is now known as the Moutier-Grandval Bible, an immense volume that comprises some 449 parchment leaves (or almost 1000 pages). (Moutier-Grandval Bible. The British Library. <www.bl.uk/collection-items/moutier-grandval-bible>)

• One of three surviving illustrated manuscripts of the Bible produced in Tours at the Benedictine abbey of St. Martin in the ninth century, the Moutier-Grandval Bible [Offsite Link](#) (British Library Add MS 10546) contains the entire Latin Vulgate text as revised by Alcuin of York. It was probably created during the abbacy of either Adalhard (834-843) or Vivien (843-851) or slightly earlier in the transition period between the abbacies of Fridigus (807-834) and Adalhard. (The "Moutier-Grandval Bible," a Masterpiece from the Scriptorium at Tours. historyofinformation.com by Jeremy Norman. <historyofinformation.com/detail.php?entryid=4645>)

• [Smith] In the library of the British Museum is the manuscript of what is termed "Alcuine's [Alcuin's] Bible." It is a manuscript copy, in Latin, of the entire Bible, made, in part at least, by Alcuin himself, though in part, as seems likely, by some of the students in the Monastery of Tours, in Normandy, of which Alcuin was Abbot in the latter part of the eighth century and beginning of the ninth. **Of Alcuin's connection with the court of Charlemagne, and his active cooperation with that great ruler in efforts to promote good learning, and to correct some degree the barbarism of the age, historical students are well aware. It seems, by a letter of Alcuin to a sister of the emperor, named Gisla, that by order Charlemagne he wrote out a copy of the Latin Vulgate with emendations, -the date of this letter being A. D. 799. The Vulgate version of the Holy Scriptures, made by Jerome, had been, as appears by this letter, corrupted through the ignorance or carelessness of transcribers.** It was Alcuin's purpose, under direction of the emperor, to correct these errors, and thus secure a pure version in the Latin tongue. It would appear that this version was completed in the [PAGE 323] the date of the letter alluded to; for in that year a copy was presented to the emperor by Alcuin, in memorial of his coronation at Rome, in St. Peter, an event which took place Dec. 25, A. D. 800. It is not absolutely certain that the manuscript copy now in the British Museum is the one thus presented by Alcuin to Charlemagne, yet it has long been held to be so, its history being traced as follows: At the death of Charlemagne, it passed into the hands of his grandson and successor, Lothaire. By Lothaire it was presented to the Benedictine Abbey of Rouen, in the duchy of Treves. In 1576 that abbey was dissolved and its revenues appropriated by the Elector of Treves; the monks, however, carrying this valued manuscript to Switzerland, and depositing it in the monastery of Moutier Grand Val, near Basel. Thence it was taken to the town of Delemont, in the canton of Berne. Here it remained until 1793, when, with other like treasures, it was seized by the French and passed ultimately into the hands of M. de Speyr Passavant, a French gentleman. It was brought to England in 1836 and sold to the Trustees of the British Museum for \$750. (Smith, Alcuin's Bible, 1883, p. 322-323)

The Witness of God is Greater

• **Alcuin of York** (Latin: Flaccus Albinus Alcuinus; c. 735 – 19 May 804 AD) – also called Ealhwine, Alhwin or Alchoin – was an English scholar, clergyman, poet and teacher from York, Northumbria. He was born around 735 and became the student of Archbishop Ecgbert at York. At the invitation of Charlemagne, he became a leading scholar and teacher at the Carolingian court, where he remained a figure in the 780s and '90s. During this period he invented Carolingian minuscule, an easily read manuscript hand using a mixture of upper and lower case letters.[2] Alcuin wrote many theological and dogmatic treatises, as well as a few grammatical works and a number of poems. He was made Abbot of Tours in 796, where he remained until his death. **"The most learned man anywhere to be found", according to Einhard's Life of Charlemagne[3] (ca. 817-833)**, he is considered among the most important architects of the Carolingian Renaissance. Among his pupils were many of the dominant intellectuals of the Carolingian era. (Alcuin. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alcuin>)

HIT:

- **Jerome's Prologue** (ff. 402r <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_10546_f402r>)

Codex Cavensis (circa 760-842 AD)

• The La Cava Bible or Codex Cavensis (Cava de' Tirreni, Biblioteca statale del Monumento Nazionale Badia di Cava, Ms. memb. I) is a 9th-century Latin illuminated Bible, which was produced in Spain, probably in the Kingdom of Asturias during the reign of Alfonso II (c.760 – 842). The manuscript preserved at the abbey of La Trinità della Cava, near Cava de' Tirreni, contains 330 vellum folios which measure 320 by 260 mm. The decorated initials include initial types commonly associated with Merovingian illumination. However similar initials also occurred in Visigothic manuscripts. It is likely that Danila copied this manuscript from an earlier, now-lost, Visigothic manuscript. The title and explicit frames are similar to those found in early manuscripts and the pages written in coloured inks are related to Late Antique manuscripts written in gold and silver on purple-dyed parchment. (For example, see Rossano Gospels). However Danila's use of colour was probably not present in the original manuscript and anticipates the use of colour in later Spanish manuscripts. Although Danila may have been aware of Merovingian initials, it is also equally likely that his initials share in common the models for Merovingian initials. The manuscript gives no indication that Danila was influenced by contemporary Carolingian illumination. However, Carolingian Bibles produced under the patronage of Theodulph of Orleans (c.798 to 818), who had Visigothic parentage, do have similar text and organization to that found in the La Cava Bible, something not found in other similar Carolingian manuscripts. (La_Cava_Bible. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/La_Cava_Bible>; Williams, Early Spanish Manuscript Illumination, 1977, p. 40, 42; Williams, Imaging the Early Medieval Bible, 1999, p. 181)

• **The date after the middle of the ninth century is commonly accepted for La Cava Bible is based upon a dubious interpretation** of marginal glosses as reflective of the Gottschalk controversy over predestination. (Williams, Imaging the Early Medieval Bible, 1999, p. 181)

HITS:

- **1 John 5:6-8**

This is he that

came by water and blood and the spirit, Jesus Christ:

And not by water only but by water and blood and spirit.

And it is the Spirit which testifieth that Christ is the truth.

And there are three that give testimony on earth:

the spirit and the water and the blood. And these three are one

in Christ Jesus. And there are Three who give testimony in

heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one.

[29] Hic est qui

[30] venit per aquam et sanguinem et spm IHS XRS

The Witness of God is Greater

[31] Et non in aqua solum sed in aqua et sanguine et spiru

[32] Spiritus et qui testificature qam IHS et veritas.

[33] Quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra.

[34] Spiritus et aqua et sanguis : et hic tres unum sunt, in

[35] XRO IHU. Et tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in

[36] coelo, Pater, verbum. et SPS. et hii tres unum sunt.

(f. 276v : Image 557, left margin column, Lines 29-36, <www.internetculturale.it>. <CNMD0000204849>)

- **Jerome's Prologue :** "Prologue of the following seven canonical epistles by Jerome" (Latin: Incipit prologus iheronimi de in sequentibus septem kanonichis aeipistolis.) (f. 273r : Image 551, Cava de' Trirrenee, Biblioteca statle del Monumento nazionale della Abbazia Benedettina della Ss. Trinita, Codices Cavenses, Cod. 1 Biblio Sacra. <www.internetculturale.it> <CNMD0000204849>

Comments:

- [Wiseman] I will now proceed to give the portion of the first Epistle of St. John, which contains the verse of the three Heavenly Witnesses, commencing at the fourth verse of the fifth chapter, and preserving the exact order and orthography of the words, and its marginal annotations:

* Et arius prae
dicat creaturam

* Si veritas quo
modo creatura quum
creatura vera es
se possit. denique
de nullo angelo
rum legitur quod
veritas sit.

* Audiatur hoc arius
et ceteri.

Quoniam homine quod natum est ex deo vincit mundum

Fides n̄ra. Quis est autem qui vincit mundum nisi
qui credit quia* Ihs filius dei est. hic est qui venit
per aquam et sanguinem et sp̄m Ihs xps

Et non in aqua solum sed in aqua et sanguine et sp̄u.

Spiritus* est qui testificatur. qam Ihs est veritas.

Quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra.

Spiritus et aqua et sanguis : et hii tres unum sunt.

in xpo Ihu. Et tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt

in caelo. Pater. verbum. et sp̄s. et* hii tres unum
sunt. Si testimonium hominum accipimus etc.

- [Wiseman (cont)] In this manuscript, the eighth verse comes before the seventh ; and Griesbach has, in fact, remarked, that this is the case in the most ancient manuscripts. "The ancients generally place verse eight before seven." (Latin: Antiquiores fere anteponunt comma octavum septimo.) 3. The dogmatical use made of this text in the margin is likewise worthy of very particular attention. The very earnest manner in which every argument for the Divinity of Christ seems urged by the writer of the notes, would almost lead us to suppose that they were written during the Arian controversy. [Who is it that conquers the world except he who believes that Jesus is the Son of God. (1 Jn 5:4) Annotation: "And Arius calls Him the first creature." (Latin: Et arius prae dicat creaturam.)] **The energetic and pithy annotation, "Let Arius and**

The Witness of God is Greater

the others listen to this!"(Latin: *Audiat hoc Arrius et ceteri*) demonstrates better than the longest commentary could have done, the force which the writer attributed to our verse, and the total absence from his mind of any doubt of its genuineness. The second note may appear a little obscure, from the omission of the second member of an antithesis. It says that a creature might indeed be said to be "true", but could not with propriety be called "the truth". ["If 'the Truth' in what way can He be a creature? While it is possible that a creature be 'true'. In fact, about none of the angels it is read that he is 'the Truth'."(Latin: *Si veritas quo modo creatura quum creatura vera esse possit. Denique de nullo angelorum legitur quod veritas sit.*)] To conclude, we have here a Latin manuscript which contains the verse, anterior by at least three centuries to the age allowed by its adversaries for its admission into the text: and the document shows, at the same time, the dogmatical use made of the passage. (Wiseman, "Two Letters on 1 John 5:7 1832", in *Essays on Various Subjects*, 1853, vol 1, p. 10-11)

Codex Aniciensis, Latin 4 (circa 800 AD)

- [Houghton] **Codex Aniciensis (Le Puy, Cathedral; VL 0A) was written under Theodulf's direction around 800.** This still has the Old Latin version of the "Book of divine" (Latin: *Liber de diuinis*) scriptures and no references to Alcuin's Bible. The Psalms and Gospels are copied in silver and gold ink on parchment dyed dark purple. The script is small, with over sixty lines per column. Book titles are characteristically placed in circles, with a thick decorated border. ...Apart from these four manuscripts and two later copies, little remains of Theodulf's editions, which were largely eclipsed by the productions of Tours.⁴⁵ (Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*, 2017, p. 86)
- [Armand Puig Tàrrach] Two bibles of Theodulf are preserved (s. IX): The Codex Mesmianus (BNF lat. 9380) and the **Codex Aniciensis (BNF lat. 4)**, from the cathedral of the Puy. **Written in small and delicate letters, its format reduced (32 x 23, in two columns of 62 lines) reminiscent of the Codex Cavensis**, a Hispanic manuscript of the ninth century. The influence can be seen in the order of the biblical books typical of St. Isidore and, ultimately, the Hebrew canon, which is the one used by St. Jerome himself. In the introductory elements (prologues, prefaces), Theodulf takes the Hispanic model, represented by the Codex Toletanus, from Seville (s. X), preserved in the BNM (Ms. Tol. 2.1), and the Second Bible of Alcala, from Toledo (ss. IX-X), currently in the Library of the University of Madrid, Ms. 32. But Theodulf also has in mind the Catalan-Languedoc textual model or, as Berger calls it, Languedocian, of mixed character, represented, among others, by the Bible of Mazarí (BNP lat. 7, s. XI), the Latin Bible de Peiresc (BNP lat. 10, s. XII) and the Bible of the Bibliotheca Mazarina (Mss. 6-7), and the Anglo-Saxon model, represented by the Codex Amiatinus (s. vin), which is in the Medici-Laurentian Library of Florence. (Armand Puig Tàrrach. "La Bíblia llatina en els països de llengua catalana fins al segle XIII, 2003, p. 104, fn. 4)
- [Scrivener] 12. Lat. 4, formerly Colbert 157, 158, then Reg. 3571 ; 2 vols., fol., 53.5 x 33 cent. [ix or x] ; 42 contains 193 leaves, with Psalms, Ev., Act., Cath., Apoc., Paul. This MS. was given to Colbert by the Canons of Puy, and called 'Codex Aniciensis.' The first hand presents an Alcuinian text, but a second hand has added a large number of remarkable variant readings, especially in the Acts and Cath. Epp. It appears to belong to Languedoc. (Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, vol 2, 1894, p. 68)

HITS:

I John 5:6-9

- This is he that came by water and blood, Jesus Christ: not by water only, but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit which testifieth, that Christ is the truth. For there are three who give testimony [here comes the obelisk, followed by erased text replaced in the margin by: in heaven: the Father, the Word, and the Spirit. And the three are one. And there are three that give testimony on earth: the blood, the water and the flesh]. If we have received [corrected to if we receive by the same hand that wrote the margin note] the testimony of men, the testimony of God is greater. For this is... (Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, October 2020)

The Witness of God is Greater

Latin:

line 035 Hic est

line 036 qui uenit per aquam et sanguinem. ihesus christus; Non in aqua solum:

line 037 sed in aqua et sanguine; Et spiritus est qui testificatur: quoniam christus

line 038 **est ueritas; Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant.** ✖ [erased text]

line 039 [erased text]; Si testimonium ho

line 040 minum accepimus [corrected to "accipimus" with an "i" written on top of the "e", in

the same ink as the note in the margin]: testimonium dei maius est; Quoniam hoc est

✖"in celo; Pater: uerbum & spiritus; & tres unum sunt; & tres sunt: qui testimonium dant

in terra; Sanguis: aqua & caro;"

• f157v, <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84546957/f318.item>

Jerome's Prologue

- Here begins the prologue [Addition in second hand:"of blessed Jerome the priest"] (Latin: Incipit prologus. [beati hieronimi presbyteri])
 - f152v, <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84546957/f308.item>

Codex Lemovicensis. Latin 2328 (circa 800 AD)

- [Description] **Copied around 800**; provenance Limoges. Minuscule script. 125 folios (29x171/2 cm). Two columns of 33-5 lines. Parchment; black ink with rubrication and decorative initials.
- [Contents] After works by Isidore and Alcuin, **the Catholic Epistles occur on foil. 97-107 with no prologues or summaries.** They are followed by sermons of Augustine and Caesarius of Arles. The text is a fairly pure Vulgate with some Old Latin readings typical of French witnesses, including one at James 2:13 shared with Ruricius of Limoges. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 2328. Images: <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52503985b>.
- Houghton, Latin New Testament, 2016, p. 271.

HITS:

I John 5:6-9

- This is he that came by water and blood, Jesus Christ: not by water only, but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit which testifieth, because the Spirit is the truth. For there are three that speak testimony on earth: the spirit, the water, and the blood: and these three are one. And there are three that give testimony: the Word and the Spirit: and the three are one in Christ Jesus. If we have received the testimony of men, the testimony of God is greater. (Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, October 2020)

Latin:

f105v line 024 Hic est qui uenit per aquam & san

f105v line 025 guinem. ihesus christus: non in

f105v line 026 aqua solum. sed in aqua &

f105v line 027 sanguine ; & spiritus est qui tes-

f105v line 028 tificatur: quoniam spiritus est ueritas:

f105v line 029 **quia tres sunt qui testimonium**

f105v line 030 **dicunt in terra: spiritus. aqua**

f105v line 031 **& sanguis: & hi tres unum**

f105v line 032 **sunt: et tres sunt qui testimonium**

f105v line 033 **perhibent uerbum & spiritus; & tres**

f105v line 034 **unum sunt in christo ihesu;**

f106r line 001 Si testimonium hominum accepimus;

f106r line 002 testimonium dei maius est;

The Witness of God is Greater

• f105v-f106r. <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52503985b>

Comment:

- **Note:** There is an unusual space left at the end of f105v line 34 before which would have been filled had the omission not occurred.
- **[Translator]** As you can see, "there are three that give testimony: the Word and the Spirit" hardly seems to cohere, announcing three and then listing only two. This could just have been due to a distracted scribe who left out a word, but I'll leave it to your appreciation what other hypotheses you can formulate. Note also that the difference between "we receive" and "we have received" stands in a single letter in Latin (*accipimus* vs. *accepimus*) and the respective letters are ones that are close in sound at that, especially in medieval pronunciation, so it wasn't very unusual for such similar forms to be misheard or otherwise confused. It isn't even impossible that the scribe here meant "we receive" even though he wrote *accepimus*. (Sara Van der Pas, correspondence, October 2020)

Codex Sangallensis 83 (circa 850-860)

- [Description] Bible manuscript from the time of Hartmut, Vice-abbot ca. 850-872 and Abbot 872-883, containing the Pauline Epistles, the Acts and Revelations. The last volume (6) of the so-called "Grosse Hartmut-Bibel". (smu) St. Gallen. Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 83. Parchment · 418 pp. · 40.5 x 30.5 cm · St. Gall · around 850-860. <www.e-codices.ch/en/list/one/csg/0083>
- **Hartmut von St. Gallen** († 23 January after 905 in Saint Gall) was abbot of the Abbey of Saint Gall. Hartmut (Old High German "of powerful courage and spirit"), was monk, pupil of Rabanus Maurus at the Princely Abbey of Fulda, and became Grimald's successor as Abbot of Saint Gall in 872. Otfrid of Weissenburg dedicated his Old High German "Liber evangeliorum", a kind of diatessaron in southern Rhenisch Franconian dialect, i. a. to his friend and fellow student Hartmut. As an abbot, Hartmut, like his predecessor, generated an abundant construction activity. In 883, he abdicated and afterwards led a life of seclusion as a recluse near the monastery in Saint Gall. He died on 23 January after 905. (Hartmut of Saint Gall. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hartmut_of_Saint_Gall>)
- Hartmut from St. Gallen. Hartmut, a student of Hrabanus Maurus, became abbot in the monastery of St. Gallen in 872. He had numerous buildings built for his monastery, in which Notker the Stammler lived at that time. In 883 Hartmut abdicated and lived as a Rekluse near the monastery until his death. <www.heiligenlexikon.de/BiographienH/Hartmut_von_St-Gallen.html>
- [Ganz] Two manuscripts containing catalogues from St. Gall have survived. ...The note in CSG 19 (p. 134) reads as follows: "I, **Harmut, gifted this psalter that is rightly called 'Hebrew' (i.e. translated from Hebrew) to St. Gall with a happy heart. If anyone should take this book away, he shall be condemned to a thousand lashes, And by the judgement of God he shall succumb in his body to illness.**" [St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek: Codex 19, p. 134] (David Ganz, The Libraries, Librarians and Library Catalogues of Reichenau and St. Gall, <www.stgallplan.org/en/tours_libraries.html>)

HITS:

I John 5:6-9

- This is he that came by water and blood, Jesus Christ: not by water only, but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit which testifieth, that Christ is the truth. For there are three that give testimony: the spirit, and the water, and the blood. And the three are one. Just as there are three in heaven: the Father, the Word and the Spirit. And the three are one. If we receive the testimony of men... (Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, October 2020)

Latin:

Line 003 hic est qui ue

The Witness of God is Greater

Line 004 nit per aquam & san
Line 005 guinem. IHESUS CHRISTUS
Line 006 Non in aqua solum.
Line 007 sed in aqua & sanguine;
Line 008 Et spiritus est qui testifica
Line 009 tur. quoniam CHRISTUS est ueri
Line 010 tas. Quia tres sunt
Line 011 qui testimonium dant.
Line 012 spiritus & aqua & sanguis.
Line 013 & tres unum sunt
Line 014 **Sicut in caelo tres sunt.**
Line 015 **pater. uerbum. & spiritus.**
Line 016 **& tres unum sunt.**
Line 017 SI TESTIMONIUM
Line 018 hominum accipimus.
• Cod. Sang. 83, p. 363. <www.e-codices.ch/en/csg/0083/363/0/>

Jerome's Prologue

- Here begins the prologue on the seven Canonical Epistles by priest Jerome. (Latin: Incipit prologus de VII epistolis canonicis hieronimi presbyteri.)
• Cod. Sang. 83, p. 323. <www.e-codices.ch/en/csg/0083/323/>

Triodion : Theodore the Studite (759–826 AD)

- Our Venerable and God-bearing **Father Theodore the Studite (759-826) was a hymnographer and theologian** as well as the abbot of the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Studios, outside of Constantinople. Following the death of Emperor Leo IV (775–780) in 780, Theodore's uncle Platon, who had lived as a monk in the Symbola Monastery in Bithynia since 759, visited Constantinople, and persuaded the entire family of his sister, Theoktiste, to pursue the monastic life. Theodore, together with his father and brothers, sailed back to Bithynia with Platon in 781, where they set about transforming the family estate into a religious establishment, which became known as the Sakkudion Monastery. Platon became abbot of the new foundation, and Theodore was his "right hand." The two sought to order the monastery according to the monastic rule of Basil of Caesarea. During the period of the regency of Eirene, Abbot Platon emerged as a supporter of Patriarch Tarasios, and was a member of Tarasios' iconodule party at the Second Council of Nicaea, where the veneration of icons was declared orthodox. Shortly thereafter Tarasios himself ordained Theodore as a priest. In 794, Theodore became abbot of the Sakkudion Monastery, while Platon withdrew from the daily operation of the monastery and dedicated himself to silence.
- Theodore had been a monk for approximately 20 years when he took the initiative to revive the almost extinct monastery of Studios in the imperial city of Constantinople. Under his care, it became one of the shining lights of Eastern Christianity. This did not deter successive emperors from banishing the faithful Theodore and exiling the community. Theodore's revival of the Studios monastery had a significant impact on the later history of Byzantine monasticism. His disciple, Naukratios, recovered control of the monastery after the end of iconoclasm in 842. Elements of Theodore's Testament were incorporated verbatim in the typika of certain early Athonite monasteries and are in use to this day. The most important elements of his reform were its emphasis on cenobitic (communal) life, manual labor, and a carefully defined administrative hierarchy. Theodore also built the Studios monastery into a major scholarly center, in particular through its library and scriptorium, which certainly surpassed all other contemporary Byzantine ecclesiastical institutions in this regard. Theodore himself was a pivotal figure in the revival of classical literary forms, in particular iambic verse, in Byzantium, and his

The Witness of God is Greater

criticisms of the iconoclastic epigrams. After his death the Studios monastery continued to be a vital center for Byzantine hymnography and hagiography, as well as for the copying of manuscripts.

- Following the restoration of holy icons, Theodore became one of the great heroes of the iconodule opposition. His great theological contribution, *On the Holy Icons*, was written in defense of icons during the Second [[Iconoclasm}iconoclastic]] Period (814-842). He is also known for his writings and influence on monastic reform. His feast day is on November 11, and the transfer of his relics from Cherson to Constantinople in 845 on January 26. He and one of his brothers, St. Joseph the Confessor, Archbishop of Thessaloniki (also called "Joseph the Studite"; 762-832; July 14 and January 26), are known for their work on the Triodion, the service book for the first three weeks of Great Lent. The first Lenten weekday canon is attributed to St. Joseph and the second to St. Theodore.[1]

- Theodore the Studite. Orthodoxwiki. <orthodoxwiki.org/Theodore_the_Studite>

- Theodore of the Studium (759–826 AD), by his sufferings and his influence, did more, perhaps, in the cause of Icons than any other man. His uncle, S. Plato, and himself, had been cruelly persecuted by Constantine, for refusing to communicate with him after his illicit marriage with Theodora, at a time when, as we have seen, the firmness of even the Patriarch Tarasius gave way. Raised subsequently to be Hegumen of the great abbey of the Studium, the first at Constantinople, and probably the most influential that ever existed in the world, Theodore exhibited more doubtful conduct in the schism which regarded the readmission to communion of Joseph, the priest who had give the nuptial benediction to Constantine: but he suffered imprisonment on this account with the greatest firmness. When the Iconoclastic persecution again broke out under Leo the Armenian, Theodore was one of the first sufferers: he was exiled, imprisoned, scourged, and left for dead. Under Michael Curopalata he enjoyed greater liberty; but he died in banishment, Nov. 11th, A.D. 826. His Hymns are, in my judgment, superior to those of S. Theophanes,—and nearly, if not quite, equal to the works of S. Cosmas. In those (comparatively few) which he has left for the Festivals of Saints, he does not appear to advantage: it is in his Lent Canons in the Triodion, that his great excellency lies. The contrast there presented between the rigid, unbending, unyielding character of the man in his outward history, and the fervent gush of penitence and love which his inward life, as revealed by these compositions, manifests, is very striking; - it forms a remarkable parallel to the characters of S. Gregory VII., Innocent III., and other holy men of the Western Church, whom the world, judging from a superficial view of their characters, has branded with unbending haughtiness, and the merest formality in religion, while their most secret writings show them to have been clinging to the Cross in an ecstasy of love and sorrow. (Neal, *Hymns of the Eastern Church*, 1882, p. 92)

HIT:

- Glory. **In my mind I perceive the Three in the one Nature of the Godhead, and divide the One into three Hypostases;** and I reject equally the opposing heresies of Sibelius and Arius. (Saturday in the Second Week at Matins Another Canon by Theodore in Tone III: Canon 2 from the Triodion. Ode vi. Mode 3. (NM) The deep waters of the passions.)
 - **Greek:** Δόξα. Τὰ τρία μιᾶ φύσει συνάπτων, τὸ ἐν δέ, τρισὶ τέμνων προσώποις, ἃ ἡ Θεότης ἐστὶ, Σαβέλλιον τε καὶ τὸν Ἄρειον, τοὺς ἰσομέτρους κρημνοὺς διαφεύγω. (ΤΩ ΣΑΒΒΑΤΩ ΤΗΣ Β. ΕΒΔΟΜΑΔΟΣ, Κανὼν Β΄ τοῦ Τριωδίου. Ὠδὴ Ϛ΄. Ἦχος γ΄. Βυθός μοι τῶν παθῶν)

Comment:

- Note: This text is from the Triodion, the book used for the services of the Great Lent and its preparatory period. This hymn is a stanza of the canon (a Byzantine hymnographic genre) sung in the Matins, in this case on Saturday of the 2nd week of Lent. **The poem is by Theodore the Studite (759–826 AD), who was the author of many hymns and compiler of the Triodion.**

The Witness of God is Greater

Life of Saint Pancras or Pancratius (circa 800-850)

• Saint Pancras or Pancratius (Greek: Ἅγιος Παγκράτιος, Hagios Pankratiος; Latin: Sanctus Pancratius; Italian: San Pancrazio; Church Slavonic: Свѣтый Панкратій, Svjatyj Pankratij) is said to have been born in Antioch in Cilicia (the modern Adana). According to tradition, he travelled to Jerusalem with his parents during the earthly ministry of Jesus; later the entire family was baptized in Antioch. Pancras withdrew to a cave in Pontus where he was discovered by Saint Peter and was sent to Sicily in the year 40 to be the first Bishop of Tauromenium (the modern Taormina). There he met his death by stoning at the hands of pagan opponents of the new religion. He is venerated as a saint in the Roman Catholic Church and in the Eastern Orthodox Church as a Hieromartyr. In the Catholic Church his cult is concentrated on the island of Sicily, where the veneration of saints from the eastern Mediterranean was particularly encouraged during the period of Byzantine rule. He is the patron saint of Taormina and Canicattì. His feast day was entered into the Roman Martyrology as 3 April; later this was amended to 8 July. More often he is celebrated on 9 July, the traditional day of his martyrdom. The largest portion of his relics are preserved in Rome. The Eastern Orthodox Church venerates him on 9 July (22 July, N.S.). He is also, together with martyrs Marcellus and Philagrus, commemorated on 9 February. The Greek calendar also commemorates, on 7 June, the holy women Aesia and Susanna, disciples of Pancras and martyred with him. A portion of his relics are kept on Mount Athos. (Pancras of Taormina. Wikipedia.

<en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pancras_of_Taormina>

• [Introduction] The text exists in three recensions. The editio princeps of the first recension is presented here, based on six manuscripts (Vat. Gr. 1591, Mess. S. Salv. 53, Crypt. BβV, Vat. Gr. 1985, Vind. Hist. Gr. 3 and Vat. Ottobon. Gr. 92), together with an introduction, a translation into English and a commentary. External and internal evidence has been used to argue that it should be dated to the early eighth century and that it is of Sicilian provenance. (Stallman-Pacitti, "Introduction" in The Life of Saint Pankratiος of Taormina, 2018, p. 1)

• [Introduction] Theodore the Studite, in 814, probably had access to a complete text,³⁵ and Nikephoros, in 820, almost certainly was quoting from a complete text. (Stallman-Pacitti, "Introduction" in The Life of Saint Pankratiος of Taormina, 2018, p. 31)

• [Introduction] Elias the Hymnographer. A Canon to St Pankratiος was written by Elias the Hymnographer. It is of Sicilian provenance and has been given a probable date of between 843 and 902 (Acconcia Longo 550–551). It is based on the Life of St Pankratiος, and has a textual affinity with the manuscripts C and B [120]. (Stallman-Pacitti, "Introduction" in The Life of Saint Pankratiος of Taormina, 2018, p. 32-33)

• [Introduction] The Life of St Michael the Synkellos, written between 842 and 867, refers to St Peter giving his disciple Pankratiος two icons (Schmitt 235.15–26), one of Christ and one of the Virgin Mary, and to his instructing St Pankratiος to depict the story of the Incarnation from the Annunciation to the Ascension and Pentecost in the church for the instruction of the unlettered. It thus provides evidence of the continued familiarity with the text in iconodule circles in the mid-ninth century. (Stallman-Pacitti, "Introduction" in The Life of Saint Pankratiος of Taormina, 2018, p. 34)

HIT:

- Again the unclean demon answered, "Men of Taormina, why are you annoying me? As you have received a clear omen of what has been done, leave this domain." They again said to the unclean demon, "Give us lots [a clear omen], pure one, give us lots [a clear omen]!" The demon said to them, "**Men, the Deity in three hypostases has visited His creation. For God has sent His Word and has healed everyone.**" They again said, "What are these words, most pure Lysson? Tell us. Do you think there is a god more powerful than you? Who is this god?" He said, "He Who made heaven and earth and the sea and everything in them, Who also created Man in His own image and likeness. This god has sent a flaming sword against us. This sword destroyed Phalkon and dashed the other gods to the ground, and has rendered me ineffectual too as of now. For we have received here a disciple of Jesus Christ, who has been brought by Lykaonides." (Life of Saint Pankratiος of Taormina, 2018, p. 204)

The Witness of God is Greater

- **Greek:** «ἄνδρες Ταυρομενῖται, τί παρενοχλεῖτέ μοι; λαβόντες κληδὸνα ἀσφαλῆ τῶνπραχθέντων, ἀπέλθετε τῶν ἐνταῦθα.» οἱ δὲ πάλιν πρὸς τὸν ἀκάθαρτον δαίμονα· «ἐπίδος, καθαρὲ, κληδόνας, ἐπίδος.» ὁ δὲ δαίμων πρὸς αὐτούς· «ἄνδρες, ἡ τρισυπόστατος θεότης ἐπεσκέψατο τὸ ἴδιον πλάσμα· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἀπέστειλε τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἴασατο πάντας.» οἱ δὲ πάλιν ἔλεγον· «τίνες οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι, καθαρῶτατε Λύσσω; εἶπε ἡμῖν. ἔχεις ἰσχυρότερόν σου θεόν; τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος;» ὁ δὲ φησὶν· «ὃς ἐποίησε τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὃς καὶ πλαστοουργήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἰδίαν καὶ ὁμοίωσιν· οὗτος ἀπέστειλε ῥομφαίαν πυρίνην καθ' ἡμῶν. αὕτη ἡ ῥομφαία καὶ Φάλλκονα ὤλεσεν καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἠδάφισεν, κάμῃ ἀπρακτον ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν πεποίηκεν· τὸν γὰρ μαθητὴν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἐδεξάμεθα, ὃν καὶ ἐκόμισε Λυκαονίδης.» (Life of Saint Pankratios of Taormina, 2018, p. 205)

Al-Kindi (801-873 AD) : "All Christian parties agree..."

- Abu Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn 'Ishāq aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ al-Kindī (/æɫ'kɪndi/; Arabic: يوسف يعقوب بن إسحاق الصبّاح الكندي وبأ; Latin: Alkindus; c. 801–873 AD) was an Arab Muslim philosopher, polymath, mathematician, physician and musician. Al-Kindi was the first of the Islamic peripatetic philosophers, and is hailed as the "father of Arab philosophy".
- Al-Kindi was born in Kufa and educated in Baghdad. He became a prominent figure in the House of Wisdom, and a number of Abbasid Caliphs appointed him to oversee the translation of Greek scientific and philosophical texts into the Arabic language. This contact with "the philosophy of the ancients" (as Hellenistic philosophy was often referred to by Muslim scholars) had a profound effect on him, as he synthesized, adapted and promoted Hellenistic and Peripatetic philosophy in the Muslim world. He subsequently wrote hundreds of original treatises of his own on a range of subjects ranging from metaphysics, ethics, logic and psychology, to medicine, pharmacology, mathematics, astronomy, astrology and optics, and further afield to more practical topics like perfumes, swords, jewels, glass, dyes, zoology, tides, mirrors, meteorology and earthquakes.
- In the field of mathematics, al-Kindi played an important role in introducing Indian numerals to the Islamic world, and subsequently, relabeled as Arabic numerals, to the Christian world, along with Al-Khwarizmi. Al-Kindi was also one of the fathers of cryptography. Building on the work of Al-Khalil (717–786), Al-Kindi's book entitled Manuscript on Deciphering Cryptographic Messages gave rise to the birth of cryptanalysis, was the earliest known use of statistical inference, and introduced several new methods of breaking ciphers, notably frequency analysis. Using his mathematical and medical expertise, he was able to develop a scale that would allow doctors to quantify the potency of their medication.
- The central theme underpinning al-Kindi's philosophical writings is the compatibility between philosophy and other "orthodox" Islamic sciences, particularly theology. And many of his works deal with subjects that theology had an immediate interest in. These include the nature of God, the soul and prophetic knowledge. But despite the important role he played in making philosophy accessible to Muslim intellectuals, his own philosophical output was largely overshadowed by that of al-Farabi and very few of his texts are available for modern scholars to examine.
- Al-Kindi. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Kindi>

- [Schöck] **Al-Kindī intends the refutation of the neo-Nicene formula "one substance/ essence, three hypostases" (μία οὐσία τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις).** He begins his refutation with an explanation of this formula according to the doctrine of the Cappadocians and then attacks it by a threefold reductio ad absurdum (ilzām). (Schöck, The controversy between al-Kindī and Yayā b. Adī on the trinity, 2012, p. 29-30)
- [Schöck] As mentioned above the first approach to the refutation of the Trinity derives from the assertion **'that one substance is three hypostases'**, that is, from predicating three singular beings regarding one substance. In order to refute this possibility, al-Kindī takes all possible senses of 'hypostases' taken as singular existences and shows that in whatever sense the hypostases are taken, the assumption that **'one substance is three hypostases'** is illogical and absurd. (Schöck, The controversy between al-Kindī and Yayā b. Adī on the trinity, 2012, p. 31)

- [Schöck] Al-Kindī begins his refutation with the following outline of the Christian creed:

The Witness of God is Greater

- [Al-Kindī : Traité] (1) **All Christian parties agree that three beginningless hypostases are one substance (anna ta lātā ta aqānīma lam tazal ġawharun wāhidun)**. (2) By ‘hypostases’ they mean ‘individuals/persons’ (ašḥāṣ). (3) By ‘one substance’ they mean that each hypostasis exists by its proper feature (bi-ḥāṣṣatihā). (4) Hence, what is intended by [the term] ‘substance’ (ma’nā al-ġawhar) exists in each hypostasis, (5) and the hypostases are the same with regard to substance (wa-hiya fīhi muttafiqatun), (6) and to each hypostasis belongs a beginningless proper feature by which it differs (bihā tuḥālifu) from the two other hypostases. (Schöck, The controversy between al-Kindī and Yayā b. Adī on the trinity, 2012, p. 29)

Comments:

- [Schöck] **This outline of the Christian creed coincides with Basil of Caesarea’s and Gregory of Nyssa’s doctrine on the relation between one divine substance and three hypostases** (μία οὐσία τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις). (Schöck, The controversy between al-Kindī and Yayā b. Adī on the trinity, 2012, p. 32)

- **Note:** Lucian Creed (312 AD) trinitarian formula, **“three in hypostasis and one in symphonia [agreement]” (fn. 40. Athanasius, Syn. 23.3: τῆ μὲν ὑποστάσει τρία, τῆ δε συμφωνία ἓν);**

Haymo, bishop of Halberstadt (d. 853 AD)

- Haymo (died 27 March 853) (or Haimo; Latin: Haymo Halberstatensis) was a German Benedictine monk who served as bishop of Halberstadt, and was a noted author. The exact date and place of Haymo’s birth are unknown. He entered the Order of St. Benedict at Fulda as a youth, where the celebrated Rabanus Maurus was one of his fellow-students. He went together with him to the Monastery of St. Martin at Tours to profit by the lessons of its great teacher, Alcuin. After a brief sojourn at Tours, both friends came back to the Benedictine house at Fulda, and there they spent most of their life previous to their promotion to the episcopal dignity. Haymo became chancellor to the monastery, as is proved by his records of its transactions, which are still extant. It is probable that owing to his great learning he was also entrusted with the teaching of theology in the same monastery.
- He had been living for only a short while in the Benedictine monastery at Hersfeld, perhaps as its abbot, when in the last weeks of 840 he was nominated to the Bishopric of Halberstadt. Hearing of Haymo’s promotion, Rabanus Maurus, his old friend, gave him at great length—in a work entitled “De Universo” and divided into 22 books—advice that would help him in the discharge of the episcopal office. In compliance with Rabanus’s suggestions, Haymo stood aloof from the Court of King Louis the German, did not entangle himself in the affairs of the State, preached often and lived solely for the welfare of his diocese. The only public assembly which he attended was the Council of Mainz, held in 847 for the maintenance of the ecclesiastical rights and immunities. Haymo died on 26 March, 853.
- There is no doubt that Haymo of Halberstadt was a prolific writer, although a number of works, particularly those of Haimo of Auxerre, have been wrongly ascribed to him. Most of his genuine works are commentaries on Holy Writ, the following of which have been printed: “In Psalmos explanatio”; “In Isaiam libri tres”; “In XII Prophetas”; “In Epistolas Pauli omnes” and “In Apocalypsim libri septem”. As might be naturally expected from the exegetical methods of his day, Haymo is not an original commentator; he simply repeats or abridges the Scriptural explanations which he finds in patristic writings. As a pious monk, and a faithful observer of Rabanus’s recommendations, he writes almost exclusively about the moral and mystical senses of the sacred text. He is also the author of an Epitome of Eusebius’s Ecclesiastical History, of a large number of sermons, and of a spiritual work, De amore coelestis patriae.
- Haymo of Halberstadt. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haymo_of_Halberstadt>

HIT:

- **[Homily 80] “For there are three who give witness on earth: water and blood and the spirit” (I John 5.8)**. Some people understand that it is the holy Trinity here, in a mystical way, who bears witness to Christ. In the water, they understand the Father to be signified, who says of himself, “they have

The Witness of God is Greater

abandoned me, the fountain of life' (Jer 2.13); in the blood, Christ himself, who poured out his blood for the salvation of the world; in the spirit, the Holy Spirit himself. So this holy Trinity bears witness to Christ, as he himself says through the Gospel, "I am one who bears witness to myself, and the Father who sent me bears witness to me." "And when the Comforter comes, whom I will send to you from my Father, the Spirit of truth, he will bear witness concerning me" (John 8.18; 15.26). "And these three are one," namely the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit: one in nature, one in divine substance, coequal in all things, and coeternal through all things, in no way dissimilar. In this substance of the Trinity, there is nothing created because nothing has a beginning; nor is anything recognized there as superior, because nothing is found to be prior or later. In the fact that it is a Trinity, it is one, it is eternal, it is true.

- **[Homily 80]** This is the one faith, because this is the true faith, and therefore this is the catholic faith: to believe that the holy Trinity is of one substance, and to recognize in God the Son the natural truth of our flesh and our soul. In this faith we are justified, by this faith we are cleansed. By this faith we are saved, in this faith we have believed, because it bestows on us the remission of our sins. Let there be, then, for all of us the sure hope that the true resurrection of the flesh, which has already happened in Christ, will follow in us. This flesh of all human beings who have died – whether believers or unbelievers – will rise in the end; but the flesh of believers will rise to glory, the flesh of unbelievers will rise to punishment. Faithful souls, along with their bodies, will rejoice forever. Unfaithful souls, too, will always be tortured with their bodies; and thus whatever [qualities] souls receive here in the flesh, they will never lose – because joy cannot be taken away from the good, nor can punishment ever be taken away from the wicked.
- **[Homily 80]** This is the one faith, because this is the true faith, and therefore this is the catholic faith: to believe that the holy Trinity is of one substance, and to recognize in God the Son the natural truth of our flesh and our soul. In this faith we are justified, by this faith we are cleansed. By this faith we are saved, in this faith we have believed, because it bestows on us the remission of our sins. Let there be, then, for all of us the sure hope that the true resurrection of the flesh, which has already happened in Christ, will follow in us. This flesh of all human beings who have died – whether believers or unbelievers – will rise in the end; but the flesh of believers will rise to glory, the flesh of unbelievers will rise to punishment. Faithful souls, along with their bodies, will rejoice forever. Unfaithful souls, too, will always be tortured with their bodies; and thus whatever [qualities] souls receive here in the flesh, they will never lose – because joy cannot be taken away from the good, nor can punishment ever be taken away from the wicked.
- **[Homily 80]** So we receive eternal life through the holy Church. Only in this Church is there eternal life, because her King is eternal life. Part of this Church rejoices already and reigns in heaven, but part of it is still on pilgrimage and labors on earth. She is one holy Church, in which we are now justified, in which we will then be glorified. Like good sons, let us love this good mother with one heart. Let no one despise the groans of this mother, then; let no one devalue her advice, let no one leave her side. For she will come to the inheritance of God the Father, who will preserve the unity in faith and love of Mother Church. Remain, therefore, in the catholic Church; humbly listen to the divine teaching; carefully keep the commandments of God. For those who despise the commandments of the Lord will burn forever; but those who keep his commands will rejoice without end. And just as there will be eternal death and eternal misery for those who show him contempt, so eternal life and eternal joy will be given to those who obey him, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who lives and reigns for ages of ages. Amen
- *Haymo bishop of Halberstadt, Homily 80, for the Octave of Easter; Translated by Brian Daley, correspondence, August 2020.*
 - **Latin:** «**Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, aqua, et sanguis, et spiritus.** » Quidam hic sanctam Trinitatem mystice significatam intelligunt, quae Christo testimonium perhibuit. In aqua Patrem significari intelligunt, quia ipse de se dicit: « Me dereliquerunt fontem aequae vivae (Ier. II). » In sanguine, ipsum Christum, qui pro salute mundi suum sanguinem fudit. In spiritu, eundem Spiritum sanctum. Haec sancta Trinitas Christo testimonium ita perhibet, ipso per Evangelium loquente: « Ego sum qui testimonium perhibeo de meipso, et

The Witness of God is Greater

testimonium perhibet de me, qui misit me Pater. (0488C) Et cum venerit paracletus, quem ego mittam vobis a Patre meo, Spiritum veritatis, ille testimonium perhibebit de me (Ioan. VIII, XV).» « Et hi tres unum sunt, » id est Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus. Unum in natura, unum in divina substantia, coaequales in omnibus, et coaeternales per omnia, in nullo dissimiles. In ista Trinitatis substantia nihil est creatum, quia nihil est inchoatum: nec aliquid ibi superius cognoscitur, quia nihil anterius aut posterius invenitur. In eo quod Trinitas est, unum est, aeternum est, verum est. Haec est una fides, quia haec est vera fides, et ideo haec est catholica fides, unius substantiae sanctam credere Trinitatem, et in Dei Filio carnis animae nostrae naturalem cognoscere veritatem.

- **Latin:** Ista fide iustificamur, hac fide mundamur. (0488D) Ista fide salvamur, in hac fide credidimus, quia nobis tribuit remissionem omnium peccatorum. Sit ergo certissima spes omnibus nobis, quia vera resurrectio carnis, quae praecessit in Christo, sequetur in nobis. Caro ista omnium hominum mortuorum sive fidelium, sive infidelium, resurget in fine: sed caro fidelium resurget ad gloriam, caro infidelium resurget ad poenam. Animae fideles cum suis corporibus semper laetabuntur. Animae quoque infideles cum suis corporibus semper torquebuntur, ac sic quidquid ibi animae in carne sua recipient, non amittent, quando nec bonis poterit auferri gaudium, nec malis unquam poterit removeri supplicium. Accipimus itaque vitam aeternam per sanctam Ecclesiam. (0489A)
- **Latin:** In ista sola Ecclesia est vita aeterna, quia Rex eius est vita aeterna. Huius Ecclesiae pars exultat iam et regnat in coelis, pars autem peregrinatur adhuc et laborat in terris. Ipsa est una sancta Ecclesia, in qua nunc iustificamur, in qua tunc glorificabimur. Istam bonam matrem sicut boni filii unanimiter diligamus. Huius ergo matris gemitus nemo despiciat, monitiones eius nemo contemnat, de sinu eius nemo discedat. Ipse enim ad Dei Patris perveniet haereditatem, qui Ecclesiae matris in fide et dilectione servaverit unitatem. In Ecclesia ergo catholica permanete, divinis eloquiis humiliter obedite, praecepta Dei sollicito custodite. Qui enim praecepta Domini contemnunt, semper ardebunt; qui vero mandata eius custodiunt, sine fine gaudebunt. (0489B) Et sicut contemptoribus erit aeterna mors et aeterna miseria, sic obedientibus aeterna vita dabitur et aeterna laetitia, per Iesum Christum Filium Dominum nostrum, qui vivit et regnat in saecula saeculorum.
- *Haimo Halberstatensis, Homilia 80 in Octava Paschae; Migne Latina, PL 118.0488.*

Haimo of Auxerre (circa 840-860 AD)

• [Cartwright] Haimo of Auxerre was an astute commentator who had a lasting effect on the medieval commentary tradition. Active during the years 840-860 AD, he was already a famous exegete and preacher in his own day and was well known for stirring up interest among his young students at the monastic school of Auxerre. It appears that he left the Abbey of Saint Germain in 865 AD to become abbot of the monastery at Cussy-les-Bois where he remained until 875 AD. His former student Heiric (d. 883) took over at Auxerre and continued the work of his master. [PAGE 160] ...**modern scholars have come to hold Haimo in increasingly high esteem as a thoughtful and innovative biblical exegete.** Nowhere is this more evident than in Haimo's commentary on the Pauline Epistles. Henri Barré reckons Haimo's Pauline commentaries to be his "master work," which best characterizes his method. He also finds in Haimo the central traits of Carolingian spirituality exemplified in his meditation on Scripture and appeal to the Fathers. Haimo's stated purpose, notes Barré, was to instruct for the sake of edification. Haimo sought to increase understanding (aedificatio intellectus) and thus resolve questions (solutio quaestionum), all for the sake of exhortation and consolation. **Dominique Iogna-Prat likewise believes that Haimo's Pauline commentaries were the most important work. Indeed, their popularity throughout the Middle Ages is borne out by the fact that the commentaries circulated in whole or in part in 166 manuscripts through the fifteenth century.** (Cartwright, *A Companion to St. Paul in the Middle Ages*, 2013, p. 159-160)

The Witness of God is Greater

• [Contreni] Haimo was a monk at Saint Germain in Auxerre where he taught Heiric of Auxerre and produced a sizable literary legacy during the period approximately from 840 to 860. **Haimo, however, was no isolated scholar. He enjoyed contacts in high political circles** as his gift of a manuscript of Curtius' history of Alexander the Great to Count Conrad of Auxerre proves. 1 The date of Haimo's birth is unknown but it has been assumed that he died in 865 since Heiric of Auxerre was ordered back to Saint Germain in that year, presumably to take the place of his deceased master. (Contreni, Haimo of Auxerre, Abbot of Sasceium - Cessy-les-Bois, and a New Sermon on I John V, 4-10, 1975, p. 310-311)

• [Contreni] **Leiden Voss. lat. Q. 60 is a copy of the Liber pontificalis probably copied at St. Amand during the late eighth or early ninth centuries.** The manuscript eventually came to the monastery of St. Remi in Reims, however, where a late ninth century hand wrote the sermon on some blank leaves of the first quire. E. A. Lowe judged this hand to be "typical Reims minuscule saec. ix". [Lowe, Codices latini antiquiores (11 vols. ; Supp. ; Cambridge Oxford 1934-1971, t. 10, 1583] Perhaps F. M. Carey had these leaves in mind when he registered the entire manuscript in his list of ninth century Reims codices. 3 The manuscript remained at St. Remi until the seventeenth century when Alexander Petau acquired it. It passed later to Isaac Vossius and thence into the University Library at Leiden. (Contreni, Haimo of Auxerre, Abbot of Sasceium - Cessy-les-Bois, and a New Sermon on I John V, 4-10, 1975, p. 305)

HITS:

Haimo of Auxerre, Homily on 1 John 5:4-10

• [Title] On the exposition by a certain abbot of monks in the territory Auxerre (of the monastery which in the present time is called Sasceium), named Haimo, in the times of the emperor Ludovicus and his son Carolus, an opinion on the letter of John the Evangelist at the passage that reads, Since there are three who give testimony. (Lines 1-5)

• [Homily]"**Since there are three who give testimony on earth**"etc. It posits three testimonies, of which the one is invisible, that is the Spirit, two are visible, that is water and blood. The Spirit, then, offered testimony to the Lord in that way in which it was said above, by appearing over him when he had been baptized. For the water and the blood testified to his humanity when they both flowed from his side when he died on the cross. We read, too, in his passion that "his sweat became like drops of blood running down to earth."And this signifies that by his blood must the whole church be washed. (Lines 66-73)

•"**And the three are one**", not by union of nature, but in operation of ministry. For these two sacraments are so joined to one another that one profits not without the other."**And three there are who speak their testimony in heaven, The Father and The Word and The Holy Spirit**". **Blessed Jerome says that this idea had been taken away by the heretics who, only positing three names of things, Spirit, water, and blood, unfaithfully suppressed the words of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Therefore three bear witness in heaven to the Lord, the Father by sending the Son, the Son, by putting on man the Holy Spirit by cooperating miraculously with the same ineffable plan. For although only the person of the Son put on flesh, nevertheless the whole trinity bears witness to the incarnate Word. And the three are one, for they are one, yet with distinction of persons.** (Lines 73-85)

•"If men's testimony", etc. If, it says, we receive David when he says,"The Lord said to my Lord, 'Sit at my right,'"and again,"You are my son: today I have begotten you,"and if we receive blessed John when

The Witness of God is Greater

he says, "I baptize you in water, he will baptize you in the Holy spirit," much more certainly and securely ought we to take up the testimony of God the Father, "This is my Son," etc. (Lines 85-90)

• Vossianus Latinus Q. 60, folio 1v–2v. Latin edition published by John J. Contreni, *Revue Bénédictine*, 1975:303–320. Translation by Lionel Yaceczko, correspondence, 2019.

Latin:

MS. LEIDEN Bibl. der Rijksuniversiteit Voss. lat. Q. 60, fol. 1v-2v.

• (1-5) De expositione cuiusdam moderni abbatis monachorum in territorio Autisioderensis monasterii quod usque nunc dicitur Sasceium nomine Haimonis temporibus Hludowici imperatoris et filii eius Karoli sententia in epistolam Iohannis evangeliste ad locum Quoniam ires sunt qui testimonium dant.

• (66-73) **Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra** et cetera. Tria poinit testimonia quorum unum est invisibile, hoc est Spiritus, duo visibilia, hoc est aqua et sanguis. Spiritus ergo testimonium perhibuit Domino eo modo quo superius dictum est, super eum baptizatum apparendo. Aqua enim et sanguis testati sunt humanitatem eius quando de latere illius in cruce mortui utrique manaverunt. Legimus etiam in passione eius quod "factus est sudor eius sicut gutte sanguinis decurrentis in terram" Quod significabat sanguine eius universam ecclesiam abluendam esse.

• (73-85) "Et tres unum sunt," non nature unione sed ministerii operatione. Hec enim duo sacramenta ita sibi invicem coniuncta sunt, ut unum sine altero nobis non proficiat. **Et tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in celo, Pater et Verbum et Spiritus sanctus". Hanc sententiam dicit beatus Hieronimus ab hereticis fuisse detractam. Qui tria tantum modo rerum nomina ponentes, Spiritus, aque et sanguinis, Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti vocabula infideliter suppresserunt. Tria ergo in celo testimonium dicunt Domino, Pater Filium mittendo, Filius hominem induendo, Spiritus sanctus eidem ineffabili consilio mirabiliter cooperando. Quamvis enim sola persona Filii carnem induerit, tamen tota trinitas incarnato Verbo attestatur.** "Et res unum sunt," unum enim sunt, personali tamen distinctione.

• (85-90) "Si testimonium hominum" et cetera. Si inquit accipimus David dicentem. "Dixit Dominus Domino meo, sede a dextris meis" et iterum, "Filius meus es tu : ego hodie genui te" si accipimus beatum [2r/2v] Iohannem dicentem, "Ego baptizo vos aqua, ille vos baptizabit Spiritu sancto" multo certius et securius testimonium Dei Patris suscipere debemus, "Hic est Filius meus" et cetera.

• Vossianus Latinus Q. 60, folio 1v–2v. Latin edition published by John J. Contreni, *Revue Bénédictine*, 1975:303–320.

Comments:

• [Contreni] The text, a sermon on I John v, 4-10, was copied onto the flyleaves of LEIDEN Voss. lat. Q. 60, ff. 1v-2v, by a single hand of the late ninth century. After he [Haimo] established the traditional juxtaposition between the resurrection of Christ and the baptism of new Christians, the author of the sermon developed several themes pertinent to baptism such as the new birth in Christ and the victory over the world and the devil which flowed from the sacrament. The most interesting aspect of the text, however, derives from the author's comments (11. 67-84 of the edition presented below) on verses 7-8 of the epistle, the famous Comma Johanneum. ... **The author of the Leiden sermon, a new source for the history of the Comma [1 Jn 5:7] and perhaps the earliest medieval commentator on the question of its validity, shared the opinion attributed in the Middle Ages to Jerome that the Comma was authentic. The sermon's reference**

The Witness of God is Greater

to the Comma, a major text in Trinitarian theology, lends special significance not only to the sermon but also to the question of its author who fully appreciated the implications of the Comma in his exegesis of the concept of the three witnesses. (Contreni, Haimo of Auxerre, Abbot of Sasceium - Cessy-les-Bois, and a New Sermon on I John V, 4-10, 1975, p. 304-305)

Paschasius Radbertus (785–865 AD)

• Saint Paschasius Radbertus (785–865 AD) was a Carolingian theologian and the abbot of Corbie, a monastery in Picardy founded in 657 or 660 by the queen regent Bathilde with a founding community of monks from Luxeuil Abbey. His most well-known and influential work is an exposition on the nature of the Eucharist written around 831, entitled *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*. He was canonized in 1073 by Pope Gregory VII. His feast day is April 26. His works are edited in *Patrologia Latina* vol. 120 (1852) and his important tract on the Eucharist, *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, in a 1969 edition by B. Paulus, published by Brepols (*Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis* 16). Paschasius was an orphan left on the steps of the convent of Notre-Dame de Soissons. He was raised by the nuns there, and became very fond of the abbess, Theodrara. Theodrara was sister of Adalard of Corbie and Wala of Corbie, two monks whom he admired greatly. At a fairly young age, Paschasius left the convent to serve as a monk under Abbot Adalard, at Corbie. There he also met Wala, Adalard's brother and successor.[1] Through the abbotship of both Adalard and Wala, Paschasius focused on the monastic life, spending his time studying and teaching. In 822 he accompanied abbot Adalard into Saxony for the purpose of founding the monastery of New Corvey in Westphalia. When Adalard died in 826, Paschasius helped ensure Wala would become Abbot in his place. After Wala's death in 836 Heddo became abbot. Ratramnus, who may have held the position of teaching master,[2] held opposing views to Paschasius on a number of ecclesiastical issues. Ratramnus wrote a refutation of Paschasius' treatise on the Eucharist, *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, using the same title. In 843 Paschasius succeeded Abbot Isaac, however he resigned his title ten years later to return to his studies.[3] He left Corbie for the nearby monastery of Saint-Riquier, where he lived in voluntary exile for some years. Why he resigned is unknown, however it is likely that his actions were motivated by factional disputes within his monastic community; misunderstandings between himself and the younger monks were likely factors in his decision. He returned to Corbie late in life, and resided in his old monastery until his death in 865.[4] Paschasius' body was first buried at the Church of St. John in Corbie. After numerous reported miracles, the Pope ordered his remains to be removed, and interred in the Church of St. Peter, Corbie.[1] (Paschasius Radbertus. Wikipedia.

<en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paschasius_Radbertus>

HITS:

- **[Exposition in Matthew]** But why does He yield the Spirit, whom He had provided others, but because He is dead? Yet if this would be the only thing, and nothing more wonderful had appeared in Him, never would the **Apostle say: "Because there are three who give testimony on earth."** So that in Christ, because He is God, is Spirit, blood and water. The Spirit surely, whom He yields, and blood and water in His own dead body, hidden by Him in the sacrament against human nature, which flow out for our redemption. (Paschasius Radbertus, *Exposition of Matthew*, book twelve; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, April 2020)
 - **Latin:** Quod si hoc solum esset, et nihil ultra in eo mirabile appareret, nunquam **Apostolus diceret, quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant super terram (I Ioan. V, 7)**, utique Christo quia Deus est, spiritus, sanguis, et aqua. Spiritus prorsus quem emisit, et sanguis et aqua, ipso

The Witness of God is Greater

mortuo quae de latere eius contra naturam humanam in sacramento redemptionis nostrae manarunt. (Paschasius Radbertus, Expositio in Matthaeum. Liber XII; Migne Latina, PL 120.967)

Comment:

- [Translator] When commenting on Matthew 27:54 "Now when the centurion, and they that were with him, watching Jesus, saw the earthquake, and those things that were done, they feared greatly, saying, Truly this was the Son of God." **He makes the remark that the best mark of Jesus divinity was the yielding of his spirit (Matt. 27:50), which also was the chief thing that made the centurion exclaim these words.** Comparing it to Mark 15:39 "And when the centurion, which stood over against him, saw that He so cried out, and gave up the ghost, he said, Truly this man was the Son of God." This is the context for Paschasius' commentary. (Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, April 2020)
- **[Exposition of Psalm 44]** So he said that the King God the Father, from whom are all things, wanting to make a wedding for his King Son, through whom are all things, would declare his nuptial love in the same way, and also the Holy Spirit, who maintains all things. But unlike the inheritance so excellent and so large which he shows in this love, he does not name the bride, except through this sacrament of faith, that she believes perfectly in God the Trinity of the unity, and the unity of the Trinity. Which are one in majesty and one in dominion and one in will. **For which reason in this nuptial love, as witnesses like in a document of dowry, Three are subscribing, Father and Son and Holy Spirit. As also John the Apostle says that there are three on earth giving their testimony to this mystical gift, Spirit, water and blood, and as is also found in the corrected codices: And there are Three who give testimony in heaven (it is evident) Father and Son and Holy Spirit, and these Three are One.** (Paschasius Radbertus, Exposition of Psalm 44, book 2; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, April 2020)
 - **Latin:** Dicebat enim, ut rex Deus Pater ex quo omnia, volens facere nuptias Filio suo regi, per quem omnia, declararet in hoc eodem carmine nuptiali, etiam Spiritum sanctum, qui continet omnia. Alias autem talis tantaque haereditas quae in hoc carmine monstratur, non attitatur sponsae, nisi per hoc fidei sacramentum, ut perfecto credatur Deus Trinitas unitatis, et unitas Trinitatis. Quorum una maiestas, unumque regnum, et una voluntas. **Qua de causa in hoc carmine nuptiarum, testes quasi in libello dotis, tres ascribuntur Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus. (1023C) Sic itaque ait Ioannes apostolus, quod tres sint in terris qui testimonium dant pro his mysticis muneribus, Spiritus, aqua et sanguis, et sicut in emendatioribus codicibus invenitur etiam: Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelis, videlicet, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt (I Ioan. V, 7).** (Paschasius Radbertus, Expositio in Psalmum XLIV. Liber 2; Migne Latina, PL 120.1023)

Comment:

- [Translator] When commenting on Psalm 45:1 (Vulgate 44:2) "My heart brings up a good word; I speak my things of a King. **My tongue is the pen of a ready writer.**" **He explains the meaning of the Psalmist that a good word refers to Christ, the Father's Word, and proves this with scripture.** Then he explains that the Psalmist refers to the Holy Spirit as his tongue, pointing to his staying on the Apostles as a fiery tongue on Pentecost. This is the context for Paschasius' commentary. (Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, April 2020)

The Witness of God is Greater

- [Translator] I've translated 'emendatioribus codicibus' as 'corrected codices'. It could also be translated 'amended codices'. It's not entirely clear if he thinks the longer version is better or the shorter. But it is clear that he is aware of differences in the codices. And also that on a theological level he completely agrees with the content of the verse(s) [I John 5:7,8]. And I tend to think that Paschasius prefers the longer version, which is why he adds 'videlicet' - 'how clear!' to his quote. (Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, April 2020)

Metrophanes of Smyrna (circa 870)

- Metrophanes of Smyrna: metropolitan of that city (9th century). He was born probably at Constantinople. Baronius, *Annales*, an. 843, n. 2 and 3, following John the Curopalate, reports that his mother had been the woman who, by a payment of money, had been successfully persuaded by the adversaries of Patriarch Methodius to accuse the latter of having formerly violated her. Nothing is known either about Metrophanes' childhood or about his youth. He was already Metropolitan of Smyrna when St. Ignatius was deposed in 857. He showed himself an implacable adversary of Photius and placed himself at the head of the bishops who remained faithful to Ignatius; they excommunicated the intruder, who excommunicated them in turn (Baronius, an. 859, n. 54, and 860, n. 1). This courageous attitude earned Metrophanes the harsh attention of Michael III. This prince had him first thrown in prison, then exiled. After the first deposition of Photius (867), Metrophanes was able to retake possession of his see. He attended the Eighth Ecumenical Council (869) and took an active part in its deliberations. During the fourth session (13 October), he put forward the motion of the patrician Baanes, the imperial commissary, demanding that two bishops, ordained by Methodius and partisans of Photius, be introduced into the assembly so that they might there learn the reason for their condemnation. The pontifical legates were opposed to this, but he ended up having his way. During the same session, he professed that he himself had been momentarily deceived by Photius who pretended to have been recognized by the pope and by the eastern patriarchs (Mansi, *Concil.*, vol. X, cols. 55-73, *passim*; Baronius, *Annales*, an. 869, n. 27-28). During the sixth session (25 October), he gave an important speech and refuted the arguments of Zacharias, metropolitan of Chalcedon, a partisan of Photius (Mansi, *ibid.*, cols. 89 sq.). At the end of the council, he was one of two bishops designated to read solemnly, at Hagia Sophia, the fathers' profession of faith (Mansi, col. 179 A; Baronius, an. 869, n. 29-30). In 870, Metrophanes wrote, at the request of the patrician Manuel, Logothete of the Course or prefect of the imperial posts, an exposé of Photius's conduct (Mansi, col. 413-420; Baronius, an. 870, n. 44-51). It was perhaps in the years following this that Photius wrote an ambiguous letter to Metrophanes (published by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ss. Patris Photii ... Epistolae XLV*, St. Petersburg, 1896, pp. 18-19). Upon the death of St. Ignatius, Metrophanes did not want to recognize Photius as patriarch and refused, under the pretext of illness, to attend the council held during the winter of 879-880 to pacify the Church. After the third warning, John VIII's legates declared him cut off from the Church (Mansi, vol. XVII A-XVIII A, cols. 496 sq.). At this council of 879 there was seated a certain Nicetas with the title of Metropolitan of Smyrna; he must have been ordained by Photius during Metrophanes' exile. All traces of Metrophanes are lost after 880. The date of his death is unknown, nor is it known if he was able to retake possession of his see after Photius's second deposition (886). Certain manuscripts of his works give him the title of saint and even that of martyr; nevertheless, no service seems to have been composed for his veneration.

- Metrophanes is the author of the canons to the Holy Trinity that are sung in the office of Sunday (Fabricius, *Bibliotheca graeca*, 1722, vol. v, p. 49; A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. I, ms. 249, p. 320, vol. II, mss. 257, 434, and 468, pp. 383, 548, and 559); from him are also sticharia on the same subject (A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *op. cit.*, vol. II, ms. 434, p. 548); diverse hymns (*ibid.*, vol. II, ms. 106 and 342, pp. 118, 464); canons and sticharia in honor of the Holy Virgin (Theotocarion, ed. Venice, 1808, pp. 15, 47, 65, 91, and 105; A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, vol. II, ms. 435, pp. 547-548). He also left an instruction on the manner of transcribing hymns (A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, vol. II, ms. 106, p. 188).

- R. Janin's article on Metrophanes of Smyrna in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, vol. 10/2 (Paris, 1923), cols. 1627-1628:

The Witness of God is Greater

<archive.org/stream/dictionnairedet10vaca#page/162>. <bekkos.wordpress.com/2018/08/10/a-quick-translation-of-an-article-on-metrophanes-of-smyrna>

HITS:

- Canon for the Trinity.
- Ode i. Mode 1. N/M (Glorified in strength)
- Holy Trinity, our God, have mercy on us and save us.
- The Seraphim unceasingly glorify **the One source in three hypostases**, unoriginate, everlasting, creator of all, incomprehensible; and every tongue faithfully sings hymns to honor the Trinity.
- Midnight Office on Sunday, July 4
 - Κανών Τριαδικός.
 - Ὡδή α΄.
 - Ἦχος α΄. Σοῦ ἡ τροπαιοῦχος.
 - Ἁγία Τριάς, ὁ Θεός, ἐλέησον καὶ σῶσον ἡμᾶς.
 - **Μίαν τρισυπόστατον ἀρχὴν**, τὰ Σεραφεῖμ ἀσιγήτως δοξάζουσιν, ἄναρχον αἰδίον, ποιητικὴν ἀπάντων ἀκατάληπτον· ἦν καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα, πιστῶς γεραίρει τοῖς ἕξμασιν.
 - Μεσονυκτικόν - Κυρ, 4 Ιουλ

- Canon for the Trinity.
- Ode iii.
- Mode 1. N/M (As You are the only One.)
- Holy Trinity, our God, have mercy on us and save us.
- You revealed in figure the unadulterated theology, when You appeared clearly to Abraham of old: Godhead, one nature, three hypostases. O God the sole ruler and triple Sun, we faithfully extol You.
- Holy Trinity, our God, have mercy on us and save us.
- O Father, the Son was divinely begotten of You, without change; He shone forth from You, light from light, in no way different. And the divine Spirit proceeded from You as light. **We faithfully worship and glorify the glory of one God in three hypostases.**
- Midnight Office on Sunday, July 4
 - Κανών Τριαδικός.
 - Ὡδή γ΄.
 - Ἦχος α΄. Ὁ μόνος εἰδῶς.
 - Ἁγία Τριάς, ὁ Θεός, ἐλέησον καὶ σῶσον ἡμᾶς.
 - Σὺ πάλαι σαφῶς τῷ Ἀβραάμ, ὡς ὠφθης τρισυπόστατος, μοναδικός τε φύσει Θεότητος, θεολογίας τὸ ἀκραιφνέστατον, τυπικῶς ἐνέφηνας· καὶ πιστῶς ὑμνοῦμέν σε, τὸν μονάρχη Θεόν, καὶ τρισήλιον.
 - Ἁγία Τριάς, ὁ Θεός, ἐλέησον καὶ σῶσον ἡμᾶς.
 - Ἐκ σοῦ γεννηθεὶς θεοπρεπῶς, ἀρρέυστως Πάτερ ἔλαμψε, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, Υἱὸς ἀπαράλλακτος, καὶ Πνεῦμα θεῖον, φῶς ἐκπεπόρευται· **καὶ μιᾶς Θεότητος, αἴγλην τρισυπόστατον, προσκυνοῦμεν πιστῶς καὶ δοξάζομεν.**
 - Μεσονυκτικόν - Κυρ, 4 Ιουλ

<www.agesinitiatives.com/dcs/public_2021_0108/dcs/p/s/2021/07/04/mo/gr-en/se.m07.d04.mo.pdf>

Comments:

- [Bucur] The hymns of the Sunday Midnight Office, **composed in the ninth century by Metrophanes of Smyrna**, popularized a Trinitarian reading. (Bucur, "Isaiah 6 in Hymnography and Iconography" in pro Ecclesia Vol 23-N3: A Journal of Catholic and Evangelical Theology, 2014, p. 316)

Aeneas of Paris (d. 870)

- Aeneas of Paris (died 27 December 870) was bishop of Paris from 858 to 870. He is best known as the author of one of the controversial treatises against the Byzantines ("Greeks"), called forth by the encyclical

The Witness of God is Greater

letters of Photius. His comprehensive *Liber adversus Græcos*[1] deals with the procession of the Holy Spirit, the marriage of the clergy, fasting, the *consignatio infantium*, the clerical tonsure, the Roman primacy, and the elevation of deacons to the see of Rome. **He declares that the accusations brought by the Greeks against the Latins are "superfluous questions having more relation to secular matters than to spiritual." The work is mainly a collection of quotations or "sentences," from Greek and Latin Church Fathers, the former translated.** (Aeneas of Paris. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aeneas_of_Paris>)

• [Fresco] Apologetic literature targeting various heretical tendencies in Byzantine theology is a clear mirror of the growing and increasingly selective knowledge of Greek patristic thought among the upper echelons of the Western clergy. Sustained confrontation with the Eastern dogmatic tradition gave birth to various literary genres, from the florilegia [arranged quotes from the fathers] to the so-called "Contra errores Graecorum", all with the same aim: to defeat the Greeks on their own ground. In this regard, among the most important textual source groups are the conciliar acts and related documents especially the ecumenical ones, which tend to produce a substantial amount of patristic lore. The earliest instances of such documents are already surprisingly well-informed dossiers [collections].¹⁵ While seventh and eighth century Roman florilegia were most likely prepared with the help of the Greek monks in the city, Western clerics later became involved in the process. **On October 23, 867, Pope Nicholas I requested the assistance of Hincmar and all other Frankish bishops, who were asked to combat the errors of the Greeks by writing treatises refuting them.¹⁶ By showing that Greeks not only question the Romans, but, by extension, Western Christian practices in general, he involved the Frankish clergy in the conflict. We do not know how many of the bishops responded to Nicholas' call to arms: the surviving sources (Aeneas, Bishop of Paris' *Liber adversus Graecos* and Ratramnus of Corbie's *Contra Graecorum errores*) may represent all or part of the response. Aeneas' and Ratramnus' contributions are for the most part compilations from all sorts of sources, Latin and Greek, as if to stress their ability to combat Greek heresy with Greek authority, and to demonstrate that the Greek Fathers were on their side.** (Fresco, *Translating the Middle Ages*, 2016, p. 167)

HIT:

- [Against the Greeks] Also in the same book, [S. Athanasius in the book *Holy Trinity*]: That the Holy Spirit is neither the Father nor the Son, but comes into being from their united nature, proceeds from God the Father, and [the Holy Spirit] he receives [the things of the Father] through the Son of God. **Blessed John the Evangelist expresses himself in his letter: "There are three who bear witness in heaven: the Father and the Word and the Holy Spirit, and in Christ Jesus they are one." (1 John 5:7)** 44 [51]. For the mere fact that he claims of all and two [of the Father and the Son]: "They are one", what else is to be understood except that God the Father, in the its [divine] nature, it is also called "Lord", as well it is called "Spirit"; and God the Son, equal to him in deity, is he also called "Lord" and "Spirit"? But also the Paraclete Spirit, as it is God, he is also "Lord" in his [divine] nature, and also "Spirit". 45 [52]. See therefore how in divinity they [the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit] are in everything and for one thing only, while in the names of the Are three people? In fact, as there are three, what else should one do to understand that it has been revealed, except that the Father, true, unique, he is the one who begot, and for this he cannot be identified with the one who was raised by he; and the only Son, who did not generate, is not the Father; as well as this same Holy Spirit, who is he neither the Father nor the Son? 46 [53]. Again: the one who did not generate is it was not even generated - in fact the parent remains distinct in the person, as distinct in the person is the only begotten born of him - is different and is the Spirit Holy, certainly distinct also in the person, as I have

The Witness of God is Greater

already pointed out according to the Scripture, since not this Holy Spirit is neither the Father nor the Son: he too it is fully from the one nature. 47 [54]. Therefore, in the one divinity, common is the name to them, as in the light of the Gospel Scripture the Son testifies, saying: "He proceeds from the Father", and goes on to say: "He will take mine." "[Quote from De Trinitate Book 1 : CCSL 9:14] (Aeneas of Paris, Against the Greeks, Chapter 3; TRANSLATED BY GOOGLE VIA ITALIAN BY DATTRINO)

- **Latin:** Item idem in eodem libro [S. Athanasius in libro de unitate Trinitatis]: Quod Spiritus sanctus nec Pater sit nec Filius, sed de natura unita existens, procedat de Deo Patre, et accipiat de Dei Filio « **Beatus Iohannes evangelista dicit in Epistola sua: Tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in coelo, Pater et Verbum et Spiritus, et in Christo Iesu unum sunt (I Ioan. V)** . Non tamen unus est, quia non est in his una persona. (0692B) Nam unum quod dixit de utrisque, quid aliud intelligitur quam quod Deus Pater in natura divinitatis idem ipse dicatur et Dominus, idem ipse sit et Spiritus: et Filius Deus, idemque sit in divinitate et Dominus, idemque sit et Spiritus? sed et Spiritus paraclitus Deus, idemque sit et Dominus in natura deitatis, idem sit et Spiritus? Vides quia in deitate et in substantia plenitudinis per omnia unum sunt, et in omnibus personarum tres sunt. Nam quod tres sunt, quid aliud sentitur fuisse, quam Pater verus unus, vel solus qui genuit, idem non sit qui et unigenitus ab ipso est? Et Filius unus qui non genuit sicut ipse a Patre genitus, Pater non sit? et hic Spiritus sanctus alius sit, qui nec Pater nec Filius est, qui nex genuit nec genitus? (0692C) cum alius sit in persona qui genuit, et alter sit in persona qui unigenitus ab ipso est, et alius adaeque in persona, ut dixi, secundum divinam Scripturam, qui nec Pater nec Filius est: hic est Spiritus sanctus, sed plane de unita natura est: ideo in deitate unita, unitum divinitatis nomen est, sicut in claritate evangelicae Scripturae, de Spiritu paraclito Filius testatur, dicens: De Patre procedit (Ioan. XV, 26) ; et sic persecutus est: Et de meo accipiet (Ioan. XVI, 14) . Et ideo ubi personae requiruntur, propria nomina [per haec] distinguuntur. Ubi autem deitas poscitur, unitum nomen [in his] indicatur. Quoniam sumus ad nomina personarum pluraliter dictum demonstratur; ac per hoc in deitate unita unum sunt, et in nominibus personarum tres sunt. » (Aeneas Parisiensis, Adversus Graecos, III; Migne Latina, PL 121.692)

Joannes Scotus Erigena (c. 800 – c. 877)

- John Scotus Eriugena[a] or Johannes Scotus Erigena[b] or John the Scot (c. 800 – c. 877)[3] was an Irish Catholic Neoplatonist philosopher, theologian and poet of the Early Middle Ages. Bertrand Russell dubbed him "the most astonishing person of the ninth century". The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy states he "is the most significant Irish intellectual of the early monastic period. He is generally recognized to be both the outstanding philosopher (in terms of originality) of the Carolingian era and of the whole period of Latin philosophy stretching from Boethius to Anselm."
- He wrote a number of works, but is best known today for having written *De Divisione Naturae* (The Division of Nature), or *Periphyseon*, which has been called the "final achievement" of ancient philosophy, a work which "synthesizes the philosophical accomplishments of fifteen centuries." The principal concern of *De Divisione Naturae* is to unfold from φύσις, which the Scot defines as "all things which are and which are not", the entire integrated structure of reality. Eriugena achieves this through a dialectical method elaborated through *exitus* and *reditus*, that interweaves the structure of the human mind and reality as produced by the λόγος of God.
- He succeeded Alcuin of York (c. 735–804) as head of the Palace School at Aachen. He also translated and made commentaries upon the work of Dionysius the Areopagite, and **was one of the few Western European philosophers of his day who knew Greek, having studied in Byzantine Athens**. A later medieval tradition recounts that Eriugena was stabbed to death by his students at Malmesbury with their pens, although this may rather be allegorical.
- John Scotus Eriugena. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Scotus_Eriugena>

The Witness of God is Greater

- **De Divisione Naturae ("The Division of Nature")** is the title given by Thomas Gale to his edition (1681) of the work originally titled by 9th-century theologian Johannes Scotus Eriugena Periphyseon.[1] The work was probably carried out beginning in the early 860s and completed around 866–67. This is based on a dedication in the book identifying as frater (brother) Wulfad, who was made a bishop in 866, making it unlikely that Eriugena would have used so casual a reference after that elevation. The work was not widely circulated in the author's lifetime. Eriugena was assisted by one, possibly two other persons in writing the book, based on the presence of margin notes indicating the penmanship of two separate persons. One of these is believed to have been Eriugena himself, while the script indicates that the second writer was a fellow Irishman. The work is arranged in five books. The original plan was to devote one book to each of the four divisions, but the topic of creation required expansion. The form of exposition is that of dialogue; the method of reasoning is the syllogism. Natura is the name for the universal, the totality of all things, containing in itself being and non-being. It is the unity of which all special phenomena are manifestations.
- The Division of Nature has been called the final achievement of ancient philosophy, a work which "synthesizes the philosophical accomplishments of fifteen centuries and appears as the final achievement of ancient philosophy." [10] It is presented, like Alcuin's book, as a dialogue between Master and Pupil. Eriugena anticipates Thomas Aquinas, who said that one cannot know and believe a thing at the same time. Eriugena explains that reason is necessary to understand and interpret revelation. "Authority is the source of knowledge", but the reason of mankind is the norm by which all authority is judged.
- De divisione naturae. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/De_divisione_naturae>

• [Carnes] One reason Gregory was not taken up into the theological stream in the West is that he was little translated into Latin. John Scotus Eriugena (c. 800–c. 877) should be greatly credited for the influence Gregory did have. Not only was Eriugena himself influenced by Gregory, but he also translated 'On the Making of the Human' into Latin. Even more: He also translated many of the works of fifth-century thinker Pseudo-Dionysius, whose writings bear the mark of Gregory's influence. Much of Gregory's influence in the West comes through Pseudo-Dionysius by way of Eriugena. (N. Carnes, Beauty: A Theological Engagement with Gregory of Nyssa, 2014, p. 15)

HITS:

- A. I now see the reply of the holy theologian [Gregory] to be completely supported by the truth. For, as has been shown, whether in the Divine Nature of the human, the name of a relation cannot be applied to a substance or essence. **But I should like to hear from you, clearly and succinctly, whether all the categories - for they are then in number - [can truly and properly be predicated] of the supreme One Essence in Three Substances of the Divine Goodness, and of the Three Substances in the same One Essence.** (John Scotus Eriugena, The Division of Nature, Book 1; Translated by I. P. Sheldon-Williams and JJ O'Meara, 1987)
 - **Latin:** DISC. Jam video praedicti sancti Theologi responsum omnino veritate suffultum. Non enim potest, ut suasum est, sive in divina, sive in humana natura, relationis nomen in substantia seu essentia recipi. **Nosse tamen aperte et breviter per te velim, utrum omnes categoriae, cum sint numero decem, de summa divinae bonitatis una essentia in tribus substantiis, (0458A) et de tribus substantiis in eadem una essentia, vere proprieque possint praedicari.** (John Scotus Eriugena, De divisione naturae, Book 1; Migne Latina, PL 122.458)
- A. Concerning the difference between the Divine Essence and the Substances the divine word handed down from the Holy Fathers of both tongues, that is, the Greek and the Latin, has instructed me. St. Dionysius the Areopagite and Gregory the Theologian and their most subtle commentator Maximus say that there is a difference between οὐσία, that is, essence, and ὑπόστασις, that is substance; understanding by οὐσία that one and simple Nature of the Divine Goodness, and by ὑπόστασις the proper and individual Substance of each of the Persons. **For they say: μίαν οὐσίαν ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν, that is One Essence in Three Substances.** Also St. Augustine and the other Holy

The Witness of God is Greater

Fathers who write in Latin expound their belief in the Holy Trinity by saying: One Substance in Three Persons, indicating the Unity of the Divine Nature by the name of Substance, and the threefold property of the Substances by the names of the three Persons; and this is accepted by the modern writers among the Greeks too ; for they say : μίαν ὑπόστασιν, that is One Substance, and three πρόσωπα, that is, Three Persons. For all believe the same thing even if they express it in different terms. **So, following the Greeks we say: The οὐσία of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit is one and the same, but the ὑπόστασις is not one and the same.** (John Scotus Eriugena, The Division of Nature, Book 2; Translated by I. P. Sheldon-Williams and JJ O'Meara, 1987)

- **Latin:** DISC. De differentia divinae essentiae atque substantiae docuit me theologia ex sanctis Patribus utriusque linguae, graecae videlicet atque latinae, tradita. Siquidem sanctus Dionysius Areopagita, et Gregorius Theologus, eorumque elegantissimus expositor Maximus, differentiam esse dicunt inter οὐσίαν, id est essentiam, et (0613B) ὑπόστασιν, id est substantiam; οὐσίαν, quidem intelligentes unicam illam ac simplicem divinae bonitatis naturam, ὑπόστασιν vero singularum personarum propriam et individuum substantiam. **Dicunt enim μίαν οὐσίαν ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν, hoc est, unam essentiam in tribus substantiis.** Sanctus quoque Augustinus, ceterique sancti Patres latialiter scribentes, fidem sanctae Trinitatis exprimunt, dicentes unam substantiam in tribus personis, significantes unitatem divinae naturae eo nomine, quod est substantia, trinam vero substantiarum proprietatem trium personarum vocabulis. Quod etiam moderni Graecorum recipiunt; dicunt enim μίαν ὑπόστασιν, id est unam substantiam, et τρία πρόσωπα, id est tres personas. Una eademque fides est in omnibus, (0613C) quamvis significationum diversitas videatur. Itaque secundum Graecos dicimus, una eademque est οὐσία Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, sed non una eademque est ὑπόστασις. Habet enim Pater suam propriam ὑπόστασιν, quae neque Filii neque Spiritus sancti est, sed solius Patris; similiter Filius suam propriam ὑπόστασιν, quae neque Patris neque Spiritus sancti est, sed solius Filii. Eodem modo de Spiritu sancto dicendum, propriam ὑπόστασιν habere, quae neque Patris est, neque Filii, sed solius Spiritus sancti. Neque aliud praeter hoc latina vox edocet, tres personas in una substantia pronuntians. **Substat ergo Pater per se, substat Filius, substat Spiritus sanctus, et tres substantiae in una essentia substant, quoniam tres unum sunt.** (John Scotus Eriugena, De divisione naturae, Book 2; Migne Latina, PL 122.613)

Hincmar of Rheims (806-882 AD)

- Hincmar (/ˈhɪŋkmarːr/; French: [ɛ̃kmarɛ]; Latin: Hincmarus; 806 – 21 December 882), archbishop of Reims, was a Frankish jurist and theologian, as well as the friend, advisor and propagandist of Charles the Bald. He belonged to a noble family of northern Francia.

- [Early life] Hincmar was born in 806 to a distinguished family of the West Franks. Destined to the monastic life, he was brought up at Saint-Denis under the direction of the abbot Hilduin (died 844), who, when appointed court chaplain in 822, brought him to the court of the emperor Louis the Pious.[2] There he became acquainted with the political as well as the ecclesiastical administration of the empire. When Hilduin was disgraced in 830 for having joined the party of Lothair I, Hincmar accompanied him into exile at Corvey in Saxony. Hincmar used his influence with the emperor on behalf of the banished abbot, and not without success: for he stood in high favour with Louis the Pious, having always been a faithful and loyal adherent. He returned with Hilduin to Saint-Denis when the abbot was reconciled with the emperor and remained faithful to the Louis during his struggle with his sons.[3]

- [Reign of Charles the Bald] After the death of Louis the Pious (840) Hincmar supported Charles the Bald (see Capitularies of Charles the Bald), and received from him the abbacies of Nôtre-Dame at Compiègne and Saint-Germerde-Fly. In 845 Hincmar obtained through the king's support the archbishopric of Reims, and this choice was confirmed at the Synod of Beauvais (April 845). He was consecrated archbishop on 3 May 845; in 847 Pope Leo IV sent him the pallium.[3] His authoritative and energetic will inspired, and in great measure directed, the policy of the West Frankish kingdom until his death. As an expert on government and court ceremonial, an aggressive advocate of ecclesiastical privilege[4] Hincmar took an active part in all the great political and religious affairs of his time, and was especially

The Witness of God is Greater

energetic in defending and extending the rights of the church and of the metropolitans in general, and of the metropolitan of the church of Reims in particular. In the resulting conflicts, in which his personal interest was in question, he displayed great activity and a wide knowledge of canon law, but did not scruple to resort to disingenuous interpretation of texts.

- [Gottschalk_and_predestinarianism] Hincmar's first encounter was with Gottschalk, whose predestinarian doctrines claimed to be modelled on those of St Augustine. Hincmar placed himself at the head of the party that regarded Gottschalk's doctrines as heretical, and succeeded in procuring the arrest and imprisonment of his adversary (849). For a part at least of his doctrines Gottschalk found ardent defenders, such as Lupus of Ferrières, Prudentius of Troyes, the deacon Florus, and Amolo of Lyons. Through the energy and activity of Hincmar the theories of Gottschalk were condemned at the second council of Quierzy (853) and Valence (855), and the decisions of these two synods were confirmed at the synods of Langres and Savonnières, near Toul (859). To refute the predestinarian heresy, Hincmar composed his *De praedestinatione Dei et libero arbitrio*, and against certain propositions advanced by Gottschalk on the Trinity he wrote a treatise called *De una et non trina deitate*. Gottschalk died in prison in 868.

- Hincmar. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hincmar>

- [Steinová] In the mid-ninth century, right in the middle of the predestination controversy, a religious dispute broke out over the correct way to address the Trinity. The new controversy involved two contestants who had already been (and still were) pitted against each other in the debate over predestination : Archbishop Hincmar of Reims (845–882) and the monk Gottschalk of Orbais (c. 808-c. 869). The prelude to the new dispute should be located in the early 850s of the ninth century, when Hincmar forbade the singing of hymns in his diocese that contained the liturgical formula "trina deitas" (« trine deity »). The archbishop considered it to be a dangerous term that implied the existence of three gods. Gottschalk, not amenable to episcopal authority, least of all to the authority of Hincmar, defended the use of this liturgical formula. To his mind, there were good (grammatical) reasons to use the expression "trina deitas", since "trina" did not mean « three » but denoted the unity of three different parts, which was, Gottschalk maintained, in line with the orthodox view of the Trinity. The church fathers had used the expression "trina deitas", he argued, and the term even occurred in the Acts of the Third Council of Constantinople. Gottschalk wrote several essays on [PAGE 244] the subject in which he opposed Hincmar's position on the matter. In 853, at the Council of Soissons, the issue was for the first time debated, but discussion broke off prematurely. Sometime after the council, between 855 and 857, Hincmar responded to Gottschalk's challenge with a treatise called "De una et non trina deitate", in which he attacked Gottschalk and his « blasphemies » severely. The treatise was addressed to the « beloved children of the Catholic church » and to Hincmar's co-ministers to warn them against Gottschalk's errors. (Steinová, E., & Renswoude, *The annotated Gottschalk: Critical signs and control of heterodoxy in the Carolingian age*, 2017, p. 243-244)

- [Davis] In one of the very few essays in English on **Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims**, Eleanor Shipley Duckett calls him **a prince of the Church, a statesman, an administrator, a scholar who rises far above the other figures she surveys and who stands out in the company of Charles the Great and Pope Nicholas I in the historical records of the ninth century.**¹ His long life, from his birth in northern France in 806, his entry into the monastery of St. Denis in 814, his consecration as archbishop in 845, to his death in 882 at Epernay while fleeing from the Danish invasion, was one long series of combats calling for a variety of talents. He revealed a deep knowledge of canon law in his various ecclesiastical disputes with recalcitrant clergy and laity, an astute diplomatic talent in his attempts to knit together the rapidly unraveling unity of the empire, a broad but unoriginal scholarship in his theological controversies over predestination and the Trinity which brought him to grips with the leading thinkers of the Carolingian renaissance, especially the redoubtable Saxon Gottschalk, monk of Orbais. It is with this last controversy that this paper will be concerned. (L. Davis, *Hincmar of Rheims as a Theologian of the Trinity*, 1971, p. 455)

- [Davis] Hincmar's book "De una et non trina deitate" represents an example of the work of a busy Carolingian bishop, in a time of change and evident decay, holding the line on all fronts - for the unity of an empire plagued by dissension within and attack from without, for the traditional episcopal government against the centralizing papacy of Nicholas the Great, for the faith of his fathers against, in his opinion, the novelties of an unfrocked monk. (L. Davis, *Hincmar of Rheims as a Theologian of the Trinity*, 1971, p. 456)

The Witness of God is Greater

• [Davis] Thus grounded in Scripture, Hincmar embarks on his refutation. The chief characteristic of his method, as all his critics have pointed out scornfully, is the heaping up of apposite texts culled from the Fathers. In this he is indefatigable. **In all, he quotes some twenty-five authors 423 times.** St. Augustine whom he counsels Gottschalk to hear and hear again heads the list with some 123 quotations from twenty-nine works, principally, of course, the *De Trinitate*. St. Ambrose follows with eighty-nine citations from his often repeated hymns, his *De fide*, *De Spiritu sancto*, and the *Liber de poenitentia*. **What passed for the works of St. Athanasius are represented by thirty-six quotations from four books.** Gregory the Great contributed thirty-three citations from ten works, especially the sixteenth Homily on Ezechiel; Leo the Great, twenty-two, principally Letter IV to Turibius; Boethius, twenty-eight, from two works, his *De Trinitate* and Letter to John of Antioch; Jerome, eighteen, from five works, particularly Letter LVII to Damasus. Other authors are cited less often: Hilary and Sophronius of Jerusalem eight times each; Celestine six, especially Letter VI to John of Antioch; Bede six; Prosper of Aquitaine four; Theophilus of Antioch three. Near contemporaries like Alcuin and Prudentius of Troyes appear too, one four times, the other once. The popes, Pelagius and Gelasius, figure twice each. Poets and grammarians too are pressed in the service of theology; Sedulius once, Prudentius twice, and Aratorten times; while Donatus and Priscian are only mentioned. Proclus of Constantinople, the Liturgy of St. Basil, and Peter of Nicomedia are all cited once. Besides, he mentions without explicit quotation Denis the Areopagite, Cyprian, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory Nazianzen - whom he quotes through St. Augustine - John Chrysostom, Timothy and Cyril of Alexandria, and Epiphanius. In all likelihood, **Hincmar had the works of these theologians before him and could presume that they were available also to his monastic readers.** For he comments at one point that the weight of tradition is on his side **“as anyone who so wishes may easily find out in the aforementioned books of those thinkers”** (Latin: *sicut in me moratis eorum libris qui volet sine difficultate praevallet invenire*). [Migne Latina, PL 125.489] At this spot in his argument he has already mentioned a considerable library. (L. Davis, *Hincmar of Rheims as a Theologian of the Trinity*, 1971, p. 459-460)

• [Hincmar] **By these testimonies of orthodox thinkers, who supported their opinions with Gospel truth, apostolical authority, and the predictions of the law and prophets (as anyone who so wishes may easily find out in the aforementioned books of those thinkers),** it is made absolutely clear that the godhead which is the unity of the Trinity, should not be understood, believed, or said to be triple in persons as Godescalc blasphemously says. (Hincmar, *De una et non trina deitate*; Migne Latina, 125.489; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, August 2020)

Hincmar Quotes De Trinitate Book 1 (wherein is 1 John 5:7)

- [Hincmar] **St. Athanasius in the first book of the Trinity:** “You, the only God the Father and [only-begotten] Son and Holy Spirit, you have declared us your divinity and you have revered the indivisible glory of your sacrosanct unique divine nature, and you have shown us the absolute eternity of your Trinity, for this I have believed to do a very useful work because your truth, made clear, shine forth, and the blindness of heretics, made manifest, becomes known to all.” [De Trinitate, book 1] (Hincmar of Rheims, *The one Godhead, not three*; Translated by Lorenzo Datrino, 1994)
 - **Latin: Sanctus Athanasius dicit in capite libri primi de Trinitate:** « Tu unus Deus Pater, et unigenitus Dei Filius, Deus Spiritus sanctus, qui unam deitatem nobis declarasti, et sacrosanctae solius divinitatis indivisam gloriam revelasti, et perfectam gloriam Trinitatis tuam sempiternam plenitudinem demonstrasti. Ideo optimum duxi, ut tua veritas patefacta claresceret, et haeticorum detecta caecitas innotesceret. (0543D) [De Trinitate, Book 1.1; CCSL 9:3; Migne Latina, PL 62.237B] (Hincmarus Rhemensis, *De una et non trina deitate*; Migne Latina, PL 125.543)
- [Hincmar] **In the following manner, Athanasius in the first book on the Trinity:** “This is, I would say, the true formula of faith, in our conflict with the heretics, and this is also the reason for the victory in the clarity of Catholics. What does the fundamental divine commandment mean: Go and baptize all peoples in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit? Listen. In that marvelous and sovereign precept, in which all the sacraments in relation to the divine Trinity are included in strict union, in having begun the formula with the expression in the name, he evidently wanted to declare only one divinity in the Trinity, and having continued with

The Witness of God is Greater

the words of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit he intended to distinguish, for each single name, the single Persons.”(Hincmar of Rheims, *The one Godhead, not three*; Translated by Lorenzo Dattrino, 1994)

- o **Latin: Hoc modo Athanasius in libro primo de Trinitate:** « Haec est, inquit, materia formulae in collisione haereticorum, et haec tituli victoria in absolute catholicorum, quam significat principale mandatum Dei: Euntes baptizate omnes gentes in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti (Matth. XXVIII, 19) . Audi in hoc admirabile et regale decretum, in quo omne sacramentum in deitate Trinitatis uniter continetur. (0486B) Qui dixit in nomine, evidenter unam deitatem in Trinitate consistere declaravit: et quod persecutus est, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti, per singula nomina, singulas personas inesse distinxit. » [De Trinitate, book 1; CCSL 9:5; Migne Latina, PL 62.238] (Hincmarus Rhemensis, *De una et non trina deitate*; Migne Latina, PL 125.486)

Codex Ulfensis (800-899 AD)

• **[Houghton]** Codex Ulfensis. Latter part of New Testament (pacr). Copied in the ninth century, possibly in St Gall. Minuscule script. (Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*, 2017, p. 278)

HITS:

• 1 John 5:6-8

This is he that came by water and blood,
Jesus Christ, not in water only, but in water and blood.
And the Spirit which testifies that Christ is the truth. **And three
There are who testify Spirit & water and blood. And these three are one.
Since in heaven there are three the Father, Word
Spirit and these three are one.**

[5] Hic est qui venit per aquam & sanguine

[6] IHS CRS. non in aqua solu. sed in aqua & sanguine.

[7] & SPS est qui testificatur quo XRS est veritas. **Quia tres**

[8] sunt qui testimonium dant SPS & aqua et sanguin. & tres unum sunt.

[9] Sicut in caelo tres sunt pater verbum

[10] SPS et tres unum sunt. (f. 187v, Lines 5-10; London, British Library: Ms. Add. 11852, <www.stgallplan.org/stgallmss/viewItem.do?ark=p21198-zz002971c4&pageArk=p21198-zz00297gbw&xmllstylesheet=TEITranscription.xml&fileId=>>)

• **Jerome's Prologue** :”*Prologue of the blessed Jerome the Presbyter to the VII canonical epistles*”(Latin: Incipit prologus beati Hieronymi presbyteri in vii epistolas canonicas) (f. 169r, <www.stgallplan.org/stgallmss/viewItem.do?pageArk=p21198-zz00297f28&ark=p21198-zz002971c4>>)

The Life of St Andrew the Fool (circa 650-950 AD)

• [Nikephoros : Epilogue] I, Nikephoros [a priest at St Sophia], by the mercy of God the Almighty counted among the priests of the Great Church in this Queen of cities named after the Wisdom of God, wrote this wonderful and widely praised Life of our venerable Father Andrew, now among the saints, putting down in this book partly what I have seen with my own eyes, partly what I have learnt from the renowned Epiphanius who became Archbishop here [Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople (520-535 AD)], thanks to the grace and benevolence of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be the glory and the dominion for ever and ever. Amen. (Lennart Rydén, *The Life of St Andrew the Fool* Vol. 2, 1995, p. 303)

• [Nikephoros : Introduction] In the reign of Leo the Christ-loving and Great [Leo I (457-474 AD)] there was a man in Constantinople (his name was Theognostos), who had been honoured with the rank of protospatharios by the pious

The Witness of God is Greater

emperor; eventually he was appointed general of the territories of the East.³ Although this man already had many slaves, he later bought others also, among them him whose name is now celebrated by my humble person. By birth he was a Scythian.⁴ When his master bought him he was still a child. In his bodily appearance he was most beautiful, to the delight of his master, who used him for his personal service. He sent him to school to learn Holy Writ.⁵ Being intelligent, the boy quickly learnt the Psalms and the use of numbers, amazing his teacher with his receptivity. Nobody thought of him as a Scythian for all were impressed by his looks and the shape of his body, the intelligence and modesty of his soul, and his neat penmanship. His master therefore made him his secretary. He was greatly appreciated by both his master and his mistress, and all the members of the household were fond of him. As his master saw him manage his house with a good will, he heaped him with gifts, even presenting him with some of his own clothing, making those who saw him say, "The slave is dressed in finer clothes than his master." **He loved to read the Holy Scriptures but even more the Passions of the martyrs and the Lives of the God-bearing Fathers, so that his heart was aflame with trust in them and aroused to imitation of their good way of living.**⁶ **Making his start on his own he began in the following way.** (Lennart Rydén, *The Life of St Andrew the Fool* Vol. 2, 1995, p. 14-15)

• [Rydén] As the "terminus post quem" [earliest possible date] for the composition of "The Life of Andrew the Fool" C. Mango suggests c. 650 [Cyril Mango, *The Life of St Andrew the Fool Reconsidered*, 1982], mainly on the ground that a passage in *PratSpir[?]* by which Nikephoros was influenced seems to have been added to John Moschos' work after his death, which probably occurred in 634 AD. Although this is a hypothetical argument, the "terminus" as such makes good sense, for it is supported by Andrew's prediction that Egypt will pay its tributes (3839), a prediction that is meaningless before the Arab conquest. As "terminus ante quem" [latest possible date] Mango suggests c. 950, which in his view is the approximate date of the majuscule fragment (A), the earliest known MS of "The Life of Andrew the Fool". This is a more doubtful "terminus", however, for while it seems unlikely that this MS was written before c. 950 it is impossible to maintain on palaeographical grounds alone that it cannot have been written somewhat later, perhaps as late as the beginning of the 11th century. I would therefore say that c. 950 is the "terminus post quem" [latest possible date] of the oldest MS, whereas the "terminus ante quem" of "The Life of Andrew the Fool" itself is circa 1000 AD. **While it is easy to demonstrate that "The Life of Andrew the Fool" cannot have been composed before c. 650 AD and after c. 1000 AD it is difficult to tell exactly at what point between these two extremes it was actually written.** (Lennart Rydén, *The Life of St Andrew the Fool* Vol. 1, 1995, p. 41)

• [Rydén] **...the oldest known witness of the "The Life of Andrew the Fool", an uncial fragment contained in Monacensis gr. 443 and probably dating from the second half of the tenth century.** (Rydén, *The Andreas Salos Apocalypse*, 1974, p. 199)

HITS:

- Epiphanius said, "What is the relationship between the begetting Father and the begotten Son and the Holy Spirit?" The holy man answered, "By observing the synthesis of man you can discern it all. For the Father is intellect, the Son is speech and the Spirit that faculty of breathing, by which we breathe the air. As we have our own intellect and the intellect has faculty of speech and these two collaborate with the body to form one man (for the soul is intellectual and capable of speech and spiritual, and the hypostasis of the soul is one thing, the essence of the intellect another and that of speech still another, I think, but evidently the essence of them all is one and their nature one, and their energy is also one and their will one and the same, the body excepted), so you should also explore about the Godhead, and you will find **that the Father is intellect and his Only-Begotten Son speech and the Holy Spirit breath, for through these three hypostases the one single God** is both perceived and proclaimed in a way worthy of him." (Life of St. Andrew the Fool; Lennart Rydén, *The Life of St Andrew the Fool* Vol. 2, 1995, p. 209)
 - **Greek:** Ἐπιφάνιος εἶπε: "Πῶς ἐστὶν ὁ γεννήτωρ πατήρ καὶ ὁ γεννηθεὶς υἱὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον;" Ὁ ὀσιος εἶπεν "Ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου συνθέσεως ἐστὶ τὸ πᾶν κατοπτέουσαι- νοῦς γὰρ ὁ πατήρ, λόγος ὁ υἱός, πνεῦμα ἐκεῖνη ἢ 3020 εὐπνοια, δ' ἦς τὸν αἰθέρα ἀναπνέομεν. Καθάπερ γὰρ νοῦν τις ἴδιον κέκτηται, ὁ δὲ νοῦς λόγον, συστοιχοῦσί τε εἰς ἓνα συν τῷ σώματι ἀνθρώπων (νοερά γάρ ἢ ψυχὴ καὶ λογικὴ καὶ

The Witness of God is Greater

πνευματική κεχρημάτικεν, άλλη τε ή τής ψυχής υπόστασις, άλλη δε ή τού νοός, έτέρα ή τού λόγου, ώς οίμαι, άλλα μία τών εκατέρων ή ουσία και μία ή φύσις, ώς πρόδηλον, ή αυτή και ή ένέργεια και εν αύτών τό θέλημα πάρεξ τού σώματος), κατά ταύτα έρευνα και περί τής θεότητας, **και εύρήσεις νούν τον πατέρα και λόγον τον μονογενή αυτού υión και πνεύμα τό πνεύμα τό άγιον δια γάρ τών τριών τούτων ύποστάσεων εις θεός** και οράται και κηρύσσεται θεοπρεπώς.”(Vita S. Andreae Sali.; Migne Graeca, PG 111.808)

- Eriphanios said, “If you like, I can tell you by means of an example: as your lips and your tongue touch each other when you speak and join around your voice, so are the Father and the Son and Holy Spirit, for the Father is intellect, the Son word, and the Spirit the breath and translucency which pervade both, the highest and finest part of perfection. Let us put it also in another way: the Father is the sun, the Son a ray of the sun, the Paraclete Spirit fiery bright sunlight. **Look at the thrice hypostatized, yet single essence** illustrated by the orb, and marvel: the ray of the sun is the Lord, the sun is an image of the Father and the warmth of the ray is the All-Holy Spirit.¹² Yet the sun has never left heaven and earth, but sent its rays like a son to the inhabitants of the earth to warm, benefit and heat the human race. Let us also take into consideration the very bread which we eat daily: it owes its identity to grain, water and fire,¹³ being recognized **as one single unity, though consisting of three hypostases**. This is how one should understand **the thrice hypostatized, single Godhead**.” These words so impressed the philosophers that they were unable to look the lad in the face. Astounded by his wisdom and insight they did not want to prolong the dis- putation, for they feared his counter-questions. (Life of St. Andrew the Fool; Lennart Rydén, The Life of St Andrew the Fool Vol. 2, 1995, p. 69,71)
 - **Greek:** Έπιφάνιος έφη”Ει άρεστόν ύμϊν έστιν, ώς επί παραδείγματος ύμάς διδάξω· ώσπερ γαρ χείλη και γλώσσα εν τω όμιλεϊν άλληλόληπτα και σύνδεσμα περί την φθογγήν, ούτω και ό πατήρ και ό υιός και τό πνεύμα τό άγιον νούς γαρ ό πατήρ, λόγος ό υιός, τό δε πνεύμα ή έν εκατέροις περιθέουσα εύπνοιία τε και διαύγεια, τό έπ’ άκρον του πληρώματος και λεπτότατον. Εϊπωμεν δε και έτέρως· ήλιος ό πατήρ, άκτίς ήλιου ό υιός, αίγλη πυρσαυγής τό παράκλητον πνεύμα. **Βλέψατε τρισυπόστατον μίαν ουσίαν** επί τω στοιχείω καί θαυμάσατε άκτίς ήλιου κύριος, είκών πατρός ήλιος, θέρμη της άκτίνος τό πανάγιον πνεύμα και ό μεν ήλιος ουδέπω κατέλιπε τον ούρανόν και τήν γήν, ώς υión δε τας ακτίνας τοις επί γής άπέστειλε θερμαίνειν, εύεργετεϊν και θάλπειν τό των ανθρώπων γένος.”Αγε δή μοι εν τω μέσω αυτών τον άρτον δν καθ’ ήμέραν έσθίομεν από γαρ σίτου και ύδατος και πυρός τήν ταυτότητα κέκτηται, **εις και αυτός εκ τριών ύποστάσεων** γνωριζόμενος τοιούτω τρόπω ύποληπτέον **περί τής τρισυπόστατου ένιαίας θεότητας**.”Ακούσαντες δε ταύτα οί φιλόσοφοι και άντοφθαλμήσαι του μείρακος μή ισχύοντες, καταπλαγέντες εις τήν αυτού σοφίαν και σύνεσιν, ούκέτι συζήτησιν έποιήσαντο, τήν παρ1 αυτού δεδιότες άντεπερώτησιν. (Vita S. Andreae Sali.; Migne Graeca, PG 111.684-685)

Avranches BM, 87 : Speculum Augustini (9th or 10th century)

Title: Speculum S(anc)ti Augustini, tam de vetus quam de novo Testamentum Speculum St Augustini super vetus ac novum Testamentum

Date: IXe ou Xe siècle (Delisle 1872)

Dimensions (mm): 250 × 170

Foliotation: [3]-[3]-132-[3] ff.

Source: Bibliothèque virtuelle du Mont Saint-Michel

Title on the first page: HEAR O ISRAEL THE LORD IS YOUR ONE GOD (Latin: AVDI ISRAEL DOMINVS DEVS TVVS DOMINVS VNVS)

HITS:

f14v.023 Item Iohannes apostolus in epistola

f15r.001 prima. Spiritus est qui dicit **in caelo pater**

f15r.002 **verbum, et spiritus, et hii tres unum sunt.**

The Witness of God is Greater

<emmsm.unicaen.fr/emmsm/bvmsm/Avranches/Manuscripts/01-BVMSM-Avranches_mss.xml/Avranches_BM_87.html>

Comments:

- [S.VDP] *Item Iohannes apostolus in epistola prima* = Likewise the Apostle John in his first epistle.
- [S.VDP] *Spiritus est qui dicit in caelo pater verbum, et spiritus, et hii tres unum sunt* is ambiguous due notably to the scarcity of punctuation. It could be taken in any of the following ways:
 1. *It is the Spirit that says*: in heaven the Father, the Word and the Spirit; and these three are one.
 2. *It is the Spirit that speaks*; in heaven the Father, the Word and the Spirit; and these three are one.
 3. *It is the Spirit that speaks in heaven*; the Father, the Word and the Spirit; and these three are one.
- Notes from Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, November 2021.

Vulgate : BNF, Lat. ms. 11533 (circa. 9th century C.E.)

Title : Bible. Bible.

Source : Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des Manuscrits. Latin 11533

Provenance : Bibliothèque nationale de France

HITS:

- f204v.023 hic est qui
 - f204v.024 venit per aquam & sanguinem. Jesus Christ : Non in aqua
 - f204v.025 solum : sed in aqua & sanguine : & spiritus est qui testificatur :
 - [f204v.026] _____^{^in terra^}
 - f204v.026 quoniam Christ est veritas. Quoniam tres sunt. qui testimonium dant
 - f204v.027 Spiritus aqua & sanguis : & tres unum sunt : & tres sunt
 - [f204v.028] ^{^testimonium dicunt in caelo^}
 - f204v.028 qui de caelo testificant : Pater, verbum & spiritus. & tres
 - f204v.029 unum sunt.
- <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90807836/f211.item.zoom>

- f199v: Prologues of the following seven epistles and from most of the canons (Latin: incipit prologis epistolis septem e plurum canonicorum)
- <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90807836/f206.item.zoom>

Vulgate, BL Ms. Add. 11852 (872-878 AD)

Title Pauline Epistles, Epistle to the Laodiceans, Catholic Epistles, Acts (ff. 1-118), Revelation (ff. 119-215) the 'Codex Ulmensis'

Origin Switzerland (St Gall)

Date Between 872 and 878

Language Latin

Script Caroline minuscule

<www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=6411&CollID=27&NStart=11852>

HITS:

- f187v.005 Hic est qui venit per aquam & sanguinem
 - f187v.006 ne Jesus Christ. non in aqua solum. Sed in aqua & sanguine. &
 - f187v.007 Spiritus est qui testificatur quo Christus est veritas. Qui tres
 - f187v.008 sunt qui testimonium dant. Spiritus & aqua et sanguis. &
 - f187v.009 tres unum sunt. Sicut in caelo tres sunt pater verbum
 - f187v.010 & Spiritus Sanctus. et tres unum sunt.
- <digital.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:/21198/zz002971c4>

The Witness of God is Greater

- f169r: The Prologue of Blessed Jerome the Priest in 7 Canonical Epistles (Latin: Incipit Prologus Beati hieronimi presbytri in VII epistolas canonicas)
<digital.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:/21198/zz002971c4>

Odo of Cluny (880-942 AD)

- Odo of Cluny (French: Odon) (c. 880 – 18 November 942) was the second abbot of Cluny. He enacted various reforms in the Cluniac system of France and Italy. He is venerated as a saint by the Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches. His feast day is 18 November. There is only one contemporary biography of him, the *Vita Odonis* written by John of Salerno.
- Odo was born about 880, the son of Abbo, feudal lord of Deols, near Le Mans and his wife Arenberga. According to the *Vita* later written by Odo's disciple John, the couple had long been childless, and one Christmas-eve, Abbo prayed to Our Lady to obtain for him the gift of a son. When the child was born, his grateful father entrusted the boy to Saint Martin. Both his parents later joined monasteries. His brother Bernard also became a monk.[2] While yet a child, Odo was sent first to the court of Fulk the Good, Count of Anjou; later he became a page at the court of William the Pious, duke of Aquitaine, where he spent several years.[3] Odo developed a particular devotion to Mary, under the title "Mother of Mercy", an invocation by which he would address her throughout his life.[1]
- In the 9th and 10th centuries, the tomb of St Martin of Tours was considered one of the holiest sites in western Christendom. At age 19 Odo was tonsured as a canon of the Church of St. Martin in Tours, where he spent six years studying classic authors, the Fathers of the Church, poetry, and music. Odo's experience at Tours later led him to embrace the monastic reform movement.
- In 901 he traveled to Paris where he spent four years completing a course of theological studies, including the study of philosophy under Remigius of Auxerre.[4] Upon his return to Tours, Odo adopted a disciplined and ascetic lifestyle. One day, in reading the rule of Saint Benedict, he was confounded to see how much his life fell short of the maxims there laid down, and he was determined to embrace a monastic state. The count of Anjou, his patron, refused to consent, and Odo spent almost three years in a cell, with one companion, in the practice of penance and contemplation. At length, he resolved that no impediments should any longer hinder him from consecrating himself to God in the monastic state. He resigned his canonry, and secretly repaired to the monastery of Beaume, in the diocese of Besançon, where the Abbot Berno admitted him to the habit. He brought with him only his books, which consisted of about a hundred volumes.[
- Around 909 Odo entered Baume,[3] which was under the direction of Abbot Berno. Berno had joined the Benedictine Order at the Abbey of St. Martin in Autun, where Hugh of Anzy le Duc had introduced stricter adherence to the Rule of Saint Benedict. Later, Berno was sent to the diocese of Besancon to restore the monastery at Baume-les-Messieurs, which had fallen into neglect.[6]
- Bishop Turpio of Limoges ordained Odo to the priesthood, which Odo was obliged to accept under obedience. However, Odo was so depressed by this, that Berno sent Odo back to the bishop to visit him. Odo and the bishop talked about the evil condition of the church and all the abuses that were occurring, Odo spoke about the book of Jeremiah, and the bishop was so impressed with his words, that he asked Odo to write it down. Odo said he could not do so without first getting permission from Berno, and the bishop then got Berno's permission, and Odo then wrote down his second book the *Collationes*. [2] Odo became superior of the abbey school at Baume.
- In 910 Abbot Berno left Baume to found Cluny Abbey, taking some of the monks with him. It is not clear at what point exactly Odo left Baume for Cluny. Berno had control of six monasteries when he died in 927, three of which he gave to Wido and the other three he gave to Odo. The monks of Cluny elected Odo as abbot, but he refused on grounds of unworthiness. The bishop threatened Odo with excommunication if he continued to refuse, and thus Odo accepted the office.[2]
- Authorized by a privilege of Pope John XI in 931, Odo reformed the monasteries in Aquitaine, northern France, and Italy. The privilege empowered him to unite several abbeys under his supervision and to receive at Cluny monks from abbeys not yet reformed; the greater number of the reformed monasteries, however, remained independent, and several became centres of reform. Cluny became the model of monasticism for

The Witness of God is Greater

over a century and transformed the role of piety in European daily life. The monastery claimed its heritage traced, through Berno and Hugh of Anzy le Duc, all the way back to St Benedict of Nursia.

- In later years he also reformed many other monasteries including St Martial's and St Augustine's monasteries in Limoges, St Jean-d'Angely in Aquitaine, Jumièges Abbey in Normandy, St Peter Le Vif in Sens, and St Julian's in Tours. These monasteries, however, would go on to also reform and found other monasteries. The Cluniac observance, as established by Odo, became the model of monasticism for over a century.[4]
- Many monasteries in Italy were deserted, because of continual attacks by Huns and Muslims who would often deliberately seek out monasteries to plunder. The lands of monasteries were often seized by local nobles. Between 936 and 942 he visited Italy several times. Odo first came to Rome in the year 936 and took the opportunity to use Alberic II of Spoleto's support to reform and revive monastic life in central Italy. Several Roman monasteries were rebuilt. Odo restored St Paul's Outside the Walls, which became Odo's headquarters in Rome. The palace on the Aventine where Alberic was born was transformed into Our Lady on the Aventine. The monasteries of St Lawrence and St Agnes, were restored and reformed. The monks of St Andre's on the Clivus Scaurus resisted a return to the Benedictine Rule, and so they were expelled and new monks were put in their place. The monastery at Farla, where the monks had completely abandoned the Rule and murdered their own abbot, was also brought under control.[2]
- Odo sent his disciple Baldwin to Monte Cassino to restore it, because it had also been left to lie waste; the nearby Subiaco Abbey also received his influence. Odo became involved in reforms as far as Naples, Salerno and Benevento. In the North, St Peter's, Ciel d'Oro in Pavia was also brought under the control of one of Odo's disciples. St Elias' monastery in Nepi was put under the control of one of Odo's disciples. These monks resisted the rule against flesh meat and Odo's disciples struggled to keep up a constant supply of fish for them to eat. When Odo visited the monastery, a stream miraculously flowed from a nearby mountain and fish were in the stream.
- Alberic fought a war with his stepfather Hugh of Lombardy and Odo was twice called in to act as a mediator between them.
- Among his writings are: a commentary on the Moralia of Pope Gregory I, a biography of Saint Gerald of Aurillac, three books of Collationes (moral essays, severe and forceful), a few sermons, an epic poem on the Redemption (Occupatio) in several books, three hymns (Rex Christe Martini decus, Martine par apostolis and Martine iam consul poliand),[10] and twelve choral antiphons in honour of Saint Martin of Tours. Some scholars have attributed the Musica Enchiriadis to him.
- In 942, peace was in Rome once again between Alberic and his stepfather. He fell ill, and sensing his approaching death, decided to return to Gaul. He stopped at the monastery of St. Julian in Tours for the celebration of the feast day of St. Martin. He developed a fever and after a lingering sickness died on November 18. During his last illness, he composed a hymn in honor of Martin.[4] He was buried in the church of Saint Julian; but the Huguenots burnt the majority of his remains.[5] His feast day is 18 November; the Benedictines observe 11 May.
- At Berno's death in 927 (Odo would have been almost 50), Odo became abbot of three monasteries: Deols, Massay and Cluny. Baume became the possession of Wido, who had been the leader of the monks that persecuted Odo when he was with them at Baume.

HITS:

- [Sermon] The other hour which is called third (nine) is hope which follows faith. And certainly the third hour located in second place resembles hope, because hope consists in two things and its origin is based on three things: we hope in indulgence and glory; forgiveness and promise are based in these; hope has its origin in the importance and condition of the human dignity, in the divine mercy showed by God in the redemption, in the experience of God's goodness, showed in granting graces, as it is said: **"Three bear witness on earth: the Spirit, the water and the blood,"(I John 5)** In the blood the nobility of the race is meant, in the water the frailty of death, in the Spirit the distribution of virtue. Blood bears witness of our salvation because we were made in the image of God; water bears witness of our salvation because we were enriched freely with abundance of spiritual graces; meditation on these strengthens - our hope in any danger; and a strong hope invite us to the work of the vineyard with full vigor. (Odo of Cluny, Sermon "On Septuagesima Sunday")

The Witness of God is Greater

- Latin: Altera hora, quae tertia dicitur, spes est, quae fidem sequitur. (1650A) Et congrue tertia hora secundo loco posita spei assimilatur, quoniam spes et in duobus constat, et a tribus trahit originem: speratur venia et gloria, remissio et promissio in his constat; oritur ex respectu humanae dignitatis et conditione; ex consideratione divinae miserationis in redemptione; ex experientia quoque bonitatis eiusdem in beneficiorum collatione, **unde scriptum est: Tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in terra, Spiritus, aqua et sanguis (I Ioan. V)**. In sanguine nobilitas generis, in aqua fluxus mortalitatis, in Spiritu distributio signatur virtutis. Testimonium ergo nostrae salutis perhibet sanguis, quia ad imaginem Dei facti sumus; et aqua, quia morte Filii redempti sumus; et Spiritus, quia spiritualium charismatum divite copia ditati sumus gratis: horum consideratio in quibuslibet periculis spem nostram roborat; et spes robusta ad opus nos vineae haud segniter invitat. (IN DOMINICA SEPTUAGESIMAE; Migne Latin, PL 188.1649-1650)

Comments:

• [Green] Odo's use of John's statement that "three bear witness on earth: the Spirit, the water, and the blood" once again acknowledges his belief in the truth of the Incarnation. The Spirit is the truth which has once and for all been revealed in Christ. The water is the event of Christ's baptism and the blood signifies Christ's death on the cross. Odo: however, continues the comparison and sees the Spirit - as symbolically meaning "the distribution of virtues." Blood means both the nobility of man and a witness to our salvation, because man is created in the image of God. The water, likewise, has a double meaning. It can be a constant reminder of death, as when Christ was speared and blood and water flowed from his side, or it can be a constant reminder of one's salvation, as in baptism.²⁶ Thus for Odo the faithful can have hope, because man is worth saving, and it is through the acts of the Incarnation and the Redemption that man transcends the reality of death. (Green, Odo of Morimond: His System of Contemplation as Based on Matthew XX, 1969, p. 10-11)

Codex Sangallensis 63 (800-999 AD)

• **The Codex Sangallensis 63, designated S, is a 9th-century Latin manuscript of the New Testament.** The text, written on vellum, is a version of the Latin Vulgate Bible and contains the text of the Acts of the Apostles, Epistles, Book of Revelation, and non-biblical material (an Etymological dictionary). The manuscript has not survived in a complete condition, some parts of it have been lost.^[1] The codex contains the Comma Johanneum. (Codex Sangallensis 63. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Codex_Sangallensis_63>)

HIT:

- **Jerome's Prologue:** "Prologue of the seven epistles by St. Jerome." (Latin: Incipit Prologus Septem Epistolarum S. Hieronimi.) (f. 245r, <www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0063/245/0/Sequence-264>)

Codex Toletanus (900-999 AD)

• **The Codex Toletanus**, designated by T, is a 10th-century Latin manuscript of the Old and New Testament. The text, written on vellum, is a version of the Latin Vulgate Bible, which contains the entire Bible,^[1] including the trinity reference Comma Johanneum. The text is written in three columns, 63-65 lines in a single column, in Visigothic characters,^[2] on 375 parchment leaves (43,8 by 33 cm).^[3] The Latin text of the four Gospels is a representative of the Spanish type of the Vulgate. It is the second important manuscript of the Spanish type (after Codex Cavensis).^[2] It contains the controverted text of the Comma Johanneum (1 John 5:7) in the same location as the Codex Cavensis (after v. 8).^[1] And it also contains the Prologue to the Canonical Epistles affirming the verse. (Codex Toletanus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Codex_Toletanus>)

The Witness of God is Greater

• **[Houghton]** Toledo, Catedral, Biblioteca del Cabildo, 35–8. Comes Toletanus. Lectionary (Liber comicus). Copied in Toledo in the ninth century or later. Visigothic minuscule script. (Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*, 2017, p. 240)

HITS:

• **1 John 5:6-8**

This is he that came by water and blood,
Jesus Christ: not by water
only but by water and blood
and the Spirit. The Holy Spirit which
testifieth that Christ is
the truth. **And there are three
that give testimony on
earth: the Spirit, and the water and the blood.
And these three are one.
In Christ Jesus. And there are Three who
give testimony in heaven,
the Father, the Word, and the Spirit. And
these three are one.**

[154] hic est qui venit per aqua & sanguin-

[1] em IHS XPR. & non en aqua

[2] solum sed in aqua et sun-

[3] guin & SPS. SPS SCS qui

[4] est testificatur. quoniam XRS est

[5] veritas. **quia tres sunt**

[6] qui est testimonium dicunt in

[7] terra. SRS & aqua & san-

[8] guin. Et hii tres unum sunt

[9] in XRO IHU. Et tres sunt qui

[10] est testimonium dicunt in celo

[11] pater. verbum. et SRS Et

[12] hii tres unum sunt. (f. 356v [Image 709], far right column, Line 154; f. 357r [Image 710], left column, Lines: 1-12,

<bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?pid=d-1723042>)

• **Jerome's Prologue : "Prologue of Jerome"** (Latin: Incipit prologus Hieronymi) (f. 352r [image 700], <bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?pid=d-1723042>)

VL 109 : The Microfilm Vault of HMML & Dr. Houghton's Discovery

• Complete microfilms of two early medieval Spanish Bibles dating from the 9th and 10th century that were damaged or destroyed during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) have been found in the microfilm vault of the [Hill Museum & Manuscript Library](#) (HMML), Collegeville, Minn. Before the discovery of the microfilms, scholars thought the two Bibles, known as Codex Complutensis I and Codex Complutensis II, survived only in fragments or in one or two slides.

The two manuscript Bibles, which belong to the Library of the Universidad Complutense in Madrid, are considered important examples of Mozarabic art, a style that combined Visigothic and Muslim elements and was produced by Christian communities who lived under Muslim rule after the Muslims conquered Spain in 711. The decoration of the manuscripts shows such Arabic influences as zoomorphic initials and Arabic arches.

The Witness of God is Greater

•”Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros was one of the most learned persons of the Renaissance whose influence on biblical scholarship is immeasurable”said HMML's acting director Father Michael Patella, OSB. ”For HMML to have the world's only known copy of a biblical text that played such an important role in his Complutensian Polyglot Bible exemplifies the unparalleled value of HMML's mission. We are all proud and deeply happy to be a part of this important find.”

• In addition to their artistic and cultural importance, the Bibles are two very important sources for the Latin Vulgate text of the Bible. The Vulgate, translated by Jerome in the late 4th-early 5th century, was the standard Latin version of the Bible used in the Middle Ages. Concerned that almost a millennium of copying had corrupted the text of the Vulgate, Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros collected the oldest Latin manuscript Bibles he could find to prepare the Latin Vulgate text of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, one of the most important editions of the Bible ever printed. A team of scholars working under the direction of Cisneros collated and edited Latin, Greek and Hebrew manuscripts to publish a new version of the Bible for scriptural study. The Complutensian Polyglot, which was printed in 1514-1517, consisted of parallel columns of text in Hebrew, Latin and Greek (Old Testament) and Latin and Greek (New Testament). Codex Complutensis I played an important role in the creation of this new 32edition.

• **Cardinal Cisneros left his library to the Universidad Complutense. There the two manuscript Bibles remained until the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) overran the university's Madrid campus. Many thousands of books were destroyed, including the two priceless manuscript Bibles.** The Universidad Complutense had no visual record of the manuscripts. And that was all, until **Hugh Houghton** of the Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing at the University of Birmingham, England, found that HMML listed among the microfilms in its collection, Madrid Complutense Codex 31, a 9th/10th -century Latin Bible. He wrote to HMML and asked if the microfilm showed a complete manuscript or a badly damaged one. HMML staffers checked the films and found not one but two complete manuscripts of Bibles that had been destroyed over 70 years ago.

•”I was flabbergasted,”said Theresa Vann, curator of the Malta Study Center and director of electronic cataloguing at HMML. ”First, these manuscripts had to have been photographed not only before HMML existed, but before it was standard preservation practice to microfilm manuscripts. Second, I couldn't believe that HMML had the only surviving complete microfilm copies of two such important manuscripts.” HMML exists to preserve ancient and endangered manuscripts for future generations to study. The library began microfilming manuscripts in Austrian and German monasteries in 1965; then expanded its preservation work to Spain, Portugal, Ethiopia and Malta. Since 2003, it has digitized the manuscripts of eastern Christian communities in the Middle East.

• The library acquired the microfilms in 1979, when then director Julian Plante decided to purchase microfilms of all the significant liturgical manuscripts cited by Klaus Gamber in *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores*. Gamber cited Codex Complutensis I, by then known as Madrid BUC 31, so Plante wrote to the Library of the Universidad Complutense for a copy of the microfilm. The director of the Library, Fernando Huarte, replied that Ms. 31 had been almost totally destroyed during the civil war, and that it could be studied in the photographic copy made by the Benedictine monks of St. Jerome in Rome. Plante ordered the microfilm of Ms. 31 from the Centro Nacional de Microfilm in Madrid, anyway. The film arrived in three boxes, and Ms. 32, which was Codex Complutense II, happened to be on the end of the last reel of Ms. 31. For some reason, the National Microfilm service in Madrid can no longer provide microfilms of these two manuscripts.

• Since microfilm was still an emerging technology during the Spanish Civil War, the HMML staff examined the films carefully to determine their origin. They found three rolls of positive safety film, dating from the 1950s. Each frame shows a negative image of one half of one folio of the manuscript. Closer examination revealed that the film is a microfilm copy of a series of 35-mm films. The staff suspects that the manuscripts were originally photographed with a large-format box style camera that used glass plate negatives; that someone photographed the glass plate negative (approximate size 5x7 inches) with a 35 mm camera, and that these negatives were later microfilmed.

The Witness of God is Greater

- Upon the request of Houghton and the Library of the Universidad Complutense, HMML digitized the microfilm using a custom rig that photographed each frame of the microfilm with a digital camera. It sent the digital copies to the Universidad Complutense and to Houghton, who plan to share this important manuscript with the world.
- Community Newsroom, "Lost medieval bibles found in library's basement", College of Saint Benedict and Saint John's University, July 13, 2010. <www.csbsju.edu/news/hmml-bibles>

Codex Complutensis MS 31 : VL 109 (900-999 AD)

- The Codex Complutensis I, designated by C, is a 10th-century codex of the Christian Bible. It is written on vellum with Latin text mainly following the Vulgate. Parts of the Old Testament present an Old Latin version.[1] The Latin text of the Gospels is a representative of the Spanish type of Vulgate,[1] but with peculiar readings in the Epistles and Acts.[2] In some portions of the Old Testament it represents the Old Latin version (Book of Ruth, Book of Esther,[3] Book of Tobit,[4] Book of Judith, 1-2 Maccabees).[5] It contains apocryphal 4th Book of Esdra.[6] It contains an Epistle to the Laodiceans, which follows after the Epistle to the Hebrews, not Colossians as in other Spanish Bibles. It contains the much debated texts of the Pericope Adultera (John 7:53-8:11) and Comma Johanneum (1 John 5:7). (Codex Complutensis I. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Codex_Complutensis_I>)

- Spanish Pandects and Lectionaries. From the tenth century, large-format codices containing the whole Bible, sometimes in multiple volumes, became common in many parts of Europe. The Spanish tradition includes a number of manuscripts which represent the seventh-century revision by John of Saragossa (see page 63). These normally take the form of pandects with three columns on each page, such as Codex Toletanus (VgO T), copied in southern Spain in the middle of the tenth century. A similar text is found in the contemporary Codex Complutensis 2 (Madrid, Biblioteca de la Universidad, MS 32), Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, lat. 2, Montpellier, BM, 6, and the Bible of Huesca (VL 134; Madrid, Museo Arqueológico 485) copied over a century later. Certain books of the Old Testament are Old Latin in affiliation; elsewhere, these Bibles preserve occasional non-Vulgate readings current in Spain and southern France. The same is true of manuscripts representing an edition of the Bible [PAGE 97] created by the famous copyist Florentius in the monastery of Valeránica around 940.1 The principal representatives are VL 91 and VL 95. These, along with the rest of the series VL 91–6, feature Old Latin forms in marginal glosses, although in the New Testament these are only found alongside the Catholic Epistles. VL 93 and 94 are printed texts with indications of variant readings, while only the first, Old Testament, volume of VL 96 is extant. Several of these appear to be related to a lost tenth-century manuscript known as the Valvanera Bible, which may also have been produced at Valeránica.2

- **VL 109 (Codex Complutensis 1, also known as the first Bible of Alcalá; Image 11) was copied in the tenth century from a manuscript produced at least three hundred years earlier.**3 Portions of the Old Testament are Old Latin: in Ruth, its text is related to that used by Claudius of Turin for his commentary, while elsewhere there are liturgical influences and relationships with other Spanish manuscripts. In the New Testament, it displays some similarities with VL 61, perhaps deriving from a Gallican tradition, although the order of books and the three-column format correspond to Spanish practice. **The text of Hebrews in VL 109 is closely related to that of VL 89, transmitting a Roman text of the fourth century.** In the sixteenth century, the manuscript was given to the Complutense University by Cardinal Ximenez, who was instrumental in the creation of the first printed multilingual edition of the Bible, the Complutensian Polyglot. **During the Spanish Civil War in the 1930s, VL 109 was severely damaged. Its original state can still be seen in photographs taken in 1914.**

- Houghton, Latin New Testament, 2017, p. 96-97.

HITS:

- **1 John 5:6-8**

This is he that came by water and blood,
Jesus Christ: not by water only but by water
and blood and flesh[?]. And it is the Spirit which
testifieth that Christ is the truth.

**And there are three that give testimony
on earth: the water the blood and the flesh.**

And these three are one. And three

The Witness of God is Greater

**there are who give testimony in heaven,
the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three
are one in Christ Jesus.**

[18] hic est qui venit per aqua et sanguinem

[19] IHS CRS non in aqua solum. sed in aqua

[20] et sanguine et carne. Et SPS est qui

[21] testificatur . quoniam XRS est veritas

[22] quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant

[23] in terris. aqua . sanguis . et caro.

[24] Et tres hec unum sunt. Et tria

[25] sunt que testimonium dicunt in celo,

[26] Pater. verbum. et SPS Et hec tria

[27] unum sunt in XRS IHS.

(f. 326r : Image 633 : Houghton, The Latin New Testament, 2016, p. 98;

www.oapen.org/download?type=document&docid=626900>)

• **Jerome's Prologue:"Prologue of Canonical Epistles by Jerome"**(Latin: Incipit prologus iheronimi in epistoli{ci}s canonicis) (f. 323r.; Hugh Houghton, correspondence, March 2020)

Symeonis Junioris (949-1022 AD)

• Symeonis Junioris (949-1022 AD). Symeon the New Theologian (sometimes spelled "Simeon") (Greek: Συμεών ὁ Νέος Θεολόγος; 949–1022 AD) was a Byzantine Christian monk and poet who was the last of three saints canonized by the Eastern Orthodox church and given the title of "Theologian" (along with John the Apostle and Gregory of Nazianzus). Symeon was born into the Byzantine nobility and given a traditional education. At age fourteen he met Symeon the Studite, a renowned monk of the Monastery of Stoudios in Constantinople, who convinced him to give his own life to prayer and asceticism under the elder Symeon's guidance. By the time he was thirty, Symeon the New Theologian became the abbot of the Monastery of St. Mammias, a position he held for twenty-five years. He attracted many monks and clergy with his reputation for sanctity, though his teachings brought him into conflict with church authorities, who would eventually send him into exile. His most well known disciple was Nicetas Stethatos who wrote the Life of Symeon. Symeon the New Theologian. Wikipedia. <[en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Symeon the New Theologian](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Symeon_the_New_Theologian)>.

HITS:

- By these and similar means we are fully assured and convinced that it is God himself who has lifted the darkness of [PAGE 115] ignorance away from us; the same who made all things, who also created us by lifting us from the clay of the earth, who graced us with mind and reason and rational soul, who has made us in his own image and likeness. It is he who has allowed us to see dim realities which are beyond us, as though in a shadow, by analogy with the things that are at hand. From these things we have learned, and by them we see, and from them we believe, that just as he made our mind, our soul, and our immanent rationality at the same time he formed our bodies - for when we say that 'God formed man, taking clay from the earth, and breathed on his face the breath of life, and it became for him a living soul.' (Gen 1:26) we show that our mind and reason existed at the same time as the soul; none of these pre-existed or was presupposed by the others, and the three together are one, and were given to us as one single breath of life - well, just as in this case none of the parts pre-existed or was presupposed by the others because there was a unity of essence and nature, **so too none of the persons of the holy Trinity pre-existed the others since there is one and the same essence and glory. The three-personed God, the maker of the image, never had one of the persons pre-existing the others. The three together are one very God, and in the same way the one is eternally three.** We therefore confess and believe this, and we witness to all others, that it is not rash to speak and inquire about the things of God, namely that God is three persons, Father, Son, and Holy

The Witness of God is Greater

Spirit, the holy Trinity in whose name we were baptized. We are assured of this by the powers and gifts of the Spirit which come down on us as well as by the sacred dogmas and the Gospels themselves.

(Simeon. The First Theological Discourse. McGuckin, 1982, p. 114-115)

- **Greek:** Ἐκ τούτων οὖν καὶ τῶν τοιούτων πληροφορούμεθα καὶ βεβαιούμεθα ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ τὰ πάντα ποιήσας Θεός, ὁ καὶ παραγαγὼν ἡμᾶς χοῦν λαβῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ὁ νοῦν καὶ λόγον καὶ ψυχὴν νοεράν ἡμῖν χαρισάμενος, ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν αὐτοῦ ποιήσας ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸ σκότος τῆς ἀγνωσίας ἀποδιώξας ἡμῶν· καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀμυδρῶς πῶς καταξιώσας ὡς ἐν σικιᾷ ὑποδείξει ἡμῖν ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ἐμάθομεν, δι' ὧν καὶ ὀρώμεν, παρ' ὧν καὶ πιστεύομεν, ὅτι ὡσπερ τὸν νοῦν τὸν ἡμέτερον καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ αὐτὸν ἡμῶν τὸν ἐνδιάθετον λόγον ἐν τῇ πλάσει τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν ἅμα παρήγαγε, τὸ γὰρ εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἔπλασεν ὁ Θεός τὸν ἄνθρωπον, χοῦν λαβῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ζωῆς καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν· δεικνυσὶν ὅτι συνυπήρχε τῇ ψυχῇ ὁ νοῦς ἡμῶν καὶ ὁ λόγος, μὴ προϋπάρξαντος ἐνός ἐξ αὐτῶν μηδέ προϋποστάντος, ὡς ἐν ὄντων ἅμα τῶν τριῶν καὶ εἰς ἐν πνεῦμα ζωῆς δοθέντων ἡμῖν ὡσπερ οὖν ἐν τούτοις οὐ προϋπήρξεν ἐν οὐδὲ προϋπέστη τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸ ἕτερον, μιᾶς οὐσίας ὄντων καὶ φύσεως, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ ὁμοουσίῳ καὶ ὁμοτίμῳ Τριάδι προϋπήρξε τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸ ἕτερον. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔσχε ποτὲ ὁ ποιητὴς τῆς εἰκόνας Θεός, τρισυπόστατος ὢν, προϋποστάν τῶν τριῶν ἐν, ἀλλ' ἅμα τὰ τρία ἐν, ὁ Θεός, καὶ τὸ ἐν ὡσαύτως αἰεὶ τρία. Τοῦτο τοιγαροῦν ὁμολογοῦντες πιστεύομεν καὶ πᾶσιν ἄλλοις οἷς οὐ τολμηρόν τὰ περὶ Θεοῦ λέγειν καὶ ἐρευνᾶν διαμαρτυρούμεθα ὅτι ἐστὶ Θεός τρισυπόστατος, Πατὴρ, Υἱός καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ἡ Ἁγία Τριάς, εἰς ἣν βεβαπίσμεθα· ὁ ἐκ τῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς γεγεννημένων ἐνεργειῶν καὶ χαρισμάτων τοῦ Πνεύματος καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἱερῶν θεσμῶν τε καὶ εὐαγγελίων ἐβεβαιώθημεν. (Darrouzès, 1966, vol 1, p. 112, 114; 1:217-246)

• **[Hymn 33]** On theology: that those who have kept conformity in the image of God, trample on evil powers of the Prince of Darkness; while the others, living by their passions, are under his power and under his empire.

• Light is the Father, light is the Son, light is the Holy Spirit.

• Beware what you're going to say, my brother, watch so you don't fall.

• **The three in fact are a single Light**, unique, not separated but unified in three Persons, without confusion.

• God, in fact, is perfectly indivisible by nature, and by his essence he truly exceeds all essence.

• It is not divided in either its power, its form, its glory or its aspect: it lets itself be seen entirely, in fact, like a simple light.

• **The Persons are One, the three hypostases are One.**

• **The three are indeed in the One or better the Three are One.**

• **The Three are one power, the three are one glory, the three are one nature, essence and divinity.**

• **Greek:** ΛΓ'. Περὶ θεολογίας· καὶ ὅτι οἱ τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα φυλάξαντες τὰς πονηρὰς δυνάμεις τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ σκότους καταπατοῦσιν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι, οἷς ἐμπαθῆς ὁ βίος, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κρατοῦνται καὶ βασιλεύονται. (268)

• Φῶς ὁ Πατὴρ, φῶς ὁ Υἱός, φῶς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.

• Βλέπε τί λέγεις, ἀδελφέ, βλέπε μὴ παρασφάλῃς!

• **Ἐν γὰρ τὰ τρία φῶς εἰσιν, ἐν, οὐ κεχωρισμένον, ἀλλ' ἠνωμένον ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις ἀσυγχύτως.**

• Θεός γὰρ ἀδιαίρετος ὅλως ἐστὶ τῇ φύσει, καὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἀληθῶς ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν οὐσίαν· οὐ τῇ δυνάμει τέμνεται, οὐ τῇ μορφῇ, οὐ δόξῃ, οὐ τῇ ἰδέᾳ, ὅλος γὰρ ἀπλοῦν φῶς καθορᾶται.

• **Ἐν τούτοις ἐν τὰ πρόσωπα, ἐν αἱ τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις· τὰ τρία γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἐνί, ἐν τὰ τρία δὲ μᾶλλον, τὰ τρία μία δύναμις, τὰ τρία μία δόξα, τὰ τρία μία φύσις γε, οὐσία καὶ θεότης.**

The Witness of God is Greater

- ΦΙΛΟΚΑΛΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΝΗΠΤΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΚΗΤΙΚΩΝ 19ΣΤ [1989]. ΣΥΜΕΩΝ Ο ΝΕΟΣ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΣ-ΥΜΝΟΙ [ΚΗ'-ΝΗ'] (ΕΠΕ), p. 120.

John Mauropous (1000-1070 AD)

- John Mauropous (Greek: Ἰωάννης Μαυρόπους, Iōánnēs Maurópus, lit."John Blackfoot") was a Byzantine Greek poet, hymnographer, and author of letters and orations, who lived in the 11th century.
- John Mauropous was born in Paphlagonia around 1000. He came to Constantinople, and quickly gained a reputation as a teacher. Among his students, Michael Psellos was to be the most important. It was also Psellos who introduced him to the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-1055). For a couple of years, Mauropous belonged to the favoured circle of poets and scholars that Constantine gathered around him, he functioned as a court orator. But for an unknown reason, these friends suddenly fell from favour around the year 1050, and presumably on this occasion,[1] Mauropous was appointed metropolitan of Euchaita [Euchania]. In many letters, Mauropous complained of this "honourable exile", and asked his friend Psellos to urge the succeeding emperors to call Mauropous back to the capital. This seems to have succeeded at the end of Mauropous' life: he retired to the monastery of Agia Petra in Constantinople. He died presumably in the 1070s.
- It seems that Mauropous had prepared during his lifetime a collection of his own literary works. The manuscript Vaticano Graeco 676 is a very close copy of this collection. That collection consists of ninety-nine poems (epigrams, polemical and autobiographical poems, funeral orations in verse), seventy-seven letters and thirteen speeches (with for the most part religious content). Apart from these works, Mauropous composed a huge amount of liturgical canons. Mauropous has been seen as a precursor of the new cultural mentality in mid-11th century Byzantium. The typical blend of religious piety and classical culture links him with his pupil Psellos, and contemporary poets like Christopher of Mytilene. A particular theme in his poems and letters are the vicissitudes and dangers of public life and political careers, which is not surprising given the political and social instability of this period.
- John Mauropous. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Mauropous>

• [Knittel] John Maurop (that is, Blackfoot) was a Monk, Professor, and afterwards Metropolitan of Euchania, a city belonging to the province of Heleno-Pontus, in Asia Minor. He lived in the 11th century; and in his time, it is said, an event occurred which gave occasion to the festival on which he delivered this Oration. Let us hear the printed MENAEA* on the subject. (Knittel, New Criticisms on the Celebrated Text, 1829, p. 46)

• [Menaea]"The occasion of this festival was as follows: During the reign of Alexius, who swayed the Imperial sceptre after Botoniates, there arose at Constantinople a schism between persons of rank and respectability. Some preferred Basil the Great, before all others. 'He speaks, said they,"with sublimity, probes the very inmost recesses of nature, almost surpasses the angels in virtue, or at least is scarcely their inferior. His demeanour is striking, and has nothing earthly about it.' On the other hand, they depreciated the godlike Chrysostom, pretending that he was the reverse of all this, and that men soon became disgusted with him. Others, on the contrary, extolled this Chrysostom, as one whose instructions were much better adapted to human-nature, who by the plainness of his address attracted every one, and called men to repentance: nay, they ranked him, in consequence of his acute understanding, above the great Basil and Gregory. Others again favoured Gregory the Theologian; as one who, in ornament and variety, in charm of eloquence and flowery language, far surpassed all the Greek Literati of any repute, as well as our own: these, therefore, gave the palm to Gregory, as did the former to Basil and Chrysostom. And thence it came to pass, that the people split into parties; and some were called Joannites; others, Basilians; others, again, Gregorians."Now, while they were disputing with each other under these appellations, these great men appeared, first one after the other, then altogether — (it was no dream) — to John, bishop of Euchania (a man of station and renown, who possessed no small knowledge of Greek literature, as his writings evince, but attained a still higher eminence in virtue), and said to him with one accord:"We are, as thou seest, one in God (Greek: Ἡμεῖς ἓν ἐσμὲν, ὡς ὁρθῶς, παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ), and no dissension exists between us; but each of us, in our day, moved by the Holy Ghost, have confirmed the doctrines of the Salvation of Mankind by our writings, and published our religious instructions. None of us is

The Witness of God is Greater

first: none of us is second. If thou invokest one of us, the other two immediately accompany him. Wherefore, arise, and command the people not to quarrel on our account: for our wish is, that there be peace between the living and us who have already departed life; and that concord be finally established. Assemble them on some day: consecrate to us a festival, as behoveth thee: shew them, thereupon, that we are one in God (Greek: ὡς ἡμεῖς ἓν ἐσμὲν τῷ Θεῷ). But we will not the less labour, with our combined energies, for the welfare of those who celebrate our joint Commemoration: for we believe that we possess some influence with God.' After these words, they seemed to soar to heaven, encircled with a glorious light; and each called to the other by name."Now this godlike man, John of Euchania, did what those saints enjoined him. After he had pacified the multitude and the parties, (for he was regarded as a man of acknowledged integrity), he commanded this festival to be solemnized in the Church, to the glory of God. And now let the reader observe the wisdom of this man. When he found that each of the three saints had his festival in the month of January — Basil the Great on the 1st, St. Gregory on the 25th, St. Chrysostom on the 27th appointed another festival for all three jointly, on the 30th; and graced it, as became these saints, with hymns, antiphonies, and panegyrics; which (being delivered, I believe, with their approbation) omitted nothing conducive to their renown, and surpassed every thing of that kind ever written before, or that will be written hereafter."(Coleti,"Historia Institutionis. Ex Menais impressis, Interprete Nicola Rayaeo S.J."in Acta Sanctorum, Junius, 1698, vol 2, 441-443, p. 934-935; Translated by Knittel, New Criticisms on the Celebrated Text, 1829, p. 47-49)

• [Knittel] Maurop says nothing of the apparition of the three saints, in this Discourse. Possibly the other, which I have quoted above, contains something to that effect. It appears, from the Menaeian account, that Maurop was already a bishop, and advanced in years, when he delivered the panegyric: for the feast was established after the year of Christ 1081 ; and therefore the copy of this Discourse, which is preserved in the Wolfenbüttle Library, is above 234 years junior to the original. Now, as our three saints were known to the world as zealous champions of the doctrine of the Trinity, so the expression, "We are one in God", which occurs twice in the Menaeian narrative, seems to be an allusion to 1 John V.7: particularly, because it is here used of Three Persons, whom Maurop himself calls, in his Discourse, a Τριάς. This, however, is only a cursory remark. Maurop, as we may readily suppose, quotes different passages of Holy Scripture, but seldom accurately and at full length: he commonly interweaves their substance into his context, or makes allusions to them. (Knittel, New Criticisms on the Celebrated Text, 1829, p. 49)

HITS:

- [Sermon] **There is one God there, but not simply one entity in the same way as there are three entities. However, it also follows that the three entities are one, since the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, who are the blessed Trinity, are one God.** Begotten of an eternal Father, the Son is eternal; but now, born of a mother such as his, he has been made subject to a beginning of existence. Nevertheless, that which contains and controls everything with supreme power is altogether one nature, one will, one action, one energy, one power, one substance, one divinity; and indeed in all the rest there is a certain singleness, definitely monadic and one, triple only in respect to the hypostases and their properties. (John Mauropus, Sermon on the most Majestic Dormition of the most Holy Theotokos 12)
 - **Greek:** Ἐκεῖ Θεὸς εἷς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἓν ἀπλῶς ὡς καὶ τρία · καὶ τὰ τρία δ' οὖν ἓν, ἐπειδήπερ εἷς πάλιν Πατὴρ, καὶ Υἱὸς, ἢ Τριάς ἢ μακαρία, καὶ Πνεῦμα· Υἱὸς ἀναρχὸς ἐξ ἀνάρχου Πατρὸς, ὁ νῦν ὑπ' ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Μητρὸς τοιαύτης γενόμενος. Μία φύσις τὸ πᾶν μία βούλησις, κίνησις, ἐνέργεια, δύναμις, οὐσία, θεότης, τὸ συνεκτικώτατον ἀπάντων καὶ κυριώτατον· τᾶλλα μὲν, τὸ καθόλου μοναδική τις ἀπλότης καὶ ἐνιαία, τρισσομένη δὲ μόνον ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι, καὶ τοῖς ἐπ' αὐταῖς ἰδιώμασιν. (Joannis, Mauropus, Euchaitensis Metropolitan, Sermo in Augustissimam Sanctissimae S. Deiparae Dormitionem 12; Migne Graeca, PG 120.1088)
- **[Oration 178]** Composed a speech for the feast of Saints Basileios, Gregorios the Theologian and Ioannes Chrysostomos: God Unbegotten, is the Father; but God Begotten, is the Son; and God Proceeding, is the Holy Ghost. **The same three also are one.** A most wonderful thing, and to all, save

The Witness of God is Greater

the true worshipers of the Three, a thing unintelligible and obscure! Three Persons; not Gods, but one God : because the Godhead also is One and the same; neither uniting the Substances in its Singleness; nor, again, multiplied with them because of the Plurality; but beaming forth equal rays, like those which proceed from the sun, yet constitute but one identical sun; having no distinction, except each his own individuality; no pre-eminence; no inferiority; but, in essence, glory, power, and goodness, preserving the most perfect equality, nay, rather identity; and individually co-existent with each other, and to co-exist to all eternity. This Trinity is the Creator of the Universe : this is our God; and there is none to be compared with Him; neither let any Orthodox Believer think otherwise than thus of Him. As saith the Prophet (Baruch iii. 36, 37):"He hath found out all the way of knowledge, and hath given it (formerly, indeed) unto Jacob his servant, and to Israel his beloved:"but afterwards, to these Three, his worshipers and adorers. For it altogether behoved the Holy Trinity, by whom all things were made, to be personated by a co-equal number of [PAGE 52] worshipers; and, according to its counsel, again to create men after its own image and likeness, (a much more accurate and striking one than the first); **and the Trinity (Τρία) created the Three Saints (Τρεῖς)**, that they might be like unto God, 1st, in number; 2ndly, in godliness; 3rdly, in unanimity. Nay more, 4thly, and to complete the similitude, in zeal for our salvation; which none whatever has had so much at heart as God and they: &c. &c.

(Mauropous, Orations 178, Euchaitorum metropolitae quae in codice vaticano graeco 676, p. 106-119; Translated by Knittel, New Criticisms on the Celebrated Text, 1829, p. 51-52)

- o **Greek:** λόγος εἰς τοὺς τρεῖς ἀγίους πατέρας καὶ διδασκάλους. Θεὸς μὲν ἀγέννητος ὁ Πατήρ· Θεὸς δὲ γεννήτος ὁ Υἱός· καὶ Θεὸς ἐκπορευτὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον. **οἱ αὐτοὶ τρεῖς καὶ εἷς.** τὸ παραδοξότατον καὶ πᾶσι, πλὴν τοῖς γνησίοις λατρευταῖς τῶν τριῶν, ἀσαφές τε καὶ ἄγνωστον. τρεῖς μὲν χαρακτήρες, οὐχί, Θεοί· εἷς δὲ Θεός· ὅτι μία Θεότης καὶ ἡ αὐτή. οὔτε τὰς ὑποστάσεις ἐνοῦσα τῷ ἑαυτῆς ἐνιαίω, οὔτε πάλιν ἐκείναις συμπληθνομένη διὰ τὸ πλῆθος· ἀλλ' οἷον ἀκτίνας, ὁμοίας προβαλλομένη ἐξ ἡλίου τε προϊούσας ἐνός, καὶ τηρούσας ἓνα τὸν ἥλιον. οὐδὲν ἐχούσας διάφορον, πλὴν ἢ μόνον ἐκάστην τὴν ιδιότητα, οὐδὲν περιττὸν, ἢ ἐλλείπον· ἀλλὰ καὶ φύσει καὶ δοξῇ, καὶ δυνάμει καὶ ἀγαθότητι, λίαν ἀκριβῶς ἀποσωζούσας τὸ ἴσον μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ ταυτὸν, καὶ ἰδίως ἀλλήλαις συνούσας καὶ συνεσομένας, εἰς τὸ ἀπέραντον. αὐτὴ τοῦ παντὸς δημιουργὸς ἢ τριάς. οὗτος ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος· οὐ λογισθήσεται ἕτερος πρὸς αὐτόν· οὐδ' ἐτέρως ἢ οὕτως περὶ αὐτοῦ τις λογίσαίτο τῶν φρονούντων ὀρθῶς. ἐξεῦρε πᾶσαν ὁδὸν ἐπιστήμης, προφητικῆ λέγέτω φωνῇ, Καὶ δέδωκεν αὐτὴν πάλαι μὲν, Ἰακώβ τῷ παιδί αὐτοῦ, καὶ Ἰσραὴλ τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοῖς τρισὶν αὐτοῦ τούτοις λατρευταῖς καὶ προσκυνηταῖς. ἔδει γὰρ πάντως τὴν δι' ἧς τὰ πάντα γέγονεν ἁγίαν τριάδα, ἰσαριθμούς ἑαυτῇ θεραπευτὰς ὑποστήσαι· καὶ μετὰ τῆς πρὸς ἑαυτὴν συμβουλής, ποιῆσαι πάλιν ἀνθρώπους κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν εἰκόνα τὴν καὶ ὁμοίωσιν, πολὺ προτέρας ἀκριβεστέρας καὶ σαφεστέρας. [PAGE 51] **καὶ τὰ τρία τοὺς τρεῖς**, ὅτι τε τοσοῦτοι, καὶ ὅτι τὰ πάντα Θεοειδεῖς, καὶ τρίτον, κατὰ τὴν συμποιήσαν. τὸ δὲ μείζον καὶ τέταρτον, καὶ τῆς ἐμφερείας συνέκτικον κατὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας σπουδῆν· ἧς οὐδενὶ τῶν τάντων τοσούτων, ὅσον Θεῶν τε κακεῖνοις ἐμέλησε. Τὰ μὲν οὖν, κ. τ. λ. (Mauropous, Orations 178, Euchaitorum metropolitae quae in codice vaticano graeco 676, p. 106-119; Transcribed by Knittel, p. 50-51)

Comment:

- [Knittel] In this passage there are two paragraphs in which the allusion to 1 John V.7. is remarkable. The first is this:"God Unbegotten, is the Father; God Begotten, is the Son; and God Proceeding, is the Holy Ghost. **The same Three also are One.**"In the words"**The same Three also are One,**"we are immediately reminded of the Scripture Text,"**These Three are One.**"
- [Knittel]"Yes,"it may be said,"if the expression were, 'The same three also are One, in the neuter' (ἐν), we might imagine the allusion; but it is, 'The same Three also are One,' in the masculine (εἷς)."
- [Knittel] I answer: The ONE (εἷς) evidently refers to God (Θεός), which word occurs immediately before and after. The Fathers, who expressly quote 1 John V.7, use the same mode of diction.
- [Knittel] The second paragraph is this:"The Holy Trinity,"says Maurop,"by creating the Three Saints, has produced also a Triad, resembling itself, and chiefly in unanimity."The obvious meaning of which can be nothing else than this:"Just as the Three, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, agree in one, so also do

The Witness of God is Greater

these Three Saints."But we find no text in the Bible which literally supports this on the part of God, except 1 John V.7: therefore, we have every reason to conjecture, here is an allusion to this clause. ...a few words on Maurop's panegyric. In this Oration, Maurop quotes no one text of the Bible in express terms, to prove the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. This, therefore, removes the suspicion that, as the bishop probably quoted Scriptural proofs, and yet omitted 1 John V.7. he must have been unacquainted with the text, and consequently made no allusion to it. Finally, the bishop was an Orthodox Greek, and lived at a time when his Church was at variance with the Latin, [PAGE 54] in many particulars. I entreat my Readers to bear this circumstance in mind, whenever they are assailed by the fashionable objection,"Perhaps Maurop latinizes in this allusion."

- Knittel, *New Criticisms on the Celebrated Text*, 1829, p. 52-54.

Niketas Stethatos (1005-1090 AD)

Niketas Stethatos (Greek: Νικήτας Στηθάτος, Latin: Nicetas Pectoratus; c. 1005 – c. 1090) was a Byzantine mystic and theologian who is considered a saint by the Eastern Orthodox Church. He was a follower of Symeon the New Theologian and wrote the most complete biography of Symeon, *Life of Symeon*. Niketas Stethatos was born c. 1005 and entered the Monastery of Stoudios in Constantinople at the age of fourteen. He became a close disciple of Symeon the New Theologian, eventually writing the most complete biography of his teacher, the *Life of Symeon*. [1] Niketas later became abbot of the Monastery of Stoudios. [2] The sobriquet "Stethatos", meaning "courageous," was given to Niketas due to his speaking out against Constantine IX Monomachos having an illicit mistress. Niketas Stethatos is credited with defending Symeon the New Theologian's teachings on hesychast prayer, which were considered subversive even by some eastern church authorities. Niketas gained the support of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Cerularius, who eventually won Symeon's canonization. [4] Niketas later supported Michael Cerularius in 1054, taking part in the conflict that became the East-West Schism, writing anti-Latin treatises criticizing the use of unleavened bread, Sabbath fasting, and the celibacy of priests. (Niketas_Stethatos. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Niketas_Stethatos>)

HITS:

- In fact, I only know one principle of the unique divinity: unique, royalty, power, power, operation, will, decision, domination, sovereignty of the essence and unique nature in three persons and hypostases. I do not in any way confuse (in a single hypostasis or a single person) the three hypostases and the three persons. On the contrary, I know the Father to be complete God, the Son to be complete God, the Holy Spirit to be complete God, since each person has one and the same godhead that is impartible and lacks nothing and is complete God; and insofar as it is God, each one seen by itself is the same, with only the mind telling apart the inseparable ones, **whereas Father and Son and Holy Spirit, the three are one God**. (Confession of Faith, 5; Nicéatas Stéthatos: opuscules et lettres, 1961, p. 448-449).
 - **Greek:** 5. Μίαν γὰρ ἀρχὴν γῆς μιᾶς γινώσκω θεότητος, μίαν βασιλείαν, μίαν ἐξουσίαν, δύναμιν τε καὶ ἐνέργειαν καὶ βουλήν μίαν, μίαν θέλησιν, μίαν δεσποτείαν καὶ μίαν κυριότητα τῆς μιᾶς ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις καὶ ὑποστάσεσι οὐσίας καὶ φύσεως, οὐδαμῶς δὲ καὶ εἰς μίαν ὑπόστασιν ἢ εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον τὰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις καὶ τὰ τρία πρόσωπα συγχέω, ἀλλὰ τέλειον οἶδα Θεὸν τὸν Πατέρα, τέλειον Θεὸν τὸν Υἱόν, τέλειον Θεὸν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἐπειδὴ τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ μίαν ἕκαστον πρόσωπον ἀμέριστον καὶ ἀνελλιπῆ καὶ τελείαν ἔχει θεότητα καὶ ὡς μὲν Θεὸς τὸ αὐτὸ καθέστηκεν ἕκαστον καθ' ἑαυτὸ θεωρούμενον, τοῦ νοῦς μόνου γνωρίζοντος τὰ ἀχώριστα, **τὸ δὲ Πατὴρ καὶ Υἱὸς καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, εἷς τὰ τρία Θεός**. (Confession of Faith, 5; Nicéatas Stéthatos: opuscules et lettres, 1961, p. 448-449).

Acta Synodi Atrebatensis (1024 AD)

• Gerard of Florennes (ca 975, bishop 1012[1] – 14 March 1051[2]), bishop of Cambrai as Gerard I, had formerly been chaplain to Henry II, Holy Roman Emperor, and helpful to the latter in his political negotiations with Robert the Pious, King of France. In 1024 Gerard called a synod in Arras to confront a purported heresy fomented by the Gundulfian heretics,

The Witness of God is Greater

who denied the efficacy of the Eucharist. The records of this synod, the Acta Synodi Atrebatensis,[3] preserve a summary of orthodox Christian doctrine of the early eleventh century, as well contemporary peace-making practices. According to this text's author, the heretics were convinced by Gerard's explanation of orthodoxy, renounced their heresy, and were reconciled with the church. (Gerard of Florennes. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gerard_of_Florennes>)

- [Acta Synodi Atrebatensis : held on 10th or 17th of January 1025] consists of two parts: the "epistola", which is a brief letter from Gerard I, bishop of Arras-Cambrai, to the unnamed "R," and the "Acta", which is a lengthy [PAGE 121] count of the alleged interrogation and conversion of the heretics. The "Acta" also comprise three basic elements: i) a verbal interchange in which the heretics defend their views; ii) a sermon by Gerard, which is intended to refute them; iii) and a concluding scene, in which the converts make a profession of faith. (B. Stock, The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries, 1983, p. 120-121)

- [Taylor] In 1025 we have accounts of heretics at Arras who are described in similar terms to those of Orleans; denying the human suffering of Christ and the supernatural power of priests. They too rejected marriage and set out a path of righteous practice, asserting that humankind could be purified through this alone and that no sacrament in the Catholic Church could save them, referring specifically to the uselessness of orthodox baptism and penitential acts. This group was converted back to Catholicism by Bishop Gerard I of Arras-Cambrai (1013-48). (Taylor, Dualist heresy in Aquitaine and the Agenais, c.1000-c.1249, 1999, p. 87-88)

- As the designation of Bogomils does not seem to have been used even in Macedonia and Thrace before the time of Euthymius of the Periblepton in 1045 AD, it is difficult to see how either Adhemar or Roger could have described what they believed to be dualist heresy other than as Manichaean. Three reports (by Paul, a monk of St Pere de Chartres, writing in c. 1072 about the Orleans heretics of 1022, Landulf, a cleric of Milan describing the heretics of Montforte in c. 1028, and Guibert of Nogent) emphasise the docetic views of the heretics, that is their belief that the human life of Christ was an illusion. Two reports (from the Synod of Cambrai in 1025 which looked at the allegations against the heretics of Arras, and Guibert of Nogent) say that the heretics only believed in the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles.⁶⁷ Roger of Chalons describes the ritual of the laying-on of hands.⁶⁸ Guibert says that they rejected food produced by coition.⁵⁹ All the cases exhibit strong anti-sacramental opinions, including the denial of the validity of baptism, the Eucharist, penance, and marriage. Chastity and fasting were central to their lifestyle. All these beliefs are consistent with Bogomil teaching, and in three cases there is some hint of outside influence in which Italy is the common factor. According to Raoul Glaber, the heretics at Orleans in 1022 were influenced by a female missionary from Italy, the synod at Cambrai found that the heretics at Arras were followers of an Italian called Gundolfo; and Landulf of Milan said that those at Montforte "had come into Italy from some unknown part of the world". By 1139, at the Second Lateran Council, it was thought necessary to issue a general condemnation of those who "simulating a kind of religiosity" denied the validity of the Eucharist, the baptism of children, and legitimate marriage, as well as denigrated the priesthood. (Barber, The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages, 2014, p. 29-30)

HIT:

- **[Acta]** ...That being the case, you are clearly proven inconsistent, in that you claim to uphold the evangelical and apostolic commandments, while at the same time preaching things that are contrary to them. For the Evangelist relates that "came Jesus and his disciples into the land of Judaea; and there he tarried with them, and baptized" (John 3:22) and Jesus confirmed the sacrament of baptism and the power of regeneration when the blood of redemption and the water of baptism flowed out of his side. Hence John the Apostle says: "**there are three that bear witness in earth, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood.**" (1 John 5:8) (Acta Synodi Atrebatensis; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, August 2020)
 - **Latin:** Quod cum ita sit, profecto in hoc vobis repugnare convincimini, quod evangelica vos et apostolica praecepta tenere dicitis, et his contraria praedicatis. Nam et Evangelista refert, quia "Jesus venit et discipuli ejus in Iudaeam, et ibi demorabatur cum eis, et baptizabat." (John 3:22) Qui Baptismi Sacramentum et regenerationis potentiam sanxit, quando de latere ejus profluerent sanguis redemptionis

The Witness of God is Greater

et aqua Baptismatis. Unde Joannes Apostolus: **“Tres sunt,” inquit, “qui testimonium dant in terra, Spiritus, aqua et sanguis.”** (1 Jn 5:8) (Acta Synodi Atrebatensis; Migne Latina, PL 142.1276)

Codex Cisl. 263 (1059 AD) : Plate 285

• [Lake : #167] Heavenly Ladder by John Climacus; Ruling Type I, 38d.; Signatures missing; Parchment medium-thick, not smooth, fairly white; Ink vermilion, medium and dark brown, purple; Geometrical designs, capitals and some miniatures in red, sky-blue, dull green. There is much yellow wash; Writing pendent from the ruled lines; The colophon is at the end of the text in one of the hands of the text and in the vermilion ink used elsewhere in the manuscript. (Lake & Lake, Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200, 1934, vol 4, #167)

• An **indiction** is a 15-year cycle used to date ancient and medieval documents throughout Europe,[1] and can also refer to an individual year in the cycle; for example, “the fourth indiction” came to mean the fourth year of the current indiction. Since the cycles themselves were not numbered, other information is needed to identify the specific year. The **indiction** for a Byzantine AM year (beginning September 1) is found by dividing that year number by 15 and taking the remainder (modulus). If the remainder is zero, then the indiction is 15. For example, the Byzantine year AM 6961, when Constantinople fell to the Ottoman Turks, is indiction 1 (i.e., 6961 mod 15 = 1). (Indiction. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indiction>)

HIT:

- The present will was written on my instructions in the hand of Theodoulos, monk and presbyter of the Theotokos, who gave the order and (?) drafted it, with signatures of witnesses who could be found: in the current 12th indiction, in the month of April 1059: **witnessed by Father, Son and Holy Spirit**. (Eustathii protospatharii testamentum, 159v; Translated by Nigel Wilson, correspondence, August 2020)
 - **Greek:** εγραφη υ παρουσα διατυποσησ· τη εμη προτροπη χειρι θεοδουλου μοναχου και πρεσβυτερου της θεοτοκου προταξαντοσ και υποταξαντοσ· υποσημιναντων και τον τυχοντων μαρτυρων· κατα την παρουσαν ιβ ινδικτιωνα το απριλιω μηνι (?): ετουσ ς φξζ'· **μαρτυρουντοσ πατροσ υιου και αγιου πνευματοσ**· (Eustathii protospatharii testamentum, 159v) <simeiomata-kodikon.arch.uoa.gr/index.php/simeioma/174>

Humbert of Silva Candida (d. 1061 AD)

- **[Early Years]** Humbert of Silva Candida, O.S.B., also known as Humbert of Moyenmoutier[a] (between 1000 and 1015 – 5 May 1061), was a French Benedictine abbot and later a cardinal. When Humbert was 15 years old, he was given by his parents to the Abbey of Moyenmoutier in Lorraine, as an oblate, intended for monastic life, in a practice in keeping with the Rule of St. Benedict.[1] He entered the Order when he came of age, and was later elected as abbot of the monastery. He became friends with Bruno, the Bishop of Toul, who was later to be elected as Pope Leo IX in 1048 and who brought the monk to Rome to assist him after his election.[2]
- **[Archbishop]** Pope Leo appointed Humbert the Archbishop of Sicily in 1050.[1] The Norman rulers of the island, however, prevented his landing there. In place of that post, he was named Cardinal-bishop of Silva Candida the following year.[1] It has been suggested that he was the first Frenchman to be named cardinal.[2]
- **[Papal Legate]** Under Leo, Humbert became the principal papal secretary and on a trip through Apulia in 1053, he received from John, Bishop of Trani, a letter written by Leo, Archbishop of Ochrid, criticising Western rites and practice.[3] **He translated the Greek letter into Latin and gave it to the pope, who ordered a response drawn up.** This exchange led to Humbert being sent at the head of a legatine mission, along with Frederick of Lorraine (later Pope Stephen IX) and Peter, Archbishop of Amalfi, to Constantinople to confront Patriarch Michael Cerularius.[3] Humbert was cordially welcomed by the Emperor Constantine IX, but spurned by the patriarch. Eventually, on 16 July 1054, during the

The Witness of God is Greater

celebration of the Divine Liturgy Humbert laid a papal bull of excommunication of the patriarch on the high altar of the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia, unaware that Pope Leo had died a few weeks earlier in April, which some historians have suggested meant the excommunication was invalid.[1] This event crystallized in an official way the gradual estrangement of Eastern and Western Christianity which had taken place over the centuries, and is traditionally used to date the beginning of the Great Schism.[4] It was his act of excommunicating the Patriarch of Constantinople Michael I Cerularius in 1054 which is generally regarded as the precipitating event of the so-called Great Schism between the Roman Catholic Church and the Eastern Orthodox Churches.

• **[Last Years]** In his later years, Humbert was made librarian of the Roman Curia by Pope Stephen IX, his former legate companion, and he penned the reform treatise *Libri tres adversus Simoniacos* ('Three Books Against the Simoniacs') (1057), criticising those who purchased or sold ecclesiastical office (simony), including kings for whom this had hitherto been normal practice.[5] Humbert's argument that simoniac ordinations and sacraments were invalid was countered by Peter Damian. Humbert is also credited as the brains behind the electoral decree of 1059, which stated that popes would henceforth be elected by the College of Cardinals.[1] He travelled frequently throughout Italy during the later years of his life, partly due to the election of the Antipope Benedict X in 1058. He attended the Lateran Synod of April 1059, however.[2] Humbert died in Rome on 5 May 1061 and was buried in the Lateran Basilica.[2]

• Humbert of Silva Candida. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Humbert_of_Silva_Candida>

HIT:

- **[Against Nicolaitan]** Then, no less sacrilegiously abusing another testimony of the same Apostle where he says, "**there are three that bear witness in earth, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood: and these three are one**" (1 John 5:8), you perversely try to transfer to the bread of Christ's table that which the Apostle meant regarding Christ's baptism. For these three things are present in baptism, and they make up one baptism. The spirit sanctifies, the water purifies, the blood redeems. If any one of these things is absent, there will be no baptism, as the venerable father Augustine says: "Remove the water and there is no baptism. Remove the word and there is no baptism. But if the word is added to the element, a sacrament is made." But you, wicked Pectoratus, interpreting wickedly and distorting the meaning of the one who lay on Jesus' breast, said: "And these three are in one, namely in the body of Christ", which his beloved neither thought nor wrote, but "**these three are one**", in the above sense regarding baptism. (Humbert of Silva Candida, *Against Nicolaitan*; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, August 2020)
 - **Latin:** Post haec non minori sacrilegio abusus alio testimonio eiusdem apostoli dicentis: « **Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in terra, Spiritus, aqua et sanguis, et hi tres unum sunt** (1 Ioan. V, 7) ; » perverse conaris ad panem mensae Christi transferre, quod ille de baptismo eius voluit intimare. In baptismo siquidem haec tria sunt, et unum baptisma efficiunt. Et Spiritus quidem sanctificat, aqua abluit, sanguis redimit. (0986B) Si quodlibet horum defuerit, baptismus non erit, sicut venerabilis pater Augustinus ait: « Tolle aquam, non est baptismus, tolle verbum, non est baptismus. Sed accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum. » Tu autem nequam pectorate, nequiter interpretando et depravando sententiam recumbentis super pectus Iesu, dixisti: **Et hi tres in uno sunt**, scilicet in corpore Christi, quod dilectus eius, nec sensit, nec scripsit, sed, « hi tres unum sunt (1 Ioan. VII, 8), » secundum superiorem de baptismo sensum. (Humbertus Silvae Candidae, *Contra Nicetam*; Migne Latina, PL 143.986)
- **[Against Simoniacs]** Therefore, among his many great attempts and simulations mentioned above, the old dragon, always greedy and skilled in counterfeiting, also endeavors by every means, **because there are three that give testimony to the truth in heaven and three that do so on earth (1 John 5:7-8), to give shape to three that will give testimony to his falsehood in this turbulent air which he is still allowed to occupy, and three that will do so on earth.** His pride indeed has reached such a point that he now seeks to become like the Most High while at the same time exalting himself above all that is called [God]¹ or that is worshipped. (2 Thess. 2:4) Hence, rebellious against God, he has established his own abomination in opposition to God's blessed and indivisible Trinity. The dragon's trinity consists of himself, his Antichrist, and the false prophet of them both. This way he, the Father of falsehood, opposes the Father of truth; the Antichrist opposes Christ or, in other words, falsehood

The Witness of God is Greater

opposes truth; and the false prophet, as though he were the common breath of the False One and falsehood, opposes the Spirit of the True One and truth. **Likewise, against the three that give testimony to the truth on earth, the three profane ones vomit three unclean spirits in the shape of frogs from their mouths, to defile, invade and sell those whom the water has cleansed, the Spirit has imbued and the blood of Christ has redeemed.** (Humbert of Silva Candida, Against Simoniacs. Book 2.46. How Satan sets up a profane trinity against the divine one; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, August 2020)

- **Latin:** Quapropter antiquus draco, semper cupidus et fingendi peritus, inter tot et tanta, quae eum attentare et simulare superius monstratur, etiam hoc omnimodis efficere conatur ut, **secundum quod tres sunt qui testimonium dant veritati in coelo, et tres qui in terra (I Ioan. V,7,8), sic et ipse e contrario tres, qui suae falsitati testimonium dent in hoc turbido, quem adhuc permittitur occupari aere, transfigurat, et tres qui in terra.** (1134D) Ad hoc enim eius superbia prorupit ut iam eotenus similis Altissimo fieri quaerat, ut tamen supra omne quod dicitur aut quod colitur sese extollat (II Thess. II, 4). Unde rebellis Deo contra beatam et individuum eius Trinitatem, constituit suam altrinsecus abominationem, se videlicet atque Antichristum suum et pseudopropheta[m] amborum, ut ipse Pater mendacii Patri veritatis, et Antichristus Christo, seu mendacium veritati, atque pseudopropheta[m], velut conspiratio mendacis et mendacii Spiritui veraci et veritatis resistat. **Qui nihilominus, pariter contra tres qui testimonium dant veritati in terra, tres ex suo ore spiritus immundos in modum ranarum evomunt, qui pollutant, invadant et vendant quos aqua abluit, Spiritus imbuat, sanguisque Christi redemit.** (1135A) (Humbert of Silva Candida, Adversus Simoniacos. LIBER SECUNDUS. CAPUT XLVI. Qualiter Satanus profanam trinitatem contra divinam exstruat; Migne Latina, PL 143.1134)

Peter Damian (1007-1073 AD)

- Peter Damian (Latin: Petrus Damianus; Italian: Pietro or Pier Damiani; c. 1007 – 21 or 22 February 1072 or 1073)[1] was a reforming Benedictine monk and cardinal in the circle of Pope Leo IX. Dante placed him in one of the highest circles of Paradiso as a great predecessor of Saint Francis of Assisi and he was declared a Doctor of the Church in 1828. His feast day is 21 February.

Peter was born in Ravenna around 988[2], the youngest of a large noble, but poor family. Orphaned early, he was at first adopted by an elder brother, who ill-treated and under-fed him while employing him as a swineherd. After some years, another brother, Damianus, who was archpriest at Ravenna, had pity on him and took him away to be educated. Adding his brother's name to his own, Peter made such rapid progress in his studies of theology and canon law, first at Ravenna, then at Faenza, and finally at the University of Parma, that, around the age of 25, he was already a famous teacher at Parma and Ravenna.[3]

- Extending the area of his activities, he entered into communication with the Emperor Henry III. He was present in Rome when Clement II crowned Henry III and his consort Agnes, and he also attended a synod held at the Lateran in the first days of 1047, in which decrees were passed against simony.[5] After this he returned to his hermitage. Damian published a constant stream of open letters on a variety of theological and disciplinary controversies. About 1050, he wrote Liber Gomorrhianus addressed to Pope Leo IX, containing a scathing indictment of the practice of sodomy, as threatening the integrity of the clergy. Meanwhile, the question arose as to the validity of the ordinations of simoniacal clerics. Peter Damian wrote (about 1053) a treatise, the Liber Gratissimus, in favor of their validity, a work which, though much combatted at the time, was potent in deciding the question in their favor before the end of the 12th century. Pope Benedict XVI described him as "one of the most significant figures of the 11th century ... a lover of solitude and at the same time a fearless man of the Church, committed personally to the task of reform." [6]

- Peter Damian. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peter_Damian>

The Witness of God is Greater

HIT:

- [Letter 10] And now, if I may point to the most outstanding prerogative that I have enjoyed, when the Lord hung on the cross, it was I who flowed from the side of my Creator and, in association with his precious blood, hallowed the earth and the heavens. In consequence the apostles John says: "This is He who came by water and blood, Jesus Christ." (1 John 5:6) and a bit later he adds: "**There are three witnesses in earth: the Spirit, the water, and the blood.**" (1 John 5:8) After giving close attention to everything included above, moreover, you should regard all the other elements that depend on me. (Peter Damian, Letter 10 to William the hermit, sec. 11; Owen J. Blum, 1989, vol 1, 1989, p. 118)
 - **Latin:** Et ut iam excellentissimum meae dignitatis privilegium pandam, suspenso in cruce Domino, ex ipso Creatoris mei latere prodii (Ioan. XIX) : et omnem terrarum orbem totumque aerem, sociato mihi pretiosissimo eius sanguine consecravi." Hinc est enim quod Ioannes (0410B) apostolus ait: "Hic est qui venit per aquam et sanguinem, Iesus Christus" (1 John 5:6) : et paulo post subdit: "**Tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua et sanguis**" (1 John 5:8) . Iam vero si cuncta superius comprehensa attendas, reliqua omnia meae ditioni subiecta elementa considera. (Petrus Damianus, Epistola ad Guilielmum monacrum; Migne Latina, PL 144.410)

The Letter of Egilbert of Trier (circa 1085 AD)

• [Nock] The Regensburg Epistolae Rhetoricae of the Clm 14596 (saec. xii), for the first time completely edited by Fickermann (pp. 259-382), originated as a collection probably about 1085. The author might have been connected at one time with the cathedral of Verdun, Bamberg, or Regensburg. The Munich manuscript, however, came certainly from the city on the Danube. The collection as such differs from others of the Salian period in contents and nature. It is a fictitious correspondence of thirty-one letters (**except the first eight epistles**, edited separately in the Appendix, pp. 368-382), and deals with such issues as simony, celibacy, and the investiture of ecclesiastical offices, or with scholarly rhetorical and logical questions. **All the letters are written by the same unknown author, who was an even greater Ciceronian than Meinhard of Bamberg. The Disputationes Tusculanae, used by him in about one hundred instances together with other philosophical and rhetorical writings of Cicero, determine his moral philosophy. His rhetorical verbosity frequently tails off into platitudes which betray an intellectual level by no means exalted.** Regardless of these facts, the Regensburg Rhetorical Letters are good historical witnesses of mediaeval morals and pre-scholastic thinking. Fickermann's edition is a masterpiece of the difficult art of publishing such a complex text. (Nock, Speculum, 1951, p. 503)

• [Robinson] **Letters 8 and 10, however, seem to differ from the rest of the Regensburg corpus in being more circumstantial and possessing more of the character of actual communications. Both deal with issues which are commonly discussed in the Libelli de lite: letter 8 with the authority of canon law, with simony and celibacy, and with the reinstating of a deposed priest; and letter 10 with the undesirability of lay control over the priestly office and with bad prelates. Both letters are directed to a man who has been elected to an ecclesiastical office; and in letter 8 it is evident that the recipient is the kinsman of the sender and seeks consecration from him.** In neither letter are names of persons or places specified; but **Fickermann suggested that the insistence in letter 8 that canon law prohibits the election of a bishop to a see whose own bishop is still alive but a fugitive, indicates that the recipient of letter 8 must be an imperialist anti-bishop; while the request for consecration must be connected with Bishop Theoderic of Verdun's long delay in consecrating his kinsman, Archbishop Egilbert of Trier. Fickermann, therefore, wished to interpret letters 8 and 10 as part of an actual correspondence**

The Witness of God is Greater

between Theoderic of Verdun (circa 1047-1089) and Egilbert of Trier (d. 1101 AD). (Robinson, *The 'Colores Rhetorici' in the Investiture Contest*, 2020, p. 232)

• [McDonald] Before leaving Augustine we should note two points. Firstly, in 1934 Norbert Fickermann drew attention to a note in a twelfth-century manuscript of the Regensburg *Epistolae rhetoricae*, which makes the following claims: "St Jerome argued that that verbal repetition [replicatio] in the [first] Epistle of John—**'And there are three that bear witness, the Father, the Word and the Spirit'**—was established as certain. By contrast, St Augustine prescribed that it should be removed, on the basis of the Apostle's meaning and the authority of the Greek." (fn. 34. Thiele, "Beobachtungen zum Comma Iohanneum (I Joh 5,7f.).", 1959, 71-72, **takes this statement as possible evidence that Augustine suppressed the comma in his text, evidence he sees in the occurrence of the readings Filius and Spiritus Sanctus in Augustine's Contra Maximinum.**) (McDonald, *Raising the Ghost of Arius. Erasmus, the Johannine Comma and Religious Difference in Early Modern Europe* [Ph.D. dissertation Leiden 2011; impressum: Bruxelliis: Ex officina Antipodea, 2011], p. 30.)

• [R. Brown] **Fickermann has recently raised the possibility that in fact, he [Augustine] did know of the Comma [1 John 5:7] but rejected it (and for that reason never quoted it). Fickermann points to a hitherto unpublished eleventh-century text which says that Jerome considered the Comma to be a genuine part of 1 John - clearly a memory of the Pseudo-Jerome "Prologue [to the Catholic Epistles]"**. (Brown, *The Epistles of John: Translated, with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary*, 1982, p. 785)

HIT:

- **[Letter no. 8]** St Jerome argued that that verbal repetition [replicatio] in the [first] Epistle of John — **"And there are three that bear witness, the Father, the Word and the Spirit"**— was established as certain. St. Augustine, on the basis of apostolic thought and on the authority of the Greek text, ordered it to be left out. (Letter No. 8, Lines 3-10, from Egilbert of Trier to Theoderic of Verdun, in Regensburg clm 14596; Fickermann, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 14596; Fickermann, ed. *Die Regensburger rhetorischen Briefe*, p. 306; Translated by Deborah Adlam, 2011)
 - **Latin:** Replicationem illam in epistola Iohannis: **"et tres sunt qui testimonium dant, pater et verbum et spiritus"**, beatus Hieronymus ratam esse astruit, beatus vero Augustinus ex Apostoli ex sentential et ex Grece linguę auctoritate demendam esse prescribit. (Regensburg clm 14596; Fickermann, ed. *Die Regensburger rhetorischen Briefe*, p. 306)

BNF Latin 13174 (10th century)

• [Berger] The interest of manuscript 13174 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8427447k.image> resides even less in its own text than in a note that accompanies it. It is a manuscript of the Acts, the Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse, probably written at the end of the ninth century, the text seems good, and I will cite only one. (I John, V, 7) reads in these terms: "And there are three that give testimony: the spirit and the water and the blood. And these three are one." (Latin: Quoniam très sunt qui testimonium dant, spiritus aqua et sanguis, et très unum sunt.) (Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge*, 1893, p. 103)

The Witness of God is Greater

HITS:

• [1 John 5:6-9] This is he that came by water and blood, Jesus Christ: not by water only but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit which testifieth that Christ is the truth. And there are three that give testimony [*on earth*]: the spirit, the water and the blood. And these three are one.

If we receive the testimony of men... (1 John 5:6-9 : Omit verse 7)

11 hic est qui venit per aquam

12 et sanguinem Ihs xpr. Non in aqua solum

13 sed in aqua et sanguine. et Spiritus est qui testi-

14 ficatur quoniam xrs est veritas. quia tres sunt

15 qui testimonium dant [*in terra*] Sps aqua est sanguis

16 et tres unum sunt. ✕ XVIII

17 Si testimonium hominum accipimus... (f. 98r [Image 205])

<gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8427447k/f205.image>

• Marginalia

And there are Three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost.

And these three are one. (1 John 5:7)

16 ... ✕ et tres sunt qui testimonium

dicunt in coelo, pater

verbum et spiritus sanctus.

et hi tres unum [sunt]. (f. 98r [Image 205])

<gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8427447k/f205.image>

• **Jerome, prologue to the Catholic Epistles.** "Here begins the prologue of the holy priest Jerome" **Latin:** INCIPIT PROLOGUS SCI [SACRI] HIERONIMI PRESBRI [PRESBYTERI] (f. 72r-72v [Image 153])

Comment:

• [Paschasius Radbertus] **As also John the Apostle says that there are three on earth giving their testimony to this mystical gift, Spirit, water and blood, and as is also found in the corrected codices: And there are Three who give testimony in heaven (it is evident) Father and Son and Holy Spirit, and these Three are One.** (Paschasius Radbertus, Exposition of Psalm 44, book 2; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, April 2020)

Correctorium

• [Berger] This is the lesson of good manuscripts. **A second hand, almost contemporary,** has completed this text [Latin]:

The Witness of God is Greater

• And there are three that give testimony on earth: the spirit and the water and the blood. And these three are one. And there are Three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit. And these three are one. (1 John 5:8,7)

• **Latin:** Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus aqua et sanguis, et tres unum sunt; et tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in caelo, Pater Verbum et Spiritus sanctus. et hi tres unum [sunt].

• [Berger] This text is exactly (with the exception of the words “quia” and “et Filius”) that of the first hand of the Bible of Theodulfus. **But at the end of the manuscript, on the back of the penultimate guard (fol., 139), on the back of the page which contains the epitaph of the famous Abbot of Corbie, Ratoldus [c. 972-986], the same writer probably to whom is due the correction that has just been quoted, wrote the following four variants:**

• **[a]ug[ustinus]:** Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in terra, spiritus aqua et sanguis, et hi tres unum sunt in Christo Jhesu; et tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in caelo, Pater Verbum et Spiritus, et hi tres unum sunt.

• **Item :** Hi sunt qui testificantur in caelo, Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt.
[palimpsest of Freisingen (q)]

• **Athanasius :** Tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in caelo, Pater et Verbum et Spiritus, et in Christo Jhesu unum sunt.

• **Fulgentius :** Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in caelo, Pater Verbum et Spiritus, et tres unum sunt.

• [Berger] The text put under the name of St. Augustine is exactly that of the Speculum [(Speculum: Liber de divinis scripturis. Chapter I, CSEL 12:314; Mai 1852: p. 6] wrongly attributed to this father. The second variant is not found in the works of St. Augustine; it seems to agree with the text of the palimpsest of Freisingen (q) [Bruyne, Les fragments de Freising, 1921, page 67, fol. 35 [transcription]; Ziegler, Italafragmente der Paulinischen Briefe, 1876, p. 68 [facsimile]], with that of Cassiodorus, and with the Latin translation of the commentary of St. Epiphanius on the Song of Songs; we must also bring it closer to the bible of Corbie, which will be mentioned earlier. The following quote is from the book of Pseudo-Athanasius on the Trinity [De Trinitate Book 1.50, 69; Migne Latina, PL 62.243C & 246B; CCSL 9:14, 19]; finally Fulgentius is quoted exactly according to his Responsio Contra Arianos [Fulgentius, Responsio contra Arianos; Migne Latina, PL 65.224]. **In this curious attempt to compare texts, there is certainly very little criticism, but a real erudition, and it was undoubtedly a man of many readings that the monk of Corbie who thus amassed the variants of the most discussed passage of the Bible.**

• Samuel Berger, Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge, 1893, pp. 103–105.

• [Hug] This *Correctorium* [scribes writing notes like the one in this manuscript] occasionally cites, for the purpose of determining the text, those Fathers, who quote the text before Jerome, such as **Augustin and Ambrosius**. If this also was the case in others the *Correctoria* sometimes have contributed to disfigure Jerome's or Alcuinus' text by parts introduced from other sources. (Hug, An Introduction to the Writings of the New Testament, 1827, vol. 1, p. 475; Translated by Daniel Guildford Wait.)

The Witness of God is Greater

Codex 100 (1111 AD) : Plate 440

• [Lake : #244] The Leningrad collection includes a number of single leaves acquired by that great scholar, the Archimandrite Porphyrius Uspenski, and we have kept these together as they are in a somewhat different category from any others which we have published. The Archimandrite made a habit of abstracting a single leaf from any manuscript which he was studying in Eastern libraries, a proceeding which his high ecclesiastical rank made easy, and his great scholarship profitable. If a manuscript was dated, he always noted the fact. He was a careful observer and his dates have always proved correct wherever they can be; checked with the original manuscript. To avoid trouble to others he often indicated the place whence a leaf was taken, by writing "one page missing" (Latin: *deest folium unum*) or some such phrase in a codex he had studied. (Lake & Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, 1934, vol 4, #244)

• [Montfaucon] This poem is the second in a series of two epigrams. Between the two poems we have a short note in prose with the date of the manuscript. (B. De Montfaucon, 1715, *Bibliotheca Coisliniana, olim Segueriana*, Paris: 272)

HIT:

Father, Word and Spirit, Trinity, one nature,

Give me firmness, give me strength, so that I may remain in you.

Fill me with every devout fear

By the prayers of the saints and of the chaste Virgin.

God's gift and the work of Theodorus the monk.

(Colophon, Codex 100; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, August 2020)

• Greek:

Πάτερ, Λόγε καὶ πνεῦμα· Τριάς, φύσις μία,

στήριξον, ἐδραίωσον ἐν σοὶ προσμένειν.

Πληρόν με παντὸς εὐσεβεστάτου φόβου,

λιταῖς τῶν ἁγίων σου καὶ τῆς ἀγνῆς παρθένου·

Θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον καὶ πόνος Θεοδώρου μοναχοῦ.

<www.dbbe.ugent.be/occurrences/18874>

Comment:

• [Translator] There's a pun of sorts in this line, since the name Theodorus means "God's gift". You'll see the similarities in the words if you look at the Greek. Thus, the poem is God's gift and the work of a person named God's gift. (Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, August 2020)

Euthymius Zigabenus (circa 1100 AD)

• Euthymius Zigabenus or Zigadenus or Zygadenus (Greek: Εὐθύμιος Ζιγαβηνός or Ζυγαδηνός; died after 1118) was a 12th-century monk and commentator on the Bible. He was a friend of the Byzantine emperor Alexius I Comnenus, for whom he wrote a lengthy work on heresies, *Panoplia Dogmatica* or *Panoply of Doctrine* (or "Full Armour of Belief"). This began in the apostolic era and continued down to the Bogomils, some of whom he personally examined. The entry on the Bogomils is our main source of information about them. Nothing is known about his life.[1] He was a monk and lived in the monastery of the Virgin Mary near Constantinople. He was favoured by both the emperor and his daughter Anna Comnena, who extols his learning and piety in her *Alexiad*. [2] He also wrote a commentary on the Psalms, one on the four gospels, and one on the letters of St. Paul. These are based mainly on patristic sources. (Euthymios Zigabenus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Euthymios_Zigabenus>)

HITS:

The Witness of God is Greater

- Also See: [Panoplia dogmatica \(circa 1100 AD\)](#)
- [Preamble] Some have said that Ezra, others that Hezekiah made a collection of the psalms, one hundred and fifty in number. For therein the number fifty, esteemed by the Hebrews, being arrived at through seven sevens, is perceived, and so too is the mystery of the Trinity, with the unit there being added **on account of the one Godhead in three persons**. (Euthymius, Exposition of the Psalter, A Preamble to the Exposition of the Book of Psalms, §67; Translated by John Raffan, 2015, p. 7)
 - **Greek:** Οἱ μὲν οὖν εἶπον Ἔσδραν, οἱ δὲ Ἐζεκιάν συναγαγεῖν τοὺς ψαλμοὺς, εἰς ἑκατὸν καὶ πενήτηντα συναριθμουμένους. Ὅμοῦ γὰρ ὁ παρ' Ἑβραίοις ἐνθεωρεῖται τιμώμενος ἀριθμὸς τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς, δι' ἑβδομάδος ἑβδομάδων συμπεραινόμενος, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς Τριάδος συνεπιθεωρεῖται μυστήριον, τῆς μονάδος ἐκεῖ προστιθεμένης, **διὰ τὴν μίαν ἐν τρισὶ | προσώποις Θεότητα**. (Euthymius, Exposition of the Psalter, A Preamble to the Exposition of the Book of Psalms, §67; Moscow Synodal Library MSS gr. 195 & other early MSS, Transcribed and Collated by John Raffan, 2015, p. 8)
- Ps. 66:8β”And let all the ends of the earth fear him.”By the triple repetition he indicated the three hypostases of the divinity, and by saying ‘him’ in the singular, he indicated the unity of the divinity. **For even though each of the three persons is God, yet he is called one tri-hypostatic God**. (Euthymius, Psalm 66. Towards fulfilment; in hymns; a psalm of an ode; Translation by John Raffan, 2015, p. 361)
 - **Greek:** Καὶ φοβηθήτωσαν αὐτὸν πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς. Διὰ μὲν τοῦ τριπλασιασμοῦ, τὸ τρισυπόστατον ἐνέφηνε, διὰ δὲ τοῦ εἰπεῖν ἐνικῶς, αὐτὸν, τὸ ἐνιαῖον τῆς θεότητος. **Εἰ γὰρ καὶ Θεὸς ἕκαστον τῶν τριῶν προσώπων, ἀλλ' εἰς Θεὸς λέγεται τρισυπόστατος**. (Euthymius, Psalm 66. Towards fulfilment; in hymns; a psalm of an ode; Moscow Synodal Library MSS gr. 195 & other early MSS, Transcribed and Collated by John Raffan, 2015, p. 360)
- • Ps. 135:4”To him who alone works great wonders.”The ‘alone’ is used in contradistinction to the idols. **For ‘Lord’ is what he calls the one God in three persons**. (Euthymius, Psalm 135. Alleluia; Translated by John Raffan, 2015, p. 719)
 - **Greek:** Τῷ ποιήσαντι θαυμάσια μεγάλα μόνω. Τὸ μόνω, πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν κεῖται τῶν εἰδώλων. **Κύριον γὰρ λέγει, τὸν ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις ἕνα Θεόν**. (Euthymius, Psalm 135. Alleluia; Moscow Synodal Library MSS gr. 195 & other early MSS, Transcribed and Collated by John Raffan, 2015, p. 720)

Gilbert Crispin (1055-1117 AD)

• Gilbert Crispin (c. 1055 – 1117) was a Christian author and Anglo-Norman monk, appointed by Archbishop Lanfranc in 1085 to be the abbot, proctor and servant of Westminster Abbey, England. Gilbert became the third Norman Abbot of Westminster to be appointed after the Norman Conquest, succeeding Abbot Vitalis of Bernay. He was probably the grandson of Gislebert Crispin, Baron of Bec, although the Crispin line is notoriously convoluted and uncertain. His father may have been William Crispin, and his mother Eve the daughter of Simon de Montfort l'Aumary. He was closely related to Robert Crispin (Latin Ro(d)bertus Crispinus) a Norman mercenary who died in 1073. Gilbert was a young monk under Saint Anselm at the Abbey of Bec, Normandy. There Gilbert was said to have:”become a perfect scholar in all the liberal arts”. In 1093 Anselm became Archbishop of Canterbury. Gilbert promoted Anselm's arguments in his disputes with King Henry I of England. Gilbert was probably useful to Anselm's cause, since he apparently also acted as a general administrator to the King. Gilbert's own careful and subtle writings opened a dialogue between the Christian and Jewish faiths, which may possibly have drawn on earlier (and now lost) work by an anonymous writer from the time of Charlemagne. Gilbert also wrote the life of Herluin (Vita Herluini), the knight-founder and first Abbot of Bec, and created many other works. On Gilbert's death there was no Abbot appointed for four years. Much of Gilbert's organisational work

The Witness of God is Greater

was thus undone, until the appointment of Abbot Herbert in 1121 stabilised matters somewhat. Gilbert's tomb can be seen in Westminster Abbey, in the 'south walk'. (Gilbert Crispin. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gilbert_Crispin>)

HIT:

- [22] For the Father and the Holy Spirit are one, since the Father and the Son are one, for the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are one, **since John in his Epistle writes: "For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost."**(1 John 5:7) (Gilbert Crispin, On the Holy Spirit)
 - **Latin:** Nam Pater et Spiritus Sanctus unum sunt, sicut Pater et Filius sunt, quia et Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus unum sunt, **sicut Iohannes in Epistola scribit: "Et hi tres unum sunt, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus."**(1 John 5:7) (Crispin. Treatises, On the Holy Spirit; in Evans & Abulafia. 1986, p. 119).

Bruno Astensis, Bishop of Segni (1045-1123 AD)

• Bruno di Segni (c. 1045 – 18 July 1123) [also known as Bruno Astense or Brunonis Astensis] was an Italian Roman Catholic prelate and professed member from the Order of Saint Benedict who served as the Bishop of Segni and the Abbot of Montecassino.[1] He studied under the Benedictines in Bologna before being appointed as the canon of the Siena cathedral and before he was invited to Rome where he became a bishop and counselled four consecutive popes.[2] He served as an abbot in Montecassino but his chastising Pope Paschal II on the Concordat of Segni in 1111 prompted the pope to relieve him from his duties as abbot and ordered Bruno to return to his diocese where he died just over a decade later.[3][1] Bruno's canonization was celebrated on 5 September 1181 under Pope Lucius III who presided over the celebration in the late bishop's diocese.[4] (Bruno, bishop of Segni. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bruno_(bishop_of_Segni)>)

HIT:

- **[Sentences]** Whence, also, John the apostle said, "Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God? This is he that came by water and blood, Jesus Christ: not by water only but by water and blood."(1 John 5:5-6). Do you not hear that our savior came to save and redeem the world not by circumcision, but by water and blood? And not by water only, because it was impossible for man to be freed by baptism alone without the shedding of Christ's blood, but by water and blood, so that the blood might serve for the price [i.e. the price of man's redemption] and the water might serve for cleansing. **"Because there are three that give testimony on earth: the spirit and the water and the blood. And these three are one. And there are Three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one."**(1 John 5:7-8) The heavens and the earth testify to us that the Son of man came into this world in order to save us and redeem us. (Bruno Astensis, Sentences, Book 4, Chapter 5; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, August, 2020)
 - **Latin:** Unde et Iohannes apostolus ait: « Quis est, qui vincit mundum, nisi qui credit quoniam Christus est Filius Dei. Hic est enim qui venit per aquam et sanguinem, Iesus Christus; non in aqua solum, sed in aqua et sanguine (I Ioan. V, 5). "Nonne audis, quia Salvator noster non per circumcisionem, sed per aquam et sanguinem venit salvare et redimere mundum? (0988C) Et non in aqua solum, quia impossibile erat sine Christi sanguinis effusione solo baptisate hominem liberari, sed in aqua et sanguine, ut sanguis ad pretium et ad lavandum aqua proficeret. « **Quoniam tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra, Spiritus, aqua et sanguis; et hi tres unum sunt. Et tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in coelo: Pater, Verbum et Spiritus sanctus; et hi tres unum sunt** (ibid., 7-8). » Et coelum nobis testatur et terra quod Filius hominis venit in hunc mundum ut nos redimeret atque salvaret. (Bruno Astensis, Sententiae, Liber IV, chaput V; Migne Latina, PL 165.987A)

The Witness of God is Greater

Rupert of Deutz (1075-1129 AD)

• Rupert of Deutz (Latin: Rupertus Tuitiensis; c. 1075/1080 – c. 1129) was an influential Benedictine theologian, exegete and writer on liturgical and musical topics. Rupert was from Liège, and late in life became abbot of the Abbey of Deutz, in what is now a suburb of Cologne. He was a prolific writer, and his works take up four volumes in Patrologia Latina (vols. 167–170); He died in Deutz. (Rupert of Deutz. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rupert_of_Deutz>)

HIT:

- **The three who bear witness in heaven. Why did Saint John not say "the Father and the Son", but "the Father and the Word"? How the Word bears witness to the man he assumes.**
- **We have spoken according to our strength of the three witnesses who bear witness on earth; a few words also remain to be said of the three who bear witness in heaven. For "there are three", he says, "who bear witness in heaven: the Father, the Word and the Holy Spirit". We first ask ourselves why he did not say "Father and Son," more commonly used form, but "Father and Word and Holy Spirit".**
- Let us answer that the three witnesses, on both sides, do not only testify in our favor that we were born of God, as the thesis put it: "All that is born of God triumphs over the world", and according to the thesis. These words at the end of the chapter: "He who believes in the Son of God has the testimony of God in himself"; but they still bear, or rather they bear chief witness to Jesus himself. They attest that he is indeed Christ, and that "Christ is Truth". It was necessary to avoid giving hold to the heretics, who were disposed to say that there are two sons, one Son of God, the other son of man. Also the Scriptures, relating the testimonies given on this man who was hung on the cross and died, did not mean that the Father and the Son bear witness to him, whereas he himself in the double divine and human nature is the only Son of God. The Scriptures preferred to say "the Father and the Word and the Holy Spirit". And really, it is not indeed. the Son who bears witness to the Son; but it is the Word who bears witness to the assumed man. He testifies that the very one who has been denied and reproved is Christ in person, is Truth itself. I mean it doesn't. not think of two persons in Christ, one bearing witness to the other, but that one of the two natures of Christ bears witness to the other. How does the Word bear witness? To say nothing of so many things that are beyond our beginnings, he testifies in this: that everything that this man said is true, is the only true Word. And that is a legitimate testimony.
- For the Law gives the sign by which we recognize the prophet and the one who is not a prophet: "What if you say to yourself: How can I know that this word the Lord has not spoken? This is the sign that you will have: what this prophet foretold in the name of the Lord and which did not happen, that the Lord did not say, but the prophet invented it by the swelling of his mind; and therefore you will not respect it." This rule was given in view of our prophet, the Lord of the prophets. For here is the theme that had just been posed: "The Lord your God will raise up out of your race and of your brothers a prophet like me", etc. The Law having therefore set the major, the person concerned provides us with the minor by saying: "Heaven and earth will pass, but as for my words, they will not pass." Against the Jews, his enemies, let us give as only argument that he said of them: "They will fall with the edge of the sword, and they will be taken captive in all the nations"; and so was done. So, according to the testimony of the Word, "Jesus is the Christ": yes, this Jesus who was thought to be the son of Joseph - and there is no other Christ.
- But how does the Father bear witness to him? First by saying: "This is my beloved Son in whom I am delighted. » Then by always answering him, for the realization of great works that no one else has done, and above all by raising him from the dead. For if he were to lie in saying that he is the Christ, the testimony of divine works would not accompany him, the resurrection of his flesh which is the great testimony would not follow. In turn, the Holy Spirit bears this witness to him that he is Christ and that he is the Son of God. For he said: "When the Paraclete comes, whom I send to you from the Father, the Spirit of truth which proceeds from the Father, he will bear witness of me, and you also will bear witness." **And this word has been realized, and is being realized, and will be realized until the end of time. "These three bear witness in heaven", that is to say invisibly, while the previous witnesses, the Spirit, the water and the blood, bore witness on the earth, that is to say visibly. The Spirit indeed appeared on him visibly, taking the bodily form of a dove, and confirmed what he had ordered to recognize in this sign, namely that "it is he who baptizes." "The blood and water, Jesus**

The Witness of God is Greater

visibly poured out on his side, having already died, which he would not have done if he was not the Christ Son of God. Let us now return to our subject.

- Rupert of Deutz, *The Operations of the Holy Spirit*, Book 3.16; Translated by Élisabeth de Solms, vol 2, 1967.

Latin:

- **De tribus qui testimonium dant in coelo, et cur non dixerit: Pater et Filius, sed « Pater et Verbum, » et quomodo Verbum homini assumpto testimonium perhibuerit.**
- **De tribus testibus testimonium in terra dantibus (1657B) pro posse diximus, superest ut de tribus testimonium in coelo dantibus breviter dicamus: Nam et tres sunt, inquit, qui testimonium dant in coelo, Pater, Verbum et Spiritus sanctus (I. Ioan. V). Primo quaeritur cur non dixerit, quod magis usitatum est, Pater et Filius, sed Pater, et Verbum et Spiritus sanctus.**
- Ad quod dicendum, quia non solum tres illi vel tres isti testes testimonium dant, quod sumus nati ex Deo, sicut proposuerat, dicendo: Omne quod natum est ex Deo, vincit mundum, et sicut in fine capituli: qui credit, inquit, in Filium Dei, habet testimonium Dei in se (ibid.). Verum et ipsi, imo principaliter ipsi Iesu testimonium dant quia ipse est Christus, vel quia Christus est veritas (ibid.). Ne ergo (1657C) occasio porrigeretur haereticis, dicturis duos esse filios, alterum Filium Dei, et alterum filium hominis, de illo homine, qui pependit in cruce et mortuus est, testificationes conferens, noluit dicere, quia testimonium dant ei Pater, et Filius, cum ipse in utraque substantia Dei et hominis, unus sit Dei Filius, sed Pater et Verbum, inquit, et Spiritus sanctus. Nam revera non Filius filio, sed Verbum assumpto homini testimonium dat quod ipse qui negatus et reprobatus est, ipse, inquam, sit Christus, ipse sit veritas, id est non altera Christi persona, alteri Christi personae; sed altera Christi substantia alteri Christi substantiae hoc testimonium dat. Quomodo testimonium dat hoc Verbum? Ut multa praeteream, quae nostram excedunt infantiam, in eo nimirum (1657D) testimonium dat quod quaecunque locutus est hic homo, vera sunt, et omnia unum verum Verbum. Et hoc est legitimum testimonium.
- Dicit enim lex cognoscendi prophetae, et non prophetae signum: Quod si tacita cogitatione responderis: Quomodo possum intelligere verbum quod non est locutus Dominus, hoc habebis signum: Quod in nomine Domini propheta ille praedixerit, et non evenerit, hoc Dominus non locutus est, sed per tumorem animi sui propheta confixit, et idcirco non timebis eum (Deut. XVIII). Hoc nimirum propter istum prophetam, imo prophetarum Dominum dictum est. Promiserat enim, dicens: Prophetam de gente tua, et de fratribus tuis, sicut me suscitabit Dominus tuus (ibid.), etc. Hac ergo praecunte legis propositione (1658A) assumptionem ipse de quo propositum fuerat, nobis porrigit, dicens: Coelum et terra transibunt, verba autem mea non transibunt (Matth. XXIV). Porro adversus inimicos eius Iudaeos vel istud sufficiat, quia dixit de illis: Et cadent in ore gladii, et captivi ducentur in omnes gentes (Ier. XLIV), ut quae ita factum est. Igitur secundum Verbi testimonium Iesus est Christus, Iesus utique, ut putabatur filius Ioseph (Luc. III), et non alius Christus est.
- Quomodo autem Pater dat huic testimonium? Primum dicendo: Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi complacui (Matth. XIII). Deinde semper illum audiendo in faciendis operibus magnis, quae nemo alius fecit (Ioan. XV), maxime vero ipsum resuscitando a mortuis. Si enim dicendo se esse Christum, mentiretur, (1658B) divinorum operum testimonium non illum comitaretur, resurrectio carnis eius, quod magnum est testimonium, non consequeretur. Nihilominus Spiritus sanctus testimonium dat huic quod sit Christus, vel quod sit Filius Dei, quia videlicet quemadmodum dixit: Cum venerit Paracletus quem ego mittam vobis a Patre Spiritum veritatis, qui a Patre procedit, ille testimonium perhibebit de me, et vos testimonium perhibebitis (Ioan. XV), sic factum est, et fit, et fiet usque in finem saeculi. **Hi tres testimonium dant in coelo, id est invisibiliter. Nam antedicti testes, scilicet Spiritus, aqua et sanguis, dederunt testimonium in terra, id est, visibiliter. Spiritus enim visibiliter, id est sumpta columbae corporea specie, super illum apparuit, affirmans quod hoc (1658C) signo cognosci iusserat, scilicet qui baptizat, sanguinem et aquam visibiliter de latere suo iam mortuus fudit; quod non fecisset, si non esset Christus Filius Dei. Nunc ad nostra redeamus.**
- Rupertus Tuitiensis, *De Operibus Spiritus Sancti liber tertiu, S. De sapientia liber tertius*; Migne Latina, PL 167.1657-1658.

The Witness of God is Greater

Alger of Liège (1055–1131 AD)

• Alger of Liège (1055–1131), known also as Alger of Cluny and Algerus Magister, was a learned clergyman from Liège author of several notable works. Alger was first deacon of the church of St Bartholomew in his native Liège and was then appointed (c. 1100) to St. Lambert's Cathedral. He declined offers from German bishops and finally retired to the monastery of Cluny, where he died at a high age, leaving behind a solid reputation for piety and intelligence.[1] His History of the Church of Liège, and many of his other works, are lost. The most important remaining are:

- De Misericordia et Justitia (On Mercy and Justice), a collection of biblical extracts and sayings of Church Fathers with commentary (an important work for the history of church law and discipline), which is to be found in the Anecdota of Martène, vol. v.
- De Sacramentis Corporis et Sanguinis Domini; a treatise, in three books, against the Berengarian heresy, highly commended by Peter of Cluny and Erasmus.
- De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio; given in Bernard Pez's Anecdota, vol. iv.
- De Sacrificio Missae; given in the Collectio Scriptor. Vet. of Angelo Mai, vol. ix. p. 371.[1]

• Alger of Liège. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alger_of_Liège>

HIT:

- [Sacraments, Book 1] Chapter 19. That a sacrament symbolizes things in two ways, either by its own resemblance to a thing or by the resemblance of an action that is performed on the sacrament. ...**That is also why there are three things that give testimony to Christ on earth: the spirit, the water, and the blood** (1 John 5:7); because it was miraculous both for mortals to receive the Holy Spirit from heaven according to Christ's promise, and for a dead man to shed blood from the wound in his side, like a living man, instead of putrid matter, and even water along with the blood, which neither the living nor the dead usually do. Yet, just as it is agreed that it was a miracle, it is also agreed that it was a mystery. (Alger of Liège, On the sacraments — Theologian Alger, On the sacraments of the body and blood of the Lord, Book 1; Translated by Sara Van der Pas, correspondence, August 2020)
 - **Latin:** Caput XIX. Quod sacramentum duobus modis significat, vel sua ex se similitudine, vel alicuius actionis erga se. ...**Unde et tria sunt, quae Christo testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis** (I Ioan. V, 7) ; quia et mirum fuit mortales de coelo secundum promissionem Christi Spiritum sanctum accipere, et mortuum more viventis non saniem, sed sanguinem; imo supra morem vivorum et mortuorum, cum sanguine aquam de vulnere lateris fundere: quod tamen sicut miraculum, sic constat fuisse et mysterium. (Alger of Liège, De sacramentis - Divi Algeri De sacramentis corporis et sanguinis Dominici Liber Primus; Migne Latina, PL 180.796B)

Hildebert, Bishop of Le Mans (1055-1133 AD)

• Hildebert (c. 1055 – 18 December 1133) was a French ecclesiastic, hagiographer and theologian. From 1096–97 he was bishop of Le Mans, then from 1125 until his death archbishop of Tours. Sometimes called Hildebert of Lavardin, his name may also be spelled Hydalbert, Gildebert, or Aldebert. Hildebert was born of poor parents at Lavardin, near Vendôme, and was intended for the church. He was probably a pupil of Berengar of Tours, and became master (scholasticus) of the school at Le Mans; in 1091 he was made archdeacon and in 1096 or 1097 bishop of Le Mans.[1] He had to face the hostility of a section of his clergy and also of the English king, William II, who captured Le Mans and carried the bishop with him to England for about a year.[2] Hildebert then (in 1100 or 1103)[3] travelled to Rome and sought permission to resign his bishopric, which Pope Paschal II refused. In 1116 his diocese was thrown into great confusion owing to the preaching of Henry of Lausanne, who was denouncing the higher clergy, especially the bishop. Hildebert compelled him to leave the neighborhood of Le Mans, but the effects of his preaching remained.[2]

The Witness of God is Greater

- In 1125 Hildebert was translated unwillingly to the archbishopric of Tours, where he came into conflict with the French king Louis VI about the rights of ecclesiastical patronage, and with the bishop of Dol about the authority of his see in Brittany. He presided over the Synod of Nantes, and died at Tours probably on December 18, 1133. Hildebert built part of the cathedral at Le Mans. Some writers have referred to him with the title of saint, but there appears to be no authority for this. He was not a man of very strict life; his contemporaries, however, had a very high opinion of him and he was called *egregius versificator* by Orderic Vitalis.[2][4]
- Hildebert, Bishop of Le Mans. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hildebert>.

HIT:

- [Sermon 53] The testimony of the Trinity follows, of which John speaks: "**And there are three that bear witness in earth, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood**" (1 John 5:8), that is, love, baptism, and martyrdom. For we will all appear before the court of the judge; every man will come there and his works will come with him. For we do not put faith in a single witness: it is always by the testimony of two or three witnesses that disputes are settled. Happy is he, on the contrary, who will have brought with him the witnesses! Yes, happy is he to whom "perfect charity bears witness!" - Happy is he whose faith "affirms that he was buried in the waters of baptism!" - Happy he whose blood shed on the ground will cry out for him to the sovereign judge! (Hildebert, The first sermon from the sacred feast of the Trinity)
 - **Latin:** Sequitur de Trinitate testimonii, de qua dicit Ioannes: "**Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in terra; spiritus, aqua et sanguis**" (I Ioan. V, 8), id est charitas, baptismus et martyrium. Omnes enim astabimus ante tribunal iudicis: ibi apparebit omnis homo, et omnia opera eius cum eo. Sed vae soli, quia ori unius non credetur, sed in ore duorum vel trium testium stabit omne verbum. (0600A) Beatus ille qui praedictos testes secum adduxerit; cui charitas habita attestabitur; cuius fides se nutritam in aquis baptismi allegabit, et vox sanguinis clamabit pro eo ad Iudicem de terra. (Hildebert, Sermon LIII. In festo sanctissimae Trinitatis sermo unicus; Migne Latina, PL 171.0595C)

Petrus Comestor (d. 1178) : Sermon 24

• Petrus Comestor was born in Troyes. Although the name Comestor (or Manducator, Latin; le Mangeur in French) was popularly attributed to his habit of devouring books and learning (it means 'eater'), it was probably, and more prosaically, a family name. As a young man, Peter studied at Troyes Cathedral school, where he might have come into contact with Peter Abelard.[3] sometime later, he was a student in Paris under, amongst others, Peter Lombard.[4] By 1147, he was back in Troyes, having been appointed dean of Troyes Cathedral. By 1160, Peter had returned to Paris to teach, holding the chair of theology at the university (from which he retired in 1169). He was made chancellor of Notre Dame in Paris around 1164, which put him, amongst other things, in charge of the cathedral school, and which post he held until his death in 1178.[5] Peter's reputation as an academic was such that Pope Alexander III exempted Peter from his ban on charging fees for giving license to teach. Peter was buried in the Abbey of Saint Victor, and he may have retired and become a canon there; he was celebrated as such by the canons in their necrology. Peter's most famous work was his *Historia Scholastica*: as Beryl Smalley called it, a 'great study of biblical history'. [8] The *Historia* was completed by 1173, Peter having spent some time writing it at the Abbey of Saint Victor. Peter dedicated it to William, bishop of Sens. The *Historia* was a core text during the following centuries, even being a source, perhaps, for *The Canterbury Tales*. (Petrus Comestor. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Petrus_Comestor>)

HITS:

- "In the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall be established." (Deut. 19:15 ; Matt 18:16) In Deuteronomy, after giving the pattern for trials to the children of Israel, Moses, or rather the Lord through Moses, also mentioned the sufficient number of witnesses for the settlement of cases. But since "all these things happened to them in figure" (I Cor. 10:11), it is not incongruous to say that that is the number of witnesses we shall need on the day of the last winnowing, when we all stand before the

The Witness of God is Greater

tribunal of the Eternal Judge to account for the things that we do according to the body. Indeed our God, who "was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and did not open his mouth" (Isaiah 53:7), will come manifestly, and will not be silent when he sits—that is, the Ancient of Days, whose hair will be as white as snow, and his feet like unto fine brass, and thrones will be placed around him, and the books of all will be opened (Dan. 7); and he will have the fan in his hand, and he will separate the grain from the chaff; but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire; and the wheat he will gather into his garner. (Matth. 3:12) During this winnowing, each person will be either acquitted or condemned with the aforesaid number of witnesses. **But there are also other witnesses; so to enable a better understanding of these, let us discuss the others too. There are three ranks of witnesses: the first, the middle, and the last. The first is in heaven, the second is in the Church, the last is in earth. Of the first, it can be said: "In the mouth of three witnesses every word has been established"; of the second: "in the mouth of three witnesses every word is established"; of the third: "in the mouth of three witnesses every word shall be established." John is showing the first rank when he says in the Catholic epistle: "There are three, who testify in heaven: Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit" (I John 5:7). He also added regarding the last: "And there are three, who testify in earth: spirit, water, and blood" (I John 5:8). The middle rank are the apostles, martyrs and confessors. Regarding the fact that the apostles are witnesses, listen to Christ saying: "you shall be witnesses unto me in all Judea, and Samaria, and even to the uttermost part of the earth." (Acts 1:8). We also read concerning the apostles: "with great power gave the apostles witness of the resurrection of Christ." (Act. 4:33) (Petrus Comestor, Sermon 24)**

- **Latin:** "In ore duorum aut trium stabit omne verbum" (Deut. XVII; Matth. XVIII) . Moyses, in Deuteronomio, imo Dominus per Moysen filiis Israel, quibus formam iudiciorum dederat, sufficientem etiam numerum testium ad decisiones causarum annotavit. Sed quoniam "omnia in figura contingebant illis" (I Cor. X) , potest ibi non incongrue pronuntiari numerus testium, qui necessarii nobis erunt in die extremae ventilationis, quando omnes astabimus ante tribunal iudicis aeterni reddaturi rationem de his, quae gerimus secundum corpus. (1779A) Deus enim noster qui tanquam "ovis ad occisionem ductus est, et non aperuit os suum" (Isai. LIII), manifeste veniet, et non silebit, cum sederit, scilicet Antiquus dierum, cuius capilli candidi velut nix, et pedes eius similes aurichalco, et throni circa eum positi, et libri omnium aperti erunt (Dan. X) : et habebit ventilabrum in manu sua, et separabit grana a paleis; paleas autem comburet igne inextinguibili; grana vero recondet in horreum suum (Matth. III). In hac ventilatione sub praefato numero testium, vel absolvetur quisque, vel condemnabitur. **Sed quia sunt et alii testes, ut de istis planior fiat intelligentia, de aliis quoque disseramus. Sane tres sunt ordines testium: primus, medius, ultimus. Primus in coelo, secundus in Ecclesia, ultimus in terra. De primo dici potest: "In ore trium testium stetit omne verbum;" de secundo: "In ore trium testium stat omne verbum;" de tertio: "In ore trium testium stabit omne verbum." Primum aperit Ioannes in Epistola catholica dicens: "Tres sunt, qui testimonium perhibent in coelo: Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus" (Ioan. V). De ultimo quoque subiunxit: "Et tres sunt, qui testimonium perhibent in terra: spiritus, aqua et sanguis" (Ibid.). Medius ordo sunt apostoli, martyres et confessores. (1779B) Quod apostoli testes sint, audi Christum dicentem: "Vos eritis mihi testes in omni Iudaea, et Samaria, et usque ad ultimum terrae" (Act. I). De his quoque legitur: "Virtute magna reddebant Apostoli testimonium resurrectionis Christi" (Act. 4:33). (Petrus Comestor, Sermon 24; Migne Latina, PL 198.1178)**

Peter Cellensis (c. 1115-1183)

Peter Cellensis, also known as Peter of Celle, Peter of Celles, Pierre de Celle and Peter de la Celle, (c. 1115 in Troyes[1] – 20 February 1183, at Chartres) was a French Benedictine and bishop. He was born into an aristocratic family of Champagne and educated in the Cluniac Priory of Saint-Martin-des-Champs at Paris. He spent part of his youth at Provins with his long-term friend John of Salisbury.[2][3] Became a Benedictine, and

The Witness of God is Greater

in 1150 was made Abbot of "La Celle" in Saint-André-les-Vergers, near Troyes, where he got his surname, Cellensis. In 1162 he was appointed Abbot of St. Rémy at Reims, and in 1181 he succeeded John of Salisbury as Bishop of Chartres. He was highly regarded by many other churchmen of his time such as Thomas Becket, Pope Eugene III and Pope Alexander III. (Peter Cellensis. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peter_Cellensis>)

HITS:

- There follows: "And thou shalt put in the ark the testimony which I will give thee." (Exod. XXV, 16). What should be put in the soul, which is the temple of the Holy Spirit? What but the testimony of God? The Apostle had put the testimony of God in his ark; he said: "For the Spirit himself giveth testimony to our spirit that we are the sons of God" (Rom. VIII, 16), that is, the ark of God. The testimony of God is in heaven, that is, in the ark, **And there are Three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit.** (I Ioan. V, 7) ; and there are not testimonies but a testimony, because "These three are one" (ibid.). If the Father is in your mind, the Word in your understanding, and the Holy Spirit in your love or will, the testimony of God is in your ark; likewise **the spirit, water and blood are one testimony of God**, when you keep the sacrament of regeneration without violation. (Peter Cellensis. A mystical and moral explanation of the Mosaic Tabernacle, Book 1; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas)
 - **Latin:** Sequitur: Ponesque in arca testificationem quam dabo tibi (Exod. XXV, 16). Quid in anima quae templum est Spiritus sancti reponendum, nisi testificatio Dei? (1072B) Apostolus testificationem Dei in arca sua posuerat, qui dicebat: Ipse Spiritus Dei testimonium reddit spiritui nostro, quod sumus filii Dei (Rom. VIII, 16), id est arca Dei. Testificatio Dei est in coelo, id est in arca, **quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo, Pater, Verbum, Spiritus sanctus** (I Ioan. V, 7) ; et non sunt testificationes, sed testificatio, quia hi tres unum sunt (ibid.). Si Pater in mente tua, Verbum in intelligentia tua, Spiritus sanctus est in dilectione vel voluntate tua, testificatio Dei est in arca tua, nihilominus **Spiritus, aqua et sanguis, una testificatio Dei est**, quando conservas impollute sacramentum regenerationis. (Peter Cellensis, Mystica et moralis expositio Mosaici tabernaculi, Book 1; Migne Latina, PL 202.1072)

Walter of Châtillon (b. 1135)

- Walter of Châtillon (Latinized as Gualterus de Castellione) was a 12th-century French writer and theologian who wrote in the Latin language. He studied under Stephen of Beauvais and at the University of Paris. It was probably during his student years that he wrote a number of Latin poems in the Goliardic manner that found their way into the Carmina Burana collection. During his lifetime, however, he was more esteemed for a long Latin epic on the life of Alexander the Great, the *Alexandreis*, sive *Gesta Alexandri Magni*, a hexameter epic, full of anachronisms; he depicts the Crucifixion of Jesus as having already taken place during the days of Alexander the Great. The *Alexandreis* was popular and influential in Walter's own times. Matthew of Vendôme and Alan of Lille borrowed from it and Henry of Settimello imitated it, but it is now seldom read.
- Humanist poet of the 12th century; b. Ronchin, near Lille, France, c. 1135; d. Amiens. Because Walter was born at Lille, John of Salisbury called him *ab Insula* or *de Insulis*. He studied at Paris and at Reims. He taught at Laon and later at Châtillon-sur-Marne (hence the surname *de Castellione*); he was a canon at Reims (hence the name *Remensis*). His career included service for King Henry II of England and a mission to England but he seems to have resigned from Henry's chancellery over the Becket affair. His travels encompassed study at Bologna and a visit to Rome. He was later in the service of Abp. William (Guillelmus) of Reims (1176–1201), whom he served as notarius and orator.
- Perhaps his greatest claim to fame is his epic poem, the *Alexandreis* (*Patrologia Latina* 209:463–572), with its 5,464 hexameter verses. After some five years of work (c. 1178 to 1182) it was published in 1184. The epic comprised 10 books just as the Latin name of his good friend, Abp. William, had 10 letters; the plan called for each of the books to begin with a successive letter of that name. The work owes much to Quintus Curtius's history of Alexander the Great, with borrowings from other sources such as Justinus and Josephus, and Isidore's *Etymologies*. Both its prosody and its rhyme have been admired. Walter's moral and satirical works,

The Witness of God is Greater

which form the bulk of his lyrical verse, and which are noted for their attacks on the upper clergy of his day, had considerable influence on contemporary Latin writers.

• He also wrote a *Tractatus contra Iudaeos* consisting of a prologue and three books presented as a dialogue between Walter himself and Canon Baldwin of Valenciennes. A work under the Vergilian title of *Georgica* has in the past been attributed to Walter but this attribution is now seriously doubted. Walter's familiarity with the poets of antiquity is well established; his place among the more distinguished of medieval versifiers is securely fixed.

• Walter Chatillon. Encyclopedia.com. <www.encyclopedia.com/religion/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/walter-chatillon>.

HITS

- In addition, **thanks to the unity of the divine substance, three persons, or, as the Greeks say, three Hypostases subsisting as one, the Son, the Holy Spirit.** The existence and the number of these individuals are many passages in the Scriptures and the New Testament. Of the Father and Son the Psalmist said: "The Lord hath said to me: Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee." (Ps. 2:7) Of the Son, This is the wisdom of the Father in the Proverbs of Solomon: "I was already conceived, neither had the fountains of waters as yet sprung out. The mountains, with their huge bulk, had not as yet been established: before the hills, I was brought forth: He had not yet made the earth." (Prov. 8:24-26) Of the Holy Spirit it says in Genesis: "Spirit of God moved over the waters" (Gen 1:2) Of the Father and the Son it says in the Gospel of John: "For the Father loveth the Son and sheweth him all things" (John 5:20) Of the Holy Spirit, John also says: "The Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things" (Jn. 14:26) And this Trinity is one God, and the same God, and the same substance, though Arius says the contrary. The Lord declares in the Gospel saying: "I and the Father are one" (John 10:30) **And John in the epistle: "There are Three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one."** (I John 5:7) **One should nevertheless firmly believe that there are three persons;** that one of them is not another; that although they—the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit—are one and the same in substance, the Father is not the Son or the Holy Spirit and the Son is not the Holy Spirit, but the Father is one person, the Son another and the Holy Spirit yet another—contrary to the Sabellian heresy claiming that there are three names and a single person and that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are the same person. (Walter of Châtillon, *Tractatus Magistri Galtheri de Trinitate*, II; Migne Latina, PL 209.577)
 - **Latin:** Praeterea **confiteor in unitate illius divinae substantiae tres esse personas, vel, ut Graeci dicunt, tres hypostases subsistentes, quarum una Pater, alia Filius, alia Spiritus sanctus vocatur.** De existentia (0577D) autem et pluralitate harum personarum multa inveniuntur testimonia in Scripturis sacris tam Novi quam Veteris Testamenti. De Patre et Filio legitur in Psalmista: "Dominus dixit ad me: Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te" (Psal. II). De Filio, id est sapientia Patris in Proverbiis Salomonis: "Ego iam concepta eram, nec dum fontes aquarum eruperant, ante colles ego parturiebar, adhuc terram non fecerat" (Prov. VIII). De Spiritu sancto legitur in Genesi: "Spiritus Domini ferebatur super aquas" (Gen. I). De Patre et Filio in Evangelio Ioannis: "Pater enim diligit Filium, et omnia monstrat ei" (Ioan. V). De Spiritu sancto in eodem: "Paracletus autem Spiritus sanctus, quem mittet Pater in nomine meo, ille vos docebit omnia" (Ioan. XIV). Et haec Trinitas est (0578A) unus Deus, et idem Deus, et eadem substantia, licet Arius contradicat. Quod monstrat Dominus in Evangelio dicens: "Ego et Pater unum sumus" (Ioan. X). **Et Ioannes in Epistola: "Tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in coelo, Pater, Verbum et Spiritus, et hi tres unum sunt" (Ioan. V). Firmissime tamen credendum est, tres esse personas,** quarum una non est alia, quae quamvis unum et idem sint in substantia Pater, Filius et Spiritus sanctus, tamen nec ille Pater, qui est Filius, vel qui est Spiritus sanctus; nec ille Filius, qui est Spiritus sanctus, sed alius est Pater, alius Filius, alius Spiritus sanctus. Quod est contrarium Sabellianae haeresi asserenti tria nomina et unam solam personam, et eandem personam esse Patrem et Filium et Spiritum (0578B) sanctum. (Walter of Châtillon, *Tractatus Magistri Galtheri de Trinitate*, II; Migne Latina, PL 209.577)

The Witness of God is Greater

William of Saint-Thierry (d. 1148 AD)

- William of Saint-Thierry (French: Guillaume de Saint-Thierry; Latin: Guillelmus S. Theodorici; 1075/80/85–1148) was a twelfth-century French Benedictine abbot of Saint-Thierry, theologian and mystic who became a Cistercian monk and writer. William was born at Liège (in present-day Belgium) of a noble family between 1075 and 1080 (or 1085[1]), and died at Signy-l'Abbaye in 1148. He probably studied at the cathedral school in Reims, though some have argued it was at Laon, prior to his profession as a Benedictine monk. He became a monk with his brother Simon at the monastery of St. Nicaise, also in Reims, sometime after 1111. From here both eventually became abbots of other Benedictine abbeys: Simon at the abbey of Saint-Nicolas-au-Bois, in the Diocese of Laon, and William at Saint-Thierry, on a hill overlooking Reims, in 1119.[1]
- In 1118 William met St. Bernard, abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Clairvaux, where they formed an intimate friendship that lasted for life. His greatest desire was to move to Clairvaux and profess as a Cistercian, but Bernard disapproved of the plan and imposed on him the responsibility of remaining in charge of the abbey at St. Thierry as a Benedictine.[1] Their friendship, however, grew stronger while Bernard lay in the infirmary of Clairvaux convalescing after an illness in 1125. William was instrumental in the first General Chapter meeting of the Benedictine abbots in the Diocese of Reims, in 1131, and it is possible that he hosted the chapter meeting at Saint-Thierry. After the second General Chapter of the Benedictines, held at Soissons in 1132, where many Cistercian reforms were adopted by the Benedictines, William submitted his Responsio abbatum ("Response of the Abbots") to Cardinal Matthew — papal legate in the diocese and critic of the abbots' reforms — successfully defending their reformation efforts. On account of long infirmities and a lifelong desire for a life of contemplation, William resigned his abbacy in 1135 and entered the newly established Cistercian Signy Abbey, also in the diocese of Reims. He did not venture to retire to Clairvaux lest his friend Bernard refuse to accept his abdication. There he divided his free time between prayer, study, and writing.
- Toward the end of his career, having written extensively on spiritual life and especially on the moral interpretation of the biblical Song of Songs, William came across the writings of Peter Abelard, whose Trinitarian theology and especially Christology William found to be in error and dangerous to Christian faith. He wrote his own work against Abelard and alerted others about these concerns, urging St. Bernard to act. As a result, Abelard was condemned by the Council of Sens in 1140 or 1141. William wrote against what he saw as errors in the writings of William of Conches concerning Trinitarian theology and also against Rupert of Deutz on sacramental theology. According to a contemporary, his death occurred in 1148, about the time of the council held at Reims under Pope Eugenius. The necrology of Signy dates it 8 September, a few years prior to his good friend Bernard's death in 1153.
- William of St-Thierry. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_of_St-Thierry>.

HITS:

- **[Against Peter Abelard]** This is the theology of master Peter regarding the Holy Spirit; this is what he preaches about it — and I wish it were not against it! He shapes for himself an image of the supreme essence according to his will; from the model of faith handed down by the Apostles, shaped and commended to all the faithful by the Holy Spirit through them, he takes away what he wills, and adds thereto what he wills, making everything new: new words, new dogmas, which are supported by no authority but himself. One must be careful about the fact that, having removed from the faith the sacred names of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit as if they were improper, he first tries to catch believers in his net by means of other names, to win them over to the novelty of his views by the supposedly rational logic of those other names. **If, according to the rules and model of faith and according to evangelical and apostolical teachings, one talks about the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, names prescribed to us by the Truth itself when Jesus said "baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" (Matt. 28), then faith in the divine essence and understanding of its unity, with one ray of truth, suddenly scatter this darkness of error, wherever it was gathered from. For, as already stated above, when we mention the Father,**

the Son and the Holy Spirit, we express the truth of the Trinity; when we add "God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit", undoubted faith in the divinity gives shape in our hearts to the truth of the supreme and indivisible unity. Therefore I do not want to move away from the good name in which I was baptized, in which I was declared a Christian; and I cannot possibly speak, hear or understand anything about God except in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Regarding the might, the knowledge and the goodness in God, I believe and am sure of this only: God the Father is almighty, the Son is almighty, and the Holy Spirit is almighty; and, as Peter himself says, the Father is all-knowing, the Son is all-knowing, and the Holy Spirit is all-knowing; the Father is all-good, the Son is all-good, and the Holy Spirit is all-good; these three are one: one powerful, one knowing, one good God, who is blessed forever and ever. Regarding the half-might in God which he attributes to the Son, and the no-might which he attributes to the Holy Spirit, may what he says always be as far away from my heart as it is known to be far away from God almighty. So, to respond to his claims about the Holy Spirit with what the Holy Spirit itself has given us, let us first talk about the name itself. "The name of the Holy Spirit", says Peter, "comes from the verb spirare ('to breathe'). Hence the Lord says: Spiritus ubi vult spirat¹ (John 3)." The prophet, distinguishing the Spirit of the Lord with a fitting metaphor, calls it the breath (still the same word as "spirit" in Latin, spiritus) of the Lord's mouth, saying: "and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth." (Ps. 32 in Vulgate numbering; 33 in the KJV) (William of Saint-Thierry, Dissertation against Peter Abelard, chapter 4; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, September 2020)

- o **Latin:** Haec est theologia magistri Petri de Spiritu sancto; hoc de eo praedicat: et utinam non contra eum! Ad libitum suum summae sibi essentiae format effigiem; a forma vero fidei ab apostolis tradita, a Spiritu sancto per ipsos formata et omnibus commendata fidelibus, aufert quae vult, apponit quae vult, nova faciens omnia, nova verba, nova dogmata, quorum non nisi ipse sibi auctor est. Cavendum autem quod quasi impropriis sublatis de fide sacris nominibus Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, credentes sibi primo irretire nititur ratione nominum aliorum, quorum quasi rationabili consequentia inducat eos in novitatem sensuum suorum. (0258D) **Si enim secundum regulas et formam fidei, et evangelicam et apostolicam disciplinam, agatur de Patre, et Filio, et Spiritu sancto, quae nobis nomina ipsa Veritas dictavit cum dixit: « Baptizantes in nomine Patris et Filii, et Spiritus sancti (Matth. XXVIII), » repente in divina essentia fides et intellectus unitatis uno veritatis radio dissipat omnem hanc undecunque collectam caliginem erroris. Sicut enim iam supra dictum est, cum praedicamus Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum sanctum, exprimimus veritatem Trinitatis, cum vero adiicimus, Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus Spiritus sanctus, fides indubitata deitatis format in cordibus nostris veritatem summae et individuae unitatis. (0259A) Nolo ergo recedere a nomine bono, in quo baptizatus sum, in quo Christianus sum designatus; nec prorsus loqui scio de Deo, sive audire, sive intelligere aliquid, nisi in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti. De potentia vero in Deo, sive sapientia, sive benignitate, hoc solum credo et certus sum, quod omnipotens Deus Pater, omnipotens Filius, omnipotens Spiritus sanctus; et sicut ipse dicere solet, omnisapiens Pater, omnisapiens Filius, omnisapiens Spiritus sanctus, omnibenignus Pater, omnibenignus Filius, omnibenignus Spiritus sanctus; hi tres unum sunt, unus potens, unus sapiens, unus bonus Deus, qui est benedictus in saecula. De semipotencia vero in Deo, quam ipse dicit esse in Filio; et nulla potentia, quam praedicat in Spiritu sancto, tam procul semper sit, quod dicit, a corde meo, quam procul esse constat ab omnipotente Deo. (0259B) Ut ergo ad ea quae dicit de Spiritu sancto respondeamus quod ipse dederit Spiritus sanctus, primo de ipso eius nomine dicamus: « Spiritus, ait, sanctus a spirando dictus est. (0259C) Unde et Dominus dicit: « Spiritus ubi vult spirat (Ioan. III). » Et propheta congruenti metaphora spiritum Domini distinguens, spiritum eum oris Domini appellat dicens: « Et spiritu oris eius omnis virtus eorum (Psal. XXXII) . » (Wilhelm von Saint-Thierry, Disputatio adversus Abaelardum, CAPUT IV; Migne Latina, PL 182.259)**

Comment:

The Witness of God is Greater

• [Translator] "The wind bloweth where it listeth", where the word translated as "wind" is spiritus, which means most basically a breathing or breath, hence also a (breath of) wind. It came to mean "spirit" as well by a semantic shift from the "breath of life".

- **[Enigma of Faith]** We can go through the entire list of the canonical Scriptures, both Old and New Testaments, and as for the name "Trinity," nowhere do we read that God is a Trinity. And nowhere is it to be found even that they are three: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; except in the Epistle of John where it is said, "There are three who bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit; and these three are one." (1 John 5:7) However, even this is lacking in the ancient translation. (William of St. Thierry, "Faith in the Trinity" §.25 in Enigma of Faith; Translated by J. Anderson, 2010, p. 57)
 - **Latin:** Percurramus omnem seriem canonicarum Scripturarum, tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti; nusquam quantum ad nomen Trinitatis, Trinitas Deus legitur; nusquam saltem tres esse, Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum sanctum, invenitur nisi in Epistola Ioannis, ubi dicitur: « Tres sunt, qui testimonium perhibent in coelo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus sanctus: et hi tres unum sunt (I Ioan. V) . » Quod et ipsum in antiqua translatione non habetur. (Guillelmus abbas, Aenigma fidei; Migne Latina, PL 180.409)

Comment:

Note: William states that the only place where it says the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are "three" is in 1 John 5:7. Thus, William knows of no such mystical interpretation of verse 8 (Spirit, water, blood). William has no doubts as to the veracity of the verse because he uses it specifically against Abelard declaring again that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit "these three are one" (referring to 1 John 5:7). Also, William could not read Greek, so his last statement concerning "lacking in the ancient translation" must be a reference to Jerome's Prologue where Jerome comments on the unfaithful translators that have left the verse out of the Latin translations from the Greek manuscripts of John's epistle. These points all rest on evidence found in this book. Those who would like to read the context of this quote will find the surrounding relevant text in the appendix of this book where I have included a few paragraphs from this section of his book. (William of St. Thierry : Enigma of Faith).

Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153 AD)

• Bernard of Clairvaux (Latin: Bernardus Claraevallensis; 1090 – 20 August 1153) was a French abbot and a major leader in the revitalization of Benedictine monasticism through the nascent Order of Cistercians. "...He was sent to found a new abbey at an isolated clearing in a glen known as the Val d'Absinthe, about 15 kilometres (9.3 mi) southeast of Bar-sur-Aube. According to tradition, Bernard founded the monastery on 25 June 1115, naming it Claire Vallée, which evolved into Clairvaux. There Bernard preached an immediate faith, in which the intercessor was the Virgin Mary." [3] In the year 1128, Bernard attended the Council of Troyes, at which he traced the outlines of the Rule of the Knights Templar, [a] which soon became the ideal of Christian nobility. On the death of Pope Honorius II on 13 February 1130, a schism arose in the church. King Louis VI of France convened a national council of the French bishops at Étampes in 1130, and Bernard was chosen to judge between the rivals for pope. By the end of 1131, the kingdoms of France, England, Germany, Portugal, Castile, and Aragon supported Pope Innocent II; however, most of Italy, southern France, and Sicily, with the Latin patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem supported Antipope Anacletus II. Bernard set out to convince these other regions to rally behind Innocent. In 1139, Bernard assisted at the Second Council of the Lateran. He subsequently denounced the teachings of Peter Abelard to the pope, who called a council at Sens in 1141 to settle the matter. Bernard soon saw one of his disciples elected Pope Eugene III. Having previously helped end the schism within the church, Bernard was now called upon to combat heresy. In June 1145, Bernard traveled in southern France and his preaching there helped strengthen support against heresy. He preached at the Council of Vézelay (1146) to recruit for the Second Crusade. After the Christian defeat at the Siege of Edessa, the pope commissioned Bernard to preach the Second Crusade. The last years of Bernard's life were saddened by the failure of the crusaders, the entire responsibility for which was thrown upon him. Bernard died at the age of 63, after 40 years as a monk. He was the first Cistercian placed on the calendar of saints, and was canonized by Pope Alexander III on 18 January 1174. In 1830 Pope Pius VIII bestowed upon Bernard the title "Doctor of the Church". (Bernard of Clairvaux. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bernard_of_Clairvaux>)

The Witness of God is Greater

HIT:

- [Sermon] For us therefore, my brothers, if we want to show ourselves faithful to our God, in the absence of martyrdom of blood, now martyrdom means testimony, let us seek the testimony of water, and God will not reject it. **There are three which bear witness on earth: the Spirit, the water and the blood”(1 Jn 5:8)**. Happy are those who can bear this threefold witness, for a threefold bond is broken. hardly (Eccle. iv, 12). If we do not have the testimony of the blood, we at least have that of the water and of the spirit, dull, without the testimony of the spirit, neither that of the blood nor that of the water would be sufficient, much more, if the spirit is. alone, without water and blood, his testimony is still sufficient, for the testimony of the Spirit is that of the truth; it is neither the blood nor the water which is useful for anything by itself, it only serves by the spirit which bears witness in them. But I do not think that we find, or at least it can very rarely be, the spirit itself without the water and the blood. This is why, my beloved, we must seek water, since we have not the blood. But, as I told you about the ballot boxes earlier, let's see what those two or three measures that each of them could contain mean. Jesus Christ serves three kinds of water, and whoever among us will do like him, that is, can have three measures, will be perfect. If it is said, with a disjunctive, two or three bars, it is so that we know that there are at least two absolutely essential, and that the third is not absolutely required to all. (Bernard of Clairvaux, Sermon for the Feast of Saint Clement, pope and martyr. The three waters, 5; Translated by M. L'Abbé Charpentier, 1867, vol 3, p. 471)
 - **Latin:** Et nos ergo, fratres, ut vel fideles nos probemus Deo nostro, si martyrium sanguinis nos habemus (martyrium enim testimonium est), quaeramus vel testimonium aquae, et ne ipsum quidem despiciet Deus. (0501C) **Tres sunt enim qui testimonium dant in terra: Spiritus, aqua et sanguis (Ioan. V, 8)** . Beati quibus trinum suppetit testimonium, quoniam funiculus triplex difficile rumpitur (Eccle. IV, 12). Nos si sanguinis testimonium non habemus, habeamus spiritum et aquam; quoniam sine spiritu nec sanguis, nec aqua sufficiet: imo vero si spiritus ipse sine aqua aut sanguine invenitur, sufficit testimonium eius; quoniam spiritus veritatis est, nec sanguis, nec aqua quidquam proderunt a se ipsis, sed spiritus est qui testificatur in illis. Sane tamen aut vix, aut nunquam sine aqua aut sanguine spiritum arbitror inveniri. Propterea, charissimi, quaeramus vel aquam, qui sanguinem non habemus. Et quoniam hydriarum supra fecimus mentionem, quaeramus mensuras binas, vel ternas, quas hydriae capiebant. (0502A) Nam et Christus triplicem nobis apponit aquam, et perfectus omnis qui fuerit in nobis sicut ipse, qui videlicet tres metretas habere potuerit. Propter hoc enim sub distinctione dicitur, binas vel ternas, ut duas ad minus constet necessarias esse; tertiam non ab omnibus exigendam. (Bernard of Clairvaux, Sermon de s. Clemente, papa et martyre. De tribus aquis, 5; Migne Latina, PL 183.501)

HITS:

- 6. So today he comes to us by water and blood, that the water and blood may be testimony to his coming as well to the faith that overcomes. Not only this, though, but there is a testimony still greater than this, which the Spirit of truth provides. The testimony of these three is true and certain, and happy is the soul worthy to receive it: **There are three that testify on earth, the Spirit, the water, and the blood.”Take the water as baptism, the blood as martyrdom, and the Spirit as love.”**It is the Spirit that gives life,”and the life of faith is love. If you ask what links the Spirit and love, let Paul reply:”because God's love has been poured out in our hearts through the Holy Spirit that has been given to us.”And so the Spirit must be added to the water and the blood since, as the same apostle testifies, without love whatever you have profits you nothing.
- 7. Now we have said that baptism is represented by the water and martyrdom by the blood. Remember that baptism and martyrdom both happen once for all, and yet both are experienced every day. There is a kind of martyrdom and a certain shedding of blood in the daily suffering of the body; there is also a baptism in the compunction of the heart and constant tears. Thus the weak and fearful, who are not up to laying down their lives for Christ once and for all, must at least shed their blood in a milder but daily martyrdom. So, too, the sacrament of baptism, since it may not be repeated, must be complemented by frequent washing on the part of those who offend often in many things. For this reason the prophet says,”Every night I will wash my bed; I will water my couch with tears.”Do you want to know”who it is

The Witness of God is Greater

who overcomes the world?" Give careful attention to what must be overcome in it. Blessed John tells us this when he says, "Beloved, do not love the world or the things in the world. All that is in the world is the desire of the flesh, the desire of eyes, and worldly ambition." These are the three squadrons that the Caldeans made. But I remember that holy Jacob also made three squadrons when, returning from Mesopotamia, he feared to face Esau. You too need a threefold defense against the three kinds of temptation, so that the desire of the flesh may be overcome by its mortification which, if you remember, we said must be understood by the testimony of the blood. The exertion of compunction and constant tears may conquer the desire of the eyes. The virtue of love, which alone makes the soul chaste and alone purifies the intention, may cut off vain ambition. It is a sure testimony to triumph over the world if you punish the body and bring it into subjection lest in its destructive freedom it becomes subject to pleasure; if you give your eyes over to weeping rather than to wantonness and curiosity; and finally, if you do not give your mind to vanity but burn with spiritual love.

- 8. Truly there is one Spirit that testifies equally on earth and in heaven that even if bodily affliction shall cease, even if the fountain of tears dries up, "love never fails." There is some foretaste in the present, but the completion and fullness are still to come. But although the Spirit remains after the blood - water and blood will not possess the kingdom of God - yet for the present the Spirit is scarcely, or not at all, found without them because **"these three," John says, "are one."** Thus if any of these three is absent you cannot assume that the others are present. **Yet these witnesses, when joined together, are totally credible, nor can one to whom these things were present on earth lack testimony in heaven.** Such a one acknowledges the Son of God before humans, not by word or speech but in action and truth, and the Son will also acknowledge that one before the angels of God. Can the Father refuse testimony to one to whom he sees the Son testifying? Surely he will acknowledge what he himself sees in secret. And the Spirit will not fail to agree with the Father and the Son, since he is the Spirit of the Father and the Son. **How then can one lack testimony in heaven who has been found worthy of it on earth?" There are three that testify in heaven: the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit.** And, lest you should imagine any disagreement, **"these three are one."** Those the Father will receive in heaven as children and heirs, whom the Son will receive as brothers and sisters and fellow-heirs, and whom, as they are united to God, the Holy Spirit will make one with himself, will possess a great testimony. The Spirit himself is the indestructible bond of the Trinity, through whom, as the Father and Son are one, so we also may be one in them, through the mercy of him who deigned to pray this for his disciples, Jesus Christ our Lord.
- IN OCTAVA PASCHAE. SERMO I. De fide vincente, et tribus testimonis in coelo et in terra. (I Joan. V, 4-11)
 - **Latin:** 6. Sic ergo hodie quoque ad nos per aquam et sanguinem venit, ut sit aqua et sanguis testimonium adventus ejus, fideique victricis. Non solum autem, sed testimonium est majus his, quod perhibet Spiritus veritatis. Horum trium testimonium verum certumque est, et felix anima quae meretur illud accipere. 0295A **Tres enim sunt qui testimonium dant in terra; Spiritus, aqua, et sanguis. In aqua quidem baptismum intellige, in sanguine martyrrium, in Spiritu charitatem.** Spiritus enim est qui vivificat; et fidei vita, dilectio. Denique, si quaeris quid Spiritui et charitati, respondeat Paulus: Quia charitas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis (Rom. V, 5). Necessario quoque Spiritus additur aquae et sanguini, cum, eodem Apostolo teste, sine charitate quidquid habeas, nihil prosit (I Cor. XIII, 1-3).
 - **Latin:** 7. Jam vero quia baptismum aqua, martyrrium diximus sanguine designari; memento et unicum et quotidianum esse baptismum, similiter et martyrrium. Est enim martyrii genus et quaedam effusio 0295B sanguinis in quotidiana corporis afflictione. Est et baptismus aliquis in compunctione cordis et lacrymarum assiduitate. Sic quippe infirmis et pusillis corde necesse est, ut quem semel pro Christo ponere non sufficiunt, saltem mitiori quodam, sed diuturniori martyrio sanguinem fundant. Sic et baptismi sacramentum, quoniam iterari non licet, his qui saepius in multis offendunt, frequenti oportet ablutione suppleri. Unde et Propheta: Lavabo, inquit, per singulas noctes lectum meum; lacrymis meis stratum meum rigabo (Psal. VI, 7). Vis ergo nosse quis est qui vincit mundum? Quae in eo vincenda sunt diligentius intueri. Siquidem

The Witness of God is Greater

et hoc ipsum beatus iste Joannes indicat, dicens: Charissimi, nolite diligere mundum; neque ea quae in mundo sunt. 0295C Omne enim quod in mundo est, concupiscentia carnis est, concupiscentia oculorum, et ambitio saeculi (I Joan. II, 15, 16). Hae sunt tres turmae quas fecerunt Chaldaei (Job. I, 17). Sed memini quoque sanctum Jacob fecisse tres turmas, cum timeret a facie Esau, rediens de Mesopotamia (Gen. XXXII, 7). Et vobis ergo adversus triplex genus tentationis triplici opus est munimento: ut carnis quidem concupiscentia ipsius mortificatione vincatur, quam, si meministis, in sanguinis testimonio diximus intelligendam; oculorum vero concupiscentiam superet studium compunctionis et assiduitas lacrymarum; 908 porro ambitionis vanitatem virtus charitatis excludat, quae sola castificat animam, sola purgat intentionem. Certum quippe triumphati mundi testimonium 0295D est, si corpus castiges et subjicias servituti, ne perniciose libertate serviat voluptati; si fletui praebeas oculos magis, quam petulantiae vel curiositati; si denique, spirituali dilectione flagrans, nulli animum dederis vanitati.

- **Latin:** 8. Merito sane unus est qui in terra pariter et in coelo testimonium perhibet Spiritus; quia sive corporis afflictio cessabit, sive lacrymarum fons exsiccabitur; sed charitas nunquam excidit. Praelibatio quaedam est in praesenti, consummatio et plenitudo in futuro manet. Verumtamen licet maneat post aquam et sanguinem Spiritus (aqua quippe et sanguis regnum Dei non possidebunt), interim tamen aut vix aut nullo modo invenire est Spiritum sine 0296A illis, quoniam **hi tres, inquit, unum sunt:** ut, quolibet ex his tribus deficiente, adesse caetera non praesumas. **Simul vero juncta testimonia ista credibilia facta sunt nimis, nec poterit cui in terris suppetunt haec, carere testimonio vel in coelis.** Confiteatur Dei Filium coram hominibus non verbo, neque lingua, sed opere et veritate: et Filius quoque confitebitur eum coram angelis Dei. An vero ei deesse poterit in testimonio Pater, cui Filium videat attestantem? Sine dubio confitebitur et ipse quod viderit in abscondito. Sed neque Spiritus quidem a Patre Filioque dissentiet; quippe qui Patris Filioque sit Spiritus. **Denique quonam modo careat testimonio ejus in coelo, qui habere illud meruit et in terra? Tres ergo sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo, Pater, 0296B et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus.** Et ne quam forte dissonantiam suspiceris, **hi tres unum sunt.** Magnum profecto habituri sunt testimonium, quos in coelo Pater susceperit tanquam filios et haeredes, Filius asciverit tanquam fratres et cohaeredes, Spiritus sanctus adhaerentes Deo unum spiritum faciat esse cum eo. Est enim Spiritus ipse indissolubile vinculum Trinitatis, per quem sicut Pater et Filius unum sunt, sic et nos unum simus in ipsis, eo miserante, qui pro discipulis hoc ipsum orare dignatus est, Jesu Christo Domino nostro.
- IN OCTAVA PASCHAE. SERMO I. De fide vincente, et tribus testimoniis in coelo et in terra. (I Joan. V, 4-11) (Migne Latina, PL 183.294)

Sermon : Of the Victory of Faith and the Three Witness in Heaven & Earth

- 1. The reading proclaimed for us today was from the Letter of blessed John. In it we learn that threefold is the witness given in heaven, and threefold on earth. This suggests to me that the former is the sign of stability, the latter of restoration; the one refers to angels, the other to humans; one divides the blessed from the wretched, the other the righteous from the ungodly. The vision of the Trinity bears witness to the angels who, in the first trespass when Lucifer became proud, stood in the truth. To human beings, whom divine mercy saves, the Spirit, the water, and the blood bear witness. Why does the Father not bear witness to those who honor him as a father? Instead he says: Wicked one, "If I am a father, where is my honor?" You must do without the witness of the Father whose glory you try to usurp for yourself when you desire to equal him rather than to honor him. "I will sit," he says, "on the mountain of the covenant; I will be like the most high." Really? Created just now, will you sit with the Father of spirits? Surely he has not yet told you, "sit at my right hand!" If you don't know, shameless one, he is the Only-Begotten, to whom equality with the Father and sitting with him are conferred by an eternal begetting. You, thinking equality with God something to be grasped, begrudge the Son his glory, "glory as of the only-begotten of the Father," so that you do not deserve witness from him. Indeed can a person abhorred by the Father and the Son be justified by the Spirit of both? Such a one is held in abomination as proud and restless by the lover of peace who rests upon the peaceful and humble; he who is dedicated to unity strives against you in his zeal for peace and unity.

The Witness of God is Greater

- 2. Should it surprise us, my brothers, if we are afraid that an individual wild beast may begin to feed on this little vineyard of the Lord? How many shoots of the heavenly vine has that individualism trodden down? You can easily notice the pride in him, but not individualism. So I ask, whereas the whole angelic creation was standing, the vice of individualism wasn't lacking the one that presumed to try to sit, was it? But perhaps you ask how I know about this standing of angels? I have two sure witnesses, each of whom testifies to what he says. "I saw the Lord sitting," says Isaiah, "and the seraphim were standing;" and Daniel says, "A thousand thousands served him, and then thousand times ten thousand stood attending him." Do you want a third, so that every word may be established by the mouth of three witnesses? I refer you to the Apostle who was caught up to the third heaven and when he returned said, "Are they not all ministering spirits?" Thus where they all stand, they all minister. Will you sit then, you enemy of peace? Clearly you grieve the Spirit, who makes people of one mind to dwell in a house; you offend against love, you rend unity, and you break the bond of peace. Rightly does the Spirit attest to the love, unity, and peace. Rightly does the Spirit attest to the love, unity, and peace of the angels, who have abandoned neither their rank nor their abiding place; by them your envy, individualism, and restlessness are condemned. And this is the evidence given in heaven.
- 3. That given on earth is different. It is for distinguishing between exiles and those who belong on earth - that is, between citizens of heaven and those of Babylon. I mean, when does God leave his elect without evidence? What consolation would there be for them, wavering as they are anxiously between hope and fear, if they were thought undeserving to have any evidence at all to their own election? "The Lord knows those who are his," and he alone knows whom he has chosen from the beginning. Who knows whether a person is worthy of love or hatred? If certainty is altogether denied us - and it certainly is! - then the signs of this election, if we should happen to find any, will be that much more delightful, won't they? What rest would our spirit have so long as it held no evidence of its predestination? "The saying is sure and worthy of full acceptance," by which the evidence of salvation are given. By this word consolation truly is provided to the elect, and excuses are withdrawn from the condemned. If the signs of life are known, those who disregard them are plainly convicted of taking their souls in vain and proven to have despised the pleasant land.
- 4. **"There are three," he says, "that give evidence on earth, the Spirit, the water, and the blood."** You know, brothers, that we all sinned in the first man, and in him also we all fell. We fell into a prison full of mud and of stones; there lay captive, filthy and broken, until the desires of the nations came to redeem, wash, and help us. **He gave us his own blood for our redemption, he poured forth water from his side to wash us, and he sent his Spirit from on high to help our weakness.** Take care to know whether or not these things are at work on you so that you do not become guilty of the blood of the Lord by emptying it of its preciousness, and so the water that ought to cleanse does not instead collect in dirty puzzles as a judgement of everlasting damnation, and lest the Spirit, too, whom you resist "does not acquit those who slander with their lips." Be careful, then, because if these things bear no fruit in you, they will work against you.
- 5. Who has the evidence that the blood of Christ was not shed in vain except one who refrains from sin? Those who sin are slaves of sin, so that if they can refrain from sin and cast away the yoke of miserable slavery, they will be a most certain evidence of redemption that the blood of Christ accomplishes. True, refraining from sin is not enough for a sinner unless repentance is present too. Those who are weary with their moaning, who flood their bed with tears every night, have evidence from the water. Just as the blood redeems so that sin will not rule in our mortal body, so the water washes us from those sins we committed before. But what will happen to us if, broken and beaten by the long use of chains and cruel imprisonment, we become disheartened on the way of life? Let us call upon the Spirit, the Life-Giver and Supporter, confident that the Father who is in heaven will give the good Spirit to those who ask. **Clearly a new way of life is evidence that a new Spirit has arrived. Now, to sum up, you have evidence from the blood, the water, and the Spirit, if you refrain from sin, bear fruit worthy of repentance, and do the works of life.**
- In the Octave of Easter. Sermon 2. Of the Words of the Same Reading: "There are three that testify in heaven."

The Witness of God is Greater

- **Latin:** 1. Ex Epistola beati Joannis hodie nobis est lectio recitata, in qua discimus testimonium dari triplex 0296C in coelo, triplex in terra. Et quidem pro meo sapere, illud stabilitatis, hoc reparationis est signum; illud angelos, istud homines; illud beatos a miseris, istud justos discernit ab impiis. Angelis siquidem qui in prima illa praevaricatione, superbiente Lucifero, in veritate steterunt, merito testimonium perhibet visio Trinitatis: hominibus, quos divina miseratio salvat, Spiritus, aqua, et sanguis. Quidni perhibeat testimonium Pater, a quibus honoratus est ut Pater? Tibi vero, maligne, sic loquitur: Si ergo ego Pater, ubi est honor meus? (Malach. I, 6.) Careas omnino necesse est testimonio Patris, cujus tibi gloriam usurpare conaris, non honorare eum cupiens, sed aequare. Sedebo, inquit, in monte testamenti; et similis ero Altissimo (Isai. XIX, 14). Itane modo creatus, 0296D Patri spirituum consedebis? Et certe necdum tibi dixit: Sede a dextris meis (Psal. CIX, 1). Si nescis, o impudens, Unigenitus ille est, cui aeterna generatione Patris aequalitas collata est et consessus. Tu rapinam cogitans esse aequalis Deo, Filio gloriam invides, gloriam quasi unigeniti a Patre, ut ne ab ipso quidem testimonium merearis habere. An vero poterit detestato a Patre et Filio, utriusque Spiritus attestari? Abominatur superbum profecto et inquietum, qui super quietum et humilem requiescit amator pacis et unitatis consecrator, adversum te pro pace et unitate zelatur.
- **Latin:** 2. Quid mirum, fratres, si timemus ne forte pusillam 909 hanc vineam Domini depasci singularis 0297A ferus incipiat? Quantos enim coelestis vineae palmites prima illa singularitas conculcavit? Sed forte superbiam quidem in eo facile advertistis, non autem singularitatem. Dico ergo: Ubi stabat universitas angelorum, nunquid caruit singularitatis vitio, qui sedere velle praesumpsit? At forte quaeritis, unde mihi nota sit haec statio angelorum? Duos teneo idoneos testes, quorum uterque quod vidit, hoc testatur. Vidi Dominum sedentem, ait Isaias; seraphim autem stabant (Isai. VI, 1, 2). Et Daniel: Millia, inquit, milium ministrabant ei, et decies millies centena millia assistebant ei (Dan. VII, 10). An et tertium desideratis, ut in ore trium testimonium stet omne verbum? Apostolum profero, qui usque ad tertium raptus est coelum, et rediens loquebatur: Nonne omnes administratorii 0297B sunt spiritus? (Hebr. I, 14.) Siccine ubi stant omnes, universi ministrant; tu, pacis inimice, sedebis? Plane contristas Spiritum, qui habitare facit unius moris in domo; offendis charitatem, quia scindis unitatem, rumpis vinculum pacis. Merito proinde angelorum, qui suum nec ordinem, nec domicilium reliquere, charitati, unitati et paci Spiritus attestatur, a quo sane tua et invidia, et singularitas, et inquietudo reprobatur. Et haec quidem de eo testimonio, quod datur in coelis.
- **Latin:** 3. Est et aliud quod datur in terra, ad discernendos utique qui in ea sunt exsules ab indigenis, hoc est coeli cives a civibus Babylonis. Quando enim sine testimonio electos suos deserat Deus? Aut certe quaenam eis esse poterat consolatio inter spem et 0297C metum sollicitudine anxia fluctuantibus, si nullum omnino electionis suae habere testimonium mererentur? Novit Dominus qui sunt ejus; et solus ipse scit quos elegerit a principio. Quis vero scit hominum, si est dignus amore, an odio? Quod si, ut certum est, certitudo nobis omnino negatur, nunquid non tanto delectabiliora erunt, si qua forte electionis hujus signa possimus invenire? Quam enim requiem habere potest spiritus noster, dum praedestinationis suae nullum adhuc testimonium tenet? Fidelis proinde sermo, et omni acceptione dignus, quo salutis testimonia commendantur. Hoc sane verbo et electis consolatio ministratur, et subtrahitur reprobis excusatio. Cognitis siquidem signis vitae, 0297D quisquis haec negligit, manifeste convincitur in 0298A vano accipere animam suam, et pro nihilo habere terram desiderabilem comprobatur.
- **Latin:** 4. **Tres sunt, inquit, qui testimonium dant in terra: Spiritus, aqua, et sanguis.** Scitis, fratres, quia in primo homine peccavimus omnes, in ipso etiam cecidimus universi. Cecidimus sane in carcerem, luto pariter et lapidibus plenum. Exinde jacebamus captivi, inquinati, conquassati, donec venit desideratus gentium, qui nos redimeret, ablueret, adjuvaret. **Hic est enim qui sanguinem proprium dedit in redemptionem, aquam simul produxit de latere suo in ablutionem, emisit deinde de excelso Spiritum suum, qui adjuvaret infirmitatem nostram.** Vis ergo nosse an haec aliquid operentur in te, ne forte reus sis sanguinis Domini, quem evacuas 0298B quantum in te est; sed et aqua ipsa quae debuerat mundare, in sordibus

The Witness of God is Greater

permanenti iudicium damnationis accumulet: Spiritus quoque, cui resistis, non liberet maledicum a labiis suis? Cavendum enim est ne sint tibi haec infructuosa, quia necessario essent pariter et damnosa.

- **Latin:** 5. Quis est autem qui testimonium habet effusi non sine causa sanguinis Christi, nisi qui continet a peccatis? Servus enim peccati est, qui peccatum facit: ut si deinceps continere potuerit, et jugum abjicere miserae servitutis, certissimum sit testimonium redemptionis, quam operatur sine dubio sanguis Christi. Verum non sufficit peccatori continentia, si non etiam adsit poenitentia. Habet ergo et ab aqua testimonium, qui laborat in gemitu suo lavans 0298C per singulas noctes lectum suum. Sicut enim sanguis ille redemit, ut non regnet peccatum in nostro mortali corpore; sic aqua illa abluit ab his peccatis, quae commisimus 910 ante. Sed quid erit, quod longo catenarum usu et carceris habitatione crudeli confracti sumus, atque collisi defecimus in via vitae? Invocemus Spiritum vivificantem et adiutorem, confidentes quia dabit Pater qui est in coelis, spiritum bonum petentibus se. **Sane novum supervenisse spiritum certissime conversatio nova testatur. Jam ut breviter repetam, a sanguine, et aqua, et spiritu habere est testimonium, si contines a peccatis, si dignos agis poenitentiae fructus, si facis opera vitae.**
- IN OCTAVA PASCHAE. SERMO II. De tribus testimoniis. (I Joan. V, 4-11.) (Migne Latina, PL 183.296)

Peter Lombard (1096-1160 AD)

• Peter Lombard (also Peter the Lombard,[6][7] Pierre Lombard or Petrus Lombardus;[8] c. 1096, Novara[7][9][10] – 21/22 July 1160, Paris),[7][9][10] was a scholastic theologian, Bishop of Paris, and author of Four Books of Sentences, which became the standard textbook of theology, for which he earned the accolade Magister Sententiarum. (Peter Lombard. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peter_Lombard>)

• **[Early years]** Peter Lombard was born in Lumellogno[11] (then a rural commune, now a quartiere of Novara, Piedmont), in northwestern Italy, to a poor family.[12] His date of birth was likely between 1095 and 1100. His education most likely began in Italy at the cathedral schools of Novara and Lucca. The patronage of Odo, bishop of Lucca, who recommended him to Bernard of Clairvaux, allowed him to leave Italy and further his studies at Reims and Paris. Petrus Lombardus studied first in the cathedral school at Reims, where Magister Alberich and Lutolph of Novara were teaching, and arrived in Paris about 1134,[13] where Bernard recommended him[14] to the canons of the church of St. Victor. (Peter Lombard. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peter_Lombard>)

• **[Professor]** In Paris, where he spent the next decade teaching at the cathedral school of Notre Dame, he came into contact with Peter Abelard and Hugh of St. Victor, who were among the leading theologians of the time. There are no proven facts relating to his whereabouts in Paris until 1142 when he became recognized as writer and teacher. Around 1145, Peter became a "magister", or professor, at the cathedral school of Notre Dame in Paris. Peter's means of earning a living before he began to derive income as a teacher and from his canon's prebend is shrouded in uncertainty. Lombard's style of teaching gained quick acknowledgment. It can be surmised that this attention is what prompted the canons of Notre Dame to ask him to join their ranks. He was considered a celebrated theologian by 1144. The Parisian school of canons had not included among their number a theologian of high regard for some years. The canons of Notre Dame, to a man, were members of the Capetian dynasty, relatives of families closely aligned to the Capetians by blood or marriage, scions of the Île-de-France or eastern Loire Valley nobility, or relatives of royal officials. In contrast, Peter had no relatives, ecclesiastical connections, and no political patrons in France. It seems that he must have been invited by the

The Witness of God is Greater

canons of Notre Dame solely for his academic merit. (Peter Lombard. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peter_Lombard>)

• **[Priesthood and Bishop of Paris]** He became a subdeacon in 1147. Possibly he was present at the consistory of Paris in 1147, and certainly he attended the Council of Reims in 1148, where Pope Eugenius III was present at the synod, which examined Gilbert de la Porrée and Éon de l'Étoile. Peter was among the signers of the act condemning Gilbert's teachings.[15] At some time after 1150 he became a deacon, then an archdeacon, maybe as early as 1152. He was ordained priest some time before 1156. On 28 July 1159, at the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, he was consecrated as bishop of Paris. Walter of St Victor accused Peter of obtaining the office by simony.[16] The more usual story is that Philip, younger brother of Louis VII. and archdeacon of Notre-Dame, was elected by the canons but declined in favor of Peter, his teacher. His reign as bishop was brief.[17] He died on either 21 or 22 July 1160. Little can be ascertained about Lombard's administrative style or objectives because he left behind so few episcopal acts. He was succeeded by Maurice de Sully, the builder of the Cathedral of Notre Dame.[18] His tomb in the church of Saint-Marcel in Paris was destroyed during the French Revolution, but a transcription of his epitaph survives. (Peter Lombard. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peter_Lombard>)

• **[Writings]** Peter Lombard wrote commentaries on the Psalms and the Pauline epistles; however, his most famous work by far was *Libri Quatuor Sententiarum*, or the *Four Books of Sentences*, which became the standard textbook of theology at the medieval universities.[19] From the 1220s until the 16th century, no work of Christian literature, except for the Bible itself, was commented upon more frequently. All the major medieval thinkers, from Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas to William of Ockham and Gabriel Biel, were influenced by it. Even the young Martin Luther still wrote glosses on the *Sentences*, and John Calvin quotes from it over 100 times in his *Institutes*. Though the *Four Books of Sentences* formed the framework upon which four centuries of scholastic interpretation of Christian dogma was based, rather than a dialectical work itself, the *Four Books of Sentences* is a compilation of biblical texts, together with relevant passages from the Church Fathers and many medieval thinkers, on virtually the entire field of Christian theology as it was understood at the time. Peter Lombard's magnum opus stands squarely within the pre-scholastic exegesis of biblical passages, in the tradition of Anselm of Laon, who taught through quotations from authorities.[20] It stands out as the first major effort to bring together commentaries on the full range of theological issues, arrange the material in a systematic order, and attempt to reconcile them where they appeared to defend different viewpoints. The *Sentences* starts with the Trinity in Book I, moves on to creation in Book II, treats Christ, the saviour of the fallen creation, in Book III, and deals with the sacraments, which mediate Christ's grace, in Book IV. (Peter Lombard. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peter_Lombard>)

HIT:

• The Mystery of the Trinity

- 1. The testimonies of the New Testament. After the testimonies of the Old Testament concerning our faith in the holy trinity and unity, let us now approach the authorities of the New Testament. In this way, truth can be known "in the midst of two animals;" (cf. Hab. 3:2) and "with tongs" can be taken "from the altar the coal" (cf. Is. 6:6) 2 with which the mouths of the faithful may be touched.
- 2. And the Lord Christ plainly indicates the unity of the divine essence and the trinity of persons, saying to the Apostles: "God, baptize all the nations, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." (Matt 28:19) As Ambrose says in "On the Trinity," book 1: "He said specifically in the name,

The Witness of God is Greater

and not 'in the names,' "so that the unity of essence should be shown; by adding the three names, he made clear that there are three persons. And as Ambrose says in the same book: "He also says: 'I and the Father are one.'⁴ He said 'one,' so that there should be no differentiation of power or nature; but he added 'are,' so that you can know the Father and the Son, namely that the perfect Father may be believed to have begotten the [PAGE 18] perfect Son, and that the Father and the Son are one, not in confusion, but in unity of nature." (cf. Ambrose, *De fide*, bk 1 chapter 1 nn8-9)

• **3. John too says in the canonical Epistle: "There are three who shall give witness in heaven: the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit; and these three are one." (1 Jn 5:7)** The same [John] says at the beginning of his Gospel: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God," (Jn 1:1) where he manifestly shows that the Son was always and eternally with the Father, as one with another.

• Lombard, *Sentences*. Book 1. The Mystery of the Trinity. Distinction II. 8. Of the witness of the New Testament; Translated by Giulio Silano, *The Sentences by Peter Lombard*, 2007, p. 17-18.

• **De Mysterio Trinitatis.**

• 1. Nunc vero post testimonia veteris Testamenti, de fide sanctae Trinitatis et unitatis, ad novi Testamenti auctoritates accedamus; ut in medio duorum animalium, id est, testamentorum, cognoscitur veritas: et forcipe de altari sumatur calculus quo tangantur ora fidelium.

• 2. Dominus itaque Christus unitatem divinae essentiae ac personarum trinitatem aperte insinuat, dicens apostolis: Ite, baptizate omnes gentes in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti. In nomine utique ait, ut Ambrosius ait in lib. 1 de Trin. (de Fide, l. 1, c. 1, 2), non in nominibus, ut unitas essentiae ostendatur. Per nomina tria quae supposuit, tres esse personas declaravit. Ipse etiam ait: Ego et Pater unum sumus; unum dixit, ut ait Ambr. in eodem, ne fiat discretio potestatis naturae; et addidit, sumus, ut Patrem Filiumque cognoscas; scilicet ut perfectus Pater Filium perfectum genuisse credatur; et quod Pater et Filius unum sint, non confusione personae, sed unitate naturae.

• **3. Ioannes quoque in Epistola 1 canonica ait: Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in coelo, Pater, Verbum et Spiritus sanctus; et hi tres unum sunt.** Ipse etiam in initio Evangelii sui ait: In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum; ubi aperte ostendit Filium semper et aeternaliter fuisse apud Patrem; ut alium apud alium.

• Petri Lombardi. *Sententiae*. Liber Primus. De Mysterio Trinitatis. Distinctio II. De Mysterio Trinitatis et Unitatis. 8. De testimoniis novi Testamenti; Migne Latina, PL 192.528.

The Armenian Catholicos to John II Comnenus (circa 1118-1143 AD)

• [Darrouzès] The second text is entitled exposition of the faith composed by an Armenian Catholicos for the emperor John II Comnenus (1087-1143 AD); it is known by a unique manuscript: Atheniensis B.N. 375, f. 234V-237V. Sakkélion's catalog dates from the 13th century, but M. Richard considers it to be the 14th or 15th century; although the second date is closer to the truth, the manuscript itself does not add much to the knowledge of this piece. The text is followed by a rather long note (the beginning of which is reproduced here, p. 145), which contains a criticism of the Armenian account and questions its sincerity. This note seems old and echoes the final note of the summary and its doubt on the authenticity of the Armenian profession of faith. It is obvious that these notes could have been added by a late reader, quite far from the date of composition suggested by the name of the emperor. This in no way detracts from the value of the mention of John II Comnène, which becomes the only positive criterion for dating. There is no reason to believe that this name came there by chance, or by fraud. (*Trois documents de la controverse gréco-arménienne*, edited with introduction by Darrouzès, 1990, p. 90)

The Witness of God is Greater

- [Darrouzès] III. Presentation of the Catholicos (Grigor III) To John II Comnenus. Contrary to the previous one, this second text quotes the name of the addressee, the Emperor John II Comnenus, from which we can conclude that the only possible Catholicos as an author is Grigor III Pahlavuni (1093-1166 AD). While there is no independent testimony to support this information, there is also no reason to dismiss it, as it is not uncommon for official correspondence to be half-represented. Here we have a response from the Catholicos, which had been solicited by imperial prosthagma; elsewhere one will find the imperial answer to an unknown letter from the Catholicos, or a patriarchal answer to the questions of Archbishop Nersès de Lampron, whose cover letter has been lost. The names contained in titles or signatures serve as the first clue of dating and authenticity.
- [Darrouzès] The imperial order which provoked the drafting of the Armenian exposition can only be conceived as a whole, after a meeting or negotiations between the two parties. Before expressing his will in the same way as towards one of his subjects (by prosthagma), the emperor had contact with the Armenians of Cilicia and beyond, and the Armenians did not avoid a rapprochement with the Byzantines. Historians have not remembered these relationships, which the death of Emperor John II Comnenus had to interrupt. However, talks resumed with Manuel Comnenus under the same Catholicos and under his successor Nersès ènorhali. He left two presentations on the Armenian faith comparable to this one; the Armenian text has been translated into Latin, which allows some comparison. (Trois documents de la controverse gréco-arménienne, edited with introduction by Darrouzès, 1990, p. 94-95)

HITS:

- Statement of faith of the Armenians written by their Catholicos to the purple-born (porphyrogenetos) emperor Lord John Komnenos. But one wonders if these ideas and dogmas were conceived by the crafty souls of the Armenians.
- We confess Father, Son and Holy Spirit, a perfect trinity in the unity of nature and divinity, which is not divided according to sovereignty, nor unified according to hypostasis, or, say, the person; but the Father is truly father, unbegotten in essence and without beginning, without number or limit of days, nor end of centuries; he did not subsequently receive the name of father, but possesses it innate and eternal; he is the creator of both composed and simple created substances, infinite and unlimited in essence for centuries. The Son is [truly] the Son, born of the Father unspeakably according to the impassive mode of speech and intelligence, not formed as a creature or a work, since the only begotten Son is called Logos, Son begotten according to consubstantiality, Logos begotten according to incorruptibility; he is not subject to time, he from which comes all time, because he is the author of time and he is not circumscribed by time, and, if he is not circumscribed by time, how will he who is subject to time claim to attain the inaccessible? Inexpressible is the Logos, elusive for all thought and incomparable by his generation, for he is with Him who is, exactly comparable to him from whom he does not deviate; in fact, the term filiation is always inseparable from the Father, by which all intelligible and sensible things take on consistency as creatures and subsist. The Holy Spirit is truly the spirit of God, proceeding from the Father without flow and coming from him without division, not in the manner of the generation of the Son, but proceeding and emitted according to another incomprehensible mode; Consubstantial with the Father according to nature, glorified with the Son as coming from the Father as a single cause, he is communicated with equal honor by the Father and the Son. All that the Father has is also of the Spirit, and all that the Son has is of the Father, as the Lord said. There was never a time to say The Father without the Spirit, if we do not want to make the perfect imperfect, but he was with him, he is and he will be for centuries, creator associated with Father and Son, **divine nature unique in three, these three one and indivisible according to the divinity, distinct according to the hypostasis and the person, indivisible according to the substance and the power, in the resplendent and eternal light of a radiance perpetually radiating, in one light and in three.** (Le catholicos à Jean Comnène, in "Trois documents de la controverse gréco-arménienne" edited with introduction by Darrouzès, 1990, p. 132,134)
 - **Greek:**
 - • Ἐκθεσις τῆς τῶν Ἀρμενίων πίστεως γραφεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ καθολικοῦ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν πορφυρογέννητον βασιλέα κῆρ Ἰωάννην τὸν Κομνηνόν. Ἄπορον δὲ εἶ ταῦτα τὰ νοήματά τε καὶ

δόγματα τῆς κακοτέχνου ψυχῆς ἐξέφω τῶν Ἀρμενίων. Ὁμολογοῦμεν Πατέρα, Υἷον καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, τριάδα τελείαν ἐν μιᾷ φύσει καὶ θεότητι, οὐ διαιρουμένην κατὰ κυριότητα, οὐδ' ἠνωμένην καθ' ὑπόστασιν εἰπεῖν ἢ πρόσωπον, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὁ Πατὴρ ἀληθῶς πατήρ, ἀγέννητος κατ' οὐσίαν καὶ ἄναρχος, οὐκ ἀριθμὸν ἢ ὀρισμὸν ἡμερῶν ἔχων, οὐ τέλος αἰώνων, ὄνομα δὲ πατρικὸν οὐ κτησάμενος ὕστερον, ἀλλ' ἔμφυτον καὶ αἰώνιον ἔχων, ποιητὴς ποιητῶν οὐσιῶν στοιχειουμένων καὶ μὴ στοιχειουμένων, οὐ ἡ οὐσία ἀπέραντος καὶ ἀόριστος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Υἱὸς ὁ Υἱός, κυρίως γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀρρήτως κατὰ ἀπάθειαν λόγου καὶ νοῦ, οὐ πλασθεὶς κατὰ κτίσμα καὶ ποίημα, ἐπειδὴ Λόγος προσαγορεύεται ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός, Υἱὸς μὲν κατὰ τὸ ὁμοούσιον, Λόγος δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἄφθαρτον ἔχων τὴν γέννησιν, οὐχ ὑπὸ χρόνον ἐξ οὗ ἅπας ὁ χρόνος -- ποιητὴς γὰρ χρόνων καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τούτων τοίνυν περιγράφεται --, εἰ δὲ χρόνῳ ἀπερίγραπτος, πῶς ὁ ὑπὸ χρόνον τολμήσει ἐνάσασθαι τοῦ ἀνεπίκτου; Ἀπόρρητος γὰρ ὁ Λόγος καὶ διανοία πάση ἀκατάληπτος καὶ τῇ γεννήσει ἀνόμοιος· μετὰ τοῦ ὄντος γὰρ ἔστι καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ συμπαρετείνεται, οὐ πόρρω ἀπέχων· αἰεὶ γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς υἰότητος ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀδιάσπαστον, δι' οὗ πάντα τὰ νοητὰ καὶ αἰσθητὰ ἐστρεψώθησαν δημιουργήματα καὶ μεμενήκασιν. Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀληθῶς πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀρρεούτως καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ προελθὼν ἀμερίστως, οὐ κατὰ τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐκπορευόμενον καὶ ἐκπεμπόμενον ὡς κατ' ἄλλην ἀκαταληψίαν, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον τῷ Υἱῷ κατ' ἰσοτιμίαν ἐξ αἰτίου μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς, νέμεται δὲ ἀπὸ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱὸς ὁμοτίμῳ. Ὅσα γὰρ ἔχει ὁ Πατὴρ τοῦ Πνεύματός εἰσι καὶ ὅσα ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς, καθὼς ὁ Κύριος εἶρηκεν. Οὐκ ἦν ποτε καιρὸς λέγειν τὸν Πατέρα χωρὶς τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἵνα μὴ ἀτελὲς τὸ τέλειον ποιήσωμεν, ἀλλὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἦν καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, συνδημιουργὸν τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ, **μία φύσις ἐν τρισὶ καὶ θεότης· καὶ ταῦτα ἐν καὶ ἀχώριστα κατὰ τὴν θεότητα, διαιρούμενα μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον καὶ ὑπόστασιν, ἀχώριστα δὲ κατ' οὐσίαν καὶ ἐξουσίαν, ἀειλαμπτή καὶ ὑπερλαμπτή κατὰ τὸ ὑπέρλαμπρον φῶς καὶ αἴδιον ἐνὶ φωτὶ καὶ τρισὶν.** (Le catholicos à Jean Comnène, in "Trois documents de la controverse gréco-arménienne" edited with introduction by Darrouzès, 1990, p. 133-135)

Walter of Châtillon (b. 1135)

- Walter of Châtillon (Latinized as Gualterus de Castellione) was a 12th-century French writer and theologian who wrote in the Latin language. He studied under Stephen of Beauvais and at the University of Paris. It was probably during his student years that he wrote a number of Latin poems in the Goliardic manner that found their way into the Carmina Burana collection. During his lifetime, however, he was more esteemed for a long Latin epic on the life of Alexander the Great, the *Alexandreis*, sive *Gesta Alexandri Magni*, a hexameter epic, full of anachronisms; he depicts the Crucifixion of Jesus as having already taken place during the days of Alexander the Great. The *Alexandreis* was popular and influential in Walter's own times. Matthew of Vendôme and Alan of Lille borrowed from it and Henry of Settimello imitated it, but it is now seldom read.
- Humanist poet of the 12th century; b. Ronchin, near Lille, France, c. 1135; d. Amiens. Because Walter was born at Lille, John of Salisbury called him *ab Insula* or *de Insulis*. He studied at Paris and at Reims. He taught at Laon and later at Châtillon-sur-Marne (hence the surname *de Castellione*); he was a canon at Reims (hence the name *Remensis*). His career included service for King Henry II of England and a mission to England but he seems to have resigned from Henry's chancellery over the Becket affair. His travels encompassed study at Bologna and a visit to Rome. He was later in the service of Abp. William (Guillelmus) of Reims (1176–1201), whom he served as notarius and orator.
- Perhaps his greatest claim to fame is his epic poem, the *Alexandreis* (*Patrologia Latina* 209:463–572), with its 5,464 hexameter verses. After some five years of work (c. 1178 to 1182) it was published in 1184. The epic comprised 10 books just as the Latin name of his good friend, Abp. William, had 10 letters; the plan called for each of the books to begin with a successive letter of that name. The work owes much to Quintus Curtius's history of Alexander the Great, with borrowings from other sources such as Justinus and Josephus, and Isidore's *Etymologies*. Both its prosody and its rhyme have been admired. Walter's moral and satirical works, which form the bulk of his lyrical verse, and which are noted for their attacks on the upper clergy of his day, had considerable influence on contemporary Latin writers.

The Witness of God is Greater

- He also wrote a *Tractatus contra Iudaeos* consisting of a prologue and three books presented as a dialogue between Walter himself and Canon Baldwin of Valenciennes. A work under the Vergilian title of *Georgica* has in the past been attributed to Walter but this attribution is now seriously doubted. Walter's familiarity with the poets of antiquity is well established; his place among the more distinguished of medieval versifiers is securely fixed.
- Walter Chatillon. Encyclopedia.com. <www.encyclopedia.com/religion/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/walter-chatillon>.

HITS

- In addition, **thanks to the unity of the divine substance, three persons, or, as the Greeks say, three Hypostases subsisting as one, the Son, the Holy Spirit.** The existence and the number of these individuals are many passages in the Scriptures and the New Testament. Of the Father and Son the Psalmist said: "The Lord hath said to me: Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee." (Ps. 2:7) Of the Son, This is the wisdom of the Father in the Proverbs of Solomon: "I was already conceived, neither had the fountains of waters as yet sprung out. The mountains, with their huge bulk, had not as yet been established: before the hills, I was brought forth: He had not yet made the earth." (Prov. 8:24-26) Of the Holy Spirit it says in Genesis: "Spirit of God moved over the waters" (Gen 1:2) Of the Father and the Son it says in the Gospel of John: "For the Father loveth the Son and sheweth him all things" (John 5:20) Of the Holy Spirit, John also says: "The Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things" (Jn. 14:26) And this Trinity is one God, and the same God, and the same substance, though Arius says the contrary. The Lord declares in the Gospel saying: "I and the Father are one" (John 10:30) **And John in the epistle: "There are Three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one."** (I John 5:7) **One should nevertheless firmly believe that there are three persons;** that one of them is not another; that although they—the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit—are one and the same in substance, the Father is not the Son or the Holy Spirit and the Son is not the Holy Spirit, but the Father is one person, the Son another and the Holy Spirit yet another—contrary to the Sabellian heresy claiming that there are three names and a single person and that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are the same person. (Walter of Châtillon, *Tractatus Magistri Galtheri de Trinitate*, II; Migne Latina, PL 209.577)
 - **Latin:** Praeterea **confiteor in unitate illius divinae substantiae tres esse personas, vel, ut Graeci dicunt, tres hypostases subsistentes, quarum una Pater, alia Filius, alia Spiritus sanctus vocatur.** De existentia (0577D) autem et pluralitate harum personarum multa inveniuntur testimonia in Scripturis sacris tam Novi quam Veteris Testamenti. De Patre et Filio legitur in Psalmista: "Dominus dixit ad me: Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te" (Psal. II). De Filio, id est sapientia Patris in Proverbiis Salomonis: "Ego iam concepta eram, nec dum fontes aquarum eruperant, ante colles ego parturiebar, adhuc terram non fecerat" (Prov. VIII). De Spiritu sancto legitur in Genesi: "Spiritus Domini ferebatur super aquas" (Gen. I). De Patre et Filio in Evangelio Ioannis: "Pater enim diligit Filium, et omnia monstrat ei" (Ioan. V). De Spiritu sancto in eodem: "Paracletus autem Spiritus sanctus, quem mittet Pater in nomine meo, ille vos docebit omnia" (Ioan. XIV). Et haec Trinitas est (0578A) unus Deus, et idem Deus, et eadem substantia, licet Arius contradicat. Quod monstrat Dominus in Evangelio dicens: "Ego et Pater unum sumus" (Ioan. X). **Et Ioannes in Epistola: "Tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in coelo, Pater, Verbum et Spiritus, et hi tres unum sunt" (Ioan. V). Firmissime tamen credendum est, tres esse personas,** quarum una non est alia, quae quamvis unum et idem sint in substantia Pater, Filius et Spiritus sanctus, tamen nec ille Pater, qui est Filius, vel qui est Spiritus sanctus; nec ille Filius, qui est Spiritus sanctus, sed alius est Pater, alius Filius, alius Spiritus sanctus. Quod est contrarium Sabellianae haeresi asserenti tria nomina et unam solam personam, et eandem personam esse Patrem et Filium et Spiritum (0578B) sanctum. (Walter of Châtillon, *Tractatus Magistri Galtheri de Trinitate*, II; Migne Latina, PL 209.577)

The Witness of God is Greater

William Lucca (d. 1178) : Commentary on Dionysius' Celestial Hierarchy

- William Lucca (Latin Wilhelmus Lucensis, Italian Guglielmo da Lucca) is a scholastic philosopher and theologian Italian who taught at Bologna in the last third of the XII th century, born in Lucca in the early XIIIth century and died in Bologna the 1st August 1178. (Guillaume de Lucques. Wikipedia. <fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guillaume_de_Lucques>.)
- [Budde] Of William very little is known. His epitaph at the Cathedral in Bologna indicates that he died on the first of August, 1178, that he was a famous master of theology, and that he was from Lucca. The obituary of Santa Maria di Reno indicates that William was a canon in Lucca, although the obituary does not indicate to which chapter he belonged. William's "Commentary on Dionysius' Celestial Hierarchy" (Latin: Comentum in tertiam Ierarchiam Dionisii) is the only surviving work which is certainly authentic. The manuscript 614 of the Capitular Library of Lucca contains two treatises attributed to a certain William from Lucca: one on dialectic (Latin: Summa dialectice artis) and one on arithmetic (Latin: De arithmetica compendiose tractata). These treatises may represent the work of the same William who wrote the "Commentary on Dionysius' Celestial Hierarchy", but this is not certain. (Budde, The Versio Dionysii of John Scottus Eriugena, 2012, p. 206)
- [Budde] His reliance upon Boethius—especially the *Consolatio Philosophiae*, but also the commentaries on Aristotle and Porphyry and the theological opuscula, the *De trinitate* and the *De hebdomadibus*—, together with his interest in Plato's *Timaeus*, Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* and Macrobius' commentary, in Priscian's *Institutiones*, in Augustine and Eriugena place William squarely within the school of the Porretani [Porretani a name for the followers of GILBERT DE LA PORREE, bishop of Poitiers, a metaphysical divine of the 12th century, who held opinions respecting the personality and the essence of the Holy Trinity analogous to those of the Letratheitae or Damianists of the 6th century.]. (Budde, The Versio Dionysii of John Scottus Eriugena, 2012, p. 207)
- [Budde] William's "Commentary on Dionysius' Celestial Hierarchy" is the last of the 12th-century commentaries on the *Corpus Areopagiticum*. William's reference to an episode in the life of Hildegard of Bingen provides a *terminus a quo* for his "Commentary on Dionysius' Celestial Hierarchy". In book two of his commentary, William mentions Hildegard's exorcism of a Cologne woman, which event must have occurred between 1169 and 1170. The *terminus ad quem* may be provided by William's death in 1178. ...William dedicates his commentary to a certain David, a monk at the Benedictine abbey at Lorsch, near Mayence. (Budde, The Versio Dionysii of John Scottus Eriugena, 2012, p. 208)
- [Budde] William's "Commentary on Dionysius' Celestial Hierarchy" survives in only one manuscript, currently preserved at the *Bibliothèque Municipale* in Troyes under the shelfmark 1003 (olim Clairvaux, F 16), and dated to the end of the 12th century. The "Commentary on Dionysius' Celestial Hierarchy" in this manuscript is incomplete, terminating in the middle of book two of the "On Divine Names" (Latin: *De divinis nominibus*). It is difficult to tell whether William left the work incomplete or if the rest of the commentary has been lost. (Budde, The Versio Dionysii of John Scottus Eriugena, 2012, p. 209-210)
- [Budde] The length of such a task was not the only hindrance to its completion. William had difficulty with Eriugena's [John Scottus] Latin translation of the *Corpus Areopagiticum*. The foreign, Greek syntax made the Dionysian thought difficult to construe, and William suggested that the *Corpus Areopagiticum* ought to have been translated more in conformity with the rules of Latin. ...Perhaps the most interesting feature of William's commentary is the fact that he changes texts mid-way through chapter two—beginning with the words "idoneam sicut est verax", William begins to use Hilduin's translation. He gives no explanation for such a radical shift—as we have already seen, apart from Hilduin himself, Hincmar is the only medieval scholar to use the translation of Eriugena's predecessor. (Budde, The Versio Dionysii of John Scottus Eriugena, 2012, p. 210-213)

The Witness of God is Greater

• [B. Newman] In 1163 Hildegard of Bingen preached a celebrated sermon against the Cathars in Cologne. Sigewize, a young noblewoman of the city, may have been present; certainly she knew of Hildegard and her preaching by reputation. Shortly before the abbess visited Cologne, Sigewize had begun to show signs of [demon] possession. For several years she was led on a tour of shrines in the usual way, but her evil spirit announced that only an old woman named "Scrupilgard" could cast him out. Recognizing the aged Hildegard in this slur, the abbot of Brauweiler wrote to ask Hildegard of Bingen for help, and the visionary designed a ritual of exorcism expressly for Sigewize's case. But when performed by the monks it ousted the demon only briefly, so in early 1169 they sent the energumen to her in person. Like other "possessed" (Latin: *obsessae*) [persons], Hildegard wrote, Sigewize "lost her powers of normal thought and action and often shouted and did inappropriate things." Remarkably enough, one of these "inappropriate things" (Latin: *inconuenientia*) turned out to be preaching. ... Since the demon's preaching was salutary, Hildegard allowed Sigewize to hold forth throughout the season of Lent, from Candlemas until Holy Saturday, when the unclean spirit was finally expelled. Only when the abbess perceived through her visions that the demon was lying did she rebuke him, forcing him to grind his teeth and fall silent. (Newman, *Possessed by the Spirit: Devout Women, Demoniacs, and the Apostolic Life in the Thirteenth Century*, 1998, p. 754-755)

HITS:

- [Prologue] Indeed, the vessel of the Holy Church, that is, the mouth with which it confesses and the heart with which it believes and has faith, has not only received the Spirit of the Lord's graces by believing that he whose fleece was wrung in the press of the cross is the Son of God, but it has also shared in his body, that is, his blood and flesh and the water that flowed from his side, so as to be filled with all these things, which bear witness about God that he is a man. **Blessed John speaks about this matter in his epistle: "And it is the Spirit," he says, "which testifieth, that Christ is the truth." Of this truth "there are three that give testimony on earth"; that is, testimony about the earth, that this truth is a man; namely "the spirit, the water and the blood": the Spirit which he received without measure in his very conception, the water which flowed from his side, and the blood that flowed from the same at the thrust of the soldier's spear; "and these three are one", that is, they are one sacrament of redemption. And "there are three who give testimony in heaven" regarding the same truth which is Christ, that the truth in question is also God; namely "the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit". The Father gives testimony for the Son, whom he begot; the Son gives testimony for himself, the Son, who was begotten, God of God; the Holy Spirit gives testimony regarding the Son that the Son is God, since God the Spirit itself proceeds from God the Son.** Therefore, since the vessel of the Church shares in the spirit and blood of Christ, that is why Gideon filled the vessel with dew, because the Church of Christ overflows with these gifts. (William Lucca, *Commentary on Dionysius' Celestial Hierarchy*; Translated by Sara Van Der Pas, correspondence, May 2021)
 - **Latin:** Non enim conca sancte ecclesie, id est os confessionis et cor credulitatis et fidei eius, Spiritu gratiarum Domini tantum credens quod iste, cuius vellus in crucis est prelo expressum, sit Dei Filius, suscepit, sed etiam corpori, id est sanguini et carni eius et aque ipsius <que> de [Page 140] latere fluxit, communicavit, ut ex his omnibus, que testimonium dicunt de Deo quod sit homo, compleretur. **Unde beatus Iohannes in epistola loquitur: «Et Spiritus est, inquit, qui testificatur, quoniam Christus est veritas». Huius veritatis «tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra», id est de terra, scilicet quod hec veritas sit homo, id est «spiritus, aqua et sanguis»: Spiritus quem sine mensura in ipsa sui conceptione suscepit, aqua que suo de latere, et sanguis qui ab eodem militis lancea fluxit, «et hi tres unum», id est unum sunt sacramentum redemptionis. Et «tres sunt qui» de eadem veritate que Christus est, «testimonium dant in celo», id est quod ipsa veritas etiam sit Deus, scilicet «Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus». Pater dat testimonium Filio, quem genuit; Filius vero dat testimonium sibi Filio, qui genitus, est, Deus de Deo; Spiritus Sanctus de Filio dat testimonium quod Deus sit, quoniam ab ipso Deo Filio ipse Spiritus procedit Deus. Quia igitur conca ecclesie spiritu et sanguine Christi communicat, idcirco concam rore complevit, quia**

The Witness of God is Greater

ecclesia Christi his carismatibus habundat. (Comentum in tertiam Ierarchiam Dionisii; Gastaldelli, 1983, p. 139-140)

Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179 AD) : Scivias : I John 5:6-9

- Hildegard of Bingen (German: Hildegard von Bingen; Latin: Hildegardis Bingensis; c. 1098 – 17 September 1179), also known as Saint Hildegard and the Sibyl of the Rhine, was a German Benedictine abbess and polymath active as a writer, composer, philosopher, mystic and visionary during the High Middle Ages.[1][2] She is one of the best-known composers of sacred monophony, as well as the most recorded in modern history.[3] She has been considered by many in Europe to be the founder of scientific natural history in Germany.[4]
- Hildegard's convent elected her as magistra (id est the mistress of novices) in 1136. She founded the monasteries of Rupertsberg in 1150 and Eibingen in 1165. Hildegard wrote theological, botanical, and medicinal works, as well as letters, hymns and antiphons for the liturgy[2]. Furthermore, she wrote poems, while supervising miniature illuminations in the Rupertsberg manuscript of her first work, Scivias.[5] There are more surviving chants by Hildegard than by any other composer from the entire Middle Ages, and she is one of the few known composers to have written both the music and the words.[6] One of her works, the Ordo Virtutum, is an early example of liturgical drama and arguably the oldest surviving morality play.[a] She is also noted for the invention of a constructed language known as Lingua Ignota.
- Hildegard was born around the year 1098, although the exact date is uncertain. Her parents were Mechtild of Merxheim-Nahet and Hildebert of Bermersheim, a family of the free lower nobility in the service of the Count Meginhard of Sponheim.[8] Sickly from birth, Hildegard is traditionally considered their youngest and tenth child,[9] although there are records of only seven older siblings.[10][11] In her Vita, Hildegard states that from a very young age she had experienced visions.[12]
- Hildegard said that she first saw "The Shade of the Living Light" at the age of three, and by the age of five she began to understand that she was experiencing visions.[25] She used the term 'visio' (the Latin for "vision") to describe this feature of her experience and recognized that it was a gift that she could not explain to others. Hildegard explained that she saw all things in the light of God through the five senses: sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch.[26] Hildegard was hesitant to share her visions, confiding only to Jutta, who in turn told Volmar, Hildegard's tutor and, later, secretary.[27] Throughout her life, she continued to have many visions, and in 1141, at the age of 42, Hildegard received a vision she believed to be an instruction from God, to "write down that which you see and hear." [28] Still hesitant to record her visions, Hildegard became physically ill. The illustrations recorded in the book of Scivias were visions that Hildegard experienced, causing her great suffering and tribulations.[29]
- With permission from Abbot Kuno of Disibodenberg, she began journaling visions she had (which is the basis for Scivias). Scivias is a contraction of Sci vias Domini (Know the Ways of the Lord), and it was Hildegard's first major visionary work, and one of the biggest milestones in her life. Perceiving a divine command to "write down what you see and hear," [44] Hildegard began to record and interpret her visionary experiences. In total, 26 visionary experiences were captured in this compilation.[31]
- Scivias is structured into three parts of unequal length. The first part (six visions) chronicles the order of God's creation: the Creation and Fall of Adam and Eve, the structure of the universe (famously described as the shape of an "egg"), the relationship between body and soul, God's relationship to his people through the Synagogue, and the choirs of angels. The second part (seven visions) describes the order of redemption: the coming of Christ the Redeemer, the Trinity, the church as the Bride of Christ and the Mother of the Faithful in baptism and confirmation, the orders of the church, Christ's sacrifice on the cross and the Eucharist, and the fight against the devil. Finally, the third part (thirteen visions) recapitulates the history of salvation told in the first two parts, symbolized as a building adorned with various allegorical figures and virtues. It concludes with the Symphony of Heaven, an early version of Hildegard's musical compositions.[45]
- In early 1148, a commission was sent by the Pope to Disibodenberg to find out more about Hildegard and her writings. The commission found that the visions were authentic and returned to the Pope, with a portion of the Scivias. Portions of the uncompleted work were read aloud to Pope Eugenius III at the Synod of Trier in 1148, after which he sent Hildegard a letter with his blessing.[46] This blessing was later construed as papal approval for all of Hildegard's wide-ranging theological activities.[47] Towards the end of her life, Hildegard

The Witness of God is Greater

commissioned a richly decorated manuscript of Scivias (the Rupertsberg Codex); although the original has been lost since its evacuation to Dresden for safekeeping in 1945, its images are preserved in a hand-painted facsimile from the 1920s.[5]

- On 17 September 1179, when Hildegard died, her sisters claimed they saw two streams of light appear in the skies and cross over the room where she was dying.[32]

- Hildegard of Bingen. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hildegard_of_Bingen>

- [Newman] **In 1992 surprising light was shed on Hildegard's early life by the discovery of another vita: that of her teacher, Jutta of Sponheim, who was herself considered a saint.** It is fitting, then, to begin the account of Hildegard's life with a look at these two women's intertwined destinies. Born in 1098, Hildegard was the daughter of a Rhenish nobleman, Hildebert of Bermersheim, and his wife, Mechthild. Little is known of this couple except that they were wealthy and prolific: Hildegard was the youngest of ten children. Jutta, six years older than Hildegard, was born in 1092 to Count Stephen of Sponheim and his Bavarian wife, Sophia. Although the Sponheim family was more exalted than that of Bermersheim, the two clans were affiliated and may have been distantly related. So when the teenaged Jutta made a precocious decision to enter the religious life, Hildegard's parents strengthened this advantageous alliance by offering their youngest child - their "tithe to God," as one biographer put it - to be her companion. (Newman, "'Sibyl of the Rhine': Hildegard's Life and Times," in *Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World*, 1998, p. 4)

- [Newman] **A revealing passage in the saint's Vita suggests that, although Hildegard perceived this extraordinary light from her infancy, decades were to pass before she understood the light and the figures she saw in it as a gift from God.** At the age of three, Hildegard tells her biographer, she shuddered at the vision of a dazzling light which she was still too young to describe. Later she began to perceive various forms in the light; she spoke freely of these visions to her hearers' amazement. Sometimes she even foretold the future. In her teens, however, the naive and fragile girl finally realized that no one else could see what she saw. Embarrassed and afraid, she ceased to recount her strange experiences, although the visions continued. Even after she became abbess of her community in 1136, she did not take advantage of her new authority to disclose her visions. (Newman, "Hildegard of Bingen: Visions and Validation" in *Church History*, no. 54 1985, p. 165)

- [Newman] **When the adult Hildegard described herself as indocta ("uneducated"), she was in one sense telling the truth.** Unlike boys of her vocation and status, she did not have the opportunity to attend a cathedral school or to follow itinerant masters as a wandering scholar. Nor had she studied at a convent with a splendid library, as did her contemporary Heloise, who received an outstanding classical education at Argenteuil, or Abbess Herrad of Hohenbourg, who was to compile an encyclopedia of patristic learning from the rich store of books at her disposal. Since Hildegard never had occasion to study the trivium, or literary arts, the command of Latin grammar would always remain shaky, and she developed a style that could be awkward and idiosyncratic rather than urbane and polished. (Newman, "'Sibyl of the Rhine': Hildegard's Life and Times," in *Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World*, 1998, p. 6-7)

- [Newman] **"Some years ago," wrote the Flemish monk Guibert [de Nogent (d.1124)] to his friend Radulfus, strange and incredible rumors reached his ears at the Benedictine monastery of Gembloux. They concerned an old woman, abbess of the Benedictine foundation at Bingen-am-Rhein, who had gained such fame that multitudes flocked to her convent, from curiosity or devotion, to seek her prophecies and prayers. All who returned thence astonished their hearers, but none could give a plausible account of the woman, save only that her soul was "said to be illumined by an invisible splendor known to her alone."** Finally he, Guibert, impatient with rumor and zealous for the truth, resolved to find out for himself. In the year 1175 he wrote to this famed seer, Hildegard, with mingled curiosity and awe. Surely she had received "rare gifts, till now practically unheard of throughout all ages"; in prophecy she excelled Miriam, Deborah, and Judith; but let her recall that great trees are uprooted sooner than reeds, and let her keep herself humble. Meanwhile, perhaps she would deign to answer a few questions about her visions.

The Witness of God is Greater

Did she dictate them in Latin or in German? Was it true that, once she had spoken, she could no longer recall them? Had she learned the alphabet and the scriptures as a child, or had she been taught by the Holy Spirit alone? As no reply was forthcoming, Guibert tried again some time later, having thought of more questions in the meantime. **Did Hildegard receive her visions in ecstasy or in dreams? What did she mean by the title of her book, Scivias? Had she written any other books? And so forth.** (Newman, Hildegard of Bingen: Visions and Validation" in Church History, no. 54 1985, p. 163)

- [Newman] **Hildegard was a visionary in the strictest sense. Not in ecstasy or trance or dream but wide awake,** she retained the full use of her sense and yet "saw things" in living color - mountains, cosmic eggs, spheres of shimmering light, colossal figures, towering walls and pillars - sometimes in static tableaux and sometimes in dynamic motion. (Newman, "Sibyl of the Rhine": Hildegard's Life and Times," in Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World, 1998, p. 9)
- [Newman] **The "reflection of the living Light" is, as it were, a medium of spiritual perception attuned to material reality, yet it neither depends on nor interferes with the normal working of her senses.** It is an internal mirror in which forms come and go at will, illumined by its own radiant brilliance. Hildegard compares the visionary forms she perceives in it to the heavenly bodies reflected in water. (Newman, Hildegard of Bingen: Visions and Validation" in Church History, no. 54 1985, p. 167)
- [Newman] **It is clear that unlike many whom the world calls "mystics," Hildegard did not write primarily to reveal her spiritual life. Even her letter to Guibert is notably free of raptures and transports; she considers it a special grace that she has never suffered the "defect" of ecstasy.** The letter breathes coolness and sobriety, and its peculiar, groping expressions bespeak an author scarcely well versed in mystical theory. Hildegard simply tries, without affectation, to describe an experience for which she knows neither precedent nor parallel. (Newman, Hildegard of Bingen: Visions and Validation" in Church History, no. 54 1985, p. 166-167)
- [Newman] **In the end, her particular mode of seeing, with its visions within visions, its pathology and its glory, remains "unique, of its own kind" (Latin: sui generis). To her contemporaries the gift appeared "strange" and "unheard-of," and we must finally concur.** (Newman, Hildegard of Bingen: Visions and Validation" in Church History, no. 54 1985, p. 168-169)
- [Newman] **Hildegard, whose visionary life was the most intense in degree and unusual in kind, went so far as to claim verbal inerrancy and to disclaim all merely human knowledge.** (Newman, Hildegard of Bingen: Visions and Validation" in Church History, no. 54 1985, p. 175)
- [Newman] **What are we to make of this account? Certainly it is not conventional. Twelfth-century authors were familiar with several theories of visionary experience, including those of St. Augustine, Dionysius the Areopagite, and Hildegard's contemporary Richard of St. Victor.** These theorists distinguished among several kinds of vision - such an imaginative, intellectual, and spiritual - and established hierarchies among them, always representing pure, imageless contemplation as higher than the more "corporeal" types of vision. **But none of their descriptions closely match Hildegard's, and her insistence that she remained awake and lucid during her visions is virtually unique.** Her correspondent, the monk Guibert of Gembloux, had asked whether the visions appeared to her in ecstasy or in dreams, as these were the only possibilities he could imagine; **but she replied, in effect, "none of the above." Nor can modern theories fully account for her experience.** (Newman, "Sibyl of the Rhine": Hildegard's Life and Times," in Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World, 1998, p. 9-10)

Scivias

The Witness of God is Greater

• Scivias [of Hildegard of Bingen] survives in ten medieval manuscripts, two of them lost in modern times.[4] The most esteemed of these was the well-preserved Rupertsberg manuscript, prepared under her immediate supervision or that of her immediate tradition, being made around the time of her death. It resided in the Wiesbaden Hessische Landesbibliothek until World War II,[5] when it was taken to Dresden for safekeeping, and lost.[6] Some hoped that the German reunification in 1990 would cause it to reappear, but to date it has not. Only black-and-white photographs of this manuscript survive.[5] The original manuscript was 12.8 by 9.25 inches (32.512 by 23.495 cm), and in 235 parchment pages with double columns.[6] A faithful illuminated copy was made at the Hildegard Abbey in Eibingen in 1927-1933, which is the source of the color reproductions now available. Other copies are in the Biblioteca Vaticana (made in Rupertsberg), Heidelberg (12th century), Oxford (12 or 13th century), Trier (1487), and elsewhere.[5] (Scivias. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scivias>)

• [Newman] **Hildegard continued to labor at her Scivias until 1146 or 1147.** At that time the fiery **St. Bernard, Cistercian abbot of Clairvaux**, undertook a preaching tour to promote the Second Crusade against Islam, and his travels eventually brought him to the Rhinland. There his preaching was received with adulation as throngs gathered to witness miraculous cures. **Among his many admirers was Hildegard... In the first of several hundred letters ascribed to her she confided to Bernard the whole story of her visions, seeking his consolation and advice. The abbot responded briefly but to the point, urging Hildegard to "rejoice in the grace of God" she had received, though with all humility, and to pray for his sinful self.** About a year later "the grace of God" brought Bernard along with his former disciple, Pope Eugene III, to the Rhineland city of Trier for a synod of bishops (November 1147-February 1148). It was this meeting that would set the apostolic seal of approval on Hildegard's visions. ...**Pope Eugene, guided by Bernard of Clairvaux, advanced the reforming agenda of the late-eleventh-century popes by doing all he could to centralize and consolidate papal authority. In particular, he responded to the perceived threat of heresy by undertaking to investigate and pass judgement on potentially controversial books of theology. Informed of Hildegard's revelations, ...he appointed a papal commission to visit her at the Disibodenberg and secure a manuscript of the still unfinished Scivias.** Having attained the book, as the seer herself says, the pope "had it read before many and himself read from it," whereupon he sent her a letter "commanding" her to continue recording her visions. **Godfrey expands on this account: "The pope commanded the blessed Hildegard's writings to be brought to him ..and, taking them up with his own hands, he himself read publicly in lieu of a reciter before the archbishop, the cardinals, and all the clergy who were present ...and stirred the minds and voices of all to rejoicing and praise of the Creator."** Bernard too is said to have spoken out in the seer's favor. No doubt the prelates were motivated in part by the **staunch orthodoxy of the Scivias**, in which Hildegard stresses precisely those doctrines, such as the divine origin of marriage, the sanctity of the Eucharist, and the dignity of the priesthood, that the Cathars more vehemently denied. (Newman, "'Sibyl of the Rhine': Hildegard's Life and Times," in Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World, 1998, p. 11)

Hildegard's Preface to Scivias : The Declaration

• And behold in the forty-third year of my earthly course, as I was gazing with great fear and trembling attention at a heavenly vision, I saw a great splendor resulting in a great voice from heaven saying to me:

• "*O fragile human, ashes of ashes, and filth of filth! Say and write what you see and hear. But since you are timid in speaking, and simple in expounding, and untaught in writing, speak and write these things not by a human mouth, and not by the understanding of human invention, and not by the requirements of human composition, but as you see and hear them on high in the heavenly places in the wonders of God. Explain these things in such a way that the hearer, receiving the words of his instructor, may expound them in those words, according to that will, vision and instruction. Thus therefore, O human, speak these things that you see and hear. And write them not by yourself or any other human being, but by the will of Him Who knows, sees and disposes all things in the secrets of His mysteries.*" And again I heard the voice from Heaven saying to me, "*Speak therefore of these wonders, and being so taught, write them and speak.*"

• It happened that in the eleven hundred and forty-first year of the Incarnation of the Son of God, Jesus Christ, when I was forty-two years and seven months old, Heaven was opened and a fiery light of exceeding brilliance

The Witness of God is Greater

came and permeated my whole brain and inflamed my whole heart and my whole breast, not like a burning but like a warming flame, as the sun warms anything its rays touch. And immediately I knew the meaning of the exposition of the Scriptures, namely the Psalter, the Gospel and the other catholic volumes of both the Old and the New Testaments, though I did not have the interpretation of the words of their texts or the division of the syllables or the knowledge of cases or tenses. But I had sensed in myself wonderfully the power and mystery of secret and admirable visions from my childhood - that is from the age of five - up to that time as I do now. This, however, I showed to no one except a few religious persons who were living in the same manner as I; but meanwhile, until the time when God by his grace wished it to be manifested, **I concealed it in quiet silence. But the visions I saw, I did not perceive in dreams, or sleep, or delirium, or by the eyes of the body, or by the ears of the outer self, or in hidden places; but I received them while awake and seeing them with a pure mind and the eyes and ears of the inner self, in open places, as God willed it.** How this might be is hard for mortal flesh to understand.

• But when I passed out of childhood and reached the age of full maturity mentioned above, I heard a voice from heaven saying,

*"I am the Living Light, Who illuminates the darkness. The person [Hildegard] whom I have chosen and whom I have miraculously stricken as I willed, I have placed among great wonders, beyond the measure of the ancient people who saw in Me many secrets; but I have laid her low on the earth, that she might not set herself up in arrogance of mind. The world has had in her no joy or lewdness, and she feels fear and is timid in her works. For she suffers in her inmost being and in the veins of her flesh; she is distressed in mind and sense and endures great pain of body, because no security has dwelt in her, but in all her undertakings she has judged herself guilty. For I have closed up the cracks in her heart that her mind may not exalt itself in pride of vainglory, but may feel fear and grief rather than joy and wantonness. Hence in My love she searched in her mind as to where she could find someone who would run in the path of salvation. And she found such a one and loved him [the monk Volmar of Disibodenberg], knowing that he was a faithful man, working like herself on another part of the work that leads to Me. And, holding fast to him, she worked with him in great zeal so that My hidden miracles might be revealed. And she did not seek to exalt herself above herself but with many sighs bowed to him whom she found in the ascent of humility and the intention of good will. **O human, who receives these things meant to manifest what is hidden not in the disquiet of deception but in the purity of simplicity, write, therefore the things you see and hear.**"*

• But I, though I saw and heard these things, refused to write for a long time through doubt and bad opinion and the diversity of human words, not with stubbornness but in the exercise of humility, until, laid low by the scourge of God, I fell upon a bed of sickness, then, compelled at last by many illnesses, and by the witness of a certain noble maiden of good conduct [the nun Richardis of Stade] and of that man whom I had secretly sought and found, as mentioned above, I set my hand to writing. While I was doing it, I sensed, as I mentioned before, the deep profundity of scriptural exposition; and, raising myself from illness by the strength I received, I brought this work to a close - though just barely - in ten years.

• These visions took place and these words were written in the days of Henry, Archbishop of Mainz, and of Conrad, King of the Romans, and of Cuno, Abbot of Disibodenberg, under Pope Eugenius.

• **And I spoke and wrote these things not by the invention of my heart or that of any other persons, but as by the secret mysteries of God I heard and received them in the heavenly places.**

• And again I heard a voice from Heaven saying to me, "*Cry out therefore, and write thus!*"

• Hildegard of Bingen, Barbara J. Newman, and Caroline Walker Bynum. Scivias, 1990, p. 59-61)

HITS:

Book 3 : Vision Seven : The Pillar of the Trinity

• Then I saw in the west corner of the building a wondrous, secret and supremely strong pillar, purple-black in color. It was so placed in the corner that it protruded both inside and outside the building. And it was so great in extent that neither its size nor its height was clear to my understanding; I only saw that it was miraculously even and without roughnesses.

• The outside part had three steel-colored edges, which stood out like sharp sword-edges from the bottom to the top. One of these faced Southwest, where a great deal of dry straw lay cut and scattered by it; another faced Northwest, where a lot of little wings had been cut off by it and had fallen; and the

The Witness of God is Greater

middle edge faced West, where lay many decaying branches that it had cut away. All of these had been cut off by those edges for their temerity.

- And again, the One Who sat on the throne and showed me all these things said to me, "*To you I explain these mystical and miraculous unknown gifts in all their fullness, and grant you to speak of them and show them; for, O human, they appear to you clearly in the true light. This I do to enkindle the fiery hearts of the faithful, who are the pure stones that will build the celestial Jerusalem.*"

- Hildegard of Bingen, Barbara J. Newman, and Caroline Walker Bynum. Scivias, 1990, p. 411.

- **§ 1. The Trinity is to be believed humbly and not pried into more than is licit.**

- For the holy and ineffable Trinity of the Supreme Unity, which was hidden from those under the yoke of the Law but manifested in the new Grace to those freed from servitude, must be believed by the faithful with simple and humble heart, One True God in Three Persons; and it must not be rashly scrutinized, nor must anyone be dissatisfied with the gift he has received from the Holy Spirit. If such a one seeks more than a fitting, in the temerity of his self-exaltation he will fall into a worse state, not find what he improperly seeks. And this is shown by the present vision.

- For this pillar you see in the west corner of the building symbolizes the true Trinity; for the Father, the Word and the Holy Spirit are One God in Trinity and that Trinity is in Unity. It is the perfect pillar of all good, reaching from the heights to the depths and governing the whole terrestrial globe.

- Hildegard of Bingen, Barbara J. Newman, and Caroline Walker Bynum. Scivias, 1990, p. 411.

- **§ 7. Parable on this Subject**

- And the Holy Spirit took their human fear from them, so that no dread was in them, and they would never fear human savagery when they spoke the word of God; all such timidity was taken from them, so ardently and so quickly that they became firm and not soft, and dead to all adversity that could befall them. And then they remembered with perfect understanding all the things they had heard and received from Christ with sluggish faith and comprehension; they recalled them to memory as if they had learned them from Him in that very hour.

- And so, going forth, they made their way among the faithless peoples who did not have roots, which is to say the sign of the knowledge of holy innocence and justice, and whose city, which is to say the instruments of God's law, had been destroyed by faithlessness. And to these they announced the words of salvation and of the true faith in Christ. And thus they brought back many of this throng to the knowledge of God and led them to the center, which is to say the font of baptism, where they received the holiness they had lost by their proud transgressions. And they built the holy city of the commandments of God, thus rebuilding the city which that seducer the Devil had taken from them in Adam, and restored it to them in the faith that leads to salvation. But there was some who did not believe, and did not choose to receive the faith of baptism and the protection of God's command; and these, reading the signs, the apostles passed by and condemned to death for their hardness and unbelief. For in their crimes and the filth of their carnal pollutions, wallowing in the fornication and adultery as a pig wallows in the mud, they were not willing to be converted to the truth faith, and therefore they were divided and separated from life.

- And thus the Son of God was shown throughout the whole world by many and wondrous signs, ineffably begotten of the Father in His Divinity and then miraculously born of the Virgin in time. And so the hearts of all who hear these things should be alarmed and agitated by fear and trembling, so that the vain and deceitful works they have been pleased to do may be negated in them by contempt of death. For the true Word of God bears testimony to the Holy Trinity and to life-giving salvation through the water of regeneration, as the beloved John shows in the words of his exposition, when he says:

- **§ 8. Words of John**

- **"And it is the Spirit Which testifies that Christ is the Truth. There are three that give testimony on earth: the spirit, and the water, and the blood; and the three are one. And there are Three Who give testimony in heaven: the Father, the Word and the Spirit. And the Three are One" [1 John 5:6-8]** This is to say that the human spirit is spiritual; it does not come from the blood, nor is it born out of the flesh, but it emerges from the secret places of God, invisible to the mutable flesh.

The Witness of God is Greater

Therefore it bears testimony to the Son of God, Whose glory is wondrous in mystical breath; no person can perfectly understand that glory, or know how the Only-Begotten of God was conceived by the Holy Spirit and born into the world, just as no person can fully know how the soul permeates the human body and blood to make up one life.

- And, as the human spirit is the certain cause of the knowledge granted a person by God, and permeates everything else God gives him, being true and faithful life and not false or deceptive; so too Christ is the perfect Truth, in Whom life has risen and the light of salvation has shone, and from Whom death, which is deceptive, has fallen away. So three which signify the Holy Trinity, give testimony on earth, showing and granting in this world the remedy of life-giving salvation; for though that salvation the heavenly things without end must be attained, and in mortal flesh they are only awaited in hope and not possessed in actuality. Thus the human spirit in itself testifies to Me, for it will not live fully in restored salvation unless it rises again through Me in the water of regeneration. [PAGE 417] For humanity is deficient in the light that shines in Me, since it was expelled from felicity because it was corrupted into crime and increasingly bloody deeds.
- And water testifies to Me, for it purifies all filthy things in it, and clearly purges the fatal pestilence of death; it is joined to the spirit before the blood is, because as the spirit is spiritual, so the water brings spiritual sanctification. It stands in the middle between the spirit and the blood, because its confirming carries both soul and body through spiritual regeneration of life.
- And blood too testifies; for it alters its poisoned course toward the house of holiness through the water of salvation, which is the medicine that arises in My Son and remains in His life. For blood by itself carries shameful crimes and turbulent injustice, and runs through uncertain paths, in a twisted sweetness that leads to burning and lust and frightful vices, which choke innocence, increasing in appetite by what they feed on; all this by the temptation of that seducer the Devil.
- And these three are one. For the spirit without the bloody material of the body is not the living person, and the bloody material of the body without the soul is not the living person; and these two are not strengthened until life in the grace of the new Law except through the water of regeneration, or perfected in salvation as long as they are separated from this saving water. For then the transcendent honor of life is wanting to the person's reason; the redeemed must always make perfect praise resound in the presence of God, Who gave him that reason.
- For God by His own will created Man for that honor, which is consummated in the body of His Son in eternal life; when lost man lives again in the honor of life, redeemed in God by healing grace. And the spirit, which is invisible to bodily eyes, symbolizes the Father, Who is incomprehensible to every creature; and the water, which purges filth, symbolizes the Word, the Son of God, who by His Passion wiped out human stains; and the blood, which surrounds and warms people, is a symbol of the Holy Spirit, arousing and enkindling the brightest human virtues. So these three, the spirit and the water and the blood, are in one and one in three, and, as was said, one in salvation; and they signify the Trinity in Unity, and the Unity in Trinity. How?
- The holy and heavenly Trinity gives heavenly testimony; It is not taken from something else but originates by sure faith in Itself. How? The Father testifies that before the ages He begot His one fruitful Word, through Whom all things were made; and then, at the appointed time, the Word gloriously flowered in the Virgin. The Word testifies that He went forth from the Father and stooped to enter a human nature, becoming incarnate in the purity of virginity. He went forth from the Father a Spirit and returned again to the Father in fruitful flesh; and so He stands in the middle since He [PAGE 418] was invisibly begotten by the Father before time began, and conceived in the body within time by the Holy Spirit in the womb of the Virgin. And the Holy Spirit testifies that It quickened the intact Virgin so that she conceived the Word of God, and that It strengthened the doctrine of the same Word in tongues of flame, permeating the apostles so that they proclaimed the true Trinity throughout the world. How?
- They cried aloud that God the Father had completed the work whereby He created Man for heavenly happiness, of which he was then robbed. Man was made from the mud of the earth to stand upright, but by his own will had bent down toward the earth again; but now by grace he is able to stand upright a second time through the incarnate Son of God. And, enlightened and confirmed by the Holy Spirit, so as not to perish in perdition but he saved in redemption, he has been restored to eternal glory.

The Witness of God is Greater

• § 9. On the distinction and unity of the Three Persons

- Thus the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit testify that they are in no way disunited in power, even though they are distinguished in Persons, because they work together in the unity of the simple and immutable substance. How? The Father creates all things through the Word, Who is His Son in the Holy Spirit; the Son is He by Whom all things flourish in the Father and the Son. They are not indistinct among themselves. How? He Who begets is the Father; He Who is born is the Son; and He Who in eager freshness proceeds from the Father and the Son, and sanctified the waters by moving over their face in the likeness of an innocent bird, and streamed with ardent heat over the apostles, is the Holy Spirit.
- For the Father had the Son before time began, and the Son was with the Father, and the HOLY Spirit was co-eternal with the Father and the Son in the Unity of Divinity. Hence it must be seen that if one or two were lacking of these Three Persons, God would not be in fullness. How? They are one Unity of Divinity; and so, if any of Them were lacking, God would not be. For though these Persons are distinct, They are nonetheless one substance, Who are immutable and of indescribable beauty, and remain undivided in unity. How?
- Hildegard of Bingen, Barbara J. Newman, and Caroline Walker Bynum. *Scivias*, 1990, p. 15-17.

Latin:

- Deinde vidi in angulo occidentali demonstrati aedificii mirabilem et secretam atque fortissimam columnam colorem purpureae nigredinis habentem, eidem que angulo ita impositam ut et intra et extra ipsum aedificium appareret. (0642D) Quae etiam tantae quantitatis erat, ut nec magnitudo nec altitudo ipsius intellectui meo pateret, sed quod tantum miro modo planissima absque omni ruga fuit. (0643A)
- Habebat autem in exteriori sui parte tres angulos calybei coloris a pede usque ad cacumen ipsius, velut acutissimus gladius incidentes, quorum unus contra Africam respiciebat ubi plurimum putridi straminis ab eo succisum et dispersum fuerat, et unus contra chorum, ubi multae pennulae per illum discissae ceciderant, atque medius contra occidentem, ubi plurima putrida ligna ab ipso desecta iacebant, haec singula ab eisdem angulis propter temeritatem ipsorum succisa.
- Et iterum ille quem aspiciebam in praedicto throno sedentem et haec omnia mihi demonstrantem dixit mihi: Haec mystica et miranda atque ignota plenissima dona, quae tibi, o homo clarissime, apparent in vero lumine tibi demonstro, tribuo dicere et ostendere ad accendendum ignea corda fidelium, qui purissimi lapides sunt ad aedificationem coelestis Ierusalem. (0643B)
- § 1.
- Nam sancta et ineffabilis Trinitas summae unitatis sub iugo legis servientibus occultata, sed in nova gratia de servitute liberatis manifestata, simplici et humili corde, in tribus personis unus et verus Deus a fidelibus credenda est, et non temere perscrutanda est, ne qui noluerit contentus esse dono quod a Spiritu sancto accepit, dum plus quaerit quam oporteat propter temeritatem elationis suae potius in deterius cadat, quam id quod indecenter appetit inveniatur. Quod et visio praesens ostendit. Haec enim columna quam vides in angulo occidentali demonstrati aedificii, in figura verae Trinitatis est, quoniam Pater, Verbum et Spiritus sanctus unus Deus in trinitate et eadem trinitas in unitate existens, perfecta columna totius boni et penetrans summa et infima, regensque universum orbem terrarum.
- Book 3, Vision 7; *Migne Latina*, PL 197.0643.
- § 7.
- Abstulit quoque idem Spiritus sanctus ipsis hominum timorem; itaque talis pavor nullus eis inerat ut saevitiam hominum timerent, ne verbum Dei loquerentur, sed omnis huiusmodi timiditas tanto ardore et tanta festinantia eis ablata est; ut quasi aridi et non molles sed ut mortui ad cunctam adversitatem redderentur quae ipsis accidere potuisset. (0646D) Unde etiam mox

The Witness of God is Greater

perfecto sensu, recordati sunt omnium quae prius tardi fide negligenter audierant et perceperant a Christo: ea ita ad memoriam reducentes quasi eadem hora ab ipso illa cognovissent.

- Et abeuntes iter faciebant inter incredulos populos qui umbilicos, id est sigillum, scientiam scilicet sanctae innocentiae et iustitiae non habebant, et quibus civitas eorum instrumenta videlicet legis Dei in infidelitate destructa erat, ipsis verba salutis et verae fidei in Christo annuntiantes. Unde multos ex eadem turba ad agnitionem Dei reduxerunt deducentes eos ad umbilicum, id est ad fontem baptismatis, in quo receperunt sanctitatem perditam in superba transgressione, atque sanctam civitatem praeceptorum Dei erexerunt reaedificantes eis ipsam qua eos insidiator diabolus spoliaverat in Adam et eam in fide ad salutem eis reddiderunt. Qui autem fidem baptismatis et munimentum iussionis Dei propter incredulitatem suam recipere nolebant, hos in praeconiis signorum pertransierunt, ac eos ob duritiam et incredulitatem quae in ipsis erat condemnantes, morti tradiderunt, quia in sceleribus suis et in sordibus pollutionum carnis, atque in illecebris fornicationum et adulteriorum suorum se involventes ut porcus luto involvitur, ad veram fidem converti noluerunt, unde et a vita divisi et separati sunt. (0647B)

- Sicque Filius Dei a multis et admirandis signis in toto terrarum orbe manifestatus est ex Patre secundum divinitatem ante tempora ineffabiliter genitus fuisse, et post in tempore secundum humanitatem mirabiliter incarnatus esse ex Virgine, ita quod corda omnium haec audientium horrore et tremore nimio sint concussa, et quod vana ac fallacia opera quae secundum voluptates suas fecerunt, ad nihilum in eis per contemptum mortis sint redacta vero verbo Dei testimonium sanctae Trinitati atque vivificae salvationi quae fit per aquam regenerationis ad vitam reddente, ut dilectus Ioannes in verbis exhortationis suae ostendit dicens:

- § 8.

- **Et Spiritus est qui testificatur quoniam Christus est veritas, quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra: spiritus, aqua et sanguis, et tres unum sunt. (0647C) Et tres sunt qui dant testimonium in coelo: Pater, Verbum et Spiritus, et tres unum sunt (I Ioan. V)** . Hoc tale est: Spiritus hominis spiritualis est videlicet non procedens de sanguine nec nascens de carne, sed currens de arcano Dei, existens illi invisibilis quod mutabilitati subiectum est. Ideoque est illius testificatio ad Filium Dei cuius gloria mirabilis est in mystico spiramine, quam nullus hominum perfecte intelligere valet, scilicet quomodo idem Unigenitus Dei de Spiritu sancto receptus sit et in hunc mundum venerit, sicut etiam nullus hominum plene scire poterit: quomodo anima pertranseat corpus et sanguinem hominis, ita quod eis una vita sit. (0647D)

- Et sicut spiritus hominis in certissima causa scientiae quae ei a Deo data est, pertransiens in ea omnia quae sibi a Deo concessa sunt, quoniam non est falsa et deceptorum vita sed vera et fida: ita est Christus perfecta veritas in qua vita surrexit, et lumen salvationis refulsit, de qua mors cecidit quia ipsa fallax est. Et tria sanctam Trinitatem significantia testimonium dant in terra: ita quod ostendunt et tribuunt in praesenti saeculo remedium vivificae salvationis per quod veniendum est ad coelestia sine termino permansura, quae nondum immortalitatis habentur in re, sed in spe exspectantur. Nam spiritus hominis habet ex se testimonium in se quod non est in plena vita restorationis salutis, nisi resurgat pro me in aqua regenerationis, quia defecit in illo lumine quod lucet in me: expulso de felicitate per corruptam conceptionem criminis quod crescit in sanguine. (0648A)

- Et aqua habet testimonium illud, quae omnia sordida purget in se, et quod ipsa mortifera perditio mortis per purissimam purgationem pereat in ea, hic spiritui ante sanguinem adiuncta, quia ut spiritus spiritualis est; sic et aqua spiritualem affert sanctificationem, et media inter spiritum et sanguinem posita, quoniam et animam et corpus per spiritualem generationem confortans transmittit ad vitam. (0648B)

- Sanguis quoque hoc testimonium habet, quod venenosa itinera sua retorqueat ad domum sanctificationis per aquam salvationis, quae est medicinalis vis in Filio meo incipiens, et in ipso ad vitam permanens, quia sanguis in se continet valde culpabilia crimina, magnamque inquietudinem iniustitiae per errantia scilicet itinera currens in tortuosa dulcedine quae ardenti libidini servit et quae innocentiam per horrida vitia suffocat, crescere incipiens per gestum comedentis de suggestionem insidiatoris diaboli.

The Witness of God is Greater

- Et haec tria unum quoniam spiritus non est vivens homo sine sanguinea materia corporis, nec sanguinea materia corporis vivens homo, sine anima, nec haec duo reviviscunt in gratia novae legis ad vitam nisi per aquam regenerationis, et ita unum sunt in redemptione, nec sunt integra in salvatione quandiu ab hac salutari aqua sunt separata, quia rationalitati deest praecellens honor vitae, in qua redemptus homo semper resonare debet perfectam laudem in conspectu Dei qui ipsi rationalitatem dedit.
- Nam Deus propria voluntate sua creavit hominem ad honorem illum qui completur in corpore Filii eius in vita aeterna: cum perditus homo, reviviscit in honore vitae salutifera gratia redemptus in Deo. (0648C) Et spiritus quidem invisibilis corporalibus oculis existens, designat Patrem omni creatura inaestimabilem, et aqua purgationem sordis faciens, significat Verbum, id est Filium passione sua abstergentem maculas hominum, atque sanguis circumplectens et calefaciens hominem, figurat Spiritum sanctum suscitantem et incendit clarissimas virtutes in hominibus. Sic tria haec videlicet spiritus, aqua et sanguis sunt in uno, et unus in tribus, et unum sunt in salvatione, scilicet ut dictum est, atque Trinitatem in unitate et unitatem in Trinitate demonstrant. Quomodo?
- **§ 9.**
- Sancta et coelestis Trinitas dat coeleste testimonium: ita quod non est ab alio sumptum, sed certa fide in ipsa manifestatum. Quomodo? (0648D) Pater testificatur quod unicum fructuosum Verbum suum, quod ante saecula genuit, per quod omnia creata sunt, ipsum postea in praedestinato tempore in Virgine gloriosissime floruit. Verbum autem testificatur quod exivit a Patre, inclinans se ad humanam naturam incarnatus videlicet in pudore virginitatis, quia exivit a Patre spirituali egressione, et iterum rediit ad Patrem in carnis fructuositate, hic in medio positum, quoniam a Patre est ante tempora invisibiliter genitum, et de Spiritu sancto in Virginis utero in tempore corporaliter conceptum. (0649A) Sanctus vero Spiritus testificatur quod accendit integritatem Virginis, ita quod Verbum Dei conciperet: et quod doctrinam eiusdem Verbi in igneis linguis firmavit, cum apostolos ita perfudit ut per totum mundum veram Trinitatem vociferarentur. Quomodo?
- Ipsi clamabant quod Deus Pater perfecit illud quod creavit hominem ad supernam felicitatem, qua spoliatus erat homo, quia ipse de limo terrae factus in erectione sursum, sed voluntate sua declinans se ad terram deorsum: nunc in gratia per incarnatum Dei Filium erectus denuo sursum, et per Spiritum sanctum illuminatus et confirmatus ne periret in perditione, sed ut salvaretur in redemptione restitutus est aeternae claritati.
- Sic Pater, Filius et Spiritus sanctus testantur quod omnino non distinguuntur in potestate, quamvis in personis distinguantur, quia simul operantur in unitate simplicis et incommutabilis substantiae. Quomodo? (0649B) Quoniam Pater est creans scilicet omnia per Verbum, id est per Filium suum in Spiritu sancto; Filius per quem omnia perficiuntur, in Patre et Spiritu sancto; Spiritus sanctus per quem virent omnia, in Patre et Filio. Et hae tres personae sunt ita in unitate inseparabilis substantiae, quod non confunduntur vicissim in se. Quomodo? Ideo quoniam qui genuit Pater est, et qui natus est Filius est, et qui a Patre et Filio ardentissima viriditate procedit, et in specie innocentis alitis super aquas apparens eas sanctificavit, et apostolos igneo ardore perfudit, Spiritus sanctus est. Pater enim ante tempora saeculorum habuit Filium, Filiusque erat apud Patrem, Spiritu sancto aeternaliter Patri Filioque in unitate divinitatis coaeterno. (0649C)
- Book 3, Vision 7; Migne Latina, PL 197.646-649.

Hildegard of Bingen & the Demon Possessed Woman (circa 1169 AD)

- [Latin Codex] B MS 674 of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Kulturbesitz. This consists of three sections, later bound together as one. The first and third part contain writings of Hildegard, written out in the early thirteenth century by the same careful hand that also wrote out the Lucca manuscript of the Liber Divinorum Operum, while the second part is a collection of apocalyptic works, written out in the fourteenth century by a Guillelmus

The Witness of God is Greater

de Valle. The VH is found on fols 1-24. The oldest notice indicates it belonged to the monastery of St. Mary in Pfalzel, Trier. (Silvas, Jutta and Hildegard, 1998, p. 119)

- [Translation by S. Flanagan in "Hildegard of Bingen : the psychological and social uses of prophecy", 1984.] Here begins the prologue of the Life of the holy nun, Hildegard.
 - Theodoric, humble servant of the servants of God, greets with devout prayers the venerable lords-abbot Ludwig and Godfrey. I have accepted the command of your authority, that after Godfrey, a man of outstanding ability, I should set in order the Life of the holy nun Hildegard, beloved of God, which he began in excellent style but did not finish. And as if weaving a garland of fragrant flowers, I should set out her visions, combined with the events of her life, divided into books, but forming one whole. This task seemed beyond my powers and I was also diffident about sitting in judgement and giving an opinion on another's work. But then it came to my doubting and anxious mind that Love would bolster the powers that inexperience diminished. And it would be better to bear the ridicule of men than to put myself in danger of disobedience. So I obeyed in this way, allowing this man's work to stand in the first place without spoiling its arrangement at all. Then second would be the beautiful and wonderful account of the visions. The third book of the miracles that the marvellous Lord deigned to perform through her should contain the writing arranged, divided and ordered by us. Thus the glory of the first writer will not be diminished and the us. Thus the glory of the first writer will not be diminished and the recollection of the reader would be inspired to true wisdom, celestial vision and divine virtue. For what good man would not be more greatly inspired to pant after eternal life by living in a holy, pious and just manner when he sees this celebrated gem, shine forth so strikingly with so many virtuous ornaments of virginity, patience and learning. Therefore, we have taken pains that the shining light of Christ be not put in obscurity or under a bushel like something to be hidden: but placed on a candlestick it will light all who are in the house of the Lord, to be imitated with splendid examples of in life, words and deeds. But if, in this undertaking, the servant has erred in ignorant rashness, the kind lords who requested it will pardon me. And may they ascribe all fault to their zeal who would load our weakness with so weighty a work. Therefore, so that the nature of the work may shine forth more clearly this letter has been prefixed to it with the chapter headings added so that what the reader should find will be readily perceived. End of the prologue.

- XX. That among her other excellent virtues, she had the gift of casting out demons; and her description of it, and the wiles and obfuscations of demons. Among her other exceptional virtues, grace was given to the holy virgin, by the Lord, to cast out demons from the bodies of the possessed. This is how the venerable mistress described what was done in the case of a certain noblewoman of tender years. For she said: After the vision taught me the words and precepts of John the Evangelist, I retired to my sickbed, so ill that I could by no means raise myself. This was caused in me by the blast of the south wind, and my body suffered such pain that my spirit could scarcely endure. After six months, that blast had so pierced through my body that I was in extreme agony, as if I should give up the ghost. Then another blast of damp wind mixed itself with the heat, so that part of my body was cooled and I was not entirely burnt up. I suffered like this for a whole year, but I saw in true vision that my life would be prolonged yet a little while. Meanwhile it reached my ears that far away in the lower parts of the Rhine, a certain noblewoman was obsessed by a devil. Frequent messengers came to me from here And I saw in a true vision that she had been obsessed and overcome, with God's permission, by the darkness and obscurity of devilish accumulations which overwhelmed the sensation of her rational soul and did not allow her higher understanding to breathe. So too, the shadow of a man or some other thing, or smoke, conceals and obscures what it covers. So she forgot right thought and action, and all too often cried out and behaved in an unseemly manner. But when, at God's command, this evil was reduced in her, she was more lightly afflicted. And I, pondering and wishing to learn how the diabolical form enters man, saw and heard this reply. The devil does not enter man in his own shape, as he is, but darkens and clouds him with the gloom and smoke of his own blackness. For if he were to enter man in his own shape, his parts would immediately be dissolved as straws are scattered by the wind. Therefore God does not allow the devil to enter man in his own form. But disturbing him, as described

The Witness of God is Greater

above, he turns the person to insanity and unseemliness. He shouts through him, as the person to insanity and unseemliness. He shouts through him, as through a window, and operates his parts from outside, since he is not inside, in his own form. Meanwhile, the soul, as if asleep, does not know what the flesh of the body is doing. Then I saw a great host of wicked spirits, cunning and wily, as mentioned above, who travel the whole world, seeking to find those through whom they can create schism and divisive behaviour. From the very beginning, when they were 'created in the presence of the most just angels, they scorned God, saying: 'Who is he who has such power over us?' envy, hatred and mockery and have continued thus, they erred in the beginning through mockery, they in this spirit. And when God wishes to purge him by his express permission, they stir up wonders in They said this into this day. Since they have done all things to people through them, the air, and spew out pestilential vapours, and cause floods and perils in the waters, incite wars, and produce troubles and evils. God allows these things to happen when men are involved in crimes and murders through pride. But when God has thus chastised his people, he confounds these spirits, just as he did in the case of the woman already mentioned. For although the evil spirit, with God's permission, clearly confounded many people through the woman, because of the depravity and sins to which she had incited them, the same malignant spirit was routed by certain others who were terrified and did penance. For God allows his friends to be afflicted with trials and tribulations so that they may So his enemies are confounded while the elect are to be purged of evil. changed by this trial into brighter stones in the sight of God. So when that woman had been conducted around numerous shrines, the spirit which — overcome by the merits of the saints and had oppressed her, cried out that there was a certain old woman in the prayers of the people of the region of upper Rhine, whose counsel would expel him. Understanding that, her friends brought her to us in the eighth year of her affliction, as the Lord willed."

- XXI. Concerning the letters which were sent to and from her on behalf It is worthwhile, at this point, before pursuing this demoniac. It is worthwhile, at this point, before pursuing further the words of Christ's nun, to insert the letters which the Abbot of Brauweiler wished to send to her, and she in turn to him, about this demoniac woman. From these, the wickedness of devils may be more clearly understood, and the judgments of God, sometimes hidden, but always just, may be more readily praised. The woman was brought to Brauweiler, after seven years, to be liberated there by the merits of St Nicholas. When conjured, the wicked spirit said that it would not leave its vessel, except through the aid and counsel of a certain old woman from the upper Rhine, just as she said above. It parodied her name, calling her "Crumplegard", in mockery. So, taking counsel, they sent her a humble letter in this wise [1169 AD]:

- To mistress Hildegard, our venerable mother and bride of Christ, worthy of our most heartfelt embrace, daughter of the most high king, Abbot Gedolphus, such as he is, of the monastery of Brauweiler, and his brothers, sitting in the vale of tears, offer in their prayers, as far as they can, and in every way, the devoted service of their love. Wherefore, most beloved mistress, although your face is unknown to us, the fame of your virtues is very well known among us; and although we are absent in body, we are indeed with you in spirit, and the Lord who knows all, knows how great our love is towards you. So in our land, this news has been heard and noised abroad-what has been done about you by the Lord. He has done great things by you, who is powerful, and his name is holy. Now both the clergy and people know that the fountain of living light shines through you in such great miracles, and the outcome of events bears witness to this. For in you shines a work, not human, but divine; a surpassing grace and most remarkable gift which human reason does not order, but which proceeds from the pellucid fountain. But why delay? We should rather weep than talk, Therefore, O most pious mistress let not the sweetness of your sanctity repulse our boldness when we presume in the simplicity of our hearts, compelled by great need, to open to you the reason for our importunity, We do not doubt that we will receive good counsel from you. A certain noble Woman, obsessed by an evil spirit these many years, was brought to us by her friends, to gain the help of the blessed Nicholas, our patron, to free her of the devil that beset her. The cunning and wickedness of this most sly and wanton enemy led almost a thousand people into error and doubt, which we fear was a great pity for the holy church. Now all of

The Witness of God is Greater

us laboured, together with a multitude of people, for the liberation of this woman for three months, in all sorts of ways. But we cannot say it without sadness since our sins weighed upon us, we achieved nothing. Thus all our hope is in you, after God, Now one day when the devil was conjured, at last it revealed to us, that this obsessed woman should be liberated by the virtue of your contemplation and the mightiness of your divine revelation, Did not God purpose great things in her liberation? Assuredly, therefore, the most abundant kindness of our Redeemer was thought fit to crown the labour of our work and And this would be done tribulation, and also our joy and exultation, most fully through you so that all error and faithlessness of man might be brought to nothing, and the obsessed handmaid of God set free. Then we could say with the Prophet, "This is the Lord's doing: it is marvellous in our eyes", and "the snare is broken, and we are escaped We humbly and earnestly pray, therefore, that whatever God inspired you with in this matter, or revealed by a vision, your holiness may take care to set down in writing.

- And when the blessed Hildegard received the letter she examined it carefully, and piously sympathising with the petitioners, she advised all her nuns to dwell humbly in their public and private prayers on this problem, And she, uttering a prayer, lifted the eyes of her mind to the Lord and sent back this reply, according to what she saw and heard in true vision, and composed by none other than the inexhaustible Wisdom.
- Hildegard, to Gedolphus, Abbot of the monastery of Brauweiler: Since I have long been constrained with a serious illness by the flail of God, I have for some time been scarcely able to respond to your request. I do not say these things from myself, but from Him who Is. There are different kinds of wicked spirits. The demon about which you inquire has the power to make human behaviour vicious, and then it willingly remains with the person. It will even spurn and mock the Lord's cross, the relics of the saints and other things that pertain to God's service, being afraid of little, They do not set store by those things, and they feign flight, just as a foolish and heedless man treats lightly the words and warnings of the wise. And so it is more difficult to expel than another demon. For it will not be cast out except by fasting, scourging, prayers, alms and the command of God himself. Hear therefore the reply, not of man, but of Him who lives: Choose seven priests of good repute, who are commended by the merit of their lives (i.e., the first) in the name and order of Abel, (the second in the name of) Noah, (the third in the name of) Abraham, (the fourth in the name of) Melchizedek, (the fifth in the name of) Jacob and (the sixth in the name of) Aaron, who (all) offered sacrifice to the living God (and) the seventh in the name of Christ who offered himself to God the Father, on the cross. After fasts, scourgings, prayers, almsgiving and the celebration of masses let them approach the patient with humble intention and in the (humble) priestly vestments with their stoles (signed with the third sign, that is with stoles hanging around them).
- And let each one of them standing around her (individually), hold a rod in his hand, as a symbol of the rod with which Moses, at God's command, struck Egypt, the Red Sea, and the rock, And just as God showed miracles there, through a rod, so he will glorify himself by casting out this dreadful enemy by means of the rod. The seven priests will also represent the seven gifts of the holy spirit, as the spirit of God, which moved over the waters in the beginning, and who breathes the breath of life in the face of man, and blew out the unclean spirit from the man afflicted, And the first, in the name of Abel, holding his rod in his hand, shall say: "Hear, O wicked and foolish spirit, wheresoever you dwell in this person, hear these words not devised by man, but made manifest by Him who Is, etcetera", And when the holy nun had finished this letter, revealed by the Holy Spirit, she sent it to the monastery where the woman was held, by the hand of the man whom she had secretly sought out, as she says in the book Scivias, and it was recited humbly over her. And when the reader came to the place at the end of the writing where it says: "and I, a poor, weak, unlettered woman say to you, O blasphemous and mocking spirit, in that truth by which I, a poor, unlearned woman saw and heard these things from the light of Wisdom, I admonish you by that same Wisdom to leave this woman in true steadfastness and not in the whirlwind of your instability", Then the wicked spirit bellowed and uttered such howls, wailing with awful cries, that he aroused great terror in those who were standing by. Raving like this for almost half an hour, at last it

The Witness of God is Greater

left the vessel that it had so long possessed, as it pleased God. When the woman felt herself freed, she stretched out her hands to those who were standing by, so that they could raise her up, since she had not the strength. Then she prostrated herself before the principal altar of St Nicholas and gave thanks to God for her liberation, And seeing this, the common people made a great noise, as is their wont. They gave praise and thanks to God with resonant pealing of bells, while the brothers sang the Te deum. But alas, how wretched it is to relate, by a hidden judgment of God, the same old enemy returned, and sought once more the vessel it had left. Then the woman shook all over, and rising, hooting and shrieking, became more insane than before. And when the terrified bystanders, full of sorrow, asked the wicked spirit why it had boldly sought out God's creature again, after leaving her, it replied: "I fled, terrified, at the sign of the Cross, But since I did not know where to go, I returned to my empty and unblessed vessel," And when the letter and conjuration of the holy nun was repeated, so that it might depart, it declared, gnashing its teeth, that it would only emerge in the presence of the old woman, Then those of wiser counsel persuaded the friends and guardians of this woman to take her to the blessed nun. And having received the blessing of the abbot and monks, they set off there with a letter of recommendation. The letter went like this:

- To the venerable mistress Hildegard, worthy of every act of grace, Gedolphus, unworthy Abbot of Brauweiler, together with his brothers, wishes her to live, flourish and have the world under her foot, and whatever more exalted thing might be done for the servant of God. Already the whole world knows that God looked with favour on you and filled you with grace. But we, who till now spoke to your holiness through our letters and messengers about the problem of the woman obsessed by the wicked spirit, at last, with great hope, repeat the outline of our problem through the person herself, faithfully heaping prayer on prayer, in the hope that the closer your physical proximity, the greater will be the spiritual benefit. For the demon, conjured by the letter which you sent, dictated by the Holy Spirit, left the possessed vessel for a brief while. But alas, we know not by what judgment of God it returned, invading the vessel it had abandoned, to trouble it again more fiercely than before. When we conjured it again and pressed it closely, it replied that it would not leave the 'possessed vessel except in your presence. Therefore, we send her to your holiness so that what we could not merit because of the pressure of our sins, God may complete through you. And when the old enemy is cast out, He who is powerful above all, may be glorified in you. May your maternal love flourish.

- XXII. That when she was brought to her after seven years she was cured by her, in the eighth year. Having had a foretaste in these letters, it seems fitting that our speech be recalled from this short diversion. Now let us see how God delayed the liberation of the woman for so long for the glorification of his handmaid. Now the Almighty had the power of easily fulfilling what was sought for the possessed woman, even through the other saints to whom she had been taken for so many years, But, transferring the glory of this miracle to the holy nun, he evidently wished to reveal the nature of her merits to all men, in his own time. What happened can be better learnt from her own words.

- "We were greatly alarmed", she said, "about the coming of this woman, and how we would see and hear her, who had for so long been the cause of agitation to so many people. But God let the dews of his mercy fall upon us, and without terror or trembling, we lodged her in the sisters' dwelling, without assistance from the men. And from that time we never slackened - not for terror, nor for the disorder with which the demon confused those who pressed upon it for its sins, nor for the mocking or filthy words with which it sought to overcome us, nor for its terrible breath, And I saw it suffer three torments in that woman. The first was when she was taken from shrine to shrine; the second was when the common people gave alms for her; the third was when it was compelled to leave, through the prayers of the clergy, by the grace of God. So from the Purification of St Mary, until the Saturday before Easter, the men and women of our region laboured for her, with fasting, prayer, almsgiving and mortification of the flesh, Meanwhile, the wicked spirit, constrained by the power of God, although unwilling, uttered many things before the people about the saving power of baptism, the sacrament of the body of Christ, the danger of excommunication, the damnation of the Cathars and their like, to his own confusion and

The Witness of God is Greater

Christ's glory. Then many were made stronger in the faith and more eager to atone for their sins. But when I saw in true vision that it was speaking falsehoods, I refuted it at once, and it soon grew quiet, gnashing its teeth at me, Yet I did not prevent it from addressing the people when it was speaking the truth. Then came Holy Saturday, when the baptismal font was consecrated by the breath of the priest. He blew onto the font with the words with which the Holy Spirit imbued the minds of men and the doctors of the Church, when the spirit of God stirred the waters, at the first creation - as it is written, 'And the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters'. That woman was present, and seized with great fear, beat the ground with her feet, and often emitted a blast from the terrible spirit that oppressed her, Then in true vision, I saw and heard that the might of the Most High, who always and ever brooded over holy baptism said to the devilish accumulation by which the woman was worn out: 'Come Satan, from the temple of this woman's body and make room in it for the Holy Spirit'. Then the wicked spirit emerged, together with a terrible voiding, from the woman's private parts. Thus was she freed, and remained sound in body and mind for the rest of her life, When this was afterwards told to the people, they all said, with songs of praise and words of prayer, 'Glory to thee, O Lord.' So God allowed Satan to inflict the horrible filth of worms on Job's entire body. He thought by this device to deny God's honour, that he might be able to overcome him, But he could not touch Job's soul, with God guarding it. Since Job did not lose his faith in God, Satan, thus defeated, departed from him, So God overcame Satan through him, so that he knew no one could be stronger than God. Likewise, when this woman was handed over to be tried by the wicked spirit, God did not allow her soul to fail in good Job did not lose his faith in God, Satan, thus defeated, departed from him, So God overcame Satan through him, so that he knew no one could be stronger than God. Likewise, when this woman was handed over to be tried by the wicked spirit, God did not allow her soul to fail in good faith, Thus the enemy was vanquished in her, since he could not turn her from God's justice.

Hugh of Amiens (d. 1164 AD)

- Hugh of Amiens (died 1164), (Latin: Hugonis Ambianensis Rothomagensis) also known as Hugh de Boves, monk of Cluny, prior of Limoges, prior of Lewes, abbot of Reading and archbishop of Rouen, was a 12th-century Picard-French Benedictine prelate. Hugh was born in Laon late in the eleventh century. He belonged in all probability to the noble family of Boves, a theory to which his arms (an ox passant) give support. He was educated at Laon in the celebrated school of Anselm and Ralph, and became a monk of Cluny. A few years after his reception the abbot made him prior of Limoges, but he went to England about the same time, and became for a short time prior of Lewes, whence he was transferred in 1125 to the abbey of Reading. As Reading Abbey was a new foundation, Hugh was its first ever abbot.[1][2] While travelling abroad in 1129 he was elected to the archbishopric of Rouen and consecrated 14 September 1130. At this time he founded the abbey of St Martin of Aumale. In his province he was vigorous and strict, and tried for some time in vain to bring the powerful abbots under his control. He took part with Pope Innocent II against Anacletus, received Innocent at Rouen in 1131, and rejoined him at the council of Rheims in the same year, bringing him letters in which the king of England recognised him as lawful pope.[1]
- Hugh was a staunch supporter of King Stephen, and passed much time in England during the civil wars. Early in 1137 Stephen went to Normandy, and when he had failed to capture Matilda's illegitimate half-brother, Robert, Earl of Gloucester, Hugh was one of his sureties that he would do Robert no further injury. It was by his intervention that the dispute between the king and the bishops regarding the custody of castles was settled at the council of Oxford in 1139, which Henry of Blois had summoned. Hugh also reconciled the Earl of Gloucester and the Count of Boulogne.[1] As the rebellious abbots of his province were now without royal support, he was able to carry out the decision of the council of Rheims, and to exact an oath of obedience; among those whom he forced to tender it was Theobald, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, then newly elected abbot of Bec. In 1147 Hugh took part in the controversy with Gilbert de la Porrée. In 1150 Henry, eldest son of Henry II, began to rule in Normandy, and Hugh found in him a strong supporter. He died 11 November 1164, and was buried in the cathedral at Rouen, where there is an epitaph composed by Arnulf of Lisieux.[1]
- Hugh of Amiens. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hugh_of_Amiens>

The Witness of God is Greater

HIT:

- **[Against Heretics]** Therefore worship the Father, worship the Son, worship both equally as one God. The Father is one person, the Son another; but the Father is not one God and the Son another God. The Father and the Son are different persons; however, they are not two Gods but one. "Hear, O Israel: thy God is one God" (Deut. 6:4).¹ The Truth confirms this: "I," he says, "and my Father are one" (John 10:30). He says "are" because the person of the Father is one person, that of the Son another. He says "one" because the essence of Father and Son is one and the same. The Holy Spirit too belongs to the Father and the Son, is one from the Father and the Son, a third person, not a third God. "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made; and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth." (Ps. 32:6, 33:6 in the KJV) And: "**There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one.**" (1 John 5:7). The Apostle said "are" because they are three persons; he said "one" on account of the indivisible Godhead. This Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Father in the Gospel: "For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you." (Matt. 10:20)³ And John the Apostle said: "We dwell in God, and he in us, because he hath given us of his Spirit. And we have seen and do testify that the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world." (1 John 4:13-14)⁴ Just as this Holy Spirit belongs to the Father, so does it also belong to the Son. Regarding this same point the Son says: "He shall receive of mine, and shall shew it unto you. All things that the Father hath are mine: therefore said I, that he shall take of mine, and shall shew it unto you." (John 16:14-15) (Hugh of Amiens, *Against the Heretics*, book 1, chapter 1; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, August 2020)
 - **Latin:** Adora igitur Patrem, adora Filium, adora pariter utrumque Deum unum. Alius quidem est Pater, alius Filius, non alius Deus Pater, alius Deus Filius. (1258B) Diversae sunt personae Pater et Filius, non autem duo sunt dii sed unus. Audi, inquit, Israel Deus tuus. Deus unus est (Deut. VI, 4) . Huic Veritas attestatur: Ego, inquit, et Pater unum sumus (Ioan. X, 30) . Sumus dicit, qui alia est persona Patris, alia Filii. Unum dicit, quia una et eadem est essentia Patris et Filii. Spiritus quoque sanctus ipse est Patris et Filii unus ex Patre et Filio, tertia persona, non tertius Deus. (1258C) Verbo, inquit, Domini coeli firmati sunt; et Spiritu oris eius omnis virtus eorum (Psal. XXXII, 6) . Et: **Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt** (I Ioan. V, 7) . Sunt dixit, quia tres personae, unum pro inseparabili divinitate. Spiritus iste sanctus, Spiritus est Patris in Evangelio: Non enim vos estis qui loquimini; sed Spiritus Patris vestri qui loquitur in vobis (Matth. X, 10) . Et Ioannes apostolus ait: In Deo manemus, et ipse in nobis, quia de Spiritu suo dedit nobis; et nos vidimus et testificamur quoniam Pater misit Filium suum Salvatorem mundi (I Ioan. IV, 13) . Spiritus iste sanctus sicut est Patris, ita est et Filii. Super hoc idem Filius ita dicit: De meo accipiet, et annuntiabit vobis. Omnia quaecunque habet Pater mea sunt, propterea dixi, quia de meo accipiet, et annuntiabit vobis (Ioan. XVI, 14). (Hugh of Amiens, *Contra haereticos sui temporis*, Liber 1, caput 1; Migne Latina, PL 192.1258)

Gerhoh of Reichersberg (1093-1169)

• Gerhoh of Reichersberg (Latin: Gerhohus Reicherspergensis. b. at Polling 1093; d. at Reichersberg, 27 June 1169) was one of the most distinguished theologians of Germany in the twelfth century. He was provost of Reichersberg Abbey and a Canon Regular. He studied at Freising, Mosburg, and Hildesheim. In 1119, Bishop Hermann of Augsburg called him as "scholasticus" to the cathedral school of that city; shortly afterwards, though still a deacon, he made him a canon of the cathedral. Gradually Gerhoh adopted a stricter ecclesiastical attitude, and eventually withdrew (1121) from the simoniacal Bishop Hermann, and took refuge in the monastery of Raitenbuch in the Diocese of Freising. After the Concordat of Worms (1122) Bishop Hermann was reconciled with the legitimate pope, Callistus II, whereupon Gerhoh accompanied the bishop to the Lateran Council of 1123. On his return from Rome Gerhoh resigned his canonicate, and with his father and two half-brothers joined the Austin canons at Raitenbuch (1124). Bishop Kuno of Ratisbon ordained him a priest in 1126, and gave him the parish of Cham, which he later resigned under threats from Hohenstaufen followers whom he had offended at the Synod of Würzburg in 1127. He returned to Ratisbon, and in 1132 Conrad I of Abensberg, Archbishop of

The Witness of God is Greater

Salzburg, appointed him provost of Reichersberg, to the spiritual and material advantage of that monastery. Archbishop Conrad sent him several times on special missions to Rome; in 1143 he also accompanied, together with Arnold of Brescia, Cardinal Guido di Castello of Santa Maria in Portico on his embassy to Bohemia and Moravia. Eugene III (1145–53) held Gerhoh in high esteem; his relations with the successors of that pope were less pleasant. On the occasion of the disputed papal election in 1159 (Alexander III and Victor IV) Gerhoh sided with Alexander III, but only after long hesitation; for this action the imperial party looked on him with hatred. For refusing to support the antipope, Archbishop Conrad was condemned to banishment in 1166, and the monastery of Reichersberg was repeatedly attacked; Gerhoh himself was forced to take refuge in flight, and died soon after his return to Reichersberg. Gerhoh was a reformer in the spirit of the Gregorian ideas. He aimed particularly and zealously at the reform of the clergy; it seemed to him that this object could not be attained unless the community life were generally adopted. (Gerhoh of Reichersberg. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gerhoh_of_Reichersberg>)

HITS:

- [Letter 21] But you yourselves, cardinals of the Lord, know that “if we accept the testimony of men, the testimony of God is greater, that He hath testified of his Son.” (1 John 5:9) **For “there are three” says John, “who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit”** (1 John 5:7) First it is asked, why does he not say “the Father and the Son”, but “Father,” he says, “and Word, and Holy Spirit”? To which we must say, that not only to us do these three give testimony, that they might be born from God, since he has proposed saying, “Everyone born out of God overcomes the world” (1 John 5:4) And just at the end of the chapter, “he that believeth in the Son of God, has the testimony in himself” (1 John 5:10). (Gerhoh Reichersbert, Letter 21 to cardinals; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, August 2020)
 - **Latin:** Scitis autem, vos domini cardinales, quod, si testimonium hominum accipimus, testimonium Dei maius est, quia testificatus est de Filio suo. (0580C) **Nam tres sunt, ait Iohannes, qui testimonium dant in coelo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus sanctus** (I Ioan. V). Primo quaeritur, cur non dixerit Pater et Filius, sed Pater, ait, Verbum, et Spiritus sanctus. Ad quod dicendum, quia non solum nobis tres illi testes testimonium dant, quod simus nati ex Deo, sicut proposuerat dicens: Omne quod natum est ex Deo, vincit mundum (I Ioan. V). Et sicut in fine capituli: Qui credit, inquit, in Filium Dei, habet testimonium Dei in se (ibid.). (Gerhoh Reichersbert, Epistola XXI ad collegium cardinalium; Migne Latina, PL 193.580)
- [Letter 21] The Holy Spirit, too, gives testimony for this man that he is Christ or that he is the Son of God, the power of God, because, just as he said: “But when the Paraclete cometh, whom I will send you from the Father, the Spirit of truth, who proceedeth from the Father, he shall give testimony of me. And you shall give testimony” (John 15:25-26) It was, and is, and will continue to the end. **“These give the testimony of the three witnesses in heaven, [...] and the three agree in one.”** He does not say **“these three are one”** in the masculine (unus, which would mean one person) but **“these three are one”** in the neuter (unum, which means one “thing”, one entity or essence). (1 John 5) They are three in persons, one in essence; and the three give one testimony that the man Jesus, who was thought to be the son of Joseph, is the Son of God, just as omnipotent as his Father. For the omnipotence of these witnesses should be believed, **“that is for him to bear witness in earth, namely, the spirit, the water, and the blood.”** For the spirit—that is, the rational soul that he laid down on the cross and took up again when he chose to—never could have plundered hell or opened heaven to the thief if he had not been omnipotent. The water, too, and the blood flowing from his side would not—could not—have drowned the invisible Pharaoh and his army if the Son had lacked the omnipotence of divine power. **These heavenly and earthly testimonies, or rather this one testimony of three in heaven and three on earth** was ignored by Photinus, who denied that the man born of the Virgin was God. Paul of Samosata as well, blinded by the same error, taught that Godhead was alien to man and humanity was alien to God, so that the statement that God was a man or that a man was God could not be true, even though God dwelled more fully in that man whom the Virgin gave birth to than in any other saint. Nestorius, too, following Photinus, separated the man from God, denying that the Virgin had given birth to God. (Gerhoh of Reichersberg : Epistle 21)

The Witness of God is Greater

- **Latin:** Nihilominus etiam Spiritus sanctus testimonium dat huic homini, quod sit Christus, vel quod sit Dei Filius, Dei virtus, quia videlicet, quemadmodum dixit: Cum venerit Paracletus, quem ego mittam vobis a Patre Spiritum veritatis, qui a Patre procedit, ille testimonium perhibet de me, et vos testimonium perhibebitis (ibid., XVI), sic factum est, et fit, et fiet usque in finem saeculi. **Hi tres testes in coelo testimonium dant, [...] et hi tres unum sunt.** Non **hi tres unus, sed hi tres unum sunt** (I Ioan. V), inquit, tres in personis, unum in substantia, et unum est illorum trium testimonium, quia homo Iesus, qui putabatur filius Ioseph, sit Filius Dei aequae omnipotens ut Pater eius. (0583C) Nam de omnipotentia eius etiam illis testibus est credendum, qui ei **testimonium dant in terra, scilicet spiritus, aqua, et sanguis** (ibid., V) . Etenim spiritus, videlicet anima rationalis, quam in cruce posuit, quamque, cum voluit, iterum sumpsit, nullatenus infernum spoliare, seu paradisum latroni aperire potuisset, nisi omnipotens fuisset. Aqua etiam et sanguis de latere ipsius profluens invisibilem Pharaonem cum suo exercitu non suffocasset, aut suffocare potuisset, si divinae virtutis omnipotentia caruisset. **Haec coelestia et terrestria testimonia, imo unum testimonium trium in coelo**, et trium in terra testificantium Photinus minime attendit, qui hominem de virgine genitum negavit Deum. Paulus quoque Samosatenus eodem errore caecatus et ipse docuit ab homine Divinitatem, et a Deo alienam esse humanitatem, ita ut nec Deus homo, nec homo Deus vere diceretur, quanquam Deus in homine illo plenius habitaverit, quem virgo genuit, quam in caeteris sanctis. (0583D) Nestorius quoque secutus Photinum, hominem dividit a Deo, negans virginem genuisse Deum. (Gerhohus Reicherspergensis, Epistle XXI; Migne Latina, PL 93.583)

Arnulf of Lisieux (d. 1184 AD)

• Arnulf of Lisieux[1] (1104/1109[2] – 31 August 1184) was a medieval French bishop[3] who figured prominently as a conservative figure during the Renaissance of the 12th century, built the Cathedral of Lisieux, which introduced Gothic architecture to Normandy, and implemented the reforms of Bernard of Clairvaux. He was born in Normandy, the second son of Hardouin de Neuville,[2] and having been educated there by his elder brother, Jean, Bishop of Sées, studied canon law at Rome. He made his mark writing in defence of Pope Innocent II a violent letter against Gerard, bishop of Angoulême,[4] a partisan of the Jewish-descended Antipope Anacletus II (Petrus Leonis). He went to England to serve in the court of Stephen during The Anarchy.[2] In 1141 he was raised to the See of Lisieux. He accompanied Louis VII on his crusade (1147), was faithful to Pope Alexander III at the Council of Tours (1163) during the schism,[5] and encouraged his brother bishops to defend the cause of ecclesiastical liberty against Henry II of England. He was an early partisan of Henry in his struggles as Duke of Normandy to become king of England and took the king's side in the conflict between Henry and Thomas Becket, but in attempting to mediate between king and archbishop[6] he alienated both sides; after Becket's murder Arnulf undertook the royal defence before the pope.[7] In 1181 or perhaps a little earlier, he lost the good will of the king, and for a while that of Pope Lucius III. He then resigned his see, claiming age and feebleness, and retired to the Abbey of St. Victor, Paris, where he died. His writings include a collection of letters, collated by himself, which survive in 19 manuscripts, and some poetry.[8] He was the uncle of Hugh Nonant, who was Bishop of Coventry from 1185 to 1198.[9] (Arnulf of Lisieux. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arnulf_of_Lisieux>)

HIT:

- [Sermon] Moreover, one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came there out blood and water. (cf. John 19) the blood means redemption, and the water regeneration. In these two sacraments, virtue and power are believed to have poured forth. Because by faith, the passion and the baptism of submersion I am being saved."He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved"(Mark 16:16) For the blood of Christ cleanses our consciences from dead works and to serve the living God. But even the water which is seen is pouring forth from the temple of the body of Christ, from the right side, everyone who comes [obeys] is saved from whatever place [they might hail from]. Therefore,"**There are three that testify in earth: The Spirit, the water and the blood.**"(1 John 5:8) Accordingly, the Spirit gives testimony of Christ,"Because it is the Spirit which testifieth, because Christ

The Witness of God is Greater

is the Truth”(1 John 5:6) To us, furthermore, the water and the blood deliver the testimony of salvation; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, August 2020)

- **Latin:** Porro unus ex militibus lancea latus eius aperuit, et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua (Ioan. XIX): sanguis scilicet redemptionis, et aqua regenerationis. In his duobus omnium sacramentorum virtus et efficacia creditur emanasse. (0165B) In fide etenim passionis et baptismatis ablutione salvamur. Qui enim crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit (Marc. XVI). Sanguis enim Christi emundat conscientias nostras ab operibus mortuis, ad serviendum Deo viventi. Sed et aqua quae visa est egredi de templo corporis Christi, a latere dextro, salvavit omnes ad quoscunque pervenit. **Tres igitur testimonium dant in terra: Spiritus, aqua, et sanguis** (I Ioan. V) . Spiritus siquidem testimonium perhibet de Christo, quoniam Spiritus est qui testificatur, quoniam Christus est veritas (ibid.). Nobis autem aqua et sanguis reddunt testimonium ad salutem. (Arnulf of Lisieux, Sermon in Synod 3; Migne Latina, PL 201.161C)

Henry of Marcy (1136-1189 AD)

• Blessed Henry of Marcy[1] (c. 1136 – 1 January 1189[2]; Latin: Henricus de Castro Marsiaco) was a Cistercian abbot first of Hautecombe (1160) and then of Clairvaux from 1177 until 1179.[3] He was created Cardinal Bishop of Albano at the Third Lateran Council in 1179.[4] Henry was an important figure in the fight against the late twelfth-century movements of Catharism and Waldensianism and took a leading part at III Lateran.[5] He strongly supported the use of force to suppress heresy and a strong alliance between secular and ecclesiastic authority in the use of force. Towards the end of his life he was offered the papal crown (1187), but he declined it in favour of Gregory VIII.[11] Beginning in 1187 he preached the Third Crusade and was in Liège in March 1188.[12] He did a great deal to mediate between the leaders of the Crusade before his death at Arras, bringing Henry II of England and Philip II of France to reconcile, as well as healing the rift between the Emperor Frederick I and Philip I, Archbishop of Cologne. It was at the Tag Gottes ("God's Day") held in Mainz in 1188 that he induced Frederick to join the Crusade. He was buried at Arras and is considered beatified. The Cistercians celebrate his day on 14 July. Among his surviving works, his letters (Epistolae) and his De peregrinante civitate Dei are published in the Patrologia Latina.[13] (Henry of Marcy. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_of_Marcy>)

HITS:

- [On the three days preceding the Resurrection of the Lord, and the seven - liturgical antiphons on the coming of the Lord] Since this Trinity cannot be seen as it is by us rheumy-eyed people while we are in exile from the Lord, the Lord wanted to present his city with a certain visible Trinity that would enable human frailty, in its exile, to be warmed up by the friction of those things which it had learned by experience, so that it might eventually rise to reach those things which it had not learned. **Understanding this, the disciple whom Jesus loved presented two trinities in his writings: one giving testimony in heaven, and another giving testimony on earth.** Writing this, he implied that a person would aspire to testimonies in vain if that person did not have the testimony of the unperceivable Trinity. It was about this that he said: **“There are three that give testimony on earth: the spirit and the water and the blood. And these three are one.”**(1 John 5:7) We know indeed, as blessed Augustine says, that three things came out of the Lord’s body when he hung on the cross: first the spirit, according to “he bowed his head, and gave up the ghost (spirit)”(John 19:3); then blood and water when his side was pierced by the spear. (Henry of Marcy, On the City of God in Exile, Treatise one. On the preparation of the material of the city of God; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, August 2020)
 - **Latin:** Quae quia, dum peregrinamur a Domino, sicut est, a lippientibus videri non potest, voluit Dominus suae civitati visibilem quamdam proponere Trinitatem, qua humana infirmitas in exilio per ea quae usu didicit confricata incalesceret, ut sic ad ea quae non didicit tandem assurgens perveniret. Haec intelligens discipulus ille quem dilexit Iesus, duas trinitates in suis scriptis proposuit, unam in coelis, aliam testimonium dantem in terris, innuens quod frustra quis ad testimonia aspiraret, si insensibilis Trinitatis testimonium non haberet. (0262B) De quo ita ait: **Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terris; spiritus, aqua et sanguis: et hi tres unum sunt** (I Ioan. V) . Tria siquidem, ut ait beatus Augustinus, novimus de

The Witness of God is Greater

corpore Domini exisse, cum penderet in ligno: primum spiritum, iuxta illud: Inclinato capite, emisit spiritum (Ioan. X) ; deinde, quando latus eius lancea perforatum est, sanguinem et aquam. (Henry of Marcy, De peregrinante civitate Dei. Tractatus primus. De praeparatione materiae civitatis Dei; Migne Latina, PL 204.262)

Herbert of Bosham (circa 1162-1189 AD)

- Herbert of Bosham was a twelfth-century **English biographer of Thomas Becket** who held a foremost place among the scholars in Thomas's household. His dates of birth and death are unknown, but he was active from 1162 until 1189.[1]
- [Early life] He was probably born in Bosham, Sussex, from which he took his name. **He studied theology in Paris as a pupil of Peter Lombard.**[2] He introduced Lombard's Sentences into England.[3] He must have joined Becket's household before 1162 as, on his elevation in that year, the new archbishop immediately promoted him to a responsible position. He was to give his master advice on the performance of his duties, and to assist and even direct his studies of Scripture.
- [Companion to Becket] **Herbert remained closely attached to Becket throughout the arduous and troubled years of his episcopacy and exile until almost the very eve of the final scene in Canterbury Cathedral.** Having returned to England with Becket in December 1170, he remained with him until sent back again on an errand to the French king; vainly he implored his master to let him stay for the end which both felt to be close at hand, and which in fact came two days after his departure.[1] Of all the archbishop's followers he was the keenest antagonist of the king Henry II of England and the royal "customs", quite ready on occasion to beard the king to his face or to undertake dangerous missions to England.
- [Biographer] After Becket's death Herbert seems to have lived mainly on the Continent, not revisiting England until about 1184, and he complains that he was neglected; he records, however, a friendly interview with the king himself. We know nothing of him after the year 1189. Herbert of Bosham's verbose biography of Becket has less historical value than that of William Fitzstephen. He shared Thomas's ideals and was an eyewitness of most of the incidents of his episcopacy. He had sat by him, for instance, during the stormy scenes of the trial at Northampton. On the other hand, he did not begin to write till 1184, many years after the events which he records, and Dom Albert L'Huillier gave reasons to doubt the accuracy of Herbert's reminiscences. Besides the Life of St. Thomas, he wrote a lengthy Liber Melorum in praise of him. An edition of the Life is contained in vol. III of the Materials for the History of Thomas Becket (Rolls Series) edited by James Craigie Robertson; the volume also contains some extracts from the Liber Melorum.
- Herbert of Bosham. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herbert_of_Bosham>

HIT:

- [The soldier's sign and banner is mystical as well as the commander's : Note 15] **There are three that give testimony to the commander on earth: the spirit, the blood and the water.** Likewise, there are three that give testimony to the soldier: the lead, the blood and the water. And the commander truly has three witnesses on earth. Even in the banner-sign of the cross, when he was still hanging on the cross itself, these were his three witnesses. For there forthwith came blood and water out of his side pierced with a spear when he was still hanging on his cross; and before that, crying with a loud voice and at the same time yielding up the ghost with great power, he said: "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." (Luke 23) **Behold, on earth and even on the cross itself, while the commander hung on it, these three marvelous witnesses again: the spirit, the water and the blood.** And among the other witnesses, and above the others, though they all gave one harmonious and concordant testimony, the spirit, being both clamorously and powerfully yielded up, thus given up, thus commended into his Father's hands, testifies that the commander Christ is the truth. Here, however, things are very different with the soldier than with the commander. Hence this song between the commander and the soldier, hitherto so harmonious and concordant, seems very out of harmony in this note alone. For the first of the soldier's witnesses, namely the lead, testifies that this soldier of the commander was emptiness, while on the other hand the first of the commander's witnesses, that is the spirit, testifies for the

The Witness of God is Greater

commander that he is the truth. These testimonies are very different, even utterly opposite. They differ as much as East from West, truth from emptiness, God from man, the commander Christ from the Christian soldier. Yet the truth shook out the emptiness and thus the commander freed his soldier. By thus being freed and in possession of the testimony of the water that purified him and, in addition, through the yet more certain and yet more manifest testimony of the blood, he obtained, by sentence, the glory of his commander. For in the mouths of the two (not to say the three, even though there are three, except for the fact that, as we have shown, one among the three is not in harmony with the other two) — in the mouths of the two stands the word of the whole sentence. (Herbert of Bosham, *The Book of Songs*, Note 15; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, September 2020)

- **Latin:** Imperatori quippe **tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra: spiritus, sanguis et aqua.** Similiter et tres militi: plumbum sanguis et aqua. Et vere imperatoris tres testes in terra. In ipso etiam crucis signo vexillari cum adhuc in cruce ipsa penderet ipse, tres ipsius testes hi. Siquidem de ipsius latere lanceato in cruce sua pendentis adhuc continuo exivit sanguis et aqua. (1330D) Qui prius sicut clamans voce alta, sic et in potestate magna emittens spiritum, ait: Pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum (Luc. XXIII) . **Ecce in terra et in ipso etiam crucis patibulo imperatore in ipso pendente adhuc admirandi tres testes hi, spiritus aqua et sanguis.** Et inter caeteros testes et prae caeteris, quorum tamen unum fuit consonum et concors testimonium, sed prae caeteris, inquam, spiritus sicut clamose, sic et potestative emissus, sic traditus, sic in Patris sui manibus commendatus testificatur quam imperator Christus est veritas. Sed longe secus hic in milite quam in imperatore. Unde et melius hic inter imperatorem et militem hucusque tam consonans, tam concordans solum in hac notula discordare videtur plurimum. Siquidem primus testium militis plumbum videlicet testificatur quod imperatoris miles hic fuerit vanitas cum e diverso imperatoris primus testium, spiritus scilicet testificatur pro imperatore quod ipse sit veritas. Longe diversa imo penitus adversa testimonia haec. (1331A) Quantum distat Oriens ab Occidente, veritas a vanitate, Deus ab homine, imperator Christus a Christiano milite. Verumtamen veritas excussit vanitatem et sic imperator suum liberavit militem. Et liberatus sic et aquae mundantis se habens testimonium et praeter hoc per certius adhuc et evidentius testimonium sanguinis obtinuit per sententiam gloriam sui imperatoris. In ore quippe duorum, ne dicam trium, cum tamen hic tres sint, nisi quia, ut ostendimus inter tres, primus duobus non consonat, in ore, inquam, duorum stat omnis sententiae verbum. (Herbert of Bosham, *Liber melorum*, 15 Notula; Migne Latina, PL 190.1330-1331)

Baldwin of Forde (1125–1190 AD)

• Baldwin of Forde or Ford[1] (c. 1125 – 19 November 1190) was Archbishop of Canterbury [Latin: Balduinus Cantuariensis] between 1185 and 1190. The son of a clergyman, he studied canon law and theology at Bologna and was tutor to Pope Eugene III's nephew before returning to England to serve successive bishops of Exeter. After becoming a Cistercian monk he was named abbot of his monastery at Forde and subsequently elected to the episcopate at Worcester. Before becoming a bishop, he wrote theological works and sermons, some of which have survived. As a bishop, Baldwin came to the attention of King Henry II of England, who was so impressed he insisted that Baldwin become archbishop. In that office, Baldwin quarrelled with his cathedral clergy over the founding of a church, which led to the imprisonment of the clergy in their cloister for more than a year. Baldwin spent some time in Wales with Gerald of Wales, preaching and raising money for the Third Crusade. After the coronation of King Richard I, the new king sent Baldwin ahead to the Holy Land, where he became embroiled in the politics of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Baldwin died in the Holy Land while participating in the crusade; his long-running dispute with his clergy led one chronicler to characterise Baldwin as more damaging to Christianity than Saladin. (Baldwin of Forde. Wikipedia.

<en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baldwin_of_Forde>

The Witness of God is Greater

HITS:

- **[Sermon]** If the witnesses of the faith and their testimonies are produced and carefully examined, they will show us very clearly how great the authority of faith is; how sure, how strong, how solid its truth is. John in a canonical epistle says: **"There are three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one. And there are three that give testimony on earth: the spirit and the water and the blood."**(1 John 5:7-8) The Father gives testimony in heaven, who once spoke to the fathers through the prophets, and lately in these days has spoken to us through the Son. He gives testimony when he reveals the Son through the Scriptures; he gives testimony when he reveals the Son through us. (Baldwin of Forde, On the recommendation to believe. What the three witnesses are saying in heaven and three in earth; Translated by Sara Van der Pas, correspondence, August 2020)
 - **Latin:** Testes autem fidei et eorum testimonia, si in medium producantur, et diligentius examinentur, quanta sit fidei auctoritas, quam certa, quam firma, quam solida sit eius veritas, evidentissime nobis ostendent. Ioannes in canonica Epistola sic ait: **Tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in coelo: Pater, Verbum et Spiritus sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt. Et tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra: Spiritus, aqua et sanguis** (I Ioan. V). Pater testimonium dat in coelo, qui olim loquens patribus in prophetis, novissime diebus istis locutus est nobis in Filio. Testimonium dat, cum Filium revelat in Scripturis; testimonium dat, cum Filium in nobis revelat. (Balduinus Cantuariensis, De commendatione fidei. Quod tres testimonium dicunt in coelo, et tres in terra; Migne Latina, PL 204.0615A)
- **[Sermon]** If an imitator of Christ's passion is thirsting for Christ's cup and says "I will take the cup of salvation" (Ps. 115, 116:13 in the KJV), then the power of this sacrament is fully realized, and the wine is turned into blood; and such a person is worthy of the name of martyr, and is found to be a faithful witness, giving testimony on earth, **"for there are three that give testimony on earth: the spirit and the water and the blood."**(1 John 5:8) The spirit of the just, the water of penitents, and the blood of martyrs. (Baldwin of Forde, Of the Lord's Supper. Of the mysterious significance of the wine transformation; Translated by Sara Van der Pas, correspondence, August 2020)
 - **Latin:** si aemulator passionis Christi calicem Christi sicut et dicat: « Calicem salutaris accipiam (Psal. CXV) ; » iam tunc consummata est virtus huius sacramenti, et vinum in sanguinem convertitur; et qui eiusmodi est, martyris nomine dignus est, et testis fidelis invenitur, testimonium dans in terra, « **quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra: spiritus, aqua, et sanguis** (I Ioan. V) . » Spiritus iustorum, aqua poenitentium, et sanguis martyrum. (Balduinus Cantuariensis, De sacramento altaris. De mystica significatione mutationis vini; Migne Latina, PL 204.0682)

Theorianus Philosophus (12th century)

• NERSES KLAJETST, i.e., Klajeman (called also Nerses IV, catholicos of Armenia, and Shnorhali, i.e., "the Pleasant," because of his oratorical talents), was born between 1098 and 1100. He was the son of an Armenian prince, who destined him for the clerical order. In connection with his brother Gregory he was at first educated by the catholicos Gregory Wkajaser, i.e. μαρτυροφίλος, and afterwards by Stephanus, the abbot of the "red monastery" (Karmir Wankh), who, when Nerses was ready to enter into holy orders, consecrated him as deacon, and shortly afterwards as priest. By the unanimous desire of the clergy, Nerses accepted in 1166 the high dignity of bishop, in which position he remained until his death in 1173. When, in 1165, he accidentally met with the son-in-law of the emperor Manuel Comnenus (q.v.), he took the opportunity to address a letter to the emperor, in which he showed that there was no real dogmatical difference between the Armenian and Greek churches, and that the Armenian Church, when speaking of one nature of Christ, takes the word in the sense of person; the same also can be said of the liturgical and ritual differences in both churches. This letter gave rise to a correspondence between the two churches, which aimed at the union of both. The emperor sent the philosopher Theorianus, who held a disputation with the Armenian abbot, John Uthman, the result of which was a mutual acknowledgment of their agreement in dogmatical as well as liturgical and ritual points. This disputation was first published by John Leunclavius (Basle, 1578), in Greek and Latin, and republished more

The Witness of God is Greater

fully by Angelo Mai in his *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio* (Romae, 1822), volume 6. Nerses, however, died before he received the consent of all the Armenian bishops to those points which the emperor, in a letter dated December, 1172, had made the basis of the union. ("NERSES KLAJETST" in *The Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature*. James Strong and John McClintock; Harper and Brothers; NY; 1880. <www.biblicalcyclopedia.com/N/nerses.html>

• [Bozoian] During the second half of the 11th century Armenian-Byzantine ecclesiastical-political relations adopted an hostile aspect on both sides. The level of relations in this period has been described in the original text by Matheos Urhaec'i (or Edessac'i) - the Chronography. Here we find many testimonies to the Armenian-Byzantine ecclesiastical and political rivalry, the principal initiator of which was the emperor Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118). The Byzantine historians Anna Comnena, John Cinnamus and Nicetas Choniates devoted numerous pages to the persecution of the Armenian Church and population in the Byzantine Empire in the 12th century. John II Comnenus (1118-1143) attempted to alleviate relations between the two ecclesiastical organizations, but the situation became more settled only through the enthronement of Manuel I Comnenus (1143-1180). Much was written about Armenian-Byzantine ecclesiastical negotiations in the period of 1165-1178. These have no precedent in the history of relations between the two churches. The texts of some of these documents have been preserved in both Armenian and Greek, which sometimes differ considerably from each other. ...The imperial official Theorianus, a distinguished Greek theologian and philosopher, visited Hromkla twice (in 1170, 1172) in order to negotiate with the catholicos Nerses IV Shnothali. The dialexis of these two talks written by Theorianus and other documents connected with the discussions have reached us in several Greek manuscripts. ...As mentioned above, Theorianus wrote down two talks with Nerses IV Shnorhali. The first of these was circulated in the Byzantine Empire since 1170/1, after Magistros Theorianus returned from Hromkla to Constantinople. John Athmanus, a member of the delegation of Theorianus testified to this. Nerses Lambronadzi also saw dialexis of talks in Hromkla at 1170/1, but we can suppose that it got its present form in Constantinople, after Theorianus' return. (Azat Bozoian "Collections of documents concerning Armenian-Byzantine ecclesiastical-political relations" in *Armenian perspectives: 10th anniversary conference of the Association internationale des etudes arméniennes*, 1997, p. 77-78.)

• [Terian] The emperor, with the blessing of the patriarchal synod, sent Theorianos, a renowned theologian and polemicist, in the fall of 1169 and again in the fall of 1171 for negotiations at Hromklay. An Armenian-born Orthodox bishop, John Atman (Arm. Uthman) of Philippopolis, acting as interpreter, accompanied the Greek theologian on his visits as the emperor's representative. Šnorhali's epistolary contains an imperial, introductory letter presented by Theorianos, in which his name appears with that of his companion, John Atman. Not surprisingly, Theorianos kept a rather detailed record, in two parts, of his dialogues with Šnorhali. Each part, however, appears to be a later account, written as memoirs upon the author's return to Constantinople and aimed for the home audience (so thinks ORMANIAN, *Azgapatum*, 1.3:1421-123 = § 975). Whatever the intent of the moderately uncharitable record, in the Greek version of events we have a literary source somewhat comparable to certain letters in the epistolary of the illustrious Catholicos. (Abraham Terian, "The Early Creeds of the Armenian Church, 2011, p. 308, fn. 43)

HITS:

- Sabellius used to say that there was one nature and one hypostasis in the Godhead; Arius, that there were three hypostases and three natures alien to one another. For our part, we neither confound the three into one, so as not to suffer from Sabellius's disease; nor divide the Godhead into three entities alien and foreign to one another, so as not to fall into Arius's madness. **Rather, we proclaim one nature in three hypostases.** (Theorianus *Philosophus, Disputationes cum Armeniorum Catholico, Disputatio I*; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, 2021)
 - **Greek:** Ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς θεότητος, ὁ μὲν Σαβέλλιος ἔλεγε μίαν φύσιν, καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν· ὁ δὲ Ἄρειος, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, καὶ τρεῖς φύσεις ἐκφύλους. Ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔτε εἰς ἓν τὰ τρία συναλείφομεν, ἵνα μὴ τοῦ Σαβελλίου νόσον νοσήσωμεν, οὔτε διαιροῦμεν, εἰς τρία ἔκφυλα καὶ ἀλλότρια, ἵνα μὴ τὰ Ἄρειου μανῶμεν· **ἀλλὰ μίαν φύσιν ἐν τρισὶ κηρύττομεν ὑποστάσει.** (Theorianus

The Witness of God is Greater

Philosophus, Disputationes cum Armeniorum Catholico, Disputatio I, Migne Graeca, PG 133.148)

The Glossa Ordinaria (1100-1199 AD)

• The Glossa Ordinaria, which is Latin for "Ordinary [i.e. in a standard form] Gloss", is a collection of biblical commentaries in the form of glosses. The glosses are drawn mostly from the Church Fathers, but the text was arranged by scholars during the twelfth century. The Gloss is called "ordinary" to distinguish it from other gloss commentaries. In origin, it is not a single coherent work, but a collection of independent commentaries which were revised over time. **The Glossa ordinaria was a standard reference work into the Early Modern period (circa 1500-1800)**, although it was supplemented by the Postills attributed to Hugh of St Cher and the commentaries of Nicholas of Lyra. **The main impetus for the composition of the gloss came from the school of Anselm of Laon (d. 1117) and his brother Ralph.** Another scholar associated with Auxerre, Gilbert the Universal (d. 1134), is sometimes credited with the Gloss on much of the Old Testament, although only the gloss on Lamentations has been firmly attributed to him. The Gloss achieved a more-or-less standard form at Paris in the second half of the twelfth century. (Glossa Ordinaria. Wikipedia.

<en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Glossa_Ordinaria>

• Anselm of Laon (Latin: Anselmus; d. 1117), properly Ansel (Ansellus), was a French theologian and founder of a school of scholars who helped to pioneer biblical hermeneutics. Born of very humble parents at Laon before the middle of the 11th century, he is said to have studied under Saint Anselm at Bec,[1] though this is almost certainly incorrect. Other potential teachers of Anselm have been identified, including Bruno of Cologne and Manegold of Lautenbach. By around 1080, he had moved back to his place of birth and was teaching at the cathedral school of Laon, with his brother Ralph. Around 1109, he became dean and chancellor of the cathedral, and in 1115 he was one of Laon's two archdeacons. **His school for theology and exegesis rapidly became the most well known in Europe. Anselm's greatest work, an interlinear and marginal gloss on the 'Scriptures', the Glossa ordinaria, now attributed to him and his followers,[2] was one of the great intellectual achievements of the Middle Ages. It has been frequently reprinted.**[1] The significance of the gloss, which was most likely assembled after Anselm's death by his students, such as Gilbert de la Porrée, and based on Anselm's teaching, is that it marked a new way of learning — it represented the birth of efforts to present discrete patristic and earlier medieval interpretations of individual verses of Scripture in a readily accessible, easily referenced way. This theme was subsequently adopted and extended by the likes of Hugh of St. Victor, Peter Lombard and later Thomas Aquinas, who gave us 'handbooks' for what we would now call theology. (Anselm of Laon. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anselm_of_Laon>)

• [Sarah VDP] For this volume, I have followed the Rusch version as the standard text, though with some exceptions (i.e., that being when the older manuscripts provide the better and more likely reading). But this volume is a critical edition, and multiple sources have been consulted and compared. In the appendix all the variant readings are given that are found in Rusch, (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits) **Latin 338 and Latin 588, and Migne. The two manuscripts of Latin 338 and 588 are the oldest witnesses that are used for this volume (the Latin 588 is a 12th century manuscript; the Latin 338 is a 13th century manuscript). Rusch is a 15th century version**, and the Migne version being a 19th century text that most scholars have considered to be extremely inferior to the other versions. (Litteral & Sarah Van der Pas, The Glossa Ordinaria: Epistles of St. John, 2014, p. 11)

The Witness of God is Greater

HITS:

- [1 John 5:6] "This is he that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ; not by water only, but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth." This is, etc. This is because faith alone and confession of the divinity is not sufficient for salvation and for conquering the world, he also adds about his humanity: Spirit. That is, the human soul which has gone out in the Passion; the water and blood, which flowed from his sides. That would not be possible if he did not have the true nature of flesh. But also before the Passion, his sweat like drops of blood demonstrate the truth of his humanity (flesh). This fact, that the water and blood flows vivaciously from his sides against nature even after his death, was testifying that the body of the Lord after his death is better than living, and his death gives us life. The fact that his sweat flowed as blood in the earth signifies that his blood cleanses the Church throughout the whole world. (Bede Expo. On 1 John)
- [1 John 5:7] "For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. For there be three." Through this it is apparent that Jesus is truth, true God and true man. And concerning both we have a sure testimony: concerning his divinity we have testimony through the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; concerning his humanity, through the Spirit, water, and blood. The Father gave testimony of his divinity when he said, "This is my beloved Son" (Matt. 3:17). The Son himself gave testimony when he was transfigured on the mount, and showed the power of divinity and the hope of eternal happiness. The Holy Spirit gave testimony when he rested above Jesus at his baptism in the form of a dove, or when he filled the hearts of believers for the calling of the name of Christ.
- [1 John 5:8] "And there are three which give testimony in earth: the Spirit, water, and blood, and these three be one."
- [1 John 5:9] "If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater: for this is the witness of God which he hath testified of his Son." If we receive the testimony of men. Great is the testimony of the man David which he provides of the Son of God, "The Lord said to my Lord: Sit at my right hand" (Psalms, 109:1). And he even represents the Son speaking, "The Lord has said to me: Thou art my son" (Psalms, 2:7). Greater is the testimony of the forerunner, who said, "I have baptized you with water; but he shall baptize you with the Holy Spirit" (Mark 1:8). But greater is the testimony of the Father who visibly sent into him the Spirit which he was always full of, as if he said, "If you believe the men foretelling the advent, believe the Father testifying that Christ has come". (Bede Expo. On 1 John)
- Sarah Van Der Pas, *The Glossa Ordinaria: Epistles of St. John*, 2014, p. 49-51.

Latin 588 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Latin 588 (1101-1200)

HIT:

- This is he that came by water and blood, Jesus Christ: not by water only but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit which testifieth that Christ is the truth. And there are Three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one. And there are three that give testimony on earth: the spirit and the water and the blood. If we receive the testimony... (1 John 5:6-9)
 - hic est venit par aqua & san-

The Witness of God is Greater

guinem Ihs Xrs. non in aqua solum
sed in aqua & sanguine. Et Spiritus
est quia testificatur quom Xrs. et
veritas. Quia tres sunt qui (f. 127r [Image 279])
testimonium dant in celo: pater,
verbum, & spiritus sanctus. Et hii tres unum
sunt. Et tres sunt qui testimonium
dant in terra: spiritus, aqua, & sanguin.
Si testimonium... (f. 127v [Image 280])
<gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8442914x/f279.image>

Latin 338 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Latin 338 (1201-1300)

HIT:

- This is he that came
by water and blood, Jesus Christ:
not by water only but by water and
blood. And it is the Spirit which testifieth
that Christ is the truth. And there are Three who
give testimony in heaven, the Father,
the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one.
And there are three that give testimony
on earth: the spirit and the water and the blood. If
we receive the testimony of men... (1 John 5:6-9)

- hic est qui ve-
nit per aquam & sanguinem ihs xrs.
Non in aqua solum sed aqua & sa-
nguine. Et spiritus est qui testificat
quoniam xrs est veritas. Qui tres sunt qui
testimonium dant in celo: pater,
verbum & spiritus sanctus. Et hi tres unum sunt.
Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant
in terra: Spirit, aqua, & sanguin. Si
testimonium hominum... (f. 50r [Image 103])
<gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8426055f/f103.image.r=glossa%20ordinaria%20.langEN>

Rusch Strasbourg: Rusch, (1400-1481 AD)

HITS:

- This is he that came by water and blood,
Jesus Christ: not by water
only but by water and blood. And
it is the Spirit which testifieth that Christ
is the truth. And there are Three
who give testimony in heaven, the Father,
the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three

The Witness of God is Greater

are one. And there are three that give testimony on earth: the spirit and the water and the blood. And these three are one. If we receive the testimony of men... (1 John 5:6-9)

• hic e qui venit per quam & sanguinem iherus christus. Non in aqua (f. 1191r [Image 547]) solum : sed in aqua & sanguine. Et spiritus est qui testificatur: quoniam christus est veritas. Quonia tres sunt qui testimonium dant in celo: pater verbum & spiritus sanctus: & hi tres unum sunt. Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra: Spiritus aqua & sanguis: & tres unum sunt. Si testimonium... (f. 1191v [Image 548])

<archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/ufb/rsc/viewer/ufb_derivate_00000066/Mon-typ-2-00011_548.tif?logicalDiv=log_38f3e9-c499-c16b-4e97f28f7>

• **Jerome, prologue to the Catholic Epistles.** (f. 1176r [Image 517])

<archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/ufb/rsc/viewer/ufb_derivate_00000066/Mon-typ-2-00011_548.tif?logicalDiv=log_38f3e9-c499-c16b-4e97f28f7>

MS Balliol 177 (12th century)

• [Jenkins] In a codex given to Balliol College, Oxford, c. 1477, by a former alumnus the generous prelate William Grey Bishop of Ely (d. 1478). MS. Balliol 177 is assigned to the end of saec. xii (12th century), and this date may be accepted, if with a little hesitation. Its text in cases where the manuscripts are divided will perhaps usually be found in association with that of manuscripts like Jesus College MS. 69 and Jesus College MS. 70 and Linc. D. Lat 31 [Oxford, Lincoln College lat. 31], though it occasionally lends support to readings demonstrably ancient represented in e.g. Bodl. 849 (818 AD). (Jenkins, "A Newly Discovered Reference to the 'Heavenly Witnesses' 1 John v. 7, 8 in a Manuscript of Bede", 1942, p. 43)

Bede, the Venerable, Saint, 673-735

- Bodleian MS. 849 (818 AD)
- Jesus College MS. 69 (11th century)
- Jesus College MS. 70 (12th century)
- Oxford, Lincoln College lat. 31. (Mid-12th century)

• Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries. A catalogue of Western manuscripts at the Bodleian Libraries and selected Oxford colleges. <medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/person_61539765>

• [Laistner] **Whether the addition in Balliol 177 is part of Bede's original comment must clearly remain undecided until at least all the early manuscripts have been scrutinized. But the phraseology and even the doctrine of that addition are hardly as unusual** as Dr. Jenkins seems to suggest. Bede had used "divine power" (Latin: *potentiam divinitatis*) in expounding 1 John v. 6. With "splendor of eternal blessedness" (Latin: *speciem eterne beatitudinis*) it is natural to compare "everlasting happiness" (Latin: *beatitudinis aeternae dona*) (E.H. ii. 13); and for the use of "*speciem*" one may refer to Bede's comment on 1 John iii. 6, "until they come to that view of clear vision of him to come" (Latin: *donec ad ipsam speciem apertae visionis eius in futuro perveniant*). The thought, too, can surely be paralleled in Bede's remarks on the Transfiguration in his commentary on St. Luke. [Giles, xi, p. 103] The phrase "one substance, and one unified divine essence" (Latin: *una substantia et unius deitatis essentia*) is called by Dr. Jenkins "linguistically as well as theologically

The Witness of God is Greater

important". **But neither the words nor the dogmatic implications were novel in Bede's day. Dr. Souter has shown, in amplification of what is given in the Latin Thesaurus, that the use of both deltas and essentia was well established in the fourth century.** [Souter, *The Earliest Latin Commentaries on the Epistle of St. Paul*, Oxford, 1927, p. 33 and 201.] (Laistner, *An Addition to Bede in MS. Balliol 177*, 1942, p. 186)

• [Jenkins] **As has been stated, the words between the first 'qui testimonium dant' and 'spiritus aqua et sanguis' have no place in the other manuscripts that we have cited, except that 'in terra' is found in two of them. If it be said that the omission is due to the common fault of nearly all of us in transcribing, that of allowing the eye to stray from a word to the same word recurring later, omitting the intervening passage, it has to be admitted that the initial error must have been very early in view of the date of Bodl. 849.** But there is a curious additional difficulty. If in still earlier manuscripts of Bede's commentary than those as yet quoted the passage 'in celo...' stood, it is hard to believe that it was not balanced by 'in terra' before 'spiritus aqua et sanguis'; and if the eye passed from the first 'qui testimonium dant' to its repetition below, then 'in terra' instead of being an interpolation in Bede, as had been supposed, would be a genuine survival of the original text preserved to us by two manuscripts usually judged to be of inferior. (Jenkins, *A Newly Discovered Reference to the 'Heavenly Witnesses' 1 John v. 7, 8 in a Manuscript of Bede*, 1942, p. 44)

Legend:

- r = recto
- v = verso
- g = gutter column of text
- m = margin column of text

f82.r.m.16 ...qui eum vel deum vel hominem

f82.r.m.17 esse verum denegant."Quia tres sunt qui

f82.r.m.18 **testimonium dant in celo pater verbum et spiritus sanctus.**

f82.r.m.19 **et [^hii^] tres unum sunt.**"Pater dedit testimonium

f82.r.m.20 deitatis quando dixit"hic est filius meus delectus"Ipse

f82.r.m.21 filius dedit testimonium qui in monte trasfigu-

f82.r.m.22 ratus potentiam divinitatis et speciem eterne

f82.r.m.23 beatitudinis ostendit. Spiritus sanctus dedit qui

f82.r.m.24 super baptizatum in specie columbe requievit vel

f82.r.m.25 quando ad invocacionem nominis XRI corda credencium

f82.r.m.26 implevit."Et hii tres unum sunt"una vide-

f82.r.m.27 licet substantia et unius deitatis essencia."Et tres

f82.r.m.28 **sunt qui testimonium dant in terra SPS**

f82.r.m.29 **spiritus aqua et sanguis.**"SPC dedit testimonium

f82.r.m.30 quoniam IHS est veritas quando super baptizantum descen-

f82.r.m.31 dit. Si enim non verus dei filius non esset, nequaquam in eum

f82.r.m.32 tanta manifestatione SPS SCS veniret.

<www.flickr.com/photos/balliolarchivist/9836945956/in/album-72157635687317016/>

HITS:

- **[Bede] 1 Jn 5:6**"This is he who came by water and blood, Jesus Christ."Therefore, he who was the eternal Son of God became a human being in time, that he who had created us by the power of his divinity might recreate us by the weakness of his humility."He who came by water and blood,"the water, namely, of his baptismal cleansing and the blood of his passion."Not in water only but in water and blood."Not only did he deign to be baptized for the sake of our cleansing, that he might consecrate and pass on to us the sacrament of baptism, but he also gave his blood for us, he redeemed us by his passion, that being always restored to health by his sacraments we might be nourished for salvation."And it is the Spirit who bears witness that Jesus Christ is the truth."When the Lord was

The Witness of God is Greater

baptized in the Jordan, the Holy Spirit came down upon him in the appearance of a dove,(cf. Matt 3:16-17) giving witness that he is the truth, that is, the true Son of God,"the true mediator between God and men,"(1 Tim 2:5) the true redeemer and reconciler of the human race, himself truly clean from all stain of sin, truly able to "take away the sins of the world". (Jn 1:29) The baptizer himself also understood this when he saw the coming of the same Spirit and said,"He who sent me to baptize in water said to me, 'Him upon whom you see the Spirit coming down and remaining is he who baptizes in the Holy Spirit' And I saw and have given witness that this is the Son of God."(Jn 1:33-34)"Therefore, because the Spirit bears witness that Jesus Christ is the truth,"he calls himself truth,(cf Jn 14:6) the baptizer proclaims him as truth, the son of thunder (cf. Mk 3:17) spreads the good news about truth, let blasphemers who teach that he was a phantom be silent, let the memory of those who deny that he was either God or true man perish from the earth.(cf. Job 18:17)

- **[Bede] 1 Jn 5:7"For there are three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word and the Holy Spirit. And these Three are One."**The Father gave testimony of his [Jesus] divinity when He said:"this is my beloved Son."The Son himself gave testimony, for He revealed his divine power and his splendor of eternal blessedness in his transfiguration on the mount. The Holy Spirit gave testimony, for He rested on Him in the form of a dove in his baptism or when He works faith in the heart on calling the Name of Christ."**And these three are one**". One, namely, in substance and of One divine essence. (Balliol MS 177, f82 recto, margin column of text, 17-27; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, June 2020)
- **[Bede] 1 Jn 5:8"Because there are three who bear witness in earth, the Spirit and the water and the blood."**The Spirit bore witness that Jesus is the truth when it came down upon him as he was baptized. For if he were not the true Son of God, the Holy Spirit would never have come upon him so manifestly. The water and the blood also bore witness that Jesus is the truth when they issued from his side as he was dead upon the cross. This would never have been possible if he had not had the true nature of flesh. But also the fact that when he was praying before his passion his sweat became like drops of blood running down on the ground bears witness to the truth of the flesh he had taken on. Nor must we remain silent about the water and the blood also having borne witness to him when they poured out of his side in so life-like a manner when he was dead. This was contrary to the nature of bodies and on that account appropriate to the mysteries and apt for the witness of the truth, implying namely both that the very body of the Lord would be better [able to be] victorious after death, when he was raised in glory, and that his very death would give us life. That his blood also ran down on the ground like drops of blood by a holiest mystery bore witness to him that he cleansed the Church throughout the whole world by his blood. Therefore,"There are three who give witness to the truth,"and"the three,"he says,"are one."These remain distinct, then, and none of them is severed from its connection with the other, because it must not be believed that his humanity existed without his true divinity or his divinity without his true humanity. But these are also one in us, not by the substance of the same nature but by the operation of the same mystery. Now, as blessed Ambrose, says,"The Spirit renews the mind, the water is of avail for [baptismal] cleansing, the blood points to the cost. 'For the Spirit made us children of God by adoption, the water of the sacred font washed us, the blood of the Lord redeemed us.' The one an invisible witness, therefore, the other a visible, results from the spiritual sacrament."(Ambr., De spir. 3.10.68; CSEL 44:178, 83-179, 88)

Latin:

- **[Bede] 1 Jn 5:6"**Hic est qui venit per aquam et sanguinem, Iesus Christus."Qui ergo erat aeternus Dei Filius, factus est homo in tempore, ut qui nos per divinitatis suae potentiam creaverat, per humanitatis suae infirmitatem recrearet. Qui venit per aquam et sanguinem, aquam videlicet lavacri, et sanguinem suae passionis, non solum baptizari propter nostram ablutionem dignatus est, ut nobis baptismi sacramentum consecraret ac traderet, verum etiam sanguinem suum dedit pro nobis, sua nos passione redimens, cuius sacramentis semper refecti nutriremur ad salutem."Et Spiritus est qui testificatur quoniam Christus est veritas."(Jn 1:33-34) Baptizato in Iordane Domino descendit Spiritus sanctus in specie columbae super eum, testimonium illi perhibens quia veritas est, hoc est verus Dei Filius, verus mediator Dei et hominum, verus humani generis Redemptor ac reconciliator, vere ipse mundus ab omni contagione peccati, vere sufficiens tollere peccata mundi. Quod etiam ipse Baptista, viso eiusdem Spiritus adventu intelligens, ait:"Qui me misit baptizare in aqua, ille mihi dixit: Super quem videris Spiritum descendentem et manentem super eum, hic est qui baptizat in Spiritu sancto. Et ego vidi, et testimonium

The Witness of God is Greater

perhibui, quia hic est Filius Dei”(Ioan. I). Quia ergo Spiritus Iesum Christum esse veritatem testatur, ipse se veritatem cognominat, Baptista illum veritatem praedicat, Filius tonitruum veritatem evangelizat, taceant blasphemi, qui hunc phantasma esse dogmatizant; pereat de terra memoria eorum qui eum vel Deum vel hominem esse verum denegant.

- **[Bede] 1 Jn 5:7”Quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant in celo pater verbum et spiritus sanctus. [^hii^] tres unum sunt.”**Pater dedit testimonium deitatis quando dixit”Hic est filius meus dilectus”[Mt 3:17]. Ipse filius dedit testimonium qui in monte transfiguratus potentiam diuinitatis et speciem eterne beatitudinis ostendit [cf. Mt 17:2]. Spiritus sanctus dedit qui [quando?] super baptizatum in specie columbe requieuit [Lk 3:22] uel quando ad inuocacionem nominis xpi corda credencium impleuit.”Et hii tres unum sunt”una uide licet substantia et unius deitatis essentia.
- **[Bede] 1 Jn 5:8”Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, SPS aqua et sanguis”**Spiritus dedit testimonium quoniam Iesus est ueritas, quando super baptizatum descendit. Si enim uerus Dei Filius non esset, nequaquam in eum tanta manifestatione Spiritus sanctus ueniret. Aqua etiam et sanguis dedere testimonium, quoniam Iesus est ueritas, quando de latere eius in cruce mortui manarunt: quod nullatenus fieri posset, si ueram carnis naturam non haberet. Sed et hoc quod ante passionem, cum oraret,”factus est sudor eius sicut guttae sanguinis decurrentis in terram”(Luc. 22:44), ueritati carnis assumptae testimonium dat. Nec reticendum quod in hoc quoque sanguis et aqua testimonium illi dederunt, quod de latere mortui uivaciter effluerunt, quod erat contra naturam corporum mortuorum, atque ob id mysteriis aptum, et testimonio ueritatis fuit congruum, uidelicet insinuans quia et ipsum Domini corpus melius post mortem esse uicturum resuscitatum in gloria, et ipsa mors illius nobis uitam donaret. Hoc quoque quod sudor eius instar guttae sanguinis decurrebat in terram, testimonium perhibebat illi sacro mysterio quod Ecclesiam totum per orbem suo sanguine lavaret. Tres sunt ergo qui testimonium perhibent ueritati.”Et tres (inquit) unum sunt”. Individua namque haec manent, nihilque eorum a sui connexionem seiungitur, quia nec sine uera credenda est humanitate diuinitas, nec sine uera diuinitate humanitas. Sed et in nobis haec unum sunt, non natura eiusdem substantiae, sed eiusdem operatione mysterii. Nam, sicut beatus Ambrosius ait: « Spiritus manentem renouat, aqua proficit ad lavacrum, sanguis spectat ad pretium. » Spiritus enim nos per adoptionem Dei filios fecit, sacri fontis unda nos abluit, sanguis Domini nos redemit. Alterum ergo invisibile, alterum visibile testimonium sacramento consequitur spirituali.
- [Jerome’s Prologue] Here ends the small work of the venerable priest Bede on the book of Acts of the Apostles. **Here begins the prologue of the holy priest Jerome above the 7 Canonical Epistles.** (Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, June 2020)
 - **Latin:** Explicit opusculum ven[er]abil[is] Bede presbit[er]i in librum Actuum Ap[os]toloru[m], **Incipit p[ro]logus Sancti Jeronimi pr[es]bit[er]i sup[er] vii ep[is]t[ol]as canonicas** (f.28.v.g to f.29.r.g) <www.flickr.com/photos/baliolarchivist/9896545053/in/album-72157635687317016/>

Radulfus Ardens (d. 1200 AD)

• Radulfus Ardens (Raoul Ardens) (died c. 1200) was a French theologian and early scholastic philosopher of the 12th century. He was born in Beaulieu, Poitou. He is known for his Summa de uitiis et uirtutibus or Speculum universale (universal mirror). It is in 14 volumes and is a systematic work of theology and ethics. In his time, he was celebrated as a preacher, and a large number of his sermons survive. He was under the influence of Gilbert de la Porrée.[1] He is thought to have been a student of Peter the Chanter.[2] He served as a chaplain to Richard I of England, through most of the 1190s.[1] (Radulfus Ardens. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Radulfus_Ardens>)

HIT:

- **[Sermon 54]** For the Holy Ghost, which is in the form of a dove came upon him, and it is the Holy Spirit that is sent by Him is on the apostles:”the Spirit bears witness, because the Spirit is the truth,”that is, the true God, and

The Witness of God is Greater

the human spirit which Christ gave up in his passion, even beareth witness, because "the Spirit is the truth", that is, Christ was true human being. If indeed he was a true man, would he not have an actual spirit and actual flesh? (1863d) In fact, there are also three that bear witness to the same thing. **"For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit."**(1 John 5:7) These are three witness: [three] in Jordan [when Jesus was baptized], and [three] on Mount Tabor [Moses and Elijah with Jesus], because Christ is true God. **"And these three are one"**, not only in testimony, but also in essence. **"And there are three that bear witness in earth"**, as Christ is a true human, by **"the spirit, the water and the blood"**; the human spirit, and the water and blood that flowed from the side of Christ. (1864) **"And these three are one"**, is understood from the testimony and therefore we must believe their testimony, "if testimony", he says, "we accept from men", according to what is written in the law, "in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall stand." (Dt. 19): "the witness of God is greater", we must accept it. (Radulfus Ardens, Sermon 54, First Sunday after Easter)

- **Latin:** Spiritus quippe sanctus, qui in specie columbae venit super eum, et qui ab ipso missus est super apostolos, testificatur quoniam Christus est veritas, id est verus Deus, et spiritus humanus, quem emisit in passione, testificatur, quoniam Christus est veritas, id est verus homo. Nisi enim verus homo esset, verum spiritum et veram carnem non haberet. (1863D) Et non tantum spiritus hoc testificatur, imo etiam tres idem testificantur. **"Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in caelo: Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus sanctus"**. Hi enim tres testificantur in Iordane, et in monte Thabor, quia Christus est verus Deus. **Et hi tres unum sunt**, non tantum in testimonio, sed etiam in essentia. **Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra"**, quod Christus sit verus homo, **"spiritus, aqua et sanguis"**, videlicet spiritus humanus, et aqua, et sanguis qui fluxerunt de latere Christi. (1864A) **Et hi tres unum sunt"**, subaudis in testimonio, et ideo credendum testimonio eorum, **"Si testimonium"**, inquit, **"hominum accipimus"**, secundum quod scriptum est in lege: "Ut in ore duorum vel trium stet omne verbum" (Deut. XIX) : **"testimonium Dei, quod maius est"**, accipere debemus. (Radulfus Ardens, Homilia LIV, Dominica Prima Post Pascha; Migne Latina, PL 155.1864)

Joachim of Fiore (1135-1202 AD)

- Joachim of Fiore, also known as Joachim of Flora and in Italian Gioacchino da Fiore (c. 1135 – 30 March 1202), was an Italian theologian and the founder of the monastic order of San Giovanni in Fiore. According to theologian Bernard McGinn, "Joachim of Fiore is the most important apocalyptic thinker of the whole medieval period." [1] Later followers, inspired by his works in eschatology and historicist theories, are called Joachimites.
- **[Early Life]** Born in the small village of Celico near Cosenza, in Calabria (at the time part of the Kingdom of Sicily), Joachim was the son of Mauro de Celico, a well-placed notary, [2] and of Gemma, his wife. He was educated at Cosenza, where he became first a clerk in the courts, and then a notary himself. In 1166–1167 he worked for Stephen du Perche, archbishop of Palermo (c. 1167–1168) and counsellor of Margaret of Navarre, regent for the young William II of Sicily.
- **[Pilgrimage]** About 1159 he went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where he experienced a spiritual crisis and conversion in Jerusalem that turned him away from a worldly life. When he returned, he lived as a hermit for several years, wandering and preaching before joining the Cistercian abbey of Sambucina near Luzzi in Calabria, as a lay brother without taking the religious habit. [2] There he devoted his time to lay preaching. The ecclesiastical authorities raised objections to his mode of life, he joined the monks of the Abbey of Corazzo, and was ordained a priest, apparently in 1168. He applied himself entirely to Biblical study, with a special view to uncovering the arcane meanings he thought were concealed in the Scriptures, especially in the apostle John's Revelation. To his dismay, the monks of Corazzo proclaimed him their abbot (c. 1177). He then attempted to join the monastery to the Cistercian Order, but was refused because of the community's poverty. In the winter of 1178 he appealed in person to William II, who granted the monks some lands.

The Witness of God is Greater

- **[3 Books]** In 1182 Joachim appealed to Pope Lucius III, who relieved him of the temporal care of his abbey, and warmly approved of his work, bidding him continue it in whatever monastery he thought best. Joachim spent the following year and a half at the Cistercian Abbey of Casamari, where he engaged in writing his three great books. There the young monk, Lucas (afterwards Archbishop of Cosenza), who acted as his secretary, was amazed to see so famous and eloquent a man wearing such rags, and the wonderful devotion with which he preached and said Mass.[2]
- **[Abbey of Fiore]** In 1184 he was in Rome, interpreting an obscure prophecy found among the papers of Cardinal Matthew of Angers, and was encouraged by Pope Lucius III. Succeeding popes confirmed the papal approbation, though his manuscripts had not begun to circulate. Joachim retired first to the hermitage of Pietralata, writing all the while, and then founded the Abbey of Fiore (Flora) in the mountains of Calabria. He refused the request of King Tancred of Sicily (r. 1189–1194) to move his new religious foundation to the existing Cistercian monastery of Santa Maria della Matina.
- **[Predictions]** He theorized the dawn of a new age, based on his interpretation of verses in the Book of Revelation, in which the Church would be unnecessary and in which infidels would unite with Christians. Members of the spiritual wing of the Franciscan order acclaimed him as a prophet. His popularity was enormous in the period. Richard the Lionheart met with him in Messina before leaving for the Third Crusade of 1189–1192 to ask for his prophetic advice.[1] His famous Trinitarian "IEUE" interlaced-circles diagram was influenced by the different 3-circles Tetragrammaton-Trinity diagram of Petrus Alphonsi, and in turn led to the use of the Borromean rings as a symbol of the Christian Trinity (and possibly also influenced the development of the Shield of the Trinity diagram).[5]
- **[Last Days]** On Good Friday in 1196, Empress Constance, also Queen of Sicily, summoned Joachim of Fiore to Palermo to hear her confession in the Palatine Chapel. Initially the empress sat on a raised chair, but when Joachim told her that as they were at the places of Christ and Mary Magdalene, she needed to lower herself, she sat on the ground.[3] Fiore became the center of a new and stricter branch of the Cistercian order, approved by Celestine III in 1198. In 1200 Joachim publicly submitted all his writings to the examination of Innocent III, but died in 1202 before any judgment was passed. The holiness of his life was widely known: Dante affirmed that miracles were said to have been wrought at his tomb,[4] and, though never officially beatified, he is still venerated as a beatus on May 29.
- Joachim of Fiore. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joachim_of_Fiore>

HIT:

...And [for] anyone who
misunderstands that, **John says,"there are three that
bear witness in earth, the spirit, the blood
and the water: and there are three that bear record
in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy
Ghost"**(Joachim of Fiore, Ten stringed Psalter, 1527, p. 231v)
26 Et qui male
27 intelligit quod ait **Joannes."**Tres sunt qui
28 testimonium dant in terra: Spiritus. san-
29 guis & aqua: et tres sunt qui testimonium
30 dant in celo: pater : verbum : et spiritus san-
31 ctus"(Joachim of Fiore, Psalterium Decem Cordarum, 1527, p. 231v)

The Witness of God is Greater

Liber figurarum, The "Book of Figures" of Abbot Gioacchino da Fiore (d. 1202 AD)

- [McGinn] In 1936 Monsignor Leone Tondelli discovered a peculiar book of illuminations in a closet in the seminary at Reggio Emilia, and in 1942, Fritz Saxl drew attention to a similar manuscript in Corpus Christi College, Oxford. These two manuscripts, as well as a third discovered in Dresden, were identified with the Liber Figurarum (LF) attributed to Joachim of Fiore in some thirteenth-century sources. In 1953 Tondelli and two Oxford medievalists, Marjorie Reeves and Beatrice Hirsch-Reich, collaborated on a facsimile edition, transcription, and study of the LF, and in 1972 the latter two produced an impressive monograph on The Figurae of Joachim of Fiore. (Bernard McGinn, Abstract of Review of "Disegni dei tempi. Il 'Liber Figurarum' e la teologia figurativa di Gioacchino da Fiore", 2008)

- [Rainini] The image that interests us is present in the manuscript preserved in Dresden. Joachim in it represents the "apostolic faith" (Latin: *fides catholica*) in the Trinity with the figure of a circular basin, from which three channels depart, indicated as "Father, Son, Holy Spirit" (Latin: *Pater, Filius, Spiritus Sanctus*). The caption alongside reads "Among them water is a single substance; and water by itself is also three things" (Latin: *Singulum istorum aqua, et simul tria una aqua*). (Rainini, Tommaso d'Aquino legge - e critica - una figura di Gioacchino da Fiore?, 2020, p. 4)

- Image: Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, ms. A 121, f. 89r

<journals.openedition.org/oliviana/docannexe/image/1356/img-1-small580.png>

<https://journals.openedition.org/oliviana/1356>

- [Troncarelli] The illustrations of the Liber figurarum were done by an expert hand, certainly from Italian origin. The miniaturist wrote the captions accompanying the images in a small gothic, gracious and proportionate, showing obvious affinity with the script of Salimbene from Parma. In both cases, we have a stylization of the small Gothic script, identified by Petrucci, 10 typical of the manuscript of Tuscany and Emilia between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

(Troncarelli, Early Joachimism and Early Franciscanism: Manuscript Evidence of a Common Destiny, 2011, p. 148)

- [Troncarelli] We must remember that this manuscript, completed in Paris around 1255, is a copy of a rare archetype, dated before 1215, because the Liber still has the figure against Peter Lombard, destroyed in all copies after Joachim's condemnations by the Lateran Council of 1215. The archetype of Dresden was in the hands of the Franciscan Hugh of Digne, who, according to Salimbene, owned all the manuscripts of Joachim's works. As we learn from Salimbene himself, Hugh was considered a "great follower of Joachim" 13 and allowed the Franciscans anxious to read the true words of the Calabrian Prophet to copy his rare manuscripts. (Troncarelli, Early Joachimism and Early Franciscanism: Manuscript Evidence of a Common Destiny, 2011, p. 149)

- [Hariga] Joachim of Fiore expresses his critique of the above mentioned opinions through the means of a drawing present in the work Liber figurarum, image that has been known since then as the contra Lombard figure present in the manuscript lat. A. 121, fol. 89r from the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden edited by Leone Tondelli in Torino in 1953 (Tondelli 1953, XXVI). The figure illustrates in the above part of the folio a circle (that has been mainly interpreted by the exegesis as a water recipient) from which one may observe three [PAGE 288] emerging channels in the same direction without any interference applied to the point of emergence. Inside the circle one may observe the word *Pater* and above each channel the following words starting from the top: *Pater, Filius, Spiritus Sanctus*. The channels *Pater* and *Filius* are connected together and divided somewhere in the middle. Attached to the margin written in *littera textualis*, on the left margin one may find the inscription "catholic faith" (Latin: *fides catholica*) and on the right one the paragraph: *Singulum ...* (Florina Rodica Hariga, Joachim of Fiore's Symbolical Depictions of the Trinity and the Interpretation according to the Principle of Similitude, 2019, p. 288-289)

- [Hariga] The phrase includes also a reference to a scriptural passage present in the Vulgate (1. Ioannis 5, 8) when speaking about the three witnesses as spirit, water and blood as one essence. By the means of a metaphor of "air", he is also trying to explain the diversity of the Trinity that represents in the same time a unity of being, that is no matter the state of aggregation regarding air, air remains air even if it is spread in the atmosphere, condensed in the mist or moved by and along with the wind: three different types or shapes in which air can be found without altering its condition of air. Three different names or words to express an aspect having an identical substance as the passage reveals. Joachim often sees the elements of nature in an allegorical manner as representing vestigia of the divine Trinity. In this case, water (*Singulum istorum aqua et simul tria una aqua*) is the most discussed one as similitudo of the one God manifested into three

The Witness of God is Greater

Persons. Spiritus is a synonym of aër (air) and as water is considered allegorically an image of the Trinity, similar to it as air may be found in three conditions in nature (*diffusus/* air, *conspissatus/* mist, *motus/* wind) and, although it changes its shape and form, it remains present in all of them as the same natural element. (Florina Rodica Hariga, Joachim of Fiore's Symbolical Depictions of the Trinity and the Interpretation according to the Principle of Similitude, 2019, p. 289)

HIT:

- [Liber figurarum] Among them water is a single substance; and water by itself is also three things. **There are three which bear witness on earth: spirit, water and blood.** These three are one. Air diffused is air; air condensed in a cloud is air; air moving in winds is air. Each one of these (?) is air; and at the same time air is one and three. It is different in different forms, and yet these are three (?). There are three words, and yet they are one by nature and do not admit of separation. (Libro de las Figuras, Liber figurarum, Joachim de Fiore n. 1135 ca., m. 30-3-1202, lat. A. 121, ff. 87r-96v.; Translated by Nigel Wilson, correspondence, July 2020)
 - **Latin:** Singulum istorum aqua et simul tria una aqua. **Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra: spiritus, aqua et sanguis.** Hii tres unum sunt. Aer diffusus aer est: aer conspissatus in nebula aer est: aer motus in ventus aer est: horum singulum aer: et simul tria unus aer. Alius est in aliis, et tamen tria sunt. Tria sunt in vocabulis et tamen unum sunt nature et separationem non admittunt. (L. Tondelli, "Il libro delle figure", II, tab. XXVI, 1:62; Libro de las Figuras, Liber figurarum, Joachim de Fiore n. 1135 ca., m. 30-3-1202, lat. A. 121, ff. 87r-96v. Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek.)

Alain de Lille (1128 – 1203)

• Alain de Lille (Latin: Alanus ab Insulis; c. 1128 – 1202/03) was a French[1] theologian and poet. He was born in Lille, some time before 1128. His exact date of death remains unclear as well, with most research pointing toward it being between 14 April 1202, and 5 April 1203.[2] Little is known of his life. Alain entered the schools no earlier than the late 1140s; first attending the school at Paris, and then at Chartres. He probably studied under masters such as Peter Abelard, Gilbert of Poitiers, and Thierry of Chartres. This is known through the writings of John of Salisbury, who is thought to have been a contemporary student of Alain of Lille.[3] His earliest writings were probably written in the 1150s, and probably in Paris.[4] Alain spent many years as a professor of Theology at the University of Paris[5] and he attended the Lateran Council in 1179. Though the only accounts of his lectures seem to show a sort of eccentric style and approach, he was said to have been good friends with many other masters at the school in Paris, and taught there, as well as some time in southern France, into his old age. He afterwards inhabited Montpellier (he is sometimes called Alanus de Montepessulano), lived for a time outside the walls of any cloister, and finally retired to Cîteaux, where he died in 1202.[6] He had a very widespread reputation during his lifetime, and his knowledge caused him to be called Doctor Universalis. Many of Alain's writings are unable to be exactly dated, and the circumstances and details surrounding his writing are often unknown as well. However, it does seem clear that his first notable work, Summa Quoniam Homines, was completed somewhere between 1155 and 1165, with the most conclusive date being 1160, and was probably developed through his lectures at the school in Paris.[3] Among his very numerous works two poems entitle him to a distinguished place in the Latin literature of the Middle Ages; one of these, the De planctu naturae, is an ingenious satire on the vices of humanity. He created the allegory of grammatical "conjugation" which was to have its successors throughout the Middle Ages. The Anticlaudianus, a treatise on morals as allegory, the form of which recalls the pamphlet of Claudian against Rufinus, is agreeably versified and relatively pure in its latinity.[6] (Alain de Lille. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alain_de_Lille>)

HIT:

- **[Against Heretics]** Again in the canonical epistle of John: "There are three that give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one. And there are three that give testimony on earth, spirit, water, and blood" (1 John 5:7-8). Here John insinuates that Christ was true man and true God and

The Witness of God is Greater

true Son of God. (Alain de Lille, Against Heretics, Book 1, Chapter 32, Authorities and reasons which proved that Christ was truly the Son of God; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, August 2020)

- **Latin:** Item Ioannes in Epistola canonica: **Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt. Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis** (Ioan. V) . Hic insinuat Ioannes Christum verum fuisse hominem, et verum Deum et verum Dei Filium. (Alain de Lille, Contra haereticos, Caput XXXII, Quibus auctoritatibus et rationibus probatur quod Christus vere fuerit Filius Dei; Migne Latina, PL 210.334)

Sicard of Cremona (1155–1215 AD)

• Sicardus of Cremona, Bishop, canonist, historian, and liturgist; b. Cremona, c. 1150; d. Cremona, June 8, 1215. Having studied in the schools of Bologna, Sicardus went to Paris about 1170 and taught canon law and theology there until about 1180. In that year he was collated to a prebend at Mainz, where he taught in the cathedral school and fashioned his Paris lectures into a Summa decretorum. After his appointment as bishop of Cremona on Aug. 23, 1185, he successfully defended the rights of the city against Brescia and Milan, won independent status for the city from Frederick I Barbarossa, and pushed forward a great scheme of fortifications (1186). From 1202 until 1205 he took part in the papal mission of Cardinal Peter of Capua in Armenia and at Constantinople; in 1212 he welcomed Frederick II to Cremona and obtained from him the confirmation of Barbarossa's privileges.

• **Writings.** The following works represent only a part of the varied output of Sicardus, for certain early treatises of which he himself speaks are no longer extant. *Mitræ* (1200) is one of the most important liturgical treatises of the Middle Ages, and a source of much of the famous *Rationale* of William Duranti, the Elder, almost a century later. The *Mitræ* consists of nine books (printed in *Patrologia Latina*, 217 v. [Paris 1878–90] 213:13–434): bk. 1, churches and church fittings; bk. 2, sacred orders and vestments; bk. 3, the Mass; bks. 4–8, the liturgical year; bk. 9, *Sanctorale*.

• Sicardus of Cremona. <www.encyclopedia.com/religion/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/sicardus-cremona>

• Sicardus was born in Cremona, probably to the Casalschi family, and probably in the 1150s.[1] His brother Bocardus is sometimes called Bocardus Casalschi.[2] He studied law in Bologna and Mainz, though he could not take a degree from Mainz since the university had not yet been founded or received a charter. Sicardus himself records in his *Cronica* that he received minor holy orders in 1179 from Bishop Offredus of Cremona (1168–1185).[3] In 1180, while living in Mainz, he composed the *Summa canonum*. [4] He returned to Cremona. He was ordained a subdeacon by Pope Lucius III in 1183, and was sent to the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, to arrange a meeting between the emperor and the pope.[5] Bishop Offredus died on 9 August 1185, and Sicardus was elected bishop of Cremona,[6] before 23 August 1185, when he signed an agreement with the Canons of the cathedral.[7] At the same time, the Emperor rebuilt and fortified the city of Crema, and laid the city of Cremona under the imperial ban.[8]

• Early in 1188, Sicard made the journey to Germany,[9] to beg the Emperor Frederick to allow the Cremonans to rebuild *Castromanfredi*. The emperor refused.[10] Therefore, on April 18, 1188, Bishop Sicard laid the first stone of a new castle to defend Cremona. This was an outpost in the northwest, toward Crema, the *Castrum Leonis*, today *Castelleone*. Sicard and the people also built a transport ship, intended to carry supplies to the troops fighting in the Holy Land.[11] In the same year, he fell afoul of the papacy. He had torn down and carried away the stones of a chapel on allodial land belonging to the convent of nuns at S. Julia in Brescia. Two cardinal legates, Soffredus and Petrus, ordered a trial. The bishop apparently lost, since Pope Clement III, who had refused appeals, appointed two commissioners on 30 March 1190 to conclude the business even in the face of further delaying tactics.[12]

• On 19 January 1191, Bishop Sicardus was at Lodi, where he met King Henry, Barbarossa's son, who was going to Rome for his coronation.[13] In 1193, in a reply to an inquiry from Bishop Sicardus, Pope Celestine III assured Sicardus that he had the right to judge suits of clerics, without appeal, provided that the sum involved was less than 40 solidi, and provided that the bishop had no personal interest in the suit.[14]

The Witness of God is Greater

- On 4 June 1196, Pope Celestine III issued a mandate to Bishop Sicardus, to intervene against the neighbors and patrons of the church of Santa Croce in Cremona, which belonged de jure to the monastery of Nonantola; they had detained the prior and chaplain unlawfully, and should be warned to return the church to the Abbot and monastery of Nonantola and to make restitution for the vineyard belonging to the church which they had plundered.[15] The bishop was in Pavia on 26 August 1196, where he subscribed a charter of Henry VI.[16] Henry died on 28 September 1197, and Pope Celestine on 8 January 1198. In northern Italy, one petty war after another disturbed the political and ecclesiastical scene, Milan and Cremona struggling again over Crema, while in Germany there were two contenders for the imperial crown, Otto of Brunswick and Philip of Swabia.[17] Innocent III was elected pope on 8 January 1198.[18]
 - In 1203 he followed the papal legate Cardinal Peter of Capua to the East during the Fourth Crusade. As they were returning in 1204, by way of Constantinople, to make a report on operations in the east, Sicardus conducted ordinations in Hagia Sophia on the legate's invitation, on 18 December 1204. How long he remained in Constantinople is not known, but the Legate, Cardinal Peter, received an angry letter from Pope Innocent III, dated 17 February 1205, berating him for leaving his post in the Holy Land.[19]
 - Sicardus had certainly returned to Cremona by 16 December 1205, when he received the rights of patronage over the church of All Saints in Cremona from its former patron.[20] In 1206, he was appointed, along with the Archdeacon and Canon Peter of Parma, to a commission against Mantua, which was building a bridge over the Zara River and erecting a fort, which threatened Reggio; the commission was granted power to impose an interdict on Mantua.[21] He supported Frederick II against the Holy Roman Emperor Otto IV of Braunschweig.
 - Sicardo died in Cremona on 8 June 1215.[22] Two days before his death, however, several Canons issued a call for an electoral meeting to choose his successor. They duly met and elected the Archpriest Dompnetum. One of the Canons chose to appeal to the Holy See. When Pope Innocent heard of the circumstances of the election, he immediately quashed the election, and on 3 December 1216, announced that he had consecrated a new bishop for Cremona.
 - Sicardus of Cremona. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sicard_of_Cremona>
- [Miller] Bishop Sicard of Cremona (1185-1215) devoted an entire book of his liturgical commentary, the *Mitræ*, to the divine office, and since this work was clearly written for the use and edification of his clergy, it demonstrates the expectation that even the average priest engaged in this devotional regimen. Moreover, Bishop Sicard emphasizes the office in the overall structure of the work. After first discussing the physical setting and requirements of the church (its parts, its consecration, its decoration), Sicard describes the orders of clergy and how they should deport themselves. Then he turns to the liturgical duties or work of the clergy: first he comments extensively on the mass and then he turns to the divine office. After these disquisitions, he goes through the liturgical year commenting on the weekly Sunday liturgy and the great feast days. He then goes through the year again, commenting on saints' feast days. The mass and the divine office are the central topics in the work and the essential spiritual exercises of the clergy. The voice Bishop Sicard employs throughout these expositions is collegial, invoking his own devotion while extending the gift of his learning to his clergy. (Miller, *The Bishop's Palace*, 2000, p. 243)

HITS:

- As newborn babes, desire the rational milk without guile. (Cf. 1 Peter 2:2) Today's office pertains to the eighth Beatitude, which is: "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven" (Matt 5:10) Because this Beatitude refers back to the first, is the same as the first, almost the same office is sung here. Yet it does differ slightly, because a different cause is ascribed in each verse for the same Beatitude. In the first, that cause is humility, when it is said: "Blessed are the poor in spirit" (Matt 5:3). Here it is martyrdom, when it is said: "Blessed are they which are persecuted" (Matt 5:10) This martyrdom is referred to in the Gospel in the passage that starts with the words "Then the same day at evening" (John 20:19) when it is said that as the disciples stayed inside with shut doors for fear of the Jews, the Lord stood in the midst of them and announced peace to them. By the shut-in disciples we understand all those who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, who do not dare to come out in public on account of the rage of persecutors, just as the disciples did not dare to come out for fear of the Jews. **John speaks of the same martyrdom in his Epistle after**

The Witness of God is Greater

the words "whatsoever is born", saying: "there are three that give testimony on earth: the spirit and the water and the blood." (1 John 5:8) By these three witnesses, namely the Holy Spirit, the water of baptism and the martyrdom of Christ's blood, our faith is confirmed and the Kingdom is awarded to those who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake. The same martyrdom is referred to with "hallelujah..." (Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrале*, book 7, chapter 1, *Dominica in Octava Paschae*; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, February 2021.)

- **Latin:** Quasi modo geniti infantes, rationabile sine dolo lac concupiscite . (0361D) Hodiernae diei officium ad octavam pertinet quidem beatitudinem, quae est: « Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum coelorum, » quae, quia redit ad caput primum, eadem est, quae prima, ideo idem fere cantatur officium. Verumtamen et paululum differt, eo quod eiusdem beatitudinis alia in prima, alia in hac ultima causa notatur; ibi enim humilitas cum dicitur: « Beati pauperes spiritu; » hic vero martyrium cum dicitur: « Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur. (0362C) » De quo martyrio dicitur in Evangelio Cum esset, quod foribus clausis, discipulis intus manentibus propter metum Iudaeorum, Dominus in medio illorum stetit, et pacem illis annuntiavit. Per discipulos clausos omnes illos accipimus, qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam, qui non audent venire in publicum ob rabiem persecutorum, sicut nec discipuli propter metum Iudaeorum. **De eodem martyrio loquitur Ioannes in Epistola, Omne quod natum est, dicens: « Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis. » His tribus testibus, scilicet Spiritu sancto, aqua baptismi, martyrio sanguinis Christi, confirmatur fides nostra, et adiudicatur his regnum, qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam. Ad idem martyrium pertinet alleluia.** (Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrале*, book 7, chapter 1, *Dominica in Octava Paschae*; Migne Latina, PL 213.361)
- **[Sermon]** This martyrdom is alluded to in the Gospel (in "Now when it was" etc. [John 20:19 etc.]) when it is said that, as the disciples stayed inside with doors closed for fear of the Jews, the Lord stood in the midst of them and declared peace to them. By the locked-in disciples we understand all those who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, who do not dare to go out in public on account of the rage of persecutors, like the disciples for fear of the Jews. John speaks about the same martyrdom in his epistle ("Whatsoever is born, etc." [1 John 5:4]), saying: "**And there are three that bear witness in earth, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood.**" By these three witnesses, namely the Holy Spirit, the water of baptism, and the martyrdom/testimony of Christ's blood, our faith is confirmed, and the kingdom is awarded to those who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake. "Hallelujah" pertains to the same martyrdom. (Sicardus of Cremona, *Divine Mercy Sunday*; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, August 2020)
 - **Latin:** De quo martyrio dicitur in Evangelio Cum esset, quod foribus clausis, discipulis intus manentibus propter metum Iudaeorum, Dominus in medio illorum stetit, et pacem illis annuntiavit. Per discipulos clausos omnes illos accipimus, qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam, qui non audent venire in publicum ob rabiem persecutorum, sicut nec discipuli propter metum Iudaeorum. De eodem martyrio loquitur Ioannes in Epistola, Omne quod natum est, dicens: « **Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis.** » His tribus testibus, scilicet Spiritu sancto, aqua baptismi, martyrio sanguinis Christi, confirmatur fides nostra, et adiudicatur his regnum, qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam. Ad idem martyrium pertinet alleluia. (Sicardus of Cremona, *Caput primum. Dominica in octava Paschae*; Migne Latina, PL 213.0361)

Fourth Lateran Council 1215

• The Fourth Council of the Lateran was convoked by Pope Innocent III with the papal bull *Vineam domini Sabaoth* of 19 April 1213, and the Council gathered at Rome's Lateran Palace beginning 11 November 1215.[1] Due to the great length of time between the Council's convocation and meeting, many bishops had the opportunity to attend. **It is considered by the Catholic Church to have been the twelfth ecumenical**

The Witness of God is Greater

council and is sometimes called the "Great Council" or "General Council of Lateran" due to the presence of 71 patriarchs and metropolitan bishops, 412 bishops, 900 abbots and priors together with representatives of several monarchs.[1] Lateran IV stands as the high-water mark of the medieval papacy. Its political and ecclesiastical decisions endured down to the Council of Trent while modern historiography has deemed it the most significant papal assembly of the Later Middle Ages.[2] The Fourth Lateran Council was the largest and most representative of the medieval councils to that date.[3] In summoning the bishops to a general council, Innocent III emphasized that reforms must be made in the Church and that a new crusade to the Holy Land must be launched. (Fourth Council of the Lateran. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fourth_Council_of_the_Lateran>)

• **II : Crusade and Council, 1213-1215.** Of the general council held by Pope Innocent at Rome In the same year, namely, A.D. 1215, a sacred and general synod was held in the month of November, in the church of the Holy Savior at Rome, called Constantinian (Saint John Lateran), at which our lord pope Innocent, in the eighteenth year of his pontificate, presided, and which was attended by four hundred and twelve bishops, **Among the principal of these were the two patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem. The patriarch of Antioch could not come, being detained by serious illness, but he sent his vicar, the bishop of Antaradus (Tortosa); the patriarch of Alexandria being under the dominion of the Saracens, did the best he could, sending a deacon, his cousin, in his place.** There were seventy-seven primates and metropolitans [PAGE 122] present, more than eight hundred abbots and priors, and of the proxies of archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and chapters who were absent, the number is not known. **There was also present a multitude of ambassadors from the emperor of Constantinople, the king of Sicily, who was elected emperor of Rome (Frederick II), the kings of France, England, Hungary, Jerusalem, Cyprus, Aragon, and other princes and nobles, and from cities and other places.** When all of these were assembled in the place above mentioned, and, according to the custom of general councils, each was placed according to his rank, the pope himself first delivered an exhortation, and then sixty articles were recited in full council, which seemed agreeable to some and tedious to others. (Crusade and Christendom: annotated documents in translation from Innocent III to the fall of Acre 1187-1291 AD, 2013, p. 122)

• Fourth Lateran Council (1215) : " ...it is commonly cited in canon law as "the General Council of Lateran", without further qualification, or again, as "the Great Council". Innocent III found himself on this occasion surrounded by seventy-one patriarchs and metropolitans, including the Patriarchs of Constantinople and of Jerusalem, four hundred and twelve bishops, and nine hundred abbots and priors. The Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria were represented by delegates. Envoys appeared from Emperor Frederick II, from Henry Latin Emperor of Constantinople, from the Kings of France, England, Aragon, Hungary, Cyprus, and Jerusalem, and from other princes." (Herbermann, Charles, ed. "Fourth Lateran Council (1215)" in Catholic Encyclopedia. <en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia_(1913)/Fourth_Lateran_Council_(1215)>)

• **[Fourth Lateran Council 1215] ...the body of canons published at the fourth Lateran council is among the most important pieces of medieval ecclesiastical legislation. Among other things, it required every Christian to confess to, and receive communion from, his parish priest at least once a year.** (Kirshner & Morrison. University of Chicago Readings in Western Civilization, 1986, p. 375 footnote 26).

• **[Robb] The doctrinal statement on the Trinity issued by the Fourth Lateran Council was the first general statement and clarification of the doctrine for centuries, and the first issued by an ecumenical**

council since the Second Council of Constantinople in 553. Indeed, apart from the decrees on the Trinity issued by the councils held at Toledo in the early Middle Ages, the Lateran decree on the Trinity constitutes both the most detailed and the most authoritative statement on the doctrine of the entire Middle Ages, and since its first formulation at Nicea and Constantinople in the fourth century. 2 In terms of its size and scope the Council was, moreover, the first truly general council of the Middle Ages. There is clearly a sense in which Pope Innocent III, and no doubt others, felt it was appropriate that the first of the decrees issued by such a large and prestigious assembly should concern itself with a definition of the faith in true tradition of the early conciliar creeds; it was the least the occasion demanded. Nor is it perhaps surprising, given the prominence of the doctrine in the councils of the early Church, most notably Nicea and Constantinople, that at the head of this credal-type statement should stand a definition of trinitarian orthodoxy in its absolute essentials. It is the second decree, however, in which Joachim's doctrine is condemned, which provides the most detailed treatment of the doctrine. (Robb, *The Fourth Lateran Council's Definition of Trinitarian Orthodoxy*, 1997, p. 169)

- [Riedl] Joachim of Fiore is more famous for his theology of history than for his doctrine of the Trinity proper. He is, however, one of the few theologians explicitly sentenced by a general council: **the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215** denounced Joachim's book on the unity and essence of the Trinity, which criticized Peter Lombard's *Sentences* for its doctrine of the Trinity. **The Council, in turn, canonized the latter's Trinitarian teaching [Peter Lombard's "Sentences"]**. (Riedl, *A Companion to Joachim of Fiore*. 2017, p. 41)

- [Hales] **This most numerous council of the representatives of the Greek and Latin churches was chiefly convened for the examination of certain opinions of the famous Italian father, Joachim, founder of the congregation of Flora.** These opinions were accused of Arianism, and were unanimously condemned by the council. In their acts, written in Latin, and translated into Greek, we find a reference to this verse: "It is read in the canonical epistle of John, there are three that bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one." Joachim, it seems, had interpreted "these three are one" (Latin: *tres unum sunt*), to signify unity of consent only, in these heavenly witnesses. And he justified the interpretation, by alleging that the same words were found also in the eighth verse, "according to some copies" (Latin: *sicut in quibusdam codicibus invenitur*) as well as in the seventh: but in the eighth verse, being applied to the earthly witnesses, where they could only express unity of consent or of testimony, [the verses being parallel] he contended that he had a right to take them [the last clause "these three are one"] in the same sense in the seventh verse too. (William Hales, [Letter to the Editor] *Sabellian, or Unitarian Controversy*. Letter XI. *Antijacobin Review, Sabellian Controversy*, vol 1, May 1816 p. 606)

- **2. On the error of abbot Joachim. Fourth Lateran Council 1215.**

- **We therefore condemn and prove that small book or treatise which abbot Joachim published against master Peter Lombard concerning the unity or essence of the Trinity, in which he calls Peter Lombard a heretic and a madman because he said in his *Sentences*, "For there is a certain supreme reality which is the Father and the Son and the holy Spirit, and it neither begets nor is begotten nor does it proceed"**. He asserts from this that Peter Lombard ascribes to God not so much a Trinity as a quaternity, that is to say three persons and a common essence as if this were a fourth person. Abbot Joachim clearly protests that there does not exist any reality which is the Father and the Son and the holy Spirit—neither an essence nor a substance nor a nature — although he concedes that the Father and the Son and the holy Spirit are one essence, one substance and one nature. He professes, however, that such a unity is not true and proper but rather collective and analogous, in the way that many persons are said to be one people and

The Witness of God is Greater

many faithful one church, according to that saying : Of the multitude of believers there was one heart and one mind, and Whoever adheres to God is one spirit with him; again He who plants and he who waters are one, and all of us are one body in Christ; and again in the book of Kings, My people and your people are one. In support of this opinion he especially uses the saying which Christ uttered in the gospel concerning the faithful : I wish, Father, that they may be one in us, just as we are one, so that they may be made perfect in one. For, he says, Christ's faithful are not one in the sense of a single reality which is common to all. They are one only in this sense, that they form one church through the unity of the catholic faith, and finally one kingdom through a union of indissoluble charity. **Thus we read in the canonical letter of John : For there are three that bear witness in heaven, the Father and the Word and the holy Spirit, and these three are one; and he immediately adds, And the three that bear witness on earth are the spirit, water and blood, and the three are one, according to some manuscripts.**

• **We, however, with the approval of this sacred and universal council, believe and confess with Peter Lombard** that there exists a certain supreme reality, incomprehensible and ineffable, which truly is the Father and the Son and the holy Spirit, the three persons together and each one of them separately. Therefore in God there is only a Trinity, not a quaternity, since each of the three persons is that reality — that is to say substance, essence or divine nature-which alone is the principle of all things, besides which no other principle can be found. This reality neither begets nor is begotten nor proceeds; the Father begets, the Son is begotten and the holy Spirit proceeds. Thus there is a distinction of persons but a unity of nature. Although therefore the Father is one person, the Son another person and the holy Spirit another person, they are not different realities, but rather that which is the Father is the Son and the holy Spirit, altogether the same; thus according to the orthodox and catholic faith they are believed to be consubstantial. For the Father, in begetting the Son from eternity, gave him his substance, as he himself testifies : What the Father gave me is greater than all. It cannot be said that the Father gave him part of his substance and kept part for himself since the Father's substance is indivisible, inasmuch as it is altogether simple. Nor can it be said that the Father transferred his substance to the Son, in the act of begetting, as if he gave it to the Son in such a way that he did not retain it for himself; for otherwise he would have ceased to be substance. It is therefore clear that in being begotten the Son received the Father's substance without it being diminished in any way, and thus the Father and the Son have the same substance. Thus the Father and the Son and also the holy Spirit proceeding from both are the same reality.

• **When, therefore, the Truth prays to the Father for those faithful to him**, saying I wish that they may be one in us just as we are one, this word one means for the faithful a union of love in grace, and for the divine persons a unity of identity in nature, as the Truth says elsewhere, You must be perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect {2}, as if he were to say more plainly, You must be perfect in the perfection of grace, just as your Father is perfect in the perfection that is his by nature, each in his own way. For between creator and creature there can be noted no similarity so great that a greater dissimilarity cannot be seen between them. **If anyone therefore ventures to defend or approve the opinion or doctrine of the aforesaid Joachim on this matter, let him be refuted by all as a heretic. By this, however, we do not intend anything to the detriment of the monastery of Fiore, which Joachim founded, because there both the instruction is according to rule and the observance is healthy; especially since Joachim ordered all his writings to be handed over to us, to be approved or corrected according to the judgment of the apostolic see. He dictated a letter, which he signed with his own hand, in which he firmly confesses that he holds the faith held by the Roman church, which is by God's plan the mother and mistress of all the faithful.**

• We also reject and condemn that most perverse doctrine of the *impious Amalric*, whose mind the father of lies blinded to such an extent that his teaching is to be regarded as mad more than as heretical.

The Witness of God is Greater

• Fourth Lateran Council 1215, 2. *On the error of abbot Joachim*. Translation by Norman P. Tanner.
<www.papalencyclicals.net/councils/ecum12-2.htm>

HIT:

• **Thus we read in the canonical letter of John : 'For there are three that bear witness in heaven, the Father and the Word and the holy Spirit, and these three are one'; and he immediately adds, 'And the three that bear witness on earth are the spirit, water and blood, and the three are one',** [verse 8 final clause in question] according to some manuscripts. (Lateran Council Fourth. Councils. 1116-1225 AD, vol. 7, 1714-1715, p. 17-18; Translation by Norman P. Tanner.
<www.papalencyclicals.net/councils/ecum12-2.htm>)

• **Greek:** Ὁν τρόπον ἐν τῇ κανονικῇ τοῦ Ἰωαννοῦ ἐπιστολῆ ἀναγινώσκειται, Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν οὐρανῶ ὁ πατήρ, λόγος, καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον· καὶ τοῦτος (a mistake for οὔτοι) οἱ τρεῖς εἰσι. Εὐθύς τε προστίθονσι * * * * * καθὼς ἔν τισι κώδηξιν εὐρίσκειται. (Cossart & Labbe & Hardouin, Lateran Council Fourth. Councils. 1116-1225 AD, vol. 7, 1714-1715, p. 17-18)

• **Latin:** Quemadmodum in canonical Joannis epistola legitur : "Quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant in caelo, Pater, Verbum, & Spiritus sanctus; & hi tres unum sunt." Statimque subjungitur: "Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, Spiritus, aqua, & sanguis; & tres unum sunt", sicut in codicibus quibusdam inventur. (Cossart & Labbe & Hardouin, Lateran Council Fourth. Councils. 1116-1225 AD, vol. 7, 1714-1715, p. 17-18)

Comment:

• [Brownlee] ...**after the 8th verse is quoted (in the acts of the Lateran) it is added,**"as it is found in some codices"(Greek: Καθὼς ἔν τισι κώδηξιν εὐρίσκειται). But this is set down **at the close of the 8th verse - not of the 7th verse - but of the 8th**. And hence every reader must perceive (and both Griesbach [Nov. Test. ed. 2d. vol. ii Append. p. 11] and Marsh [Letters to Travis, p. 15] candidly admit it), **that the reference is made to the last clause of the 8th verse; which is not found in some of the Latin versions**. (Brownlee, "Gleanings and Hints Towards an Argument for the Authenticity of John v. 7" in The Christian Advocate vol 3, April 1825, vol. 3, p. 173)

Newly Discovered Eyewitness Account

• [Robb] According to the recently rediscovered anonymous eyewitness account, **at the third and final session of the Council the Pope ordered the articles of faith relating to the Trinity to be read out to the assembly, which accepted them unanimously. After this all heretics were condemned. The doctrines of Joachim and Amalric of Paris were singled out for particular rebuke, the accusations against them read out and the assembly asked if they repudiated these opinions. They shouted 'even more fiercely' that they did.** (Robb, The Fourth Lateran Council's Definition of Trinitarian Orthodoxy, 1997, p. 171)

• **[German Cleric] 11.** The third solemn session of the council took place on St. Andrew's day [Monday, 30 November 1215]. **When mass had been celebrated very early in the morning, and all the bishops were placed on their seats, the lord pope ascended to the elevated place with his cardinals and ministers, and had the faith of the Holy Trinity and each article of the faith recited. When they had been read, everybody was loudly asked: "Do you believe this in every respect?" Everybody answered: "We believe it."** Then all heretics were condemned, and the opinions of some in particular, namely of Joachim of Fiore and Amaury of Paris, were repudiated. **24** When the corresponding decrees had been read, everybody was asked again: "Do you repudiate the opinions of Joachim and Amaury?" **And even more fiercely they shouted: "We reprove them."** (Latin text: Kuttner

The Witness of God is Greater

& Garcia, 1964, p. 127-128; Kirshner & Morrison. Translated by Constantin Fasolt in University of Chicago Readings in Western Civilization, 1986, p. 374).

• **[German Cleric] 13.** Then the constitutions of the lord pope were read. 26 When they had been read to the end, and it was already past the ninth hour of the day, he showed to all a large part of the wood of the holy cross which had been brought from Constantinople. When everybody had venerated it on their knees, the pope began the "We praise you God." **When all had finished singing solemnly, the pope added this collect: "Omnipotent, eternal God, make us devoutly bear your will always" and so on, blessed everyone with the wood of the holy cross, and absolved and concluded the council. These things were done before an infinite multitude of Catholic men on the final day of the feast, when the council had solemnly met in the Lateran church on only the three aforesaid days.** (Kuttner & Garcia, 1964, p. 28-29; Kirshner & Morrison. Translated by Constantin Fasolt in University of Chicago Readings in Western Civilization, 1986, p. 375).

Pope Innocent III (1160-1216 AD)

• Pope Innocent III (Latin: Innocentius III; 1160 or 1161 – 16 July 1216), born Lotario dei Conti di Segni (anglicized as Lothar of Segni) reigned from 8 January 1198 to his death. Pope Innocent was one of the most powerful and influential of the medieval popes. He exerted a wide influence over the Christian states of Europe, claiming supremacy over all of Europe's kings. He was central in supporting the Catholic Church's reforms of ecclesiastical affairs through his decretals and the Fourth Lateran Council. This resulted in a considerable refinement of Western canon law. He is furthermore notable for using interdict and other censures to compel princes to obey his decisions, although these measures were not uniformly successful. Innocent greatly extended the scope of the crusades, directing crusades against Muslim Spain and the Holy Land as well as the Albigensian Crusade against the Cathars in southern France. He organized the Fourth Crusade of 1202–1204, which ended in the disastrous sack of Constantinople. Although the attack on Constantinople went against his explicit orders, and the Crusaders were subsequently excommunicated, Innocent reluctantly accepted this result, seeing it as the will of God to reunite the Latin and Orthodox Churches. In the event, the sack of Constantinople and the subsequent period of Frankokratia heightened the hostility between the Latin and Greek churches. (The Byzantine empire was restored in 1261 but never regained its former strength, finally falling in 1453.[1]) (Pope Innocent III. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_Innocent_III>)

HIT:

- [Sermon 30] "Two Seraphs called one to another and said: 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory.'" [Is 6:3]. The two Seraphs which called one to another are the two testaments which agree the one with the other. For the wheel contains a wheel in the middle [Ezek 1:16], and two cherubim shall look with their faces toward the mercy seat [Ex 25:20]. Whence both testaments begin most similar, the one: "In the beginning God created heaven and earth" [Gen 1:1]; The other: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God" [Jn 1:1]. Therefore what is written with less clarity in the one, is related more clearly in the other. In the one is written: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God of hosts;" **In the other is related: "There are Three who give testimony in heaven: Father, Word and Holy Spirit; and these Three are One."** [1 Jn 5:7] Therefore, beyond that the mystery of the unity and Trinity were more manifestly and excellently designated in these words, so also they agree more fully and distinctly with today's solemnity. (Innocent III, Sermon 30; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, April 2020) •

The Witness of God is Greater

- **Latin:** "Duo seraphim clamabant alter ad alterum, et dicebant: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus exercituum, plena est omnis terra gloria"[Is 6:3]. Duo seraphim, quorum alter clamabat ad alterum, duo sunt testamenta, quorum alterum convenit alteri. Nam rota continetur in medio rotæ [Ezek 1:16], et duo cherubim sese respiciunt versis vultibus in propitiatorium [Ex 25:20]. Vnde utrumque testamentum consimiliter incipit illud: "In principio creavit Deus coelum et terram"[Gen 1:1]; Istud: [588]"In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum"[Jn 1:1] Quod enim in illo minus aperte scribitur, in isto magis aperte narratur. In illo scribitur: "Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus exercituum;" **in isto narratur: "Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo: Pater, Verbum et Spiritus sanctus: et hi tres unum sunt."** [1 Jn 5:7] Præter unitatis igitur et trinitatis mysterium, quod evidenter et excellenter hæc verba commendant, etiam hodiernæ solemnitati plene simulac [589] plane conveniunt. (Innocent III, Sermo XXX; Migne Latina, PL 217.587-589)

"Duo Seraphim"

- [Whenham] **The text of "Duo Seraphim", originated as a responsory compiled by Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) from two biblical sources, Isaiah [6:2,3] and the First Epistle of John [1 John 5:7]: "Quoniam tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in caelo: Pater, verbum, & spiritus sanctus: & hi tres unum sunt."]. The responsory first appeared c. 1230 in breviaries of the Franciscan order, in which it was appointed to be sung from the Octave of the Epiphany until Septuagesima, and from the [PAGE 45] first Sunday after Pentecost until Advent. In the Tridentine rite it appears as the eighth responsory at Matins on Trinity Sunday.** The motet text [of Monteverdi], responsory and biblical texts are shown in Table 4.1 for comparison. (Whenham, Monteverdi Vespers (1610), 1997, p. 44-45)
- [McDonald] **The comma [1 Jn 5:7] became firmly entrenched in the Roman liturgy through the reflections of pope Innocent III (Lottario dei Conti di Segni, 1160/1161-1216). In his Sermo XXX, preached on All Saints' day, Innocent took as his text the vision of Isaiah (Is 6:1-3): "[...] I saw the Lord sitting on a throne, high and lofty; and the hem of his robe filled the temple. Seraphs were in attendance above him; each had six wings: with two they covered their faces, and with two they covered their feet, and with two they flew. And one called to another and said: 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory.'**" Like Augustine (Contra Faustum XII.48), Isidore of Seville (Etymologies VII.5) and Rupert of Deutz (De divinis officiis XI), Innocent interprets the two seraphim as the Old and the New Testaments; of these two, the New speaks plainly where the Old speaks obscurely. For example, where the Old Testament says, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth," the New Testament declares, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." Where the Old Testament says, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts," the New Testament proclaims, "For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one." **Innocent considered that both these texts proclaiming the Trinity were particularly fitting to the celebration of the feast of All Saints.100 As a result of Innocent's association of these passages, they were combined—according to tradition, by Innocent himself—as a responsory and versicle, which appear in many late mediaeval chant books as the eighth responsory at matins for any Sunday of the year.** Some liturgical books set this pair of texts only for Sundays in summer, or for specific feasts, such as All Saints, Epiphany, Trinity, the first Sunday after Pentecost, and for commemorations of the Old Testament figures Tobias and Judith.101 **Through the regular singing of this text in the liturgy, the comma thus became even more firmly enshrined in the cultural memory of the Roman church.** (McDonald, Ghost of Arius, 2010, p. 58-60)

The Witness of God is Greater

Breviarium romanum & Council of Trent

• [McDonald] The growing doctrinal importance of the comma [1 Jn 5:7] encouraged its use in the liturgy and liturgical music. **The Tridentine breviary [Council of Trent, 1545-1563 AD] gave the comma as the capitulum at nones on Trinity Sunday.⁶⁵ It gave the responsory "Duo seraphim", with its versicle "Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in caelo", as the eighth responsory on the second to the sixth Sundays after Epiphany, on Trinity Sunday, and every Sunday from the third Sunday after Pentecost until the last Sunday before Advent.⁶⁶** The melody for the versicle uses a stereotyped opening formula found in about a dozen first-mode versicles, including one with a clear Scriptural and liturgical link: "Seraphim stabant super illud", the versicle to the responsory at matins on the feast of All Saints.⁶⁷ In addition, the responsory "Duo seraphim/Tres sunt" was set more than four dozen times between 1583 and 1620, as polyphony and as continue motets.⁶⁸ In the preface to the section of his 1567 German hymnbook contains hymns for the season of Trinity, the Roman Catholic Hymnodist Johann Leisentrit exhorted his readers to avoid the errors of Arius and Sabellius. (McDonald, *Biblical Criticism in Early Modern Europe*, 2016, p. 86)

HIT:

5th Sunday of August, first night.

- viii. Two Seraphs called one to another
- "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts
- The whole earth is full of his glory."
- "There are Three who give testimony in heaven: Father, Word and Holy Spirit; and these Three are One." Holy and Glory be to the Father, etc.

Dominica V. Augusti In Primo Nocturno.

- viii. Duo Seraphim clamabant alter ad alterum :
- "Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth :
- Plena est omnis terra gloria eius."
- v. "Tres sunt qui [PAGE 361] testimonium dant in caelo, Pater, Verbum, & Spiritus sanctus : & hi tres unum sunt." Sanctus. Gloria Patri Plena est.
- *Breviarium romanum, ex decreto concilii Tridentini restitum, 1686, vol 2, p. 360*

Innocent III to Huguccio, Bishop of Ferrara (5 March 1209)

• [Levy] Innocent III also addressed the question as to whether the water together with the wine is converted into the blood of Christ, noting that the opinions of the schoolmen vary on this issue. Some claim that there had flowed from Christ's side at his crucifixion the two principal sacraments i) in the blood of redemption; and ii) the water of regeneration. Thus the water and wine mixed in the chalice are both changed (mutantur) by divine power. In other words, they each undergo their own conversion. Others believe that the water is transubstantiated along with the wine into Christ's blood, since the water passes into the wine when mixed with it in the chalice. In that sense the water has already been absorbed by the wine which is then converted into blood. Pope Innocent finds both of these theories quite plausible. There is still another opinion, however, which Innocent reckons downright impious, namely that the water is converted into phlegm. For according to some it was the aquatic humor that flowed from Christ's side rather than water. Yet such people, according to Innocent III, have clearly missed the greater sacramental value of the water. For, as mentioned above, when Christ was pierced two sacraments flowed from his side: blood and water, the latter of which signifies baptismal regeneration. After all, says the pope, we are not baptized in phlegm! For the Lord himself proclaimed that one must be reborn by water and the Holy Spirit (Jn. 3:5). In the end Innocent concludes that it is "more probable..."

The Witness of God is Greater

that the water together with the wine is transmuted (transmutari) into the blood, since this more dearly manifests the properties of the sacrament,"inasmuch as the water united with the wine symbolizes the people joined together in Christ."(Levy, A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages, 2011, p. 429)

- [Levy] ...Canon law had long stipulated that a valid Eucharist entailed not only bread and wine, but water mixed with the wine in the chalice. Indeed, neither wine nor water should be offered alone, since both flowed from Christ's side when pierced with the lance. Yet eucharistic discussion generally centered around the bread and wine, and then following consecration, the body and blood. What precisely became of the water in the conversion process was not, for the most part, a focal point of the discussion. Huguccio, however, was concerned with the water and presented a detailed analysis of its conversion following consecration. Briefly put, he believed that, whereas the wine is converted into the blood of Christ, the water is converted into the aquatic humors (humores aquaticos). Thus when Christ's side was pierced it was not actual water (vera aqua) that poured out along with the blood, but rather these aquatic humors which Scripture referred to as 'water' merely on account of the resemblance. (Levy, A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages, 2011, p. 425-426)

- [Müller] During March 1209, Huguccio received IN QUADAM [3.41.8], a response from Innocent III to a previous inquiry of his. The pope began by referring to cum MARTHE, a decretal he had issued more than seven years earlier:"In a certain letter of mine you say that you read it would be against divine law if someone repeats the opinion of those who presumptuously maintain that in the Eucharist the sacramental water is turned into bodily liquid [phlegnsa]; for they falsely claim that no water, but a watery substance, had flowed from the wound Christ had suffered in his side."Having thus sharply rejected the opposite doctrine, in the same letter Innocent III then turned directly against Huguccio:"Although you note that to this many famous and authoritative persons have agreed whose opinion you have previously accepted in teachings and writings, nonetheless you will be compelled to adhere to our position, since we think the contrary."Obviously, the bishop Huguccio had openly challenged a judgment passed and published by Innocent III. (Müller, Huguccio, the Life, Works, and Thought of a Twelfth-Century Jurist, 1994, p. 23.)

Huguccio, Bishop of Ferrara

- [Müller] ...Huguccio, born in Pisa, moved to Bologna early in his life and began to study the liberal arts. He produced a variety of writings on grammar, which established his great reputation in that discipline. Most prominent among those works was the Derivationes, a Latin etymological dictionary that was more comprehensive than any other of the period. Two hundred manuscripts and fragments still illustrate its enormous success in shaping the Latinity of subsequent generations, right down to the humanists. Later, Huguccio seems to have turned to legal studies. By the 1180s, he was a celebrated professor of canon law at Bologna. Toward the end of the same decade (1188-1190 AD), he forged his lecture material on Gratian's Decretum into a massive commentary, the Summa decretorum, in which he summarized the juristic thought handed down by his predecessors and pushed legal learning and doctrines in new directions! The Summa circulated widely, so that more than forty copies survive in libraries to the present day. Finally, while still working on the last portions of his Summa, Huguccio in 1190 was appointed bishop of Ferrara. He ruled the diocese until his death on 30 April 1210. (Müller, Huguccio, the Life, Works, and Thought of a Twelfth-Century Jurist, 1994, p. 21-22)

Summa Decretorum

- [Huguccio] It is asked if the wine and water are transformed, that is into blood only or into water only. No, but the wine is transformed into blood and the water into water, that is into a natural watery humor; for just as there are four humors in the human body, so is it with the body of Christ. Therefore you should explain it like this: these three things are one in the one Christ, and these things are three and only three because the wine is turned into blood, the water into water, and the bread into a body. (Huguccio, Summa, De cons. D. 2 c. 1; BSB Clm 27337 : f.193v.)
 - **Latin:** Queritur an vinum et aqua transeant scilicet in sanguinem tantum vel in aqua tantum. Non, sed vinum in sanguinem et aqua in aquam id est naturalem humorem

The Witness of God is Greater

aquaticum sicut enim in humano corpore quatuor sunt humores, sic in corpore Christi. Unde sic expone hec tria sunt unum in uno Christo et hec tria sunt tria et tantum tria quia vinum in sanguinem, aqua in aquam, panis in corpus convertitur. (Huguccio, Summa [1178-1188 AD], De cons. D. 2 c. 1; BSB Clm 27337 : f.193v.)

- <bildsuche.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=viewer&bandnummer=bsb00026736&pimage=00193&v=150&nav=&l=en#>
- C. Leonardi, «La vita e l'opera di Uguccone da Pisa decretista», Studia Gratiana, t. 4, p. 54.

- [Izbicki] **Cum Marthae originated as a letter of Pope Innocent addressed to the archbishop of Lyon, dated November 29, 1202.** The extensive text of the decretal addressed the biblical or extra biblical origins of the words of consecration. Innocent, as was typical, noted three aspects of the sacrament: "We must, however, distinguish accurately between three things which are different in this sacrament, namely, the visible form, the truth of the body, and the spiritual power. The form is of the bread and wine; the truth, of the flesh and blood; the power, of unity and of charity." Then the pope invoked the distinction already used by Rufinus between the species as "sacrament and not reality," Christ's flesh and blood as "sacrament and reality," and the unity of the Church as "the reality and not the sacrament." Thus Innocent embraced teachings already known to the canonists. Cum Marthae advocated transubstantiation as an explanation of the Real Presence, and he explained the changing of the wine: "Therefore, it can happen that the accidents change subject, just as it can happen that the subject changes accidents." The pope added the telling phrase: "Obviously, nature gives way to miracle, and power overcomes custom." Innocent also carefully addressed the status of the water added to the chalice, asking whether it was "transubstantiated" (transsubstantiatum) with the wine, becoming Christ's blood, not His phlegm. The pope summarized conflicting opinions before saying it was "more probable" (probabilior) that the water too was "transmuted" (transmutatum): "However, among the aforesaid opinions the most probable one is judged to be the one that asserts that the water is transmuted with the wine to better show forth the special character of the sacrament."
- [Izbicki] Innocent's reason for this conclusion was ecclesiological: "for we are joined with an insoluble nexus so that the one who is one with the Father by an ineffable unity may be made one with us by an admirable union, and through this, with Him generally mediating, we may be made one with the Father." This decretal passed into Compilatio tertia under the title "Concerning the Celebration of Masses, the Sacrament of the Eucharist and the Water Which Issued from the Side of Christ" (De celebratione missarum et sacrament^o eucharistiae a aqua que exivit ex latere Christi). **In 1234, Cum Marthae (X 3.41.6) entered the Liber extra under the title "Concerning the Celebration of Masses, the Sacrament of the Eucharist and Divine Offices" (De celebratione missarum et sacrament^o eucharistiae et divinis officiis). (An additional denial that the water became Christ's phlegm was sent to Huguccio of Pisa in 1209. That decretal, In quadam, also entered canon law (X 3.41.8).105)** Thus transubstantiation entered the Extra earlier by a different route.
- Izbicki, The Eucharist in Medieval Canon Law, 2015, p. 38-39.

HITS:

- BOOK TWELVE, YEAR TWELVE OF HIS PONTIFICATE, AD 1209.
- VII. TO THE BISHOP OF FERRARA. Responding to his consultation. (Lateran, third day before the Nones of March.)
- You have read, you say, in one of our decretals that it is abominable to believe what some have dared to claim, namely that in the sacrament of the Eucharist water is turned into phlegm. For they affirm falsely that it was not water, but watery humor that came out of Christ's side. Although you find that this belief has been held by great and authoritative men, whose opinion you have thus far followed in speech and writing, since we believe the contrary, you are obliged to agree with our view. **You confess, however, that the word of John the Apostle troubles you much, where he says: there are three that give testimony on earth: the spirit, the water, and the blood: and these three are one (1 John 5)** — though the last part is absent from most codices. You say that everyone interprets it thus: their being one means that they testify to one and the same thing, namely Christ's humanity. Yet, if it was true water that flowed out of Christ's side and not a humor of the human body, you do not see

The Witness of God is Greater

how it proves that Christ is a man. Indeed, the gloss on that passage reads thus: the spirit is the human soul that he yielded up in the Passion. The water and blood are those that flowed from his side, which could not have happened if he did not have the true nature of flesh. This is how, from both the text and the gloss, you posit that this water proves that Christ is a true man. Thus, the words of both the commentator and the Apostle make sense to you if one says that it was a watery humor of the human body rather than true water; whereas if it is said that it was true water, as we believe and profess, you really understand neither's words. Consequently, you humbly beseeched us to explain the matter sufficiently and evidently for the general benefit of readers and in order to remove the fog from your heart. Therefore to your urgent request we respond as follows: some have said, wrongly, that Christ was not a true God but an adoptive one: this was the belief, for instance, of the wretched Arians. Others have said that Christ was not a true man but a fantastical one: this was the belief, for instance, of the wicked Manicheans. **John the Apostle speaks against these heresies in his epistle when he says: there are three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one (1 John 5);** intending thereby to show that Christ is a true God; and there are three that give testimony on earth: the spirit, the water, and the blood (ibid.); intending thereby to show that Christ is a true man. Indeed, two main things are required for the existence of a man: a body and a soul, the combination of which constitutes a true man. The fact that Christ at the moment of his death, bowing his head, gave up the ghost (spirit) about which he had cried out with a loud voice: Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit (Luke 23) manifestly proves that he had a spirit; not only a vital breath, but also a rational soul, about which he had said earlier: my soul is sorrowful even unto death (Matt. 26) and: I have power to lay down my life/soul¹ and take it up again (John 10). The fact that one of the soldiers pierced his side with a spear and there forthwith came out blood and water patently proves that Christ had a real body, for neither blood nor water could have come out of a fantastical body. Hence he who witnessed these events gave testimony; and his testimony is true, for there are three that give testimony on earth: the spirit, the water, and the blood; that Christ is a true man with a rational soul, which is proven by the fact that he sent forth such a spirit out of a real body, which in turn is proven by the fact that blood and water came out of it. A rational soul could not give life to anything else than a human body, and these two things constitute a true man. For the rest, just as there was a true spirit and true blood, so was there undoubtedly true water, since Christ is the truth and all falseness is utterly alien to the truth. If that which came out of the Savior's side had been phlegm rather than water, he who witnessed the events and gave true testimony would assuredly have called it phlegm and not water; and the true sacrament of regeneration would not have been symbolized by it, since we are regenerated by the sacrament of baptism not in phlegm, but in water. Neither could it be truly proven by this that water should be mixed in with the wine in the sacrament of the Eucharist if it had not been water but phlegm that had flowed out of Christ's side with the blood. Not even the Old Testament type regarding this event would have been true, namely when Moses smote the rock with his rod and out of it sprang not phlegm, but water. Therefore there remains only one possible conclusion: of whatever kind that water was, whether natural or miraculous, whether newly created by divine power or resolved out of components from somewhere, it was undoubtedly real, since it is by nature possible for a composite to be resolved into its components and for a thing made of elements to be resolved into its elements; just as his sweat was real, as it were drops of blood falling down to the ground. Now since four elements combine to compose a human body, namely earth and water, air and fire; and four humors similar to these come together to vivify that body, namely blood and yellow bile, phlegm and red bile; in order to show distinctly the realness of Christ's human body, John took one out of each category, and precisely those that better fitted the mystery: out of the elements he took water and out of the humors he took blood, in which two things the two greatest sacraments, namely that of redemption and that of regeneration, are clearly seen. (Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, 2021)

- **Latin:** In quadam nostra epistola decretali asseris te legisse illud esse nefarium opinari quod quidam dicere praesumpserunt, in sacramento videlicet eucharistiae aquam in flegma converti. Nam de latere Christi, non aquam, sed humorem aquaticum mentiuntur exisse. Licet autem hoc magnos et authenticos viros sensisse recenseas, quorum opinionem dictis et scriptis hactenus es secutus, ex quo tamen in contrarium nos sentimus, nostrae compelleris sententiae

consentire. **Sed verbum loannis apostoli te multum movere fateris dicentis: Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua et sanguis, et hi tres unum sunt (I Ioan. V).** Quamvis hoc ultimum in plerisque codicibus minime habeatur, quod dicis ab omnibus sic exponi, illos videlicet esse (0016C) unum, id est, de una et eadem re, scilicet de humanitate Christi, testari. Porro si vera fuit aqua quae fluxit de latere Christi, et non humani corporis humor, qualiter per illam probetur quod Christus sit homo, non vides. Glossa namque super illum locum sic habet: "Spiritus, id est, humana anima, quam emisit in passione, aqua et sanguis quae fluxerunt de latere Christi; quod fieri non posset si non haberet veram carnis naturam." Sic ergo tam ex textu quam ex glosa proponis per illam aquam probari quod Christus sit verus homo. Et ideo si dicatur quod illa non exstitit vera aqua, sed aquaticus humani corporis humor, tam expositoris quam apostoli verba intelligibilia tibi esse videntur. Sed dicto (0016D) quod fuerit vera aqua, sicut nos credimus et fatemur, nec ista nec illa sufficienter intelligis. Unde nobis humiliter supplicasti quatenus ad generalem utilitatem legentium et nebulam de tuo corde tollendam sufficienter et evidenter hoc exponere dignaremur. Nos igitur ad tuae supplicationis instantiam respondemus quod quidam dixerunt; sed erraverunt Christum non fuisse verum Deum, sed adoptivum, ut miseri Ariani. Alii vero Christum non fuisse verum hominem, sed phantasticum, ut impii Manichaei. **Adversus has haereses loannes apostolus in Epistola sua loquitur, dicens: Tres sunt qui testimonium dent in coelo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus sanctus; (0017A) et hi tres unum sunt (I Ioan. V),** per hoc intendens ostendere quod Christus sit verus Deus. Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua et sanguis (ibid.), per hoc intendens ostendere quod Christus sit verus homo. Nam ad esse hominis duo principaliter exiguntur, videlicet corpus et anima, ex quorum coniunctione verus homo subsistit. Per hoc autem quod in articulo mortis Christus inclinato capite tradidit spiritum, de quo voce magna clamaverat: Pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum (Luc. XXIII), manifeste probatur quod ipse spiritum habebat, non solum vitalem flatum, sed animam quoque rationalem, de qua praedixerat: Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem (Matth. XXVI); et: Potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam et iterum (0017B) sumendi eam (Ioan. X). Per hoc autem quod unus militum lancea latus eius aperuit, et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua, probatur aperte quod Christus verum corpus habebat. Nam de phantastico corpore nec sanguis nec aqua potuisset exire. Unde ille qui vidit, testimonium quidem perhibuit, et testimonium eius est verum, quod tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis, quod videlicet Christus sit verus homo ex anima rationali subsistens: quod probatur ex eo quod talem spiritum emisit ex vero corpore; quod inde probatur, quoniam ex eo sanguis exivit et aqua. Rationalis quippe anima non posset vivificare nisi corpus humanum, ex quibus verus homo consistit. (0017C) Caeterum, sicut verus fuit spiritus et verus sanguis, ita procul dubio vera aqua, cum Christus sit veritas, et a veritate omnis fallacia sit penitus aliena. Nam si non fuisset aqua sed flegma quod de latere Salvatoris exivit, ille qui vidit et testimonium verum perhibuit, profecto non aquam sed flegma dixisset. Nec in hoc verum regenerationis sacramentum fuisset ostensum, cum per sacramentum baptismi non regeneremur in flegmate, sed in aqua. Neque per hoc vero posset argumento probari quod in sacramento eucharistiae admiscenda sit aqua vino, si de latere Christi non aqua sed flegma cum sanguine profluxisset. Sed nec vera fuisset figura quae super hac re praecessit in veteri testamento, quando videlicet Moyses virga percussit (0017D) silicem, et ex ea quidem non flegma sed aqua manavit. Restat igitur ut qualiscunque fuerit illa aqua, sive naturalis, sive miraculosa, sive de novo divina virtute creata, sive de componentibus ex parte aliqua resoluta, procul dubio vera fuerit, cum naturaliter possit et compositum in componentia et elementatum in elementa resolvi; quemadmodum verus exstitit sudor ipsius, sicut guttae sanguinis decurrentis in terram. Cum autem ad compositionem humani corporis quatuor elementa concurrant, videlicet terra et aqua, aer et ignis, et ad (0018A) vegetationem eiusdem corporis quatuor humores similes illis conveniant, videlicet sanguis et cholera, flegma et melancholia, ut veritatem humani corporis expressius demonstraret, unum ex illis et unum ex istis loannes expressit, illaque potius ex illis et istis, quae magis mysterio congruebant, ex elementis aquam, et ex humoribus sanguinem, in quibus duobus duo maxima sacramenta,

The Witness of God is Greater

redemptionis videlicet et regenerationis, elucent. (Innocent III to Bishop of Ferrar, 5 March 1209 in Decretales of Gregory IX, Book 3, Title 41, Chapter 8; Migne Latina, PL 216.16-18) [*Dat. III. Non. Mart. Ao. XII. 1209.*] (Innocent III to Bishop of Ferrar, 5 March 1209 in Decretals of Gregory IX, Book 3, Title 41, Chapter 8; Migne Latina, PL 216.16-18)

Comment:

- The Decretals of Gregory IX (Latin, Decretales Gregorii IX), also collectively called the Liber extra, are an important source of medieval Canon Law. In 1230, Pope Gregory IX ordered his chaplain and confessor, St. Raymond of Penyafort, a Dominican, to form a new canonical collection destined to replace all former collections. (Decretales Gregorii IX. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Decretales_Gregorii_IX>)

Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) : Conquest of Constantinople

- The Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) was a Latin Christian armed expedition called by Pope Innocent III. The stated intent of the expedition was to recapture the Muslim-controlled city of Jerusalem, by first conquering the powerful Egyptian Ayyubid Sultanate, the strongest Muslim state of the time. However, a sequence of economic and political events culminated in the Crusader army's 1204 Sack of Constantinople, the capital of the Greek Christian-controlled Byzantine Empire, rather than Egypt as originally planned. (Fourth Crusade. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fourth_Crusade>)
- In late 1202, financial issues led to the Crusader army conducting the Siege of Zara, sacking the Catholic city of Zara (Zadar) on the Adriatic Sea which was then brought under Venetian control. When the pope heard of this, he excommunicated the Crusader army. In January 1203, en route to Jerusalem, the Crusader leadership entered into an agreement with the Byzantine prince Alexios Angelos to divert the Crusade to Constantinople and restore his deposed father Isaac II Angelos as emperor. The intent of the Crusaders was then to continue to Jerusalem with promised Byzantine financial and military aid. By this time the Pope had excommunicated them. On 23 June 1203, the main Crusader army reached Constantinople, while other contingents (perhaps a majority of all crusaders) continued to Acre. In August 1203, following the Siege of Constantinople, Alexios was crowned co-emperor. However, in January 1204 he was deposed by a popular uprising. The Crusaders were no longer able to receive their promised payments from Alexios. Following the murder of Alexios on 8 February, the Crusaders decided on the outright conquest of the city. In April 1204, they captured and plundered the city's enormous wealth. (Fourth Crusade. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fourth_Crusade>)
- [Vryonis] The Latin soldiery subjected the greatest city in Europe to an indescribable sack. For three days they murdered, raped, looted and destroyed on a scale which even the ancient Vandals and Goths would have found unbelievable. Constantinople had become a veritable museum of ancient and Byzantine art, an emporium of such incredible wealth that the Latins were astounded at the riches they found. Though the Venetians had an appreciation for the art which they discovered (they were themselves semi-Byzantines) and saved much of it, the French and others destroyed indiscriminately, halting to refresh themselves with wine, violation of nuns, and murder of Orthodox clerics. The Crusaders vented their hatred for the Greeks most spectacularly in the desecration of the greatest Church in Christendom. They smashed the silver iconostasis, the icons and the holy books of Hagia Sophia, and seated upon the patriarchal throne a whore who sang coarse songs as they drank wine from the Church's holy vessels. The estrangement of East and West, which had proceeded over the centuries, culminated in the horrible massacre that accompanied the conquest of Constantinople. The Greeks were convinced that even the Turks, had they taken the city, would not have been as cruel as the Latin Christians. The defeat of Byzantium, already in a state of decline, accelerated political degeneration so that the Byzantines eventually became easy prey to the Turks. The Fourth Crusade and the crusading movement generally thus resulted, ultimately, in the victory of Islam, a result which was of course the exact opposite of its original intention. (Vryonis, Byzantium and Europe. 1967, p. 152) (Fourth Crusade. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fourth_Crusade>)

The Witness of God is Greater

- The Fourth Crusade is considered to have solidified the East–West Schism. The crusade dealt an irrevocable blow to the Byzantine Empire, contributing to its decline. (Fourth Crusade. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fourth_Crusade>)
- The conquest of Constantinople was followed by the fragmentation of the Byzantine Empire into three states centered in Nicaea, Trebizond and Epirus. The Crusaders then founded several new Crusader states, known as Frankokratia, in former Byzantine territory, largely hinged upon the Latin Empire of Constantinople. The presence of the Latin Crusader states almost immediately led to war with the Byzantine successor states and with the Bulgarian Empire. The Nicaean Empire eventually recovered Constantinople and restored the Byzantine Empire in 1261. (Fourth Crusade. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fourth_Crusade>)
- Various Latin–French lordships throughout Greece – in particular, the Duchy of Athens and the principality of the Morea – provided cultural contacts with western Europe and promoted the study of Greek. There was also a French cultural work, notably the production of a collection of laws, the Assises de Romanie. The Chronicle of Morea appeared in both French and Greek (and later Italian and Aragonese) versions. Impressive remains of crusader castles and Gothic churches can still be seen in Greece. Nevertheless, the Latin Empire always rested on shaky foundations. Constantinople was re-captured by the Nicaean Greeks under Michael VIII Palaeologos in 1261, and commerce with Venice was re-established. (Fourth Crusade. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fourth_Crusade>)

Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) : Sack of Constantinople

- The Crusaders looted, terrorized, and vandalized Constantinople for three days, during which many ancient and medieval Roman and Greek works were either stolen or destroyed. The famous bronze horses from the Hippodrome were sent back to adorn the façade of St Mark's Basilica in Venice, where they remain. As well as being stolen, works of immeasurable artistic value were destroyed merely for their material value. One of the most precious works to suffer such a fate was a large bronze statue of Hercules, created by the legendary Lysippos, court sculptor of Alexander the Great. Like so many other priceless artworks made of bronze, the statue was melted down for its content by the Crusaders. Despite their oaths and the threat of excommunication, the Crusaders systematically violated the city's holy sanctuaries, destroying or stealing all they could lay hands on; nothing was spared, not even the tombs of the emperors inside the St Apostles church.[12] The civilian population of Constantinople were subject to the Crusaders' ruthless lust for spoils and glory; thousands of them were killed in cold blood.[13] Women, including nuns, were raped by the Crusader army,[14] which also sacked churches, monasteries and convents.[13] The very altars of these churches were smashed and torn to pieces for their gold and marble by the warriors.[12] Although the Venetians engaged in looting too, their actions were far more restrained.[citation needed] Doge Dandolo still appeared to have far more control over his men. Rather than wantonly destroying all around like their comrades, the Venetians stole religious relics and works of art, which they would later take to Venice to adorn their own churches. It was said that the total amount looted from Constantinople was about 900,000 silver marks.[15] The Venetians received 150,000 silver marks that was their due and the Crusaders received 50,000 silver marks. A further 100,000 silver marks were divided evenly between the Crusaders and Venetians. The remaining 500,000 silver marks were secretly kept back by many Crusader knights.[16][17] (Sack of Constantinople. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sack_of_Constantinople>)
- [Pope Innocent III] How, indeed, will the church of the Greeks, no matter how severely she is beset with afflictions and persecutions, return into ecclesiastical union and to a devotion for the Apostolic See, when she has seen in the Latins only an example of perdition and the works of darkness, so that she now, and with reason, detests the Latins more than dogs? As for those who were supposed to be seeking the ends of Jesus Christ, not their own ends, who made their swords, which they were supposed to use against the pagans, drip with Christian blood, they have spared neither religion, nor age, nor sex. They have committed incest, adultery,

The Witness of God is Greater

and fornication before the eyes of men. They have exposed both matrons and virgins, even those dedicated to God, to the sordid lusts of boys. Not satisfied with breaking open the imperial treasury and plundering the goods of princes and lesser men, they also laid their hands on the treasures of the churches and, what is more serious, on their very possessions. They have even ripped silver plates from the altars and have hacked them to pieces among themselves. They violated the holy places and have carried off crosses and relics. (Pope Innocent III, Letters, 126; July 12, 1205, and addressed to the papal legate, who had absolved the crusaders from their pilgrimage vows <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fourth_Crusade>)

Theophanes Kerameus (1129–1152 AD)

• **Theophanes Kerameus (Greek: Θεοφάνης Κεραμεῦς) (1129-1152 AD) was bishop of Rossano, in Calabria, Italy, and a celebrated homiletic writer. His sermons, ninety-one of which are known in manuscript, are mostly exegetical, and written in Greek, which was then still extensively spoken in Sicily and Southern Italy. They are simple and natural, and are masterpieces of oratorical skill, lucid and unforced expositions of biblical texts.** They were first edited, together with a Latin translation and extensive annotations, by Francesco Scorso, S.J. (Paris, 1644), which edition is reprinted in *Patrologia Graeca*, CXXXII, 125-1078. A new edition was prepared by Gregory Palamas (Jerusalem, 1860). The fact that various other individuals also bore the surname "Kerameus" has given rise to a controversy concerning the authorship of these homilies. Scorso, their first editor, supposed Theophanes Kerameus to have lived in the ninth century and to have been Bishop of Taormina in Sicily. Pierre Batiffol, in his work entitled "L'abbaye de Rossano" (Paris, 1891), XXXI, 36-56, held that part of the homilies were written by the Calabrian monk John Philagathos, a disciple of Abbot Bartholomaeus of Grottaferrata (d. c. 1050). (Theophanes_Kerameus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theophanes_Kerameus>)

HITS:

- There is one God in the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, one divinity without beginning, simple, super-essential, without parts and indivisible. The same unit, and the same whole/complete Trinity [three] according to hypostasis. The whole and complete Godhead in each of the hypostasis, and each hypostasis whole and complete in the whole Godhead. **The same is one God, and three hypostasis, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.** Indeed the Father is without beginning and unoriginate begetter not only of the Son, but also emitter of the Holy Spirit.
 - **Greek:** Εἷς Θεὸς ἐν Πατρὶ, καὶ Υἱῶ, καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, μία θεότης ἄναρχος, ἀπλή, ὑπερούσιος, ἀμερῆς, ἀδιαίρετος, ἡ αὐτὴ μονὰς, καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ κατὰ τὰς ὑποστάσεις ὅλη Τριάς, ὅλη ἡ θεότης τελεία τελείως ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν ὑποστάσεων, καὶ ἐκάστη ὑπόστασις τελεία τελείως ἐν ὅλῃ Θεότητι. **Ἡ αὐτὴ Θεὸς εἷς, καὶ ὑποστάσεις τρεῖς, Πατὴρ, Υἱὸς, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.** Ὁ μὲν Πατὴρ ἄναρχος καὶ ἀγέννητος γεννήτωρ μὲν τοῦ Υἱοῦ, προβολεὺς δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. (Theophanes Kerameus, Ὁμιλία Μ΄ : Εἷς τὴν ἐπιφοίτησιν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος; Migne Graeca, PG 132.764)

Petronilla of Aragon (1136-1173 AD)

• Petronilla (29 June[1]/11 August[2] 1136 – 15 October 1173), whose name is also spelled Petronila or Petronella (Aragonese Peyronela or Payronella,[3] and Catalan: Peronella), was the queen of Aragon from the abdication of her father, Ramiro II, in 1137 until her own abdication in 1164. She was the last ruling member of the Jiménez dynasty in Aragon, and by marriage brought the throne to the House of Barcelona. Petronilla came to the throne through special circumstances. Her father, Ramiro, was bishop of Barbastro-Roda when his brother, Alfonso I, died childless in 1134. Alfonso left the crown to the three religious military orders, but his decision was not respected. The aristocracy of Navarre elected a king of their own, restoring their independence, and the nobility of Aragon raised Ramiro to the throne. As king, he received a papal dispensation to abandon his monastic vows in order to secure the succession to the throne. King Ramiro the Monk, as he is known, married Agnes of Aquitaine in 1135; their only child, Petronilla, was born the next year in Huesca.

The Witness of God is Greater

- Petronilla's marriage was a very important matter of state. The nobility had rejected the proposition of Alfonso VII of Castile to arrange a marriage between Petronilla and his son Sancho and to educate her at his court. When she was just a little over one year old, Petronilla was betrothed in Barbastro on 11 August 1137 to Raymond Berengar IV, Count of Barcelona, who was twenty-three years her senior.[4] At El Castellar on 13 November, Ramiro abdicated, transferred authority to Ramon Berenguer, and returned to monastic life.[4] Ramon Berenger de facto ruled the kingdom using the title of "Prince of the Aragonese" (princeps Aragonensis). In August 1150, when Petronilla was fourteen, the betrothal was ratified at a wedding ceremony held in the city of Lleida.[5] Petronilla consummated her marriage to Ramon Berenguer in the early part of 1151, when she reached the age of 15. The marriage produced five children: Peter (1152–57), Raymond Berengar (1157–96), Peter (1158–81), Dulce (1160–98), and Sancho (1161–1223). While she was pregnant with the first, on 4 April 1152, she wrote up a will bequeathing her kingdom to her husband in case she did not survive childbirth.[6] While her husband was away in Provence (1156–57), where he was regent (since 1144) for the young Count Raymond Berengar II, Queen Petronilla remained in Barcelona. Accounting records show her moving between there and Vilamajor and Sant Celoni while presiding over the court in Raymond Berengar's absence.[7]
- After her husband's death in 1162, Petronilla received the prosperous County of Besalú and the Vall de Ribes for life. Her eldest son was seven years old when, on 18 June 1164 (Actum est hoc in Barchinona XIII kalendas julii anno Dominice incarnationis M C LXIII), Petronilla abdicated the throne of Aragon and passed it to him. When Raymond Berenguer inherited the throne from his mother, he changed his name to Alfonso out of deference to the Aragonese. The second son, named Peter, then changed his name to Raymond Berenguer. Petronilla died in Barcelona in October 1173 and was buried at Barcelona Cathedral; her tomb has been lost. After her death, Besalú and Vall de Ribes reverted to the direct domain of the Count of Barcelona, her son Alfonso, who by 1174 had bestowed Besalú on his wife, Sancha.[8] In the Ribes, the local bailiff, Ramon, had carved out for himself "a virtually independent administrative authority" there. He had conducted an inventory for Petronilla after Raymond Berenguer's death, and his son and namesake was in power in 1198.[9]
- In 1410, after the death of King Martin without living legitimate descendants, the House of Barcelona became extinct in the legitimate male line. Two years later, Ferdinand I was enthroned per the Compromise of Caspe. Although Ferdinand triumphed mainly for political and military reasons, the theoretical basis of his candidacy was inheritance in the female line, for which Queen Petronilla served as the precedent. He was Martin's closest legitimate male relative, but related through a woman. His chief opponent, Count James II of Urgell, was related to Martin more distantly, but in the male line. In Catalonia there were indications that women were forbidden to hold comital office, but in Aragon there was no legislation on the subject. In both places there were a few cases of women who had passed on their right to their sons, most importantly Petronilla.
- Petronilla of Aragon. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Petronilla_of_Aragon>

HITS:

- [1173, October 24] This is the sworn state/condition and legal publication of the last will of the noble queen of Aragon, Petronilla by name, declared in words [orally] whose order was enacted legally within 6 months before the priest and judge Miro. We, namely master William and Ramon/Raymond Dalmau, priests, are the witnesses and jurors/ swearers. We testify, namely, **swearing by the living and true God, three in persons and one in deity**, over the altar of St. Felix, martyr, which was constructed in the church of the blessed martyrs Justin and Pastor, within the walls of the city of Barcelona, over whose sacrosanct altar we swear by our own hands these conditions which we saw and heard and were present at, when said testatrix held down by the illness of which she died, arranged by her words her last will about her honor and her possessions. (Joan Ferrante, Medieval Women's Latin Letters. <epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letter/916.html>)
- **Latin:** Hec est sacramentalis conditio ac legalis publicatio ultime voluntatis nobilis regine Aragonensis, Petronille nomine, verbis tantummodo edite, cuius ordo infra VI menses coram sacerdote et iudice Mirone legaliter actus est. Nos, scilicet, magister Guillelmus et Raimundus Dalmacii, presbiteri, testes et iuratores sumus. Testificamur, namque, **iurando per Deum vivum et verum, in personis trinum et in deitate unum**, super altare Sancti Felicis, martiris, quod est constructum in ecclesia beatorum martirum Iusti et Pastoris, infra menia urbis Barchinone, supra cuius sacrosanctum altare has conditiones manibus propriis iuramus quia

The Witness of God is Greater

vidimus et audivimus et presentes adfuimus, quando iam dicta testatrix egritudine detenta unde obiit, suis verbis ordinavit suam ultimam voluntatem de honore suo et de rebus suis. (Liber Feudorum Maior, ed. Francisco M. Rosell, Barcelona, 1945, 1.25, #18.)

Comments:

- [Ferrante] This is a record of the will the queen made orally on her deathbed, attested by the witnesses who heard it from her. It is noteworthy that the queen grants her son the kingdom of Aragon, well after he has inherited the title. (Joan Ferrante, Medieval Women's Latin Letters. <epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letter/916.html>)

Bonacursus (circa 1176-1190)

Bonacursus was a 12th-century Italian Cathar who converted to Catholicism and released a confessional report to the people of Milan exposing the nature of the Cathar heresy entitled "Manifestatio haeresis catharorum quam fecit Bonacursus" sometime between 1176 and 1190.[1] He also reported on the Pasagian heresy[2] as well as the Arnoldists. (Bonacursus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bonacursus>)

HITS:

- **In a second in the number of the fingers, in the place which embraces the Trinity, so the whole of Isaiah preaches the same thing, saying:**"Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and weighed the heavens with his palm? **who hath poised with three fingers the bulk of the earth**"(Is 40:12) By the three fingers, the prophet symbolized the threefold equality of divine omnipotence, an equality that is balanced with some kind of scales of mystery; he symbolized the parity of power, the equivalence and unity of might, which is one and the same in the Trinity. **Again John in Epistle I chapter 5:"Spirit is the one that testifies that Christ is the Truth, And there are Three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one."**(I John 5:7) (Bonacursus, Vita haereticorum; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, July 2021)
 - **Latin: Alio in loco idem Isaias totam Trinitatem in digitorum numero comprehendens sic praedicat, dicens:** « Quis mensus est pugillo aquas, et coelos palmo ponderavit? (0790C) **Quis appendit tribus digitis molem terrae?** (Isa. XL.) » In tribus quippe propheta digitis trinam divinae omnipotentiae aequalitatem sub quadam mysterii lance libratam, et parilitatem virtutis, comparationem et unitatem potentiae, quae una eademque in Trinitate est, in tribus digitis declaravit. **Item Ioannes in Epistola I cap. V: « Spiritus enim est qui testificatur [quia Spiritus est] quoniam Christus est veritas, quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo, Pater et Verbum et Spiritus sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt.** » (Bonacursus, Vita haereticorum; Migne Latina, PL 204.790)

Nikolaos of Otranto (1155-1235 AD)

• Nikolaos of Otranto (ca. 1155/60 in Otranto – February 9, 1235), also known as Nektarios of Casole, was a Greek abbot and author. Nikolaos was probably born around 1155/60. There is no record of where he received his considerable education, but it may have been at the monastery of Casole, a very important centre of Greek erudition in Apulia located only a few kilometres outside Otranto. In any case he became hieromonk of that monastery no later than 1205, after working as a lay teacher of Greek in his hometown. Due to his mastery of both Latin and Greek, he served as interpreter for Cardinal Benedict of Sancta Susanna in 1205/7 and Cardinal Pelagius of Albano in 1214/5, accompanying each to the Latin Empire of Constantinople for talks concerning ecclesiastical union.[1] In 1223/4, he was part of a diplomatic mission sent by Emperor Frederick II to the Byzantine court at Nicaea, and in 1232 he represented the Greek churches of Apulia at the Papal Curia in 1232. Nikolaos translated several texts, mostly liturgical, from Greek into Latin and vice versa; examples include the Basileios liturgy and the explanation of the liturgy written by Patriarch Germanos I of

The Witness of God is Greater

Constantinople. His other writings include original poems and letters. (Nikolaos of Otranto. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nikolaos_of_Otranto>)

- The "Disputation against the Jews". This is a fictional dialogue, albeit supposedly based on real discussions between the author and a Jew. It is not only the largest and most erudite of Nikolaos' works, but also one of the most elaborate Byzantine examples of the genre. (Nikolaos of Otranto. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nikolaos_of_Otranto>)

HITS:

- **[Disputation]** For this, that the Son of Man will judge the world, that in this way I might not say it/He will be hard to find, who/which will also be necessary for me[?]. Now answer me on these things: whether you are convinced about these things brought forward by me or not? And whether there are Three Persons (Gr. πρόσωπα), Father, Word and Spirit in One Divinity, as was clearly shown, or not? And if the light in the light is too strong to behold, unless you want to revolt against the truth? (Nikolaos of Otranto, Disputation against the Jews, 2007, book 1, p. 16 [125 : 375]; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, August 2020)Greek: Νῦν δὲ ἀποκρίθητί μοι περὶ τούτων εἰ πείθη τούτοις τοῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ σοι προτιθεῖσιν ἢ οὐ• καὶ εἰ τρία πρόσωπα ἦτοι πατήρ, λόγος καὶ πνεῦμα, ἐν μιᾷ θεότητι δέδεικται φανερώς ἢ καὶ οὐ; Καὶ εἰ ἐν τῷ φωτὶ τὸ φῶς ἰσχύεις θεᾶσθαι, μὴ ἀναβάλου πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν; (Nikolaos of Otranto, Disputation against the Jews, book 1, 2007, p. 16 [125 : 375])
- **Disputation**
 - Jew: We have agreed to this.
 - Christian: **God, word, and spirit, how many [persons] are there?**
 - Jew: Three.
 - Christian: **And the three are one** - Is it not so? Do you agree?
 - Jew: Yes, it is so.
 - Christian: What are these three, a God or gods?
 - Jew: God.
 - Christian: Finally, **the three Persons are one God and the One is three Persons**, Do you agree?
 - • Nikolaos of Otranto, Disputation Against the Jews, Dialogue 1
 - **Greek:**
 - Ἰουδαῖος· » Ὁμολόγηται τούτῳ.«
 - Χριστιανός· » **Θεός, λόγος, καὶ πνεῦμα, πόσα εἰσίν;**«
 - Ἰουδαῖος· » Τρία. «
 - Χριστιανός· » **Καὶ τὰ τρία ἐν οὐκ εἰσίν.** Ἔστιν οὕτως ἢ οὐ;«
 - Ἰουδαῖος· » Ναὶ, οὕτως ἔχει.«
 - Χριστιανός· » Ταῦτα τὰ τρία τί ἔστιν, θεὸς ἢ θεοί;«
 - Ἰουδαῖος· » Θεός. «
 - Χριστιανός· » Λοιπὸν, **εἷς θεὸς τὰ τρία καὶ ὁ εἷς τρία**, ἔστιν οὕτως ἢ οὐ;«
 - • Nikolaos of Otranto, Dialogue 1, line 515, f10v; NHoffmann, Der antijüdische Dialog Kata Iudaion des Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto, 2008, p. 20.

Alexander Neckam (1157-1217)

- Alexander Neckam (1157-1217) was an English scholar, teacher, theologian and abbot of Cirencester Abbey from 1213 until his death.[1]
- *The Speculum speculationum* (edited by Rodney M. Thomson, 1988) is Neckam's major surviving contribution to the science of theology. It is unfinished in its current form, but covers a fairly standard range of theological topics derived from Peter Lombard's Sentences and Augustine. Neckam is not regarded as an especially innovative or profound theologian,

The Witness of God is Greater

although he is notable for his early interest in the ideas of St. Anselm of Canterbury. His outlook in the *Speculum*, a work written very late in his life, probably in 1215, and perhaps drawing heavily on his teaching notes from the past decades, combines an interest in the Platonic writings of earlier 12th-century thinkers such as Thierry of Chartres and William of Conches, with an early appreciation of the newly translated writings of Aristotle and Avicenna. Neckam was a firm admirer of Aristotle as an authority in natural science as well as in the logical arts, one of the first Latin thinkers since antiquity to credit this aspect of the Stagirite's output. (Alexander Neckam. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexander_Neckam>)

• In the *Speculum speculationum* Alexander identifies one of his key purposes as combating the Cathar heresy, particularly its belief in dualism. He spends a large part of Book 1 on this, and thereafter passes on to focus on his other key purpose, the application of dialectic logic to the study of theology.[3] (Alexander Neckam. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexander_Neckam>)

• Alexander Nekkam (Nekam) - English Catholic theologian, encyclopedic scholar, poet, regular Augustinian canon. ...Apparently, in Cirencester, Nekkam continued his teaching activities, most of his surviving works are attributed to this time. As part of the English delegation participated in IV Lateran Council in 1215. (Encyclopedia. The World History. <w.histrf.ru/articles/article/show/niekkam_niekkam_alieksandr>.)

HITS:

- [Book 1.25] Indeed, Bede says when expounding the mentioned passage: "**There are three who give testimony** to Christ in heaven, that is in heavenly nature (divinity for sure), namely **'the Father, Word and Holy Spirit, and these three are one,**' because they are of one nature, or rather they are one nature. The Father gave testimony of his [Jesus] divinity when He said: 'this is my beloved Son.' The Son himself gave it, for He revealed his divine power and the hope of eternal blessedness in his transfiguration on the mount. The Holy Spirit gave it when He rested on Him in the form of a dove in his baptism or when He had worked faith in the heart in calling on the Name of Christ." **And there are three who give testimony on earth** (that is in lesser nature), **spirit, water and blood:** the spirit, that is the human soul which the Lord gave up in his passion, water and blood which flowed from the Lord's side. **And there three are one** because they are attestations of one nature. (Alexander Neckam, *Speculum speculationum* [1215 AD]; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, June 2020)
 - **Latin:** Beda quidem, predictum locum exponens, ait: **Tres sunt qui Christo testimonium dant in celo**, id est in celesti natura scilicet in deitate, **Pater videlicet, Verbum et Spiritus Sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt**, quia unius nature sunt, immo et una natura sunt."Pater dedit testimonium deitatis quando dixit: 'Hic est Filius meus dilectus.' Ipse Filius dedit, qui in monte transfiguratus potentiam divinitatis et spem eterne beatitudinis ostendit. Spiritus Sanctus dedit quando super baptizatum in specie columbe requievit, vel quando ad invocationem nominis Christi corda credentium implevit." **Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra** (id est in natura inferiori), **spiritus, aqua et sanguis:** spiritus, id est humana anima quam Dominus emisit in passione, aqua et sanguis que fluxere de latere Domini. **Et hi tres unum sunt** quia unius nature comprobativa sunt. (Alexander Neckam, *Speculum speculationum* [1215 AD], edited by Rodney M. Thomson, Oxford, 1988, p. 73)

Alexander of Ashby (c. 1220)

Alexander of Ashby (Latin: Alexander Essebiensis) was a celebrated English theologian and poet, who flourished about the year 1220. Scarcely anything is known of his history, except that he appears to have been prior to Canons Ashby, in Northamptonshire. Some writers make him a native of Somersetshire; others of Staffordshire; and some have confounded him with Alexander Neckam. He wrote various theological and historical works in prose, particularly a chronicle of England, which are still found scattered in manuscripts. His poetry, in which he sought to imitate Ovid and Ausonius, is much praised by John Bale. Amongst other poems, we may enumerate one in elegiacs, giving a description of all the saints' days throughout the year, with lives of the saints who were celebrated on each and a metrical compendium of Bible History. (Alexander of Ashby. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexander_of_Ashby>)

The Witness of God is Greater

HITS

- Blessed John the Evangelist expressed the mystery of the trinity and unity and of your divinity and humanity more elegantly than anyone else because he drew it more deeply from the fountain of your heart. His testimony is strong, so sufficient to persuade all of them to believe, that no one, having understood it, can have doubt about any article of faith. For who is more to be believed than the virgin man who was chosen by you and singularly loved by you for his virginity, and was then on especially familiar terms with you from the start? **That same man manifestly expressed in his epistle the mystery of the trinity and unity which is in God and which is God, saying: "There are three that bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one."** (1 Jn 5:7) He himself (in the beginning of his gospel to you) shows that there exists another person out of the person of the Father, but the same God as the Father and the Holy Spirit, and to have been from eternity with them, behold, he who earlier showed that you are true God, shows here rather elegantly that you are true man, saying: "In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." (John 1:1) and so forth. (Alexander of Ashby, The Meditations)
 - **Latin:** Beatus autem Iohannes euangelista misterium trinitatis et unitatis, et divinitatis tue et humanitatis, eo ceteris elegantius declaravit quo profundius de fonte pectoris tui hausit. Eius testimonium tam validum, tam sufficiens est ad persuadendum omnibus ut credant, [PAGE 74] ut eo intellecto nemo in aliquo fidei articulo dubitare possit. Cui enim magis credendum est quam illi qui est virgo a te electus, et pro virginitate sua tibi specialius dilectus, et tunc ab inicio familiaris conversatus? **Ipse in epistola sua misterium trinitatis et unitatis que in deo est et deus est manifeste declaravit dicens: "Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in caelo: pater, verbum, et spiritus sanctus; et hii tres unum sunt".** (1 John 5:7) Ipse in principio euangelii sui te esse personam aliam a persona patris, set eundem deum esse cum patre et spiritu sancto, et ab eterno cum eis fuisse et omnia in tempore creasse, elegantissime ostendit dicens: "In principio erat verbum, et verbum erat apud deum, et deus erat verbum", (Jn 1:1) et cetera. (Alexander of Ashby, The Meditations; Mediaeval Studies, vol 52, 1990, p. 72)

William of Auxerre (1140-1230 AD)

• William of Auxerre (1140/50–1231) (Guillaume d'Auxerre; Guillelmus Autissiodorensis; Wilhelm von Auxerre) was a French scholastic theologian and official in the Roman Catholic Church. The teacher by whom William was most influenced was Praepositinus, or Prevostin, of Cremona, Chancellor of the University of Paris from 1206 to 1209. The names of teacher and pupil are mentioned in the same sentence by Thomas Aquinas. (Haec est opinio Praepositini et Autissiodorensis in I Sent., XV, q. 11) He was an Archdeacon of Beauvais before becoming a professor of theology at the university in Paris. In 1231, he was made a member of the commission appointed by Gregory IX to examine Aristotle's writings on the natural sciences and to offer amendments were religiously necessary. Consequently, William was one of the first theologians to be influenced by Aristotle. His Summa Aurea shows a debt still to Peter Lombard, and it advances the ontological argument, but it also shows novelty and an intellectual awareness and insistence on the physical that had not been seen earlier. Summa Aurea influenced John of Treviso. (William of Auxerre. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_of_Auxerre>)

HIT:

- [Book 3.79. First Sunday after Easter] 7. In the letter, they are instructed in the faith: "Everything is born of God overcomes the world, and this is the victory that overcomes the world, even our faith" (1 John 5,4) and others. He showed faith in testimony in heaven and on earth, and conscience. **At the time when he says, "there are three that bear witness in earth, spirit, water and blood." (1 John 5,8) Indeed, the fact that the Lord gave up his spirit with a great cry and that blood and water came**

out of him when he was already dead was a sign of his divinity. “And these three are one”(1 John 5,8), for one thing. Three in heaven in the voice of the Father, the Word in the flesh and the spirit of the dove,”and these three are one”(1 John 5,7). There is no doubt about it. The testimony of conscience follows:”Whoever believes in the Son of God, already has the son of God in himself”(cf. 1 John 5:10), and that her conscience dictates, that”the word is in thy mouth, the word is in thy heart.”(Rom 10,8). (Guillaume d’Auxerre, III,79. Prima dominica post pascha.; Translated by Fischer, Cologne 2007-2013. <guillelmus.uni-koeln.de/tcrit/tcrit_t3c79>.)

- **Latin:** 7. In epistola uero instruimur in fide:”omne, quod natum est ex deo, uincit mundum, et hec est uictoria, que uincit mundum, fides nostra”(1 loh 5,4) et cetera. **Et ostendit fidem per testimonium in celo et in terra et in consciencia. In terra, cum dicit:”tres sunt, qui testimonium perhibent in terra: spiritus, aqua et sanguis”. (1 loh 5,8) Quod enim dominus cum clamore magno emisit spiritum et quod de eo iam mortuo exiuit sanguis et aqua, indicium fuit deitatis.”Et hii tres sunt unum”(1 loh 5,8), quia unum significant. Tres in celo: pater in uoce, uerbum in carne, spiritus in columba,”et hii tres unum sunt”(1 loh 5,7). Non est dubium. De testimonio consciencie sequitur:”qui credit in filium dei, iam filium dei in se habet”(Cf. 1 loh 5,10), et hoc dictat ei consciencia, quia”prope est uerbum in ore tuo, prope est uerbum in corde tuo”(Rom 10,8). (Guillaume d’Auxerre, III,79. Prima dominica post pascha; Fischer, Cologne 2007-2013) <guillelmus.uni-koeln.de/tcrit/tcrit_t3c79>.**

Jacques de Vitry (1160-1240 AD)

- Jacques de Vitry (Jacobus de Vitriaco, c. 1160/70 – 1 May 1240) was a French canon regular who was a noted theologian and chronicler of his era. He was elected bishop of Acre in 1214 and made cardinal in 1229. His *Historia Orientalis* (also known as *Historia Hierosolymitana*) is an important source for the historiography of the Crusades. Aside from the *Historia*, his works include hundreds of sermons, and letters to Pope Honorius III. He also wrote about the immoral life of the students at the University of Paris and the holy life of the Beguines of Liège, in particular his *Life of Marie d’Oignies*, whose advice inspired him to become a canon regular.
- Jacques was born in central France (perhaps Reims) and studied at the University of Paris, becoming a canon regular in 1210 at the Priory of Saint-Nicolas d’Oignies in the Diocese of Liège, a post he maintained until his consecration as bishop in 1216. From 1211 to 1213 he preached the Albigensian Crusade, touring France and Germany with William, the archdeacon of Paris, and recruiting many Crusaders. In 1214 Jacques was elected Bishop of Acre. He received episcopal consecration and arrived at his see in 1216. He was subsequently heavily involved in the Fifth Crusade, participating in the siege of Damietta from 1218 to 1220. In 1219 he began to write the *Historia Hierosolymitana*, a history of the Holy Land from the advent of Islam until the crusades of his own day, but only two parts were completed. He returned to Europe in 1225.
- Between 16 April and 29 July 1229, Pope Gregory IX elevated Jacques to the College of Cardinals and transferred him to the suburbicarian see of Frascati. With the exception of a short legation to Emperor Frederick II in 1232, he spent his last years working in the papal court. He subscribed to the papal bulls between 29 July 1229 and 23 June 1239. He died in Rome as Dean of the Sacred College of Cardinals. His remains were transferred to Oignies and buried there in 1241. From a document issued by Pope Gregory on 14 May 1240 it appears that de Vitry, shortly before his death, had been elected as the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, but this election was either not ratified by the Pope or he rejected it himself.
- Jacques de Vitry. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jacques_de_Vitry>.

• [Lipton] Jacques de Vitry (b. ca. 1160, d. 1240) was one of the most famous preachers of the high Middle Ages. He was born in northern France, studied at the University of Paris, and in 1210 became a canon regular in the diocese of Liège. For the next several years he traveled around northern France preaching against the Cathar heresy and in favor of the Albigensian crusade, and became renowned for his eloquence and persuasiveness. In 1214, on the strength of his reputation, Jacques was elected bishop of Acre, in the Latin

The Witness of God is Greater

Kingdom of Jerusalem. In 1229, after having participated in the ill-fated Fifth Crusade and absented himself from Acre for several years to preach against heretics in Liège, he resigned his see and was appointed cardinal bishop of Tusculum. (Lipton, "Introduction" in "Jacques de Vitry 'Sermons for Sundays and Festivals'", 2016, p. 1)

HITS:

- [Sermon : On the same Sunday, theme taken from the Epistle of John] This is the victory over the world especially, by the faith in the mediator & our redeemer, in whom we believe to be true God and man. Now of his divinity, we have certain testimony by the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. **In fact, "there are three that testify in heaven: Father, Word, and Holy Spirit, and these three are one." (I John 5)** And thus they cannot disagree. Truly, the Father gave testimony of the divinity of Christ, a voice coming down, as such from magnificent glory: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear him." (Matt 17:5) The Son himself gave testimony of his divinity, because he said: "I and the Father are one." (John 10:30) And again: "I am the beginning, who is even [now] talking to you." (cf John 9:37) However, not in word only, but they gave testimony by works of majesty and divinity of Christ, in the transfiguration, and in the miraculous work of the resurrection, and ascending to the right hand of the Father. Moreover, the Holy Spirit, who himself had spoken, by the Prophets of Christ's divinity. Hence, by Isaiah, he said: "And His name shall be called Wonderful, Mighty God." (Jacques de Vitry, "On the same Sunday, theme taken from the Epistle of John" Sermones in epistolas et evangelia dominicalia totius anni..., 1575, p. 411)
 - **Latin:** Hæc autem mundi victoria specialiter habetur, per fidem mediatoris & redemptoris nostri, qua credimus ipsum esse verum Deum & hominem. De divinitate autem eius certum habemus testimonium per patrem & filium, & spiritum sanctum. **"Tres, enim sunt qui testimonium dant in cælo: Pater, verbum, & spiritus sanctus, & hi tres unum sunt." (I John 5)** Et ita dissentire possunt. Pater enim perhibuit testimonium divinitatis, voce delapsa, huiusmodi à magnifica gloria: "Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi complacuit, ipsum audite." (Matt 17:5) Ipse filius perhibuit testimonium divinitatis suae, cum ait: "Ego & pater unum sumus." (John 10:30) Et iterum: "Ego principium, qui & loquor vobis." (cf John 9:37) Non solum autem verbo, sed opere testimonium maiestatis, & divinitatis Christo perhibuit, in transfiguratione, in miraculorum operatione in resurrectione, & ad patris dexteram ascensione. Spiritus etiam sanctus, qui de ipso locutus est, per Prophetas testimonium perhibuit de ipsius divinitate. Unde per Isaiam ait: "Vocabitur nomen eius Admirabilis, Deus fortis." (Isaiah 9:6) (Jacques de Vitry, "Eadem Dominica Thema sumptum de Epistola Ioannis" in Sermones in epistolas et evangelia dominicalia totius anni..., 1575, p. 411)
- [Sermon : On the same Sunday, theme taken from the Epistle of John] "If any man minister to me, him will my Father honor who is in heaven." (cf. John 12:26) Not only the witnesses of His divinity, but beyond this there are witnesses of the humanity of Christ. **In fact, "There are three that witness in earth, the Spirit, the water and the blood." (I John 5)** The spirit here is the human soul that he gave up in the Passion. The water and blood are those that flowed from his side, and also the blood he bled during the Passion, as well as the blood he bled by sweating. All these things could not have happened if he did not have real flesh. (Jacques de Vitry, "On the same Sunday, theme taken from the Epistle of John" in Sermones in epistolas et evangelia dominicalia totius anni..., 1575, p. 412)
 - **Latin:** "Si quis mihi ministraverit, honorificabit eum pater meus qui est in coelis." (cf. John 12:26) Non solum autem testes divinitatis suae, sed insuper humanitatis habet Christus. **"Tres, enim sunt qui testimonium dant in terra: spiritus, aqua, & sanguis." (I John 5)** Spiritus, id est, humana anima, quam emisit in passione. Aqua & sanguis quae fluxerunt de latere, & insuper sanguis, quem emisit per passionem, & etiam sanguis, quem emisit per sudorem. Quae omnia fieri non possent, si non haberet veram carnem. (Jacques de Vitry, "Eadem Dominica Thema sumptum de Epistola Ioannis" in Sermones in epistolas et evangelia dominicalia totius anni..., 1575, p. 412)

The Witness of God is Greater

John Halgren of Abbeville (d. 1237)

• John Halgren of Abbeville (d. 1237) was a French scholastic philosopher and writer of sermons, papal legate and Cardinal. In theology he was a follower of Peter the Chanter and Stephen Langton.[2] After studying with Hugolino of Ostia at the University of Paris, he became dean of the chapter at Amiens in 1218;[3] later he was archbishop of Besançon. He became Cardinal Bishop of Sabina in 1227.[4] He visited Portugal and the extant kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula as papal legate between 1227 and 1229, possibly 30 (H. Fernandes, 2006, pp. 168–169). He may have become dean of the Sacred College in January 1230, as the most senior Cardinal-Bishop after the death of Pelagio Galvani. (John Halgren of Abbeville. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Halgren_of_Abbeville>)

HITS:

- [Sermon 1 John 5:6-9] This is he, the eternal God, that came in visible flesh, purifying us by the water of baptism and redeeming us by the blood of the Passion. Not by water only, but by water and blood: for it is not enough for us to be cleansed by Christ unless heaven's door is opened by the Passion of Christ and we are let into heaven. Then, lest anyone should doubt the divinity or the humanity of Christ, he adds: and it is the Spirit, i.e. the Holy Spirit which was seen by him at his baptism in the shape of a dove, which testifieth that Christ is the truth, true God and true man; **for there are three in heaven that give testimony to Christ's divinity: the Father, the Word and the Holy Spirit**. The Father gave testimony to Christ's divinity when he said "This is my beloved Son". The Son himself gave testimony to it when he was transfigured on the mount and showed the power of divinity and the image of eternal bliss. The Holy Spirit gave testimony when it rested upon him in the shape of a dove after his baptism, and when it filled the hearts of believers toward the invocation of the name of Christ. There follows: **and three on earth that give testimony: the spirit, the water and the blood**. The spirit here is the human soul that he yielded up in the Passion. The water and blood are those that flowed from his side, which could not have happened if he did not have the true nature of Christ [my correction: of flesh].¹ Before the Passion, too, his sweat becoming like drops of blood showed the realness of his flesh. The fact that water and blood, against nature, flowed livingly from his side when he was already dead, testified that the Lord's body would live better after death and that his death would give us life. The fact that his sweat flowed onto the earth like blood testified that he would wash the Church worldwide with his blood. Since we have these sure testimonies, we must receive them, because we are given proof with a lesser example

Latin:

f38r.line 001 hic est eternus deus. qui cum uenit in carne uisibili per aquam baptismi nos pu

f38r.line 002 rificans & per sanguinem passionis nos redimens. non in aqua solum. sed in aqua & sanguine

f38r.line 003 Non enim sufficit nobis abluere per christum nisi aperta celi ianua per passionem christi introducemur

f38r.line 004 in celum. Ne quis autem de deitate uel humanitate christi dubitet subdit. & spiritus est. scilicet

f38r.line 005 spiritus sanctus qui per ipsum in baptismo uisus est in specie columbe. qui testificatur quoniam christus est ue

f38r.line 006 ritas uerus deus & uerus homo. **quia iii. sunt in celo qui testimonium dant. deitatis christi**

f38r.line 007 **pater uerbum & spiritus sanctus**. pater dedit testimonium deitatis. qui dixit hic est filius meus dilectus

f38r.line 008 ipse filius dedit quando in monte transfiguratus est potentiam deitatis & speciem eterne beati

f38r.line 009 tudinis ostendit. spiritus sanctus dedit qui super baptizatum in specie columbe requi

f38r.line 010 euit. uel quando ad inuocationem nominis christi corda credentium impleuit. sequitur & **iii.**

The Witness of God is Greater

f38r.line 011 **in terra qui testimonium dant. spiritus. aqua & sanguis. spiritus.** spiritus id est humana anima quam
f38r.line 012 emisit in passione. aqua & sanguis que fluxerunt de latere quod fieri non posset
f38r.line 013 si ueram christi [my correction: carnis]1 naturam non haberet sed & ante passionem sudor factus sicut gutte sanguinis
f38r.line 014 ostendit ueritatem carnis hoc autem quod de latere iam mortui contra naturam aqua & sanguis
f38r.line 015 uiuaciter fluxit testabatur quod corpus dominicum post mortem melius esset uicturum &
f38r.line 016 mors eius uitam nobis daret quod uero sudor sicut sanguis in terram fluebat. quod suo sanguine
f38r.line 017 ecclesiam toto orbe lauaret & quoniam ista habemus testimonia certa ideo ea debemus
f38r.line 018 accipere quod probatur a minori
• *Sermones de Tempore.* <diyhistory.lib.uiowa.edu/transcribe/4474/138285>

Comment:

• Description: *Sermones de Tempore.* Postillae, or commentaries on the Gospels of the Church year. Manuscript on vellum, 77 leaves, 296 x 222 mm. Twelve gatherings of eight folios, except gathering seven with three folios, and gathering twelve with six folios; twelve folios missing from the manuscript. Pricking marks present. Usually 51 lines per page. Composed ca. 1200--1225 (?). **John of Abbeville was Archbishop of Besancon and Cardinal of Saint Sabine**, and served as a legate to Pope Gregory IX. On the rear paste-down is a manuscript questione, or theological problem, dated MCCII [?], involving the Dominican brothers Thomas de Aquino, Bartholomeo, Brandoma, and Gilberto.
<digital.lib.uiowa.edu/islandora/object/ui:mmc_1621>

Liber contra Lombardum (1200-1250 AD)

• [Liber contra Lombardum] In this magnificent volume, M. Ottaviano published for the first time the *Liber contra Lombardum* that is an Oxford manuscript (the famous abbot of Flore). A preface puts it back in its historical context. The publisher gives a quick overview of the political and social situation in middle-aged Italy and signals the main currents of thought religious who, at the time, stirred the spirits. Along the way, he puts highlighted the important role played by the abbot of Flore - called commonly "the prophet" - both by his activity and by his doctrine. The famous theory of the three ages, with its ins and outs, is exposed with all the more care that M. Ottaviano sees in it, the main source of Joachim's tritheism. ...The *Liber* is preserved in the manuscript 296 of Balliol College in Oxford, which scholars refer back to the beginning of the 14th century (between 1300 and 1320). Unfortunately it is incomplete: it is missing three pages that contained exactly the end of our treatise. Who is the author of the *Liber*? **Although the manuscript attributes it to Joachim, the latter can not be taken into account. Indeed, the abbot de Flore died in 1202. Now the pamphlet begins with a quote from decretales, published on September 5, 1234.** If the author of *Liber* is unknown, we can at least take for granted that he is a disciple of Joachim. Who closely follows the lost work of his master, the *Liber contra Lombardum* condemned by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. **In these circumstances, the importance of an anonymous booklet. Without a doubt, it counts among the most precious for the history of philosophical-theological thought in general, of the tritheist current in particular, in the first, half of the Thirteenth century.** A simple reading of the *Liber* shows in particular that the Trinitarian doctrine of the Lombard, which later became the teaching Church, had to wait for St. Thomas, that is to say more than one century, to achieve its final triumph. (Gross, *Review of Joachim abbatis Liber contra Lombardum* edited by Carmelo Ottaviano In: *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, tome 14, fascicule 4, 1934. p. 608.)

The Witness of God is Greater

HIT:

- John also [says] in his canonical epistle: **"For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost"** (1 John 5:7)
 - **Latin:** Iohannes quoque in epistula canonica: **"Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in celo, pater verbum et spiritus sanctus"** (1 John 5:7) (Ottaviano (ed.), Joachimi abbatis Liber contra Lombardum, 1934, p. 246-247)

Nikephoros Blemmydes (1197-1272 AD)

Nikephoros Blemmydes (Latinized as Nicephorus Blemmydes; Greek: Νικηφόρος Βλεμμύδης) was a 13th-century Byzantine author. Blemmydes was born in 1197 in Constantinople as the second child of a physician. After the conquest of Constantinople by the forces of the Fourth Crusade in 1204, he migrated to Asia Minor. There, he received a liberal education in Prusa, Nicaea, Smyrna and Scamander. Blemmydes studied medicine, philosophy, theology, mathematics, astronomy, logic, and rhetoric. When he finally acquired a career as a cleric, he took an active part in the theological controversies between the Eastern Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church, writing treatises on the Procession of the Holy Spirit, advocating the western usage. He was the tutor of the learned Theodore II Laskaris of the Nicaean Empire, and a great collector of classical texts. William of Rubruck reports that his benefactor John III Doukas Vatatzes owned a copy of the missing books from Ovid's *Fasti*.^[1] Blemmydes also founded a school where he taught students such as Prince Theodore II Laskaris and George Akropolites. In his later years, Blemmydes became a monk and retired to a monastery he himself built in Ephesus. He died in 1272. (Nikephoros Blemmydes. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nikephoros_Blemmydes>)

HITS:

- **[Speech 2.14]** If the Spirit does not proceed from the Father through the Logos, the Father would be the mediator, bringing forth the Logos and the Spirit in parallel. For he is also acknowledged to be the source; and if the Logos and the Spirit are from that source which is the Father, and the one does not come forth through the other, a distinction in the Godhead is introduced - and far be it from us to say that Logos and Spirit are logically opposed! **For how can the Three be one?** (i.e., Trinity be a unity), how could it be uncircumscribed, if this is not also true? How could the Spirit be with the Son, and the Son with the Father, according to the same Theologian [i.e., Gregory of Nazianzus]? Everything that the Father is belongs to the Son, except for being ungenerated; and everything that the Son is belongs to the Spirit, except for being begotten. And it is not appropriate for the Son ever to be lacking to the Father, if he is missing from the Father's role as active cause and source. (Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Of the Procession of the Holy Spirit, Speech 2.14*; Translated by Brian Daley, SJ, correspondence, August 2020)
 - **Greek:** Μὴ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ Λόγου παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευομένου τοῦ Πνεύματος, μέσος ἂν εἴη ὁ Πατήρ, παρ' ἑκάτερα φέρων Λόγον καὶ Πνεῦμα. Ὁμολόγηται δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀρχή, καὶ εἴπερ ὡς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς Λόγος καὶ Πνεῦμα, μὴ διὰ θατέρου θάτερον, διαίρεσις εἰσάγεται τῆς θεότητος. Ἀπειὴ δὲ καὶ τὸ, ἀντιδιηρημένα εἶναι Λόγον καὶ Πνεῦμα. **Πῶς γὰρ ἓν ἡ Τριάς;** εἰ μὴ τοῦτο δὲ, πῶς ἀπεριγραπτός; τίνα δὲ τρόπον μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα, καθάπερ ὁ υἱὸς μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν θεόλογον· πάντα ὅσα ὁ πατήρ τοῦ υἱοῦ, πλὴν ἀγεννησίας· πάντα ὅσα ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ πνεύματος, πλὴν γεννήσεως· καὶ οὐκ ἔπρεπεν ἐλλείπειν ποτὲ ἢ υἱὸν πατρὶ τῆς πρακτικῆς αἰτίας καὶ ἀρχῆς ἀπολείπεται. (Nikephoros Blemmydes, *De Processione S. Spiritus Oratio II. 14*; Migne Graeca, PG 142.581; Laemmer, vol 1, 1864, p. 183)

Comment:

• [Daley] Nikephorus here is backing the notion that the Holy Spirit proceeds "from the Father, through the Son," which we find also in some of the Greek Fathers (Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Alexandria) and which is echoed by some members at the Council of Florence. The Greek tradition wanted, above all, to stress that the Father is the ultimate origin of the whole Trinity and of all that is, but that the Son is certainly involved in the

The Witness of God is Greater

coming-forth of the Spirit. This keeps the emphasis on the unity and relatedness of the three persons, while seeing the Father as the ultimate source of all things. Many Greek theologians could (and can) accept this approach. (Brian Daley, correspondence, August 2020)

Bonaventure (1217/1218-1274)

- Bonaventure, OFM (/ˈbɒnəvɛntʃər, ˌbɒnəˈvɛn-/ BON-ə-ven-chər, -VEN-; Italian: Bonaventura [ˌbɔnavɛnˈtuːra]; 1221 – 15 July 1274),^[4] born Giovanni di Fidanza, was an Italian medieval Franciscan, scholastic theologian and philosopher. The seventh Minister General of the Order of Friars Minor, he was also Cardinal Bishop of Albano. He was canonised on 14 April 1482 by Pope Sixtus IV and declared a Doctor of the Church in the year 1588 by Pope Sixtus V. He is known as the "Seraphic Doctor" (Latin: Doctor Seraphicus).
- He was born at Bagnoregio in Umbria, not far from Viterbo, then part of the Papal States. Almost nothing is known of his childhood, other than the names of his parents, Giovanni di Fidanza and Maria di Ritella.^{[5][6]} Bonaventure appears to have had something of a near-death experience as a child, since he reports that in his youth he was saved from an untimely death by the prayers of Francis of Assisi, which is the primary motivation for Bonaventure's writing the *vita*.^[7] He entered the Franciscan Order in 1243 and studied at the University of Paris, possibly under Alexander of Hales, and certainly under Alexander's successor, John of Rochelle.^[8] In 1253 he held the Franciscan chair at Paris. A dispute between seculars and mendicants delayed his reception as Master until 1257, where his degree was taken in company with Thomas Aquinas.^[9] Three years earlier his fame had earned him the position of lecturer on *The Four Books of Sentences*—a book of theology written by Peter Lombard in the twelfth century—and in 1255 he received the degree of master, the medieval equivalent of doctor.^[8]
- After having successfully defended his order against the reproaches of the anti-mendicant party, he was elected Minister General of the Franciscan Order. On 24 November 1265, he was selected for the post of Archbishop of York; however, he was never consecrated and resigned the appointment in October 1266.^[10] Bonaventure was instrumental in procuring the election of Pope Gregory X, who rewarded him with the title of Cardinal Bishop of Albano, and insisted on his presence at the great Second Council of Lyon in 1274.^[8] There, after his significant contributions led to a union of the Greek and Latin churches. He steered the Franciscans on a moderate and intellectual course that made them the most prominent order in the Catholic Church until the coming of the Jesuits. His theology was marked by an attempt completely to integrate faith and reason. He thought of Christ as the "one true master" who offers humans knowledge that begins in faith, is developed through rational understanding, and is perfected by mystical union with God.^[13]
- Bonaventure died suddenly and in suspicious circumstances.
- Bonaventure. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bonaventure>
- The *Collationes in Hexaemeron* (Talks on the Six Days [of Creation]) are an unfinished series of talks given by St. Bonaventure in Paris between Easter and Pentecost 1273. ^{[1][2]} These lectures were given in 1273 AD (between Easter - April 9 - and Pentecost - May 28 - in Paris) before an audience of nearly 160 listeners, consisting of a few masters and young monks. The Reportator (gives a brief introduction on the circumstances of the presentation, and the creation of his text), he does not mention his own name and cites Bonaventura only as the "lord and master of this work" ("dominus et magister huius operis") and indicates that his transcript is "from the mouth of the speaker" ("ab ore loquentis"). The copy of his own transcript was corrected, however, counter-checked by other listeners and Bonaventure. Only recently two more manuscripts were rediscovered, which are not yet considered by this critical issue: a manuscript of the late 15th century, 1984 discovered by JG Bougerol in Tours (Sigle T Bibliothèque municipale de Tours, 409), and possibly the oldest of all surviving manuscripts, the so-called Assisi manuscript. (*Collationes in Hexaemeron*. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Collationes_in_Hexaemeron>)

• [Kenan] The *Collationes in Hexaëmeron* (*Lectures on the Hexaemeron*), Bonaventure's last theological writing. The *Collationes* were lectures delivered in Paris between April 9 and May 28, 1273. In a detailed way, lectures ix, x, and xi discuss the Trinity, although trinitarian overtures pervade the entire work. Bougerol states: "When, in 1273, at the height of the doctrinal dispute (between seculars and Medicants), Bonaventure gave his famous lectures on the *Hexaëmeron*, the

The Witness of God is Greater

whole university attended.”(Kenan B. Osborne, The Trinity in Bonaventure, in The Cambridge companion to the Trinity, 2011, p. 109-110)

HITS:

- **[Eighth Collation : 7]** Hence, there is a twofold dimension to the firmament: one concerned with the highest, the other with the lowest; one which makes known the eternal God, the other which reveals God made man. Of these two aspects, Isaiah says, in chapter six, in a vision which was the root of all his other visions: I saw the Lord seated on a high and lofty throne, with the train of his garment filling the temple. Seraphim were stationed above; each of them had six wings: with two they veiled their faces, with two they veiled their feet, with two they hovered aloft.”Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts!”they cried one to the other.”All the earth is filled with His glory.”And immediately there follows upon this the blinding of the Jews and the enlightenment of the Gentiles. Hence, John says: When he saw the Lord, Isaiah said again:”He has blinded their eyes, and hardened their hearts.”Hence the enlightenment of the Gentiles became the blinding of the Jews. And it is in reference to this that the Apostle cries out: Oh, the depth of the riches, etc. (Bonaventure, Collations on the Six Days. IX. Eighth Collation. 7; Translated <john114.org/Docs/SB_HEX.htm>)
- **[Eighth Collation : 8]** Wherefore Isaiah says I saw, that is, through the vision of understanding lifted up by faith and stabilized in the height of eternal wisdom, in which there is a twofold light, inflaming and seraphic. Because it is seraphic, it gives rise to the threefold cry; and faith makes the soul seraphic in a double way, and makes the minds winged with six wings. (Bonaventure, Collations on the Six Days. IX. Eighth Collation. 8; Translated <john114.org/Docs/SB_HEX.htm>)
- **[Eighth Collation : 9]** For indeed, our intellect enlightened by faith cries out three times: Holy, holy, holy. And there are two Seraphim established in us through faith, and each one makes the triple exclamation, but refers only once to the Lord God. For the understanding of God is the understanding of three Persons with unity of essence. Wherefore **there are three that bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit; and these three are one.** And so the intellect is made to resemble a Seraph, that is, it is enlightened and inflamed through faith, and cries out Holy three times. The other Seraph answers Holy, holy, holy, for as in the eternal God there are trinity of Persons and oneness of essence, so also in God made man there are trinity of natures: and unity of Person. =|3|= And these are the two roots of faith, and a man who ignores them believes nothing: they refer to the body, the soul and the divinity. The holy Christ has a holy body, the holy Christ has a holy soul, the holy Christ has a holy divinity. He is holy without, holy within, and holy above. (Bonaventure, Collations on the Six Days. IX. Eighth Collation. 9; Translated <john114.org/Docs/SB_HEX.htm>)
- **[Eighth Collation : 11]** It is in these three aspects that all admirable things are rooted: and in them taken together does the knowledge of God's divinity and humanity consist, for the incarnation cannot be known unless one is aware of the distinction of Persons. For if you do not know the Trinity, the Father could have been incarnated and have suffered as well as the Son: and this is Sabellianism and Patripassianism. Likewise, if you suppose the Trinity and not the incarnation, you have a witnessing in heaven, but you do not receive it on earth. Yet, since **there are three that bear witness on earth: the Spirit and the water and the blood.** The spirit refers to the Godhead, the water to the body, and the blood, wherein is the life of the soul, to the soul. Through blood, indeed, Christ united the Spirit with the water, for by means of the soul, the Godhead was joined to a body. (Bonaventure, Collations on the Six Days. IX. Eighth Collation. 11; Translated <john114.org/Docs/SB_HEX.htm>)
 - **Latin:** 7. Est ergo duplex altitudo firmamenti: una, per quam suprema respicit; altera, per quam infima; una, per quam docet cognoscere Deum aeternum; altera, Deum incarnatum. De his duobus dicitur Isaiæ sexto in visione, quae omnium suarum visionum fuit radix: Vidi Dominum sedentem etc., usque ibi: Plena est omnis terra gloria eius =|21|= Et statim sequitur excaecatio Iudaeorum et illuminatio gentium. Unde dicit Ioannes: Haec dixit Isaias, quando vidit Dominum =|28|= ; et sequitur: Excaeca cor populi huius et aures eius aggravata =|29|= . Unde illuminatio gentium fuit excaecatio Iudaeorum. Et de hoc exclamat Apostolus: O altitudo divitiarum =|30|= etc. (Bonaventure, In Hexaëmeron Collatio VIII; Opera Omnia, 1882, vol 5, p. 370)

The Witness of God is Greater

- **Latin:** 8. Dicit ergo Isaias: Vidi* =|1|=, scilicet visione intelligentiae per fidem sublevatae et stabilitae in sublimitate sapientiae aeternae, per quam est duplex lumen inflammativum et seraphicum; quod quidem seraphicum facit clamare tripliciter; et facit fides duplici seraphicatione animam seraphim et facit mentes alatas senis alis. (Bonaventure, In Hexaëmeron Collatio VIII; Opera Omina, 1882, vol 5, p. 370)
- **Latin:** 9. Intellectus enim noster per fidem illuminatus clamat tripliciter: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus =|32|= . Sunt enim duo Seraphim stabiliti in nobis per fidem, et quilibet clamat triplici exclamatione, tamen non nisi semel Dominus Deus =|00|= . Notitia enim Dei est notitia trium personarum cum unitate essentiae; unde **tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in caelo, Pater, Verbum et Spiritus sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt** =|34|= . Intellectus ergo seraphicatus, id est illuminatus et inflammat per fidem, clamat\$ter sanctus. Alter Seraph respondet: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus: quia sicut in Deo aeterno est trinitas personarum cum unitate essentiae, ita etiam in Deo humanato sunt tres naturae cum unitate personae. Et isti sunt duae radices fidei, quas qui ignorat nihil credit: ut corpus, anima, Divinitas. Sanctus Christus sanctum habet corpus; sanctus Christus sanctam habet animam; sanctus Christus sanctam habet Divinitatem. Sanctus exterius, sanctus interius, sanctus superius. (Bonaventure, In Hexaëmeron Collatio VIII; Opera Omina, 1882, vol 5, p. 370)
- **Latin:** 11. In his tribus omnia mirabilia radicantur; et sunt iuncta cognitio Divinitatis et humanitatis, quia incarnatio non cognoscitur, nisi cognoscatur distinctio personarum. Si enim non cognoscas Trinitatem, ita bene Pater incarnatus est vel passus ut Filius; et es Sabelliana et Patripassianus. -- Item, si ponas Trinitatem et non incarnationem, testimonium habes in caelo, et non accipis in terra; cum tamen tres sint, **qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua et sanguis** =|36|= . In spiritu Divinitas, in aqua corpus, in sanguine, ubi est vita animae =|37|=, anima. Per sanguinem enim Christi spiritus aquae iungitur, quia mediante anima Divinitas coniungitur corpori. (Bonaventure, In Hexaëmeron Collatio VIII; Opera Omina, 1882, vol 5, p. 371)

Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274 AD)

- Thomas Aquinas (/ə'kwæznəs/; Italian: Tommaso d'Aquino, lit. 'Thomas of Aquino'; 1225 – 7 March 1274) was an Italian[10][11] Dominican friar, philosopher, Catholic priest, and Doctor of the Church. An immensely influential philosopher, theologian, and jurist in the tradition of scholasticism, he is also known within the latter as the Doctor Angelicus and the Doctor Communis.[12] The name Aquinas identifies his ancestral origins in the county of Aquino in present-day Lazio, Italy. He was the foremost classical proponent of natural theology and the father of Thomism; of which he argued that reason is found in God. His influence on Western thought is considerable, and much of modern philosophy developed or opposed his ideas, particularly in the areas of ethics, natural law, metaphysics, and political theory.
- Unlike many currents in the Church of the time,[13] Thomas embraced several ideas put forward by Aristotle—whom he called "the Philosopher"—and attempted to synthesize Aristotelian philosophy with the principles of Christianity.[14]
- His best-known works are the Disputed Questions on Truth (1256–1259), the Summa contra Gentiles (1259–1265), and the unfinished but massively influential Summa Theologica a.k.a. Summa Theologiae (1265–1274). His commentaries on Scripture and on Aristotle also form an important part of his body of work. Furthermore, Thomas is distinguished for his eucharistic hymns, which form a part of the Church's liturgy.[15] The Catholic Church honors Thomas Aquinas as a saint and regards him as the model teacher for those studying for the priesthood, and indeed the highest expression of both natural reason and speculative theology. In modern times, under papal directives, the study of his works was long used as a core of the required program of study for those seeking ordination as priests or deacons, as well as for those in religious formation and for other students of the sacred disciplines (philosophy, Catholic theology, church history, liturgy, and canon law).[16]
- Thomas Aquinas is considered one of the Catholic Church's greatest theologians and philosophers. Pope Benedict XV declared: "This (Dominican) Order ... acquired new luster when the Church declared the teaching of Thomas to be her own and that Doctor, honored with the special praises of the Pontiffs, the master and patron of Catholic schools." [17] The English philosopher Anthony Kenny considers Thomas to be "one of the dozen greatest philosophers of the western world". [18]

The Witness of God is Greater

• Thomas Aquinas. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Aquinas>

HITS:

- [Sermon]”**There are three that bear witness in earth, the spirit, the water and the blood.**”(1 John 5:8) It is necessary that we should believe Christ to be the true God and true Man, and He therefore wished to furnish us with many testimonies that He was God and Man. We have both—i.e., **the testimony of His Divinity, as above,”There are three that bear record in Heaven.”Of the testimony of His humanity He says here,”There are three that bear witness on earth.**”The heavenly witnesses which Christ had to His Divinity are twelve—(1) The Father, (2) the Son, (3) the Holy Ghost, (4) the working of miracles, (5) the saints, (6) the angels, (7) the heavens, (8) the air, (9) the water, (10) the earth, (11) Hades, (12) the fire. The earthly witnesses which S. John gives here to His humanity, in which chiefly His love to us appears, are three—first, the effusion of blood; secondly, the emanation of water; thirdly, the emission of the spirit. Of the first two: S. John 19:34,”Forthwith came there out blood and water.”Of the third: S. Matt. 27:50,”Jesus, when He had cried again with a loud voice, yielded up the ghost.”(Thomas Aquinas, Homily III. The Three Witnesses of Christ, First Sunday After Easter. From the Epistle of John, chapter five verse 8; Translated by J.M. Ashley, second edition, 1867, p. 26)
 - **Latin: Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, sanguis et aqua.** I. Joan. 5, 8. Necesse est quod credamus Christum Deum verum et verum hominem: et ideo voluit Christus multis testimoniis probare, quod esset Deus et homo : utruinque habemus hic. **Seilicet de testimonio Divinitatis ejus dicit supra : Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo. De testimonio humanitatis dicit hic: Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra.** Circa primum notandum, quod duodecim te-stimonia habuit Christus quod esset verus Deus. Primo testificatus est Pater, secundo Filius, tertio Spiritus sanctus, quarto miraculorum operatio, quinto Sancti, sexto Angeli, septimo coelum, octavo aer, nono aqua, decimo tena, undecimo infernus, duodeeimo ignis. Quaere omnia in Dominica infra octav. Ascensionis. Circa secundum notandum, quod triplex te-stimonium ponit hic beatus Joannes de humanitate ejus, iu quibus maxime apparuit caritas ejus ad nos. Primum fuit sanguinis effusio, secundum aquae emanatio, tertitum spiritus emissio. De primis duobus, Joan. 20, 34: Et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua. De tertio, Matth. 27, 50: Et inclinato capite etnisit spiritunt etc. In sanguinis effusione quinque bona nobis fecit. (Thomas Aquinas, Sermo LXII. De Dominica in octava Paschae ex Epistola in Divi Thomae Aquinatis Doctoris Angelici Sermons Pro Dominicis Diebus et Pro Sanctorum Solemnnitatibus, ed. H. Hurter, 1874, p. 132-133)
- [Gospel of John, Prologue, Lecture 2] 74 Secondly, we must avoid the error of Origen. He said that the Holy Spirit was included among all the things made through the Word; from which it follows that he is a creature. And this is what Origen thought. This is heretical and blasphemous, since the Holy Spirit has the same glory and substance and dignity as the Father and the Son, according to the words of Matthew (28:19),”Make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.”And,”**There are three who give testimony’ in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit; and these three are one**”(I Jn 5:7). (Thomas Aquinas, Commentary on the Gospel of John, Lecture 2. <isidore.co/aquinas/John1.htm>)
 - **Latin:** 74 Secundo vitandus est error Origenis, qui dicit spiritum sanctum, inter omnia, factum esse per verbum, ex quo sequitur ipsum esse creaturam: et hoc posuit Origenes. Hoc autem est haereticum et blasphemum, cum spiritus sanctus eiusdem sit gloriae et substantiae et dignitatis cum patre et filio, iuxta illud Matth. 28, 19: docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti; et iuxta illud I Jo. V, 7: **tres sunt qui testimonium dant in caelo, pater, verbum et spiritus sanctus: et hi tres unum sunt.** (Thomas Aquinas, Commentary on the Gospel of John, Lecture 2. <isidore.co/aquinas/John1.htm>)
- [Against the Gentiles. On the Holy Spirit : 1] Now, divine Scriptures’ authority not only tells us about the Father and the Son in divinity, but together with these two also numbers the Holy Spirit. For our Lord says:”Going, therefore, teach ye all nations: baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy

The Witness of God is Greater

Spirit" (Mat. 28:19). And 1 John (5:7) says: "**there are three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost.**" Sometimes, also, the procession of this Holy Spirit is mentioned by Scripture. We read in John (15:26): "When the Paraclete comes, whom I will send you from the Father, the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father, He shall give testimony of Me." (Thomas Aquinas, *Against the Gentiles*, Book 4, chapter 15; Translated by Charles J. O'Neil. <isidore.co/aquinas/ContraGentiles4.htm>)

- **Latin:** Divinae autem Scripturae auctoritas non solum nobis in divinis patrem et filium annuntiat, sed his duobus spiritum sanctum connumerat. Dicit enim dominus, Matthaei ult.: euntes docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti; et I Ioannis 5-7: **tres sunt qui testimonium dant in caelo, pater, verbum et spiritus sanctus.** Huius etiam spiritus sancti processionem quandam sacra Scriptura commemorat. Dicit enim Ioannis 15-26: cum venerit Paraclitus, quem ego mittam vobis a patre, spiritum veritatis, qui a patre procedit, ille testimonium perhibebit de me. (Thomas Aquinas, *Contra Gentiles*, Book 4, chapter 15. <isidore.co/aquinas/ContraGentiles4.htm>)
- [Against the errors of the Greeks : 12] How the Holy Spirit is to be understood to be the word of the Son. For as Augustine says in the book on the Trinity, "only the Son is the Word". This is why John also names the Son as Word. For at the beginning of his Gospel he says: "In the beginning was the Word" (Jn 1:1). John also states also in his first Epistle (5:7): "**There are three who give testimony in heaven: the Father, the Word and the Holy Spirit.**" (Thomas Aquinas, *Against the errors of the Greeks*, Chapter 12; Translated by P.D. Fehlner. <isidore.co/aquinas/ContraErrGraecorum.htm>)
 - **Latin:** ut Augustinus dicit in Lib. de Trinitate, solus filius est. Unde et Ioannes nomen verbi pro nomine filii ponit, tam in principio Evangelii sui cum dicit: in principio erat verbum; quam etiam in sua canonica ubi dicit: **tres sunt qui testimonium dant in caelo: pater, verbum et spiritus sanctus.** (Thomas Aquinas, *Contra errores Graecorum*, chapter 12. <isidore.co/aquinas/ContraErrGraecorum.htm>)

Guillaume Durand (1230-1296 AD)

• Guillaume Durand, or William Durand (c. 1230 – November 1, 1296), also known as Durandus, Duranti or Durantis, from the Italian form of Durandi filius, as he sometimes signed himself, was a French canonist and liturgical writer, and Bishop of Mende. Durand was born at Puimisson, near Béziers, of a noble family of Languedoc. He studied law at Bologna, with Bernard of Botone, and by about 1264 was teaching canon law with success at Modena. Pope Clement IV, another Frenchman, called him to the pontifical court as a chaplain and auditor of the palace, and in 1274 he accompanied Clement's successor, Pope Gregory X, to the Second Council of Lyons, the constitutions of which he helped draw up. As spiritual and temporal legate of the patrimony of St. Peter, he received in 1278, in the pope's name, the homage of Bologna and the other cities of Romagna. Pope Martin IV made him vicar spiritual in 1281, then governor of Romagna and of the March of Ancona (1283). In the midst of the struggles between Guelfs and Ghibellines, Durand successfully defended the papal territories, both by diplomacy and by arms. Pope Honorius IV retained him in his offices, and although elected bishop of Mende in 1286, he remained in Italy until 1291. In September 1294 he was present at Orleans at the Provincial Council presided over by Simon, Bishop of Bourges.[1] In 1295 he refused the archbishopric of Ravenna, offered him by Pope Boniface VIII, but accepted the task of pacifying his former provinces of Romagna and the March of Ancona.[2] In 1296 he withdrew to Rome, where he died. His tomb is in the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. An important work by Durand was the *Rationale divinarum officiorum*, a liturgical treatise written in Italy before 1286, on the origin and symbolic sense of Christian ritual. It presents a picture of the liturgy of the 13th century in the West, studied in its various forms, its traditional sources, and its relation to the church buildings and furniture. It long served as a major authority on medieval Latin liturgy and ran through various editions from its first printing in 1459. (Guillaume Durand. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guillaume_Durand>)

• [Thibodeau] Durand's long administrative career in Rome was temporarily interrupted when he was elected bishop of Mende by the cathedral chapter of his diocese in the spring of 1285. Though he received episcopal consecration from the archbishop of Ravenna in the fall of 1286, for inexplicable reasons, Durand did not

The Witness of God is Greater

actually take up residence in Mende until the summer of 1291. But the years of his episcopacy were precisely the point where he turned with full vigor to the production of the numerous liturgical texts that ensured his lasting time **as the greatest liturgist of the later Middle Ages**. During that period, Durand redacted a *Liber Ordinarium* regulating the worship services of the cathedral of Mende; he issued the *Constitutiones synodales* and *Instructions*, the first synodal statutes published for the clergy of his diocese; **he completed his magisterial Pontificale (c. 1295), or "Bishop's book," which became the definitive medieval pontifical—it was eventually adopted by the Roman Curia and was unrivalled in the Latin Church until the liturgical reforms of the Second Vatican Council. It was also during his residency in Mende that Durand finished his most ambitious liturgical work, the *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*, or "Rationale for the Divine Offices." The text, which actually began circulating in its first redaction as early as 1291 or 1292, reached the final form of its second redaction c. 1294 to 1296.** (Introduction in, 2010, p. xviii)

HITS:

- 4. According to the Roman rite, we read nine lessons on the Sundays from Easter to Pentecost, as we said in the chapter "The Seven Days after Easter." Now, because of the threefold novelty or innovation of which we have spoken, the Introit begins with these words, "As newborn babes, etc."
- 5. In the Epistle we are trained in faith. It begins as follows, "For whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world, etc." The Apostle establishes their faith on the threefold testimony of heaven, earth, and conscience. From the earth, when he says, "And there are three that bear witness in earth, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood." For the Lord, who by giving up the spirit with a loud cry and letting out, when He was already dead, blood and water from His side, manifested His humanity; and these three agree in one, for the Apostle, that is, they designate one and the same object. For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father "by his word," the Word "in His flesh," and the Spirit "in the form of testimony of the conscience, we read in the following Epistle, "He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself," that is to say his conscience gives him this testimony. A double Alleluia follows afterwards. (Guillaume Durand, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, Lib. vi. Cap. xcvi)
- **Latin:** Et nota, quod secundum Romanum ordinem leguntur novem lectiones in dominicis a pascha, usque ad pente. [= pentecosten] prout dictum est sub tit. [= titulo] de septem diebus post pascha: propter novitatem autem triplicem, quae dicta est, incipit introitus: Quasi modo geniti, &c. j. Pe. ij. c. In epistola vero in fide instruimur, quae incipit: "Omne quod natum est, ex Deo, vincit mundum," &c. j. Io. v. c. Ostendit fidem per testimonium in coelo et in terra, et in conscientia. In terra cum dicit, "**Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis,**" quia enim clamore magno Dominus emisit spiritum, et quod ex eo jam mortuo exivit sanguis et aqua indicium fuit humanitatis, "**et hi tres, unum sunt,**" id est, unum significat. "**Tres perhibent testimonium in coelo: Pater**" in voce, "**Verbum**" in carne, "**Spiritus**" in columba, "**et hi tres unum sunt.**" De testimonio conscientiae sequitur in epistola: "Qui credit in filium Dei, jam in se testimonium Dei habet," id est, hoc dictat ei conscientia. Sequitur duplex alleluia. (Guillaume Durand, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, Lib. vi. Cap. xcvi, 1568, p. 256-257)

Albertus Magnus (d. 1280 AD)

- Albertus Magnus^[6] (before 1200 – November 15, 1280), also known as Saint Albert the Great and Albert of Cologne, was a German Catholic Dominican friar and bishop. Later canonised as a Catholic saint, he was known during his lifetime as Doctor universalis and Doctor expertus and, late in his life, the sobriquet Magnus was appended to his name.^[7] Scholars such as James A. Weisheipl and Joachim R. Söder have referred to him as the greatest German philosopher and theologian of the Middle Ages.^[8] The Catholic Church distinguishes him as one of the 36 Doctors of the Church.
- Albert was probably educated principally at the University of Padua, where he received instruction in Aristotle's writings. A late account by Rudolph de Novamagia refers to Albertus' encounter with the Blessed Virgin Mary, who convinced him to enter Holy Orders. In 1223 (or 1229)^[10] he became a member of the Dominican Order, and studied theology at Bologna and elsewhere. Selected to fill the position of lecturer at Cologne, Germany, where the Dominicans had a house, he taught for several years there, as well as in Regensburg, Freiburg, Strasbourg, and Hildesheim. During his first tenure

The Witness of God is Greater

as lecturer at Cologne, Albert wrote his *Summa de bono* after discussion with Philip the Chancellor concerning the transcendental properties of being.[11] In 1245, Albert became master of theology under Gueric of Saint-Quentin, the first German Dominican to achieve this distinction. Following this turn of events, Albert was able to teach theology at the University of Paris as a full-time professor, holding the seat of the Chair of Theology at the College of St. James.[11][12] During this time Thomas Aquinas began to study under Albertus.[13]

- Albert was the first to comment on virtually all of the writings of Aristotle, thus making them accessible to wider academic debate. The study of Aristotle brought him to study and comment on the teachings of Muslim academics, notably Avicenna and Averroes, and this would bring him into the heart of academic debate. In 1254 Albert was made provincial of the Dominican Order,[13] and fulfilled the duties of the office with great care and efficiency. During his tenure he publicly defended the Dominicans against attacks by the secular and regular faculty of the University of Paris, commented on John the Evangelist, and answered what he perceived as errors of the Islamic philosopher Averroes. In 1259 Albert took part in the General Chapter of the Dominicans at Valenciennes together with Thomas Aquinas, masters Bonushomo Britto,[14] Florentius,[15] and Peter (later Pope Innocent V) establishing a *ratio studiorum* or program of studies for the Dominicans[16] that featured the study of philosophy as an innovation for those not sufficiently trained to study theology. This innovation initiated the tradition of Dominican scholastic philosophy put into practice, for example, in 1265 at the Order's *studium provinciale* at the convent of Santa Sabina in Rome, out of which would develop the Pontifical University of Saint Thomas Aquinas, the "Angelicum".[17]

- In 1260 Pope Alexander IV made him bishop of Regensburg, an office from which he resigned after three years. During the exercise of his duties he enhanced his reputation for humility by refusing to ride a horse, in accord with the dictates of the Order, instead traversing his huge diocese on foot. This earned him the affectionate sobriquet "boots the bishop" from his parishioners. In 1263 Pope Urban IV relieved him of the duties of bishop and asked him to preach the eighth Crusade in German-speaking countries.[18] After this, he was especially known for acting as a mediator between conflicting parties. In Cologne he is not only known for being the founder of Germany's oldest university there, but also for "the big verdict" (*der Große Schied*) of 1258, which brought an end to the conflict between the citizens of Cologne and the archbishop. Among the last of his labors was the defense of the orthodoxy of his former pupil, Thomas Aquinas, whose death in 1274 grieved Albert (the story that he travelled to Paris in person to defend the teachings of Aquinas can not be confirmed). Albert was a scientist, philosopher, astrologer, theologian, spiritual writer, ecumenist, and diplomat. Under the auspices of Humbert of Romans, Albert molded the curriculum of studies for all Dominican students, introduced Aristotle to the classroom and probed the work of Neoplatonists, such as Plotinus. Indeed, it was the thirty years of work done by Aquinas and himself that allowed for the inclusion of Aristotelian study in the curriculum of Dominican schools.

- After suffering a collapse of health in 1278, he died on November 15, 1280, in the Dominican convent in Cologne,
- Albertus Magnus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albertus_Magnus>.

HIT:

- *G. Here he responds to the objection by which they try to prove that "persons" refers to essence because we respond with that word to people asking "Three what?" ("Tres what?" or "Tria what?")**
- They say, "When one asks 'Three what?' the question is about essence, because nothing can be found that those three could be, except an essence." By that statement they seek to make us interpret "person" to mean an essence when we reply "three persons". Our response is: It is indubitably true that no one thing can be found that those three could be, except an essence. For those three are one: the divine essence. Hence the Truth said, *I and the Father are one.*² But when one asks 'Three what?' the question is not about essence, and the "what" there does not refer to essence. What happened is that, when the Catholic faith proclaimed that there were three, as John says in the Canonical Epistle (*there are three that give testimony in heaven*), people asked what those three were; that is, whether they were three things, what three things, and by what noun those three things should be denoted. And so, within the constraints of language, the noun "person" was found for answering the question, and it was said, "three persons." (Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, February 2023)
 - **Latin:** *G. Objectioni illorum hic respondet, qua nituntur probare personas secundum essentiam accipit : quia respondemus quaerentibus quid tres, vel quid tria.**

The Witness of God is Greater

- Ad hoc autem quod illi dicunt, cum quaeritur, quid tres vel tria, de essentia quaeritur, quia non invenitur quid illi tres sint nisi essentia : per hoc volentes nos inducere ut nomine personae essentiam intelligamus, cum respondemus tres personas. Ita dicimus, Indubitabiliter verum est, quia non invenitur unum aliquid quod illi tres sint, nisi essentia. Unum enim sunt illi tres, id est essentia divina. Unde Veritas ait, "Ego et Pater unum sumus". (John 10:30) Verumtamen cum quaeritur, quid tres vel quid tria, non de essentia quaeritur, nec ibi quid ad essentiam refertur. Sed cum fides Catholica tres esse profiteretur, sicut Joannes in epistola canonica ait: "Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo", quaerebatur quid illi tres esent, id est, an essent tres res, et quae tres res, et quo nomine illae tres res significarentur. Et ideo loquendi necessitate inventum est hoc nomen, "*persona*", ad respondendum, et dictum est. tres personae. (D. Alberti Magni, Ratisbonensis Episcopi, Ordinis Praedicatorum, Commentarii In I Sententiarum, 1893, vol 25, p. 634)

Comment:

- [Translator] **Tres* is Latin for "three" in the masculine or feminine; *tria* is the neuter form of the same word.
- [Art. VI.] An inquiry is made into the question: what is "three" and what is "three things"? For it seems that the question was about nothing else than the essence: since the hypostases were certainly being assumed with their properties in John's words when he said "**The Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit**" (1 John 5:7), the question was not about those. Therefore, since there is nothing else left in the persons except the essence, it seems that the question was about the essence. On the other hand, however, the essence was also certainly being assumed in John's words when he said: "**And these three are one**" (1 John 5:7) : therefore it seems that there was nothing to inquire about, and thus the inquiry was useless. (Albertus Magnus, I Sentent. Dist. XXV, F. Art. VI, Opera omnia. vol 25, 1890, p. 634-635; Translated by Sara Van der Pas, linkedin, August 2020)
 - **Latin:** Quaeritur de haec quaestione, Quid tria et quid tres res? Videtur enim, quod nihil quaerebatur nisi essentia : quia hypostases certe supponebantur cum suis proprietatibus in verbo Joannis, cum dicebat, "**Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus sanctus**" (1 John 5:7) : ergo de illis non quaerebatur : cum igitur nihil amplius sit in personis, nisi essentia, videtur, quod essentia quaerebatur. Sed contra: Haec etiam certa supponebatur in verbo Joannis, cum dixit "**Et hi tres unum sunt**" (1 John 5:7) : ergo videtur, quod nihil poterat quaeri, et sic quaestio inutilis fuit. (Albertus Magnus, I Sentent. Dist. XXV, F. Art. VI, Opera omnia. vol 25, 1890, p. 634-635)

Jacobus de Varagine (1230-1298 AD)

- Jacopo De Fazio, best known as the blessed Jacobus de Varagine,[1] or in Latin Voragine (Italian: Giacomo da Varazze, Jacopo da Varazze; c. 1230 – 13 or 16 July 1298) was an Italian chronicler and archbishop of Genoa. He was the author, or more accurately the compiler, of *Legenda Aurea*, the Golden Legend, a collection of the legendary lives of the greater saints of the medieval church that was one of the most popular religious works of the Middle Ages.
- Jacobus was born in Varagine[3] (Varazze), on the Ligurian coast between Savona and Genoa. He entered the Dominican order in 1244, and became the prior at Como, Bologna and Asti in succession.[4] Besides preaching with success in many parts of Italy, he also taught in the schools of his own fraternity. He was provincial of Lombardy from 1267 till 1286, when he was removed at the meeting of the order in Paris. He also represented his own province at the councils of Lucca (1288) and Ferrara (1290). On the last occasion he was one of the four delegates charged with signifying Pope Nicholas IV's desire for the deposition of Munio de Zamora - who had been master of the Dominican order from 1285 and was eventually deprived of his office by a papal bull dated 12 April 1291.[2]
- In 1288 Nicholas empowered him to absolve the people of Genoa for their offence in aiding the Sicilians against Charles II. Early in 1292 the same pope, himself a Franciscan, summoned Jacobus to Rome, intending to consecrate him archbishop of Genoa. Jacobus reached Rome on Palm Sunday (30 March), only to find his patron ill of a deadly sickness, from which he died on Good Friday (4 April). The cardinals, however, propter honorem Communis Januae ("for the honor of the commune of Genoa"), determined to carry out this consecration on the Sunday after Easter. He was a good bishop, and especially distinguished himself by his

The Witness of God is Greater

efforts to appease the civil discords of Genoa among Guelfs and Ghibellines.[5] A story, mentioned by Echard as unworthy of credit, makes Pope Boniface VIII, on the first day of Lent, cast the ashes in the archbishop's eyes instead of on his head, with the words, "Remember that thou art a Ghibelline, and with thy fellow Ghibellines wilt return to naught." [2]

• He died in 1298 or 1299, and was buried in the Dominican church at Genoa.[2] He was beatified by Pius VII in 1816.

• **The Golden Legend, one of the most popular religious works of the Middle Ages,[8]** is a collection of the legendary lives of the greater saints of the medieval church. The preface divides the ecclesiastical year into four periods corresponding to the various epochs of the world's history, a time of deviation, of renovation, of reconciliation and of pilgrimage. The book itself, however, falls into five sections: (a) from Advent to Christmas (cc. 1–5); (b) from Christmas to Septuagesima (6–30); (c) from Septuagesima to Easter (31–53); (d) from Easter Day to the octave of Pentecost (54–76); (e) from the octave of Pentecost to Advent (77–180). The saints' lives are full of fanciful legend, and in not a few cases contain accounts of 13th century miracles wrought at special places, particularly with reference to the Dominicans. The penultimate chapter (181), "De Sancto Pelagio Papa", contains a universal history from the point of view of Lombardy, or *Historia Lombardica* (History of Lombardy), from the middle of the 6th century.[5] The last (182) is a somewhat allegorical disquisition on the dedication of churches, "De dedicatione ecclesiae" **Almost as popular as the *Legenda Aurea* were Jacobus' collected sermons, also termed *Aurei*. Several 15th-century editions of the *Sermons* are also known; while his *Mariale* was printed at Venice in 1497 and at Paris in 1503.**

• [Jacobus_de_Varagine. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jacobus_de_Varagine>](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jacobus_de_Varagine)

HITS:

- For Christ was doing some works that manifested his humanity, like to hunger, to weep, show deep emotion and endure exhaustion. Some things who showed his power and divinity, like to give the Holy Spirit : Receive Ye the Holy Spirit, etc. (John 20); like to forgive sins : thy sins are forgiven thee. (Luke 5) Hence the Scribes and Pharisees said : Who can forgive sins, but God only? (Mark 2); by his sole authority to sustain and heal the infirm and the dead : Damsel (I say to thee) arise. (Mark 5) The Holy Spirit gave witness, when during his baptism, he descended in the form of dove. The Son gave testimony when he said, "I and my Father are one" (John 10:30) These works were giving testimony to the fact that he was a true man and true God. **Other testimony, that is true God and true man, John set down saying : "There are Three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one. And there are three that give testimony on earth: the spirit and the water and the blood. And these three are one."** (I John 5) That Christ would be true God, the Father gave testimony, when he said: "This is my beloved Son" (Matt 3) The Holy Spirit gave testimony, when in the form of a dove he descended at his baptism. The Son himself gave testimony, when he said: "I and my Father are one." (John 10) To the fact that he was a true earthly man, there are three witnesses: the spirit, that is the soul which he gave up on the cross; the water that came out of his side; and the blood that flowed out of his veins. (Iacobus de Voragine, Quadragesimale, sermo 71)
 - **Latin:** Faciebat enim Christus quedam opera, que indicabant suam humanitatem, sicut esurire, flere, conturbationem ostendere et lassitudines sustinere. Quedam que suam potentiam ostendebant et diuinitatem, sicut Spiritum sanctum dare : Accipite Spiritum sanctum, etc. (Ioan. 20); sicut peccata remittere : Remittuntur tibi peccata tua (Luc. 5). Unde dixerunt Scribe et Pharisei : Quis potest dimittere peccata, nisi solus Deus? (Marc. 2); sicut infirmos et mortuos solo imperio suscitare et sanare : Puella tibi dico surge (Marc. 5). Ista opera dabant testimonium de eo, quod ipse erat uerus homo et uerus Deus. **Alia testimonia, quod sit uerus Deus et uerus homo, ponit Ioan. dicens : Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in celo : Pater, Uerbum et Spiritus sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt ; et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra : spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis (I. Ioan. 5).** Quod enim Christus fuerit uerus Deus, dedit testimonium Pater, quando dixit : Hic est filius meus dilectus (Matth. 3). Testimonium dedit sanctus Spiritus, quando in specie columbe super ipsum baptizatum descendit. Testimonium dedit ipse Filius, quando dixit : Ego et pater unum sumus (Ioan. 10). Quod autem fuerit terrestris uerus homo, tres sunt testes : scilicet spiritus, id est anima quam in cruce amisit ; aqua, que de

The Witness of God is Greater

eius latere emanavit ; et sanguis qui de eius uenis fluxit. (Iacobus de Voragine, Quadragesimale, sermo 71; Jacques de Voragine, Quadragesimale, De resurrectione Domini sermno 1 in Iacopo da Varazze, Sermones Quadragesimales, G.P. Maggioni ed., Florence, Sismel, 2005, p. 516, l. 79)

Codex Demidovianus VL 59 dem (circa 1250-1300 AD)

• [Wes] The birth of Altphilologie ["study of the classics"] in Russia. It really began with Peter the Great, helped by his librarian J.D. Schumacher, one of the founders, as I already mentioned, of the Academy of Sciences. They were directly followed by Feofan Prokopovich and V.N. Tatishchev. Half a century later Catherine laid the foundation of the library of Hermitage with her book collection. She was followed by the great men from her environment, figures like Prince Shcherbaton, Musin-Pushkin, the Razumovskys, and the Demidovs. This last [Demidovs], immensely rich family is highly interesting. It first built its fortune in capital, landed property, and coloni during the Nordic War and further expanded it through services rendered to the emperor. As a result, the family was able to give ample proof of its liberalitas through beneficia, as indeed it did (historians of the socio-economic history of the Roman Imperial Age can learn a great deal here) In connection with the bibliomania of the obscure student Roman Timkovsky one descendant deserves special attention: Paul Grigorievich Demidov (1738-1821). He is the man who gave his name to the aforementioned Demidov manuscript of the Vulgata, which Matthaei made public in his *Novum Testamentum Graecum et Latinum*. Paul Grigorievich also studied in Gottengen. In 1803 he gave his entire library and in 1806 his collection of thousands of coins and medals to the University of Moscow. In the academic year 1803/1804 a series of public lectures on this collection were delivered. Timkovsky, then a student at the same university, cannot have failed to take note of these. Incidentally, the primogenitor of the Demidov family, a certain Demid Antufiev, was still a simple smith in the Dutch-Frisian arms factory of Tula in the year that Peter the Great was born. That was in 1672, known in Dutch history as the "year of calamity." (Wes, *Classics in Russia 1700-1855*, vol 33, 1992, p. 93-94)

• [Houghton] A handful of Old Latin readings are found in the other books, typical of Vulgate witnesses from southern France and Bohemia. VL 59 (Codex Demidovianus) was also a very large format manuscript of the Bible, with the whole New Testament on sixty pages. Copied in Burgundy in the second half of the thirteenth century, it belonged to Paul Demidov in Moscow when C.F. Matthaei cited it in his bilingual [Greek & Latin] edition of the New Testament published in Rega between 1782 and 1788. The manuscript was subsequently lost, with the result that Matthaei's edition (in which the orthography had been standardized) is the only evidence for its readings. Although included in the *Vetus Latina Register*, it appears to furnish little in the way of Old Latin evidence. (Houghton, *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts*, 2016, p. 100-101)

• [Davidson] But the Vulgate has the passage now. In the Clementine edition of the Vulgate it stands thus : —"Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo : Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus sanctus : et hi tres unum sunt. Et tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra : Spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis : et hi tres unum sunt." And it is found in the majority of its MSS., especially after the eighth century. Yet it is absent from the oldest and the best, such as the codd. Amiatinus, Harleianus, Alcuin's copy. Even all the modern MSS. do not exhibit the verse ; and those which have it express it in various forms, as the codd. Toletanus, **Demidovianus**, &c. **Thus the last mentioned codex [Demidovianus] has "Quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis, et tres unum sunt. Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo, pater, verbum, et spiritus, et hi tres unum sunt ; while cod. Tolet. nearly agrees with it. In both the eighth verse is put before the seventh, which is the more usual order in the older copies that have the passage.** And with regard to the copies of the Latin Vulgate that have the text, it also deserves mention, that those prior to the ninth century do not exhibit it a prima manu ; while in many it is found in the margin from a more recent hand. One noticed by Porson has the seventh verse both before and after the eighth ; many omit after the three earthly witnesses, et hi tres unum sunt ; while others add to the phrase et hi tres unum sunt, in Christo Jesu. Indeed the position and form of the passage fluctuate in the different Latin MSS. in a remarkable manner. (Davidson, *A Treatise on Biblical Criticism, Exhibiting a Systematic View of That Science*, 1853, p. 404-405)

The Witness of God is Greater

• [Postgate] On page 20 of the "Scientific supplement from Prof. Dr. Häussner" (German: Wissenschaftliche Beilage von Prof. Dr. Häussner) to the Report of the "Grand Ducal Gymnasium of Karlsruhe" for 1888–89 (German: Grossherzogliches Gymnasium Karlsruhe) "The handwritten copy of L. lun. Mod. Columella de re rust. with a critical edition of the X book" (German: Die Handschriftliche Ueberlieferung des L. lun. Mod. Columella de re rust. mit einer kritischen Ausgabe des X Buches) occur the following words (italics are mine). "the codex membr. from the 14th century, now in Moscow in the Demidoff library. 264 fol." (German: der aus dem XIV. J. stammende, jetzt in Moskau in der Bibliothek Demidoff liegende codex membr. 264 fol.). **This important codex formed a part of the Demidov collection, which has been incorporated in the Library of Moscow University. In 1779 it was collated, though, unhappily for the tenth book alone, by C. F. Matthaei (Lectiones Mosquenses 1779) as Prof. Häussner states (p. 21). But since then have occurred the Napoleonic invasion of Russia and the burning of Moscow ; and the Demidov Columella, like the Demidov Propertius, is not to be found. I owe this information to the kindness of Professor Pokrovskij, who at the request of Mr. E. H. Minns, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, has recently made search for the MS in the University Library, and I hasten to communicate it to the Classical Review lest the statement quoted above should cause trouble to others in the future or perhaps even send some scholar on a fool's errand to Moscow.** (J.P. Postgate, "The Moscow Manuscript of Columella" in Classical Association - Great Britain. The Classical Review, vol 17, 1903, p. 47)

HIT:

- [1 Jn 5:7,8] And there are three that give testimony on earth: the spirit and the water and the blood. And these three are one. And there are Three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit. And these three are one.
 - **Latin:** Quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis, et tres unum sunt. Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo, pater, verbum, et spiritus, et hi tres unum sunt. (Davidson, A Treatise on Biblical Criticism, Exhibiting a Systematic View of That Science, 1853, p. 404-405)

St Theoleptos of Philadelphia [Alaşehir] (1250-1322 AD)

- Theoleptos of Philadelphia (Greek: Θεόληππος Φιλαδελφείας, ca. 1250–1322) was a Byzantine monk, Metropolitan of Philadelphia (1283/4–1322) and Eastern Orthodox theologian. Theoleptos was born in Nicaea ca. 1250. He married but left his wife in 1275 to become a monk. He spent time in the monastic community of Mount Athos, where he became impregnated with the mystical traditions of Orthodox monasticism, so that the 14th-century bishop and theologian Gregory Palamas regarded him as a forerunner of his own mystical doctrine of Hesychasm.[1][2] Theoleptos was a strong opponent of the union of the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches which was agreed at the Council of Lyons in 1274, and was imprisoned by the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1259–82). After the death of Michael VIII, however, his successor Andronikos II Palaiologos (r. 1282–1328) reversed course; Theoleptos was released and became metropolitan bishop of Philadelphia (present-day Alaşehir in Turkey) in 1283 or 1284.[1]
- Theoleptos remained in his see for forty years until his death, and played a decisive role in the affairs of the city during this period, most notably leading the city's successful defence against a Turkish attack in 1310.[1] Theoleptos opposed the reconciliation of the official Church with the Arsenite faction in 1310, resulting in a schism between himself and the Patriarchate of Constantinople that lasted until ca. 1319.[1] Theoleptos maintained close ties with the influential Choumnos family: the statesman and scholar Nikephoros Choumnos composed an eulogy on Theoleptos' death, while the metropolitan served as spiritual advisor to Nikephoros' daughter, Irene Choumnaina, the founder and abbess of the Monastery of Christ Philanthropos in Constantinople. It is through his correspondence with her that his theological views are best known.[1][2] Some of Theoleptos' writings are found in the Philokalia,[2] but most of his writings remain unpublished.[1] The writings of Theoleptos are a great contribution for the modern understanding of Byzantine mysticism and theology just prior to the Hesychast controversy.[3]
- Theoleptos_of_Philadelphia. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theoleptos_of_Philadelphia>.

HITS:

- 23 ...The mind's gaze toward God puts to flight worldly considerations. Compunction of soul chases away the attraction of the flesh. And prayer, which consists of the never silent repetition of the *Divine Name*, can be seen as the harmony and union of mind, word, and soul, for scripture says, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." (Matt 18:20) 24. **In this way, then, prayer calls the powers of the soul back from the dispersion caused by the passions, binds them to one another and to itself, uniting the tripartite soul to the one God in three hypostases.** First, through the ways of the virtues it scrapes the shame of sin from the soul; then through its own sacred knowledge it restores the beauty of the divine impress and presents the soul to God. The soul immediately knows its creator for scripture says, "On the day when I call upon you, behold I know that you are my God"; and the soul is known by him, for it says, "The Lord knew his beings." It knows and is known; it knows on account of the purity of the Image, for every image refers back to its model; it is known on account of the Likeness attained in the virtues, whereby the soul both possesses knowledge of God and is known by God. (Theoleptus, and Robert E. Sinkewicz. *The Monastic Discourses*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of mediaeval studies, 1992, p. 101, 103)
 - **Greek:** 23. ...ἡ τοῦ νοῦ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀποσκοπὴ φυγαδεύει τὰς ἐννοίας τοῦ κόσμου· ἡ κατάνυξις τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν φιλίαν τῆς σαρκὸς ἀποσοβεῖ· καὶ ὁρᾶται ἡ προσευχὴ ἐκ τοῦ ὑπαγορεύειν ἀσιγήτως τὸ θεῖον ὄνομα συμφωνία καὶ ἔνωσις νοῦ καὶ λόγου καὶ ψυχῆς· "ὅπου γάρ," φησὶν, "εἰσὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὀνόματι, ἐκεῖ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν." 24. **Οὕτως οὖν ἡ προσευχὴ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις ἀπὸ τοῦ διαμερισμοῦ τῶν παθῶν ἀνακαλουμένη καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν συνδέουσα, τὴν τριμερῆ ψυχὴν τῷ ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν ἐνὶ θεῷ οἰκειοῖ.** πρῶτον γὰρ διὰ τῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς πρόπτων τὸ τῆς ἀμαρτίας αἴσχος ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποξέσασα, εἶτα τὸ κάλλος τῶν θείων χαρακτήρων διὰ τῆς καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἀγίας γνώσεως ἀναζωγραφήσασα, παρίστησιν τὴν ψυχὴν τῷ θεῷ. ἡ δὲ αὐτίκα γινώσκει τὸν ἑαυτῆς ποιητὴν, "ἐν ᾧ," γάρ φησιν, "ἡμέρα ἐπικαλέσομαι σε, ἰδοὺ ἔγνω ὅτι θεὸς μου εἶ σύ·" καὶ γινώσκειται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, "ἔγνω," γάρ φησιν, "κύριος τοὺς ὄντας αὐτοῦ." γινώσκει καὶ γινώσκειται· γινώσκει διὰ τὸ καθαρὸν τῆς εἰκότος, πᾶσα γὰρ εἰκὼ ἐπὶ τὸ πρωτότυπον ἔχει τὴν ἀναφορὰν· γινώσκειται διὰ τὴν κατὰ τὰς ἀπειτὰς ὁμοίωσιν, δι' ὧν καὶ γινώσκει θεοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ θεοῦ γινώσκειται. (Theoleptus, and Robert E. Sinkewicz. *The Monastic Discourses*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of mediaeval studies, 1992, p. 100, 102)

Duns Scotus (1266-1308 AD)

- John Duns (c. 1266 – 8 November 1308), commonly called Duns Scotus (/ˈskotəs/ SKOH-təs, Ecclesiastical Latin: [duns ˈskotus]; "Duns the Scot"), was a Scottish Catholic priest and Franciscan friar, university professor, philosopher, and theologian. He is one of the three most important philosopher-theologians of Western Europe in the High Middle Ages, together with Thomas Aquinas and William of Ockham.[9] Scotus has had considerable influence on both Catholic and secular thought. The doctrines for which he is best known are the "univocity of being", that existence is the most abstract concept we have, applicable to everything that exists; the formal distinction, a way of distinguishing between different aspects of the same thing; and the idea of haecceity, the property supposed to be in each individual thing that makes it an individual. Scotus also developed a complex argument for the existence of God, and argued for the Immaculate Conception of Mary.
- According to tradition, Duns Scotus was educated at a Franciscan studium generale (a medieval university), a house behind St Ebbe's Church, Oxford, in a triangular area enclosed by Pennyfarthing Street and running from St Aldate's to the Castle, the Baley and the old wall,[14] where the Friars Minor had moved when the University of Paris was dispersed in 1229–30. At that time there would have been about 270 persons living there, of whom about 80 would have been friars.[15]
- Duns Scotus appears to have been in Oxford by 1300, as he is listed among a group of friars for whom the provincial superior of the English ecclesiastical province (which included Scotland) requested faculties from the Bishop of Lincoln for the hearing of confessions.[16] He took part in a disputation under the regent master, Philip of Bridlington in 1300–01.[17]

The Witness of God is Greater

He began lecturing on Peter Lombard's Sentences at the prestigious University of Paris towards the end of 1302. Later in that academic year, however, he was expelled from the University of Paris for siding with Pope Boniface VIII in his feud with King Philip IV of France over the taxation of church property.

- Scotus's great work is his commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard, which contains nearly all the philosophical views and arguments for which he is well known, including the univocity of being, the formal distinction, less than numerical unity, individual nature or "thisness" (haecceity), his critique of illuminationism and his renowned argument for the existence of God.
- Duns Scotus was back in Paris before the end of 1304, probably returning in May. He continued lecturing there until, for reasons that are still mysterious, he was dispatched to the Franciscan studium at Cologne, probably in October 1307. According to the 15th-century writer William Vorilong, his departure was sudden and unexpected. He was relaxing or talking with students in the Prato clericorum or Pre-aux-Clercs – an open area of the Rive Gauche used by scholars for recreation – when orders arrived from the Franciscan Minister General; Scotus left immediately, taking few or no personal belongings.[18]
- Duns Scotus died unexpectedly in Cologne in November 1308; the date of his death is traditionally given as 8 November.
- Duns Scotus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Duns_Scotus>

HIT:

- [Q.1.] John, too, said, in the canonical Epistle: "**For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one.**" (1 John 5:7) He was also the beginning of his Gospel: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." (John 1:1); and clearly shows, always and eternally Son with the Father, as one with another. (Duns Scotus, Commentary on the Sentences, Book 1, Disputation 2. Question 1)
 - **Latin:** Joannes quoque in Epistola canonica ait: "**Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in coelo : Pater, Verbum et Spiritus sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt.**" (1 John 5:7) Ipse etiam in initio Evangelii sui ait: "In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum"; (John 1:1) ubi aperte ostendit, Filium semper et aeternaliter fuisse apud Patrem, ut alium apud alium. (Joannes Scotus Duns. Opera omnia. Lib I. Sententiarum. Dist. II. Quaest. I. Specialia testimonia de Spiritu sancto. De testimoniis novi Testamenti, 1891, vol 8, p. 393)

Barlaam of Seminara (1290-1348 AD)

- Barlaam of Seminara (Bernardo Massari, as a layman), [1][2] c. 1290–1348, or Barlaam of Calabria (Greek: Βαρλαάμ Καλαβρός) was a southern Italian scholar (Aristotelian scholastic) and clergyman of the 14th century, as well as a humanist, philologist and theologian. When Gregorios Palamas defended Hesychasm (the Eastern Orthodox Church's mystical teaching on prayer), Barlaam accused him of heresy. Three Orthodox synods ruled against him and in Palamas's favor (two "Councils of Sophia" in June and August 1341, and a "Council of Blachernae" in 1351).
- Bernardo moved to Constantinople in the 1320s, where he soon gained entrance into ecclesiastical and political circles, especially those around the emperor Andronicus III Palaeologus, who gave him a teaching position at the university. He was made Basilian monk at the monastery of Sant'Elia di Capassino and assumed the name Barlaam.[4] Eventually, he was made the Hegumen (abbot) of the Monastery of Our Savior, and two confidential missions on behalf of the emperor were entrusted to him. Colin Wells characterizes Barlaam as "brilliant but sharp-tongued", describing him as "thoroughly versed in the classics, an astronomer, a mathematician, as well as a philosopher and a mathematician. However, according to Wells, "this formidable learning was coupled with an arrogant, sarcastic manner, so caustic at times that he put off even friends and allies." [5]
- During the years 1333–1334, Barlaam undertook to negotiate the union of churches with the representatives of Pope John XXII. For this occasion he wrote twenty-one treatises against the Latins in which he opposed papal primacy and the filioque doctrine. Emperor Andronicus III sent Barlaam on important diplomatic missions

The Witness of God is Greater

to Robert the Wise in Naples and to Philip VI in Paris. In 1339, he was sent to the exiled Pope Benedict XII at Avignon to suggest a crusade against the Turks and to discuss the union of churches, but he was not successful in this endeavour. On this occasion he met Petrarch. Returning to Constantinople, Barlaam worked on commentaries on Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite under the patronage of John VI Kantakouzenos.

- Around 1336, Gregory Palamas received copies of treatises written by Barlaam against the Latins, condemning their insertion of the Filioque into the Nicene Creed. Although this stance was solid Eastern Orthodox theology, Palamas took issue with Barlaam's argument in support of it, since Barlaam declared efforts at demonstrating the nature of God (specifically, the nature of the Holy Spirit) should be abandoned, because God is ultimately unknowable and undemonstrable to humans. Thus, Barlaam asserted that it was impossible to determine from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds. According to Sara J. Denning-Bolle, Palamas viewed Barlaam's argument as "dangerously agnostic". In his response titled "Apodictic Treatises", Palamas insisted that it was indeed demonstrable that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father but not from the Son.[6]

A series of letters ensued between the two but they were unable to resolve their differences amicably.

- It became clear that the dispute between Barlaam and Palamas was irreconcilable and would require the judgment of an episcopal council. A series of six patriarchal councils was held in Constantinople on 10 June 1341, August 1341, 4 November 1344, 1 February 1347, 8 February 1347, and 28 May 1351 to consider the issues.[19] The dispute over Hesychasm came before a synod held at Constantinople in May 1341 and presided over by the emperor Andronicus III. The assembly, influenced by the veneration in which the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius were held in the Eastern Church, condemned Barlaam, who recanted. The ecumenical patriarch insisted that all of Barlaam's writings be destroyed and thus no complete copies of Barlaam's treatise "Against Messalianism" have survived.[6]

- Barlaam's primary supporter Emperor Andronicus III died just five days after the synod ended. Although Barlaam initially hoped for a second chance to present his case against Palamas, he soon realised the futility of pursuing his cause, and left for Calabria. After leaving Constantinople, Barlaam was received into the Latin Church at Avignon in 1342 and was consecrated Bishop of Gerace.[8] In 1346, he was appointed Papal Ambassador to Constantinople. He returned to Gerace where he died in 1348, apparently a victim of the bubonic plague.

- Barlaam of Seminara. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barlaam_of_Seminara>.

HITS:

- Therefore none of our postulates are confined from considering only the Father the cause of the Son and of the Spirit; rather, **both the unity of the three persons as well as the distinction of the one God into three persons** as well as the sacred sayings all remain unanimously unchanged and redemptive. (Barlaam of Seminara, Tractatis, A, 1, 32; Opere contro i Latini, volume 2, 1998, p. 524)
 - **Greek:** Οὐδὲν ἄρα τῶν ὁμολογουμένων ἡμῖν ἀναιρεῖται ἐκ τοῦ μόνον τὸν Πατέρα αἴτιον νομίζεσθαι Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος, **ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ τῶν τριῶν ἐνότης, καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἐνὸς εἰς τὰ τρία διάκρισις**, καὶ τὰ περὶ θεολογίας ῥητὰ, συμφώνως ἅπαντα διατηρεῖται καὶ σώζεται. (Barlaam of Seminara, Tractatis, A, 1, 32; Opere contro i Latini, volume 2, 1998, p. 524)

Joseph Rhakendytès (1280-1330 AD)

- Joseph the Philosopher, also called Joseph Rhakendytès (Ἰωσήφ Ῥακενδύτης, that is to say "dressed in rags") is a Byzantine monk, theologian and philosopher, born around 1280 in Ithaca, died around 1330 in a monastery near Thessaloniki .

- His life is fairly well known to us, in particular through the praise that Theodore Metochite composed on the occasion of his death. He belonged to an old Greek family from Ithaca, one of the Ionian Islands which had been under Latin rule since 1185 . Of great beauty and keen intelligence (according to Metochite), he was noticed at a very young age by the Italian lord of the islands, Riccardo Orsini, Count Palatine of Kefalonia, Zante and Ithaca, who made him his steward and promised him a brilliant career. But Joseph refused, left his native island and went to Thessaloniki, where he completed his studies and began a very rigorous life of asceticism. On the one hand, he studied with passion in all branches of knowledge, paying particular attention

The Witness of God is Greater

to the ancient philosophers (notably Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus and Proclus), to theology and to the mathematical sciences of the quadrivium ; on the other hand, he submitted to a rigorous discipline of prayer and abstinence and ended up becoming a monk in a convent in the city. Some time later he stayed in hermitages in the mountains and islands of Thessaly, before settling in a monastery on Mount Athos. From now on, until the end, he lived in utter poverty, wearing the same worn and torn clothes, and never having any money.

- Around 1320, he went to Constantinople, attracted by the reputation of the monasteries of the capital, and also moved by the desire for knowledge, "which he had not allowed to dissipate nor to be extinguished with the other things of this world.". He thought he could meet more scientists in the capital than elsewhere. He lived there caring for Makarios, a very handicapped old monk, and did not mind any work. But soon he mingled with the Constantinopolitan intellectual milieu, and he very quickly made the greatest impression there. This mixture of erudition, intellectual capacities and Christian virtues caused an extraordinary infatuation. He was in contact, particularly by letter, with all the great scholars of the time (Théodore Métochite, Nicephore Choumnos, Nicephore Grégoras, Thomas Magistros, Jean Zacharias, Matthew of Ephesus ...) who all celebrate him and compare him to Pythagoras, to Socrates, to Diogenes . Emperor Andronicus II and his family called him "father" and venerated him; Nicephorus Choumnos himself, of whom twenty-eight letters have been preserved to Joseph, requested his almighty intervention with the Basileus. Four times they tried to make him patriarch, unanimously by the synod ; he always refused out of humility.

- Finally, to the general despair, he left the capital to return to Thessaloniki, and he settled in a monastery near the city, with a faithful companion who died shortly before him. He died at about fifty years old, and the poet Manuel Philès composed his epitaph, in which he deplores the loss his untimely death represented for science.

- Joseph le Philosophe. Wikipedia. <fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph_le_Philosophe>.

HIT:

- Iambic verses containing concisely the whole case and meaning of the brief lessons encapsulated in this book

[Previously Joseph says: You should first of all induct yourself

- as much as you can - to the holy mysteries of the religion, (i.e., to the mysteries)] of the Almighty and worshipful Holy Trinity.

These (mysteries) are, and pay attention to them respectfully (the following):

A Whole (a unity), self-luminous, from which everything derives,

and it is by Itself Good and shiny and of the same substance,

a Power with no starting point, a self-established existence:

It is also Life existing before life and living forever,

And Strength never loses its intensity, an unlimited authority.

It is also characterized by its infinity, eternal and unchanging nature.

A Spirit that creates and builds everything

And Wisdom which isn't to be depicted, having by itself the absolute knowledge.

An experience which is not to be shared due to its infinity,

A Glory divided in three Lights with endless glimpse,

A triple Light showing the single God' s power,

A Unity of parts not mingled together due to an indescribable way.

A Division which cannot be divided due to a mystic reason,

This is the undivided and not mixed but simple Trinity,

A boundless junction of three infinities,

The Father, the Word and the Holy Spirit, those three,

One nature in three, a Unity of these three,

For unto thee belong glory, honour and the might,

Now and forever, time without end.

The Witness of God is Greater

• **Greek:** Στίχοι ἰαμβικοὶ περιέχοντες ἐν ἐπιτομῇ τὴν ἅπασαν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ δύναμιν τῶν ἐγκειμένων τῆδε τῇ βίβλῳ εὐσυνάπτων μαθημάτων τῆς προσκυνητῆς πανσθενουργοῦ τριάδος.
τὰ δ' εἰσὶ ταῦτα, καὶ σκόπει μετὰ δέους
ἐν αὐτολαμπῆς παράγωγον τῶν ὄλων,
ὄν αὐτάγαθον, αὐτόφως, αὐτουσίαν,
ἄναρχον ἀρχὴν, αὐθέδραστον αἰτίαν,
ζωὴν προαιώνιον ἀειζωίαν,
δύναμιν ἀκάματον, ἄτρυτον κράτος,
ἀπειρίαν ἄπειρον, αὐταπειρίαν,
νοῦν δημιουργόν, τεχνίτην παντεργάτην,
σοφίαν ἀνείκαστον, αὐτογνωσίαν,
πέρας ἀπειρότατον ἐξ ἀπειρίας,
αἴγλην μίαν τρίφωτον ἀπείρου φάους,
φῶς τρίτον ἀπλοῦν τῆς μιᾶς θεαρχίας,
ἔνωσιν ἀσύγχυτον ἀφράστῳ τρόπῳ,
διαίρεσιν ἄτμητον ἀρρήτῳ λόγῳ,
ἄτμητον ἀσύγχυτον ἀπλήν τριάδα,
τριῶν ἀπείρων ἄπλετον συμφυΐαν,
πατὴρ, λόγος καὶ πνεῦμα, ταῦτα τὰ τρία,
ἐν τρισὶ μία φύσις, ἐν δὲ τὰ τρία·
ὧ δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ κράτος πρέπει μόνῳ.
αἰεὶ τε καὶ νῦν καὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον.
(Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, vol 3, 1834, p. 476)

Armenian Councils : Sisensis (1307 AD) & Adanensis (1320 AD)

• **Gregory VII Anavardzeti convoked the synod of Sis (1307). More than 30 bishops took part in it, and their respectful sentiments towards the See of Rome was manifest. Pope Bonifatius VIII approved the orthodox faith of Catholicos Gregory Anavardzeti on October 26, 1298. The position of this synod was approved by his successor Constantine III (1307-1321) at the synod of Adana which took place in 1316.** (fn. 7. Sacra Congregazione per Le Chiese Orientali, Codificazione Canonica Orientale, Fonti: Serie III, vol. T. I 206-207.) (The Armenian Church. St. Gregory Armenian Catholic Church. <www.stgregoryarmenian.org/the-armenian-church/>)

• After the death of Gregory of Anavarza, **King Leo convened a Council in Sis, in 1307, which is known in history as the seventh Council of Sis. 43 bishops and princes from Cilicia participated in this Council.** In order to bring an end to the disputes King Oshin convened a Council in Adana, in 1316. 13 bishops, 7 archimandrites and 10 princes took part in it. In this Council the objections against the decisions of the Council of Sis were rejected as being contrary to the truth. **The decisions of the Council of Sis were confirmed once again.** ...The Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia fell in 1375. The country was ruined and a mass migration began. The Patriarchal See became a toy in the hands of the foreigners. In such political conditions the idea of returning the Patriarchal See to Armenia gained favour in Greater Armenia. In 1441 the See of the Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of All Armenians was again relocated at Holy Etchmiadzin. (Sister Churches of The Armenian Church. Holy Virgin Mary and Shoghagat Armenian Church. <www.bellevillearmenianchurch.org/orig/origins9.php>)

The Witness of God is Greater

Letter of Gregory of Sis, Patriarch of the Armenians, to Hayton the cenobite, father of King Leo of Armenia

HIT:

- Moreover, there is in our possession a copy, having formerly belonged to our uncle, of the book "The Root of Faith" by Irenaeus the successor of the Apostles, where mention is made of the mixing of water with the wine. A note in our uncle's own hand can be read in the margin: *See how water, too, is needed in the mass.* Furthermore, there was a canon, recently transcribed by us, in which Cyprian and the Council of Carthage used the same words regarding the need for water. That Council is not a recent but an old one, close to that of Nicea. The same canon, excommunication and anathema is found in the sixth Council as well, and they quote Solomon: *she hath mingled her wine in the mixing-bowl* (Prov 9.6); **and John the Evangelist: *There are three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one. And there are three that give testimony on earth: the spirit, and the water, and the blood: and these three are one. (I John 5:7,8)*** Chrysostom said about the Matthew passage *I will not drink of this fruit of the vine*, etc., (Matt 26:29) that it was said *in order to root out the ruinous heresy of some others who use water in the Eucharist.* Note that *he did not say who mix water with the wine of the Eucharist.* From this it is inferred that we should not use wine alone, either, although wine and bread are the material of the sacrament that symbolizes the incarnation and death of Christ. Let me emphasize the point: notice that Chrysostom did not say *who mix*—if he had, he would indeed be openly condemning our practice—but he said *who use water*: those who use water are those who perform the sacrament of Christ's death with water alone, without wine. (Latin translated by Sarah van der Pas, with bracketed comments, correspondence, May 2022)
 - **Latin:** Est insuper apud nos, qui prius erat nostri Auunculi, radix fidei, liber Irenei Apostolorum successoris, vbi aquæ vino miscendæ fit mentio; in cuius margine, propria Auunculi nostri manu annotatum legitur, *Vide, quòd etiam aqua in Missa requiritur.* Extabat praeterea quidam Canon, à Nobis nuper transcriptus, in quo Cypriani, & Carthaginensis Concilij eadem de aquæ necessitudine verba legebantur: illudque Concilium non nouum, sed vetus est, & prope Nicænum. Nec non in sexto Concilio idem reperitur Canon, excommunicatio, & anathematismus: adducuntque illud Salomonis, *miscuit in cratèra vinum suum; & Ioannis Euangelistæ; tres sunt qui testimonium dant in cælo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus sanctus, et hi tres vnum sunt; et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis, et hi tres vnum sunt.* Tum Chrysostomus super illud Matthæi, *non bibam de hoc genimine vitis*, etc., inquit, hoc dictum esse, *vt perniciosissima aliquorum aliorum hæresis, qui aqua in mysterijs vtuntur, radicitus euellatur:* nota, quòd non dixit, *qui in mysterijs aquam vino miscent:* vnde colligitur, neque esse in illis adhibendum solum vinum: licet vinum, & panis materia sint huius sacramenti, quod Christi incarnationem, & mortem designat. Aduerte, inquam, non dixisse Chrysostomum, *qui miscent;* hoc enim si dixisset, nostrum vtique palàm probaret: sed ait, *qui aqua vtuntur;* ij autem vtuntur aqua, qui mysterium mortis Christi sola aqua conficiunt absque vino. ("Epistola Gregorij Sisensis, Armenior[um] Patriarchæ, ad Haytonem, patrem Leonis Regis Armeniæ, cœnobitam" in Galano, Conciliatio Ecclesiae Armenae Cum Romana Ex Ipsis Armenorum Patrum, Council of Eccles. Arm. cum Rom. Cap. XXVIII, 1661, vol 1, p. 436-437)

The Witness of God is Greater

Concilium Sisense Armenum (1307)

HIT:

- For in it [i.e. a letter] our most blessed father Gregory was enjoining us [to do a series of things] and, finally, to mix the wine with water when performing the most venerable sacrament of the Eucharist. He showed that last point to be eminently necessary, supporting it with many scriptural quotes; **first this one from John: *There are three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one. And there are three that give testimony on earth: the spirit, and the water, and the blood: and these three are one.*** [Continues with other quotes and comments on them.] (Latin translated by Sarah van der Pas, with bracketed comments, correspondence, May 2022)
 - **Latin:** In ea namque Beatissimus Pater noster Gregorius demandabat nobis, [...] vtque demum in augustissimo Eucharistiæ Sacramento conficiendo, aquam vino misceremus; quod pluribus quidem sacræ Scripturæ testimonijs comprobans, nobis summoperè necessarium esse, ostendit. **Et primò ex illo Ioannis: *Tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in cælo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus sanctus: et hi tres vnum sunt; et tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis; et hi tres vnum sunt.*** (Galano, Conciliatio Ecclesie Armenae Cum Romana Ex Ipsius Armenorum Patrum, Council of Eccles. Arm. cum Rom. Cap. XXVIII, 1661, vol 1, p. 461-462)

Concilium Adanense Armenum (1316 AD)

HIT:

- They called it a sacrilege to add water to the chalice, because water is decayable and there was no decay in Christ. In so saying they clearly seem to imply that wine is undecayable. [Other arguments against the addition of water follow.] Such were the arguments shamelessly bandied about by the dividers of the Lord's garment and the enemies of the sacred customs and traditions of Christ's Church. They do not know that not only water but also wine, which they claim to be undecayable, is liable to decay, and that not only those two substances but generally all perceptible things—all things that are subject to the senses of sight and touch—are decayable and perishable, while only incorporeal things are known to possess a nature free of decay. We must admit that water and wine are decayable in themselves; but when they are mystically consumed in the sacrament of the Lord's dispensation, they are entirely pure and free from any touch of decay, and they acquire the same purifying power and effect as the Holy Spirit. **That is why the great apostle John said in one of his Catholic Epistles, *There are three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one. And there are three that give testimony on earth: the spirit, and the water, and the blood: and these three are one.*** See how these three things retain one and the same power; for although they are different in themselves, they are one divine and purifying thing in potency and effect. (Latin translated by Sarah van der Pas, with bracketed comments, correspondence, May 2022)
 - **Latin:** Dicebant enim, nefas esse, in Calicem aquam injicere; quòd aqua corruptibilis sit; in Christo autem nulla fuerit corruptio. quibus planè videntur innuere, vinum incorruptibile esse. [...] Hæc itaque vestis dominicæ Partitores, & sacrarum Ecclesie Christi constitutionum, ac traditionum Aduersarij, impudenter iactabant: ignorantes quidem, non modò aquam, verùm & vinum quoque, quod ipsi incorruptibile autumant, esse vltrò corruptioni obnoxium; neque

The Witness of God is Greater

hæc duo solummodò, sed omnia ferè sensibilia, quæ sub visus, tactusque sensibus cadunt, esse corruptibilia, & caduca: cum sola incorporea naturam corruptibilitatis expertem habere, noscantur. Et si, verum illud esse, fateri debemus; quòd, licet duo ista in se corruptibilia sint, in dominicæ tamen dispensationis sacramento mysticè sumpta, purissima, & ab omni sunt corruptelæ contagio remotissima, eandemque cum Spiritu sancto purificantem vim, & operationem sibi vendicant. **quocirca magnus Apostolus ille ioannes in quadam ex Catholicis suis epistolis ait: Tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in Cælo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus sanctus, et hi tres vnum sunt: et tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis, et hi tres vnum sunt.** Vide, vt tria hæc unam, eandemque vim retinent. nam licet diuersa secundum se; virtute tamen, & operatione, vnum quid sunt diuinum, & purificans: [...] (Galano, Conciliatio Ecclesie Armenae Cum Romana Ex Ipsis Armenorum Patrum, Council of Eccles. Arm. cum Rom. Cap. XXVIII, 1661, vol 1, p. 478)

William of Ockham (1287–1347 AD)

• William of Ockham (/ˈɒkəm/; also Occam, from Latin: Gulielmus Occamus;[9][10] c. 1287 – 1347) was an English Franciscan friar, scholastic philosopher, and theologian, who is believed to have been born in Ockham, a small village in Surrey.[11] He is considered to be one of the major figures of medieval thought and was at the centre of the major intellectual and political controversies of the 14th century. He is commonly known for Occam's razor, the methodological principle that bears his name, and also produced significant works on logic, physics, and theology. In the Church of England, his day of commemoration is 10 April.[12] (William of Ockham. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_of_Ockham>)

• [Friedman] ...given that the essence and not the intellect is the source of the Word's emanation, is the Son a Word in any strict or literal sense? **Ockham replies in the affirmative: 'John the Evangelist in his first letter tells us that' "three there are who give testimony in heaven, Father, Word, and Holy Spirit"**, therefore only the Son is the Word. (Friedman, Intellectual Traditions at the Medieval University: The Use of Philosophical Psychology in Trinitarian Theology Among the Franciscans and Dominicans, 1250-1350, 2013, vol 2, p. 647)

HIT:

- [Q.3]"**Three there are who give testimony in heaven, Father, Word, and Holy Spirit,**"(1 John 5:7) therefore the Son, and only the Son, is the Word. But that the Son is a Word is held on faith alone "sola fide" on account of the many authoritative passages in which we can read that it is so. This identification is not amenable to proof. (William of Ockham, Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard, Book 1, Disputation 27. Question 3)
 - **Latin:** Ad oppositum: '**Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in caelo : Pater, Verbum et Spiritus Sanctus**' (1 John 5:7) Igitur Pater, Verbum et Spiritus Sanctus sunt tres; igitur Pater non est Verbum nec Spiritus Sanctus. Et certum est quod Filius est Verbum; igitur etc. (Instituti Franciscani Universitatis S. Bonaventurae, vol 4, 1967, p. 228; See also: vol 2, p. 359).

Bridget of Sweden (1303 – 1373 AD)

• Bridget of Sweden (c. 1303 – 23 July 1373); born as Birgitta Birgersdotter, also Birgitta of Vadstena, or Saint Birgitta (Swedish: heliga Birgitta), was a mystic and saint, and founder of the Bridgettines nuns and monks after the death of her husband of twenty years. Outside of Sweden, she was also known as the Princess of Nericia[2] and was the mother of Catherine of Vadstena. (Though normally named as Bridget of Sweden, she was not a member of Swedish royalty.) She is one of the six patron saints of Europe, together with Benedict of

The Witness of God is Greater

Nursia, Saints Cyril and Methodius, Catherine of Siena and Edith Stein. The most celebrated saint of Sweden was the daughter of the knight Birger Persson^[3] of the family of Finsta, governor and lawspeaker of Uppland, and one of the richest landowners of the country, and his wife Ingeborg Bengtsdotter, a member of the so-called Lawspeaker branch of the Folkunga family. Through her mother, Ingeborg, Birgitta was related to the Swedish kings of her era. (Bridget of Sweden. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bridget_of_Sweden>)

• **[Early Life]** She was born in 1303. There is no exact recording for which precise date. In 1316, at the age of 14^[3] she married Ulf Gudmarsson of the family of Ulvåsa, Lord of Närke, to whom she bore eight children, four daughters and four sons. Six survived infancy, which was rare at that time. Her eldest daughter was Märta Ulfsdotter. Her second daughter is now honored as St. Catherine of Sweden. Her youngest daughter was Cecilia Ulvsdotter. Bridget became known for her works of charity, particularly toward Östergötland's unwed mothers and their children. When she was in her early thirties, she was summoned to be principal lady-in-waiting to the new Queen of Sweden, Blanche of Namur. In 1341, she and her husband went on pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. In 1344, shortly after their return, Ulf died at the Cistercian Alvastra Abbey in Östergötland. After this loss, Birgitta became a member of the Third Order of St. Francis and devoted herself to a life of prayer and caring for the poor and the sick.^[4] It was about this time that she developed the idea of establishing the religious community which was to become the Order of the Most Holy Saviour, or the Brigittines, whose principal house at Vadstena was later richly endowed by King Magnus IV of Sweden and his queen. One distinctive feature of the houses of the Order was that they were double monasteries, with both men and women forming a joint community, though with separate cloisters. They were to live in poor convents and to give all surplus income to the poor. However, they were allowed to have as many books as they pleased.^[4] In 1350, a Jubilee Year, Bridget braved a plague-stricken Europe to make a pilgrimage to Rome accompanied by her daughter, Catherine, and a small party of priests and disciples. This was done partly to obtain from the Pope the authorization of the new Order and partly in pursuance of her self-imposed mission to elevate the moral tone of the age. This was during the period of the Avignon Papacy within the Roman Catholic Church, however, and she had to wait for the return of the papacy to Rome from the French city of Avignon, a move for which she agitated for many years. (Bridget of Sweden. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bridget_of_Sweden>)

• **[Visions]** At the age of ten, Bridget had a vision of Jesus hanging upon the cross. When she asked who had treated him like this, he answered:^[4] "They who despise me, and spurn my love for them." She was so impressed that from that moment the Passion of Christ became the center of her spiritual life.^[4] The revelations she had received since childhood now became more frequent, and her records of these *Revelationes coelestes* ("Celestial revelations") which were translated into Latin by Matthias, canon of Linköping, and by her confessor, Peter Olafsson, prior of Alvastra, obtained a great vogue during the Middle Ages.^[3] These revelations made Bridget something of a celebrity to some and a controversial figure to others.^[6] Her visions of the Nativity of Jesus had a great influence on depictions of the Nativity of Jesus in art. Shortly before her death, she described a vision which included the infant Jesus as lying on the ground, and emitting light himself, and describes the Virgin as blond-haired; many depictions followed this and reduced other light sources in the scene to emphasize this effect, and the Nativity remained very commonly treated with *chiaroscuro* through to the Baroque. Other details often seen such as a single candle "attached to the wall," and the presence of God the Father above, also come from Bridget's vision. The Virgin kneels to pray to her child, to be joined by Saint Joseph, and this (technically known as the "Adoration of the Child") becomes one of the most common depictions in the fifteenth century, largely replacing the reclining Virgin in the West. Versions of this depiction occur as early as 1300, well, before Bridget's vision, and have a Franciscan origin, by which she

The Witness of God is Greater

may have been influenced, as she was a member of the Franciscan Order.[7] Her visions of Purgatory were also well known.[8] In addition,"she even predicted an eventual Vatican State, foretelling almost the exact boundaries delineated by Mussolini for Vatican City in 1921."[9] (Bridget of Sweden. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bridget_of_Sweden>)

• **[Rome]** It was not until 1370 that Pope Urban V, during his brief attempt to re-establish the papacy in Rome, confirmed the Rule of the Order, but meanwhile Birgitta had made herself universally beloved in Rome by her kindness and good works. Save for occasional pilgrimages, including one to Jerusalem in 1373, she remained in Rome until her death on 23 July 1373, urging ecclesiastical reform.[4] In her pilgrimages to Rome, Jerusalem and Bethlehem, she sent"back precise instructions for the construction of the monastery"now known as Blue Church, insisting that an"abbess, signifying the Virgin Mary, should preside over both nuns and monks."[5] Bridget went to confession every day, and had a constant smiling, glowing face.[4] Although she never returned to Sweden, her years in Rome were far from happy, being hounded by debts and by opposition to her work against Church abuses. She was originally buried at San Lorenzo in Panisperna before her remains were returned to Sweden. She was canonized in the year 1391 by Pope Boniface IX, which was confirmed by the Council of Constance in 1415. Because of new discussions about her works, the Council of Basel confirmed the orthodoxy of the revelations in 1436. (Bridget of Sweden. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bridget_of_Sweden>)

HIT:

- 1."O my most sweet God, I pray for sinners, to whose company I belong, that you deign to have mercy on them."God the Father answered:"I hear and know your intention, your loving entreaty will therefore be fulfilled. **As John says in today's epistle, or, rather, as I say through John: 2 'There are three witnesses on earth, the Spirit, the water, and the blood, and three in heaven, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit', and these three are your witnesses.** The Spirit, who protected you in the womb of your mother, bears witness concerning your soul that you belong to God through the baptismal faith that your parents professed in your stead. Liber Caelestis. Book 3. Chapter 23. A Deliberation on the Day's Epistle about the Trinity [undated]. (St Bridget of Sweden. Revelations Book 3, Chapter 23 in Revelationes; Translated by Morris, 2006, p. 305).
 - **Latin:** Omi dulcissime Deus. Rogo te pro peccatoribus, in quorum consortio ego sun, ut ei misereri digneris. Respondit Deus Pater. Audio, & scio voluntatem tua, ideo persicietur oratio charitatis tuae. **Propterea sicut dicit Ioannem. Tres sunt, qui testimonium perhibent in terra, Spiritus, Aqua & Sanguis, & tres in caelo, Pater, & Filius, & Spiritus sanctus. Sic tres dant tibi testimonium.** Nam Spiritus, qui custodivit te in visceribus matris, testificatur animae tuae, quod Dei es per fidem Baptismi, quam profitebantur ex parte tua parentes. (St Bridget of Sweden. Revelations Book 3, Chapter 23 in Revelationes Caelestes Seraphicae Martris S. Brigittae Suecae 1680, p. 192-193.)

Macarius Chrysocephalus (1300?-1382 AD)

• [Smith] Chrysoce'phalus, Maca'rius (Μακάριος Χρυσοκέφαλος), a Greek ecclesiastical writer of great repute. The time at which he lived has been the subject of much investigation : Cave says that it is not correctly known; Oudin thinks that he lived about A. D. 1290; but Fabricius is of opinion that he lived in the fourteenth century, as would appear from the fact, that the condemnation of Barlaam and Gregorius Acindynus took place in the synod of Constantinople in 1351, in presence of a great number of prelates, among whom there was Macarius, archbishop of Philadelphia.

The Witness of God is Greater

- [Smith] The original name of Chrysocephalus was Macarius, and he was also archbishop of Philadelphia ; he was called Chrysocephalus because, having made numerous extracts from the works of the fathers, he arranged them under different heads, which he called χρυσᾶ κεφάλαια, or " Golden Heads."
- [Smith] Chrysocephalus was a man of extensive learning: his works, which were very numerous, were entirely on religious subjects, and highly esteemed in his day.
- William Smith. A Dictionary of Greek and Roman biography and mythology. London. John Murray: printed by Spottiswoode and Co., New-Street Square and Parliament Street.

HITS:

- The truth teaches us to acknowledge one God, one without beginning and eternal nature, in the three persons known to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. For the father is the unbegotten begetter of the son, since he who is from none. The Son, the begetter of the father, as begotten of him. The Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father; **three persons, each perfect and true God. These three are one God, because there is one Godhead, one virtue, one substance, one will, one operation, undivided in distinct persons and different properties of subsistence.** For it is the innateness of the Father alone. The son alone, from the father without beginning, independent, eternal, equal in dignity, generation. The Holy Spirit alone, independent, eternal, and with equal dignity, procession from the Father. The trinity of simple and unformed, supersubstantial substance, unbounded nature, majesty more than infinite, power unlimited, light incomprehensible, unfathomable goodness, insurmountable power, unintelligible beauty, kingdom without limit; praised without confusion. (Macarius Chrysocephalus, In Festum Orthodoxiae)
 - **Greek:** Ἡ δὲ γε ἀληθεια ἓνα θεὸν ὁμολογεῖν διδάσκει, μίαν φύσιν ἀναρχὸν καὶ αἰδίον, ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσι Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι γνωριζομένην· Πατὴρ γὰρ ἔστιν Υἱοῦ γεννήτωρ ἀγέννητος, ὡς οὐκ ἔκ τινος· Υἱὸς, τοῦ Πατρὸς γέννημα, ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγεννημένος· Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον· **τρία πρόσωπα· Θεὸς ἕκαστον τέλειος καὶ ἀληθινός· εἷς τὰ τρία Θεός, ὅτι μία θεότης, μία δύναμις, μία οὐσία, μία βούλησις, μία ἐνέργεια· ἀμέριστος ἐν μεμερισμέναις ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι, καὶ ταῖς διαφόροις τῶν υπάρξεων ιδιότησι·** μόνῳ γὰρ τῷ Πατρὶ, τὸ ἀγέννητον· μόνῳ τῷ Υἱῷ, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀνάρχως καὶ ἀχρόνος καὶ αἰδίως καὶ συνανάρχως γεγεννησθαι· μόνῳ τῷ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι, τὸ ἀχρόνος καὶ αἰδίως καὶ συνανάρχως ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευέσθαι· τριάς ἀπλή καὶ ἀσύνθετος· οὐσία ὑπερουσίας· φύσις ἀπερίγραπτος· δόξα ὑπεράπειρος· δύναμις ἀπεριόριστος· ἀκατάληπτον φῶς· ἀνεξιχνίαστος ἀγαθότης· κράτος ἀνυπερβλήτον· κάλλος ἀπερινόητον· βασιλεία ἀπέραντος· εἷς καὶ μόνος θεός, ἐν τρισὶ τελείαις ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι λατρευόμενος, καὶ τρισὶν ἀγιασμοῖς ἐν μιᾷ κυριότητι ἀμερίστως καὶ ἀσυγχύτως δοξολογούμενος. (Macarius Chrysocephalus, In Festum Orthodoxiae; In Festum Orthodoxiae (homilia 4 ; Bhg 1394e) [Grec] : f155r-f155v)
- Vatican. Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, Ottob. gr., 132 : XVII century
<digl.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Ott.gr.132>

King Charles V : Charte de fondation des Célestins de Limay (1376 AD)

1376 February: Foundation act of the Celestine Monastery of Mantes. The number of fleurs-de-lis in the arms of France has to be three to symbolize the Holy Trinity.

- [Shaw] Charles's support for the Celestines began with the confirmation of the gift of a bourse to this house from the royal chancery in August 1358 (while he was still regent for the captive John II). From the mid-1360s, he subsequently rebuilt the monastery at no small cost. Other gifts included the amortization of some 265 livres paris of rents in three acts (1360, 1364, 1366), the seizure of some disused land that adjoined the Celestine house from the abbeys of Sainte-Geneviève and Saint-Éloi in return for compensation in 1377, and the gift of a grand house and gardens, also adjoining, in 1378. The latter two gifts significantly expanded the monastery's grounds. The house was also to take a key place among Charles V's so-called grands ebattements. The Celestine monastery faced his newly built residence, the Hôtel Saint-Pol, to the South across the Rue de Petit-Musc. Just to the east and north lay a newly built section of city wall, while to the West, the Bastille was being

The Witness of God is Greater

constructed. The house thus stood in a distinctly royal quarter that owed much to Charles's efforts. (Shaw, *The Celestine Monks of France, C. 1350-1450*, 2018, p. 214)

- [Duplessis] The Celestins were founded in 1376 by King Charles V outside Faubourg, in place of an old Chapel of "Sainte Christine", in a place called "la Carriere" de Saint Aubin de Limay", because apparently the stone which had served to build the Parish Church of Saint Aubin, had been drawn from it. They were installed in their Monastery Sunday 15 February 1377 in the presence of the King, the Queen his wife, of the Archbishop of Rouen, of Bishops of Beauvais, & of Paris, & of several other Lords. (Duplessis, *Description géographique et historique de la haute Normandie*, 1740, vol 2, p. 246)

- [Shaw] Charles V's journey to Mantes to inaugurate the opening of the Celestine house on 15 February 1377 followed just a month after the return of Gregory XI from Avignon to Rome, which occurred despite Charles's protest. In fearing a loss of influence over the pope, the decision to build a monastery of an order founded by Boniface VIII's humble predecessor, and publicly completing it so shortly after failing to prevent the pope's return to Rome might be seen as sending out a message regarding the relative standing of royal and papal power.²⁶ The statue of St Peter Celestine at the Paris house could likewise be viewed in the same context: its sculptor, Jean de Thoiry was paid for his completed work on 8 June 1378, just over a year later. The foundation charter of the former house provides some support for such a reading. As mentioned earlier, it cited a *translatio imperii* that terminated with the kingdom of France, as well as the role of the French monarchy in defending the Christian faith. The same document also marked a key juncture in the development of the royal use of the fleurs-de-lys, which were reduced to three in number at this time: they now represented a 'mysterious sign' of the Trinity, to which the house was dedicated. (Shaw, *The Celestine Monks of France, C. 1350-1450*, 2018, p. 217-218)

HITS:

- [Charles V] ...lilies which are the emblem of the kingdom of France, in which there bloom flowers like lilies, **actually lily flowers (fleurs-de-lis), not only two but three, so that they may bear in themselves the type of the Trinity, so that, just as the Father, the Word and the Spirit of the three flowers mysteriously prefigure a single sign**; and in the way in which the sun of the divinity illuminates the whole world from the height of the empyrean, so the three golden flowers, placed on a celestial or azure field, shine more gloriously over all the earth and dazzle with vivid clarity, and so that the meaning of the sign adapts correctly to the people of the Trinity, the power of arms, the science of letters and the clemency of the princes correspond very perfectly to the group of the three lilies by which the kingdom of France shone today and preserves in this the marks of the Trinity. Such is the excellence and the prestige of the king towards whom the indivisible Trinity manifests such a great will that it has accepted to consecrate its own image to him and therefore the kingdom is not subject to the authority of any prince on earth and seems to have placed himself under his own and privileged protection. (King Charles V : *Charte de fondation des Célestins de Limay*)
 - **Latin:** ...lilla quidem signum regni Francie in quo florent flores quasi liliam, ymo flores lili non tantum duo, sed tres, ut in se tipum gerent Trinitatis; ut, sicut Pater, Verbum et Spiritus, hii tres unum sunt, sic tres flores unum signum misterialiter prefigurant; et sicut sol divinitatis celo residens empireo illuminat omnem mundum, sic tres flores aurei supra celestem sive azureum situati colorem, in omnem terram enitescunt pulcrius et lumine prefulgent clariore. Et ut signo signatum proprie respondeat tribus, videlicet potencie, sapiencie et benignitati, que sancte Trinitatis attribuntur personis, armorum potencia, sciencia literarum et principum clementia ternario liliorum elegantissime correspondent, in quibus tribus regnum Francue a lomngis retrp temporibus pre regnis ceteris floruisse et hactenus claruisse dignoscitur ac per hoc in se tenuisse vestigia Trinitatis. (King Charles V, *Charte de fondation des Célestins de Limay*; Moutié, "Charte de fondation des Célestins de Limay, près Mantes, par Charles V en 1376", 1857, p. 246-247)

The Witness of God is Greater

- **Charter Illustration** : In this initial Charles V is represented kneeling and presenting the charter. Above his head are his arms Azure three fleurs de lis, crowned with a crown upheld by two hovering angels.
 - Image - Color: <www.hubert-herald.nl/FranAchievemen1_bestanden/image071.jpg>
 - Image - B&W: <books.google.com/books?id=IC1NAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA239-IA2>

Comments:

- [Shaw] The date written is 13 February 1376; French chancery practice was to begin the new year from Easter, however, hence the date is 1377 when 1 January is taken as the new year. (Shaw, *The Celestine Monks of France*, C. 1350-1450, 2018, p. 66, fn. 3)

Codex Ottobonianus 298 (1300-1399 AD)

- **Minuscule 629 (in the Gregory-Aland numbering), α 460 (von Soden), [1] is a Latin–Greek diglot minuscule manuscript of the New Testament, on parchment. It is known as Codex Ottobonianus** [<digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Ott.gr.298/0216>]. **Palaeographically it has been assigned to the 14th century.** The manuscript is lacunose.[2] It is known for the Comma Johanneum. Formerly it was labeled by 162a and 200p. Currently it is designated by the number 629. (Minuscule 629. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Minuscule_629>)

- [McDonald] **Erasmus' final decision to include the comma [1 John 5:7] in his edition seemed to be vindicated in 1823, when Johann Martin Augustin Scholz published his discovery of a second Greek New Testament manuscript containing the comma** (Vatican, BAV ms Ottob. gr. 298, GA 629, known as Codex Ottobonianus) [Scholz, *Biblich-kritische*, 1823, p. 105]. (McDonald, *Biblical Criticism in Early Modern Europe*, 2016, p. 280)

- **Johann Martin Augustin Scholz (8 February 1794 – 20 October 1852) was a German Roman Catholic orientalist, biblical scholar and academic theologian.** He was a professor at the University of Bonn and travelled extensively throughout Europe and the Near East in order to locate manuscripts of the New Testament. Scholz attended secondary school at the Catholic gymnasium in Breslau and then studied at the University of Breslau. In 1817 he was granted the degree of Doctor of Theology by the University of Freiburg, where he had studied under Johann Leonhard Hug (1765-1846). Scholz then went to Paris, where he studied Persian and Arabic under Silvestre de Sacy, and collated numerous codices (Greek, Latin, Arabic and Syriac) of the New Testament.[1] From Paris he went to London, then travelled through France and Switzerland en route to Italy, the principal libraries of which he visited in order to conduct biblical research. In the autumn of 1821, upon his return from a journey through Egypt, Palestine and Syria, and having been ordained at Breslau (in October 1821), Scholz became professor of exegesis at the University of Bonn, a chair to which he had been called in 1820, and which he filled until his death. In 1837, Scholz was appointed canon of the Cologne Cathedral. (Johann Martin Augustin Scholz. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johann_Martin_Augustin_Scholz>)

HIT:

This is he that came
by water and blood, Jesus Christ:
not by water only but by water
and blood. And it is the Spirit which
testifieth that Christ is the truth.

The Witness of God is Greater

For there are Three
who give testimony in
heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost.
And these three are one. And
there are three that give testimony
on earth: the spirit the water and
the blood. If we receive the
testimony of men,

Latin:

12 hic est qui venit
13 per aquam & sanguinem ihs xrs.
14 non in aqua solum. sed in aqua
15 & sanguine et sps est qui
16 testificatur quoniam. xrs est ve-
17 ritas. Quia tres sunt
18 qui testimonium dant in
19 celo. pater. verbum & sps sanctus
20 et hij tres unum sunt. Et
21 tres sunt qui testimonium
22 dant in terra. sps. aqua et
23 sanguis. si testimonium
24 hominum accipimus (f. 105v [Image 216])

Greek:

12 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐλθὼν
13 δι' ὕδατος καὶ αἵματος ΙΗΣ ΧΡΣ.
14 οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι μόνον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ὕδατι
15 καὶ ἐν τῷ αἵματι; καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα [ἐστὶ] τὸ
16 μαρτυροῦν ὅτι ὁ ΧΡΣ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀλή-
17θεια· Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν
18 οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἀπὸ τοῦ
19 οὐρανοῦ; πατήρ, λόγος καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον·
20 καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσι. Καὶ
21 τρεῖς ἐστὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες
22 ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς: τὸ πνεῦμα, τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ
23 τὸ αἷμα· Εἰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν
24 τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαμβάνομεν, , (f. 105v [Image 216])
<digl.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Ott.gr.298/0216>

Denis Amelotte (1609-1678 AD)

• **F. Amelotte, of the Oratory, who put out a French Version of the New Testament with Notes, has one upon this Text in these words: "Erasmus has said this verse was wanting in Greek MS. of the Vatican; but I myself have seen it in the most ancient MS. of that Library."** Erasmus and he might both be in the right, for as there are several Greek MSS. in that celebrated Library, the passage might be wanting in that which Erasmus' Friend collated for him, and F. Amelotte withal have seen it at Rome with his own eyes in another manuscript. (Martin, A Critical Dissertation Upon the Seventh Verse of the Fifth Chapter of St. John's

The Witness of God is Greater

First Epistle: There Are Three, That Bear Record in Heaven, &C. Wherein the Authentickness of This Text Is Fully Prov'd against the Objections of Mr. Simon and the Modern Arians, 1719, p. 57)

- **Denis Amelot, Cong. Orat., (or Amelote, or Amelotte) (1609 – 7 October 1678), was a French Biblical writer and scholar who is notable for his French translation of the New Testament (4 vols. 1666-170).**[1] In his translation he quoted Greek minuscule manuscripts: 42, 43, 44, and 149 (in Gregory-Aland numbering). Amelote was born in Saintes,[1] in the ancient Province of Saintonge. He was ordained a priest in 1631, was a Doctor of the Sorbonne, and became a member of the French Oratory.[1] He was a prominent opponent of Jansenism. He died in Paris.[1] (Denis Amelote. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Denis_Amelote>)
- [Crito indeed says]”**Amelotte asserted that he had seen the verse in a manuscript in the Vatican Library. If he ever saw it there, the manuscript, it seems, has disappeared...”**...”**It is well known that none of the manuscripts of that Library contain the disputed verse.**”Again, (p. 367,)”**Every view of the subject attests the vanity of supposing that there are Greek manuscripts in the Vatican containing the disputed verse; and I can state, that should any Visitor there avow something like an expectation of finding a Greek manuscript, which contains the controverted verse... the present very learned Librarian will be tempted to smile at his credulity.**”
- [Burgess] I have, then, the satisfaction of informing Crito, **on the authority of a learned traveller in search of Biblical manuscripts, (M. Scholz)** that there is a manuscript of the fifteenth century now extant **in the Vatican Library, the Codex Ottobonianus, 298**, which contains the disputed verse. (Burgess, A Letter to the Reverend Thomas Beynon, Archdeacon of Cardigan, 1829, p. 35-36)

Janssens : Sacred Hermeneutics

• Jean-Hérard Janssens (Maesyck, December 7, 1783 - Engis, May 23, 1853), is an ecclesiastical historian and writer, supporter of the House of Orange-Nassau. After preparatory studies for the priesthood followed in Rome, he taught at the college in Friborg from 1809 to 1816, during which time he wrote a treaty criticizing sacred hermeneutics and discussed it with his students. At the request of these and their colleagues from the Liège seminar where J.H. Janssens was appointed professor of Scripture and dogmatic theology, the work was published in 1818 and aroused strong opposition because the author's opinion, who did not hesitate to examine the doctrines condemned by the Church and the false interpretations that found them, is considered heretical. Forced to abandon teaching in 1823, J.H. Janssens occupies the cure of Engis until 1828 where he accepts, despite the prohibition made to him by his superiors, to assume the chair of logic, anthropology and metaphysics at the Philosophical College of Louvain, created in June 1825 by King William I of the Netherlands with a view to establishing a quality education in philosophy and fine arts for the clergy; this decision of the king had been extremely badly received by the whole of the catholics who did everything possible to counter the project. In 1830, the Philosophical College having disappeared following the Belgian revolution, J.-H. Janssens returns to Engis and writes there a history of the Netherlands which has been thoroughly researched and referenced, and which shows great boldness for a Catholic priest. The book was immediately the subject of a violent criticism written by Pierre Kersten, in the Journal historique et littéraire that he published in Liège. (Jean-Hérard Janssens. Wikipedia. <fr.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean-Hérard_Janssens>)

• [Burgess] **Janssens, who might have heard of it, quotes Amelotte without scruple**, as I find in the French Translation of his Hermeneutica Sacra, (vol. ii. p. 83. Paris, 1828.)”**Amelotte might have seen a**

The Witness of God is Greater

Vatican manuscript containing the verse, though he might have been deceived in his estimation of the age of the manuscript"(French: Celui du Vatican, un des plus anciens qu'on ait, dont parle Ancelot [Amelotte]).. (Burgess, A Letter to the Reverend Thomas Beynon, Archdeacon of Cardigan, 1829, p. 44-45)

• [Janssens] The manuscripts used by the authors of the edition of Complute. Here is what Cardinal Ximenes says in this preface to this edition, dedicated to Pope Leo x:"What we have done our main study is the choice of the copies we have used, in order not to take as archetypes of our edition as the oldest, and those which appeared to us to offer the most irreproachable correction, and we had to choose in an infinite number of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin copies which we have brought, not without from your country, it is to Your Holiness that we are indebted in particular to the Greek copies, and we can not forget the extreme goodness with which it has deigned to send us, from the apostolic library, to the oldest copies, both the Old and New Testaments, from which we have benefited most from the work we had undertaken"[As to the objections usually made against the copies of the editors of Complute, we find the solution in Joach. Ehrenfried Pfeiffer, Triada Testium in coelo. Erlangae, 1771.];

• **That [the manuscript] of the Vatican, one of the oldest we have, of which Ancelot [Amelotte] speaks;**

• Those whom the printer Hervagius followed for the Greek edition of the Old and New Testaments which he published at Balle in 1545;

• Those consulted by B. Arias Montanus, for the royal edition of the polyglot Bible, in 1571."**Cardinal Cranvelle,"says Arias in his preface,"sent us copies of the holy books in Greek, which he had it done at his expense, according to the copy of the Vatican, and which was collated with the greatest care;"**

• Janssens, Herméneutique sacrée ou Introduction à l'Écriture sainte en général, vol. 2, 1828, p. 80; Translated by Jean-Jacques Pacaud.

Don Leopoldo Sebastiani (1770-1843 AD)

• Don Leopoldo Sebastiani (1770-1843 AD). He was a priest, appointed missionary apostolic to Persia, Kabul and Kandahar (1804-1814), erudite biblical scholar, Greek and Latin classicist, Arabist, Persian and Near Eastern scholar, adventurous eastern traveler, Anglophile and political intelligence agent. [ft. 1. Leopoldo Sebastiani was the author of several works including the first outstanding translation of the Four Gospels into Persian (Calcutta 1813). His plan to produce a personal translation of the Acts of the Apostles did not come to fruition. Later he completed a fine Latin edition of the New Testament (London 1817), translated primarily from the Alexandrine Greek, while not rejecting the then standard Vulgate version, which was then regarded by the Catholic Church as the authoritative text for translation. For this he was censured. (Flynn, In the Western Christian Presence, 2017, p. 41)

• [Wiseman] I have now to mention the supposed existence of two manuscripts containing the verse, towards which I wish to turn the attention of critics and travelers. **I had frequently heard from a gentleman [Don Leopoldo Sebastiani], well known in the literary world as a Greek and oriental scholar, that he had seen manuscripts in the East which contained the verse.** He had, in fact, traveled over great [PAGE 69] part of Greece expressly with the view of collating manuscripts of the New Testament for a Latin version of it, which he afterwards published. Anxious to collect with greater accuracy the information he had to give upon the subject, I asked him more particularly to state to me what he had seen in reference to it. It took a note of his observations within a few minutes of our conversation; and as more than a year has since elapsed, I will content myself with transcribing it here."**His statement is: that he has seen several manuscripts with the verse erased, and two in which it is written, prima manu, in the margin. One was at Nicosia in Cyprus, in possession of a Greek, of abilities, a merchant (as I understood him). It was in uncial letters, large;**

The Witness of God is Greater

on the margin, by the same hand, although in smaller characters, was the verse, with an annotation that it belonged to the text. From his manner and character, I could have no reason whatever to doubt that he was perfectly sincere in his statements. I will add no comment upon this testimony; perhaps some traveler may be able to verify it.”(Wiseman, Two Letters on I John v. 7, vol 1, 1853, p. 68-69)

Edward Tatham (1749–1834) Rector of Lincoln College

• Edward Tatham (1749–1834) was an English college head, clergyman and controversialist, **Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford from 1792-1834.**[1] Born at Milbeck, township of Dent, in the parish of Sedbergh, then in Yorkshire, and baptised at Dent on 1 October 1749, was the son of James Tatham of that parish. He was educated at Sedbergh school under Dr. Wynne Bateman, and was the Tatham who was admitted at Magdalene College, Cambridge, as sizar on 11 May 1767; but the entry does not give the Christian name of either father or son, and he presumably never went into residence. He entered as batler at Queen's College, Oxford, 15 June 1769, and graduated B.A. 1772, M.A. 1776.[2] Tatham took deacon's orders in 1776 and priest's orders in 1778, and the curacy of Banbury was his first charge. The fire at Queen's College in 1779 destroyed his books and some of his manuscripts, and he seems to have moved to Banbury. On 27 December 1781 he was elected to a Yorkshire fellowship at Lincoln College, Oxford, and became its acting tutor, proceeding B.D. in 1783 and D.D. in 1787. On 6 November 1787, Tatham was elected sub-rector of Lincoln College, and on 15 March 1792 he was unanimously elected Rector. To this post was attached the rectory of Twyford, Buckinghamshire, with a right of residence at the rectory of Combe. Tatham preached about 1802 a famous sermon, two hours and a half long, in defence of the disputed verse in St. John's first epistle (v. 7). Tatham concluded the discourse by leaving the subject to the learned bench of bishops.”I leave the subject to be followed up by the”lamed”bench of bishops, who have little to do, and do not always do that little.”(Edward Tatham. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edward_Tatham>)

• [Burgess] VIII. I must not here omit an important accession to the direct evidence for the verse, which I add on the authority of the present learned **Rector of Lincoln College, in Oxford. Having heard it [PAGE 85] reported, that a Greek MS. of the New Testament containing the verse had been known to be extant in the Library of Lincoln College, not many years since, and that the Rector of Lincoln had spoken of it in St. Mary's pulpit, I wrote to the learned Rector on the subject, and received the following answer:”Porson's book never shook my conviction of the authenticity of the important verse, which has so long and laudably engaged your indefatigable study. The artful and superficial way in which he treated the interesting subject, and his unmannerly behaviour to Mr. Travis, brought me some years ago into St. Mary's pulpit, with a sermon upon the disputed text; which sermon I have mislaid, and cannot find. What I said about the MS. that I had seen, which contained the verse, I [PAGE 86] cannot accurately state. It was a MS. in the College Library, and seen in the presence of Dr. Parsons, late Bishop of Peterborough ; but on looking for it, when I preached the sermon, it was not found, nor can it be found at the present time.”** (Burgess, A letter to the clergy of the diocese of St. David's on a passage of the second Symbolum Antiochenum of the fourth century as an evidence of the authenticity of 1 John v. 7, 1825, p. 84-86)

• [Symonds] He (Tennyson) came to Sonning twice, once with Kingsley. Then he was in religious doubt, and made what H. P. thought a profound remark : 'The question of Christianity is a question of the Resurrection.' **At dinner came Austin, the curate of Sonning, and Horn, the vicar of Earley. We had pleasant talk about Jenkyns and old Balliol days. They told some good stories of Tatham of Lincoln (who made the speech, 'I wish all the Jarman classics were at the bottom of the Jarman ocean'). Pearson said that**

The Witness of God is Greater

'when preaching once at St. Mary's on the text of the three witnesses, Tatham remarked that a MS. of St. John had existed once in Lincoln Library. The MS. had unfortunately been lost, and he added, * When I last saw it my worthy friend the Bishop of Peterborough [John Parsons (1761 – 1819)], whom I have now the honour to see opposite me, was with me.' (p. 141)

• John Addington Symonds and Horatio F. Brown. John Addington Symonds A Biography. London: J.C. Nimmo, 1895. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/609539591>. <books.google.com/books?id=q5YHAQAAIAAJ>.

• [Cox] Few persons probably have heard more sermons than I have; of course I shall be told 'that I ought to be, in proportion, the better for them;' I only rejoin, that I hope I am not the worse, notwithstanding, having conscientiously tried hard to consider it as a privilege, and not merely an official necessity. **During my Undergraduate days (that is from 1802 to 1806) I went to St. Mary's 'whenever a great gun' (as we called a noted preacher—not necessarily a Canon) was expected to fire away (as was then the wont) at a methodistical or a dissenting target. I heard also Dr. Tatham, Rector of Lincoln, preach his famous two hours and a half sermon, in defence of the genuineness of the disputed verse in St. John's first Epistle, 'There are three that bear witness,' &c. Long as the sermon was (and I have not overstated the time), few, if any, left the church till the conclusion¹; so strangely attractive was the mixture of learning and coarseness.** Some persons however had better have left him to his 'second hour-glass,' especially one old Head of a College, who was said never to have recovered from the effects of the long sitting. [fn. 1. **In the course of his argument, as he grew warm with his subject, he more emphatically than charitably wished 'all the German critics (or 'Jarman,' as he pronounced it) at the bottom of the "Jarman" Ocean.' In charity, I presume that he only meant their writings;** and as neither Porson's cutting* and overpowering Reply to Travis, nor Turton's answer to Burgess, on the disputed passage, incurred the Doctor's imprecations, I presume they had not then appeared.] [fn. 2. I find, on inquiry, that Porson's Strictures on Travis's Letters on the disputed text, after appearing in the Gentleman's Magazine in 1788 and 1789, were published as a whole in 1790. Dr. Tatham preached his long sermon in 1802 or 1803. Burgess wrote to invalidate Porson's arguments after Porson's death, in 1808. Turton's Reply to Burgess followed soon after.] [fn. 3. **The conclusion [of the sermon] was to this effect: 'I leave the subject to be followed up by the "lamed" bench of bishops, who have little to do, and do not always do that little.'**] (Cox, Recollections of Oxford, 1870, p. 233-234)

• Cox, G. V. Recollections of Oxford. London: Macmillan, 1870. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/10356158>. <books.google.com/books?id=OHA4AAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.

Trinitarian Kalophonikon : Constantine Asan (circa 1400)

• Konstantinos Asanes [Born] In Italy 1369/1370. Senator 1409. Died 1415[?]
<fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/BYZANTINE%20NOBILITY.htm>

• John Kladas (Greek: Ιωάννης Κλαδάς) was a Byzantine hymnographer who lived in the late 14th and early 15th centuries. He had the post of lampadarius in the cathedral of Hagia Sophia of Constantinople. He is considered the third most important Byzantine hymnographer after John of Damascus and John Kukuzelis. He wrote several works on the theory of music, the most important being the Grammatike tes mousikes (The Grammar of Music). His daughter was a chanter and hymnographer, known only from one composition. (John Kladas. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Kladas>)

HITS:

- Trinitarian Kalophonikon

The Witness of God is Greater

The melody is by Mr. John Kladas the Lambadarios,
while the text is by Mr. Constantine Asan.

Mode Plagal 2.

**O God, [you are] Trinity distinguishable in persons,
but not in nature, for the three in appearance [are]
one essence and divinity.**

— Again

O God, [you are] Trinity distinguishable in persons,
but not in nature, for the three in appearance [are]
one essence and divinity.

**For you, O Father, Word, and Spirit, are source
[lit. 'eye'], spring, and river.**

For by your command everything is kept in good order,
And made subject to you,
my Christ, O Word, my God.

Do not abandon your creature, O Spotless One.

Nature above all being

—Again

Nature above all being,

Save me, Holy Trinity: Father, Son and Spirit!

Terererere...

Save me, Holy Trinity: Father, Son, and Spirit!

Greek:

Τριαδικὸν καλοφωνικόν·

τὸ μὲν μέλος, κυρίου Ἰωάννου λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ
Κλαδᾶ· τὰ δὲ γράμματα, κυρίου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ
Ἀσάνη. Ἦχος πλ. β΄.

**Θεέ, Τριάς διαρετὴ προσώποις, οὐ τῆ φύσει·
Ἐν γὰρ τὰ τρία τῆ μορφῇ,
οὐσία καὶ θεότης.**

— πάλιν

Θεέ, Τριάς διαρετὴ προσώποις, οὐ τῆ φύσει·

Ἐν γὰρ τὰ τρία τῆ μορφῇ,

οὐσία καὶ θεότης.

**Ὄφθαλμὸς γὰρ σὺ καὶ πηγὴ καὶ ποταμὸς
σὺ πέλεις, ὦ Πάτερ, Λόγε καὶ Πνεῦμα.**

Σοὶ γὰρ λόγῳ τὰ πάντα εὖ συντετήρηται τάξεις,

καὶ σοὶ ὑποτέτακται,

Χριστέ μου, Λόγε, Θεέ μου.

Σὸν πλάσμα μὴ παρίδῃς ὁ καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ρύπου.

Ἐπερούσιε φύσις

—πάλιν

Ἐπερούσιε φύσις,

Σῶσόν με, Τριάς ἁγία· Πάτερ, Υἱὲ καὶ Πνεῦμα!

Τερερερερε...

Σῶσόν με, Τριάς ἁγία· Πάτερ, Υἱὲ καὶ Πνεῦμα!

MS Athens EBE 2406 : f426r, f426v, f427r : Image 849, 850, 851.

<digitalcollections.nlg.gr/nlg-repo/dl/el/browse/3431>

Comment:

• [Ioannidou] ...This is the case of manuscript EBE 2406, written in 1453 at the monastery of St. John Prodromos near the city of Serres in northern Greece by Matthew, a monk at this location. By looking at the contents of this source we may say with certainty that the scribe had an extensive knowledge of the

The Witness of God is Greater

chants in use in Constantinople and Thessalonike since he acknowledges the variants for each location and identifies attributions to composers with great accuracy. Variants of the same composition may be practically from a simple or elaborate "rewording" of a formula to additions of extended sections. (Ioannidou, The kalophonic settings of the Second Psalm in the Byzantine chant tradition of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, 2014, p. 136-137)

MS Athens EBE 2406 (series 455) (1453 AD)

- [Touliatos-Miles] The beginning folios and binding of this manuscript are torn and damaged. The back binding that remains is dark brown and has copper heart-shaped ornamentation in three of its four corners. The manuscript is in fair condition. Many of the folios are torn; fols 3-6 have dismembered lower corners. Water damage makes other portions of the MS difficult to read, especially the rubrics and modal indications. Black ink is used for the text and neumes, with the rubrics, modal signatures and hypostasis appearing in a light brown ink. Although variable, the pages average 20-23 lines of text and music. Of particular note are the decorative rubrics found on fols 73v, 151r and 276r. In addition, there are various illuminations throughout. For instance, the Polyeleos (Ps. 134) on fols 90"-99" has two interesting designs. For verse 16, 'They have mouths but they speak not', there is an open mouth that is incorporated in the initial letter of the sigma (α) for the word *cruipcx* (mouth). Continuing, verse 17, 'They have ears but they hear not', incorporates a large ear in the first letter of the word. This MS is significant for it is the first musical manuscript to be dated (Duly 1453) after the capture of Constantinople. The scribe is Mathaios Monachos and domestikos; the colophon is found on fol. 291r. The Polychronion to Constantine Palaeologos on fol. 218r is further evidence of the time. The watermark, however, is not discernible.
- [Touliatos-Miles] This anthology of the old Papadike style is important for its many titled melodies, attributions, rubrics and even scribal annotations. The rich attributions give a listing of composers at the time of the fall of the empire and the MS even includes notated music for two women composers. Of note is the sole composition of the daughter of Ioannes Kladas, who wrote a memorial hymn upon the death of her famous father, the Lampadarios, who was a member of the Royal Clergy (fol. 258v). Even the performance practice directions are well marked, with rubrics indicating the solo performances of the Domestikos, the right choir or left choir, or even both choirs. Often when both choirs are chanting together, the neumes for one is written in black and the neumes for the other in red.
- [Touliatos-Miles] Type of paper: bombycinous; Measurements: 21.7 x 14.3 cm; Folios: 468; Notation: Middle Round Byzantine.
- Diane Touliatos-Miles, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Musical Manuscript Collection of the National Library of Greece: Byzantine Chant and Other Music Repertory Recovered, 2010, p. 354-355

Manuel Chrysaphes (1440–1470 AD) : The Hierarch of Christ

- Manuel Doukas Chrysaphes (Greek: Μανουήλ Δούκας Χρυσάφης, fl. 1440–1470) was the most prominent Byzantine musician of the 15th century. (Manuel Chrysaphes. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manuel_Chrysaphes>)
- [Delios] As Spyridon Antonopoulos¹⁸ points out, one of the last great musicians of Byzantium and simultaneously an exponent of the kalophonic compositional style was Manuel Dukas Chrysaphes, the so-called Chrysaphes the Old. He was, as we are informed in his autograph manuscript Iviron 975 (f. 173r), Lampadarios of the "charitable royal clergy" and familiar to the last two emperors of Byzantium, John VIII and Constantine XI the Paleologans. After the fall of the Empire he travelled to Mystras and later on to Crete, where he spent his time composing and at the same time teaching the musical tradition of Constantinople. He also made a trip to Serbia, as is evident from his autograph manuscript Iviron 1120.
- [Delios] From the famous compositions of this great musician I have chosen the kalophonic sticheron "Χριστοῦ τὸν ἱεράρχην", a doxastikon in honour of St Athanasios the Great, belonging to the hymnography for vespers of 2 May. It is a composition in the plagal of the second mode, written on pages 373-374 of manuscript no 7 of the Holy Metropolis of Zakynthos. This manuscript is a Kalophonic

The Witness of God is Greater

Sticherarion”written by master Manuel Chrysaphes”himself (“ποιηθὲν παρὰ τοῦ μαῖστορος τοῦ Χρυσάφου κυρίου Μανουήλ”) as indicated at the beginning of the manuscript.

• Athanasios Delios, “Χριστοῦ τὸν ἱεράρχην”: the course of the sticheron from the old (non-kalophonic) to the kalophonic melos”in Journal of the International Society for Orthodox Church Music, 2018, p. 124.

HITS:

- Let us all praise Athanasius, the hierarch of Christ; for he abolished all of Arius’ teachings, and he strongly preached the might of the Holy Trinity through the whole universe, **one God in three persons undivided**, to whom he intercedes in favour of all of us who faithfully celebrate his memory.
 - Greek: Χριστοῦ τὸν ἱεράρχην, ὑμνήσωμεν ἅπαντες Ἀθανάσιον· ὅτι Ἀρείου τὰ διδάγματα πάντα κατήργησε, καὶ τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος τὸ κράτος, εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον τρανῶς καταγγέλλει, **ἓνα Θεὸν ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις ἀμέριστον**, ᾧ καὶ πρεσβεύει ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, τῶν ἐν πίστει τελούντων τὴν μνήμην αὐτοῦ.

Comment:

• [Delios] ...Maria Alexandru is of the opinion that Zakynthos 7 is a manuscript of the second half of the 15th century. From her point of view this dating is justified firstly by the very high quality of the manuscript (highly calligraphic with decoration in golden ink) and secondly by the list of names of composers, in which all generations of kalophonic composers from the second half of the 13th century to the second half of the 15th century are represented. (Athanasios Delios, “Χριστοῦ τὸν ἱεράρχην”: the course of the sticheron from the old (non-kalophonic) to the kalophonic melos”in Journal of the International Society for Orthodox Church Music, 2018, p. 124, fn 24)

Manuel Calecas (d. 1410 AD)

• **Emanuel (Manuel) Calecas was a Byzantine theologian and rhetorician, opponent of hesychasm, and advocate of union with the West;** b. Constantinople; d. Lesbos, 1410. There is evidence of his relationship to John Calecas, Patriarch of Constantinople (1334–47). What little is known of his life is gathered mainly from his letters. While still a layman, he conducted a school that did not flourish, partly because of his extreme gentleness. About 1390 he came under the influence of Demetrius cydones, who introduced him to Aristotelian philosophy. Later Calecas taught himself Latin in order to read Thomas Aquinas. Forced to leave Constantinople because of his opposition to Hesychasm, he traveled through Italy and the Orient, entering the dominicans at Lesbos toward the end of his life. Latin scholasticism (medieval) is very evident in his works, which include: On Faith and the Principles of the Catholic Faith (Patrologia Graeca 152:429–661), a systematic explanation of theology in nine books written at the request of friends, and containing the pseudo-Augustinian Sermo de purgatorio and sermons concerning the Holy Eucharist attributed to Aquinas; treatises On the Substance and Operation of God (PG 152:283–428), against Gregory palamas; Against the Errors of the Greeks (PG 152:11–258); Against Joseph bryennios [G. Mercati, Notizie ... ed altri appunti (Vatican 1930) 454–473]; Concerning the Procession of the Holy Spirit (PG 144:864–958), formerly attributed to Cydones; and also Greek translations of Boethius's De Trinitate, Anselm of Canterbury's Cur Deus homo, a Christmas Mass of the Ambrosian rite, and a Mass of the Holy Spirit from the Roman Missal. (Emanuel (Manuel) Calecas. New Catholic Encyclopedia. <www.encyclopedia.com/religion/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/manuel-calecas>)

• [Tsougarakis] ...another of Demetrius Cydones’s disciples was **Manuel Calecas. Calecas was a professor of grammar and rhetoric in Constantinople, who around 1390 joined the circle of Demetrius Cydones and became his pupil and closest friend.** Calecas was influenced by Cydones, especially by his translations of Thomas Aquinas, and soon began to learn Latin. In the mid-1390s Calecas, who opposed the official Greek

The Witness of God is Greater

theology of Gregorius Palamas, sought refuge at Pera and perhaps stayed at the convent of St Dominic. In 1400 he travelled to Crete where he was in contact with Maximus Chrysoberges and where he produced his tract on Trinitarian theology, entitled *Adversus Bryennium*. Between 1401 and 1403 Calecas resided in the Benedictine monastery of St Ambrose in Milan, where he wrote the *De processione Spiritus Sancti* and began the composition of the *Adversus Graecos*. Finally, Manuel Calecas retired to the island of Lesbos, where he joined the Dominican convent of St George. On Lesbos, he finished the *Adversus Graecos* and was appointed rector of the chapel of St John. He died in 1410. (Tsougarakis, *The Latin Religious Orders in Medieval Greece 1204–1500 AD*, 2012, p. 205)

HIT:

- [Orthodox Faith] If then regards others Scripture speaks: "Sons have I begotten and exalted, and they have rebelled against me." (Isa. 1:2) Or in this way, "I have said, Ye are gods, and all of you are sons of the most High." (Ps. 82:6) But none of the others He says to be the only-born Son of God, nor will it be said about anyone that "In Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead" (Col. 2:9) except for Him whom this Scripture speaks of. Again also the Son Himself says: "All mine things are thine, and thine are mine." (Jn. 17:10) And, "All things whatsoever the Father hath are mine." (Jn. 16:15) And, "This is the eternal life, that they might know Thee, the only true God, and whom Thou hast sent, Jesus Christ." (Jn. 17:3) So also says the Apostle: "Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God." (Phil. 2:6) But truly, the words of Scripture on the Father and the Son also enumerate a third in order, the Spirit. For so does Christ say: "Going out in the whole world, teach all the nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit." (Mat. 28:19) **And the Evangelist John: "There are three who testify, the Father, the Word and the Holy Spirit." (1 Jn. 5:7)** And again, "But when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you, even the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, the same shall testify of me." (Jn. 15:26) (Manuel Calecas, *Principiis Fidei Catholicae*; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, April 2020)
 - **Greek:** Εἰ δὲ καὶ περὶ ἄλλων φησὶν ἡ Γραφή, "Υἱοὺς ἐγέννησα καὶ ὕψωσα, αὐτοὶ δὲ με ἠθέτησαν" (Isa. 1:2) ἢ ὡς τὸ, "Εγὼ εἶπα, Θεοὶ ἐστε, καὶ υἱοὶ Ὑψίστου πάντες." (Ps. 82:6) ἀλλ' οὐδένα τῶν ἄλλων λέγει εἶναι μονογενῆ Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐδὲ ἐρρέθη περὶ τίνος, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς Θεότητος," (Col. 2:9) ὁ περὶ τούτου φησὶν ἡ Γραφή. "Ἐτι δὲ φησὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Υἱὸς, "Πάντα τὰ ἐμὰ σὰ, καὶ τὰ σὰ ἐμὰ" (Jn. 17:10) Καὶ, "Πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ Πατήρ, ἐμὰ ἐστὶ," (Jn. 16:15) Καὶ, "Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ αἰώνιος ζωὴ. ἵνα γινώσκωσί σε τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν, καὶ ὃν ἀπέστειλας Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν." (Jn. 17:3) Λέγει δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀπόστολος, "Ὅς ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, οὐχ ἄρπαγμόν ἠγάγατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ." (Phil. 2:6) Ἀλλὰ μὴν τὰ ῥητὰ τῆς Γραφῆς τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ τρίτον τῇ τάξει συναριθμοῦσι τὸ Πνεῦμα. Φησὶ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς, "Πορευθέντες εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα, μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, Βαπτίζοντε; αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος" (Mat. 28:19) **Καὶ ὁ Εὐαγγελιστὴς Ἰωάννης, "Τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, ὁ Πατήρ, ὁ Λόγος καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον." (1 Jn. 5:7)** Καὶ πάλιν, "Ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ὁ Παράκλητος, ὃν ἐγὼ πέμψω ὑμῖν, τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ὃ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, ἐκεῖνος μαρτυρήσει περὶ ἐμοῦ" (Jn. 15:26) (Manuelis Calecae, *Principiis Fidei Catholicae de Principiis Fidei Catholicae*; Migne Graeca, PG 152.516B)

Joseph Bryennius (1340-1431 AD)

- Joseph Bryennios: Byzantine theologian of the fifteenth century; b., probably in Lacedaemon, about 1350; d. apparently in Crete about 1436. Bryennios, whose original name was Bladynteros, entered a Cretan monastery

The Witness of God is Greater

about 1375, but some twenty years later was obliged to leave the island on account of a conflict with the clergy. He then went to Constantinople, joined the Studites, and soon became the court chaplain of the Emperor Manuel Palaiologus, thus gaining an important influence in ecclesiastical polity. **In 1416 and 1418 he was imperial ambassador to the West, and at first enjoyed the favor of John Palaiologus, but when the emperor, for reasons of state, favored union with the Latin Church, Joseph, a rigid antagonist of this measure, retired from public life, and apparently spent the last years of his life in Crete. He was primarily a theologian, although his writings (first edited by Eugenius Bulgaris, 3 vols., Leipsic, 1768-84) contain a mass of material on all branches of Byzantine learning, especially rhetoric, dialectics, geometry, astronomy, physics, and philosophy. He was the author of twenty-one addresses and three dialogues on the Trinity, while other sermons are devoted to the Virgin, redemption, eschatology, faith, the plan of salvation, Easter, the Transfiguration, and the Tabor-light.** His attitude toward union is given in his "Speech of Counsel" and "On the Union of the Cretans," while his twenty-six letters contain many theological allusions. Bryennios was rigidly orthodox and had no sympathy with humanism or with western thought. The prime source of authority, in his opinion, was the Bible, which was supplemented by the Church Fathers, who had established the truth of the dogmas contained in the Scriptures, so that these principles required no further proof and were superior to human reason. God can be defined only negatively, and man was created as the end of creation. Seeking to gain his apotheosis by his own powers, however, he lost the fellowship of God, though he retained the freedom of the will. The mission of Christ was to enable man to attain the end for which he was created, the special agency being the manifestation of the person of the Lord. (CCEL; P. Meyer, in TSK, lxi (1896), 282-319; <www.ccel.org/s/schaff/encyc/encyc06/hm/iii.lvii.cxx.htm>).

• Joseph Bryennius. (1340-1431 AD) Constantinople. Joseph Bryennius, born sometime between 1340 and 1350, probably in Constantinople, was a Byzantine Hesychast monk and preacher. From 1382/83 to 1402/03 he lived in Crete, which was then under Venetian rule, and worked as a missionary for the Orthodox Church. His strict Orthodox views brought him into conflict with Venetian ruling class and he had to flee from the island. He went back to Constantinople and served as court preacher, living first in the Monastery of Stoudiou (1402-06 AD) and later in the Charsianeites Monastery (1416-27). **In 1406, he was sent to Cyprus as topoteretes (patriarchal representative) of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Matthew I, to negotiate a union with the Cypriot church, but the negotiations failed. Back in Constantinople, he became an important figure in the discussion about the union of the churches, which he violently rejected.** Working as a preacher for a great part of his life, Joseph wrote a considerable number of homilies, which are an important source for the social history of his time. In the context of the discussions concerning church union, he recorded three "dialexeis" (dialogues) with adherents or sympathizers of the Latin Church and wrote a number of treatises defending the Orthodox doctrine concerning the Holy Trinity and the procession of the Holy Spirit. Bryennius died in 1431. (Thomas & Mallett & Sala, *Christian Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History, 1350-1500*, vol 5, 2013, p. 334)

HITS:

- **[Oration 21]** Not in any other way are the divine Persons distinguished from each other, but by their existential peculiarities (or hypostatic attributes), **and it is that the Three are One and the One is Three.** And how the One is Three and the Three are One is paradoxical and supernatural (Greek above nature), as also that the highest in the Three is the lowest, and the lowest the highest. (Josephus BRYENNIUS Theol. Orationes {3160.008} Oratio 21 line 451; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, April 2020)

The Witness of God is Greater

- **Greek:** οὐδὲ κατ' ἄλλο τι, ἢ μόνον ταῖς ὑποστατικαῖς ιδιότησιν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ θεῖα πρόσωπα διακέκριται, **καὶ ἔστι τὰ τρία ἓν, καὶ τὸ ἓν (450) τρία**· καὶ ὡς τὸ ἓν τρία, καὶ τὰ τρία ἓν παραδόξως καὶ ὑπερφυῶς, οὕτω καὶ τὸ μέσον ἐν τοῖς τρισὶν ἄκρον, καὶ τὸ ἄκρον μέσον· (Josephus BRYENNIUS Theol. Orationes {3160.008} Oration 21)
- [Sermon] But whenever I shall say 'God', I speak of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, the ultimate God [litt. above-God] and highest Trinity. **Father, Son and Holy Spirit, one Godhead three subjects. One substance, three hypostases [existences];** one nature, three persons; one form, three characters; one genus, three individuals. (Sermon in the holy and life-providing Trinity collected together from various sermons about it of our holy father and wisest Joseph Bryennios; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, June 2020)
 - **Greek:** Θεὸν δὲ ὅταν εἶπω, λέγω Πατέρα, Υἱὸν καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμά, τὴν ὑπέρθεν καὶ ἀνωτάτην Τριάδα. **Πατήρ, Υἱὸς καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, μία Θεότης τρία ἰδιώματα· μία οὐσία, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις**· μία φύσις, τρία πρόσωπα· μία μορφή, τρεῖς χαρακτῆρες· ἓν εἶδος, τρία ἄτομα. (ΛΟΓΟΣ εἰς τὴν Ἁγίαν καὶ ζωαρχικὴν Τριάδα συνερανοισθεὶς ἐκ διαφόρων πρὸς Αὐτὴν λόγων τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν σοφωτάτου Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Βρυεννίου.
<users.uoa.gr/~nektar/orthodoxy/explanatory/iwshf_bryennios_logos_eis_thn_agian_triada.htm >)
- Comment:**
 - [Note in the text] Joseph Bryennios, 14-15th century. **Deep theologian and formidable rhetor, great teacher of the Church of Christ, unprecedented mighty against the Union with the Latins,** a used teacher and guide of the great champion of the Orthodox Mark of Eugenikos [Mark of Ephesus]. (Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, June 2020)
- [I John 5:6-8] **This is he that came by water and blood and the Holy Spirit, even Jesus Christ; not by water only, but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because Christ is the truth. For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in earth, the spirit, and the water, and the blood.**
 - **Greek:** Καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐλθὼν, δι' ὕδατος καὶ αἵματος καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός· οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι μόνον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ὕδατι καὶ τῷ αἵματι. Καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμά ἐστι τὸ μαρτυροῦν, ὅτι ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστὶν ἡ ἀλήθεια· ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ πατήρ ὁ λόγος καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσι. καὶ τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῆ, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ αἷμα. (Bryennius. Concerning the Holy Trinity. edited by Eugenius Bulgaris, 1768, vol 1, p. 241)

Comments:

- [Travis] Eugenius, Archbishop of Cherson, first published this work of Bryennius from an original MS, or MSS [in 1768 AD]. And when C. F. Matthaei, Professor of the University of Moscow, applied to the Archbishop for information whether he had inserted these verses from Greek MSS, or from the modern printed editions of the New Testament, his reply was "**You may assure yourself beyond all doubt, that I found this passage in the MSS of Bryennius as it appears in my printed edition. I had not dared otherwise to have inserted it in my book. I consider, and always have considered, it as a sacred obligation upon me, in every thing to prefer the truth,** (fn. e. C.F. Matthaei prelat. in sept. Epist. Cathol. p. LVI.). (Travis, Letters to Edward Gibbon, Author of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, 1794, p. 142).

• [McDonald] In 1780, **Eugeneius Bulgarius (1716-1806)**, former archbishop of Cherson, who had studied in Italy and had visited Germany and France, received an enquiry from Christian Friedrich Matthaei, a German who had recently been appointed professor of classics at Moscow. Matthaei asked Bulgaris about the quotation of the comma in the text of Bryennius, which Bulgaris had edited some years before. Bulgaris replied on 10 December 1780, confirming the presence of the comma in the manuscript of Bryennius. Bulgaris also showed considerable knowledge of the critical discussions of the passage in the west, from Erasmus to Mill. **He was of the opinion that the Johannine comma was known to Tertullian and Cyprian; the presence of the comma in the African text of the Latin Vulgate was indicated by the fact that it was cited by the bishops who appeared before Hunneric.[Council of Carthage 484 see: Victor Vitensis.]** As further evidence for the genuineness of the comma, Bulgaris noted the lack of grammatical coordination between the masculine τρεῖς μαρτυροῦντες and the three neuter nouns τὸ Πνεῦμα, τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα. He remarked that although it is possible in Greek to agree masculine or feminine nouns with neuter adjectives or pronouns, the reverse was unusual; one would more normally expect τρία εἰσι τὸ μαρτυροῦντα ... καὶ τὰ τρία. **Bulgaris seems then to be the first to have argued for the genuineness of the comma through the argument from grammar, but he advanced these arguments in the light of the critical controversies in the Latin world.** (McDonald. Biblical Criticism, 2016, p. 114-115).

Eugeneius Bulgarius (1716-1806)

• **Eugenios Voulgaris or Boulgaris[1]** (Greek: Εὐγένιος Βούλγαρης, Russian: Евгений Булгарский, Евгений Булгар, 1716–1806) was a Greek scholar, prominent Greek Orthodox educator, and bishop of Kherson (in Ukraine). Writing copiously on theology, philosophy and the sciences, he disseminated western European thought throughout the Greek and eastern Christian world, and was a leading contributor to the Modern Greek Enlightenment. In 1742, Boulgaris became director of an important school of Ioannina, the Maroutsia. There he was involved in a public dispute with Balanos Vasilopoulos, who was the director of another high level school of the city, regarding the curricula of their respective schools – Voulgaris arguing for the institution of natural philosophy. From 1753 to 1759 Voulgaris was director of the Athonite Academy (Athoniada Akademia) at Vatopedi Monastery aiming at upgrading the level of studies. There he taught philosophy as well as mathematics. Though he was considered one of the most eminent teachers, his eagerness to communicate some of the new ideas of the western European 'Enlightenment' caused a negative reaction among some Orthodox Christian leaders on Mount Athos. He was eventually forced to abandon the school in the beginning of 1759. **He then temporarily headed the Patriarchal Academy in Constantinople (known to Greeks as the "Great School of the Nation").** However, in 1761 he permanently abandoned his educational career. (Eugenios Voulgaris. Wikipedia).

Don Martín García (1441-1521 AD)

• Martin Garcia Puyazuelo (Caspe, ca.1441 - 7 of March of 1521) was an Aragonese religious bishop of Barcelona between 1511 and 1521. **In 1467 he translated the Distica Catonis into verse . He held ecclesiastical offices in Rome. He obtained the title of "master" in theology at the University of San Clemente de Bolonia in 1480 and in 1481 he was appointed canon of the Seo de Zaragoza.** He was inquisitor in Zaragoza and director of the Hospital de Nuestra Señora de Gracia. With Juan de Enguera, Fernando de Loaces, the bishop of Tortosa Adrian Florisz Boeyens (future pope as Adriano VI), Lope Martínez de Lagunilla, Luis Mercader, and Acisclo Moya de Contreras, part of the Court of the Inquisition in

The Witness of God is Greater

Catalonia, then very active. **He was bishop of Barcelona from 1511 until his death in 1521, taking care of receiving the Emperor Charles V and hosting the chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece in the Cathedral of Barcelona . As bishop of Barcelona he participated in the Lateran Council.** He was buried in the collegiate church of Santa María la Mayor de Caspe, in a beautiful monumental sepulcher that was destroyed during the Civil War. (Martín_García_Puyazuelo. Wikipedia. <es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martín_García_Puyazuelo>)

• [Coca] Don Martín García, a native of Caspe, Aragón, was born around 1441 into a humble family of old Christians. He held multiple positions of relevance throughout his life: he was canon of the Seo de Zaragoza, bishop of Barcelona, archdeacon of Daroca, royal confessor of Isabel la Católica, royal preacher of Fernando de Aragón, royal Reformer of Religious, archbishop-elect of Messina, Vicar General and Inquisitor of the Kingdom of Aragon (Hebrera, 1700, pp. 5-7). Being very young, he went to Zaragoza to begin his training in the Seo and his lively and inquisitive nature resulted in obtaining several scholarships to study in centers such as the Colegio de Españoles de San Clemente in Bologna, where the Dominican obtained the title of Maestre in 1480 (Hebrew, 1700, p. 57).

• [Coca] **At this time in his life, Don Martín intensifies his study of the religions with which he begins to argue: Judaism and Islam. Supposedly, he studies the Bible in Chaldean and Hebrew, the Talmud and other Jewish works** (Hebrera, 1700, p. 93; Cirac Estopañán, 1956, p. 125; Ribera Florit, 1967, p. 27). Much of his activity is known to us thanks to the work of his biographer José Hebrera y Esmir, published in 1700, with the title: Prodigious life of the most illustrious and venerable Don Martín García. Despite sometimes being carried away by a certain fantasy, this is one of the main sources to take into account when drawing up a fairly accurate profile of Don Martín's life. In the year 1520, the bishop of Barcelona groups, orders and translates 156 of his sermons. Hebrera (1700, p. 76) offers us this date of 1520, as does Cirac Estopañán (1956, p. 6) and the editio princeps of the sermons itself provides this information in its explicit.¹ However, Ribera Florit (1967, p. 32) is wrong in giving the date 1517, probably due to a misreading of the Latin from the explicit. Except for Ribera Florit, most modern studies undoubtedly coincide in dating this first edition to the year 1520. After this first edition, a second one followed which, unfortunately, does not have any type of annotation regarding its date of printing. However, based on the enormous similarity both in typographic and content with the first, we can guess that it was made a few months or years later. In addition, the activity of the printer (who does appear in both explicitly) in the city of Zaragoza lasts until the year 1537 (Norton, 20102, p. 76) so we must place this second reprint between the years 1520 and 1537. For our doctoral thesis we have called the first edition of 1520 M and X the second without dating. Currently more than thirty copies of both M and X are preserved in various Spanish and European libraries, preserved with varying degrees of success. For our work we use two copies located in the Library of the Complutense University of Madrid that are also digitized online and are currently in the public domain.

• Coca, Hacia una edición crítica de los "Sermones" de Don Martín García, 2017, p. 238-239

• [Coca] Regarding the Christian sources that the bishop of Barcelona uses in his work, we must highlight the exhaustive use of both exegetical and medieval Latin patristic works. **So far, at least 10,000 references have been found both from the Christian Bible and from a multitude of medieval Christian authors.** These citations appear on occasions well referenced in the Dominican preacher's text. (Coca, Hacia una edición crítica de los "Sermones" de Don Martín García, 2017, p. 241)

HITS:

• [Sermon 86] Theme: **"And there are Three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one. And there are three that give testimony on earth: the spirit and the water and the blood. And these three are one"**(1 John 5). Among the outstanding attributes of the Virgin Mary, there are two principal ones: being the mother of God Almighty and being the advocate of the whole world and sinners in particular. The first of these attributes pertains to her relation to God, the second pertains to her relation to the world. The first has been a source of great honor to her, the second of immense benefit to us. **Although no pious person can doubt these things, we nevertheless have three witnesses in heaven concerning the first outstanding**

The Witness of God is Greater

attribute: the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, about whom it is said "there are three" etc.; while regarding the second outstanding attribute we have three other witnesses, on earth, about which it is said that "there are three that give testimony on earth" etc. (Don Martín García, Sermon 86)

• **Latin:** Thema "Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in celo: pater, uerbum et spiritus sanctus. Et hi tres unum sunt. Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra: spiritus, aqua et sanguis. Et hi tres unum sunt," prima Iohannis quinto. Inter uirginis Marie excellentias due sunt precipue, scilicet: esse matrem Dei omnipotentis et esse aduocata totius mundi, maxime peccatorum. Prima est comparandum illam ad Deum. Alia est comparando illam ad mundum. Prima fuit illi magnum dignitatis. Secunda nobis maxime utilitatis. **Et licet in his nullus deuotus possit dubitare, tamen de prima habemus in celo tres testes, scilicet: patrem, filium et spiritum sanctum, de quibus dicitur: "tres sunt", etcetera. De secunda habemus in terra tres alios testes, de quibus dicitur quod: "tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra", etcetera.** (Don Martín García, Sermon 86; Manuel Montoza Coca, Los sermones de Don Martín García, vol 2, 2018, p. 862)

The Fall of Constantinople (29 May 1453)

• The Fall of Constantinople (Byzantine Greek: Ἰστανβούπολις, romanized: Hálōsis tēs Kōnstantinouπόλεως; Turkish: İstanbul'un Fethi, lit. 'Conquest of Istanbul') was the capture of the Byzantine Empire's capital by the Ottoman Empire. The city fell on 29 May 1453,[5] the culmination of a 53-day siege which had begun on 6 April 1453. The attacking Ottoman army, which significantly outnumbered Constantinople's defenders, was commanded by the 21-year-old Sultan Mehmed II (later called "the Conqueror"), while the Byzantine army was led by Emperor Constantine XI Palaiologos. After conquering the city, Mehmed II made Constantinople the new Ottoman capital, replacing Adrianople. The Fall of Constantinople marked the end of the Byzantine Empire, and effectively the end of the Roman Empire, a state which dated back to 27 BC and lasted nearly 1,500 years.[6] The capture of Constantinople, a city which marked the divide between Europe and Asia Minor, also allowed the Ottomans to more effectively invade mainland Europe, eventually leading to Ottoman control of much of the Balkan peninsula. The conquest of Constantinople and the fall of the Byzantine Empire[7] was a key event of the Late Middle Ages and is sometimes considered the end of the Medieval period.

• Constantinople had been an imperial capital since its consecration in 330 under Roman emperor Constantine the Great. In the following eleven centuries, the city had been besieged many times but was captured only once before: the Sack of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade in 1204. The crusaders established an unstable Latin state in and around Constantinople while the remainder of the Byzantine Empire splintered into a number of successor states, notably Nicaea, Epirus and Trebizond. They fought as allies against the Latin establishments, but also fought among themselves for the Byzantine throne. The Nicaeans eventually reconquered Constantinople from the Latins in 1261, reestablishing the Byzantine Empire under the Palaiologos dynasty. Thereafter, there was little peace for the much-weakened empire as it fended off successive attacks by the Latins, Serbs, Bulgarians and Ottoman Turks. Between 1346 and 1349 the Black Death killed almost half of the inhabitants of Constantinople.[14] The city was further depopulated by the general economic and territorial decline of the empire, and by 1453, it consisted of a series of walled villages separated by vast fields encircled by the fifth-century Theodosian Walls. By 1450, the empire was exhausted and had shrunk to a few square kilometers outside the city of Constantinople itself, the Princes' Islands in the Sea of Marmara and the Peloponnese with its cultural center at Mystras.

• In the summer of 1452, when Rumeli Hisari was completed and the threat of the Ottomans had become imminent, Constantine wrote to the Pope, promising to implement the union, which was declared valid by a half-hearted imperial court on 12 December 1452. Although he was eager for an advantage, Pope Nicholas V did not have the influence the Byzantines thought he had over the Western kings and princes, some of whom

The Witness of God is Greater

were wary of increasing papal control. Furthermore, these Western rulers did not have the wherewithal to contribute to the effort, especially in light of the weakened state of France and England from the Hundred Years' War, Spain's involvement in the Reconquista, the internecine fighting in the Holy Roman Empire, and Hungary and Poland's defeat at the Battle of Varna of 1444. Although some troops did arrive from the mercantile city-states in northern Italy, the Western contribution was not adequate to counterbalance Ottoman strength.

- Fearing a possible naval attack along the shores of the Golden Horn, Emperor Constantine XI ordered that a defensive chain be placed at the mouth of the harbour. This chain, which floated on logs, was strong enough to prevent any Turkish ship from entering the harbour. This device was one of two that gave the Byzantines some hope of extending the siege until the possible arrival of foreign help. ...The army defending Constantinople was relatively small, totalling about 7,000 men, 2,000 of whom were foreigners. At the onset of the siege, probably fewer than 50,000 people were living within the walls, including the refugees from the surrounding area. The city had about 20 km of walls (land walls: 5.5 km; sea walls along the Golden Horn: 7 km; sea walls along the Sea of Marmara: 7.5 km), one of the strongest sets of fortified walls in existence. The walls had recently been repaired (under John VIII) and were in fairly good shape, giving the defenders sufficient reason to believe that they could hold out until help from the West arrived. In addition, the defenders were relatively well-equipped with a fleet of 26 ships: 5 from Genoa, 5 from Venice, 3 from Venetian Crete, 1 from Ancona, 1 from Aragon, 1 from France, and about 10 from the empire itself. ...The Ottomans had a much larger force. Recent studies and Ottoman archival data state that there were some 50,000–80,000 Ottoman soldiers, including between 5,000 and 10,000 Janissaries, 70 cannons, an elite infantry corps.

- The Ottoman army had made several frontal assaults on the land wall of Constantinople, but they were always repelled with heavy losses. After these inconclusive frontal offensives, the Ottomans sought to break through the walls by constructing tunnels (an effort to mine them from mid-May to 25 May). On 21 May, Mehmed sent an ambassador to Constantinople and offered to lift the siege if they gave him the city. He promised he would allow the Emperor and any other inhabitants to leave with their possessions. Moreover, he would recognize the Emperor as governor of the Peloponnese. Lastly, he guaranteed the safety of the population that might choose to remain in the city. Constantine XI only agreed to pay higher tributes to the sultan and recognized the status of all the conquered castles and lands in the hands of the Turks as Ottoman possession. However, the Emperor was not willing to leave the city without a fight. On 23 May, the Byzantines captured and tortured two Turkish officers, who revealed the location of all the Turkish tunnels, which were subsequently destroyed.

- Around this time, Mehmed had a final council with his senior officers. Believing that the beleaguered Byzantine defence was already weakened sufficiently, Mehmed planned to overpower the walls by sheer force and started preparations for a final all-out offensive. Shortly after midnight on 29 May, the all-out offensive began. The Christian troops of the Ottoman Empire attacked first, followed by successive waves of the irregular azaps, who were poorly trained and equipped, and Anatolian Turkmen beylik forces who focused on a section of the damaged Blachernae walls in the north-west part of the city. This section of the walls had been built earlier, in the eleventh century, and was much weaker. The Turkmen mercenaries managed to breach this section of walls and entered the city, but they were just as quickly pushed back by the defenders. Finally, the last wave consisting of elite Janissaries, attacked the city walls. Ottoman casualties are unknown but they are believed by most historians to be very heavy due to several unsuccessful Ottoman attacks made during the siege and final assault.

- The Genoese general in charge of the land troops, Giovanni Giustiniani, was grievously wounded during the attack, and his evacuation from the ramparts caused a panic in the ranks of the defenders. Many Greek soldiers ran back home to protect their families, the Venetians retreated to their ships, and a few of the Genoese escaped to Galata. The rest surrendered or committed suicide by jumping off the city walls. The Greek houses nearest to the walls were the first to suffer from the Ottomans. It is said that Constantine,

The Witness of God is Greater

throwing aside his purple regalia, led the final charge against the incoming Ottomans, perishing in the ensuing battle in the streets alongside his soldiers. The Ottomans were not interested in killing potentially valuable slaves, but rather in the loot they could get from raiding the city's houses, so they decided to attack the city instead.

- Mehmed II granted his soldiers three days to plunder the city, as he had promised them and in accordance with the custom of the time. Soldiers fought over the possession of some of the spoils of war. The women of Constantinople also suffered from rape at the hands of Ottoman forces.[57] According to Barbaro, "all through the day the Turks made a great slaughter of Christians through the city". According to historian Philip Mansel, widespread persecution of the city's civilian inhabitants took place, resulting in thousands of murders and rapes, and 30,000 civilians being enslaved or forcibly deported. George Sphrantzes says that people of both genders were raped inside Hagia Sophia.[59] Loukas Notaras and his son were executed after Notaras refused Mehmed's demand to offer his son for the sultan's pleasure.[59] According to Steven Runciman most of the elderly and the infirm/wounded and sick who were refugees inside the churches were killed, and the remainder (mainly teenage males and young boys) were chained up and sold into slavery. With the capture of Constantinople, Mehmed II had acquired the future capital of his kingdom, albeit one in decline due to years of war. The loss of the city was a crippling blow to Christendom, and it exposed the Christian West to a vigorous and aggressive foe in the East.

- The fall of Constantinople shocked many Europeans, who viewed it as a catastrophic event for their civilization.[67] Many feared other European Christian kingdoms would suffer the same fate as Constantinople. The Christian reconquest of Constantinople remained a goal in Western Europe for many years after its fall to the Ottoman Empire. Rumours of Constantine XI's survival and subsequent rescue by an angel led many to hope that the city would one day return to Christian hands. Two possible responses emerged amongst the humanists and churchmen of that era: Crusade or dialogue. Pope Pius II strongly advocated for another Crusade, while the German Nicholas of Cusa supported engaging in a dialogue with the Ottomans. Pope Nicholas V called for an immediate counter-attack in the form of a crusade,[citation needed] however no European powers wished to participate, and the Pope resorted to sending a small fleet of 10 ships to defend the city. The short lived Crusade immediately came to an end and as Western Europe entered the 16th century, the age of Crusading began to come to an end.

1453 : Constantinople Falls : Signs, Portents, & Destruction

- [Runciman] There were signs that Heaven itself was turning against the city. During these days everyone remembered again the prophecies that the Empire would perish. The first Christian Emperor had been Constantine, son of Helena; the last would be similarly named. Men remembered, too, a prophecy that the city would never fall while the moon was waxing in the heavens. This had cheered the defenders when they faced the assault during the previous week. But on 24 May the moon would be at the full; and under the waning moon peril would come. On the night of the full moon there was an eclipse and three hours of darkness. It was probably on the following day, when the citizens all knew of the hopeless message brought by the brigantine, and when the eclipse had lowered their spirits still deeper, that a last appeal was made to the Mother of God. Her holiest icon was carried on the shoulders of the faithful round the streets of the city, and everyone who could be spared from the walls joined in the procession. As it moved slowly and solemnly the icon suddenly slipped off the platform on which it was borne. When men rushed to raise it it seemed as though it were made of lead; only the greatest effort could replace it. Then, as the procession wound on, a thunder-storm burst on the city. It was almost impossible to stand up against the hail, and the rain came down in such torrents that whole streets were flooded and children nearly swept away. The procession had to be abandoned. Next day, as if such omens had not been enough, the whole city was blotted out by a thick fog, a phenomenon unknown in those lands in the month of May. The Divine Presence was veiling itself in cloud, to conceal its departure from the city. That night, when the fog had lifted, it was noticed that a strange light played about the dome of the great Church of the Holy Wisdom. It was seen from the Turkish camp as well as by the citizens; and the Turks, too, were disquieted. The Sultan himself had to be reassured by his wise men who interpreted the sign as showing that the light of the True Faith would soon illumine the sacred building. For the Greeks and their

The Witness of God is Greater

Italian allies there was no such comforting interpretation. ...Lights, too, could be seen from the walls, glimmering in the distant countryside far behind the Turkish camp, where no lights should be. A few hopeful watchmen declared that these were the camp-fires of troops coming with John Hunyadi to rescue the beleaguered Christians. But no army appeared. The strange lights were never explained. Now once again the Emperor's ministers went to him to beg him to escape while still it might be possible and organize the defence of Christendom from some safer spot where he might find support. He was so weary that while they talked to him he fainted. When he was revived he told them once more that he could not desert his people; he would die with them. The month of May was drawing to a close; and in the gardens! and the hedgerows the roses were now in bloom. But the moon was waning; and the men and women of Byzantium, the ancient city whose symbol had been the moon, prepared themselves to meet the crisis that all knew to be upon them. (Steven Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople 1453*, 1964, p. 120-122.)

Note: Runciman collates the reports of the last days of the city into a narrative from a number of sources: Barabro, Critobulus, Slavic Chronicle, etc.

Barbaro's Diary

• [Barbaro] On this same day, the twenty-second of May, at the first hour of the night, there appeared a wonderful sign in the sky, which was to tell Constantine the worthy Emperor of Constantinople that his proud empire was about to come to an end, as it did. The sign was of this form and condition: at the first hour after sunset the moon rose, being at this time at the full, so that it should have risen in the form of a complete circle; but it rose as if it were no more than a three-day moon, with only a little of it showing, although the air was clear and unclouded, pure as crystal. The moon stayed in this form for about four hours, and gradually increased to a full circle, so that at the sixth hour of the night it was fully formed. When we Christians and the pagans had seen this marvelous sign, the Emperor of Constantinople was greatly afraid of it, and so were all his nobles, because the Greeks had a prophecy which said that Constantinople would never fall until the full moon should give a sign, and this was the reason for the fear which the Greeks felt. But the Turks made great festivity in their camp for joy at the sign, because they believed that now victory was in their hands, as in truth it was. (Barbaro, *Diary of the Siege of Constantinople 1453*, translated by John Melville-Jones, 1969, p. 56.)

• **Niccolò Barbaro** was a Venetian physician, and author of an eyewitness account of the Fall of Constantinople in 1453.[1] The historian Steven Runciman called him 'the most useful of the Western sources'[2] on the fall of the city in 1453, primarily because of the compelling narrative that follows the events of the siege on a daily basis. However, as a Venetian, Barbaro held strong anti-Genoese beliefs - especially against the Genoese of Pera (modern day Galata), whom he suggests were colluding with the Ottomans during the siege.[3] He also suggests that Zuan Zustignan, the Genoese commander stationed at the Mesoteichion (Μεσοτείχιον, "Middle Wall"), the weakest part of the Theodosian Walls, abandoned his post, and that this led to the fall of the city.

<en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nicol%C3%B2_Barbaro>

• [DRM_PETER] **The diary of Nicolo Barbaro** is perhaps the most detailed and accurate eyewitness account of the siege and fall of Constantinople. Nicolo was a surgeon by profession, and a member of one of the patrician families of Venice. His account often focuses on the activities of his fellow Venetians, sometimes to the detriment of the Greeks and Genoese who were also defending the city. The work is written like a diary, with daily entries. Naval affairs are also prominent in this account. The portion republished below starts after Nicolo discusses the events leading up to the siege and the preparations made by the defenders to fortify the city. (DRM_PETER, *The Siege of Constantinople in 1453, according to Nicolo Barbaro*, posted on AUGUST 23, 2016.) <deremilitari.org/2016/08/the-siege-of-constantinople-in-1453-according-to-nicolo-barbaro>

Critobulus' History

• [Critobulus] § 237. Then a great slaughter occurred of those who happened to be there: some of them were on the streets, for they had already left the houses and were running toward the tumult when they fell unexpectedly on the swords of the soldiers; others were in their own homes and fell victims to the violence of

The Witness of God is Greater

the Janissaries and other soldiers, without any rhyme or reason; others were resisting, relying on their own courage; still others were fleeing to the churches and making supplication – men, women, and children, everyone, for there was no quarter given.

- [Critobulus] § 238. The soldiers fell on them with anger and great wrath. For one thing, they were actuated by the hardships of the siege. For another, some foolish people had hurled taunts and curses at them from the battlements all through the siege. Now, in general they killed so as to frighten all the City, and to terrorize and enslave all by the slaughter.

- [Critobulus] § 239. When they had had enough of murder, and the City was reduced to slavery, some of the troops turned to the mansions of the mighty, by bands and companies and divisions, for plunder and spoil. Others went to the robbing of churches, and others dispersed to the simple homes of the common people, stealing, robbing, plundering, killing, insulting, taking and enslaving men, women, and children, old and young, priests, monks-in short, every age and class.

- [Critobulus] § 240. There was a further sight, terrible and pitiful beyond all tragedies: young and chaste women of noble birth and well to do, accustomed to remain at home and who had hardly ever left their own premises, and handsome and lovely maidens of splendid and renowned families, till then unsullied by male eyes-some of these were dragged by force from their chambers and hauled off pitilessly and dishonorably.

- [Critobulus] § 241. Other women, sleeping in their beds, had to endure nightmares. Men with swords, their hands bloodstained with murder, breathing out rage, speaking out murder indiscriminate, flushed with all the worst things-this crowd, made up of men from every race and nation, brought together by chance, like wild and ferocious beasts, leaped into the houses, driving them out mercilessly, dragging, rending, forcing, hauling them disgracefully into the public highways, insulting them and doing every evil thing.

- [Critobulus] § 242. They say that many of the maidens, even at the mere unaccustomed sight and sound of these men, were terror-stricken and came near losing their very lives. And there were also honorable old men who were dragged by their white hair, and some of them beaten unmercifully. And well-born and beautiful young boys were carried off.

- [Critobulus] § 243. There were priests who were driven along, and consecrated virgins who were honorable and wholly unsullied, devoted to God alone and living for Him to whom they had consecrated themselves. Some of these were forced out of their cells and driven off, and others dragged out of the churches where they had taken refuge and driven off with insult and dishonor, their cheeks scratched, amid wailing and lamentation and bitter tears. Tender children were snatched pitilessly from their mothers, young brides separated ruthlessly from their newly-married husbands. And ten thousand other terrible deeds were done.

- [Critobulus] § 244. And the desecrating and plundering and robbing of the churches – how can one describe it in words? Some things they threw in dishonor on the ground – ikons and reliquaries and other objects from the churches. The crowd snatched some of these, and some were given over to the fire while others were torn to shreds and scattered at the crossroads. The last resting-places of the blessed men of old were opened, and their remains were taken out and disgracefully torn to pieces, even to shreds, and made the sport of the wind while others were thrown on the streets.

- [Critobulus] § 245. Chalice and goblets and vessels to hold the holy sacrifice, some of them were used for drinking and carousing, and others were broken up or melted down and sold. Holy vessels and costly robes richly embroidered with much gold or brilliant with precious stones and pearls were some of them given to the most wicked men for no good use, while others were consigned to the fire and melted down for the gold.

The Witness of God is Greater

- [Critobulus] § 246. And holy and divine books, and others mainly of profane literature and philosophy, were either given to the flames or dishonorably trampled under foot. Many of them were sold for two or three pieces of money, and sometimes for pennies only, not for gain so much as in contempt. Holy altars were torn from their foundations and overthrown. The walls of sanctuaries and cloisters were explored, and the holy places of the shrines were dug into and overthrown in the search for gold. Many other such things they dared to do.

- [Critobulus] § 247. Those unfortunate Romans who had been assigned to other parts of the wall and were fighting there, on land and by the sea, supposed that the City was still safe and had not suffered reverses, and that their women and children were free-for they had no knowledge at all of what had happened. They kept on fighting lustily, powerfully resisting the attackers and brilliantly driving off those who were trying to scale the walls. But when they saw the enemy in their rear, attacking them from inside the City, and saw women and children being led away captives and shamefully treated, some were overwhelmed with hopelessness and threw themselves with their weapons over the wall and were killed, while others in utter despair dropped their weapons from hands already paralyzed, and surrendered to the enemy without a struggle, to be treated as the enemy chose.

- Critobulus, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*. Edited and Translated by Charles T. Rigg. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1954. <www.roger-pearse.com/weblog/2015/09/12/the-sack-of-constantinople-in-1453-part-2/>

- [Critobulus] When Mehmed (II) saw the ravages, the destruction and the deserted houses and all that had perished and become ruins, then a great sadness took possession of him and he repented the pillage and all the destruction. Tears came to his eyes and sobbing he expressed his sadness. "What a town this was! And we have allowed it to be destroyed!" His soul was full of sorrow. And in truth it was natural, so much did the horror of the situation exceed all limits. (Critobulus, "History of Mehmed the Conqueror" Translated by René Guerdan in *Byzantium Its Triumphs and Tragedy*, 1956, p. 222)

- **Michael Critobulus** (Greek: Μιχαήλ Κριτόβουλος; c. 1410 – c. 1470) was a Greek politician, scholar and historian. He is known as the author of a history of the Ottoman conquest of the Eastern Roman Empire under Sultan Mehmet II. Critobulus' work, along with the writings of Doukas, Laonicus Chalcondyles and George Sphrantzes, is one of the principal sources for the Fall of Constantinople in 1453. (Critobulus is a Romanization of the name, which is alternatively transliterated as Kritoboulos, Kritovoulos, Critoboulos; sometimes with Critobulus' provenance affixed, e.g. Critobulus of Imbros.) <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_Critobulus>

Migration of Greek Scholars : Before and After

- For some time Greek scholars had gone to Italian city-states. A cultural exchange begun in 1396 by Coluccio Salutati, chancellor of Florence, who had invited Manuel Chrysoloras, a Byzantine scholar to lecture at the University of Florence.[71] After the conquest many Greeks, such as John Argyropoulos and Constantine Lascaris, fled the city and found refuge in the Latin West, bringing with them knowledge and documents from the Greco-Roman tradition to Italy and other regions that further propelled the Renaissance.[72][73] Those Greeks who stayed behind in Constantinople mostly lived in the Phanar and Galata districts of the city. The Phanariotes, as they were called, provided many capable advisers to the Ottoman rulers. The migration waves of Byzantine scholars and émigrés in the period following the sacking of Constantinople and the fall of Constantinople in 1453 is considered by many scholars key to the revival of Greek and Roman studies that led to the development of the Renaissance humanism[73][dead link][better source needed] and science. These émigrés were grammarians, humanists, poets, writers, printers, lecturers, musicians, astronomers, architects, academics, artists, scribes, philosophers, scientists, politicians and theologians.[82][better source needed] They brought to Western Europe the far greater preserved and accumulated knowledge of their own (Greek) civilization. According to the Encyclopædia Britannica:"Many modern scholars also agree that the exodus of Greeks to Italy as a result of this event marked the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Renaissance".[83]

- Fall of Constantinople. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fall_of_Constantinople>

Şägga Zä'ab (1465-1539 AD) : Faith and Religion of the Ethiopians

- [Tamcke] The monk, Şägga Zäab (approx. 1465 – approx. 1539), for example, who belonged to one of the highest levels of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, as the official envoy of the Ethiopian Emperor Ləbnä Dəngəl (1497–1540). (Tamcke, *Die Gespräche der deutschen Protestanten mit ägyptischen und äthiopischen Kopten*, 2019, p. 257)

- [Thomas] *Fides* has a composite character. It extends over 96 pages, and it includes the Latin version of a series of letters sent by Ethiopian rulers (Queen Dowager Eleni and nəguś Ləbnä Dəngəl) to European monarchs (Manuel I, João III and the pope), a long religious text by the Ethiopian cleric Şägga Zä'ab, and a "Deploratio Laapianae gentis" in defence of the Sami people. ...The letters are followed by a treatise on the "faith and religion of the Ethiopians" composed by Şägga Zä'ab (*Fides, religio, moresque Aethiopum*, pp. 53-94). In this piece, the Ethiopian cleric responds to a series of criticisms voiced at the Portuguese court against Ethiopian Christianity, which some Portuguese clergy considered too close to Islam and Judaism (e.g. *Fides, religio, moresque Aethiopvm*, p. 82). Şägga Zä'ab urges upon his hosts the need to build a common front against Islam rather than scrutinising the correctness of each other's Christian faith (*Fides, religio, moresque Aethiopvm*, pp. 82, 86). *Fides* concludes with a plea in favour of the Sami, which is an extended version of the piece that concludes the 1532 *Legatio*. Góis reportedly started compiling and editing *Fides* in about 1533, when he was called back to Lisbon by Manuel I. There he met Şägga Zä'ab, whom he befriended (*Chronica do Felicissimo Rei, terceira parte, fol. 107r*). He agreed to translate the Ethiopian's religious treatise into Latin, though he was only able to finish this a few years later in Padua, where he had moved to pursue his studies. (Thomas, *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, 2009, p. 336-337)

- [Thomas] *Fides* had a profound impact in 16th-century Europe, enjoying several early editions between 1540 and 1604 and a wide readership. Its chief documents, the Ethiopian royal letters taken to Europe by Alvares and the religious plea written by Şägga Zä'ab, provided further information on Ethiopian Christianity and the Solomonid state. Together with Francisco Alvares's "*Verdadera informação das terras do Preste João das Índias*" (Lisbon, 1540), it is the most important 16th-century European text about the Horn of Africa. (Thomas, *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, 2009, p. 337)

- [Thomas] **There are no known MSS of *Fides*, nor of Şägga Zä'ab's treatise. Similarly, the original Ethiopian diplomatic letters to the European rulers appear to be lost.** (Thomas, *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, 2009, p. 337)

HITS:

- And Paul also testified in the same place, that Christ was the chief of priests, and that he entered into a new tent, which is the Sanctum sanctorum, The holy of holies, and that with the sacrifice of his body and blood, hee abolished the blood of goats and bulls, whereby none that killeth them shall be justified: and so he spake sundry ways to the Jews, and also suffering himself to be worshipped of his people, by many ceremonies in a holy and uncorrupted faith: Moreover those children with us be accounted half Christians, which here I understand in the Romane Church bee called Paganes, who because they die without baptism ought to be called halfe Christians, because they be children of the sanctified blood of parents baptised, and of the holy Ghost, and of the blood of our Lord Iesus Christ, **by which three Testimonies all Christians be so reputed: because there be three things which give testimony in earth, the spirit, water and blood, as Saint John witnesseth in his first canonical Epistle:** the Gospel also saith, a good tree bringeth forth good fruit, and an evil tree bringeth forth evil fruit, and therefore the children of Christians are not like vnto the children of the Gentiles, and of the Jews, and of the Moors, which be withered trees without any fruit, but the Christians be elected in their mothers wombs, as holy Jeremias the prophet, and Saint John Baptist were: Furthermore the children of Christian women are elected and consecrated by the communication and imparting of the body & blood

The Witness of God is Greater

of our Lord Iesus Christ: for when women great with child do take the most blessed body of our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ, the infant in the womb receiving nutriment is thereby sanctified, for even as the child in the mothers womb, conceived either sorrow or joy, according as the mother is affected, so also is it nourished by the mothers nourishment, and as our Lord saith in his holy Gospel, if anyone eat my body and drink my blood, he shall not taste of eternal death: and again, if anyone eat of my body and drink my blood he shall remain with me: and Paul the teacher of the Gentiles saith, the unbelieving husband is justified by the believing wife, & the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the believing husband, otherwise your children should be unclean, but now they bee sanctified, which, if it be so that the children of an unbelieving mother be sanctified by the faithfulness of the father, then be they much more holy that bee borne of faithful fathers and mothers: for which cause it is far more holy to call children before they be christened half Christians, then Pagans. (Translated by Aston, 1610, p. 561-563)

- **Latin:** PRAETEREA idem quoque Paulus inibi testatur CHRISTVM principem fuisse facere dotum, ac in novum tentorium intraffe quod est Sanctum Sanctorum, & sacrificio sui Corporis, & Sanguinis, sanguinem hinc eorum, ac taurorum, quo neino accedentium poterat iustificari, aboleuisse, & sic multis modis locutus est Iudæis, multis quoque ritibus, sancta & incorrupta fide se a suis coli patitur. Præterea apud nos habentur semichristiani pueri illi, quos hic audio paganos ab Romana Ecclesia vocari. Qui quoniam sine baptismo moriuntur, semichristiani debent appellari, quoniam filii sacrati sanguinis parentum ex baptismo, & ex Spiritu Sancto, & ex Sanguine Domini nostri Iesu CHRISTI nati sunt, **ex quibus tribus testimoniis omnes christiani reputantur. Quoniam tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra, Spiritus, Aqua, & Sanguis, teste Iohanne in sua prima canonica**, etiam ut Euangelium dicit: Bona arbor fert bonos fructus, mala vero arbor, malos. Ideoque filii Christianorum non sunt, ut filii Gentilium, & Iudæorum, atque Maurorum, qui sunt arbores aridæ sine aliquo fructu. Christiani autem sunt electi in utero matrum suarum ut Sanctus Hieremias Propheta, & Sanctus Iohannes Baptista fuerunt. Insuper infantes Christianarum mulierum sunt electi, & consecrati ex Corporis & Sanguinis Domini nostri Iesu CHRISTI communicatione. Nam foeminae gravidæ, cum affumunt venerabile Corpus Domini nostri Salvatoris Iesu CHRISTI, infans capiens inde nutrimentum fit factus. Quoniam sicut in fano existens in utero ex eius matris affectibus contrahitur, ac lætatur; sic etiam ex matris nutrimento nutritur: & ut ipse Dominus ait in suo S. Euangelio, Siquis comederit corpus meum, & biberit sanguinem meum, non gustabit mortem in æternum: Rursus, Siquis gustaverit meum corpus, & biberit meum sanguinem, erit mecum: Ad hæc Paulus Doctor Gentium ait, Vir infidelis iustificatus est per mulierem fidelem, & mulier infidelis sanctificata est per virum fidelem, alioquin filii vestri immundi essent, nunc autem sancti sunt. Quod si ita est, ut filii matris infidelis sanctificentur in patris fidelitate; multo facratiores esse debent illi, qui ex patre & matre fidelibus nati sunt. Ob quam rem longe magis pium erit vocare infantes, antequam baptifati sint, semichristianos, quam paganos. (Latin text: Goes, Aliquot Opuscula. Fides, Religio, Moresque Æthiopum, 1791, p. 253-255)

Damião de Góis (1502-1574 AD)

• Damião de Góis (Portuguese: [demi'õw di'goj]; February 2, 1502 – January 30, 1574), born in Alenquer, Portugal, was an important Portuguese humanist philosopher. He was a friend and student of Erasmus. He was appointed secretary to the Portuguese factory in Antwerp in 1523 by King John III of Portugal. He compiled one of the first accounts on Ethiopian Christianity. Góis (originally spelled as Goes) was born in Alenquer, Portugal, into a noble family who served the Portuguese kings. His father, Rui Dias de Góis was a valet to Duke of Aveiro, and his mother was Isabel Gomes de Limi, a descendant of Flemish merchants who established themselves in Portugal. Damião's paternal grandfather, Gomes Dias de Góis, had been in the entourage of Prince Henry the Navigator. Around 1518, Góis joined the court of King Manuel I of Portugal. Under Manuel I's successor, King John III of Portugal, in 1523, he was sent to Antwerp, as secretary and treasurer of the Portuguese feitoria (factory, trading post and commercial office).

The Witness of God is Greater

- Henceforth, Góis travelled intensely (Poland, Lithuania, Denmark, Germany, Sweden, France, England, Italy), entering into contact with a number of important figures, like Sebastian Münster, Erasmus (who hosted him in Freiburg), Ramusio, Philipp Melanchthon, Thomas More and Martin Luther. Among the many Portuguese acquaintances, Góis was friend of the writer's João de Barros and André de Resende. A humanist and an open mind, Góis followed courses at the Universities of Padua and Leuven, wrote on various topics, like the condition of the Sami people ("Lapps"), and translated some classic works – among them, Cicero's *Cato maior de senectute* – into Portuguese. He was also a composer of some musical pieces and kept a private collection of paintings.
- Góis translated into Latin a Portuguese opuscle on the Ethiopian embassy of the Armenian Mateus (the representative of the Negus Dawit II) to Portugal (1532), which also included the famous "Letter of Prester John" written by the Ethiopian Queen Eleni (1509) and a "Confessio illorum fidei". In 1538 he published a translation of the Biblical book Ecclesiastes in Portuguese, though it was not widely circulated. In the same year, he took a Dutch wife, Joana van Hargen (known as Joana de Argem in Portugal), daughter of a Flemish councilman to the Court of Carlos V.
- In 1540, he published the famous *Fides, religio, moresque Aethiopum* ("Ethiopian faith, religion, and mores"). The book received a widespread diffusion in Europe, in both Catholic and Protestant circles, and enjoyed successive editions (Paris 1541, Leuven 1544, Leiden 1561, Cologne 1574). [2] It also earned the author, however, the criticisms of the powerful Portuguese Cardinal Henry of Portugal, who, as Grand Inquisitor of the Portuguese Inquisition, banned its circulation in the kingdom. The Jesuit order proved equally critical, as he was accused by the Provincial superior Simão Rodrigues of Lutheranism, and of being a disciple of Erasmus, before the Inquisition.[3] He was settled at Louvain, then the literary centre of the Low Countries. When the French besieged the town in 1542, he was given the command of the defending forces, and saved Louvain, but was taken prisoner and confined for nine months in France, till he obtained his freedom by a heavy ransom. He was rewarded, however, by a grant of arms from Charles V. He finally returned to Portugal in 1545, with a view of becoming tutor to the king's son, but he failed to obtain this post, owing to the accusations before the Inquisition.[2]
- In 1548, Góis was named *Guarda-Mor* (High Guardian) of the Torre do Tombo (Royal Archives) and ten years later was entrusted by the same Cardinal Henry to write the chronicle of Manuel I's reign. The task has been previously confided to de Barros, but relinquished by him.[2] The work was completed in some seven years and became his major achievement; nonetheless it was widely attacked and parts of it were significantly censored.[4] He also published a description of the city of Lisbon – *Urbis Olisiponis Descriptio* (1554). In 1570 the inquisitorial process opened again, sending Góis to reclusion in the monastery of Batalha. He died shortly after in Alenquer under mysterious circumstances (apparently, murder), free but sick, and was buried in the church of Nossa Senhora da Várzea.[2]
- Damião de Góis. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Damião_de_Góis>

Täsfa Seḃyon (1510-1552 AD) : *Aethiopum Ordo baptismi*

- [Salvadore] Täsfa Seḃyon hailed from the tumultuous Horn of Africa. Fleeing the conflict between the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia and the Sultanate of 'Adal, he reached the Italian peninsula in the mid-1530s after a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.⁵ Greeted by a small diasporic community of co-religionists and other Eastern Christians in Rome, he became ensconced at Santo Stefano degli Abissini, the Ethiopian residence in the vicinity of St. Peter's Basilica. He distinguished himself through his multilingual erudition, entrepreneurial spirit, and political acumen, and ultimately became a familiar of Pope Paul III, the powerful patriarch of the Farnese family and the head of an organised Vatican effort to produce knowledge about Ethiopia and its distinctive Orthodox (*täwahaḃ do*) Christian tradition. This enterprise represents the effective foundation of Ethiopian studies in Europe, a key branch of the developing field of Middle East-focused orientalist scholarship. As his intercession in the Sistine Chapel suggests, Täsfa Seḃyon was the most influential African in the sixteenth-century Catholic Church. (Salvadore, *The Ethiopian Age of Exploration*, 2010, p. 18)
- [Salvadore] Täsfa Seḃyon was also an authoritative adviser to humanist scholars and Church authorities concerned with key areas of early orientalist inquiry, specifically the emerging scripture-and mission-related

The Witness of God is Greater

interests in Semitic languages and Eastern Christian doctrine.²⁰ Finally, and most significantly, he was an important scholar in his own right, producing the editio princeps of the Ge'ez New Testament as well as Latin publications on the liturgy and baptismal rite of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. These contributions endured. In the centuries after his death, his edition of the New Testament became a canonical Ge'ez source for European researchers. (Salvadore, *The Ethiopian Age of Exploration*, 2010, p. 19)

• [Salvadore] Täsfa Səyon was a steward and exemplar of the rich intellectual culture of medieval Ethiopia. In his writing,²² he introduced himself as an alumnus of Däbrä Libanos monastery, a leading centre of Orthodox Christian learning in the Ethiopian highlands. Founded in the fourteenth century by abunä Täklä Haymanot, Däbrä Libanos played a major role in the religious and political life of the kingdom, and its abbot, the eččägé, was the highest ranking domestic ecclesiastic in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, subordinate only to the Coptic metropolitan. When Täsfa Səyon entered the monastery in the early sixteenth century, it was led by the erudite eččägé 'Enbaqom, a Yemeni-Ethiopian convert to Orthodox Christianity who would later advise Emperor Gälawdéwos.²⁴ Together, the abbot and brethren presided over a period of Ge'ez literary efflorescence which encompassed the standardisation of the hagiography (gädl) of Täklä Haymanot,²⁵ the preparation of original exegetic works like the anti-Islamic treatise Anqäsä amin,²⁶ and the translation of Arabic Christian literature. As a young initiate, Täsfa Səyon witnessed or contributed to this project of intercultural textual transmission, which transformed the canon of Ethiopian church scholarship, and in his later years, he invoked eččägé 'Enbaqom in his own work and adopted the monastic title malhezo, both suggestions of his elevated position at the monastery. (Salvadore, *The Ethiopian Age of Exploration*, 2010, p. 20)

• [Salvadore] Däbrä Libanos eventually led him to the institutions of secular power.²⁹ In a letter to one of his Roman collaborators, Täsfa Səyon identified himself as "the secretary [sä ha fé] of Aşnaf Säğäd," the regnal name of Emperor Gälawdéwos, and he told another European colleague that he had taught the Portuguese representative Pêro da Covilhã "many things of the world" in the court of Emperor Lebnä Dengel, the father of Gälawdéwos. ...Täsfa Səyon was thus part of the intellectual elite who adorned royal power. (Salvadore, *The Ethiopian Age of Exploration*, 2010, p. 20)

• [Salvadore] In 1532, as wars raged between local Muslims and Christians and their Ottoman and Portuguese allies, the army of Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī destroyed Däbrä Libanos and its scriptorium. ...As the forces of Lebnä Dengel battled the 'Adal invaders, several of Täsfa Səyon's monastic brethren made the pilgrimage to Egypt and the Holy Land, and he followed their example in the 1530s, possibly because of the destruction of Däbrä Libanos. After the subsequent martyrdom of its abbot eččägé Yohannes,³⁵ the monastery was abandoned by the Church for 160 years. ...From Jerusalem, Täsfa Səyon next made the pilgrimage to Rome. He may have done so with some knowledge of the Ethiopian community at Santo Stefano, which was available at Emperor Lebnä Dengel's court from either resident Europeans or returned Ethiopian pilgrims. ...by the late fifteenth century, a fluctuating number of Ethiopians resided there. When Täsfa Səyon arrived decades later, it was incontrovertibly associated with the Ethiopian community (...christened it Däbrä Qeddus Estifanos, employing the Ge'ez monastic nomenclature to refer to their adopted residence as "the Mount of Saint Stephen.") (Salvadore, *The Ethiopian Age of Exploration*, 2010, p. 21)

• [Salvadore] Within a few years, Täsfa Səyon became a critical intermediary in the arena of Ethiopian-European relations and the related institutionalisation of Ethiopia-focused knowledge production. For the Curia and the small community of Catholic orientalis focused on understanding the languages and texts of Eastern Christianity, Täsfa Səyon was the resident Roman authority on Ethiopia, Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity. (Salvadore, *The Ethiopian Age of Exploration*, 2010, p. 23-24)

• [Salvadore] ...Täsfa Səyon produced three major contributions to the developing field of Ethiopianist scholarship: his magnum opus *Testamentum novum* (1548–9), an edition of the Ge'ez New Testament with additional texts and commentary; *Modus baptizandi* (1548–9), a Latin edition of the Ethiopian baptismal rite; and *Missa qua Ethiopes communiter utuntur* (1548–9), a Latin edition of the Ethiopian missal with commentary.

The Witness of God is Greater

This multistage undertaking involved a series of interconnected scholarly projects and enlisted his considerable network of contacts in the Roman Curia and Ethiopian diaspora. A preliminary issue was source material. Ethiopian manuscripts typically reached Rome via Ethiopian pilgrims or the Levantine diaspora, and glimpses of Täsfa Səyon's procurement efforts appear in his correspondence with Contarini's contact abba Yoha nnes. A polyglot from Venice-controlled Cyprus, the latter was connected to the Holy Land through Ethiopian and Venetian networks, and he apparently imported Ge'ez manuscripts from the Ethiopian community of his native island. (Salvadore, *The Ethiopian Age of Exploration*, 2010, p. 30)

• [Salvadore] In sum, by the late 1540s Täsfa Səyon was a prolific scholar and significant figure in the developing field of Eastern Christian-focused *philologia sacra* as well as the Roman printing landscape. In less than a decade, he made key texts and teachings of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church available to European readers for the first time, and there is inconclusive evidence that he hoped his publications would eventually reach readers in Ethiopia as well. Given that he was only in his late thirties when he fell sick and died, shortly after the printing of these works. (Salvadore, *The Ethiopian Age of Exploration*, 2010, p. 32)

• The Ethiopian [liturgical] service books are, with the exception of the Eucharistic Liturgy (the Missal), the least known of any. Hardly anything of them has been published, and no one seems yet to have made a systematic investigation of liturgical manuscripts in Abyssinia. Since the Ethiopic or Ge'ez Rite is derived from the Coptic, their books correspond more or less to the Coptic books. Peter the Ethiopian (Petrus Ethyops) published the Liturgy with the baptism service and some blessings at the end of his edition of the Ethiopic New Testament (Tasfa Sion, Rome, 1548). Various students have published fragments of the Rite in Europe (cf. Chaine, "Grammaire éthiopienne", Beirut, 1907; bibliography, p. 269), but these can hardly be called service-books. (Liturgical book. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liturgical_book>)

HITS:

- The Sub-deacon then read from John's first letter cap. 5: "Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God? This is he that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ; not by water only, but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth. **For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in earth, the spirit, and the water, and the blood: and these three agree in one.** If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater: for this is the witness of God which he hath testified of his Son. He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself: he that believeth not God hath made him a liar; because he believeth not the record that God gave of his Son. And this is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in his Son. He that hath the Son hath life; and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life. These things have I written unto you that believe on the name of the Son of God." (I John 5:5-13)
 - **Latin:** Subdiaconus deinde legit ex Epistola Ioannis prima, cap. V: Quis est qui vincit mundum, nisi qui credit quoniam Iesus est Filius Dei? hic est qui venit per aquam et sanguinem Iesus Christus, non in aqua solum, sed in aqua et sanguine. Et Spiritus est qui testificatur quoniam Christus est veritas, **quoniam sunt tres qui testimonium dant in coelo; Pater, Verbum, Spiritus sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt: et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis, et hi tres unum sunt.** Si testimonium hominum accipimus, testimonium Dei maius est, quoniam hoc est testimonium Dei quod maius est, quoniam testificatus est de Filio suo. Qui credit in Filium Dei, habet testimonium Dei in se. Qui non credit Filio, mendacem facit eum, quia non credit in testimonium quod testificatus est Deus de Filio suo. Et hoc est testimonium, quoniam vitam aeternam dedit nobis Deus, et haec vita in Filio eius est. Qui habet Filium Dei, habet vitam: qui non habet Filium Dei, vitam non habet. Haec scribo vobis, ut sciatis quoniam vitam habetis aeternam, qui creditis in nomine Filii Dei. (I John 5:5-13) (Ordo baptismi secundum usum Aethiopum. V; Migne Latina, PL 138.936-937)

Comment:

Note: The Latin above has some significant differences with the Vulgate.

The Witness of God is Greater

- Vulgate: verse 7: "**quia tres sunt**"
- Vulgate: verse 10: in "**Filio**" Dei; se "qui" non; eum "**quoniam**" non "**credidit**" in "**testimonio**" quod
- Vulgate: verse 13: Haec "**scripsi**" vobis

George of Trebizond (d. 1486)

• George of Trebizond was born on the Greek island of Crete (then a Venetian colony known as the Kingdom of Candia), and derived his surname Trapezuntius from the fact that his ancestors were from the Byzantine Greek Trapezuntine Empire. When he went to Italy is not certain; according to some accounts he was summoned to Venice about 1430 to act as amanuensis to Francesco Barbaro, who appears to have already made his acquaintance; according to others he did not visit Italy till the time of the Council of Florence (1438–1439). He learned Latin from Vittorino da Feltre, and made such rapid progress that in three years he was able to teach Latin literature and rhetoric. His reputation as a teacher and a translator of Aristotle was very great, and he was selected as secretary by Pope Nicholas V, an ardent Aristotelian. The bitterness of his attacks upon Plato (in the *Comparatio Aristotelis et Platonis* of 1458, described by historian James Hankins as "one of the most remarkable mixtures of learning and lunacy ever penned"), which drew forth a powerful response from Bessarion (In *calumniatorem Platonis*, printed in 1469)[1] and the manifestly hurried and inaccurate character of his translations of Plato, Aristotle and other classical authors, combined to ruin his fame as a scholar, and to endanger his position as a teacher of philosophy. (Pope Pius II was among the critics of George's translations.) The indignation against George on account of his first-named work was so great that he would probably have been compelled to leave Italy had not Alfonso V of Aragon given him protection at the court of Naples. He subsequently returned to Rome, where in 1471 he published a very successful Latin grammar based on the work of another Greek grammarian of Latin, Priscian. Additionally, an earlier work on Greek rhetorical principles garnered him wide recognition, even from his former critics who admitted his brilliance and scholarship. He died in great poverty in 1486 in Rome. (George of Trebizond. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_of_Trebizond>)

HITS:

- **[The Sun]** 57.a. The sun is one, but from him the ray and from him also, by the ray, comes the light. So like the sun, the rayon and the light are one sun, not many, and as there is one nature of the sun, not many, like the **Father, the Word and the Spirit are one God** and one nature of God, not several. (57.b) This analogy of the sun has something more than the other images, because the light of the sun, we often call it sun, and we call its ray also sun. The same is true of God. **For the Father is God and his Word is God and the Holy Spirit is God. They are not three Gods but one God, as these things are not three suns, but one sun.** (George of Trebizond, *The truth of the faith of Christians*, 57; Translated by Adel Th. Khoury, 1987, p. 128-129)
 - **Greek:** 57.a. αἱ ὁ ἥλιος δὲ εἷς ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀπογεννᾶται ἡ ἀκτίς, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάλιν διὰ τῆς ἀκτίνος, διαδίδεται τὸ φῶς. Ὡσπερ οὖν ἥλιος καὶ ἀκτίς καὶ φῶς εἷς ἥλιος, οὐ πολλοί, καὶ μία φύσις ἡλίου, οὐ πολλαί, **οὕτω πατήρ, λόγος, πνεῦμα, εἷς Θεός** καὶ μία φύσις Θεοῦ, οὐ πολλαί. 57.b. Ἔχει δὲ ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου αὕτη ὁ μοίωσις καί τι πλέον τῶν ἄλλων εἰκόνων, διότι καὶ τὸ φῶς τοῦ ἡλίου, ἥλιον λέγομεν πολλαίς, καὶ τὴν ἀκτίνα αὐτοῦ ἥλιον πάλιν ἔστιν ὅτε ὀνομάζομεν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ. **ὁ γὰρ πατήρ Θεός ἐστι καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ Θεός ἐστι καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον Θεός ἐστι· καὶ οὐ τρεῖς Θεοί, ἀλλ' εἷς Θεός,** ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι οὐ τρεῖς ἥλιοι, ἀλλ' εἷς ἥλιος. (George of Trebizond, *The truth of the faith of Christians*, 57; Adel Th. Khoury, 1987, p. 128-129)

Codex Montfortianus (15th century)

• **Codex Montfortianus** designated by 61 (on the list Gregory-Aland; Soden's δ 603),[1] and known as Minuscule 61 is a Greek minuscule manuscript of the New Testament on paper. Erasmus named it Codex Britannicus. Its completion is dated on the basis of its textual affinities to no earlier than the second decade of the 16th century,[2] **though a 15th-century date is possible on palaeographic grounds.**[3] The manuscript

The Witness of God is Greater

is famous for including a unique version of the Comma Johanneum. It has marginalia. (Codex Montfortianus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Codex_Montfortianus>)

• [Michaelis] 219. As this manuscript [Codex Montfortianus] is one of the two pillars, which support the celebrated verse in the first epistle of St. John, it would be of some importance in sacred criticism, if we could trace it to its source. We know the names of five of its proprietors, who probably wrote their names at the beginning of the manuscript, which enabled **Usher**, the last proprietor, before it came to Trinity College, Dublin, to mention them in the **London Polyglot**. Montfort, who possessed it before Usher, and from whom the MS. takes its name, because it belonged to him, when it was collated for the London Polyglot, was a Doctor of Divinity at Cambridge in the middle of the last century. William Chare, or Chark, possessed it before Dr. Montfort. In a manuscript collation of the Codex Montfortianus, which is now preserved in Emmanuel Library in Cambridge, and is perhaps that which was made for the London Polyglot, the name is written Chare; but a line is drawn under it, seemingly by a different hand, and Clark is written in the margin, which, in the catalogue of manuscripts prefixed to the Var. lect. N. T. in the sixth volume of the London Polyglot, is converted into Clerk. But Mill, who probably saw this manuscript collation, has written Chare. He likewise speaks of him, as a person well known. ...And in the new Annual Register for 1792, History of Knowledge, p. xxi. William Chark is mentioned as a distinguished scholar in Queen Elizabeth's time. He is probably the same William Chark, who was of Peter House, and was expelled from the University for heresy in 1572. Thomas Clement, who possessed it before Chare, is perhaps the person, of whom Arias Montanus speaks in his preface ...Froy therefore, the Franciscan friar, must have possessed it either about, or before the middle of the sixteenth century: a few years previous to which, that is, between 1519 and 1522, it was known to Erasmus, by the name of Codex Britannicus. We can ascend no higher in the-history of this manuscript, as we have no further data... (Michaelis, Introduction to the New Testament, 1802, vol 2, part 2, p. 756-757)

HIT:

This is he that came by water and
blood and the Holy Spirit, even Jesus Christ; not by water only,
but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit that
beareth witness, because Christ is the truth. For there are three that
bear record **in heaven**, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost:
and these three are one. And there are three that
bear witness **in earth**, the spirit, and the water, and the blood. If
we receive the witness of men,

Greek:

14 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐλθὼν δι' ὕδατος καὶ
15 αἵματος καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου, ἸΣ ΧΣ· οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι μόνον,
16 ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ὕδατι καὶ αἵματι καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμά ἐστι τὸ μαρ-
17 τυροῦν, ὅτι ὁ ΧΣ ἐστὶν ἀλήθεια. ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυ-
18 ροῦντες **ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ**, πατήρ, λόγος, καὶ Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον·
19 καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσι. καὶ τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυ-
20 ροῦντες **ἐν τῇ γῆ**, Πνεῦμα, καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ αἷμα· εἰ τὴν
21 μαρτυρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαμβάνομεν, (f. 439r : Image 881)
<digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/index.php?DRIS_ID=MS30_001>

The Witness of God is Greater

Complutensian Polyglot Bible : New Testament (1514)

- The Complutensian Polyglot Bible is the name given to the first printed polyglot of the entire Bible, initiated and financed by Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436–1517) and published by Complutense University in Alcalá de Henares, Spain. It includes the first printed editions of the Greek New Testament, the complete Septuagint, and the Targum Onkelos. Of the 600 six-volume sets which were printed, only 123 are known to have survived to date.
- **The works started in 1502 and took 15 years to be completed. At great personal expense, Cardinal Cisneros acquired many manuscripts and invited the top religious scholars of the day, to work on the ambitious task of compiling a massive and complete polyglot”to revive the languishing study of the Sacred Scriptures”.** Diego Lopez de Zúñiga, was the chief editor and fluent in Latin as well as both Aramaic and Arabic. He was given a team of various translators. Converted translators and academics were favoured and specifically sought since they were fluent in the source languages and the cultures of the texts. Second in command, Alfonso de Zamora (1476–1544) was a converted Jewish scholar, an expert in thalamic studies, and spoke Hebrew as his first language. Other conversos working on the project were Alfonso de Alcalá, Pablo de Coronel. **Demetrius Ducas a scholar from Crete and Hernán Núñez de Toledo (“The Pincian”) and Juan de Vergara were in charge of the translation from Greek manuscripts.** Antonio de Nebrija was specifically called for the translation of the Vulgate. Hernán Núñez de Toledo was also the chief Latinist.[2] The scholars met in Alcalá de Henares, a city near Madrid also known by its Latin name Complutum, at Complutense University.[3]
- **The New Testament was completed and printed in 1514, but its publication was delayed while work on the Old Testament continued, so they could be published together as a complete work.[4] In the meantime, word of the Complutensian project reached Desiderius Erasmus in Rotterdam, who produced his own printed edition of the Greek New Testament. Erasmus obtained an exclusive four-year publishing privilege from Emperor Maximilian and Pope Leo X in 1516. Theodore Beza's Greek NT Text was used primarily, along with Erasmus' Greek NT Text and with various readings from the Complutensian Greek NT Text to form the Textus Receptus published by the Elzevir Brothers in 1633. Erasmus' later editions were a secondary source for the King James Version of the New Testament. The Complutensian Polyglot Bible was a tertiary source for the 1611 King James Version.**
- The Complutensian Old Testament was completed in 1517. Because of Erasmus' exclusive privilege, publication of the Polyglot was delayed until Pope Leo X could sanction it in 1520. It is believed to have not been distributed widely before 1522. Cardinal Cisneros died in July 1517, five months after the Polyglot's completion, and never saw its publication.[4]
- The Complutensian Polyglot Bible was published as a six-volume set. The first four volumes contain the Old Testament. Each page consists of three parallel columns of text: Hebrew on the outside, the Latin Vulgate in the middle (edited by Antonio de Nebrija), and the Greek Septuagint on the inside. On each page of the Pentateuch, the Aramaic text (the Targum Onkelos) and its own Latin translation are added at the bottom. The fifth volume, the New Testament, consists of parallel columns of Greek and the Latin Vulgate. The sixth volume contains various Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek dictionaries and study aids.[4] For the Greek text, the minuscules 140, 234, and 432 were probably used. Jerome's Latin version of the Old Testament was placed between the Greek and Hebrew versions, symbolizing the Roman Church of Christ being surrounded and crucified by the Greek Church and the Jews.[5] This text was collated by Antonio de Nebrija from manuscript sources, but was left uncorrected. Nebrija eventually resigned from the project after Cisneros refused to allow him to improve the translation in deference to the desires of the Papacy.[6]
- Complutensian Polyglot Bible. Wikipedia. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Complutensian_Polyglot_Bible>.

The Witness of God is Greater

Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436 – 1517 AD)

• Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, O.F.M. (1436 – 8 November 1517), spelled Ximenes in his own lifetime, and commonly referred to today as simply Cisneros, was a Spanish cardinal, religious figure, and statesman.[1] Starting from humble beginnings he rose to the heights of power, becoming a religious reformer, twice regent of Spain, Cardinal, Grand Inquisitor, promoter of the Crusades in North Africa, and founder of the Complutense University, today the Complutense University of Madrid. Among his intellectual accomplishments, he is best known for funding the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, the first printed polyglot version of the entire Bible. He also edited and published the first printed editions of the missal (in 1500) and the breviary (in 1502) of the Mozarabic Rite, and established a chapel with a college of thirteen priests to celebrate the Mozarabic Liturgy of the Hours and Eucharist each day in the Toledo Cathedral. Cardinal Cisneros' life coincided with, and greatly influenced, a dynamic period in the history of Spain during the reign of Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile. During this time Spain underwent many significant changes, leading it into its prominent role in the Spanish Golden Age (1500–1700). (Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francisco_Jiménez_de_Cisneros>)

• **[Evanson]** ...the Printed Editions of the Greek New Testament ...First in honor stands that stupendous and magnificent monument, the **Complutensian Polyglott of Ximenes, which contains the "Princeps" Edition of the Greek Testament. Every "Princeps" Edition is *prima facie* evidence of the Readings in contemporary or antecedent Manuscripts. The Complutensian reads 1 John 5:7: therefore that verse stood in the Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament then existing and consulted by the Editors. Those Greek Manuscripts, we are assured by the Editors, were the most ancient, [PAGE xviii] and the most valuable which could then be procured from the best public or private Collections in the world. The munificent Patron and Projector of that Work spared no expense or toil and employed the ablest Scholars and Critics of the day in its completion. Its authority was held equivalent to that of the most authentic and ancient Greek Manuscripts then extant (as even Michaelis admits). It was referred to as the ultimate appeal from every subsequent Printed Edition; and it remained in the undisputed possession of that preeminence, throughout all Christendoom, for nearly one hundred and fifty years, during the brightest days of the Reformation.** (William Alleyn Evanson, "Translator's Introduction" in New Criticisms on the Celebrated Text, 1 John V. 7, 1829, p. xvii-xviii)

HIT:

This is he that came by water and
blood, Jesus Christ: not by water
only but by water and blood.
And it is the Spirit which testifieth that
Christ is the truth. And there are Three
who give testimony in heaven, the Father,
the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these
three are one. And there are three that
give testimony on earth: the spirit and the water
and the blood. If we receive the testimony of men, (1 John 5:6-9)

Latin:

hic est qui venit per aquam et
sanguinem Iesus Christus non in aqua
solum sed in aqua et sanguine

The Witness of God is Greater

et Spiritus est qui testificatur quoniam
Christus est veritas quia tres sunt
qui testimonium dant in caelo, Pater,
Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus. Et hi
tres unum sunt Et tres sunt qui
testimonium dant in terra: Spiritus et aqua
et sanguis si testimonium hominum
accipimus (vol 5, p. 397 : Image 2460)

Greek:

οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐλθὼν δι' ὕδατος καὶ
αἵματος, Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός· οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὕ-
δατι μόνον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ὕδατι καὶ τῷ αἵμα-
τι καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμά ἐστι τὸ μαρτυροῦν, ὅ-
τι τὸ Πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια. ὅτι τρεῖς εἰ-
σιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ πα-
τήρ, καὶ ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· καὶ
οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσι. καὶ τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρ-
τυροῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὸ Πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕ-
δωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα· εἰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῶν ἀν-
θρώπων λαμβάνομεν, (vol 5, p. 397 : Image 2460)

- bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000013439&page=2460
- **Note:** The Greek text v6 is “The Spirit is the truth”

Prologue to the Books of the Old and New Testaments Printed in Their Various Languages

- There are many reasons, Holy Father, that impel us to print the languages of the original text of Holy Scripture. These are the principle ones. Words have their own unique character, and no translation of them, however complete, can entirely express their full meaning. This is especially the case in that language through which the Lord Himself spoke. The letter here of itself may be dead and like flesh which profits nought (“for it is the spirit that gives life”[2 Cor. 3:6]) because Christ concealed by the form of the words remains enclosed within its womb. But there is no doubt that there is a rich fecundity so astonishing and an abundance of sacred mysteries so teeming that since it is ever full to overflowing”streams of living water shall flow out from His breast”[John 7:38]. And from this this source those to whom it has been given”to behold the glory of the Lord with an unveiled face and thus be transformed into that very image”[2 Cor. 3:18] can continually draw the marvelous secrets of His divinity. Indeed, there can be no language or combination of letters from which the most hidden meanings of heavenly wisdom do not emerge and burgeon forth, as it were. Since, however, the most learned translator can present only a part of this, the full Scripture in translation inevitably remains up to the present time laden with a variety of sublime truths which cannot be understood from any source other than the original language.
- Moreover, wherever there is diversity in the Latin manuscripts or the suspicion of a corrupted reading (we know how frequently this occurs because of the ignorance and negligence of copyists), it is necessary to go back to the original source of Scripture, as St. Jerome and St. Augustine and other ecclesiastical writers advise us to do, to examine the authenticity of the books of the New Testament in the light of the Greek copies. And so that every student of Holy Scripture might have at hand the [PAGE 63] original texts themselves and be able to quench his thirst at the very fountainhead of the water that flows unto life everlasting and not have to

The Witness of God is Greater

content himself with rivulets alone, we worded original languages of Holy Scripture with their translations adjoined to be printed and dedicated to your Holiness. And we first took care to print the New Testament in Greek and Latin together with a lexicon of all the Greek expressions that can help those reading that language. Thus we spared no effort on behalf of those who have not acquired a full knowledge of the Greek tongue. Then before we began the Old Testament we prepared a dictionary of the Hebrew and Chaldean words of the entire Old Instrument 1 [Latin: instrumentum : pact or covenant]. There not only the various meanings of each expression are given, but (we believe this will be most useful to students) the place in Scripture where each meaning occurs is cited.

- Also, since not only the shell of the letter that kills but above all the kernel of the life-giving spirit that lies hidden within must be sought by the student of Holy Scripture, and since an important part of this derives from the translation of proper names, we ordered that their translation be worked out with the greatest care by men who excelled in the knowledge of languages and that they be arranged alphabetically and the list appended to the dictionary. The ascribing of these names, foreseen from eternity, is of incredible help in revealing spiritual and concealed meanings and uncovering hidden mysteries that the Holy Spirit has veiled under the shadow of the literal text. After this list comes instruction in reading the Hebrew characters and a grammar of that language compiled from many Hebrew authors of accepted reliability and arranged according to the Latin method.

- After we completed all this as a prelude, so to speak, we printed the different languages of the Old Testament and added the Latin translation for each of them. **We can frankly state, Most Holy Father, that the greatest part of our labor was expended here. We employed men the most outstanding for their knowledge of languages, and we had the most accurate and oldest manuscripts [PAGE 64] for our base texts. We made the greatest effort to gather from various places a large number of Hebrew as well as Greek and Latin codices. Indeed we are indebted to your Holiness for the Greek texts. With the greatest kindness you sent us the most ancient codices of both the Old and the New Testaments from your Apostolic Library, and these were of the greatest help to us in this undertaking.**

- And so, having completed the printing of the New Testament in Greek and Latin together with its lexicon and also the Hebrew and Chaldean dictionary, to which we append a grammar as well as the translation of proper names, and in addition having finished annotating variant readings in the Old Testament, annotations which our scholars added in many places since Nicholas of Lyra 2 had not fully completed the task, at last with divine assistance we printed the Old Testament in its various languages. We now send this entire work to your Holiness, for to whom should all our vigilant efforts be dedicated than to that Apostolic See to whom we owe everything? Or who with greater joy ought to accept and embrace the sacred books of the Christian religion than the sacred Vicar of Christ? May your Holiness receive, therefore, with a joyful heart this humble gift which we offer unto the Lord so that the hitherto dormant study of Holy Scripture may now at last begin to revive.

- We beseech your Blessedness most earnestly, however, that you examine these books that now prostrate themselves before you and pass the most severe judgement on them so that, if it seems they will be of use to the Christian commonwealth, they may receive permission from your Holiness to be published. We have held them back until now, waiting to consult that sacred oracle of the Apostolic Office. But let this suffice for your Blessedness. We turn now to instruct the reader about the make-up of the work.

- Complutensian Polyglot, Prologue to the Books of the Old and New Testaments Printed in Their Various Languages (Translated by Olin, 1990, p. 62-63)

Great Fire of 1671 Destroyed the Royal Library

- The Escorial [Royal Site of San Lorenzo de El Escorial] has three libraries inside, not just one. One is located behind the Chorus of the basilica. Another, within the monastery itself, used to be distributed in the different

The Witness of God is Greater

cells and rooms of the monks and that the Augustine monks have gradually managed to turn into their own. Finally, the Royal one, which is public in everything, from its design to its special bull of protection.[11] ...**The Library reached its peak under Philip IV. In 1671 a great fire destroyed a large proportion of the books kept in the library.** Among the most important losses were the *Concilios visigóticos* and the *Historia natural de las Indias* (Natural History of the Indies), a 19-volume encyclopedia on biology and botany by Francisco Hernández de Toledo. **After the fire, the priest Antonio de San José spent over 25 years reclassifying and taking inventories of the surviving copies.** His list of surviving books counts 45,000. (El Escorial. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/El_Escorial>)

• ...The Manuscripts employed by the Complutensian Editors have not yet been discovered, **being either destroyed in the great conflagration of the Escurial [PAGE xxvii] 1671**, or disposed of by some ignorant or dishonest Librarian, or concealed in the Library at Alcalá, or possibly in the Vatican at Rome, under the apprehension of their proving unfavourable to the authority of the Vulgate; therefore, until the materials, on which a *negative* testimony can be admitted, be very considerably augmented in number and authenticity, the affirmative, i.e. in favour of the disputed clause, must be allowed to preponderate under this head also. (William Alleyn Evanson, "Translator's Introduction" in *New Criticisms on the Celebrated Text*, 1 John V. 7, 1829, p. xxvi-xxvii)

Marginal Note at 1 John 5:7-8 in the Complutensian Polyglot (1514)

• Saint Thomas, in his exposition of the second Decretal concerning the Most High Trinity and the Catholic faith, treating of this passage, 'There are three that bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit,' in opposition to the Abbot Joachim, uses precisely the following language: — And to teach the unity of the three persons it is subjoined, And these three are one; which is said on account of their unity of essence. But Joachim, wishing perversely to refer this to a unity of affection and agreement, alleged the text that follows it. For it is immediately subjoined, And there are three that bear witness on earth, namely, the Spirit, the water, and the blood. And in some books it is added, And these three are one. But this is not contained in the true copies, but is said to have been added by the Arian heretics to prevent the text that precedes from being correctly understood as relating to the unity of essence of the three persons.' — Thus the blessed Thomas, as above referred to. (Complutensian polyglot, 1514, vol 5, p. 397 : Image 2460; Translated by Orme, 1866, p. 80-81)

Latin: Sanctus Thomas in expositione secunde Decretalis de suma Trinitate et fide catholica tractans istum passum contra Abbatem Joachim ut tres sunt qui testimonium dant in celo. Pater: Verbum: et Spiritus Sanctus: dicit ad litteram verba sequentia. Et ad insinuandam unitatem trium personarum subditur, Et hii tres unum sunt. Quodquidem dicitur propter essentie unitatem. Sed hoc Joachim perverse trahere volens ad unitatem charitatis et consensus inducebat consequentem auctoritatem. Nam subditur ibidem: Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra. s. Spiritus: Aqua: et Sanguis. Et in quibusdam libris additur: Et hii tres unum sunt. Sed hoc in veris exemplaribus non habetur: sed dicitur esse appositum ab hereticis Arrianis ad pervertendum intellectum sanum auctoritatis premisse de unitate essentie trium personarum. Hec beatus Thomas ubi supra. (Complutensian polyglot, 1514, vol 5, p. 397 : Image 2460)

Comment:

• **[Evanson]** Much stress has been laid on the Marginal Note annexed to 1 John 5:7,8 in the [PAGE xxv] Complutensian New Testament, as if it implied that the Editors had no Greek manuscript authority for inserting the seventh verse. Really nothing but a predetermination not to see, could have obscured the obvious purport

The Witness of God is Greater

of that Note (in the eyes of the "Anti-Complutensians"). **Its plain and palpable intent is, not to account for the insertion of 1 John 5:7, but to vindicate the omission of the latter clause of 1 John 5:8**"these three agree in one"(Greek: οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσι), which corresponds to the Latin"these three are one"(Lati: Hi tres unum sunt); - an omission, which affords amongst many other evidences, and incontestable proof that the Editors had no intention of forming the Greek Text on the Vulgate, or elevating the authority of the Latin Version above that of the Original Greek Text. (William Alleyn Evanson, "Translator's Introduction" in New Criticisms on the Celebrated Text, 1 John V. 7, 1829, p. xxiv-xxv)

Sistine Vulgate (1590 AD)

• The Sixtine Vulgate or Sistine Vulgate (Latin: Vulgata Sixtina) is the edition of the Vulgate—a 4th-century Latin translation of the Bible that was written largely by Jerome—which was published in 1590, prepared by a commission on the orders of Pope Sixtus V and edited by himself. It was the first edition of the Vulgate authorised by a pope. Its official recognition was short-lived; the edition was replaced in 1592 by the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate. In 1546, the Council of Trent had decreed that the Vulgate was authoritative and authentic, and ordered that the Vugate be printed as correctly as possible. However, no edition of the Vulgate officially approved by the Catholic Church existed at the time. Twenty years later, work to produce an official edition of the Vulgate began: Pius V appointed a commission to produce an official edition of the Vulgate. However, his successor, Gregory XIII, did not continue the work. In 1586, Sixtus V appointed a commission to produce an official edition of the Vulgate. However, he was dissatisfied with the work of the commission. Considering himself a great editor, he edited himself, with the help of a few people he trusted, an edition of the Vulgate. In 1590, this edition was published and was preceded by a bull of Sixtus V saying this edition was the authentic edition recommended by the Council of Trent, that it should be taken as the standard of all future reprints, and that all copies should be corrected by it. Three months later, in August, Sixtus V died. Nine days after the death of Sixtus V, the College of Cardinals suspended the sale of the Sixtine Vulgate and later ordered the destruction of the copies. In 1592, Clement VIII, arguing printing errors in the Sixtine Vulgate, recalled all copies of the Sixtine Vulgate still in circulation; some suspect his decision was in fact due to the influence of the Jesuits. In November of the same year, a revised version of the Sixtine, known as the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate or Clementine Vulgate, was issued by Clement VIII to replace the Sixtine Vulgate. (Sixtine Vulgate. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sixtine_Vulgate>)

HIT:

• This is he that came by water and blood, Jesus Christ; not by water only, but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because Christ is the truth. For there are three, that bear record in heaven : the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in earth : the Spirit, and the water, and the blood : and these three agree in one. If we receive the witness of men, (1 John 5:5-9)

• **Latin:** hic est, qui venit per aquam, & sanguinem Iesus Christus : non in aqua solum : sed in aqua, & sanguine. Et Spiritus est, qui testificatur, quoniam Christus est veritas. Quoniam tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in caelo : Pater, Verbum, & Spiritus sanctus : & hi tres unum sunt. Et tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra : Spiritus, & aqua, & sanguis : & hi tres unum sunt. Si testimonium hominum accipimus, ... (1 John 5:5-9) (p. 1124 : Image 1152)

<mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11203085-7>

The Witness of God is Greater

Clementine Vulgate (1592 AD)

• The Sixto-Clementine Vulgate or Clementine Vulgate is the edition promulgated in 1592 by Pope Clement VIII of the Vulgate—a 4th-century Latin translation of the Bible that was written largely by Jerome. It was the second edition of the Vulgate to be authorised by the Catholic Church, the first being the Sixtine Vulgate. The Sixto-Clementine Vulgate was used officially in the Catholic Church until 1979, when the Nova Vulgata was promulgated by Pope John Paul II. The Sixto-Clementine Vulgate is a revision of the Sixtine Vulgate; the latter had been published two years earlier under Sixtus V. Nine days after the death of Sixtus V, who had issued the Sixtine Vulgate, the College of Cardinals suspended the sale of the Sixtine Vulgate and later ordered the destruction of the copies. Thereafter, two commissions under Gregory XVI were in charge of the revision of the Sixtine Vulgate. In 1592, Clement VIII, arguing printing errors in the Sixtine Vulgate, recalled all copies of the Sixtine Vulgate still in circulation; some suspect his decision was in fact due to the influence of the Jesuits. In the same year, a revised edition of the Sixtine Vulgate was published and promulgated by Clement VIII; this edition is known as the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate, or Clementine Vulgate. (Sixto-Clementine Vulgate. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sixto-Clementine_Vulgate>)

HIT:

• This is he that came by water and blood, Jesus Christ; not by water only, but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because Christ is the truth. For there are three, that bear record in heaven : the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in earth : the Spirit, and the water, and the blood : and these three agree in one. If we receive the witness of men, (1 John 5:5-9)

• **Latin:** Hic est, qui venit per aquam et sanguinem, Jesus Christus: non in aqua solum, sed in aqua et sanguine. Et Spiritus est, qui testificatur quoniam Christus est veritas. Quoniam tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in caelo: Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus: et hi tres unum sunt. Et tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra: spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis: et hi tres unum sunt. Si testimonium hominum accipimus, (1 John 5:6-9) (p. 1114 : Image 568)

<digitale.bncf.firenze.sbn.it/OAIIMG/servlet/Img?RisIdr=BNCF0003769050&usage=3>

The Synod of Dort (1618-1619) & Dutch Authorized Version (1637)

• The Synod of Dort (also known as the Synod of Dordt or the Synod of Dordrecht) was an international Synod held in Dordrecht in 1618–1619, by the Dutch Reformed Church, to settle a divisive controversy initiated by the rise of Arminianism. The first meeting was on 13 November 1618 and the final meeting, the 180th, was on 29 May 1619. Voting representatives from eight foreign Reformed churches were also invited. Dort was a contemporary English term for the town of Dordrecht (and it remains the local colloquial pronunciation).

• The synod also initiated an official Dutch Bible translation (the Statenvertaling, i.e. Translation of the States or, the Dutch Authorized Version) from the original languages that would be completed in 1637. Translators were appointed, and the States-General were asked to fund the project. It had a lasting impact on the standard Dutch language, which was just then beginning to gain wider acceptance and developing a literary tradition. It would remain the standard translation in Protestant churches for more than three centuries and still is used in some sister churches of the Netherlands Reformed Congregations and similar, smaller denominations. Like its sister translations, the Geneva Bible and the King James Version (Authorized Version), the Dutch pastor-scholars worked in the Old Testament from the Masoretic Text (consulting the Septuagint) and in the New Testament from the Textus Receptus (consulting the Majority Text). In 1645, the Westminster Assembly appointed Theodore Haak to translate the Statenvertaling met kantekeningen (The Dort Bible and its Commentary) into English for wider distribution. This work was published by Henry Hill in London 1657. (Synod of Dort. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Synod_of_Dort>)

• Official participation in the Synod of Dort, held in 1618–9 in Dordrecht in the Netherlands, consisted of different groups: Dutch ministers, church elders, and theologians; representatives of churches outside the Dutch Republic; and Dutch lay

The Witness of God is Greater

politicians. There were 14 Remonstrants who were summoned, in effect as defendants. There were also some observers, who had no voting status. Listings are usually given according to a traditional ordering for the provinces that begins with Gelderland; for the provincial synods Holland was divided into two, North and South. In the sources both Latinised names and spelling variants occur. Lists of those nominated to participate in some capacity differ from those who signed the final Acts of the Synod. Figures vary a little, but one total given is for 102 official participants.[1] The outcome of the Synod was the most significant single event in the Calvinist-Arminian debate. (List of participants in the Synod of Dort. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_participants_in_the_Synod_of_Dort>)

The Synod of Dort : The Creeds of Christendom (Schaff)

- At last, after a great deal of controversy and complicated preparations, the National Synod of Dort⁹⁸³ was convened by the States-General, Nov. 13, 1618, and lasted till May 9, 1619. It consisted of eighty-four members and eighteen secular commissioners. Of these fifty-eight were Dutchmen, the rest foreigners. The foreign Reformed Churches were invited to send at least three or four divines each, with the right to vote.
- King James I. of England sent Drs. George Carleton, Bishop of Llandaff (afterwards of Chichester); John Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury; Samuel Ward, Professor of Cambridge; the celebrated Joseph Hall, afterwards Bishop of Exeter and Norwich (who, however, had to leave before the close, and was replaced by Thomas Goad), and Walter Balcanquhall, a Scotchman, and chaplain of the King. The Palatinate was represented by Drs. Abraham Scultetus, Henry Alting, Professors at Heidelberg, and Paulus Tossanus; Hesse, by Drs. George Cruciger, Paul Stein, Daniel Angelocrator, and Rudolph Goclenius; Switzerland, by Dr. John Jacob Breitingen, Antistes of Zurich, Sebastian Beck and Wolfgang Meyer of Basle, Marcus Rutimeyer of Berne, John Conrad Koch of Schaffhausen, John Deodatus and Theodor Tronchin of Geneva; Bremen, by Matthias Martinius, Henry Isselburg, and Ludwig Crocius. The Elector of Brandenburg chose delegates, but excused their absence on account of age. The national Synod of France elected four delegates—among them the celebrated theologians Chamier and Du Moulin—but the King forbade them to leave the country. King James instructed the English delegates to 'mitigate the heat on both sides,' and to advise the Dutch ministers⁹⁸⁴ 'not to deliver in the pulpit to the people those things for ordinary doctrines which are the highest points of schools and not fit for vulgar capacity, but disputable on both sides.'
- The Synod was opened and closed with great solemnity, and held one hundred and fifty-four formal sessions, besides a larger number of conferences.⁹⁸⁵ The expenses were borne by the States-General on a very liberal scale, and exceeded 100,000 guilders.⁹⁸⁶ The sessions were public, and crowded by spectators. John Bogerman, pastor at Leeuwarden, was elected President; Festus Hommius, pastor in Leyden, first Secretary—both strict Calvinists. The former had translated Beza's tract on the punishment of heretics into Dutch; the latter prepared a new Latin version of the Belgic Confession. The whole Dutch delegation was orthodox. Only three delegates from the provincial Synod of Utrecht were Remonstrants, but these had to yield their seats to the three orthodox members elected by the minority in that province. Gomarus represented supralapsarian Calvinism, but the great majority were infralapsarians or sublapsarians.
- Orthodox Calvinism achieved a complete triumph. The Five Articles of the Remonstrance were unanimously rejected, and five Calvinistic canons adopted, together with the Belgic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism. A thorough and most excellent revision of the Dutch Bible from the Hebrew and Greek was also ordered, besides other decisions which lie beyond our purpose.
- The Synod of Dort is the only Synod of a quasi-œcumenical character in the history of the Reformed Churches. In this respect it is even more important than the Westminster Assembly of Divines, which was confined to England and Scotland, although it produced superior doctrinal standards. The judgments of the Synod of Dort differ according to the doctrinal stand-point. It was undoubtedly an imposing assembly; and, for learning and piety, as respectable as any ever held since the days of the Apostles. Breitingen, a great light of the Swiss Churches, was astonished at the amount of knowledge and talent displayed by the Dutch delegates, and says that if ever the Holy Spirit were present in a Council, he was present at Dort. Scultetus, of the Palatinate, thanked God that he was a member of that Synod, and placed it high above similar assemblies. Meyer, a delegate of Basle, whenever afterwards he spoke of this Synod, uncovered his head and exclaimed 'Sacrosancta Synodus! Even Paolo Sarpi, the liberal Catholic historian, in a letter to Heinsius, spoke very highly of it. A century later, the celebrated Dutch divine, Campegius Vitringa, said: 'So much learning was never before assembled in one place, not even at Trent.'⁹⁸⁸
- Schaff, Philip, and David S. Schaff. *The Creeds of Christendom*, §65, vol 1, 1919, p. 512-515.

The Synod of Dort : Acta of Handelingen der Nationale Synode te Dordrecht 1618-1619

- On November 13, 1618, the first session of the well-known National Synod took place in Dordrecht. As usual, the credentials of the delegates present were checked first. After the letters of credit from the foreign delegates were assessed, the third session was followed by those from the Dutch. The acta of the Synod mention something notable about this part: "In the credentials of Overijsel it was noted that they were charged to judge not only according to God's Word, but also according to the conformity of the faith as expressed in the Confession [= Belgic Confession] and

The Witness of God is Greater

Catechism of these Churches. Thereupon, as it could seem that the Confession and Catechism were also set as a guideline for judging the truth of doctrine and to the same degree and authority with the Word of God, those of Overijssel have declared that they and the brethren who had sent them, acknowledged the only Word of God for the only rule according to which they were to judge the truth of doctrine and that they would also judge only by that. But with that in the credentials mention is also made of the Confession and Catechism the Overijsels brothers had not wanted to indicate that they put these scriptures in one degree of authority with the Holy Scriptures; but only that they considered them to be in scriptural and forms of unity of the pure doctrine and if any question was raised regarding this unity they should judge according to these forms. The Synod was satisfied with this explanation.

- However, it left no uncertainty about what should be the only guideline. Thus at its fourth session, it determined that when there was a dispute about the truth of the doctrine, the Commissioners ensure that, with proper and careful examination, the Word of God alone and not some human scriptures is used as a certain and unquestionable rule of truth. That this may so be done, and to evidently prove that they do not mean anything else but the glory of God, and the peace of the Church, they will bind themselves to this by oath in this Synod or assembly.”
- This does not mean, however, that the synod wanted to put the Belgic Confession aside as unimportant. Definitely not! It instructed that this confession was to be tested against the Bible. The result of this investigation can be found in the report of the 146th session:”Have been asked the judgment of the others, both foreign and native Theologians, on the doctrine included in the Belgic Confession; and has been declared by all and everyone with unanimous advice that they judged that no doctrine was included in this Confession that at variance with the truth expressed in the Holy Scriptures; but on the contrary, that everything corresponded well with this truth and with the Confessions of other Reformed Churches.
- The same assessment took place with regard to the Heidelberg Catechism. And also in this case the judgment was highly positive:”Has it been stated with unanimous and consistent advice, from both the foreign and the native Theologians, that the doctrine, understood in the Catechism of the Paltz, was in every way consistent with God's Word, and that it contained nothing which would seem, as at variance with it [God's Word], to need correction or improvement; and that this Catechism was a very well composed short summary of the orthodox Christian doctrine, very wisely ordered, not only to the understanding of tender youth, but also to the able teaching of those who have come to age. And that, therefore, it could be taught in the Dutch Churches to great edification, and ought to be asserted in every way.”(148th session)
- After the assessment of the credentials, the Synod was able to start its work. The first topic on the agenda was the new Bible translation. First, advice was sought from the foreign delegates. The English told how they had proceeded with their translation that had been completed a short time before. After this the Dutch got to speak. They unanimously stated that”a better transfer [= translation] of the Bible, from the original languages to the Dutch, would for our Dutch Churches not only be profitable, but would also be absolutely necessary, and therefore that this work [...] of a new transfer should be commenced as soon as possible and in the best and shortest way possible. Has it also been deemed more advisable by votes of the Synod to immediately propose a new transfer, than to revise or correct the old Dutch one; nevertheless in such a way that, in order to avoid offences with regard to too great a change, they [= the translators] should preserve from the old transfer everything that could be preserved without diminishing the truth and purity and the quality of the Dutch language.”So a completely new translation had to be made, but this had to be as close as possible to the existing one to prevent people from opposing the introduction of the new translation out of dissatisfaction with the new and unknown.
- ”Is it was farther deemed good that this translation must be from the fountains or original languages of the Holy Scripture, the Hebrew and Greek, yet so that they should use as a help and compare the best translations, interpretations and short explanations, and also the judgment of learned men in the heaviest places [= in those parts of the text that are the most difficult to understand]. Finally, It has been approved to prescribe these following rules to the translators that will be ordained for this purpose.
- I. That they always diligently stick to the original text, and that the form of expression of the original languages will be retained as much as clarity and the peculiarities of the Dutch language can admit it. But if somewhere a Hebrew or Greek manner of speaking is found that is too obscure to keep in the text [= the translation] that they diligently note it on the side. [So: Greek or Hebrew phrases that would cause too many problems with literal translation into Dutch, had to be literally translated on the side of the text.]
- II. That, in order to complete the sense of the text when it is not fully expressed, they add as few words as possible, and that they be included in the text [= the translation] with a different font and enclosed in brackets so that they can be distinguished from the words of the text itself.
- III. That they put the content briefly and clear in front of each book and chapter, and in every way [= at all times] note the corresponding places of Holy Scripture on the side.
- IV. That they add some short explanation with the reason for their translation to the obscure passages; but adding observations of doctrinal implications has been judged to be neither necessary nor advisable.”The translators therefore had to state why they had opted for a specific translation for difficult texts. Adding comments with regard to the doctrine was considered neither necessary nor advisable.

The Witness of God is Greater

- The total time required for translation was estimated at four years. The intention was to start work three months after the end of the synod. In 1618, however, no one could have suspected that this timetable would turn out to be an illusion. It was decided by majority that the translators would settle together in an academic city, where they could use a library and also easily consult the professors in theology and in the Hebrew and Greek languages.
- President Johannes Bogerman (1576 - 1637) warned the members of the Synod that when choosing the translators they should not only pay attention to their ability as a theologian or their linguistic skill, but at least as much to their godly and holy life. The meeting then appointed Johannes Bogerman, Willem Baudartius and Gerson Bucerus as translators of the Old Testament. Jacobus Rolandus, Hermannus Faukelius and Petrus Cornelisz had to translate the New Testament and the Apocrypha in Dutch. In addition, the Synod designated from almost all provinces of our country "overseers" (= revisers) who had to check the translation work and improve it where necessary. The request was made to the States General to cooperate in the implementation of the decisions taken. In fact, the States were expected to bear all the costs associated with producing the new Bible translation and to write to the churches whose minister was chosen as translator to "make no difficulty" and temporarily exempt their minister of the Word from any religious service.
- Whoever thinks that the six ministers could get started quickly, is mistaken. The States General was certainly not in a hurry. It was not until 1626 that Bogerman and his two colleagues were able to start the joint work at the OT. A year later the translation of the NT was started. At that time, Petrus Cornelisz and Hermannus Faukelius were already deceased. Festus Hommius and Antonius Walaesus had taken the empty places. The translators did their job diligently. For example, Baudartius once wrote to the poet Revius: "I have not studied so hard in whole my life as I am doing now in my old age." August 1631 Bucerus deceased. Bogerman and Baudartius then continued the work together. Rolandus died a year later. The States General decided that he too would not be replaced. Hommius and Walaesus had to finish the job together.
- The OT was completed in 1633 and the revisers were summoned to Leiden to provide their comments. Bogerman, by the way, felt very weak after seven years of intensive work. Eight months were reserved for the revision, but this proved to be insufficient. The correction of the OT was completed in September 1634. Then the "overseers" of the NT were called. Yet Sebastiaan Damman, the reviser on behalf of Gelderland, was in Spanish imprisonment. Only after he had been redeemed by the States of Gelderland with great difficulty could he also leave for Leiden. August 1635 the revision of the NT ended. At that time, the plague raged in the city. 1500 inhabitants had to be carried to the grave in one week. However, the revisers and their families were all spared.
- After difficult negotiations, it was decided that Pauwels Aertsz van Ravesteyn could print the Bible, but he had to move from Amsterdam to Leiden! Then such a harsh winter followed that it proved impossible to work with the printing press. Sept. 17 In 1637 the Bible could finally be handed over to the States General. These had, by the way, ensured that an act of authorization was included in the Bible as drafted by the Council of State. They were of the opinion that the new translation had only been carried out by their decision and had only been paid for by them, and everyone had to be well aware of that. The preface led to the term "States Translation". Johannes Bogerman died in the same year. He had completed his task.
- **Source:** Acta of Handelingen der Nationale Synode te Dordrecht 1618 - 1619, Naar de oorspronkelijke Nederduitse uitgave onder toezicht van J.H. Donner en S.A. Van den Hoorn, Den Hertog B.V. / Houten 1987
- **Source:** session 6-8, Acta of Handelingen der Nationale Synode te Dordrecht 1618 - 1619, Naar de oorspronkelijke Nederduitse uitgave onder toezicht van J.H. Donner en S.A. Van den Hoorn, Den Hertog B.V. / Houten 1987 (All comments between [...] are my own additions [Jeroen Beekhuizen])
- **Bron:** D. Nauta: Geschiedenis van het ontstaan der Statenvertaling. In: De Statenvertaling 1637 - 1937. De Erven F. Bohn N.V./Haarlem 1937.
- **Translated by** Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, July 2019.

The Belgic Confession (1561)

3. Of the written Word of God

• We confess that this Word of God was not sent, nor delivered by the will of man, but that holy men of God spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, as the apostle Peter says. And that afterwards God, from a special care, which he has for us and our salvation, commanded his servants, the prophets and apostles, to commit his revealed word to writing; and he himself wrote with his own finger, the two tables of the law. Therefore we call such writings holy and divine Scriptures.

4. Canonical Books of the Holy Scripture

• We believe that the Holy Scriptures are contained in two books, namely, the Old and New Testament, which are canonical, against which nothing can be alleged. These are thus named in the Church of God. The books of the Old Testament are, the five books of Moses, viz.: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; the books of Joshua, Ruth, Judges, the two books of Samuel, the two of the Kings, two books of the Chronicles, commonly called

The Witness of God is Greater

Paralipomenon, the first of Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, the Psalms of David, the three books of Solomon, namely, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs; the four great prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Daniel; and the twelve lesser prophets, namely, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.

• Those of the New Testament are the four evangelists, viz.: Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the Acts of the Apostles; the fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul, viz.: one to the Romans, two to the Corinthians, one to the Galatians, one to the Ephesians, one to the Philippians, one to the Colossians, two to the Thessalonians, two to Timothy, one to Titus, one to Philemon, and one to the Hebrews; the seven epistles of the other apostles, namely, one of James, two of Peter, three of John, one of Jude; and the Revelation of the apostle John.

5. From whence the Holy Scriptures derive their dignity and authority.

• We receive all these books, and these only, as holy and canonical, for the regulation, foundation, and conformation of our faith; believing without any doubt, all things contained in them, not so much because the Church receives and approves them as such, but more especially because the Holy Ghost witnesses in our hearts, that they are from God, whereof they carry the evidence in themselves. For the very blind are able to perceive that the things foretold in them are fulfilling.

6. The difference between the canonical and apocryphal books

• We distinguish those sacred books from the apocryphal, viz.: the third book of Esdras, the books of Tobias, Judith, Wisdom, Jesus Syrach, Baruch, the appendix to the book of Esther, the Song of the three Children in the Furnace, the history of Susannah, of Bell and the Dragon, the prayer of Manasses, and the two books of the Maccabees. All of which the Church may read and take instruction from, so far as they agree with the canonical books; but they are far from having such power and efficacy, as that we may from their testimony confirm any point of faith, or of the christian religion; much less detract from the authority of the other sacred books.

7. The sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures, to be the only rule of faith.

• We believe that those Holy Scriptures fully contain the will of God, and that whatsoever man ought to believe, unto salvation, is sufficiently taught therein. For, since the whole manner of worship, which God requires of us, is written in them at large, it is unlawful for any one, though an apostle, to teach otherwise than we are now taught in the Holy Scriptures: nay, though it were an angel from heaven, as the apostle Paul says. For, since it is forbidden, to add unto or take away anything from the word of God, it does thereby evidently appear, that the doctrine thereof is most perfect and complete in all respects. Neither do we consider of equal value any writing of men, however holy these men may have been, with those divine Scriptures, nor ought we to consider custom, or the great multitude, or antiquity, or succession of times and persons, or councils, decrees or statutes, as of equal value with the truth of God, for the truth is above all; for all men are of themselves liars, and more vain than vanity itself. Therefore, we reject with all our hearts, whatsoever does not agree with this infallible rule, which the apostles have taught us, saying, Try the spirits whether they are of God. Likewise, if there come any unto you; and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house.

• The Belgic Confession (1561). <www.ligonier.org/learn/articles/belgic-confession-1561/>

Statenvertaling

• The Statenvertaling ("translation of the States", or Authorized Version) was completed in 1637. Innovative about this reformatory bible translation was that it was translated directly from the most original sources available at the time - just like Luther's translation (1522-1534) and the King James Version (1611) - and not from the Vulgata. However, the influence of this Latin translation (382-405) is manifest, especially in the difficult parts. The Statenvertaling was ordered by the States General at the Dordrecht synod (1618-1619). The six translators tried to remain as close as possible to the original texts; therefore the text is full of 'Hebraisms': text seeming Hebrew. The Statenvertaling has had quite some impact on the Dutch language. It has been the authoritative translation for most Dutch protestants since the 17th century, until a new translation was published in 1951-1952. (statenvertaling.net/english.html)

From the House of Lords Journal, Volume 8, 24 September 1646

• Certificate about Haak's Translation of the Dutch Bible and Annotations.

• We, whose Names are hereunder written, considering that, ever since the Year 1637, at which Time the new Translation of the Bible in the Dutch Language, with large and continual Annotations thereupon, was published, it hath been the uncessant Desire and Longing of such as for Eternal Life search the Scriptures, both Ministers and others in these Kingdoms (which they have expressed at all Occasions), to have those Annotations translated into the English Tongue, promising themselves a rich Treasure of Knowledge and Spiritual Understanding from the Labours of so many eminent

The Witness of God is Greater

Divines as by the Choice of the famous Synod at Dort were set apart for so good and great a Work, and with fervent and continual Prayers unto the Father of Lights, and extraordinary Care and Diligence (wherein they had all Helps and Encouragements), were for the Space of Nineteen Years exercised therein; and we, not only by Information of such as are skilled in that Language, but from the Knowledge of the judicious, sound, and satisfactory Interpretation of some more obscure and controverted Places, wherein divers of us have used the Means to take Trial, and have made Proof, being very confident that the Satisfaction of this earnest and pious Desire would prove profitable to all the Godly in these Kingdoms (desiring that the Word of God may dwell plentifully in their Hearts by Faith), and at this Time most seasonable, when so many are dangerously seduced by the Misrepresentation of the Will of God, through the wresting of the Scriptures, cannot but in our Hearts acknowledge the wise and gracious Providence of God (who provided Bread for the Hungry, and doth not despise the Desires of the Humble, delighting to know His Will and to walk in His Paths), in directing and leading us at last to a learned Gentleman, Theodore Haak, every Way fitted for such a Task, he being by Birth and Breeding a German, about Twenty Years conversant in England, where not only his Faithfulness is known in divers Public Employments, but his Dexterity also in translating divers English Books of Practical Divinity into the German Tongue, and whose Affection and Zeal to the Glory of God and Good of the Church we know to be such, that he would willingly bestow himself upon the accurate and painful Prosecution of this Work, which he hath already entered upon, were he not hindered by such Discouragements as the reciprocal Zeal of the Godly, with the Desire of their own spiritual Comfort, and of the Edification of the Church, may easily remove:

• We, therefore, grieved that the Churches of Christ in these Kingdoms have for so long a Time wanted so inestimable a Benefit, and fearing that, if the present Opportunity be not apprehended, the like (all Things considered) shall not readily be offered hereafter, do, in all Earnestness of Spirit, intreat that such as in Sincerity desire the sober and solid Knowledge of the Will of God in Christ, revealed in Scripture, may with us join their Prayers and Endeavours for removing all Hinderances and Discouragements out of the Way, that so necessary a Work may be presently prosecuted, and, with all Speed, for the Use of the Church, and the Honour of Jesus Christ, brought to Perfection.

William Twisse.
Cor. Burges.
Herbart Palmer.
George Walker.
Thomas Young.
Samuell Clarke.
Francis Robarts.
Tho. Hodges.
Tho. Hill.
Stephen Marshall.
John Ward.
Antho. Tuckney.
John White.
Peter Smith.
Edmond Staunton.
Tho. Bayly.
Rich. Heyricke,
Edw. Corbett.
John Foxcroft.
Jasp. Hicks.
Hen. Wilkinson.
Jo. Bond.
Adoniram Byfeild.
Alex. Henderson.
Samuell Rutherford.
Rob't Bailly.
George Gillaspie.
John Philip.
Wm. Greenhill.
Nicholas Proffett.
John Dury.
Tho. Goodwin.
Sid. Sympson.

The Witness of God is Greater

Cesar Calandrin.
Jonas Preast

From the House of Lords Journal, Volume 8, 24 September 1646

- Ordinance H. L. That Theodore Haak may be authorized to print and vent the Annotations upon the Dutch Bible for Fourteen Years next after the Date hereof, and no other.
- Lords Committees appointed by the House to consider of the Ordinance touching the Dutch Bible; and to make Report; (videlicet,)

E. Kent.
E. Lincolne.
E. Suff.
E. Warwicke.E. Manchester.
Lord Wharton.
Lord North.

• **Theodore Haak** (1605 in Neuhausen – 1690 in London) was a German Calvinist scholar, resident in England in later life. Haak's communications abilities and interests in the new science provided the backdrop for convening the "1645 Group", a precursor of the Royal Society.[1] Although not himself known as a natural philosopher, Haak's engagement with others facilitated the expansion and diffusion of the "new science" throughout Europe. Haak's language skills were used in translation and interpretation and his personal correspondence with the natural philosophers and theologians of the day, including Marin Mersenne and Johann Amos Comenius; he facilitated introductions and further collaborations. Beginning in 1645 he worked as a translator on the Dutch Annotations Upon the Whole Bible (1657).[2][3][4] The first German translation of John Milton's Paradise Lost is perhaps his best known single work. ...Haak's work with the Royal Society was similar to the work that had so far engaged him throughout his life—translation, correspondence, and diffuser of knowledge. One of the first tasks he undertook was a translation of an Italian work on dyeing. He also acted as an intermediary on behalf of his old friend Pell, and communicated to the Society Pell's studies, including observations of a solar eclipse. Later it was to respond to university professors and civil administrators seeking information on the work undertaken by the Society. Other minor works prepared for the Society included a history of sugar refining and some German translations. His massive work in translating the Statenvertaling met Kantekeningen into English was published in London by Henry Hill 1657. (Theodore Haak. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theodore_Haak>)

HITS:

- **[1 John 5:6]** He it is who came by water and blood, [The Apostle here hath respect to the water and blood which flowed out of the pierced side of Christ, of which John only maketh mention, John 19:34,35; and rehearseth the same again here to shew that there is a mystery in it, namely that from him Howeth the water of the Holy Ghost, whereby we are cleansed and regenerated, and that by the shedding of his blood on the cross is procured for us, reconciliation with God and forgiveness of our sins. And thereby was fulfilled that which was represented by the Ceremonies of the Old Testament, which consisted mostly in purifications by water, and shedding the blood of the beast which was sacrificed: so that this is the sense, seeing Christ being come hath actually fulfilled all that which was represented by the ceremonies of the Old Testament, that therefore this is a clear proof, that he is the Messiah] (namely) Jesus the Christ: not by water only, but by water and blood. [that is, he came not only to bring about benefit of regeneration, or of the cleansing of our corrupt nature, but together also the benefit of justification or reconciliation with God, by his spirit and blood: which two benefits are not separated one from another] And it is the Spirit that testifieth, [that is, the holy spirit testifieth in the hearts of believers. 2 Cor. 1:22; Ephes. 1:13] That the Spirit is truth. [that is, the doctrine of the Gospel, that Jesus is the Christi: which doctrine is called Spirit 2 Cor 3:6. See the annotation there.]
- **[1 John 5:7]** For [This verse seeing it contains a very clear testimony of the holy Trinity, seems to have been left out of some copies by the Arrians, but is found in almost all Greek copies, and even by many ancient and worthy Teachers also, who lived before the times of the Arrians, brought out of them for proof of the holy Trinity; and the opposition of the witness upon earth ver. 8 therewith clearly that this verse must be there; as appears also by the ninth verse, where is spoken of the testimony of God] there are three [namely, persons, and distinct witnesses]

The Witness of God is Greater

who witness in heaven, [that is, give from heaven an heavenly and divine testimony hereof, which may not be doubted of. See Matth. 3:16,17, and Matth. 17:5, John 3:31, Acts 2:1 &c.] the Father, the Word, [that is the Son of God. See John 1:1.] and the Holy Ghost, and these three [namely, persons. See Matth. 3:16, 17 and Matth. 28:19] are one. [namely, of essence and nature : who testify of this thing all three together and the same thing. A very clear proof and testimony of the Trinity of persons in the unity of the divine essence. See John 10:30]

- **[1 John 5:8]** And there are three [That is, there are also three witnesses on earth, which testify the same] which testify upon earth, the Spirit and the water and the blood. [That is, the Spirit of adoption, which is given to believers in the Church here upon earth, and the water of regeneration, by which the faithful are assured of their fellowship with the Father and the Son, and the blood of the New Testament, whereby they obtain forgiveness of their sins, and reconciliation with God. Others by the Spirit understand the doctrine of the Gospel, and by water, the sacrament of baptism, and by blood the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, by which three means, the faithful in the Church here on earth, as by three firm witnesses, are assured of the forgiveness of their sins by Christ, and of eternal life. See also the annotation on verse 6] and they three (come) to one. [that of testimony thereof, namely, that Jesus is the Saviour and the Son of God, verse 5]
- **[1 John 5:9]** If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater: [That is, more authentick, and therefore also must be more firmly embraced] for this is the witness of God, which he hath testified of his Son. [namely, Jesus Christ, that he is the true and only Saviour.]
- Haak, Theodore. *The Dutch Annotations Upon the Whole Bible: or, All the Holy Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, Together with, and According to, Their Own Translation of All the Text: As Both the One and the Other Were Ordered and Appointed by the Synod of Dort, 1618, and Published by Authority, 1637. Now Faithfully Communicated to the Use of Great Britain, in English. Whereunto Is Prefixed an Exact Narrative Touching the Whole Work, and the Translation.* By Theodore Haak, Esq. H. Hills: London, 1657.

The Orthodox Confession of the Eastern Church (1643 AD)

• The Orthodox Confession of Faith of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East (also called Catechism from its method) was drawn up by Peter Mogilas, Metropolitan of Kieff, the father of Russian theology (d. 1647), or under his direction, and was revised and adopted by the Græco-Russian Synod at Jassy, 1643, signed by the Eastern Patriarchs, and approved again by the Synod of Jerusalem, 1672. It sets forth the faith of the Eastern Church in distinction both from the Latin and Protestant Churches. We print the introduction and doctrinal part in full, but omit Parts II. and III., which contain an exposition of the Lord's Prayer, the Beatitudes, and the Ten Commandments, and belong to Ethics rather than Symbolics. In the division of the Decalogue the Greek Church sides with the Reformed against the Roman and the Lutheran. *Comp. History*, pp. 58 sqq. (Schaff, *The creeds of Christendom*, 1877, vol. 2, p. 275)

• Among the many Orthodox Catechisms there is none more authoritative, none more comprehensive, than Peter Mogila's *Confessio Ortodoxa*, which we here reproduce after an old English translation, only altering some archaisms in spelling and a few inexact expressions. Peter Mogila, the son of Symeon Ivanovitch, hospodar of Wallachia, was raised in 1632 to the Metropolitan see of Kieff. He was a man distinguished by learning and piety, who made it the aim of his life to combat the doctrinal errors of Eomanism and Calvinism. For this purpose he prepared, or rather revised, in a provincial synod (1640), assisted by three Bishops, a Catechism, whose author is said to have been Isaias Trophimovitch Koslovsky, Igumen (abbot) of a Kieff monastery. Subsequently the Synod of Jassy examined it, and in 1643 the four Patriarchs approved and recommended it as a safe and faithful guide for all Orthodox Christians. (Julian Joseph Overbeck "Preface" in *The Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Eastern Church*, 1898)
<books.google.com/books?id=Gz0HAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>

• Metropolitan Peter (Romanian: Petru Movilă, Ukrainian: Петро Симеонович Могила, Russian: Петр Симеонович Могила, Polish: Piotr Mohyla; 21 December 1596 – 1 January [O.S. 22 December] 1647) was an influential Ruthenian Orthodox[1] theologian and reformer, Metropolitan of Kiev, Halych and All Rus' from 1633

The Witness of God is Greater

until his death. In 1632 Mogila became the bishop of Kiev and abbot of Pecherska Lavra. Because of his ties to several European royal homes, the leadership of the Orthodox clergy entrusted him to negotiate with the Polish Sejm (parliament) and the king to lift the repressive laws against the Orthodox Church and to ease the restrictions on the use of the Church Slavonic language in schools and public offices. Mogila's diplomatic talent paid off. King Władysław IV reinstated the status of the Eastern Orthodox Church in Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth.[6]:103 The first years as abbot Mogila showed that he had far-reaching goals to reform not only the monastic life at the Lavra and the Church. He wanted to strengthen the Orthodox spirituality and enhance the sense of national identity as well as raise the educational level in the country and in all Russian and Romanian lands to equal that in Western Europe. For over 20 years, Mogila played a leading role in Ukraine's book printing.[8] He was one of the first to print in the Ukrainian language. Mohyla and his followers at the Lavra and the Mohyla collegium made the first steps in formulating the fundamentals of the modern Russian and Ukrainian languages. One of his most important publications was the first Orthodox Catholic Catechesis worldwide (1640), written by him on the request of all Orthodox Catholic churches. After it was approved by several Ecumenical Patriarchs of Constantinople it became the foundational document for the Church doctrine in the orthodox world.[9][10]:106 During the 17th and 18th centuries, this book had 25 editions. His other notable works included Trebnyk or Euchologion (1646). It resembled an encyclopedia in which all Ukrainian church rites and services were systematized. In this, he did much to preserve the purity of Orthodox ritual.[11] (Peter_Mogila. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peter_Mogila>)

• Peter Mogila (also spelled Petro Mohyla or Petr Moghila; Ukrainian: Петро Могила, Romanian: Petru Movilă) was the Metropolitan of Kiev and Galicia from 1632 until his death in 1646. He established an education program in Kiev based on Western (Latin) academic concepts that stressed vindication of Orthodox primacy and doctrine and Church jurisdiction. He is venerated as a saint by the Churches of Ukraine, Romania, and Poland. His feast day is January 1, but he is also commemorated with other sainted metropolitans of Kiev on October 6. It is because of his numerous writings that Peter Mogila is most remembered and criticized. It was his work Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Eastern Church, which he produced in reaction to the efforts of the Jesuits and western reformers in the Polish dominated areas of Old Rus, for which he is most remembered. The Confession, originally published in 1645, was published throughout Europe in Greek, Latin, German, as well as in Russian. His Confession was given standing over the following years, first by the local Council of Jassy in 1642, and subsequently by the patriarchs of the Churches of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch in 1643. In 1672, the Synod of the Church of Jerusalem adopted his Confession as the Orthodox Standard Catechism. (Peter Mogila. Orthodox wiki. <orthodoxwiki.org/Peter_Mogila>)

HIT:

- **Question 9:** But, if God is One, it seemeth, of Necessity, that he should also be "one only in Person."
- **Answer:** It is not necessarily so ; for altho' God, in his Nature and Essence, is indeed but One ; yet in Person is he Three : As our Saviour himself teacheth, saying unto his Apostles (Matth. xxviii. 19), Go, teach all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. From whence it is manifest that in one and the same Godhead there be three distinct Persons, the Father, the Son the Holy Ghost — The Father, of whose proper Essence the Son was begotten, and the Holy Ghost proceeded before all Ages ; The Son, begotten before all Worlds by the Father and consubstantial with him ; The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father from all Eternity, and co-essential with the Father and the Son, as the divine Damascene explaineth in these Words (Book i. chap. 11), The Son and the Holy Ghost are from the same Cause, namely, the Father; and elsewhere (chap. x.) The Son is of the Father as being begotten. The Holy Ghost is also of the Father, not as being

The Witness of God is Greater

begotten, but as proceeding. Furthermore, Gregory the Divine {De Spiritu Sancto, p. 64, Aid. p. 604, Also p. 431) on these Words of the Apostle to the Romans (chap. xi. 36) : of him and through him, and to him are all things, speaketh thus :”The first, {i.e., of him) we apply to the Father, the second to the Son, and the third (that is, to him) to the Holy Ghost ; from whence it is manifest that, in the Godhead, there is a Trinity. Wherefore, without any Difference or Distinction, we are baptizing in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ; For what the Father is in his Nature, the same is the Son and the Holy Ghost. Now the Father is, in his Nature, true and eternal God, the Creator of all things both visible and invisible. Such therefore is the Son, entirely without any Difference, and the Holy Ghost ; **and all these are consubstantial with each other. Accordingly the Evangelist teacheth (1 John v. 7), There are three that bear Record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one.** In which Words this only is to be excepted, that, as to the divine Essence, The Father is the Cause of the Son and the Holy Ghost, inasmuch as both these Persons have their Origin from him, and he from none. Thus we are taught by our Saviour Jesus, who is Eternal Truth itself. Thus have we received from the holy Apostles. Thus, and thus only, have both universal, and particular Councils, and the Doctors of the Church, taught, declared, and decreed. And thus our Orthodox and Catholic Church professeth and teacheth. For this Faith the holy Martyrs poured out their Blood, and laid down their lives. And this Faith we must, with our whole Hearts, steadfastly believe and keep firm and unshaken, laying down our Lives for it, if requisite, through the Hope of eternal Salvation ; which, if good Works accompany our Faith, we shall be crowned with everlastingly in Heaven. (Peter Mogila, The Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East, 1647; Translated by Julian Joseph Overbeck, 1898, p. 16-17)

- **Ἑρώτησις θ´.** Ἄν ἴσως καὶ ὁ Θεὸς εἶναι ἓνας φαίνεται, πῶς νὰ ἦτον ἀνάγκη, νὰ ἦτον καὶ ἓνα πρόσωπον;
- **Ἄπ.** Δὲν εἶναι ἀνάγκη· διατὶ ὁ Θεὸς εἶναι ἓνας εἰς τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν, μὰ τρισυπόστατος, καθὼς εἶναι φανερὸν ἀπὸ τὴν διδασκαλίαν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ὅπου εἶπεν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀποστόλους τοῦ (Ματθ. κη. ιθ´.)· πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη· βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Ἀπὸ τὰ ὅποια λόγια φανερῶνεται, πῶς εἰς τὴν μίαν Θεότητα νὰ εἶναι τρία πρόσωπα, ὁ Πατὴρ, ὁ Υἱὸς, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, Πατὴρ ὁ ὅποιος πρὸ αἰώνων γεννᾷ τὸν υἱὸν ἀπὸ τὴν ἰδίαν του οὐσίαν, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα προίησιν. Υἱὸς ἐκ Πατρὸς γεννηθεὶς πρὸ αἰώνων ὁμοούσιος αὐτῷ· Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἀπ’ αἰῶνος ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ Πατρὸς, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ· τοῦτο ἐρμηνεύων ὁ θεῖος Δαμασκηνὸς λέγει οὕτως (ἀ. Βιβ. κεφ. ιά.)· ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, εἰς μίαν αἰτίαν, τὸν Πατέρα, ἀναφέρονται. Καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ (κεφ. ι.) ὁ αὐτός· ὁ υἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἔστι μὲ τρόπον γεννήσεως· τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ αὐτὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς εἶναι, μὰ ὄχι μὲ τρόπον γεννήσεως, ἀλλ’ ἐκπορεύσεως. Καὶ ὁ θεολόγος Γρηγόριος εἰς τὰ λόγια τοῦ Ἀποστόλου τὰ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους (κεφ. ιά. λς´.), ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν, τὰ πάντα, λέγει οὕτω· τὸ πρῶτον (ἤγουν τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ) πρέπει νὰ ἀποδώσωμεν εἰς τὸν Πατέρα, τὸ δεύτερον, εἰς τὸν Υἱὸν, καὶ τὸ τρίτον, εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· διὰ νὰ γνωρισθῆ, πῶς εἶναι τριάς εἰς τὴν θεότητα. Καὶ πρὸς τούτοις διατὶ ὁμοίως καὶ ἀπαραλάκτως, χωρὶς τινος ἐξαιρέσεως, βαπτίζομεθα εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος; Λοιπὸν ὃ, τι εἶναι ὁ Πατὴρ εἰς τὴν φύσιν, τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὁ Πατὴρ εἶναι Θεὸς κατὰ φύσιν ἀληθῆς καὶ αἰώνιος, καὶ πάντων ποιητὴς τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀορατῶν, τοιοῦτος λοιπὸν εἶναι καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. **Καὶ εἶναι ὁμοούσια ἀλλήλοις, κατὰ τὴν διδασκαλίαν τοῦ Εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου, ὅπου λέγει (ἀ. Ἰωαν. ε. ζ´.)· ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ Πατὴρ, ὁ Λόγος καὶ τὸ**

ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσιν. Εἰς τὰ ὁποῖα λόγια τοῦτο μόνον ἐξαιρεῖται, ὅπου ὁ Πατὴρ εἶναι αἴτιος εἰς τὴν Θεότητα τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· ταῦτα δὲ τὰ δύο πρόσωπα εἶναι ἐξ ἐκείνου, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐξ οὐδενός. Οὕτως ἐδιδάχθημεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς αἰωνίου ἀληθείας, τὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Σωτῆρα μας, οὕτως ἀπὸ τοὺς ἁγίους ἀποστόλους παρελάβομεν. Καὶ αἱ οἰκουμενικαὶ καὶ τοπικαὶ Σύνοδοι, ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀλλοιᾶς λογῆς οὔτε ἐδίδαξαν, οὔτε ἐπαραδώκασιν, ἢ ἐκυρώσασιν παρὰ οὕτω· (Schaff, *The creeds of Christendom*, 1877, vol. 2, p. 282-283; *Ορθόδοξος Ομολογία τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ανατολικῆς*, 1667, p. 22-23)

Quaestiones Aliae 4 : Quoted In Confession & Ascribed to Athanasius

● **Question 69.** What is the eighth Article of the Faith? **Answer.** I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the Prophets.

● **Question 71.** What is the second Thing taught in this Article? **Answer.** That the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father Only, as from the Fountain and Original of his Divinity; as our Saviour himself teacheth us (John xv. 26), When the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father; the Spirit of Truth, which Proceedeth from the Father. **The same Doctrine St. Athanasius lays down in his Creed,** "The Holy Ghost is of the Father, not made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding." **And elsewhere in his works (Holy Questions, vol. ii. 43, &c.), "God and Father, he only is the Cause of the other two, and unbegotten. The Son, begotten, and sprung from the Father only, the Cause of his Origin. The Holy Ghost himself also springs and proceeds only from the Father, as his Cause, and by the Son was sent into the World."** [See: *Quaestiones Aliae 4; Translated by Pavlos D. Vasileiadis, Preliminary English translation of Pseudo-Athanasius's Quaestiones aliae, 2019, p. 4*] And Gregory the Divine sayeth (Homily V. of Divinity and of the Holy Ghost), "The Holy Ghost, who proceedeth from the Father, is uncreated, as being Proceeding; as being unbegotten, he is not the Son; but as being between unbegotten and begotten, he is God." We have already treated of this Matter at large in the First Article. Let it, therefore, suffice us that we hold what Christ himself taught; what the Catholic and Orthodox Eastern Church believeth and altogether professed in the Second General Council; and let us hold the Faith without Addition, and from the Son, as the Church hath commanded. Nay, not only the Orthodox and Catholic Eastern Church hath passed a heavy censure on those who add these Words, but also the Western Roman Church. This is evident from the two Silver Tables, on one of which the Creed was engraved in Greek, and on the other in Latin, without this Addition, "And from The Son"; which Tables were, by order of Leo the Third, Pope of Boine, affixt up in St. Peters Church, in the Year of our Lord 809, as Baronius confesseth. Whosoever, therefore, continues firm and constant in this Faith, he may have undoubting Hope of his Salvation, as one who turneth not aside from the Doctrine of the Church. (Mohyla, *The Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and apostolic Eastern Church; Translated by J.J. Overbeck, 1898, p. 58-59*)

○ Greek:

■ **Ἑρώτησις ξθ'.** Πῶς εἶναι τὸ ὄγδοον ἄρθρον τῆς πίστεως; **Ἀπ.** Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα, τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον· τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον, καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν Προφητῶν.

■ **Ἑρώτησις οά.** Ποῖον εἶναι τὸ δεύτερον, ὅπου διδάσκει τὸ ἄρθρον τοῦτο; **Ἀπ.** Διδάσκει πῶς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὡς πηγῆς καὶ ἀρχῆς τῆς θεότητος· διὰ τὸ ὅποῖον ὁ αὐτὸς Σωτὴρ μᾶς διδάσκει (Ἰωαν. ιέ. κς'.) λέγων· ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ Παράκλητος, ὃν ἐγὼ πέμψω ὑμῖν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς, τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ὃ παρὰ

τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται. **Τὴν διδασκαλίαν ταύτην τὴν ἐρμηνεύει ὁ ἱερὸς Ἀθανάσιος εἰς τὸ σύμβολόν του·** τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς, οὐ πεπονημένον, οὔτε δεδημιουργημένον, οὔτε γεγεννημένον· ἀλλ' ἐκπορευτόν. **Ὁ Θεὸς (ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀθανάσιος ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐρωτήσεσι. δ΄.) καὶ Πατὴρ, αὐτὸς μόνος ἐστὶν αἴτιος τοῖς δυοῖν καὶ ἀγέννητος· ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς αἰτιατὸς, καὶ γεννητός· καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς αἰτιατὸν καὶ ἐκπορευτόν, διὰ δὲ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀποστελλόμενον.** [Quaestiones Aliae; Migne Graeca PG 28.777C] Καὶ ὁ θεολόγος Γρηγόριος (λόγ. ἐ. περὶ θεολογίας) οὕτω φησί· τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὃ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, ὃ καθ' ὅσον μὲν ἐκείθεν ἐκπορεύεται, οὐ κτίσμα· καθ' ὅσον δὲ οὐ γεννητόν, οὐχ Υἱὸς· καθ' ὅσον δὲ ἀγεννήτου καὶ γεννητοῦ μέσον, Θεός. Περὶ τούτου εἴρηται πλατύτερον εἰς τὸ πρῶτον ἄρθρον· φθάνει λοιπὸν τῶρα νὰ κρατοῦμεν βέβαιον καὶ νὰ πιστεῦωμεν ἐκεῖνο, ὅπου ὁ Χριστὸς μᾶς ἐδίδαξε, καὶ ἡ ἀνατολικὴ ἐκκλησία ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ὀρθόδοξος πιστεύει, καὶ ὠμολόγησεν εἰς τὴν δευτέραν οἰκουμηνικὴν σύνοδον καὶ ἐκύρωσε τὸ σύμβολον χωρὶς τῆς προσθήκης· καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ. Καὶ ἐναντίον ἐκείνων, ὅπου ἐπροσθέσασιν τὸν λόγον τοῦτον καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἔκαμεν ἐπιτίμησιν, ὄχι μόνον ἡ ἀνατολικὴ ἐκκλησία ἡ ὀρθόδοξος καὶ καθολικὴ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ δυτικὴ τῆς Ῥώμης· τὸ ὅποιον διαμαρτύρονται δύο πίνακας ἀργυραῖ, εἰς τὰς ὁποίας ἦτον γεγραμμένον τὸ ἱερὸν σύμβολον τῆς πίστεως Ἑλληνιστὶ εἰς τὴν μίαν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην Λατινιστὶ, χωρὶς τὴν πρόσθεσιν τούτου τοῦ μέρους καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ· αἱ ὁποῖαι μὲ πρόσταγμα τοῦ Πάπα Ῥώμης Λέοντος τρίτου ἐκρέμαντο εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου, ἐν ἔτει Χριστοῦ ωθ΄. ὡς φησὶ βαρώνιος. Διὰ τοῦτο ὅποιος στέκεται σταθερὸς καὶ βέβαιος εἰς τὴν πίστιν τούτην, ἔχει βεβαίαν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας του, διατὶ δὲν παρεκκλίνει καθόλου ἀπὸ τὴν κοινὴν γνώμην τῆς ἐκκλησίας. ("The Orthodox Confession of the Eastern Church. A.D. 1643" in Schaff, The Creeds of Christendom, vol 2, 1877, p. 349-350)

Panoplia dogmatica (circa 1100 AD)

• **Euthymius Zigabenus or Zigadenus or Zygadenus (Greek: Εὐθύμιος Ζιγαβηνός or Ζυγαδηνός; died after 1118)** was a 12th-century monk and commentator on the Bible. He was a friend of the Byzantine emperor Alexius I Comnenus, for whom he wrote a lengthy work on heresies, **Panoplia Dogmatica or Panoply of Doctrine (or "Full Armour of Belief")**. This began in the apostolic era and continued down to the Bogomils, some of whom he personally examined. The entry on the Bogomils is our main source of information about them. Nothing is known about his life.[1] He was a monk and lived in the monastery of the Virgin Mary near Constantinople. He was favoured by both the emperor and his daughter Anna Comnena, who extols his learning and piety in her Alexiad.[2] He also wrote a commentary on the Psalms, one on the four gospels, and one on the letters of St. Paul. These are based mainly on patristic sources. (Euthymios Zigabenus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Euthymios_Zigabenus>)

• **Alexios I Komnenos (Greek: Ἀλέξιος Κομνηνός, c. 1048 – 15 August 1118), Latinized Alexius I Comnenus, was Byzantine emperor from 1081 to 1118.** Although he was not the founder of the Komnenian dynasty, it was during his reign that the Komnenos family came to full power. Inheriting a collapsing empire and faced with constant warfare during his reign against both the Seljuq Turks in Asia Minor and the Normans in the western Balkans, **Alexios was able to curb the Byzantine decline and begin the military, financial, and territorial recovery known as the Komnenian restoration.** The basis for this recovery were various reforms initiated by Alexios. His appeals to Western Europe for help against the Turks were also the catalyst that likely contributed to the convoking of the Crusades. Alexios I had overcome a dangerous crisis and stabilized the Byzantine Empire, inaugurating a century of imperial prosperity and success.[48] He had also

The Witness of God is Greater

profoundly altered the nature of the Byzantine government.[56] By seeking close alliances with powerful noble families, Alexios put an end to the tradition of imperial exclusivity and co-opted most of the nobility into his extended family and, through it, his government. Those who did not become part of this extended family were deprived of power and prestige. (Alexios I Komnenos. Wikipedia.
<en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexios_I_Komnenos>)

- [Miladinova] **Our knowledge of the circumstances around the compilation of the Panoplia in the twelfth century come from two sources—the history of the reign of Alexios I, written by his own daughter Anna Komnene, and, second, the prologue of the anthology itself.** The episode in Alexiad (in which the Porphyrogenita ["born in purple"] Anna Komnene mentioned the Panoplia) has remained famous for the history of the dualistic heresy of the Bogomils. Alexios I and his brother sebastokrator [senior court position] Isaak feigned they wanted to become followers of the Bogomils and invited the leader of the heresy Basil the Physician to the Blachernai palace in Constantinople. Encouraged by their invitation, Basil revealed to them the secret teaching, without knowing that at the time of the conversation his words were being written down and that members of the clergy and the Constantinopolitan court were standing silently behind a curtain. (Miladinova, Panoplia Dogmatike by Euthymios Zygadenos, 2014, p. 1-2)

- [Anna Comnena] I am desirous of writing so as to set forth a full account of the Bogomilian heresy; but I will pass it over, as I do not wish to defile my tongue. **And those who wish to understand the whole heresy of the Bogomils I will refer to the book entitled Dogmatic Panoply, which was compiled by my father's order. For there was a monk called Zygabenus, known to my mistress, my maternal grandmother, and to all the members of the priestly roll, who had pursued his grammatical studies very far, was not unversed in rhetoric, and was the best authority on ecclesiastical dogma; the Emperor sent for him and commissioned him to expound all the heresies, each separately, and to append to each the holy Fathers' refutations of it; and amongst them too the heresy of the Bogomils,** exactly as that impious Basil had interpreted it. The Emperor named this book the Dogmatic Panoply, and that name the books have retained even to the present day. But now my story must return to Basil's death. (Anna Comnena, The Alexiad, Book 15.9; Translated by Elizabeth Dawes, The Alexiad of Princess Anna Comnena, 1928, p. 415; <sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/annacomnena-alexiad.asp>.)

- **Anna Komnene** (Greek: Ἄννα Κομνηνή, Ánna Komnēnḗ; 1 December 1083 – 1153), commonly latinized as Anna Comnena,[1] was a Byzantine princess, scholar, physician, hospital administrator, and historian. She was the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Alexios I Komnenos and his wife Irene Doukaina.[2] **She is best known for her attempt to usurp her brother, John II Komnenos,[3] and for her work The Alexiad, an account of her father's reign.[4] At birth, Anna was betrothed to Constantine Doukas,[5] and she grew up in his mother's household.[6] She was well-educated in Greek literature and history, philosophy, theology, mathematics, and medicine."**[5] Anna and Constantine were next in the line to throne[7] until Anna's younger brother, John II Komnenos, became the heir in 1092.[8] Constantine died around 1094,[9] and Anna married Nikephoros Bryennios in 1097.[10] The two had several children before Nikephoros' death around 1136.[8] Following her father's death in 1118, Anna and her mother attempted to usurp John II Komnenos.[11] Her husband refused to cooperate with them, and the usurpation failed.[5] As a result, John exiled Anna to the Kecharitomene monastery, where she spent the rest of her life.[12] In confinement there, she wrote the Alexiad.[4] She died sometime in the 1150s; the exact date is unknown.[13] (Anna Komnene. Wikipedia.
<en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anna_Komnene>)

• [Travis] **Euthymius Zygabenus lived at Constantinople in the eleventh century, in the reign of Alexis Comnenus [1081-1118 AD].** He compiled a work which is commonly called the Panoplia Dogmatica, of which he gives the following account (here abbreviated) **in his preface or introduction.** “**Our King and Master, Alexis, having caused the declarations of the holy Fathers, the supporters of the true faith, to be collected together in one treatise, by wise and learned men of the present age, deputed to me the office or placing the sentences of those Fathers in order, and distributing them aptly in their proper stations.**”(Travis, Letters to Edward Gibbon, 3rd Edition, 1794, p. 26-27)

• [Kusabu] **Immediately after Basil’s trial in ca. 1100, Alexios I Comnenos ordered Zygabenus to compile the Panoplia, a refutation of heresies including the recent addition of the Bogomils.** It is likely that Zygabenus worked to carry out Alexios I’s policies toward heresies and that Zygabenus’ view of the Bogomils represented a decisive moment for the Bogomil issue in Constantinople. (Kusabu, Comnenian Orthodoxy and Byzantine Heresiology in the Twelfth Century: A Study of the Panoplia Dogmatica of Euthymios Zygabenus, 2013, p. 217)

• [Miladinova] **The trial against the Bogomils and their leader Basil the Physician had led to the creation of one of the most authoritative anthologies in Byzantium. Panoplia Dogmatike, commissioned at the personal behest of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118), was created by the redoubtable Constantinopolitan theologian Euthymios Zygadenos.**¹ **This anthology (as “a double-edged sword”) contains texts from the Church Fathers and refutes in chronological order the important heresies from early Christian times until the heretical movements of the twelfth century. Since its compilation the Panoplia became a key source on Orthodox theology.** The text of the Panoplia is known in more than 140 Greek manuscripts. In the fourteenth century it was translated into Old Church Slavonic. The Latin translation, prepared by the Italian humanist Pietro Francesco Zini, was published in Venice in 1555 during the years of the Council of Trent. A reprint of this Latin translation followed in 1556 (Lyon), in 1575 (Venice), in 1577 (Lyon) and later the translation was included in Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum. **The first printed edition of the Greek text came relatively late—in 1710 in the Romanian Principality of Wallachia at a time of the shift from manuscript culture to printing for the Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire. This latest text was used as textus receptus for the edition in volume 130 of Patrologia Graeca [Migne]. This book shows how the Panoplia Dogmatike continued to be read long after the twelfth century and was used in ways that went beyond the expectations of Emperor Alexios I and his theologians.** By examining the reasons for the publication of the Greek editio princeps, the study gives snapshots of the history of the anthology in the Early Modern period and uses sources that until now were not related to the anthology. **The first printed Greek edition of the Panoplia came before the national movements in South-Eastern Europe when the Orthodox elite were using the Greek language regardless of their national identity. In this way the text has retained the universality with which it was created in the twelfth century as an authoritative book to be read in the confines of the Orthodox “Oikoumene” [Orthodox Christians wherever they dwell].** Nevertheless, the times have significantly changed and this is why the study touches on the transformation and adaptation of the Byzantine legacy. **Most [PAGE 2] important for the publication of the Panoplia in terms of the political legacy was the princely patronage for the [1710] edition by rulers who claimed the heritage of the Byzantine emperors as defenders and benefactors for the Orthodox.** In the Early Modern period (1500-1800) this important book was used in theological discussions and was enriched with new interpretations on the transubstantiation and Christ's Real Presence in the Eucharist. (Miladinova, Panoplia Dogmatike by Euthymios Zygadenos, 2014, p. 1-2)

Editio Princeps (Tîrgoviște 1710)

• [Miladinova : The Guardianship of the Holy Places and the Orthodox] **The story of the first [printed] Greek edition of the Panoplia should start much earlier than the actual publication with a landmark historical event—on 12th September 1683 during the last siege of Vienna the allied Christian army under the command of the Polish King John iii Sobieski were victorious over the Ottoman forces. This victory changed the balance of power between the Ottomans and Western Europe. The Ottoman army suffered a heavy defeat.** In the following year the empire was threatened by the incentive of Pope Innocent XI which led to the creation of the "Holy League" between Austria, Venice and Poland. Russia joined two years later. These events had repercussions for the Orthodox population of the Ottoman Empire.¹¹ On several earlier occasions King Louis xiv of France had supported missionary activities by the French Catholics in Jerusalem.¹² He intended to use the Holy City as a basis for a further extension of his influence and demanded from the Ottoman authorities the right of guardianship of the Holy Places and the pilgrims visiting them. By that time, the Ottoman Empire was successful in foreign policy and it could allow itself to give no heed to such demands. **After the battle of Vienna, fearing that France would also take part in the new alliance, the Ottoman Empire conceded to the demands of French diplomacy to give the protection over the Holy Places in [PAGE 37] Jerusalem to the Catholics. In this way in 1689 the Orthodox church lost key positions they had over the guardianship of the Holy Places.** This happened during the office of the redoubtable Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos ii Notaras, who spent the rest of his life in efforts to oppose the influence of the Catholics.¹³ Left without many possibilities for action, he sought political support from the Russian Tsars and the Orthodox rulers of Wallachia and Moldavia. **An important part of his program was the publication of a series of anti-Catholic editions. In fact, the Panoplia was one of these books. Patriarch Dositheos was directly involved in and inspired the edition of the Panoplia in Wallachia, although his name is not mentioned. The research into the circumstances which necessitated the *editio princeps* of the Panoplia has shown that this edition was printed by the Orthodox after twenty years of effort. Because of the time that had elapsed from the initial idea to publish the Panoplia until the final realization of the project, the names of the men who actually initiated the publication are not mentioned; these were the successive Orthodox Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Dositheos ii Notaras, and Chrysanthos Notaras (1707–1731). First, they tried to publish the Panoplia, together with other polemical books in Russia but they finally published part of these books with the support of the rulers of the Romanian Principalities.** (Miladinova, *Panoplia Dogmatike* by Euthymios Zygadenos, 2014, p. 36-37)

• [Miladinova] **With the strong support of Patriarch Dositheos, Greek printing presses had already started to produce Orthodox editions of polemic character in Moldova (1682) and in Wallachia (1690).¹ Since the attempt to establish printing presses in Constantinople in 1627 under Patriarch Cyril I Lukaris, this was the first time the Orthodox could print books in the confines of the Ottoman Empire. In this way the printing presses in Wallachia and Moldova were able to compete with the printing activities of the Calvinists, who had established a printing press in 1638 in Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia), in Transylvania. Almost every Orthodox edition was an answer to the activities of their Calvinist opponents.** This position of the Romanian Principalities was due to the fact that they preserved their autonomy from the Ottoman Empire and became important centers of Orthodox culture. In this way **at the turn of the eighteenth century the Principalities had already taken on an important role in the preservation of Orthodoxy. The patriarchs of Jerusalem frequently visited the Principalities, including Patriarchs Theophanes III (1606–1644), Paisios (1645–1660), Nektarios (1661–1669) and later Chrysanthos Notaras. But it was the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Dositheos II, Notaras, who established the printing**

presses in Moldavia under the ruler George Ducas.² In this way, Dositheos, the undisputed [PAGE 39] leader of Orthodoxy at that time, made Wallachia and Moldavia the headquarters for his activities and the printing presses, which the patriarch supported, produced a small panoply of books, directed against Catholic and Calvinist "propaganda" in Southeastern Europe.³ These editions remain monuments to early printing in Romania. Many of them are of polemic character and already anticipate the future edition of the *Panoplia*. (Miladinova, *Panoplia Dogmatike* by Euthymios Zygadenos, 2014, p. 38-39)

- [Miladinova] It is known that during the seventeenth century most of the Orthodox mistrusted the Greek books printed by "the Schismatics" in the West. Thus, the emphasis on the fact that the *Panoplia* was printed on Orthodox soil certainly had value in the eyes of the people behind the Greek edition. For them, it was a book uncontaminated by the heterodox... (Miladinova, *Panoplia Dogmatike* by Euthymios Zygadenos, 2014, p. 107)
- [Miladinova] The time when the *Panoplia* [Tîrgoviște 1710 edition] was published marked the transition from manuscripts to book printing for Orthodox Christians in South Eastern Europe. For this reason the text of the *Panoplia* was a part of the common phenomenon in which printed texts coexisted with the manuscript versions. (Miladinova, *Panoplia Dogmatike* by Euthymios Zygadenos, 2014, p. 97)
- [Miladinova] ...the publication of the Greek *editio princeps* [1710] was related to the major theological discussions among the Orthodox during the seventeenth century over the words used to define the Eucharist and as a reaction of the Orthodox to the controversies in the West over Christ's Real Presence in the Eucharist, in particular the transubstantiation. (Miladinova, *Panoplia Dogmatike* by Euthymios Zygadenos, 2014, p. 112)
- [Kusabu] The actual source manuscripts for the Tîrgoviște [1710] edition remain uncertain. (Kusabu, *Comnenian Orthodoxy and Byzantine Heresiology in the Twelfth Century: A Study of the Panoplia Dogmatica of Euthymios Zygadenos*, 2013, p. 134-135)
- [Kusabu] According to Wickert and Papabasileiou' lists, Zygadenos utilized the textual excerpts from Church authors in the process of compiling the *Dogmatike Panoplia* and the authors include Athanasios of Alexandria, Cyril of Alexandria, Pseudo-Dionysios Areopagites, Gregory of Nazianzos, Gregory of Nyssa, John of Damascus, John Chrysostomos, Leontios of Byzantium, Leontios of Napoli, Maximos Confessor and Patriarch Photios. In addition to those named Fathers, scholars found that Zygadenos utilized the works of Bartholomaios of Edessa, Patriarch Germanos I, Euthymios of Acmonia, Patriarch Nikephoros, Niketas Byzantinos, Theodore Studites, and other anonymous anthologists. (Kusabu, *Comnenian Orthodoxy and Byzantine Heresiology in the Twelfth Century: A Study of the Panoplia Dogmatica of Euthymios Zygadenos*, 2013, p. 9-10)

HITS:

- Again [here follows] the **theology of the great Athanasius about the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit** being at the same time both distinct and united. And that when those things which **the Divine Scriptures say about the Father are the same things again said about the Son and about the Holy Spirit, it is proof of one Godhead in these three.** (Euthymios, *Panoplia*, Chapter 2; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence, May 2020)

The Witness of God is Greater

• **Greek:** Ἐπι περὶ Πατρός καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, διακεκριμένη ἅμα καὶ ἠνωμένη θεολογία του μεγάλου Αθανασίου, καὶ ὅτι ἃ λέγουσιν”αἱ θεῖαι γραφαὶ περὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ταῦτα φασὶ πάλιν καὶ περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, δεικνύουσαι μίαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς τρισὶ θεότητα.”(Euthymius, Panoplia, Chapter 2; Migne Graeca, PG 130.49)

• The way that fire is heating and is making the iron bright and is not partaking of its coldness or blackness, the same way the divinity [i.e. the divine quality] imparted [or, shared] the humanity [i.e. the human quality] of its own power but did not partake of its weakness.

• **Greek:** Ὡσπερ τὸ πῦρ πυρακτοῖ μὲν καὶ λαμπρύνει τὸν σίδηρον, οὐ μεταλαμβάνει δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχρότητος ἢ μελανίας· οὕτω καὶ ἡ θεότης μετέδωκε μὲν τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι τῆς οἰκείας δυνάμεως, οὐ μετέλαβε δὲ τῆς ἀσθενείας αὐτῆς.

• The purity addresses our own dirt, but the dirt does not touch the purity. It is said that”the light shines in the darkness, and the darkness has not overcome it.”The gloom disappears when the [light] ray is present, and the sun does not become dark by the gloom.

• **Greek:** Ἡ μὲν καθαρότης ὁμιλεῖ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ρύπῳ, ὁ δὲ ρύπος οὐχ ἄπτεται τῆς καθαρότητος. Τὸ φῶς γάρ, φησὶν, ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ φαίνει, καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβεν. Ἀφανίζεται γὰρ τῇ παρουσίᾳ τῆς ἀκτίνος ὁ ζόφος, οὐ τῷ ζόφῳ ἀμαυροῦται ὁ ἥλιος.

• **The word “one” is applied, i) to things homoousian [i.e., of the same nature], where there is a sameness of nature, but a difference of persons, as in this phrase, “And the three are one” (1 John 5:7); ii) to things heteroousian [i.e., of different natures], where there is a sameness of persons, but a difference of natures, as in this phrase, “And both together are one, not by nature, but by conjunction.”**

• **Greek:** Τὸ ἐν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ὁμοουσιῶν λέγεται, ἐνθα ταυτότης μὲν φύσεως, ἑτερότης δὲ ὑποστάσεων, ὡς τὸ καὶ”τὰ τρία ἓν”(1 Jn. 5:7)· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἑτεροουσιῶν, ἐνθα ταυτότης μὲν ὑποστάσεων, ἑτερότης δὲ φύσεων, ὡς τὸ”καὶ τὸ συναμφοτέρον ἐν, ἀλλ’ οὐ τῇ φύσει, τῇ δὲ συνόδῳ.”

• As”one”is a word variously used; for we say,”one”in number, as Peter:”one”in species, as man:”one”in genus, as animal. Thus also with respect to”two”; we say,”two”in number, as Peter and Paul:”two”in species, as man and horse :”two”in genus, as essence and (0249) colour. When therefore we speak of Christ as”two”, we do not call him”two”in number, but”one”in number by the unity of person, and”two”in species, that is, in nature, by the duality of natures; for Gregory the divine says,”And both together are one, not by nature, but by conjunction.”

• **Greek:** Ὡσπερ τὸ ἐν τῶν πολλαχῶς λεγομένων ἐστὶ, λέγεται γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ, ὡς ὁ Πέτρος τυχόν, καὶ ἐν τῷ εἶδει, ὡς ὁ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ἐν τῷ γένει, ὡς τὸ ζῶον· οὕτω καὶ τὰ δύο. Ἀέγεται γὰρ δύο τῷ ἀριθμῷ, ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος, καὶ δύο τῷ εἶδει, ὡς ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἵππος, καὶ δύο τῷ γένει, ὡς οὐσία καὶ (0249) χρῶμα. Ὅταν οὖν λέγομεν τὰ δύο ἐπὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐ δύο τῷ ἀριθμῷ τοῦτον λέγομεν, ἀλλ’ ἓνα μὲν τῷ ἀριθμῷ διὰ τὴν μονάδα τῆς ὑποστάσεως, δύο δὲ τῷ εἶδει, τουτέστι τῇ φύσει, διὰ τὴν δυάδα τῶν φύσεων. Θησὶ γὰρ καὶ Γρηγόριος ὁ Θεολόγος ὅτι τὸ συναμφοτέρον ἐν οὐ τῇ φύσει, τῇ δὲ συνόδῳ.

• Euthymius, Panoplia, Chapter 12; Migne Graeca, PG 130.248-249; Tîrgoviște, 1710, κη´ [p. 28v]; Translated by Pavlos D Vasileiadis, correspondence, May 2020.

• **[1 John 5:6-9]”And it is the Spirit which testifieth because the Spirit is the truth. And there are Three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one. And there are three that give testimony on earth: the spirit and the water and the blood. And these three are one. If we receive the testimony of men, the testimony of God is greater.”(1**

The Witness of God is Greater

John 5:6-9) See now again, how the preacher of truth calls the Spirit by nature God, and of God; for having said, that it is the Spirit of God that witnesses, a little onward he has, "the witness of God is greater." (1 John 5:9) How then is he a creature, who is declared to be God with the Father of all things, and complete of the Holy Trinity? (Euthymius, Panoplia, Chapter 12)

- **Greek:** "Καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν τὸ μαρτυροῦν, ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια· Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ Πατήρ, ὁ Λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσι. Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῆ, τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα· καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν. Εἰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαμβάνομεν, ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ θεοῦ μείζων ἐστί." (1 John 5:6-9) Θεὰ δὴ πάλιν, ὅτι τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ κῆρυξ Θεόν τε καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ θυσικῶς τὸ Πνεῦμα καλεῖ. Εἰρηκῶς γὰρ, ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμά ἐστι τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ μαρτυροῦν, μικρὸν τι προελθὼν ἐπιφέρει, "Ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ Θεοῦ μείζων ἐστί." (1 John 5:9) Πῶς οὖν ἐστί ποίημα τὸ τῶν ὄλων Πατρὶ συνθεολογούμενον, καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος συμπληρωτικόν; (Euthymius, Panoplia, Chapter 12; Tîrgoviște, 1710, ριβ' [p. 112r]; Migne Graeca, PG 130.871-872)

Panoplia (1710 edition) Gifted to Foreign Dignitary

• [Miladinova] The first reference to the Greek [Tîrgoviște, 1710] editio princeps is attested around three years after the publication; this is before 1714. It is narrated by Johann Albert Fabricius (1668–1736) and this account can be accepted as trustworthy. (fn. 2. Bibliotheca Graeca, vol. 8, book 5, chapter 7, 1966, p. 331) In the entry on the Panoplia in the Bibliotheca Graeca, Fabricius writes that he kept in contact with **Michael Eneman (1676–1714), a chaplain of the Swedish Embassy in Constantinople. Towards the end of his life Eneman returned to Europe as a professor of oriental languages at Uppsala University. He shared with Fabricius (mecum communicavit) that he met the Orthodox Patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras in Constantinople. Chrysanthos was apparently delighted with the recent edition of the Panoplia, so much so that he presented it as a gift to the Swedish chaplain.** Thus, the information which Fabricius provides on the publication comes indirectly from Patriarch Chrysanthos himself. (Miladinova, Panoplia Dogmatike by Euthymios Zygadenos, 2014, p. 88)

Nikephoros Theotokis (1731–1800 AD)

• **Nikephoros Theotokis or Nikiforos Theotokis (Greek: Νικηφόρος Θεοτόκης; Russian: Никифор Феотоки or Никифор Феотокис; 1731–1800) was a Greek scholar and theologian, who became an archbishop in the southern provinces of the Russian Empire. A polymath, he is respected by the Greek Orthodox church as one of the "teachers of the nation".**[1] Born in the Greek Island of Corfu (then a possession of Republic of Venice), Nikephoros studied in Italian universities of Bologna and Padua.[2] In 1748, he returned to Corfu to join the Church as a monk, reaching the rank of hieromonk in 1754. However, he was more interested in educating the youth of his country than in church services, and by 1758 he was able to set up his own school in Corfu, the first school on the island where a range of subjects were taught: Greek and Italian literature, grammar, geography, rhetorics, physics and mathematics, philosophy. He acquired some renown as a preacher at the local church of John the Baptist and an author of textbooks on physics and mathematics. Nikephoros' achievements were noticed by Ecumenical Patriarch Samuel I Chatzeres, who appointed him as the preacher at Constantinople's main church in 1765. However, Nikephoros did not stay very long in Constantinople; he divided much of his time over the next decade between Leipzig, where he published his Physics, and Jassy.[3]

• [Career in the Russian Empire] During the reign of the Russian Empress Catherine II, a significant number of Greek professionals were invited to come to her empire to help in the administration of the recently conquered lands of Novorossiya ("New Russia") on the north shore of the Black Sea (today's southern Ukraine). In 1776, Nikephoros came to the Russian Empire as well, invited by a fellow Corfiot, Eugenios Voulgaris, who had recently been appointed the Archbishop of Slaviansk and Kherson.[4] Nikephoros joined Eugenios at the diocese, which covered much of the south-central Ukraine; its seat was actually located in Poltava, and remained there even after the diocese was later renamed to

The Witness of God is Greater

that of Yekaterinoslav. Eugenios groomed the younger theologian as his successor, and Nikephoros indeed replaced Eugenios when the latter retired in 1779. Later on, in 1786, Nikephoros was transferred to Astrakhan, where he served as the Archbishop of Astrakhan and Stavropol. Besides his scholarly and theological work, Nikephoros is known for his polemics against dissenter religious groups, such as the Old Believers and the Spiritual Christians. Disappointed with the low success of the propaganda and enforcement approaches intended to make the Old Believers abandon their rites and join the established church, Nikephoros, beginning in the summer of 1780, started to reach out to the Old Believer communities. He offered to legalize their churches and their form of worship, as long as they accepted the authority of the official church. After a number of Old Believer communities in Ukraine and southern Russia accepted such arrangements over the next two decades, such arrangements were adopted nationwide, under the name of Edinoverie ("Unity in Faith").[5][6] Nikephoros is credited by some scholars[7] with coining the term "Doukhor" to refer to Spiritual Christians around 1786, although others ascribe it to his successor at the Poltava chair, Archbishop Ambrosius.

• [Retirement and death] Nikephoros retired from his archbishop position on June 15, 1792, due to ill health. The Holy Synod appointed him the abbot of the small Danilov Monastery of the Holy Trinity in Pereslavl-Zalessky. Instead of going to the rural Pereslavl, the retired archbishop requested to be left in Moscow, and on September 29, 1792, he was appointed the abbot of Moscow's Danilov Monastery. Nikephoros spent the rest of his days there, presiding over the monastery's small staff (12 monks and 8 employees, according to the official budget), and continuing his literary work.[8] The retired archbishop died in 1800 in Moscow and was buried in the monastery's cemetery. His gravestone was destroyed in the 1930s, along with the rest of the cemetery. As of 2006, the monastery reported having approximately determined the location of the grave (based on old records), and planning archaeological excavations in the area.[8]

• Nikephoros Theotokis. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nikephoros_Theotokis>

HIT:

- The new testament has manifested more clearly, than the old testament, who is the Maker of everything; The old testament teaches, that God said, "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness" (Gen. 1:26), The tri-hypostasis and unity of the Godhead, signified it by the plural word [verb] "Let us Make"; And even putting forward before [this] "the image" [singular] of God, in order that from the image [singular] to understand the one who is contained in the image The image, that is the man, is one according to the logic of nature, and he has mind, and reasoning, and will; Therefore, likewise, even the that which is being imaged, that is God, He is of one nature [or, one regarding (according to) nature], and three according to hypostasis, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. And if the Gospel is considered, you will find clearly and examine that teaching concerning the three hypostases of the Godhead. "In the beginning was the Word," the evangelist saying, "and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." (John 1:1) And the Word is "the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father." (John 1:18) "the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father." (John 15:26) **Behold, the father who is without beginning, and the Son who is begotten out of the father before all ages, and the all-holy Spirit, who is proceeding out of the father who is with the father and the son co-worshiped and co-glorified; three persons, and one God.** "Hear, O Israel," God spoke through the Old Testament, "The LORD our God is one LORD" (Deut 6:4) By [saying] Lord [it is meant] the God and by Lord, he meant the three persons, And by [saying] "One" [it is meant] the unity OF THE GODHEAD. And by saying "New", he is teaching: "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" (Matt 28:19) "For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one" (1 John 5:7) Whenever thereby you consider the divine scriptures, then a light and grace is shining into your mind and [by God's] grace, out of which you learn all things about the Maker of creation. And this as such holy [object] of study are the indulgence, and the sweetness, and the rest, and the true satisfaction of the mind; On account of this the royal prophet, studied ceaselessly the law of God, singing loudly; "How sweet are thy words unto my taste! yea, sweeter than honey to my mouth!" (Ps. 119:103) (Nikephoros Theotokis, Sunday Readings in the Acts of the Apostles, 1840, vol 2, p. 159)
 - **Greek:** Ἡ νέα διαθήκη ἐφανέρωσε καθαρώτερα, ἢ περὶ ἡ παλαιά, τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ποιητὴς τοῦ παντός· ἡ παλαιὰ διδάσκει, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς εἶπε· "Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν" (Gen. 1:26), τὸ τρισυπόστατον καὶ ἐνιαῖον τῆς θεότητος, σημειώσασα διὰ τοῦ πληθυντικοῦ ῥήματος, "Ποιήσωμεν".

The Witness of God is Greater

προβάλλει δὲ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν εἰκόνα, ἵνα ἐκ τῆς εἰκόνης νοήσης τὸν εἰκονιζόμενον· ἡ εἰκὼν, ἤγουσιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, εἷς ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς φύσεως, ἔχει δὲ νοῦν, καὶ λόγον, καὶ θέλησιν· οὕτως οὖν καὶ ὁ εἰκονιζόμενος, τουτέστιν ὁ θεὸς, εἷς ἐστὶ τὴν φύσιν, καὶ τρία κατὰ τὰς ὑποστάσεις, πατὴρ καὶ υἱὸς καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον. Ἐὰν δὲ θεωρήσης τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, εὐρίσκεις καθαρὰν καὶ ἐκπεφασμένην τὴν περὶ τῆς τρισυποστάτου θεότητος διδασκαλίαν· “Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος,” λέγει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, “καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος.” (John 1:1) ὁ λόγος δὲ ἐστὶν “Ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς.” (John 1:18) “τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ὃ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται.” (John 15:26) **Ἰδοὺ ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἀναρχος, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς, ὁ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθεὶς πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, καὶ τὸ πανάγιον πνεῦμα, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον· τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, καὶ εἷς θεός.**” Ἀκουε, Ἰσραῆλ, εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, “Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, Κύριος εἷς ἐστὶ” (Deut 6:4) **Διὰ μὲν τοῦ, Κύριος, ὁ θεός, Κύριος, τὸ τρισυπόστατον· διὰ δὲ τοῦ, “Εἷς”, τὸ ἐνιαῖον τῆς θεότητος δηλώσας· διὰ δὲ τῆς νέας διδάσκει.**” Πορευθέντες οὖν, μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος.” (Matt 28:19) **“τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ πατὴρ, ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσιν.”** (1 John 5:7) Ὅταν τοιοῦτοτρόπως μελετᾷς τὰς θείας γραφὰς, τότε φῶς ἐπιλάμπει εἰς τὸν νοῦν σου καὶ χάρις, ἐξ ἧς μανθάνεις πάντα τὰ περὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τῆς κτίσεως. Ἡ τοιαύτη δὲ ἁγία μελέτη ἐστὶν ἡ τρυφή, καὶ ἡ γλυκύτης, καὶ ἡ ἀνάπυσις, καὶ ἡ ἀληθινὴ ὠφέλεια τοῦ νοός· διὰ τοῦτο ὁ προφητὰναξ, ὅστις ἐμελέτα διὰ παντός τὸν νόμον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἔψαλλε μεγαλοφώνως· “Ὡς γλυκέα τῷ λάρυγγί μου τὰ λόγια σου, ὑπὲρ μέλι τῷ στόματί μου”. (Ps. 118:103) (Nikēphoru Theotoku Kyriakodromion eis tas praxeis tōn Apostolōn, 1840, vol 2, p. 159) [Sunday Readings (obviously composed before his death in 1800).]

Epilogue

• [W. Goode] God has [surely] given us a revelation, and requires of us as individuals a reception of the truths and precepts he has revealed for our everlasting salvation, then it does especially concern us *as individuals* to look to the evidences of that which comes to us with the profession of being his word, that we may separate the wheat from the chaff, and not be misled in matters affecting our eternal interests. This, I say, it becomes us to do as *individuals*, because we are to be judged by God *individually*; and if we have possessed the opportunities of knowledge, it will be no plea at the bar of judgement that the church or body to which we belonged taught us error, for even death may be awarded us under such circumstances, though our blood be required of those who have misled us. (See Ezekiel 3:18,20, etc.) This [is] our responsibility to God as *individuals*, it is most important for us to keep in view, because it shows us the indispensable necessity of ascertaining, to the satisfaction our own minds, that it is *divine* testimony upon which we are relying in support of what we hold as the doctrines of Christianity. ...Hence it is of essential moment to us to ascertain what we possess that can be called divine revelation on the subject of religion, for to it, whatever it may be, our *rule of faith* must be [known and] limited. (Goode, The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice, 1853, 2nd edition, vol 1, p. 2-3)

Appendix

Leo The Great (400-461 AD) : Tome to Flavian

- Pope Leo I (c. 400 – 10 November 461), also known as Saint Leo the Great, was Bishop of Rome from 29 September 440 and died in 461. Pope Benedict XVI said that Leo's papacy "...was undoubtedly one of the most important in the Church's history." [1] He was a Roman aristocrat, and was the first pope to have been called "the Great". He is perhaps best known for having met Attila the Hun in 452 and allegedly persuaded him to turn back from his invasion of Italy. He is also a Doctor of the Church, most remembered theologically for issuing the Tome of Leo, a document which was a major foundation to the debates of the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon. The Council of Chalcedon, the fourth ecumenical council, dealt primarily with Christology, and elucidated the orthodox definition of Christ's being as the hypostatic union of two natures, divine and human, united in one person, "with neither confusion nor division". It was followed by a major schism associated with Monophysitism, Miaphysitism and Dyophysitism. [2]
- [The Tome] At the Second Council of Ephesus in 449, Leo's representatives delivered his famous Tome, a statement of the faith of the Roman Church in the form of a letter addressed to Archbishop Flavian of Constantinople, which repeats, in close adherence to Augustine of Hippo, the formulas of western Christology. The council did not read the letter nor did it pay any attention to the protests of Leo's legates but deposed Flavian and Eusebius of Dorylaeum, who appealed to Rome. That is one reason that the council was never recognized as ecumenical and was later repudiated by the Council of Chalcedon. It was presented again at the subsequent Council of Chalcedon as offering a solution to the Christological controversies still raging between East and West. [8]
- Pope Leo I. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_Leo_I>
- [The Tome] Leo's Tome refers to a letter sent by Pope Leo I to Flavian of Constantinople [1] explaining the position of the Papacy in matters of Christology. The text confesses that Christ has two natures and was not of or from two natures. [2] The letter was a topic of debate at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 being eventually accepted as a doctrinal explanation of the nature of the Person of Christ. The letter was written in response to Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople, who had excommunicated Eutyches, who also wrote to the Pope to appeal the excommunication.
- Leo's Tome. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leo%27s_Tome>

Leo's Tome

- [Leo's Tome] Let him not resist too the witness of the blessed Apostle John, who says: "and the blood of Jesus the Son of God cleanses us from all sin" (1 John 1:7) And again: "this is the victory which overcomes the world, our faith." And who is He that overcomes the world, save He that believes that Jesus is the Son of God. This is He that came by water and blood, Jesus Christ: not by water only, but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit that testifies, because the Spirit is the truth, because there are three that bear witness, the Spirit, the water and the blood, and the three are one. The Spirit, that is, of sanctification, and the blood of redemption, and the water of baptism: because the three are one, and remain undivided, and none of them is separated from this connection; because the Catholic Church lives and progresses by this faith, so that in Christ Jesus neither the manhood without the true Godhead nor the Godhead without the true manhood is believed in. (Leo the Great, Letter 28, To Flavian commonly called "the Tome.", V. Christ's flesh is proved real from Scripture. <www.newadvent.org/fathers/3604028.htm>)

Porson's Assertions

- [Porson] But the strongest proof that this verse is spurious may be drawn from the Epistle of Leo the Great to Flavian upon the Incarnation. This epistle has been translated into Greek, read in churches, sent round to the Councils both in the East and West, defended by several authors in set treatises, and consequently more generally known than most of the writings of the Fathers. In this epistle he quotes part of the fifth chapter, from the fourth to the eighth verse, and omits the three heavenly witnesses. (Porson, Letters to Archdeacon Travis, 1790, p. 378)

Refutation of Porson

1. Context: "Epistle of Leo the Great to Flavian upon the Incarnation"

- **[Burgess]** Mr. Porson's strongest proof of its spuriousness: drawn from the omission of the Verse in the Epistle of Leo the Great to Flavianus. "In this Epistle", (says Mr. Porson) he quotes part of the "fifth chapter, from the fourth to the eighth verse, and omits the three heavenly witnesses." The Letter is on the Incarnation of Christ, and was

The Witness of God is Greater

written against the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches, to both of whom the human nature of Christ was an insuperable stumbling-block. The sixth and eighth verses of the passage which are quoted by Leo, relate to the human nature of Christ, but the seventh exclusively to his Divine nature, which was not denied by either Eutyches or Nestorius. The seventh Verse, therefore, was irrelevant to his subject. (Burgess, An Introduction to the Controversy on the Disputed verse of St. John as Revived by Mr. Gibbon, 1835, p. xvii-xviii)

- **[Burgess]** Again: the unity expressed in the passage of St. John, according to Leo's acceptance of it, is an unity of nature, not of testimony only: "because the three [tria] are one, and remain undivided, and none of them is separated from this connection" (Latin: tria unum sunt, et individua manent, nihilque eorum a sui connexione seiungitur). The "three" (Latin: tria), in Leo's sense of the passage, are, "The Spirit, that is, of sanctification, and the blood of redemption, and the water of baptism" (Latin: Spiritus sanctificationis, sanguis redemptionis, et aqua baptismatis). Understanding the passage, as expressive of the death and human nature of Christ, Leo interprets the words of the Apostle not of the Trinity, but of the benefits of Christ's death through sanctification by the Spirit of Christ, redemption by the blood of Christ, and regeneration by baptism in the name of Christ, which are inseparably united; there being no regeneration without sanctification, nor redemption without both sanctification and regeneration. (Burgess, An Introduction to the Controversy on the Disputed verse [I V. 7] of St. John as Revived by Mr. Gibbon, 1835, p. xxxii)

2. "read in churches, sent round to the Councils both in the East and West"

a. The Second council of Ephesus (449) refused to read Leo's Tome.

- [R. Price] Pope Leo refused to accept the decrees of the Second Council of Ephesus of August 449, which restored Eutyches and deposed a number of bishops, including Flavian of Constantinople, Domnus of Antioch, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and Ibas of Edessa;1 and the pope was personally insulted at the council by the suppression of his Tome condemning Eutyches: the document was received but not read. In consequence he famously condemned the council as a latrocinium or 'den of robbers' (as in Document 11, below). (Council of Chalcedon, Richard Price, and Michael Gaddis. The acts of the Council of Chalcedon, 2005, vol 1, vol 1, p. 87)

b. The first public reading

- [R. Price] Leo's Tome, read out at the second session of Chalcedon (II. 22). (Council of Chalcedon, Richard Price, and Michael Gaddis. The acts of the Council of Chalcedon, 2005, vol 1, p. 100, fn. 44)

3. "translated into Greek"

a. The Tome was originally written in Latin & Leo could not read Greek.

- [R. Price] Very soon after the council, a copy of the minutes in Greek was brought to Rome, where neither Leo nor his staff could read it with ease. In March of 453 Leo wrote to Julian of Cos, who had represented him at the council, and complained that he still knew very little about what had actually taken place at Chalcedon. These linguistic difficulties – along with his opposition to the twenty-eighth canon – help explain Leo's long hesitancy (much to the consternation of Marcian and Anatolius) to endorse the council's decrees. He asked Julian to arrange for a full translation of the acts into Latin, but there is no evidence that this task was ever begun or that subsequent popes of the late fifth and early sixth centuries had access to a Latin version.287 (Council of Chalcedon, Richard Price, and Michael Gaddis. The acts of the Council of Chalcedon, 2005, vol 1, vol 1, p. 83)

b. The Greek translation demonstrates that I John 5:6,8 was an allusion from memory.

- **Greek:** Καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου δὲ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου τῆ μαρτυρία μὴ ἀνθιστάσθω λέγοντος· "Καὶ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καταρίζει ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας"(1 John 1:7)· καὶ πάλιν· "αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ νίκη ἣ νίκησασα τὸν κόσμον, ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν·"(1 Jn 5:5) καὶ τί ἐστὶν, ὃς ἐνίκησε τὸν κόσμον, εἰ μὴ ὁ πιστεύων, ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ· οὗτος ὁ ἐρχόμενος δι' ὕδατος, καὶ αἵματος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός· οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι μόνον, ἀλλ' ἐν ὕδατι, καὶ αἵματι· καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστι τό μαρτυροῦν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστὶν ἡ ἀλήθεια. [ὅτι Χριστὸς ἐστὶν ἡ ἀλήθεια - in marg. edit. Rom.] Τρεῖς γὰρ εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα καὶ οἱ τρεῖς τὸ ἐν εἰσι, (1 Jn 5:6-8) τὸ πνεῦμα δηλονότι τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα τῆς λυτρώσεως, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Βαπτίσματος· ἅπερ τρία ἐν ἐστί, καὶ ἀμέριστα μένει· καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῶν χωρίζεται συναφείας· ἐπειδὴπερ ἡ καθολικὴ Ἐκκλησία ἐν ταύτῃ ζῆ, καὶ προκόπτει τῆ πίστει. Ἴνα μήτε δίχα τῆς ἀληθοῦς θεότητος ἢ ἀνθρωπότης, μήτε δίχα τῆς ἀληθούς

The Witness of God is Greater

ἀνθρωπότητος ἢ θεότης πιστεύηται. (Pope Leo's letter to Flavian Bishop of Constantinople; Migne Latina, PL 54.775-776) <earlychurchtexts.com/main/leo/tome_of_leo_05.shtml>

- The Greek translation above was done by the scribes during the Council of Chalcedon. The variants bolded above indicate that these Greek words are different from the Greek text of 1 John. Further, there is a significant variant reading: "Because Christ is the truth", rather than "the Spirit is the truth". Also, the last clause of the verse usually reads "οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσι". Note how the preposition "εἰς" is absent in this Greek translation. The variants **ἐπειδὴ** and **γάρ** are the conjunctions that join the allusions together. This would indicate that the Greek scribes translated the text as an allusion (i.e. there was other text passed over or the order was transposed, etc.) Finally, these variants indicate that 1 John 5:6,8 were regarded by the Greek scribes as simply memory allusions to some of the text of 1 John 5:6,8, and not a quote of the verses. This later affirmed by the writings of Facundus and Flugentius. (see below)

4. "defended by several authors in set treatises"

a. Facundus (fluent in Greek) knew the Tome and used it to defend Ibas.

- [R.B. Eno] Facundus builds his principal defence of Chalcedon on the prestige of Leo the Great, a truly apostolic man who stated plainly that nothing need be added to the perfection of the council of Chalcedon. He was a true and faithful fighter for the Church, who did not fear the onslaught of heresy. In attacking the council, the heretics are seeking to undermine the honored position of this man [i.e., Ibas]. Facundus repeats the last theme, as if by doing so, to drive home the enormity of what the revisionists are attempting to do. [Facundus writes] in defence of the letter of Ibas, in particular, it suffices to say that "...so great a council and the instigator of that council, the apostolic man, the one most noted in the world for true doctrine, approved it."(fn. 44. Facundus, Defense of the Three chapters, Book 5.4.1) (R.B. Eno, Doctrinal Authority in the African Ecclesiology of the Sixth Century: Ferrandus and Facundus, 1976, p. 108-109)

b. Facundus (fluent in Greek) quoted the Tome in his work "Defense of the Three Chapters"

- [Facundus] Now since it has been proven by manifest and manifold evidence that it is a falsehood to deny that the letter of the venerable Ibas was declared orthodox by the synod, and since it has by the same token been made apparent that blessed Leo did not judge the letter to be Nestorian (for he would doubtless have condemned it with a clear and forceful sentence), it suffices for our defense of the letter that such a great synod and its initiator, an apostolic man famous throughout the world for the teaching of truth, approved it. This is our foremost, unshakable, secure reason, which protects and strengthens us against all the questions of gainsayers. (Facundus, Defending the Three Chapters, Book 5.5.1; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, August 2020)
- [Facundus] ...And therefore, if also omitting the rest of the acts, the same most devoted and prudent man, Leone, replied to Flaviano thus: 19."I am surprised that so absurd and mistaken a statement of his should not have been criticised and rebuked by his judges, and that an utterance which reaches the height of stupidity and blasphemy should be allowed to pass as if nothing offensive had been heard: for the impiety of saying that the Son of God was of two natures before His incarnation is only equalled by the iniquity of asserting that there was but one nature in Him after 'the Word became flesh.' And to the end that Eutyches may not think this a right or defensible opinion because it was not contradicted by any expression of yourselves, we warn you beloved brother, to take anxious care that if ever through the inspiration of God's mercy the case is brought to a satisfactory conclusion, his ignorant mind be purged from this pernicious idea as well as others."[Leo the Great, Tome to Flavian, Epistle 28.6] (Facundus, Defense of the Three Chapters, book 4, Translated by Sara Petri, 2007, p. 155-156)

c. Fulgentius (fluent in Greek) quotes the Tome in his works.

- [Fulgentius] Therefore, what has been taken up by the Son of God is proved to have been taken up by his divinity, by his majesty, by his power, by his eternity. In order that the truthful assertions of the holy Fathers may show this, we first bring forward the letters of the most blessed Pope Leo, glorious pontiff of the Apostolic See, writing to Flavian, bishop of the city of Constantinople. In this letter, because he marvelously expressed the true faith concerning the Incarnation of the Lord, he destroyed every error of heretical depravity. For in this letter, the same glorious bishop, no less endowed with the truth of the apostolic faith than outstanding because of the dignity of the Apostolic See, said this: "In the preservation, then, of the real quality of both natures, both being united in one person, lowliness was taken on by

The Witness of God is Greater

majesty, weakness by strength, mortality by the immortal. And in order to pay the debt of our fallen state, inviolable nature was united to one capable of suffering so that (and this is the sort of reparation we needed) one and the same mediator between God and men, the man Jesus Christ, could die in the one nature and not die in the other.”(fn. 70. Leo Epistola 28; N. Tanner, Decrees I.78b; FOTC 34.95–96.) (Fulgentius, Letter to Ferrandus #14.18; Translated by Robert B. Eno in Fulgentius selected works, 1997, p. 522)

5. Greek Fathers Quote Leo's Tome

a. Facundus (fluent in Greek) : Quotes verse 8 with “in earth”

- **Which one of the Trinity suffered** (Defense of the Three Chapters, Book 1, Chapter 3).
- **9. In fact, the apostle John also in his letter writes about the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit: “There are three who testify on earth, spirit, water and blood and these three are one” (1 Jn 5, 8).** With “spirit” it indicates the Father, as does the Lord, who in the Gospel of John himself says to the Samaritan woman: “Jesus saith to her: Woman, believe me that the hour cometh, when you shall neither on this mountain, nor in Jerusalem, adore the Father. You adore that which you know not: we adore that which we know. For salvation is of the Jews. But the hour cometh and now is, when the true adorers shall adore the Father in spirit and in truth. For the Father also seeketh such to adore him. God is a spirit: and they that adore him must adore him in spirit and in truth.” (Jn 4: 21-24).
- **11.** By “blood” instead it indicates the Son, since he was part of the flesh and blood of the Holy Trinity. **So the apostle John speaking of Father, Son and Holy Spirit does not say that there are three persons who testify on earth, that is spirit, water and blood, and that these three are one, but rather says: “There are three who testify on earth, spirit, water and blood and these three are one.” (1 Jn v. 8)**
- **23.** However, by carefully examining the problem and looking more deeply into the cause, it would emerge that we do not say “one” for “one person”, but rather one says “one person” for “one of the Trinity”. **In fact, the Church of Christ, even when the name of persons was not yet used to distinguish Father, Son and Holy Spirit, has always believed and preached three, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, as we have shown before with the testimony of the apostle John where it says: “Three are who testify on earth, spirit, water and blood, and these three are one.” (1 Jn 5: 8)**
- **24.** However the name of person was not assumed in the use of preaching except out of necessity when Sabellio began to fight against the Church, so those in whom it has always been believed and who have been called [PAGE 71] three (Father, Son and Holy Spirit) are now called together with the common name of “person”. Then subsistences were also said, as the Church liked, to indicate the Trinity and to attribute this name to the distinction of “persons”. Once upon a time there was a discussion about the new name of “person” or of “subsistence”, if it were to be admitted to indicate the Trinity which is God, as the name of Trinity itself was also admitted; **but there was never any discussion about what the Church has always held firm and preached, namely that there are three who bear witness on earth and “these three are one.”**

b. Facundus (fluent in Greek) : “in earth” is at the heart of Facundus argument

- **[Brownlee]** And on inspecting the pages of Facundus, it will be seen that the phrase is not only often repeated, but interwoven into the argument. For the nature of the heresy which Facundus was combating, made it *essentially* necessary that the phrase “in [the] earth”, should be in the sacred passage opposed to that heresy. He is proving that one of the persons of the Most Holy Trinity came into the world, and lived “in [the] earth” (Latin: in terra), in order to redeem us. If the words, therefore, “in [the] earth” (Latin: in terra), be left out, as Porson proposes, and zealously insists that they ought to be; then the very force and life of the argument of Facundus is utterly destroyed. (Brownlee, “Gleanings and Hints Towards an Argument for the Authenticity of John v. 7” in The Christian Advocate vol 3, September 1825, vol. 3, p. 400-401)

c. Fulgentius (fluent in Greek) : Uses verse 7 in his writings and debates.

- **[De Trinitate ad Felicem]** See, in short you have it that the Father is one, the Son another, and the Holy Spirit another, in Person, each is other, but in nature they are not other. In this regard He says: “The Father and I, we are one.” He teaches us that “one” refers to Their nature, and “we are” to Their persons. In like manner it is said: “There are three who bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and these three are one.” (Fulgentius, On the Trinity, chapter 4; Translated by William A. Jurgens, 1970, vol 3, p. 291-292)

The Witness of God is Greater

- **[Responsio contra Arianos]** In the Father, therefore, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, we acknowledge unity of substance, but dare not confound the persons. For St. John the apostle, testifieth saying, “There are three that bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and these three are one.”(Fulgentius, Against the Arians; Translated by Thomas Hartwell Horne, 1825; Horne, “IV. Sect. V. On the First General Epistle of John” in Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, 1825, vol 4, p. 448)
 - **[Contra Fabianus]** But the holy Apostle St. John [proceeds further, for he] plainly says, “And the three are one”; which text concerning the Father, the Son [Filio] and the Holy Ghost we alleged, as we did before when ye required a reason from us [our belief]. (Fulgentius, Contra Fabianus, Fragmentum 21; Translated by George Travis, Letters to Edward Gibbon, 3rd edition, 1794, p. 38-39)
- d. Fulgentius (fluent in Greek) : Used verse 7 in his writings and debates.**
- **[Armfield]** Surely it is quite clear from the writings of Fulgentius, both that he had himself seen the verse in the copies of the New Testament; and that **those (with whom he argues) had no objection to offer.** (Armfield, The Three Witnesses, the Disputed Text, 1883, p.172)
- e. Fulgentius (fluent in Greek) : debates with opponents fluent in Greek and other Languages.**
- **[Fabianus the Arian]** The only time Fulgentius of Ruspe considered it necessary to quote Greek was when writing against the Arian Fabianus. At some point between 523 and 533, Fabianus and Fulgentius had engaged in a public debate, **most likely in Carthage.** Fabianus published the proceedings in a manner so unflattering to his opponent that Fulgentius composed the ten-volume “Contra Fabianum” in response. **In the “Contra Fabianum”, Fulgentius quoted Scriptures in Greek as well as in Latin, a practice not followed in his other works. He did so with the expectation that Fabianus would be able to follow the Greek, saying at one point that “I will bring forward the truth of the Greek reading in this place also, so that you might understand this (point) more fully.”** Fabianus also apparently prided himself on his Latin: Fulgentius quotes Virgil to him and chides him by saying, “I think [PAGE 116] that a man like you who claims to be skilled in latinitas might know that 'subministrare' is not the same thing as 'ministrare'”. **Fabianus is the best counterpart for the real Pseudo-Origen [author of the Arian commentary on Job] - an Arian scholar of late Vandal North Africa, literate in Latin and Greek, involved in debating the Greek Scriptures with his Nicene opponents.** (Dossey, The Last Days of Vandal Africa: An Arian Commentary on Job and its Historical Context, 2003, p. 115-116)

6. Conclusion

Leo's Tome is irrelevant to the question of whether verse 7 was part of the bible. The Greek fathers who knew and used Leo's Tome, quoted verse 8 with "in earth" and verse 7 (the Three Heavenly Witnesses). Fulgentius and Facundus both knew Leo's Tome and quoted it freely without any hesitance or mention of any "omission" in Leo's quote. Obviously, the context of Leo's allusion to verse 8 was to demonstrate the humanity of Christ, and nothing else. Burgess' statement is proved true, that the other parts of the verses were not relevant to Leo's argument. The Greek translation that was done at the Council of Chalcedon translates Leo's quote of verse 8 with significant variants resulting in Greek text very different than the usual Greek text of verse 8. Certainly, if Facundus or Fulgentius (who were fluent in Greek) thought that Leo's Tome allusion to verse 8 was evidence of some kind of omission, they would have noted it in their use of verse 8 "in earth" and verse 7 (the Three Heavenly Witnesses). The witness and works of Fulgentius and Facundus demonstrate that Leo's Tome does not contain any obvious omissions and therefore support the argument that verse 7 was not in his bible.

Eucherius, bishop of Lyon, (c. 380 - c. 449 AD)

- Saint Eucherius, bishop of Lyon, (c. 380 – c. 449) was a high-born and high-ranking ecclesiastic in the Christian Church of Gaul. He is remembered for his letters advocating extreme self-abnegation. As was a common 5th century practice, on the death of his wife Gallia (born c. 390), he withdrew for a time to the monastery of Lérins, founded by Saint Honoratus on the smaller of the two islands off Antibes, with his sons, Veranius and Salonius, to live a severely simple life of study and devote himself to the education of his sons. Soon afterward he withdrew further, to the neighbouring island of Lerona (now Sainte-Marguerite), where he devoted his time to study and mortification of the flesh. With the thought that he might join the anchorites in the deserts of the East, he consulted John Cassian, the famed hermit who had arrived from the East to Marseille; Cassian dedicated the second set of his Collationes (Numbers 11–17) to Eucherius and Honoratus. These Conferences describe the daily lives of the hermits of the Egyptian Thebaid and discuss the important themes of grace, free will, and Scripture. It was at this time (c. 428) that Eucherius wrote his epistolary essay De laude Eremiti ("In praise of

The Witness of God is Greater

the desert") addressed to Bishop Hilary of Arles.[2] Though imitating the ascetic lifestyle of the Egyptian hermits, Eucherius kept in touch with men renowned for learning and piety: John Cassian, Hilary of Arles, Saint Honoratus, later bishop of Arles, Claudianus Mamertus, Agroecius (who dedicated a book to him), Sidonius Apollinaris and his kinsman Valerian, to whom he wrote his *Epistola paraenetica ad Valerianum cognatum, de contemptu mundi* ("Epistle of exhortation to his kinsman Valerian, On the contempt of the world") an expression of the despair for the present and future of the world in its last throes shared by many educated men of Late Antiquity, with hope for a world to come: Erasmus thought so highly of its Latin style that he edited and published it at Basel (1520). (Eucherius of Lyon. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eucherius_of_Lyon>)

- Eucherius' *Formulas of Spiritual Intelligence* (*Liber formularum spiritalis intelligentiae*) addressed to his son Veranius is a defence of the lawfulness of reading an allegorical sense in Scripture, bringing to bear the metaphors in Psalms and such phrases as "the hand of God." The fame of Eucherius was soon so widespread in southeastern Gaul that he was chosen bishop of Lyon. This was probably in 434; it is certain, at least that he attended the first Council of Orange (441) as Metropolitan of Lyon, and that he retained this dignity until his death.[2] He was succeeded in the bishopric by his son Veranius, while his other son, Salonius, became Bishop of Geneva. Among Eucherius' other letters are his *Institutiones ad Salonium* addressed to his other son. Many homilies and other writings have been attributed to Eucherius. Henry Wace ranked Eucherius "except perhaps St. Irenaeus the most distinguished occupant of that see".[1] (Eucherius of Lyon. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eucherius_of_Lyon>)

- Salonius was a confessor and bishop of the 5th century. He was born about 400, a son of Eucherius of Lyon. He was educated at Lérins Abbey, first by Hilary of Arles, then by Salvianus and Vincent of Lérins. In 440, he was elected bishop of Geneva and, as such, took part in the Synod of Orange (441), the Synod of Vaison (442), and the Synod of Arles (451). He has also been listed as the bishop of Genoa, but it is not clear if this was a later appointment or if the word Geneva was miswritten as Genova. He was an accomplished Latin ecclesiastical writer. Most notably, he composed mystical and allegorical interpretations of the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. His feast day is 28 September. (Salonius. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salonius>)

928. St. Gall, Stiftsbibl. 225. Alemannic minuscule saec. VIII ex. (A.D. 760-797).

John, in

his epistle says: "There are three that bear witness; water, blood and spirit." What does this mean?

[Ln. 18] ...in *Epistola*

[Ln. 19] *sua loannes ponit: Tria sunt quae testi-*

[Ln. 20] *monium perhibent, aqua, sanguis,*

[Ln. 21] *et spiritus: quid in hoc indicatur?*

f.372 : <www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/csg/0225/372/0/Sequence-410>

<elms.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/2036>

"In John's epistle" in Instructionum Book 1 LXXV

- Again, John, in his epistle says: "There are three that bear witness; water, blood and spirit." What does this mean?

- Answer. Here seems a reference to what the same John writes in his gospel, "But one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came there out water and blood. And he that saw it, bare record." [ch. xix. 34,35] And he had before said; "He bowed his head, and gave up the ghost." [ver. 30] **Some** therefore think that by the water, is meant baptism; by the blood, martyrdom; by the spirit, the person who passes through martyrdom to the Lord. Yet the **majority** here understands the Trinity itself by a mystical interpretation, because it bears witness to Christ; by the water indicating the Father for he says of himself, Jer. ii 13 "they have left me, the fountain of living water"; by the blood demonstrating Christ, and referring to his passion; by the Spirit manifesting the Holy Ghost. Now these three thus bear witness of Christ. He himself says in the Gospel, John 8:18 "I bear witness of myself and the Father who sent me bears witness of me". And again John 15:26, "When the Comforter is come - he shall bear witness of me". The Father therefore bears witness when he says Matt. 17:5 "This is my beloved Son." The Son, when he says, John 10:30, "I and my Father are one." The Holy Spirit when it said of him, Matt 3:16 "And he saw the Holy Spirit descending, and coming upon him." (Eucherius of Lyon, "In John's epistle" in

The Witness of God is Greater

Instructionum Book 1 LXXV; Translated by Nathaniel Lardner, "CXXVII. Eucherus, Bishop of Lyons" in The Works of Nathaniel Lardner, vol 3, 1815, p. 30)

- Interr: Item in Epistola sua Ioannes ponit: Tria sunt quae testimonium perhibent, aqua, sanguis, et spiritus (Ioan. V, 8): quid in hoc indicatur?
- Resp: Simile huic loco etiam illud **mihi videtur**, quod ipse in Evangelio suo de passione Christi loquitur dicens: Unus militum lancea latus eius aperuit, et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua; et qui vidit, testimonium perhibuit (Ioan. XIX, 34). In eodem ipse de Iesu supra dixerat: Inclinato capite tradidit spiritum (Ioan. XIX, 30). **Quidam** ergo ex hoc ita disputant: Aqua baptismum, sanguis videtur indicare martyrium, Spiritus vero ipse est qui per martyrium transit ad Dominum. (0811A) **Plures** tamen hic ipsam interpretatione mystica intelligunt Trinitatem, eo quod perfecta ipsa perhibeat testimonium Christo: aqua Patrem indicans, quia ipse de se dicit: Me dereliquerunt fontem aquae vivae (Ier. II, 13) ; sanguine Christum demonstrans, utique per passionis cruorem; spiritu vero sanctum Spiritum manifestans. (0811B) Haec autem tria de Christo testimonium ita perhibent, ipso in Evangelio loquente: Ego sum qui testimonium perhibeo de meipso; et testimonium perhibet de me qui misit me Pater (Ioan. VIII, 18). Et item: Cum autem venerit Paracletus, quem ego mittam vobis Spiritum veritatis, qui a Patre procedit, ille testimonium perhibebit de me (Ioan. XV, 16). Perhibet ergo testimonium Pater, cum dicit: Hic est Filius meus dilectus (Matth. III, 17); Filius, cum dicit: Ego et Pater unum sumus (Ioan. X, 30) ; Spiritus sanctus, cum de eo dicitur: Et vidit Spiritum Dei descendentem sicut columbam venientem super se (Matth. III, 16) . (Eucherius Lugdunensis, "in epistola Ioannis" in Instructionum. Book 1, LXXV ; Migne Latina, PL 50.811)

Comment:

- [Burgess] Eucherus states *three* opinions respecting the interpretation of the eighth verse; *his own*, referring to the crucifixion, (which was also the opinion of Cassiodorus and the Glossa Ordinaria;) that of *certain others*, who understood it of baptism, etc.; and lastly, the opinion of the *plures*, who interpreted it mystically of the Trinity. MIHI videtur -- QUIDAM ergo -- PLURES tamen. Whoever these *quidam* and *plures* were, it is clear that Eucherus was not **"one of the plures, who embraced the mystical interpretation."**(Burgess, A Vindication of I John, V. 7: From the Objections of M. Griesbach, 2nd Edition, 1821, p. 136)

Eucherius' Groups

Groups in Eucherus Explanation			
Group	spirit	water	blood
Reference to John's Gospel	Breath : Jn 19:30	Water : Jn 19:34	Blood : Jn 19:34
Some (<i>Quidam</i>)	Spirit passes on to the Lord	Baptism in water	Martyrdom
Many Others (<i>Plures</i>)	Holy Spirit	Father	Christ

1 John 5:8 "the Spirit, the water, and the blood"		
Church Father	Group	"In earth"
Eucherius	John's Gospel	??
Facundus	Many Others	Yes
Augustine	John's Gospel	No
Haymo (d. 853 AD)	Many Others	Yes

The Witness of God is Greater

Conclusion:

Eucherius' gives verse 8 as "water, blood, and spirit". This order is contrary to the verse 8 (Spirit, water, and the blood). Obviously, Eucherius is not quoting verse 8. Reordering the three witnesses may have something to do with the way the verse is interpreted attempting to make verse 8 conform to the baptismal formula found in Matt 28:19 "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit". At least one group Eucherius mentions interprets the Father as the spirit in this verse. Further, the "many others" that interpret the verse as the three persons of the Trinity, have verse 8 with "in earth" as can be seen by Facundus and Haymo (d. 853 AD). Therefore, since "in earth" is evidence that "in heaven" also is present, then the majority have verse 7 in their bible. Finally, as can be seen from Facundus and Haymo use of verse 8, "in earth" is an important part of their exposition and use of verse 8. Again, there is no relationship between interpretation of verse 8 and the "interpolation theory" for verse 7. Verse 8 "in earth" indicates that there is no reason why verse 7 must necessarily be absent if verse 8 is interpreted as the "Trinity".

Cyprian "It is written: 'And These Three are One'"

Cyprian & Priscillian

• [La Due] **Trinitarian Developments in the Early Middle Ages.** The church in the West also was not without its doctrinal crises in the area of trinitarian teaching. A wealthy Spanish gentleman named Priscillian popularized in the latter fourth century a Sabellian view of the Trinity, whereby the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit were to be considered merely as three modes or facets of the same Deity. Priscillian's [PAGE 62] teaching spread throughout Spain and even won over several Spanish bishops. Thus, the Priscillianist sect became extremely influential in Spain in the second half of the fourth century, and it was not until Priscillian and several of his colleagues were brought to trial at Trier on criminal charges that the principal agents of the movement were taken out of circulation. The first synod of Toledo (ca. 400) issued anathemas dealing with Priscillianism, including a strong condemnation of its Sabellian views on the Trinity. (La Due, *The Trinity Guide to the Trinity*, 2003, p. 61-62)

• [Chapman] **Priscillian found himself bound to defend the Comma.** In the Priscillianist creed "We confess the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit" ("Nos patrem et filium..."; See Caspari, *Kirchenhistorische Anecdota*, vol 1, 1883, p. 308, and Kunstle, *Antipriscilliana*, 1905, p. 67). We have a clear reference: "The Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit is God; These are one in Christ Jesus" ("Pater Deus, Filius Deus, et Spiritus sanctus Deus; haec unum sunt in Christo Iesu.") Now a few lines further on we read: "If any one has no faith in the truth of this, he cannot be said to be of the Catholic churches; he does not explain Catholic faith, but he is inappropriate, profane, rebellious against the truth." ("Si quis vero hanc fidem non habet, catholicas dici non potest; qui catholicam non tenet fidem, Alienus Est, Profanus Est, adversus veritatem rebellis est.") This is a citation of St. Cyprian, *De Cath. Eccl. Unit.* 6 "Whoever is separated from the Church and is joined to an adulteress, is separated from the promises of the Church; nor can he who forsakes the Church of Christ attain to the rewards of Christ. He is a stranger; he is profane; he is an enemy." ("Nec perueniet ad Christi praemia qui relinquit ecclesiam Christi; ALIENUS EST, PROFANUS Est, hostis est.") Why a citation from this particular chapter? Obviously because this is the chapter which contains the famous words: "and again it is written of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, 'And these three are one.'" ("Et iterum de Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto scriptum est: 'et hi tres unum sunt',") to which so many moderns have unsuccessfully appealed to prove the antiquity of the reading in I John [5:7-8]. It seems plain that the passage of St. Cyprian was lying open before the Priscillianist author of the Creed (Priscillian himself?) because he was accustomed to appeal to it in the same way. In Priscillian's day St. Cyprian had a unique position as the one great Western Doctor. (Chapman, *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*, 1908, p. 264)

Conclusion : Cyprian & Priscillian:

Priscillian was executed for heresy 385 AD, hundreds of years before Facundus lived.

- Priscillian was familiar with Cyprian's work and used it in his defense.
- Priscillian used I John 5;7,8 in his defense and alluded to the same usage in Cyprian's work where I John 5:7 appears "scripture says: 'and these three are one'".
- Priscillian quotes verses 1 John 5:8,7 (i.e., verse 8, followed by verse 7). The transposed order is in the most ancient manuscripts and fathers testimony.

The Witness of God is Greater

- Priscillian gives 1 John 5:7 as we know it in other authors"there are three that testify in heaven, the Father, the **Word** and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one"with the addition"in Christ Jesus".
- Priscillian quotes 1 John 5:8, having"in earth"as part of its text, but gives us a very strange rendition of the verse"the water, the body (flesh), and the blood". This indicates that verse 8 was also subject to corruption.
- Priscillian quotes verse 7 which is close to the current reading of three heavenly witnesses, but verse 8 is evidently corrupted in his copies.

Cyprian & Fulgentius & Facundus

• **[Travis]** Let it be first remarked, as to this testimony of Facundus, that he probably never saw the Treatise of Cyprian to which he thus refers. He seems to have been utterly at a loss even how to describe, or class it: for he calls it an epistle, or a book. And he has indubitably given to it a title which is not its own."In letter or book on the Trinity"(Latin: In Epistola sive libro de Trinitate), says Facundus, instead of"On the unity of the Church"(Latin: de Unitate ecclesiae), which is its real title. Either of these circumstances singly taken raise a suspicion, combined they amount nearly to proof, that Facundus had not read the work which he thus ventured to quote, but had trusted to the information of some person who had mistakenly, or intentionally misled him by imputing to the eighth verse of I. John v. a comment or declaration,"It is written", which could have been uttered by Cyprian only of the seventh. Let it be still further observed, that the very expressions used by Facundus, prove that the seventh verse was read by him as well as the eighth. Wherever the words"in terra"[on earth] are found in any recital of, or reference to the eighth, they necessarily imply the existence of the seventh verse, having the words"in celo"[in Heaven] expressed or understood in contraposition to them. And Facundus uses this phrase,"in terra", no less than thrice in the short extracts which have been just copied from him. It is remarkable that Fulgentius constantly cites the seventh verse, with the words in"in Heaven"(Latin: in coelo), and that he never applies the eighth verse to the Trinity. ...Facundus, on the other hand, continually relies on a mystical interpretation of the eighth, neglecting the seventh verse, although he proves to us that it was in his possession by his mode of quoting the eighth verse. But this, although a distinction, is almost (with respect to the great question of the authenticity of this passage) a distinction without a difference. For wherever, in any author thus referring to this chapter of St. John either of these clauses,"in celo", or"in terra"is read, such reading infers the other to have stood in the Bible of that author. (Travis, Letters to Edward Gibbon, 1794, 3rd edition, p. 108-110)

• **[Armfield]** But if the question be between the positive evidence of Fulgentius and the negative evidence of Facundus, we can scarcely doubt which to prefer. Independently, however, of this consideration, there cannot be a doubt, putting the testimonies side by side, which ought to preponderate. For, in the first place, Fulgentius lived some thirty or forty years earlier than Facundus. In the next place, he [Fulgentius] was of Carthaginian origin. Thirdly, he [Fulgentius] spent his whole life in Africa and the West; while Facundus, though bishop of an African See, resided chiefly at Constantinople, administering the affairs of the African Church at the Court of the Emperor. Still further, Fulgentius quotes the text in immediate controversy with the Arians, at whose hands he suffered persecution. He [Fulgentius] was, moreover, a man of singular learning, both in Latin and Greek. It may perhaps be worth remarking that his reference to St. Cyprian is more definite and precise than that of Facundus; the one [Fulgentius] quoting St. Cyprian's actual words, the other [Facundus] only referring generally to his [Cyprian's] argument. [Fulgentius] very mode of speaking of St. Cyprian as"Blessed Cyprian the martyr"(Latin: beatissimus martyr Cyprianus), compared with that of Facundus"Blessed Cyprian bishop of Carthage and martyr"(Latin: beatissimus Cyprianus Carthaginiensis antistes et martyr), — not to mention the inaccuracy of Facundus in referring to the"On the Unity of the Church"(Latin: de Unitate Ecclesiae) as"Letter or Book on the Trinity"(Latin: Epistola sive Liber quem de Trinitate scripsit) and indeed the very expression,"who wrote on the Trinity"(Latin: quem de Trinitate scripsit), compared with Fulgentius"Letter on the Unity of the Church"(Latin: Epistola de Unitate Ecclesiae), gives to his [Fulgentius'] testimony the greater weight which is due to one who, it would seem, was so familiar with the name and writings of St. Cyprian. These manifold proofs of vagueness and inaccuracy have even given occasion to the idea that Facundus had probably never seen the treatise of Cyprian to which he thus refers. (Armfield, The Three Witnesses The Disputed Text in St. John, 1883, p. 83-84)

• **[Burgess]** Facundus appeals to the authority of Cyprian; and the learned Prelate [Richard Simon] thinks that his single authority decides, beyond all doubt, that Cyprian understood the words spiritus, aqua, and sanguis mystically of the Trinity. ...I am here again constrained to differ, altogether, from the learned Prelate. In the first place there appears to me no room to doubt that Cyprian meant the seventh verse ; and in the next, that if there were doubts, Facundus has not removed them, either respecting Cyprian's meaning, or the existence of the seventh verse. As to the latter point, Facundus quotes the eighth verse not less than six times, and always with"in earth"(Latin: in terra), which is a plain indication of a corresponding verse, having"in heaven"(Latin: in coelo) in it. And as to Cyprian's meaning, the learned Prelate might have said, that in ancient as well as modern times, his [Cyprian's] words have been taken for a proof, that

The Witness of God is Greater

he was speaking of the seventh verse. Fulgentius, who lived nearly half a century before Facundus, understood his [Cyprian's] words in that sense. Griesbach himself allows that Fulgentius understood Cyprian to mean the seventh verse. Fulgentius, who had the seventh verse in his own copy, had no doubt of Cyprian's meaning the seventh verse by what he said was written "of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit" (Latin: *de Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto*). So far, then, is Facundus from proving that Cyprian meant the eighth verse, that we find in Fulgentius's testimony a decisive proof to the contrary, and in Facundus "in earth" (Latin: *in terra*) an evidence of the corresponding words "in heaven" (Latin: *in coelo*) in the seventh verse. But independently of the superior authority of Fulgentius, Facundus's proof of Cyprian's mystical interpretation, is most defective. After stating St. John's declaration concerning the unity of the earthly witnesses, the spirit, the water, and the blood, he adds, "which testimony of St. John, Cyprian understands of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit." But Cyprian does not even mention that testimony [i.e., verse 8 : the three earthly witnesses]. (Burgess, *A Vindication of 1 John*, V. 7. from the *Objections of M. Griesbach*, 1823, 2nd edition, p. xix-xxii)

• **[Brownlee]** To the evidence derived from the *most ancient* Latin MSS which contained our verse, we may add the testimony still found on the face of a class of ancient MSS which do not contain our verse. I allude to the singular fact that in the ancient class of MSS to which our reference is made, there are found in [PAGE 401] the 8th verse the words "in [the] earth" (Latin: *in terra*), which had, in some unaccountable, but providential manner, escaped the erasing hands of men who deprived these copies of our verse. - **Our opponents, Porson and Marsh, were fully aware of the conclusion drawn from the existence of these words "in [the] earth" (Latin: *in terra*), in the 8th verse; that of consequence the corresponding words "in heaven" (Latin: *in coelo*), must somewhere precede - and of course that the 7th verse, of which these words are a part, must precede** : and they have zealously denied that these words are to be found in any genuine copy. But it is known to the learned that these words "in [the] earth" (Latin: *in terra*), are found in genuine MSS. Griesbach does not mention such manuscripts: and he states that such have also been mentioned by Stephens, by Lucas Brugensis, and by Hentenius. (fn. 1. Burgess, p. 143) And the existence of them is put beyond reasonable doubt by Facundus, the bishop of Hermianum, in the year 547. - In his *Defense of the Three Chapters* (Latin: *Defensio Trium Capitum*), in the council of Chalcedon, he has, according to Burgess, **quoted the 8th verse, or a part of it, with "in earth" (Latin: *in terra*) six times**. On inspection, I count the quotation seven times. Porson does indeed deny the authenticity of these words "in [the] earth" (Latin: *in terra*). But he offers only his conjectures. He produces neither quotations nor MSS to sustain his conjectures. **And on inspecting the pages of Facundus, it will be seen that the phrase is not only often repeated, but interwoven into the argument. For the nature of the heresy which Facundus was combating, made it essentially necessary that the phrase "in [the] earth", should be in the sacred passage opposed to that heresy. He is proving that one of the persons of the Most Holy Trinity came into the world, and lived "in [the] earth" (Latin: *in terra*), in order to redeem us. If the words, therefore, "in [the] earth" (Latin: *in terra*), be left out, as Porson proposes, and zealously insists that they ought to be; then the very force and life of the argument of Facundus is utterly destroyed.** (Brownlee, "Gleanings and Hints Towards an Argument for the Authenticity of John v. 7" in *The Christian Advocate* vol 3, September 1825, vol. 3, p. 400-401)

Conclusion : Cyprian & Fulgentius & Facundus:

- **Facundus'** testimony fails on many points:
 - Facundus does not know the title of Cyprian's work
 - Facundus interprets verse 8 "spirit, water, blood" as "Father, Holy Spirit, Son" which does not agree with the order found in Cyprian.
 - Facundus repeatedly quotes verse 8 with "in earth" and builds his argument on the basis of "in earth" in the text. Cyprian never mentions these three witnesses, "in earth" nor does he base his argument of "unity" on any text that includes "in earth".
 - Facundus was from Constantinople, not familiar nor native to North African churches.
 - Facundus quotes verse 8 many times, each time his quote includes "in earth". This indicates that verse seven is in his text "in heaven".
 - Facundus writing "Defense of the Three Chapters" defended the nature(s) of the incarnation of the Son of God while Cyprian is writing about the persons of the Trinity.
- **Fulgentius'** testimony succeeds on every point.
 - Fulgentius quotes the correct title of Cyprian's work.
 - Fulgentius quotes the testimony of Cyprian from his work.
 - Fulgentius testifies that 1 John 5:7 is what Cyprian was quoting.
 - Fulgentius was a native of Carthage and very familiar with the North African churches.
 - Fulgentius spent time in Carthage and debated other Arians in Carthage.
 - Fulgentius quoted 1 John 5:7 in works against the Arians in the context of doctrinal contention about the oneness of the Godhead.

Appendix: D. Martin (1639-1721) : Invisible Allegory Refuted

The Genuineness of the Text of the First Epistle of Saint John. Chap. V. 7

• [Martin] The most ancient Book, in which the passage of St. *John* is quoted, is the Treatise of *Tertullian* against the heretick *Praxeas*; it would be impossible to go back to a more remote age, since *Tertullian* liv'd in the same age this famous Version was made, namely, the second Century. I have quoted the passage, which regards this Text, in my Dissertation, and I would not return to it now, if I had not new observations to make upon it, in order to defend it against the false glosses of those persons, who alleged that *Tertullian* had not the passage of St. *John* in view, under pretence that he has not made an express quotation. 'Tis thus that ancient Doctor speaks in the 25th chapter against *Praxeas*. "*Jesus Christ* speaking of the Holy Ghost said, *He shall take of mine*, as himself had taken of the Father ; and thus the connexion of the Father with the Son, and of the Son with the Holy Ghost causes these three to be united together; *which three are one*, as it is said, *I and my Father are one*." There we see clearly express'd the last words of the passage in St. *John's* Epistle, *Three are One* ; in like manner as we see there the very words of *Jesus Christ* in the 10th Chapter of the same Apostle's Gospel, *I and the Father are one*. *Tertullian* has not been content with barely, quoting the words of the Epistle, *Tres unum sunt*, but he has withal made there an observation, in order to illustrate the sense, and to shew that the word *Unum* has express relation to the nature and essence of the three, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and not to their persons, *qui tres*, says he, *UNUM sunt, non UNUS*: which he confirms by the authority of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, who express'd himself after the same manner by the word *Unum*, and not by that of *Unus*, when he spoke of himself and his Father, *quomodo dictum est*, adds *Tertullian*, *Ego & Pater UNUM sumus*. Can any thing be more express? Yet, instead of sincerely owning, that this is the sense and meaning of *Tertullian*, they take what pains they can to elude the force of this proof. They pretend, that it was of himself, and without a view to any particular Text of Scripture, that *Tertullian* said, *qui tres unum sunt*, under pretext that the words are put there without any sign of quotation; as if it was not very common in the writings of the Fathers, and particularly in *Tertullian*, to quote passages of Holy Scripture without any indication which marks 'em to be passages taken from Scripture; they need but open the Book of that ancient Doctor, and numbers of instances will offer themselves to their eyes. Was then the remark he makes upon the word *unum*, to shew the great difference betwixt *unum* and *unus*, with a view towards clearing up his own expression, and not that of a sacred Text? This is absurd to imagine, and still more so, because he had just made the fame observation upon the word *Unum* us'd by *Jesus Christ* in the 22nd chapter, *Ego & Pater UNUM sumus*, I and the Father are ONE. He said, *UNUM sumus, non UNUS sumus*. -*Unum dicit neutrali verbo, quod non pertinet ad fingularitatem, sed ad unitatem*. "*Jesus Christ* said, *I and the Father are one*; and this *one* in the neuter gender does not imply there was but one person in God, (which was the error of *Praxeas*,) *but it denotes their unity*." The observation then which *Tertullian* had just made upon the difference of *unum* and *unus*, to explain the meaning of these words of the Son of God, *I and the Father are one*, he here makes upon these, *Three are one*, and yet they will have it, that he had not this Text of the sacred Scripture in view! I desire every person, who sincerely seeks after truth, to give heed to this observation.

• [Martin] A second, which terminates in the same views, and will confirm the former, is the agreement of this passage of *Tertullian* with that of St. *Cyprian* in his Book of the Unity of the Church. St. *Cyprian* joins together, as two Texts which mutually support each other, that of *Jesus Christ*, *I and the Father are one*, and this of St. *John's* Epistle, *'Tis written of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, these three are one*. Why then shall not the words *these three are one*, join'd in *Tertullian* with *I and the Father are one*, and with the same design too, namely, to prove the plurality of persons in the unity of the divine nature, be the passage of St. *John's* Epistle, as they are in St. *Cyprian*?

• [Martin] To dwell a little longer upon this remark. The same words, *Tres unum sunt*, "Three are one," are found thus alone, and without the rest of the same Text, in St. *Cyprian's* Epistle to *Jubaianus* ; in *Vigilius* of *Tapsum* [now attributed to Eusebius of Vercelli], in two passages of his *Discourse concerning the Trinity*; and in the Fragments against *Fabian* among the works of St. *Fulgentius*? I here quote only the Authors, who have us'd the same Version with *Tertullian*. Now in all these passages the words, *three are one*, are indisputably

The Witness of God is Greater

inserted as belonging to St. *John's* Epistle: and yet they shall not have been in *Tertullian's* Book! They must have very strong proofs to convince an impartial partial mind of it, which shall have read the same *Italick* Version in these different Authors, and have found there the same words.

• [Martin] This observation leads us to a third, with which I shall conclude my reflexions upon *Tertullian*. Let 'em maintain, as long as they will, that these words, *Three are one*, are properly *Tertullian's*, who spoke 'em of his own head, and without having taken them from St. *John*, upon this supposition, that they were not in the *Latin* Version of that Apostle's Epistle ; they cannot at least deny, but that several of the Ancients, famous for their orthodox belief in the sacred Trinity, did read 'em in their days in the same Version: I have produc'd so many quotations of it, to which I shall presently join so many others, that this cannot be disputed me; whence then comes it, that these words, *Three are one*, shall be found in the *Italick* Version in the age of St. *Cyprian*, and the ages following; and the same words shall have been us'd by *Tertullian*, yet without having been in the Version, where the others found them? I believe they will wait long for an answer to this powerful difficulty, if they expect an answer that removes it : let them examine it, and look thoroughly into its consequences; I desire no more. I stop here, and pass on to St. *Cyprian*.

• [Martin] This holy Bishop of *Carthage*, who suffer'd martyrdom for the Christian Faith in the year 258 has quoted the passage of St. *John* in two of his Treatises. He produces the last words in the Epistle to *Jubaianus*, and almost the entire passage in the Book of the Unity of the Church, and in these two places he quotes it upon different subjects. That of his Epistle to *Jubaianus* is to shew the necessity there was of re-baptizing, or rather, as he expresses himself in the beginning of that Epistle, of *baptizing* those, who had receiv'd baptism in the Communion of the hereticks, who did not believe the Trinity, because this could not have been look'd on as true Baptism, since Baptism was conferr'd in the Name of the Trinity : *He who receives Baptism, says he, is sanctified and becomes the Temple of God; But of what God? Of the Creator? This cannot be, for he does not believe in him. Of Chrif? But how can he be the Temple of Christ, who does not acknowledge him to be God? Is he then the Temple of the Holy Ghost, since THESE THREE ARE ONE? Cum tres unum sint.* These words then are there quoted as a proof of the Trinity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in one only divine essence.

• [Martin] He urges the same passage upon quite another design, and somewhat more at large, in his *Discourse of the Unity of the Church*. He wrote it against the schism of the *Novatians*; and he reasons there strongly, with that lively and noble eloquence which was natural to him, against the Schism in general, in order to set out the horror of it. 'Tis there, thar, after having said, that he cannot have God for his Father, who has not the Church for his Mother, he adds, *the Lord has said, I and the Father are one ; and again, it is written of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and THESE THREE ARE ONE.*

• [Martin] All that the enemies to the genuineness of this passage of St. *John* have been capable of imagining to render useless the express quotation St. *Cyprian* has made of it, amounts to this, that it has respect, to the 8th verse, where the Apostle speaking of the three witnesses which are in Earth, the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood, says that *these three are one*, according to the *Latin* Version, which has translated the last words of the 8th verse, and those of the 7th in the same manner, tho' they are very different in the *Greek*, as I have elsewhere shewn. I have confuted this illusion with so much force and by such demonstrative arguments in my Critical Dissertation, that the opposite party has been at a loss what answer to give, and all that Mr. *Emlyn*, who at present maintains the contrary side in *England*, has been able to do, is to quote St. *Eucherius*, who has said that several explain'd the three witnesses of the 8th verse mystically of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and then to produce *Facundus*, who has observ'd, that St. *Cyprian* explain'd after this mystical manner in his Treatise of the Unity of the Church, what is there said of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. But I have given such repulsive strokes to these last efforts of a deplorable cause, in my Examination of that Writer's answer, that they have not ventur'd to appear again in the late Piece, he has publish'd, under the title of a *Reply to the Examination of M. Martin* : The Reply has here, as almost every where else, been mute, and pass'd over the proofs and arguments which my Book is full of in silence and confusion. I have shewn under

The Witness of God is Greater

this particular article of St. *Cyprian*, with how little understanding or justice Mr. *Emlyn* had urg'd the words of St. *Eucherius* ; and how absurd it is to make *Facundus*, (who out of pure fancy has ascrib'd a meaning to him which that ancient Writer has not given the least hint of,) a supreme judge of the sense and intention of St. *Cyprian* ; which will appear yet more and more from the new observations I am going to make upon it; for I avoid, as much as I can, tautology and repetition.

- [Martin] I begin with the Epistle to *Jubaianus* : As *Facundus* has made no mention of the passage of this Epistle which I have quoted, with regard to this he leaves us the field free, to take the quotation which St. *Cyprian* has there made of these words of St. *John*, *These three are one*, according to the sense and views which they can have there. There will be no difficulty in being assur'd, that it is the unity of essence in the Father, the Creator of the World; in the Son, whosc Temple no one can be, if he is not really God; and in the Holy Ghost, whose Temples likewise we are, and who is one with the Father and the Son. Now what have the *Spirit*, the *Water*, and the *Blood*, which St. *John* says are three witnesses in earth, and which are reduc'd to one in this, that they all three bear the same record, in common with these reasonings and these expressions? *Facundus* here fails the *Socinian*, and Reason is against him too.

- [Martin] Let us now bring this passage of the Epistle to *Jubaianus*, and that of the Discourse concerning the Unity of the Church both together. St. *Cyprian* had there the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood of the 8th verse no more in view, than in his Epistle to *Jubaianus* : We see there only the proper and ordinary names of the three divine persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; by what means then will they introduce the *Spirit* under the name of Father; the *Water* under the name of Holy Ghost; and the *Blood* under the name of Son? Reason will never envy an imagination, which thus abuses it. We have lately seen in *Tertullian* the Text of the Gospel, *I and the Father are one*, plac'd in conjunction with these words of St. *John*, *these three are one*; we find in the same manner these two passages join'd together in the quotation of St. *Cyprian*, why then shall not this be here the three one of the 7th verse, as it is in *Tertullian*; or why shall not the *three are one* in *Tertullian* be the *three one* of the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood, if it is so in St. *Cyprian*?

- [Martin] This reasoning is so much the more firm and solid, as St. *Cyprian* does not add these words of the Epistle of St. *John*, but in the same sense as the former, *I and my Father are one* : Now as according to him, and all the Fathers of the Church, these signify an unity of nature betwixt the Father and the Son, the same unity must be express'd in the other passage, which is parallel to the former, *these three are one* ; and consequently they cannot, even in the very meaning of St. *Cyprian*, be understood of the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood, which far from having this unity of nature, are three very different natures. But we tarry too long in answering an illusion, which has not the least appearance of reality, and in defence of which they have not been able to produce one reason, that is taken either from the language of St. *Cyprian*, or the subject of the Treatise in which this passage is read, or from any hypothesis of this holy Bishop which can favour it. Is not this to make an Author say what he has not said, and which cannot even have come into his thoughts? The Text then of the witnesses in heaven was in *Tertullian* and St. *Cyprian*'s time in the *Italick* Version; and we shall see it there again in the succeeding ages.

- D. Martin, The Genuineness of the Text of the First Epistle of Saint John. Chap. V. 7, 1722, p. 24-31.

Appendix: F.A. Knittel (1721-1792) : Invisible Allegory Refuted

- About the year 241, Cyprian wrote his celebrated Treatise *De Unitate Ecclesiae*. In that work, he says: "The Lord says, 'I and the Father are one;' and again it is written of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, 'And these three are one.'" (Latin: *Dicit Dominus, Ego et Pater unum sumus. Et iterum, de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est, Et hi tres unum sunt.*) He must therefore have read the clause in 1 John V.7. in his New Testament.

- "No!" it will be said, "No! He only read in his copy the words *"And these three are one"* (Latin: *Et hi tres unum sunt*); and these he took from the 8th verse: but the subject of this predicate quoted by him - I mean the words,

The Witness of God is Greater

'the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost' - these did not exist in his Bible, but in his imagination. In short, he discovered, mystically, the three Persons of the Godhead, in the three words of the 8th verse, 'spirit, water, and blood.'

- Nothing of the kind, however, appears in the words of Cyprian. Allow me then to ask, How do you know it? "Oh! because he is sometimes apt to allegorize." Granted. But does he *always* allegorize, when he quotes [PAGE 22] passages of Scripture? "Certainly not always." Well, then, I should think it was quite necessary to prove in the present instance, in the passage quoted, that he actually allegorized the 8th verse, and had it in view in this citation. Do we find any traces in his writings to confirm this surmise, or at least render it in some degree probable? Perhaps, when he quotes passages of Scripture in an allegorical sense, he uses the same *formula of citation* which he adopts in the passage before us? No! he does not. Nay, when he uses this formula, the subject as well as the predicate expressly stands in the Text, and he specifies particularly what the subject signifies, taken in an allegorical sense. I shall be more explicit. In his 69th Epistle [Epistle 75], which begins with the words "*With your usual religious diligence, you have consulted my poor intelligence*" (Latin: *Pro tua religiosa diligentia, consuluisti mediocritatem nostram*), he quotes Exodus 12:46 precisely in the same manner as he does in the passage under consideration. These are his words: "**SINCE IT IS WRITTEN** of the sacrament of the passover, and of the lamb, *which Lamb designated Christ*: 'In one house shall it be eaten: you shall not carry forth the flesh abroad out of the house.'" (Latin: **CUM DE** sacramento paschae et agni, *qui agnus Christum designat*, **SCRIPTUM SIT**, In domo una comedetur, non ejicitis de domo carnem foras)

- Here we perceive,

1. He uses the very same formula of quotation which he does in the passage before us, "*of... it is written*" (Latin: *de... scriptum est*)
2. The subject "*the passover and the lamb*" (Latin: *pascha et agnus*), as well as the predicate "In one house shall it be eaten: you shall not carry forth the flesh abroad out of the house" (Latin: *in domo una comedetur, non ejicitis de domo carnem foras*), are found *verbatim* in the Text.
3. What he understands mystically by the "*the passover*" and "*the lamb*" (Latin: *pascha et agnus*), he particularly specifies, viz. "*which Lamb designated Christ*" (Latin: *qui agnus Christum designat*)

[PAGE 23]

- **Therefore, if he had quoted the 8th verse allegorically, he would have said, according to his custom:**

- "And again, OF the spirit, and water, and blood, *which designated the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit*, **AS IT IS WRITTEN**, And these three are one." (Latin: Et iterum, DE spiritu, et aqua, et sanguine, *quae Patrem, Filium, et Spiritu Sanctum designat*, **SCRIPTUM EST**, Et hi tres unum sunt.)

- Would he not?

- In short, *in every passage which he cites as allegorical proof, he first quotes the Text literally, and then states what it signifies mystically*. If an example be wanting, observe how he quotes and explains Canticles 6:8; John 19:23,24; Joshua 11:18; etc. [below]

- Hence, his method and manner of quoting passages according to the mystical sense evidently infer the very contrary of what your opponents assert. The mode of quotation which they ascribe to Cyprian is completely [PAGE 24] the reverse of his usual habit. Now, I should think that Cyprian ought to be explained by Cyprian. Ought he not?

- But perhaps modes of expression occur elsewhere in his writings, in some measure, if not entirely, to support the opinion of our adversaries.

- I answer, No! nor have our adversaries themselves ever asserted there were. In order to give their opinion the fairest play, I have read Cyprian through and through, with the most minute attention; but I have not found anything that could, in the least, lead one to suppose that the Bishop entertained any mystical views respecting 1 John 5:8.

Song of Songs 6

- The Unity of the Church: "Which one Church, also, the Holy Spirit in the Song of Songs designated in the person of our Lord, and says, My dove, my spotless one, is but one. She is the only one of her mother, elect of her that bare her." (Latin: De Unitate Ecclesiae: Unam Ecclesiam etiam in Cantico Canticorum Spiritus Sanctus ex persona Domini designat et dicit: Una est columba mea, perfecta mea, una est matri suae, electa genitrici suae.)

The Witness of God is Greater

- He quotes the same text thus: "But that the Church is one, the Holy Spirit declares in the Song of Songs, saying, in the person of Christ, My dove, my undefiled, is one; she is the only one of her mother, she is the choice one of her that bare her." (**Latin:** Quod autem Ecclesia una sit, declarat in Cantico Canticorum Spiritus Sanctus ex persona Christi, dicens: Una est columba mea, perfecta mea, una est matri suae electa genitrici suae.)

John 19

- The Unity of the Church: "This sacrament of unity, this bond of a concord inseparably cohering, is set forth where in the Gospel the coat of the Lord Jesus Christ is not at all divided nor cut, but is received as an entire garment, and is possessed as an uninjured and undivided robe by those who cast lots concerning Christ's garment, who should rather put on Christ. Holy Scripture speaks, saying, But of the coat, because it was not sewed, but woven from the top throughout, they said one to another, Let us not rend it, but cast lots whose it shall be." (**Latin:** Hoc unitatis sacramentum, hoc vinculum concordiae, inseparabiliter cohaerentis, ostenditur, quando in Evangelio tunica Domini Jesu Christi non dividitur, omnino nec scinditur, sed sortientibus de veste Christi, quis ipsam potius indueret, integra vestis accipitur, et incorrupta atque individua tunica possidetur. Loquitur et dicit Scriptura divini: De tunica autem quia de superiori parte non consutilis, sed per totum textilis fuerat, dixerunt ad invicem: Non scindamus illam, sed sortiamur de ea, cujus sit.)

Joshua 11

- "Which also we see expressed concerning Rahab, who herself also bore a type of the Church, who received the command which said, You shall bring your father, and your mother, and your brethren, and all your father's household unto you into your house; and whosoever shall go out of the doors of your house into the street, his blood shall be upon him. (**Latin:** Epist. LXIX. Quod item circa Rahab, quae ipsa quoque typum portabat Ecclesiae, expressum videmus; cui namdatur et dicitur: Patrem tuum et matrem tuam et fratres tuos et totam domum patris tui colliges ad te ipsam in domum tuam, et omnis qui exierit ostium domus tuae foras, reus erit. [Epist. 75])

• * *"Invisible Allegory" coined by wordsmith: Steven Avery.*

• Knittel, *New Criticisms on the Celebrated Text*, 1 John V. 7. Published at Brunswick in 1785. Translated from the Original German, by William Alleyn Evanson. 1829, p. 21-24.

Appendix: H.T. Armfield (1836-1898) : Invisible Allegory Refuted

• Rev. Henry Thomas Armfield, died Dec. 20th, 1898, aged 62.

• Born in Northampton, Northamptonshire, England ca. 1836 to George Armfield and Frances Watson. Henry Thomas Armfield married Louisa May Randall and had 5 children. He passed away on 20 Dec 1898 in Surrey, England. (www.ancestry.com/genealogy/records/henry-thomas-armfield-24-1359d8)

• Foundation Scholar of Pembroke Coll., Camb. B.A. (37th Wrangler), 1858; M.A, 1862. Deacon, 1859; priest, 1860, by Bp. of Worcester. Second Master of Atherstone Grammar School; Curate of Armley, Leeds; Priest Vicar of Salisbury Cathedral, and Vicar of the Close, 1863–79; Succentor, 1876–79; Vice-Principal of Sarum Theol. Coll., 1869–79; Rector of Colne Engaine, Essex, 1879–95; and Rural Dean of Halstead, 1892-95, when he resigned his living. Elected F.S.A., 1873. [Obit. notice, *Standard*, Dec. 22nd, 1898.]

- The Gradual Psalms, a Treatise on the Fifteen Songs of Degrees, with a Commentary based on ancient Hebrew, Chaldee, and Christian Authorities.
- The Three Witnesses, the Disputed Text in St. John. 1883.
- Tithe Rent Charge Troubles. 1890.
- Incomes of the Clergy. 1892.

The Witness of God is Greater

- The Legend of Christian Art illustrated in the Statues of Salisbury Cathedral. Cr. Svo. Salisbury and London. 1869.
- Guide to the Statues in the West Front of Salisbury Cathedral." Pamphlet. Cr. 8vo. Salisbury and London. 1869.
- The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, Volume 30, 1899, p. 274.

The Three Witnesses The Disputed Text in St. John, 1883

• [Armfield] With regard to the question which Simon raised and which, according to Porson's statement, has continued "ever since his time, whether Cyprian quotes our present seventh verse, or only applies the eighth by a mystical interpretation to the Trinity," the question ought, one would think, to have been set at rest by the arguments with which Mill, in his "long-expected edition of the New Testament" (published in 1707), * brought the result. of thirty years'unwearied reading and thought to the defence of the position in which the controversy had been left by Bishop Fell, under whose auspices Dr. Mill had begun and, for more than ten years, prosecuted his task. Upon the two passages in St. Cyprian, Dr. Mill observes : (1) that the words of St. John could not have been more distinctly and explicitly quoted ; (2) that the testimony of Fulgentius is clear that the passage in the "De Unitate" of St. Cyprian was a reference to this text; (3) that the argument drawn from Facundus was of no weight in the matter. In support of this position he asks how Facundus, living 300 years later than Cyprian, should know Cyprian's mind better than Fulgentius, who lived somewhat nearer to his time.

• [Armfield] Still further, he asks how it could be established that, in the age of St. Cyprian, any one adopted that mystical sense of the eighth verse. For, he observes, as that explanation does not occur anywhere among the Greeks, who did not read the seventh verse, so no one of the Latins, he believes, for more than 100 years after St. Cyprian mentions this interpretation. It seems, as he goes on to say, to have been first introduced by St. Augustine (Contra Maxim., iii. c. 22); and, according to the testimony of St. Eucherius, it was adopted by many. For not reading the seventh verse in their MSS., and at the same time learning from Tertullian, Cyprian, and others, perhaps, whose writings have perished, that the words "hi tres unum sunt" were said in Holy Scripture of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, they immediately concluded that it was this eighth verse to which those Fathers referred (the words not occurring elsewhere); and therefore that by the water, the spirit, and the blood, were mystically signified the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. What wonder, then, if Facundus, having in his hands a copy wanting this verse, unhesitatingly affirmed (according to the opinion of others, doubtless, as well as his own) that the testimony of St. John in the eighth verse of this chapter was said by St. Cyprian to refer to the three Divine Persons.

• [Armfield] Dr. Mill then goes on to express the judgment which he had formed, after a careful consideration of the matter—viz., that the allegorical interpretation in question was so uncertain and precarious—the writers who employ it not being even agreed among themselves ; some by " the water" understanding the Father, and by "the spirit," the Holy Ghost, others, on the contrary, by "the spirit," the Father, and by " the water," the Holy Ghost—and not only that, but withal so futile and trifling, so strained, and unnatural; such indeed as, except it had arisen out of circumstances such as those supposed in this case, we should scarcely have found in Augustine or any the Latins - that it does not seem in any way to be attributable to St. Cyprian. On the contrary, when one finds a writer of remarkably chaste imagination, who is very little given to indulge in lax and mystical interpretations, and who in his citations scrupulously adheres to the letter of Scripture, so expressly saying, that of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, it is written "hi tres unum sunt," one cannot but come to the conclusion that he referred to the seventh verse.

• [Armfield] Dr. Mill then proceeds to give his explanation of the case. He observes that, as the African church, the offspring of the Roman, had received from the earliest days of Christianity the sacred books of the Italic version, that is, at least, the Gospels and St. Paul's Epistles, so it is most certain that the Catholic Epistles also, of which the copies were more scarce, inasmuch as they were for the most part of less authority in the Church than those which had been written to particular churches, had come into the hands of the teachers of that Church. These copies, shortly after the planting of the faith in Africa, were used by Tertullian and Cyprian ;

The Witness of God is Greater

and out of the Greek MSS. which they had in their hands they supplied the verse in St. John which (according to Dr. Mill's suspicion) was from the beginning wanting in the Latin copies. His judgment, in conclusion, as to the value of the quotations of the verse by these writers shall be given in his own words: "For my part this is what I think about the whole matter : It is amply sufficient proof of the authenticity of the Comma that it is cited by Tertullian and Cyprian; it would still be if we could not even make a guess as to how they had come to read in John something that none of the Greeks had ever seen—indeed, even if it had been found in no manuscript whatsoever from that time to this very day." (Latin: Ego equidem de tota hâc re ita censeo : Sufficere abunde in αὐθεντίαν commatis, quod à Tertulliano et Cypriano citetur, licet nullo modo, ne per conjecturam, assequi possemus, unde factum ut apud Joannem legerint ipsi quod nemo quisquam Græcorum viderit ; imo licet in nullis omnino ab illo tempore in hunc usque diem exemplaribus comparuerit.) This passage may serve to throw some light upon the mystery which so much perplexed Mr. Porson, how "Mill, after fairly summing up the evidence on both sides, just as we should expect him to declare the verse spurious, is unaccountably," he says, "transformed into a defender."

- [Armfield] While Mill was engaged in this work, Dr. Grabe was publishing his edition of the "Defensio," and other Latin works of Bishop Bull, which came out with Grabe's annotations in 1703. In his note on the passage in which Bull had referred to the testimony of St. Cyprian, Grabe meets the objection drawn from Facundus by the counter-evidence of Fulgentius, whom he describes as a writer somewhat earlier, and not less learned; noticing at the same time his greater accuracy in the reference to Cyprian, and arguing that Cyprian, in the opinion of Fulgentius, certainly referred to the seventh verse, and that Fulgentius most clearly proved that he read that verse in the African copies. He then goes on to argue from internal evidence in behalf of the authenticity of the verse; answering the objection arising from the state of the MSS., and the absence of the verse from so great a number of them.
- [Armfield] While thus the authenticity of the verse was defended in this country, abroad Simon found antagonists in Ittigius, Martianay, Maius, and Kettner; but into the controversy, as carried on there, it is unnecessary for us to enter.
- [Armfield] In 1715 the controversy was revived in England by the publication of "A Full Inquiry into the Original Authority of that Text, 1 John v. 7; containing an account of Dr. Mill's Evidences from antiquity for and against its being genuine. With an Examination of his judgment thereupon. Humbly addressed to both Houses of Convocation." The writer, Emlyn, was a Presbyterian minister of Dublin, and was engaged in the controversy, it appears, by Clarke and Whiston, who did not themselves choose to appear openly. Emlyn wrote anonymously at first, but in 1719 published his name.
- [Armfield] In his account of "the evidence offered in support of the text" (Chapter II.), he mentions the Latin Fathers whom Mill had produced, "and which are indeed," he says, "his main strength and confidence." From Cyprian, "on whose authority," he says, "the cause has chiefly rested hitherto" (" Full Inquiry," p. 164), he quotes the words, "It is written of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, These three are one, &c." ...And near 300 years "after, he says, "comes Fulgentius, a bishop of Africa, and says that Cyprian in the former words had respect to St. John's testimony" (p. 129). Upon this statement we may remark the omission of the former part of Cyprian's sentence, which contributes so essentially to the proof that he is directly quoting Scripture: "Dicit Dominus, Ego et Pater unum sumus. Et iterum scriptum est, et tres unum sunt." Fulgentius, moreover, flourished not much more than 250 years after St. Cyprian, not "near 300. "
- [Armfield] In his proof of "the insufficiency of the arguments brought in support of the text" (Chapter III.), Emlyn repeats Simon's argument of the "mystical interpretation," and his reference to Facundus; and then asks, in answer to Mill, why St. Cyprian might not begin this mystical interpretation as well as St. Augustine. He endeavours to set aside the argument from Fulgentius by the assertion that, "Facundus is as good an evidence as he, and more particular;" and further that, "even this does not contradict Facundus. For Fulgentius and he both say the same thing, viz., that Cyprian confessed St. John's testimony [...] only Facundus tells us that he

The Witness of God is Greater

took this testimony from the eighth verse, which he so interpreted, and Fulgentius does not say it was otherwise; and therefore there is no reason to oppose him to Facundus..."

• [Armfield] In further proof of this position, he argues : (1) That "Fulgentius speaks of it as a remarkable *concession* in St. Cyprian : "Quod etiam Beatus Cyprianus *confitetur*." "Confesses what?" he asks. "Not that St. John had those words" (in the seventh verse), but the mystical interpretation of the eighth. This indeed, he says, "was somewhat far-fetched, and not so clear a point, but St. Cyprian's *confessing* it might give it some credit; but it could give none to an undoubted text of St. John to say Cyprian acknowledged it to be true." (2) He tells us, "Cyprian's words are not the exact words pretended to be found in St. John; for Cyprian says, "Father, Son (not the Word), and Spirit.' [...] And therefore, if our printed text be right, Cyprian had no *such* copy, or else he did not keep *strictly* to it; and if he did not cite the words *exactly*, only the *sense* of them as an interpreter; then, in such a loose way of speaking, it might well be, as Facundus says it was—viz., his sense of the eighth verse. [...] Besides, Cyprian does not say that the words Father, Son, and Spirit were written; all that Cyprian says was written is, 'Hi tres unum sunt;' that this was said of Father, Son, and Spirit, is only Cyprian's interpretation. Let the interpretation be never so forced, that is nothing : so it was; and there are enough as strange interpretations of texts in the Fathers, and in St. Cyprian himself [...] (see Dr. Whitby's 'Dissertation'). Nor was it unusual with Cyprian to cite Scripture more by *his sense* of it than by the strict *letter of the text*. Thus, instead of 'Lead us not into temptation,' he cites it, 'Suffer us not to be led,' &c. Again, he cites Revelation xix. 10, 'Worship thou the Lord Jesus,' instead of 'Worship thou God.' Will any say upon this that he found a particular copy which had *these* readings? No, surely; but rather that it was Cyprian's exposition of the true reading in *all* the copies. Even so," says Emllyn, "I doubt not, his words, the Father,' &c., was *his* sense of the 8th verse of St. John's fifth chapter." " I shall conclude ti this," he adds, "with Mr. Du Pin's judgment upon the case: 'Tis not, then,' says he, 'absolutely certain that Cyprian hath quoted the seventh verse,' [...] and Father Simon's, who says, "'tis out of doubt that he hath not.' Though 'tis probable this mistake of Cyprian's words led some following African writers into the opinion that St. John had said them expressly."

• [Armfield] The argument as to the "mystical interpretation," and that drawn from the reference in Facundus had already been met by Mill. The question why St. Cyprian might not begin this mystical interpretation, as well as St. Augustine, Mill had already answered, by suggesting that it was this very passage of St. Cyprian which gave rise to that interpretation. He had also shown that Facundus is *not* as good an evidence as Fulgentius : and that he is "more particular" is simply untrue. As to Fulgentius not opposing Facundus, let us see how the argument stands. Fulgentius, it would seem, wished to recommend a mystical interpretation of the eighth verse, which was somewhat far-fetched; but St. Cyprian's confessing it might give it some credit. He, therefore, observes that St. Cyprian *confesses* the mystical interpretation of the eighth verse. On this hypothesis we should have expected to find in Fulgentius what we find in Facundus ; the eighth verse quoted and explained mystically, and then this interpretation supported by St. Cyprian's authority in some such way as Facundus appeals to it: "Quod Joannis Apostoli testimonium Beatus Cyprianus [...] de Patre, Filio, et Spiritu Sancto intelligit."

• [Armfield] But, instead of this, we find Fulgentius distinctly quoting the seventh verse, and adding - "quod etiam beatissimus Martyr Cyprianus confitetur, dicens," etc. Confesses what? we may well ask in our turn :— the truth (so we are to believe) of a certain mystical interpretation which he has not given or alluded to, of a verse which he has not quoted! Besides, what need had he of this far-fetched interpretation, which was to be supported by the aid of a "confession" of St. Cyprian? He had, or supposed he had, the express words of St. John, which he had just quoted, and which more fully answered his end. St. Cyprian's confession, of which Fulgentius speaks, was clearly neither "that St. John had those words" in the seventh verse, nor that the supposed mystical interpretation of the eighth verse was true. His "confession" was of the great doctrine which Fulgentius was employed in defending.

• [Armfield] The argument stands thus : "In the Father, therefore, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, we acknowledge (*accipimus*) a unity of substance; we dare not confound the persons. For the blessed John the

The Witness of God is Greater

Apostle testifieth, 'There are *three* that bear witness, &c., and these *three* are *one*. Which *also* (quod *etiam*) the most blessed Martyr Cyprian in his Epistle of the Unity of the Church confesseth (confitetur) saying, 'Whoso breaketh the peace of Christ, and concord, acteth against Christ : whoso gathereth elsewhere beside the Church, scattereth.' And that he might show that the Church of the ONE God is *one* (ut unam ecclesiam *unius Dei* esse monstraret), he immediately inserted these testimonies from the Scriptures : 'The Lord said, I and the Father are *One*.' And again of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost it is written, 'And these three are One.' We, therefore, do not worship *one* God [consisting] of a threefold division ; but, retaining the rule of apostolic faith, we confess (*fatemur*) that the perfect co-eternal Son is begotten, without beginning, of the perfect and eternal Father, [...] and we also confess (*fatemur*) that the Holy Spirit is none other than God, neither different from the Father and the Son, nor confounded in the Son or in the Father." This it was—this doctrine—which was the subject of Cyprian's *Confession*.

- [Armfield] As to Emlyn's second argument, that Cyprian does not quote the text in St. John exactly, it may be remarked that he *does* quote exactly all that he professes to quote. He does not say, "Tres sunt," &c., writing "Filius" instead of "Verbum." He quotes only the words, "Et tres unum sunt," saying of them in his own words : "de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est." Reasons, in fact, have been assigned why he should so cite them ; but it is enough for our present purpose to remark, that he does keep strictly in his quotation to the words of the Apostle as we now read them. But even if he had not, it were absurd to argue that *therefore* he cited only the sense of them as an interpreter; and that then, in such a loose way of speaking, it might well be, as Facundus says it was, his sense of the *eighth* verse that he was giving. Such an argument requires some evidence, or at least some probability to be brought forward in proof of the several distinct degrees of license which are involved in such an interpretation as that which is thus attributed to St. Cyprian.

- [Armfield] But, next, St. Cyprian is charged generally with being equally careless in the quotation, and lax in the interpretation of Scripture. Both these assertions Mill had expressly contradicted. With regard to the latter point, we are referred to Dr. Whitby for proof, that "there are enough as strange interpretations of texts in the Fathers and in St. Cyprian himself." But no instances are cited; and in Whitby very few passages at all will be found quoted from St. Cyprian; certainly none in any way parallel to the case in hand. With regard to Cyprian's supposed manner of citing his own expositions of Scripture, instead of the strict letter of the text, Dr. Grabe had already endeavoured to show, in reference to this very question (in his notes on the passage in Bull), that St. Cyprian probably had a copy before him, in which he found his peculiar readings. Dr. Grabe had even defended these readings, as supplying what, in his opinion, was probably the genuine text of Scripture.

- [Armfield] Emlyn's "Full Inquiry" involved him immediately in close controversy with David Martin, pastor of the French congregation at Utrecht. Martin published, in 1717, "A Critical Dissertation on 1 John v. 7, wherein the authenticity of this text is fully proved, against the objections of M. Simon and the modern Arians." (This was translated into English in 1719.) It called forth, in 1718, an immediate "Answer" from Emlyn; and "An Examination" of Emlyn's "Answer" by Martin, republished also in English, in 1719. To this Emlyn made a "Reply," in 1720; and, finally, Martin published, in 1721 (republished in English in the following year), "The Genuineness of 1 John v. 7, demonstrated." Of the result of this controversy, Porson observes that "Emlyn, it must be owned, left Martin in possession of the field;".

- Armfield, *The Three Witnesses The Disputed Text in St. John*, 1883, p. 90-111.

Augustine : Contra Maximinum : Verse 8

- The Debate with Maximinus is a stenographic record of an encounter between Augustine, the Catholic Bishop of Hippo, and Maximinus, an Arian Bishop. Maximinus had been sent to Hippo in 427 by Sigiswulf, a Goth who led a Roman army to Africa in order to suppress a rebellion. Maximinus was an intelligent and well spoken Arian, and the record of this debate presents one of the fullest extent articulations of Homoian Arianism. This form of Arianism was originally brought to the Goths by Ulfila and ratified at the Council of Ariminum. Like Arianism in general, Homoian Arianism asserted that the Son was created by the Father and that the Holy Spirit was created by the Son; therefore, the Son is inferior to the

The Witness of God is Greater

Father, and the Holy Spirit is inferior to the Son. On account of this inferiority, the Son is of a substance similar to that of the Father (homoiousios) instead of being of the same substance as the Father (homoousios) which was the orthodox position. The text itself presents the public debate between the 73 year old Augustine and Maximinus, who was probably 10 years younger. Both were skilled rhetoricians and well versed in the Scriptures. The two began by responding to each other briefly, but, as the debate proceeded, their responses grew considerably until Maximinus began a lengthy discourse which encompassed half of the entire debate. Augustine then complained that no time remained for him to respond. He promised at the end to write and publish a full response, which he did shortly afterwards called, Answer to Maximinus the Arian. Maximinus seems to have won the debate, at least in the eyes of the crowd, based on the fact that Augustine felt the need to write an extended response. Arianism, then, remained a pressing issue for the elderly bishop of Hippo who was concerned about his congregation falling into Arianism. (RJN, Abstract of "Debate with Maximinus' in Arianism and Other Heresies by R. Teske (1995)", 2009, Online Medieval Sources Bibliography. <medievalsourcesbibliography.org/sources.php?id=2146116820>)

Note: Types of Interpretation for Augustine

- **Literal:** *what the actual things are* ...three things to have issued from the body of the Lord when he hung upon the tree
- **Allegory:** *what they denote as signs* ... spirit = Father (John 4:24); blood = Son (John 1:14); water = Holy Spirit (John 7:39)

Contra Maximinum, Lib. II. C. 22 §3

- **1 John 5:7-8. Tres sunt testes; spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis; et tres unum sunt.**
- **[Augustine]** I would not have thee mistake that place in the epistle of John the apostle where he saith, "There are three witnesses: the Spirit, and the water, and the blood: and the three are one." Lest haply thou say that the Spirit and the water and the blood are diverse substances, and yet it is said, "the three are one:" for this cause I have admonished thee, that thou mistake not the matter. For these are mystical expressions, in which the point always to be considered is, not what the actual things are, but what they denote as signs: since they are signs of things, and what they are in their essence is one thing, what they are in their signification another.
- **[Augustine]** If then we understand the things signified, we do find these things to be of one substance. Thus, if we should say, the rock and the water are one, meaning by the Rock, Christ; by the water, the Holy Ghost: who doubts that rock and water are two different substances? yet because Christ and the Holy Spirit are of one and the same nature, therefore when one says, the rock and the water are one, this can be rightly taken in this behalf, that these two things of which the nature is diverse, are signs of other things of which the nature is one.
- **[Augustine]** Three things then we know to have issued from the Body of the Lord when He hung upon the tree: first, the spirit: of which it is written, "And He bowed the head and gave up the spirit:" (John 19:30) then, as His side was pierced by the spear, "blood and water." (cf. John 19:34) Which three things if we look at as they are in themselves, they are in substance several and distinct, and therefore they are not one.
- **[Augustine]** But if we will inquire into the things signified by these, there not unreasonably comes into our thoughts the Trinity itself, which is the One, Only, True, Supreme God, Father and Son and Holy Ghost, of whom it could most truly be said, "There are Three Witnesses, and the Three are One:" so that by the term Spirit we should understand God the Father to be signified; as indeed it was concerning the worshipping of Him that the Lord was speaking, when He said, "God is a Spirit:" (John 4:24) by the term, blood, the Son; because "the Word was made flesh:" (John 1:14) and by the term water, the Holy Ghost; as, when Jesus spake of the water which He would give to them that thirst, the evangelist saith, "But this said He of the Spirit which they that believed on Him were to receive." (John 7:39)
- **[Augustine]** Moreover, that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are "Witnesses," who that believes the Gospel can doubt, when the Son saith, "I am one that bear witness of myself, and the Father that sent me, He beareth witness of me." (John 8:18) Where, though the Holy Ghost is not mentioned, yet He is not to be thought separated from them. Howbeit neither concerning the Spirit hath He kept silence elsewhere, and that He too is a witness hath been sufficiently and openly shown. For in promising Him He said, "He shall bear witness of me." (John 15:26) These are the "Three Witnesses," and the "Three are One," because of one substance.
- **[Augustine]** But whereas, the signs by which they were signified came forth from the Body of the Lord, herein they figured the Church preaching the Trinity, that it hath one and the same nature: since these Three in threefold manner signified are One, and the Church that preacheth them is the Body of Christ. In this manner then the three things by which they are signified came out from the Body: of the Lord: like as from the Body of the Lord sounded

The Witness of God is Greater

forth the command to "baptize the nations in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." (Matt 28:19) "In the name:" not, "In the names:" for "these Three are One," and One God is these Three.

- **[Augustine]** And if in any other way this depth of mystery which we read in John's epistle can be expounded and understood agreeably with the Catholic faith, which neither confounds nor divides the Trinity, neither believes the substances diverse nor denies that the persons are three, it is on no account to be rejected. For whenever in Holy Scriptures in order to exercise the minds of the faithful any thing is put darkly, it is to be joyfully welcomed if it can be in many ways but not unwisely expounded.
- Augustine, *Contra Maximinum*, Lib. II. C. 22 §3.; Translated by W. Smith, vol 11, 1883, p. 1231-1233; Migne Latina, PL 42.794

Comment:

• [Burgess] For with Augustine's sense of "unum" in the eighth verse, which he limited to "one in substance", he could not interpret the eighth verse otherwise than he did, even if the seventh verse had been before him. [PAGE 33] For he understood πνεῦμα, ὕδωρ, and αἷμα, of the eighth verse to mean, literally, Christ's "expiration" on the cross, and the "water" and "blood" which issued from his side. These he knew were things not of "one substance", and therefore, to be consistent with his own interpretation of "unum", he was compelled to resort to allegory, and to interpret the three terms before mentioned of the three Persons of the Trinity. It was not therefore to "extract the doctrine" of the Trinity from the eighth verse, that he had recourse to his "forced, indirect, and unnatural interpretation", as Mr. Porson allows it to be, (for Augustine leaves it to his readers to choose any other sense, not inconsistent with the doctrine of the Trinity, that is, with the doctrine of the preceding verse,) but it was the unavoidable consequence of his limited sense of the word "unum", and his not observing that [PAGE 34] the original text was not simply "ἐν", but "εἰς ἐν" or "εἰς το ἐν". (Burgess, A letter to the clergy of the diocese of St. David's on a passage of the second Symbolum Antiochenum of the fourth century as an evidence of the authenticity of 1 John v. 7, 1825, p. 32-34)

• [P. Cullen] According to the mystic interpretation by St. Augustine, we're supposed to signify the three Divine Persons. But we reply, **1)** this interpretation was quite unheard of before St. Augustine's time; **2) St. Augustine had recourse to this mystic signification solely to support his too Wide assertion, that in Scripture the word "unum" was not applied to more things than one, unless they were consubstantial.** Nor did he advance this mystic interpretation as certain, or necessary, but merely by way of conjecture to meet objections brought against hermeneutical canon. Hence he would never have adduced his the eighth verse as a clear proof of unity and trinity. And this interpretation, unknown before Augustine's time, was not adopted after his day by any save a few influenced by his authority, and in itself is too far fetched and improbable. (Cullen, "The Authenticity of the Text of the Three Heavenly Witnesses" in *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol 4, 1868, p. 196-197)

Cyprian Cited at Council of Quierzy 838 AD

• [Hergenrother] Amalarius was a deacon and priest in Metz, and died in 837, as abbot of Hornbach in the same diocese. It is not known when or where he was born. During the deposition of Agobard (833–837), Amalarius was head of the church at Lyons. He was one of the ecclesiastics who enjoyed the friendship of Louis the Pious, and took part in the predestination controversy, but his work against Gottschalk, undertaken at Hincmar's request, is lost. He was prominent in councils. Thus he made the patristic compilation from the Fathers (particularly from Isidore of Seville) and councils upon the canonical life, which was presented at the Diet at Aix-la-Chapelle in 817, and partly that upon image-worship in the theological congress of Paris, presented Dec. 6, 825. In 834, as representative of Agobard, he held a council at Lyons and discoursed to the members for three days upon the ecclesiastical offices, as explained in his work mentioned below. The majority approved, but Florus of Lyons did not, and sent two letters to the council at Diedenhofen, calling attention to Amalarius insistence upon the use of the Roman order and his dangerous teaching: that there was a threefold body of Christ, (1) the body which he had assumed, (2) the body which he has in us so long as we live, (3) the body which is in the dead. Hence the host must be divided into three parts, one of which is put in the cup, one on the paten and one on the altar, corresponding to these three forms respectively. Farther he was charged with teaching that the bread of the Eucharist stood for the body, the wine for the soul of Christ, the chalice for his sepulchre, the celebrant for Joseph of Arimathea, the archdeacon for Nicodemus, the deacons for the apostles, the sub-deacons for the women at the sepulchre. But the council had business in hand of too pressing a character to admit of their investigating these charges. Not discouraged, Florus sent a

The Witness of God is Greater

similar letter to the council of Quiercy (838), and by this council the work of Amalarius was censured. (§ 163. Amalarius. <www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/hcc4.i.xiv.xxii.html>)

- [Mazza] Amalarius' doctrine on the Body of Christ as *corpus triforme* is a very complex one, if for no other reason than that he formulates it in different ways. Properly speaking, it is not a doctrine, but simply a comment on the rite of the fraction [breaking the bread into three pieces during the mass], which occurs before the *immixtio* and Communion. The eucharistic bread is broken into three parts: One is placed in the cup, one is placed on the paten and served for Communion, and one is left on the altar as *viaticum*, or Communion for the dying. According to the method of interpretation followed by Amalarius, every action must be related to some element of the passion and have a mystical meaning: The division of the host into three parts means a tripartite division of the Body of Christ, since the host is the Body of Christ. Amalarius says that: "the first is the holy and spotless body taken from the Virgin Mary, the second is that which walked on the earth, and the third is that which lies in the tomb. The particle placed in the cup shows (*ostenditur*) the body of Christ already risen from the dead; the part eaten by the priest or the people (shows the body) that still walks on the earth; the part left on the altar (shows the body) that lies in the tomb." (*Liber officialis* 3.35)

- [Mazza] In his *Eclogae* Amalarius says that the fraction recalls the breaking of the bread by Jesus at his meal with the disciples at Emmaus, and he adds that the three parts of the host recall three participants in that meal: Jesus, Cleopas, and Luke. He goes on to ask why the entire host is not placed in the cup, since it is the entire body of Jesus that rose from the dead; he gives the following answer: "(The body of Christ) in part will rise [he is referring to the dead]; in part it is already living and will not die again [he is referring to the body of Christ that rose and is living in heaven]; in part it is mortal and yet is already in heaven [he is referring to the Church], since the Apostle says: 'Our life (conversatio) is in heaven'". (*Eclogae de Ordine romano* 36) (Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist: The Origin of the Rite and the Development of Its Interpretation*, 1999, p. 169-170)

- [Pezé] The Council of Quierzy of September 838, the outcome of the Amalar conflict, still places Florus in the front row. On this point, despite some developments which this article will propose a review of, historiography has unanimously adhered to the following scenario for about a century. In the summer of 838, before the Quierzy assembly scheduled for the very beginning of September, Florus was about to deliver the decisive blow to Amalaire. He first sent a letter of complaint to Drogon de Metz, Hetti de Trèves, Aldric du Mans, Raban Maur and Alberic de Langres (henceforth "Letter to Drogon"). Then, at the council held in parallel with the assembly of Quierzy, which Louis the Pious seized of this affair, he pronounced an indictment against Amalaire, which the bishops, literally overturned by his eloquence, soon condemned. Finally, he wrote an account of the council for the clerics of Lyon. (Pezé, Florus, Agobard et le concile de Quierzy de 838, 2019, p. 1)

- [Chazelle] The claim [of Amalarius] that the eucharistic bread represents the "triform" nature of Christ's body (an element of Amalarius' exegesis denounced by his opponents who interpreted him to mean that Jesus had three bodies) was probably intended to reinforce this notion of ecclesiastical unity and joining to Christ. (Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion*, 2001, p. 159)

- [Rose] In 838, Florus completed his *Opuscula adversus Amalarium*, in addition to his mass commentary (*Expositio Missae*), which he composed as an alternative to Amalarius' allegorical exegesis of mass. The *Opuscula* is a vehement protest against Amalarius' eucharistic doctrine. Florus campaigned, for example, against Amalarius' idea that Christ's body in the eucharist was of tripartite structure, against his "obscene" interest in the physical digestion of the host after consumption, and against allegorical readings of biblical passages that were, in Florus' view, understandable without allegorical interpretation. In his plea, Florus inserts a great variety of scriptural passages as well as writings of authoritative authors - the truthful sources on which a theological argument ought to be built, as Florus seems to be saying. (Rose, *Ritual memory: the apocryphal Acts and liturgical commemoration in the early medieval West*, 2009, p. 75)

The Witness of God is Greater

- [Hobson] Embattled during his own lifetime both politically and theologically, Amalarius was tried as a heretic toward the end of his life. [Hanssens, AEOLO, I: 77-79.] Indeed, a contemporary Lyon glossator accuses the first three books of the *Liber officialis* of being “*insanae mentis locutio*” [the speech of an insane mind], “*stultissimum mendacium*” [a very stupid lie], and “*mira uanitas et execrabilis dementia*” [remarkable foolishness and execrable derangement]. Amalarius has nevertheless been widely credited with bringing the allegorical interpretation of liturgy to the early medieval mainstream. (Hobson, Exegetical Theory and Textual Communities in Late Anglo-Saxon England, 2017, p. 49)
- [MGH] In the year 835 or about six years after he had been expelled from his seat, Agobard, archbishop of Lyons and a follower of the seditious brothers Agobardus and his follower of the diocese of Metz, was entrusted with the care of the church of Lyons to Amalarius of Metz. The province also attempted to execute it, although it had almost no helpers, all the clergy longing for the return of Agobard: among them the chief opponent of Amalarius was Florus the deacon of Lyons, who not only did the book entitled “The canonical importation of Pope Martin's office graph[?] into Amalarius (ed. ...),” he declaimed against him, but it seems that he had also exhorted Agobard to be an exile, so that he might approach Emperor Louis concerning his restoration and the deposition of Amalarius. This matter was to be handled by the synod of Louis, which was assembled at the Carisan Palace in the year 838 in September, together with the general assembly. (57. Council of Quierzy, September 838. MGH Conc. II.2, 57. B. Flori Diaconi Oratio in Concilio Carisiacensi Habita. 838. Sept., page 779. <www.dmgh.de/mgh_conc_2_2/index.htm#page/770/mode/1up>)
- [S. VDP] The text is a speech Florus gave [MGH Conc. 2,2 57, p. 768-778], at a Council, against Amalarius of Metz, then bishop of Lyon, and his writings. Florus specifically takes issue with Amalarius's interpretation of the “heavenly bread”, the body of Christ, as consisting of three parts: Christ, the living faithful, and the dead; Christ being present in the chalice of the Eucharist, the living faithful on the paten, and the dead in a third element of the ritual, which Florus doesn't specify. The whole speech basically stresses the unity of Christ's body and Church by means of various quotes. **Florus cites the passage where Cyprian quotes the Johannine Comma because Cyprian speaks of the unity of the Church there.** (Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, September 2021)
- [De Lubac] **Florus calls to witness, in favour of his principal assertion, the words of St. Cyprian in his *De Ecclesiae unitate*: “the mystery of Christ, that is, of his body, ought not to be divided”;** then he calls upon his usual mentor St. Augustine to establish to the same end that “the entire universal Church is but one single sacrifice to God and one single body of Christ”. (De Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum: The Eucharist and the Church in the Middle Ages*, 1990, p. 25)
- [Florus] The mystery of Christ's clothing, that is of his body, ought not to be torn from the book of St. Cyprian concerning the unity of the church: **[Cyprian] “The Lord says, I and the Father are one; (John 10:30) and again it is written of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, And these three are one.** (1 John 5:7) And does anyone believe that this unity which thus comes from the divine strength and coheres in celestial sacraments, can be divided in the Church, and can be separated by the parting asunder of opposing wills? He who does not hold this unity does not hold God's law, does not hold the faith of the Father and the Son, does not hold life and salvation. 7. This sacrament of unity, this bond of a concord inseparably cohering, is set forth where in the Gospel the coat of the Lord Jesus Christ is not at all divided nor cut, but is received as an entire garment, and is possessed as an uninjured and undivided robe by those who cast lots concerning Christ's garment, who should rather put on Christ. Holy Scripture speaks, saying, But of the coat, because it was not sewed, but woven from the top throughout, they said one to another, Let us not rend it, but cast lots whose it shall be. John 19:23-24 That coat bore with it an unity that came down from the top, that is, that came from heaven and the Father, which was not to be at all rent by the receiver and the possessor, but without separation we obtain a whole and substantial entirety. He cannot possess the

The Witness of God is Greater

garment of Christ who parts and divides the Church of Christ. On the other hand, again, when at Solomon's death his kingdom and people were divided, Abijah the prophet, meeting Jeroboam the king in the field, divided his garment into twelve sections, saying, Take you ten pieces; for thus says the Lord, Behold, I will rend the kingdom out of the hand of Solomon, and I will give ten sceptres unto you; and two sceptres shall be unto him for my servant David's sake, and for Jerusalem, the city which I have chosen to place my name there. 1 Kings 11:31 As the twelve tribes of Israel were divided, the prophet Abijah rent his garment. But because Christ's people cannot be rent, His robe, woven and united throughout, is not divided by those who possess it; undivided, united, connected, it shows the coherent concord of our people who put on Christ. By the sacrament and sign of His garment, He has declared the unity of the Church. 8. Who, then, is so wicked and faithless, who is so insane with the madness of discord, that either he should believe that the unity of God can be divided, or should dare to rend it — the garment of the Lord — the Church of Christ?" [Cyprian, On the Unity of the Church, 6-8] (<www.newadvent.org/fathers/050701.htm>)

- [Florus] Nothing in the mystery of the sacrifice except that which Christ delivered must be reinstated from the book of the same on the mystery of the chalice: "[Cyprian] 14. There is then no reason, dearest brother, for anyone to think that the custom of certain persons is to be followed, who have thought in your past that water alone should be offered in the cup of the Lord. For we must inquire whom they themselves have followed. For if in the sacrifice which Christ offered none is to be followed but Christ, assuredly it behooves us to obey and do that which Christ did, and what He commanded to be done, since He Himself says in the Gospel, If you do whatsoever I command you, henceforth I call you not servants, but friends. John 15:14-15 And that Christ alone ought to be heard, the Father also testifies from heaven, saying, This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear Him. Matthew 17:5 Wherefore, if Christ alone must be heard, we ought not to give heed to what another before us may have I thought was to be done, but what Christ, who is before all, first did. Neither is it becoming to follow the practice of man, but the truth of God; since God speaks by Isaiah the prophet, and says, In vain do they worship me, teaching the commandments and doctrines of men. Isaiah 29:13 And again the Lord in the Gospel repeals this same saying, and says, You reject the commandment of God, that you may keep your own tradition. Mark 7:13 Moreover, in another place He establishes it, saying, Whosoever shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven. Matthew 5:19 But if we may not break even the least of the Lord's commandments, how much rather is it forbidden to infringe such important ones, so great, so pertaining to the very sacrament of our Lord's passion and our own redemption, or to change it by human tradition into anything else than what was divinely appointed! For if Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, is Himself the chief priest of God the Father, and has first offered Himself a sacrifice to the Father, and has commanded this to be done in commemoration of Himself, certainly that priest truly discharges the office of Christ, who imitates that which Christ did; and he then offers a true and full sacrifice in the Church to God the Father, when he proceeds to offer it according to what he sees Christ Himself to have offered." [Cyprian, Epistle 62.14] (<www.newadvent.org/fathers/050662.htm>)
 - **Latin:** *Mysterium vestis Christi, id est corporis eius, scindi non oportere ex libro sancti Cypriani de ecclesiae unitate: [Cyprian] "Monet Dominus et dicit: Qui non est mecum, adversus me est; et qui non mecum colligit, spargit (Matth. XII, 30) . Qui pacem Christi et concordiam rumpit, adversus Christum facit. Qui alibi praeter Ecclesiam colligit Christi Ecclesiam spargit. (0504A) Dicit Dominus: Ego et Pater unum sumus (Ioan. X, 30) . Et iterum de Patre et Filio et Spiritu 196 sancto scriptum est: Et hi tres unum sunt (I Ioan. V, 7) . Et quisquam credit hanc unitatem de divina firmitate venientem, sacramentis coelestibus cohaerentem, scindi in Ecclesia posse et voluntatum collidentium divortio separari? Hanc unitatem qui non tenet, Dei legem non tenet, non tenet Patris et Filii fidem, vitam non tenet et salutem. VII. Hoc unitatis sacramentum, hoc vinculum concordiae inseparabiliter cohaerentis ostenditur quando in Evangelio tunica Domini Iesu Christi non dividitur omnino nec scinditur, sed sortientibus de veste Christi quis Christum indueret, integra vestis accipitur, et incorrupta atque indivisa tunica possidetur. (0505A) Loquitur ac dicit Scriptura divina: De tunica autem, quia de superiore parte non consutillis, sed per totum textilis fuerat, dixerunt ad invicem: Non*

The Witness of God is Greater

scindamus illam, sed sortiamur de ea cuius sit (Ioan. XIX, 23, 24) . Unitatem illa portabat de superiore parte venientem, id est de coelo et a Patre venientem, quae ab accipiente ac possidente scindi omnino non poterat, sed totam simul et solidam firmitatem inseparabiliter obtinebat. Possidere non potest indumentum Christi qui scindit et dividit Ecclesiam Christi. (0505B) Contra denique cum, Salomone moriente, regnum eius et populus scinderetur, [PAGE 775] Achias propheta Ieroboam regi obuius factus in campo, in duodecim scissuras vestimentum suum discidit dicens: Sume tibi decem scissuras, quia haec dicit Dominus: Ecce scindo regnum de manu Salomonis, et dabo tibi decem scepra, et duo scepra erunt ei propter servum meum David et propter Hierusalem civitatem quam elegi ut ponam nomen meum illic (III Reg. XI, 31, 32, 36) . Cum duodecim tribus Israel scinderetur, vestimentum suum propheta Achias discidit. At vero, quia Christi populus non potest scindi, tunica eius per totum textilis et cohaerens divisa a possidentibus non est. Individua, copulata, connexa ostendit populi nostri, qui Christum induimus, concordiam cohaerentem. Sacramento vestis et signo declaravit Ecclesiae unitatem. VIII. Quis ergo sic est sceleratus et perfidus, quis sic discordiae furore vesanus, ut aut credat scindi posse aut audeat scindere unitatem Dei, vestem Domini, Ecclesiam Christi? (0505C)"

- In mysterio sacrificii nihil, praeter quod Christus tradidit, resumendum ex libro eiusdem de mysterio calicis: "Ille [PL 4 0384B XIV.] sacerdos vice Christi vere fungitur, quod Christus fecit et quod faciendum esse mandavit, quando ipse in Evangelio dicat: Si feceritis quod mando vobis, iam non dico vos servos, sed amicos (Ioan. XV, 14, 15) . Et quod Christus debeat solus audiri, Pater etiam de coelo contestatur dicens: Hic est filius meus dilectissimus in quo bene sensi, ipsum audite (Matth. XVII, 5) . Quare, si solus Christus audiendus est, non debemus attendere quid alius ante nos faciendum esse putaverit, sed quid qui ante omnes est Christus prior fecerit. Neque enim hominis consuetudinem sequi oportet, sed Dei veritatem, cum per Esaiam prophetam Deus loquatur et dicat: Sine causa autem colunt me, mandata et doctrinas hominum docentes (Isa. XXIX, 13) . Et iterum Dominus (0385B) in Evangelio hoc idem repetat dicens: 109 Reiicitis mandatum Dei, ut traditionem vestram statuatis (Marc. VII, 13) . Sed et alio in loco ponit et dicit: Qui solverit unum ex mandatis istis minimis, et sic docuerit homines, minimus vocabitur in regno coelorum (Matth. V, 19) . Quod si nec minima de mandatis Dominicis licet solvere, quanto magis tam magna, tam grandia, tam ad ipsum Dominicae passionis et nostrae redemptionis sacramentum pertinentia fas non est infringere, aut in aliud quam quod divinitus institutum sit humana traditione mutare? Nam, si Iesus Christus Dominus et Deus noster ipse est summus sacerdos Dei (0385C) Patris, et sacrificium Patri se ipsum primus obtulit, (0386A) et hoc fieri in sui commemorationem praecepit, utique ille sacerdos vice Christi vere fungitur qui id quod Christus fecit imitatur, et sacrificium verum et plenum tunc offert in Ecclesia Deo Patri, si sic incipiat offerre secundum quod ipsum Christum videat obtulisse."
- MGH Conc. 2,2. 57. B. Flori Diaconi Oratio in Concilio Carisiacensi Habita. 838. Sept. Letter: pages 768-778. <www.dmgh.de/mgh_conc_2_2/index.htm#page/768/mode/1up>

Gregory Nazianzus : Fifth Theological Oration (Oration 31) : Verse 7 & 8

- Gregory says, in his 37th Discourse [Oration 31], "The Persons in the Godhead are one; not only as regards that wherewith they are conjoined, but also as regards themselves, because of the Oneness of Essence and Power: in short, they are ὁμοούσιοι." Now this Unity, maintained by the Orthodox, was assailed by their opponents, who attempted to prove an absurdity and inconsistency in the Orthodox doctrine of the Trinity. And what gave [PAGE 59] occasion to this attack? I answer, 'The clause, Three are one (Greek: TPIA EN).'
- "You cannot deny," said the adversaries, "that you understand by the "one"(Greek:'EN), in this passage, a perfect equality of the whole Divine Essence". [fn. 49. This is evident from the connection with what immediately follows: for they built their whole objection on the connumerating of the Persons in the Godhead; on the Three (Greek: TA TPIA); and on the idea of the One (To 'EN). I have therefore unravelled the intricate argument of the opponents, for greater perspicuity's sake.]

The Witness of God is Greater

- You maintain further, that each Person of the Godhead is not a Quality, a mere relative denomination, but is actually self-existent; and is, therefore, a separate Substance.—Now see the absurd consequences of this! How so? “Thus. By the Three (TA TPIA), the Divine Persons are here συναριθμούμενοι, that is, connumerated.”— This was undeniable. But then they assumed an axiom, to this effect: “Things only can be connumerated which are of the same essence (Greek: τὰ ὁμοούσια) [fn. 50. The adversaries seem here to have taken the word ὁμοούσιος in the erroneous sense, which was rejected by the Church in the year 273, at the Councils of Antioch; according to which, there was no difference of the Persons.] : those, on the contrary, which are not of the same essence (τὰ μὴ ὁμοούσια) cannot be connumerated.” And, thence, they argued thus: “As, in the passage ‘Three are one,’ the Persons of the Godhead are connumerated; you must,” whether they will or not” (Latin: nolentes volentes), in virtue of our axiom and this passage, grant the existence of Three Gods — What absurdity?”
- Gregory commences his refutation by controverting the axiom on which the objection of his adversaries was founded. “You say,” said he, “if things are to be connumerated, [PAGE 60] they must be of the same essence; and therefore there must be no difference between them. What absurdity : Know ye not, that Numerals are merely competent to express the quantity, and not the nature, of the things whose sum they designate? I call things Three, which are that many in number, though they are different in Essence : likewise, I call One and One and One, so many Units, namely, Three, when they have the same essence. For I look not, herein, to their essence; but to their quantity, which constitutes the number that I affix to them.”
- Now, though this was clear as the sun, and perfectly sufficient to confute the opponent's axiom, still Gregory strikes into another path: and it is very interesting, very remarkable. [fn. 51. We see, therefore, that the whole dispute originated in the connumerating of the Persons in the Godhead; which occurs only once in the Bible, i.e., 1 John V.7.] —“Well, what is it?”— This.
- “Since you,” says the bishop, “adhere so strictly to the letter of Scripture in this instance; namely, to the word ‘Three;’ though you generally controvert it; I therefore will also adduce proof from the same source (ἐκεῖθεν); namely, the letter of Holy Scripture”, which [PAGE 61] demonstrates the proposition, ‘Things also can be connumerated which have not the same essence, but are different:’— and accordingly he quotes passages of Scripture, in which things of different kinds are numbered together; e.g. Prov. xxx. 29–31. Exod. xxxvii. 7. Matt. vi. 24.
- “Good bishop,” replied his opponents, “thou still understandest not all that we charge upon the clause ‘Three are one.’ It is absurd; and therefore cannot possibly be derived from the discourse of the Apostle John. For, of things, we can only say, ‘they are connumerated, and of like essence,’ when the names proper to them (i.e. those resulting from the identity of their essence) are expressly stated in their sums total. For instance, Three men, Three Gods; not merely an indefinite Three. No sensible man thinks, speaks, or writes otherwise. Away then with the fancy, that the clause ‘Three are one,’ originated with the Apostle!”
- After Gregory had, in his own way, exposed the absurdity of this new principle also, he attacks the consequence which the Heretics had inferred from this axiom, against the authenticity of the clause. “What,” says he, “What! — the Apostle John? – shall he not be the author of this text, because in your opinion it involves an absurdity. - Listen! — I will lay before you another passage of St. John (Greek: Τί δαὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης;), whose authenticity you do not [PAGE 62] deny, which is conceived in the very same manner; namely, 1 John V.8. ‘There are three that bear record, the spirit, the water, and the blood.’ What say you to that? Has the Apostle expressed himself absurdly here; in the first place, because he combines things which are different in essence? (For who will maintain, that spirit, water, and blood, are things of one and the same essence?) Secondly, because he construes ungrammatically; inasmuch as he says of three things which are of the neuter gender, that they are three (τρῆς) in the masculine?”
- Now what rational man, under such circumstances, will assert that Gregory wished to prove the existence of the Trinity from 1 John V.8? It is therefore clear as the sun that the bishop was ignorant of the mystical meaning of the 8th verse, Nay, I know not one of the [PAGE 63] Greek Fathers, though I have anxiously perused them, who discovered Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in the 8th verse of 1 John V. I am therefore convinced, by experience, of what honest Mill says: “*No Greek understood the 8th verse mystically of the Holy Trinity.*”— an important maxim in criticising our disputed clause! It deprives our opponents of all recourse to 1 John V.8, when they meet with undeniable allusions to 1 John V. 7. in Greek Authors. I have also found what

The Witness of God is Greater

Mill says, in this respect, of the Latin Fathers, perfectly correct. Augustin, of whom I have spoken above, is unquestionably the first who metamorphosed the meaning of the 8th verse.

- Origen, Ambrose, Cassiodore, Pope Leo the Great, Bede, and others, explain it quite differently; and much more naturally.

- It is therefore beyond all doubt that Gregory did not take his 'EN TA TPIA, his TA TPIA EN, (which he vindicates so sharply, as expressions of St. John) from the 8th verse. Nay, in citing this verse, he never once quotes the words, "and these three agree in one" (Greek: και οι τρεις εις το εν εισιν) etc. [Note: verse 8 without the final clause] Now, would he have omitted words of such importance to him, if he had grounded his 'EN TA TPIA upon them? Assuredly not! Perhaps, indeed, they were not in his copy; and this would justify, or at least excuse, *the celebrated Note of St. [PAGE 64] Thomas Aquinas*, on 1 John V.8. [Note: in the Complutensian Polyglot] If it be said that Gregory did not consider them to be the words of the Apostle, there is only this alternative: Either the bishop himself first invented this clause, or borrowed it elsewhere. That he was not the inventor, is, I think, palpably evident; because the phrase 'EN TA TPIA, long before the middle of the 4th century, was a solemn form of expression, and generally known, among the Greek Christians, to designate the Holy Trinity. I appeal to the author of the *Didascomenus* [Note: "*Philopatris*" by Lucian], of whose testimony I shall speak more circumstantially hereafter. The Latins used the same expression in the 2d and 3d centuries. "the three are one" (Latin: 'Tres unum sunt'), says Tertullian. "the three are one" (Latin: 'Tres unum sunt'), says Cyprian. Now, as it plainly appears, as well from the *Didascomenus* as from Cyprian, that they took this phrase from Scripture, and indeed from 1 John V.7, there remains no doubt that Gregory derived his TA TPIA EN from the same source — 1 John V.7.

- The expression was by no means merely technical, in Gregory's estimation: for he vindicates his TA TPIA EN very zealously and firmly; which he never does in the case of technical terms. In the latter, he is very indulgent; nay, he shuns all controversies of the kind, and holds them to be useless and ridiculous.

- Knittel, *New Criticisms on the Celebrated Text*, 1 John V. 7, 1785; 1829, p. 58-64.

Origen Psalm 122 : Catena Manuscripts of the 17th & 18th Century

- [Dorival] During this period and the nineteenth century, biblical catenae were seen in the same way as **Richard Simon** (1638-1712) had described them: mines which allowed the publication of new fragments of patristic authors. For instance, they were used for editing Origen's works by Charles and Charles-Vincent Delarue (1733–59) and by the collaborators of the series "The Greek Christian Writers of the First Three Centuries" (German: *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*) (1899–1955). During the first half of the nineteenth century, in Milan and Rome, Angelo Mai used many catenae in his editorial works and, a generation later, Jean-Baptiste Pitra did the same. (G. Dorival, "Biblical Catenae: Between Philology and History" in *Commentaries, Catenae, and Biblical Tradition*, 2016, p. 67)

- **[Richard Simon]** The Greeks have a large number of these types of anthologies on most of the biblical books, and many are found in libraries which have still not yet been printed. It would not even be necessary to publish these entire compilations, since we have the authors from which they have been extracted; yet it would be desirable to provide to the public just that which is unique and has not yet been published. We must make the same decision concerning the anthologies to which the Latins have given the name Catena. This type of work was extremely useful before printed copies of the Fathers and other writers on the Bible were available. It is much more relevant to read the Fathers' explanations in their own works than in the books of those who made extracts from them: moreover, these anthologies contain an infinity of useless material. (Richard Simon, *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*, 1680, p. 462-463. Translated in G. Dorival, "Biblical Catenae: Between Philology and History" in *Commentaries, Catenae, and Biblical Tradition*, 2016, p. 65-66)

Origen Psalm 122 : Codice Vind. 8 & Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq

- Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (1522 in Comines – 28 October 1592; Latin: Augerius Gislenius Busbequius), sometimes Augier Ghislain de Busbecq, was a 16th-century Flemish writer, herbalist and diplomat in the employ of three generations of Austrian monarchs. He served as ambassador to the Ottoman Empire in

The Witness of God is Greater

Constantinople and in 1581 published a book about his time there, *Itinera Constantinopolitanum et Amasianum*, re-published in 1595 under the title of *Turcicae epistolae* or *Turkish Letters*.

- Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq was born the illegitimate son of the Seigneur de Busbecq, Georges Ghiselin, and his mistress Catherine Hespel, although he was later legitimized.[1] He grew up at Busbecq Castle (in present-day Bousbecque, Nord, France), studying in Wervik and Comines - at the time, all part of Spanish West Flanders, a province of the Holy Roman Empire. Busbecq's intellectual gifts led him to advanced studies at the Latin-language University of Leuven, where he registered in 1536 under the name Ogier Ghislain de Comines. From there, he went on to study at a number of well-known universities in northern Italy, including taking classes from Giovanni Battista Egnazio [it] in Venice. Like his father and grandfather, Busbecq chose a career of public service. He started work in the court of the later Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I in approximately 1552. In 1554, he was sent to England for the marriage in Winchester of the English queen Mary Tudor to Philip II of Spain.

- In 1554 and again in 1556,[1] Ferdinand named Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq ambassador to the Ottoman Empire under the rule of Suleiman the Magnificent. His task for much of the time he was in Constantinople was the negotiation of a border treaty between his employer (the future Holy Roman Emperor) and the Sultan over the disputed territory of Transylvania. He had no success in this mission while Rustem Pasha was the Sultan's vizier, but ultimately reached an accord with his successor Semiz Ali Pasha.

- During his stay in Constantinople, he wrote his best known work, the *Turkish Letters*, a compendium of personal correspondence to his friend, and fellow Hungarian diplomat, Nicholas Michault, in Flanders and some of the world's first travel literature. These letters describe his adventures in Ottoman politics and remain one of the principal primary sources for students of the 16th-century Ottoman court. He also wrote in enormous detail about the plant and animal life he encountered in Turkey. His letters also contain the only surviving word list of Crimean Gothic, a Germanic dialect spoken at the time in some isolated regions of Crimea.[2]

- Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq discovered an almost complete copy of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, an account of Roman emperor Augustus' life and accomplishments, at the *Monumentum Ancyranum* in Ancyra. He identified its origin from his reading of Suetonius and published a copy of parts of it in his *Turkish Letters*. He was an avid collector, acquiring valuable manuscripts, rare coins and curios of various kinds. Among the best known of his discoveries was a 6th-century copy of Dioscorides' *De Materia Medica*, a compendium of medicinal herbs. The emperor purchased it after Busbecq's recommendation; the manuscript is now known as the *Vienna Dioscorides*. He returned from Turkey in 1562 and became a counsellor at the court of Emperor Ferdinand in Vienna and tutor to his grandchildren, the sons of future Emperor Maximilian II. Busbecq ended his career as the guardian of Elisabeth of Austria, Maximilian's daughter and widow of French king Charles IX. He continued to serve the Austrian monarchy, observing the development of the French Wars of Religion on behalf of Rudolf II. Finally, in 1592 and nearing the end of his life, he chose to leave his residence in Mantes outside of Paris for his native West Flanders, but was assaulted and robbed by members of the Catholic League near Rouen. He died a few days later. His body is buried in the castle chapel at Saint-Germain-sous-Cailly near where he died, and his heart was embalmed and sent to the family tomb in Bousbecque.

- Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ogier_Ghiselin_de_Busbecq>.

Codice Vindobonensis Theol. gr. 8

- [Catalog Record] Provenance: Augerius von Busbeck [Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq] (1522-1592) acquires the manuscript in Constantinople (note on page IIIr) (Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken. Signatur: Codex Vindobonensis Theol. gr. 8. Busbecq de, Origenes, & Eusebius. (1000). Catena in Psalmos)

- [Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq] Before I left Constantinople I sent a Spanish physician, named Albacar, to Lemnos, that he might be there on August 6, at the digging out of that famous earth, and so might write us a full and certain account of its position and source, and the mode of extracting it and preparing it for use ; which I do not doubt he would have done, had he not been prevented by circumstances over which he had no control. For a long time I wanted to cross over there, that I might be an eye-witness myself. As the Turks did not allow me to do so, I took pains to make myself, at least, an earwitness, if I may say so. I am also bringing back a great medley of ancient coins, of which I shall present the most remarkable to my master. I have besides, whole waggonfuls, whole shiploads of Greek manuscripts.

The Witness of God is Greater

There are, I believe, not much fewer than 240 books, which I sent by sea to Venice, to be conveyed from there to Vienna, for their destination is the Imperial Library. There are some which are not to be despised and many common ones. I ransacked every corner to collect, in a sort of final gleaning, all that remained of such wares. The only one I left at Constantinople was a copy of Dioscorides,¹ evidently a very ancient manuscript, written throughout in uncial characters and containing drawings of the plants, in which, if I am not mistaken, there are also fragments of Cratevas and a treatise on birds. It belongs to a Jew, the son of Hamon, who was Solyman's physician, and I wanted to buy it, but was deterred by the price. For he demanded 100 ducats, a sum suiting the Imperial purse, but not mine. I shall not leave off pressing the Emperor till I induce him to ransom so famous an author from such foul slavery. The manuscript is in very bad condition from the injuries of age, being so worm-eaten on the outside that hardly anyone, if he found it on the road, would take the trouble of picking it up. But my letter is too long already; expect to see me in person very shortly. (Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, "[Letter 3] Frankfort, 16 December 1562", *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin De Busbecq*, vol 1, 1881, p. 416-418)

Origen Psalm 122 : Balthasar Cordier's 1646 Edition

• Balthasar Cordier (Corderius) (b. at Antwerp, 7 June 1592; d. at Rome, 24 June 1650) was a Belgian Jesuit exegete and editor of patristic works. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1612, and after teaching Greek, moral theology, and Sacred Scripture, devoted himself to translating and editing manuscripts of Greek catenae and other works of the Greek Fathers, for which he searched the libraries of Europe. (Balthasar Cordier. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Balthasar_Cordier>)

• Cordier (Corderius), Balthasar, exegete and editor of patristic works, b. at Antwerp, 7 June, 1592; d. at Rome, 24 June, 1650. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1612, and after teaching Greek, moral theology, and Sacred Scripture, devoted himself to translating and editing MSS of Greek catenae and other works of Greek Fathers, for which he searched the libraries of Europe. (Catholic Encyclopedia. Appleton, vol 4, 1907, p. 359)

• Catholic Encyclopedia. Appleton, 1907. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/22573666>. <books.google.com/books?id=MIY_AQAAMAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.

• [Cordier] Let me give a brief account of the manner in which I undertook this work. Various unpublished writings of the Greek Fathers were claimed from the hands of the Turks by Ogier de Busbecq, a Fleming by birth and the ambassador of Lords Ferdinand I and Maximilian II at the Ottoman court. Those books were bought back with the Kaiser's money and are now kept at the Imperial Library of Vienna. Among them I found a total of five very old Greek manuscripts containing exegesis of the Psalms. I cried "treasure!", informed the Kaiser of it and applied my efforts and diligence to digging it up. The excellent Emperor applauded and generously offered his patronage and assistance. He had the manuscripts in question transferred to the College. There, while examining them more closely, I found that two rather large ones, written on parchment in old rounded script, contained the Catena of the Fathers; but both versions were incomplete, and one of them did not even go beyond Psalm 50. To complete the Catena, I needed the two Codices Electorales of the Most Serene Duke of Bavaria, which were kept at the Library of Berlin. When the Emperor became aware of this, he immediately had vice-chancellor Stralendorf dispatch a letter in his name to the Most Serene Elector, by virtue of which I might be given permission to take the two codices to Vienna; permission which the Most Serene granted me very amply indeed. And so I put together a fuller Catena from both pairs of books and, not to offer only this, I decided to add an anonymous Greek commentary from the Kaiser's library, elegantly written on paper, but very old paper. That commentary was hitherto unknown. Yet, coming to Rome a month ago, when I searched the Pope's Vatican Library and the Quirinal Library of the most eminent Cardinal Francesco Barberini, and compared the commentary with very old manuscripts that are there kept written on parchment, I found out that it was by Theodorus of Heraclea, under whose name the old manuscripts were titled thus:

• ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑΣ ΘΡΑΚΗΣ

The Witness of God is Greater

ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑ
ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΨΑΛΜΟΥΣ.

- Theodorus, Bishop of Heraclea in Thrace Interpretation of the Psalms.

- [Cordier] Saint Jerome wrote about him in his book on Church writers: "Theodorus, Bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, published, under the emperor Constantius, commentaries on Matthew and John and on the Apostle and the Psalms, written in elegant and lucid language, and more concerned with the historical understanding." Fragments by this Theodorus are also found in the oldest Catenae of the Greeks on the Holy Scriptures - which is not surprising given that he is a Catholic, very ancient, and very eloquent author. ...Furthermore, so that the inquiring reader might find nothing lacking for the work to be complete, in the fourth place I added my own notes on each Psalm, principally discussing variant readings, and inferring various teachings from these. And lest anything should be wanting, for the sake of preachers I added a special index on all the Gospel readings that occur in the course of the year. Use these things, enjoy them, and farewell.
- Balthasar Cordier, *Expositio patrvm Graecorum in Psalmos*, 1646, vol 1, p. xiii-xiv; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, June 2021.

HITS:

- [Psalm 122:2 : "Behold as the eyes of the servants...".] Origen: **The Spirit and the body are servants to their masters (the Father and the Son); the soul is the maiden to her mistress (the Holy Spirit); and the Lord our God is the three [persons], for the three are one.** So, the eyes of servants look at the hands of their masters while they issue orders through gestures. It could also be that the hands of the masters, who are the Father and the Son, are the angels belonging to them both, while the hands of the mistress, who is the Holy Spirit, are the powers that are proper to the Holy Spirit. (Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, March 2021)
 - β. ΙΔΟΥ ΣΕ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΙ ΔΟΥΛΩΝ.] ΩΡΙΓΕΝΟΥΣ. **Δοῦλοι κυρίων Πατρὲς καὶ Υἱοῦ πνεῦμα καὶ σῶμα· παιδίσκη δὲ κυρίας τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἢ ψυχῆ. τὰ δὲ τρία κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐστίν· οἱ γὰρ τρεῖς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν.** ὀφθαλμοὶ γοῦν δούλων εἰς χεῖρας κυρίων ὀρώντες, ὅτε διὰ χειρῶν νεύοντες κελεύσουσιν. ἢ χεῖρες κυρίων μὲν Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ ἑκατέρου ἄγγελοι· κυρίας δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος αἱ οἰκεῖοι αὐτῶν δυνάμεις.
 - Origen, *Expositio patrvm Graecorum in Psalmos*, Balthasar Cordier, 1646, vol 3, p. 548.

Origen Psalm 122 : Vindobonensis Theol. gr. 8

Codice Vindobonensis Theol. gr. 8 (circa. 11th century C.E./A.D.)

Image 482 : Folio 236v

<digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_3122380&order=1&view=SINGLE>

- [Catalog Record] Provenance: Augerius von Busbeck [Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq] (1522-1592) acquires the manuscript in Constantinople (note on page IIIr) (Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken. Signatur: Codice Vindobonensis Theol. gr. 8. Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, Origenes, & Eusebius. (1000). Catena in Psalmos)

The Witness of God is Greater

• [Cadiou] The fragments of the Commentary on the Psalms that we are editing here come from a manuscript in the Library of Vienna. This Vindobonensis 8 is written in semi-uncial letters in the middle part, and in old lowercase in the margins. The date is attributed to the tenth or the ninth century, but it is necessary to opt for the most recent period. The Commentary is interrupted by three gaps Ps. 5-Ps. 37.9, ps. 74,4-75,6, Ps. 118, 159- 1651. The middle part is not occupied by the sacred text, but by a Commentary in which we have recognized the work of Diodorus of Tarsus, at the continuation of a body of research carried out with the greatest reliability 2. Another characteristic which distinguishes this manuscript is the presence, in several places, of a double margin. Such is the appearance of the pages 1r, 2r, 2v, 3r (partially), 41.1 171r, 171r, 172r, 179r, 179v, 180r, 180v, 18 + 1 r, 184', 185r, 185' (partially), 237r, 238v, 261v, 275". The inner margin most often contains a string. The outer margin includes only one comment, attributed to Origen. In our edition the fragments of the first species are preceded by the mention Catena, and the others by the mention Excerpta, without prejudging the origin of these two documents. (Cadiou, Commentaires inédits des Psaumes, 1936, p. 15)

• [Cadiou] The study of these margins actually gives more complex results. It shows that the compiler adopted various provisions according to the comments available to him, their length, their origin, their importance. We cannot apply a single formula to Vind 8. Each psalm poses a different problem, so to speak. The chain in particular presents various types: Type a: varied chain where the name of Origen appears. Type b: varied chain from which the name of Origen is almost always absent. Type c: in a very large part of the manuscript, we find that a chain of two authors, alternating Excerpta by John Chrysostom and Origen. On the other hand, the Excerpta attributed to Origen alone occupy the margin in eleven or twelve psalms, and in part of Psalm 118. The analysis of the inner margin can be divided into ten sections, each of which has a particular arrangement that it is necessary to recognize to identify the fragments of Origen. (Cadiou, Commentaires inédits des Psaumes, 1936, p. 16)

• [Lietzmann] Codex manuscripts : Vindob. 8. 10th/11th c., on parchment, 34.5 x 28 cm, with catena in the margin. The sacred text is written in sets of 25 lines, in semi-uncial script; it is marked with Ⲛ signs, and coupled with the commentary of the anonymous. The catena is written in the margin, in sets of about 47 lines, without any account being taken of the sacred text, so that e.g. the text of Ps. 103 occurs on fol. 203r, and its catena on fol. 181r. The catena itself is often surrounded by the commentary attributed to Origen, which refers to the text on the same page, and sometimes fills the space of the catena when the latter temporarily leaves off. There are quire numbers. The names, written in black (in the margin), are often missing. The catena on the Psalms is without prologues. Ps. 5-37, 9c, have been lost in a lacuna. (Lietzmann, Catenarum Graecarum catalogus, vol 13, 1902, p. 29; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, May 2021.)

• Psalm 122 : Vindobonensis Cod. Theol. gr. 8 (circa. 11th century C.E./A.D.)

f.236v.line.029 πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι(?) αὐτ(ῆς?) · οἱ γὰρ τοῦ δικαίου

f.236v.line.030 διὰ παντὸς πρὸς τὸν κύριον· ἰδοὺ ὡς ὀφθαλ-

f.236v.line.031 μοὶ δούλων εἰς χεῖρας τῶν κυρίων αὐτῶν :-

f.236v.line.032 δοῦλοι κυρίων πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ πνεῦμα καὶ σῶμα· παι-

f.236v.line.033 δίσκη· κυρίας ἢ ψυχὴ τοῦ δικαίου πνεύματος

f.236v.line.034 τὰ δὲ τρία κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐστὶν οἱ γὰρ τρεῖς εἰς

f.236v.line.035 τὸ ἓν εἰσιν· ὀφθαλμοὶ δούλων εἰς χεῖρας

f.236v.line.036 κυρίων ὀρῶντες πότε δια χειρῶν νεύον-

f.236v.line.037 τες κελεύσουσιν. Ἡ χεῖρες κυρίων μὲν

f.236v.line.038 πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ οἱ ἐκατέρου ἄγγελοι· κυρίας [δὲ] τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, αἱ οἰκεῖοι αὐτοῦ δυνάμεις. : ~ ὡς ὀφθαλμοὶ παιδίσκης :~ εἰς χεῖρας τῆς κυρίας αὐτῆς οὕτως οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν πρὸς κύριον τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν ἕως οὗ οἰκτιρήσαι ἡμᾶς

• Image 482 <digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_3122380&order=1&view=SINGLE>

Comments:

The Witness of God is Greater

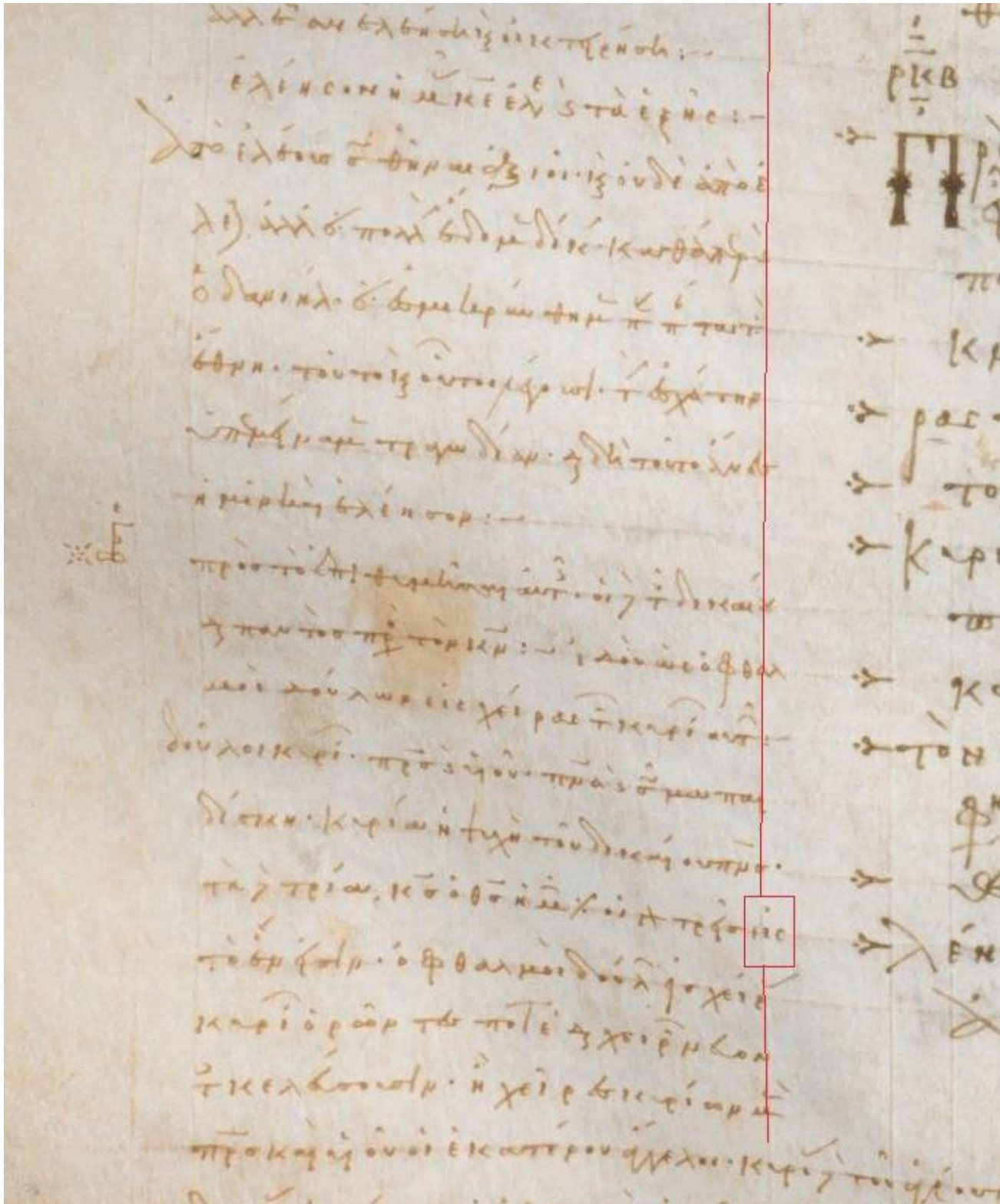
1. **Expositio patrum Graecorum in Psalmos, Balthasar Cordier, 1646**
 - the soul is the maiden to her mistress (*the Holy Spirit*)
 - παιδίσκη δὲ κυρίας τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἢ ψυχῇ

2. **Vindobonensis Cod. Theol. gr. 8**
 - the soul is the maiden to her mistress (*the Righteous Spirit*)
 - παιδίσκη· κυρίας ἢ ψυχῇ τοῦ δικαίου πνεύματος

3. **Greek Texts Compared:**
 - [Cordier] παιδίσκη δὲ κυρίας τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἢ ψυχῇ
 - [Vid. 8] παιδίσκη· κυρίας ἢ ψυχῇ τοῦ δικαίου πνεύματος

Conclusion: The Manuscript that Cordier used for his 1646 edition (later incorporated by Charles Le Rue in his 1733 edition and finally into Migne's edition) is unknown.

The Witness of God is Greater



• folio 237v : Red line indicates margin. Red square contains Variant Greek Preposition.

The Witness of God is Greater

Cerealis Afer of Castellum (circa 480 AD)

Note: Cerealis signed the Council of Carthage 484 confession. However, Cerealis' work against Arians does not contain the Heavenly nor the Earthly witnesses. Critics have attempted to build a case on this "negative" (on the absence of the Comma in Cerealis' work). Below is information that puts Cerealis' work in historical context demonstrating that the critic's assumptions are merely "wishful thinking."

Biographical Information

• Cerealis, Nicene bishop of an unknown see (Castellensis), is the main character of an anti-Homoian treatise entitled *Disputatio Cerealis contra Maximinum*. He is also typically presented as the author of the same text, although this is an unsubstantiated inference. The text, most likely an imaginary dialogue, specifies that the highly structured theological debate it pretends to record took place in Carthage, against an "Arian" bishop, when a king was in power. Hence the near-universal consensus to situate Cerealis' *Disputatio* during the Vandal period (429-534 CE), and before 505. But all other details surrounding both this text and its author are disputed, including the specific context of writing and when the dialogue is supposed to have taken place. These details are repeated in two late-antique catalogues of famous men (*De Viris Illustribus*), those of Gennadius Marseilles (97) and Isidore of Seville (22), but without adding any original information. ...more recent analyses of the text rightfully argue that it does not report an actual debate, but instead should be understood within the genre of imaginary dialogues (Fialon, 2015; Whelan, 2018, 75-76, 124-126, 155). This line of argument considers the prologue and the epilogue of the dialogue as "dressing it up as a real event" (Whelan, 2018, 76). Indeed, the text reveals what would have been a highly artificial dialogue or a highly redacted document. It is heavily in favor of Cerealis, the Nicene hero who appears to be triumphing over his Homoian opponent in front of an unnamed king. The text, highly formulaic, constitutes a list of topics briefly discussed, whereas the bulk presents scriptural citations in support of the Nicene interpretation defended by Cerealis. (Fournier, "Cerealis", in: Brill Encyclopedia of Early Christianity Online, General Editor David G. Hunter, <dx.doi.org/10.1163/2589-7993_EECO_SIM_00000595>)

- [Gennadius (d. 471 AD)] The bishop Cerealis, a native of Africa, having been asked by Maximinus, the bishop of the Arians, if he could defend the catholic faith with even a few testimonies from divine scripture and without any assertion of argument, justified it, in the name of the Lord, supported by the truth, not with a few testimonies, as Maximinus scornfully had requested, but with abundant indications from both the old and new testament, and he published this in a little book. (Gennadius of Marseille, *De viris illustribus*, XI; Migne Latina, PL 83.1089)
 - **Latin:** Itacius, provinciae Gallaeciae episcopus, secutus chronicam Eusebii Caesariensis episcopi, sive Hieronymi presbyteri, quae usque hodie in Valentis Augusti imperium edita declaratur, dehinc ab anno primo Theodosii Augusti usque in annum imperii Leonis octavum subiunctam sequitur historiam, in qua magis Barbararum gentium bella crudelia narrat, quae premebant Hispaniam. Decessit sub Leone principe, ultima iam pene senectute, sicut etiam praefationis suae demonstratur indicio. (Gennadius of Marseille, *De viris illustribus*, XI; Migne Latina, PL 83.1089)
- [Isidor (560-636 AD)] Cerealis, Bishop of the Church of Castellum Ripense. When he came to the city of Carthage in the province of Africa, he had a dispute about faith in the Holy Trinity with the Ammonite Bishop Maximian. Cerealis responded to Maximian's statements not with the arguments of eloquence but with evidence from the Holy Scriptures. **This work of his, consisting of nineteen responses and marked with headings, is extant.** (Isidore, *De Viris Illustribus Liber*, XI; Migne Latina, PL 83.1089)
 - **Latin:** Cerealis, Castellanus Ecclesiae episcopus. Ille, dum apud Carthaginensem Africae provinciae urbem venisset, de fide sanctae Trinitatis cum Maximiano, Ammonitarum episcopo, concertatus est, respondens propositionibus ejus, non eloquiorum argumentis, sed de testimoniis sanctarum Scripturarum. Exstat hoc ipsum ejusdem opusculum novem et decem

The Witness of God is Greater

responsionum capitulis praesignatum. (Isidore, De Viris Illustribus Liber, XI; Migne Latina, PL 83.1089)

Absence of the Heavenly & Earthly Witnesses in Cerealis' work : Reasons:

1. *Bengel's demonstrates that Cereal's omission was an oversight.*

- a. [Bengel] In the same period Cerealis, also an African, wrote a book against the Arian Maximian. They say that the Johannine Comma is not found in it. No such categorical denial should have been made. The Africans, as we have seen, usually cite conjointly the two statements "I and the Father are one" and "These three are one". After quoting the first in support of the unity of the Father and the Son, Cerealis (Chapter 1) added "**the fact that it is not only the Father and the Son who are one, but also the Holy Spirit, is shown BELOW.**" With these words Cerealis seems to have put off quotation of the other statement, "These three are one," until the chapter on the unity of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son (that is Chapter 15 in his book). "Below", apparently, either Cerealis himself forgot about it owing to the abundance of other arguments, or the passage was later removed by others. This has no force to confirm the Comma, but it nevertheless should stop Cerealis being adduced in support of the contrary, especially since he is thought to have been the Cerealis who subscribed the Confession under Huneric, and the citation in it of the Comma. (Bengel, D. Io. Alberti Bengelii Apparatus criticus ad Novum Testamentum, 1763, p. 755)

2. *Many works written : No others have survived. Assumption based on one work.*

- a. [Whelan] **The sheer volume of the extant anti-Arian literature from fifth and sixth century Africa is extraordinary. Still more such work was once written but no longer survives: according to Gennadius of Marseilles, writing in the 490s, the fifth century African bishops Asclepius, Victor of Cartenna, and Voconius of Castellanus also wrote treatises against the Arians, as did Eugenius of Carthage.** What is most surprising about the anti-Arian literature of Vandal Africa, however, is its remarkably public nature. Fulgentius of Ruspe dedicated to Thrasamund not one but two treatises aimed at effecting the king's conversion to the Nicene faith. Bishop Eugenius of Carthage produced an exposition of the Nicene faith at the behest of Huneric. Victor of Cartenna is said to have sent his long book against the Arians to Geiseric. With the transfer of power to barbarian rulers, the earlier flood of anti-Arian treatises seems to have slowed to a trickle elsewhere in the western Mediterranean. (Whelan, *Being Christian in Vandal Africa*, 2018, p. 174-175)

3. *Literary exposition, based on Augustine's experience & work.*

- a. [Whelan] Another dialogue text, the Debate of Cerealis against Maximinus, similarly channels the authority of a Nicene father for its protagonist, who faces another earlier Arian heretic. This time, **Augustine is the obvious referent for the Nicene debater, Cerealis of Castellum, in his altercation with Maximinus. The narrative is set up so that Cerealis reenacts Augustine's defeat in 427/428 of an "Ariomaniac" bishop of the same name; the terms of his victory are identical.** After his debate with Maximinus ended in a stalemate, Augustine stated that he would send his opponent a refutation. The acts record Maximinus' reply, in his own hand: "Maximinus: When you have set for this book and have sent it to me, if I should not give a response to everything then I will be guilty." [Aug., Coll. cum Max. 16.80-82] As far as can be told, he never replied (if he ever did receive "Against Maximinus"). [McLynn (1996), 488 n. 61] In the Life of Augustine, Possidius is careful to point this out. [Poss., V. Aug. 17.9] After his supposed meeting with Cerealis too, Maximinus received a series of propositions to which he was supposed to reply. Again: "Maximinus the Ariomaniac bishop was unable to respond, putting it off from day to day [cf. Eccl. 5:8]." [Cer. c. Max. 532-533] The anonymous Vandal king makes the point clear: "Since Maximinus the bishop, convened by me, did not want to respond, thus it was understood that, when he was silent and did not want to respond to your propositions, he could not." [Cer. c. Max. 538-540] It is not certain that the author of the dialogue was Cerealis himself rather than a colleague or later admirer. **Regardless, whoever wrote it made him a**

new Augustine, capable of defeating his Arian opponent in exactly the same way.

(Whelan, *Being Christian in Vandal Africa*, 2018, p. 125-126)

4. *Manuscript Variants : dropped out/ removed*

a. *19 or 20 chapters*

- i. [Baise] **The Disputatio is preserved in two witnesses: in one of the manuscripts, Bonifatianus 2, it has twenty chapters; in the second, the Torino, BN, E.IV.43, nineteen.** The notice could therefore have been copied on this second witness. As we will soon see, this is not possible, because the Turin manuscript does not contain the introduction to Cerealis. The author may have accessed the model of this manuscript or a nearby manuscript. Another interesting fact to note which would go in the same direction: the notice on Cerealis follows in the Florence manuscript that of Sedulius, which F. Dolbeau has shown to have been reworked using the original work. (Baise, "La Disputatio Cerealis contra Maximinum", 2006, p. 235)
- ii. [Baise] TORINO, **Biblioteca Nazionale, E.IV.43 [7th-8th century]**: The text of Cerealis is therefore anonymous in this manuscript. The copyist has dropped all the data which allow the work to be located. Perhaps he wanted to give it a timeless value. **Another remarkable fact: the text of Cerealis comprises only nineteen chapters, whereas it counts twenty in Bonifatianus 2** (Ragyndrudis-Codex) [8th century] and in all the editions. (Baise, "La Disputatio Cerealis contra Maximinum", 2006, p. 240)

b. *Variants significant between Manuscripts : Example*

- i. Baise compares manuscripts, example from page 257.

Au chapitre 15:

B

Si trinitas non est, quare dicunt in Esaia Seraphyn laudantia: *Sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus sabaobh?*

Ubi et trinitatem ostendunt et unitatem, quia deum dicunt et non deos.

T

Si trinitas non est, quare dicunt in Esegia Seraphin laudantia: *Sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus sabaob?* **Si unitas non est, quare dominus deus dicunt et non domini dii? Sic e in Apocalipsi Seraphin dicunt ter *sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus sabaobp*, ubi et trinitatem et unitatem ostendunt, quia deus dicunt et non deos.**

The Witness of God is Greater

De Trinitate (Migne Graeca, PG 89) : Scholars Debate Authorship of Didymus

- [Crawford] The relation of *Contra Julianum* to another Christian text is, however, disputed. I refer to the *De Trinitate* that some have attributed to Didymus the Blind, though many others have called this attribution into question. The *De Trinitate* survives in only a single manuscript (Biblioteca Angelica, ms. gr. 116) and is missing its opening section. The text as we have it begins in section seven of the first book. In the manuscript the treatise is in fact attributed to Cyril himself, though no one has ever seriously argued that it is an authentic Cyrilline work, for good reason. J. A. Mingarelli, who first discovered and published the treatise in the eighteenth century, after ten years of study attributed it to Didymus the Blind, largely based upon parallels with Didymus' *De Spiritu Sancto*, which survives in Jerome's Latin translation, and the statement from the fifth-century church historian Socrates Scholasticus that Didymus "dictated ... three books On the Trinity" (HE 4.25.6). For the next two centuries most scholars were content to accept Mingarelli's hypothesis, but in the past fifty years, thanks to the discovery of some of Didymus' works in the Tura papyri, scholarly opinion has shifted to the point that now many, and perhaps the majority, deny Didymian authorship of the work. At present I will leave open the question of the authorship of this treatise but I will return to it later in this article.
- [Crawford] The reason for introducing the *De Trinitate* here is that some have claimed it was another text that Cyril mined for passages from pagan authors for the purpose of deploying them in his rebuttal to Julian's attack. Comment on the relationship of these two works came as early as 1888, when Herm. Schrader pointed out that the same passages from Porphyry's now lost *History of Philosophy* were cited by both the author of the *De Trinitate* and Cyril. Schrader, however, argued that the common passages are best explained on the theory that a later copyist who read the pagan extracts in Cyril's *Contra Julianum* clumsily added them to Didymus' *De Trinitate*, implying that neither of the original authors of the two works drew upon the other.⁹ The next person to comment on the relation of these two texts was Walter Scott who produced a four-volume edition of the Hermetic writings. Fragments of the Hermetic corpus are cited in both the *De Trinitate* and *Contra Julianum*, and some of these too overlap, leading Scott to conclude that Cyril drew his extracts from the *De Trinitate*, at least initially, though he also suggested that Cyril undertook his own reading of the Hermetic corpus.¹⁰ The most extensive discussion thus far of Cyril's possible use of the *De Trinitate* is an article published by Robert Grant in this journal in 1964. Grant agreed with Scott that the direction of influence went from the *De Trinitate* to Cyril rather than the other way around, and, by analyzing a number of other instances of Cyril's use of earlier texts, he was able to highlight a consistent pattern that illustrated Cyril's working method, a topic to which I will return shortly.¹¹ Subsequent to Grant's study, Marie-Odile Boulnois noted in passing her agreement with his conclusion, and recently Jonathan Hicks has undertaken a brief analysis of the parallels and reached the same conclusion.¹²
- [Crawford] However, the editors of the new GCS edition of *Contra Julianum*, published in 2016-2017, appear to be divided amongst themselves on the issue. In the introduction to the text, Wolfram Kinzig acknowledged that "the question of whether Cyril draws from Ps-Didymus in such passages or vice versa [Didymus] from Cyril will be answered differently, although a common source, in my opinion, cannot be excluded".¹³ Further on in the introduction, Kinzig asserted that for the common citations from Porphyry's *History of Philosophy*, Ps-Didymus and Cyril have in fact drawn upon this source independent of one another, in light of the variants in their citations, and he similarly dismissed as "improbable" ("unwahrscheinlich") the claim that Cyril took his Hermetic citations from Didymus.¹⁴ In the apparatus accompanying one of the relevant passages, Christoph Riedweg was, in contrast, more non-committal than Kinzig, stating that Didymus might have drawn from Cyril, Cyril might have drawn from Didymus, or they could have had a common source.¹⁵ The issue also emerged in István Perczel's 2013 *Studia Patristica* article on the *De Trinitate*. Perczel's objective in this short preliminary study was to lay out the main points of his argument that the *De Trinitate* is in fact the presumed lost *Outlines of Theology* mentioned several times in the Pseudo-Dionysian corpus. If the *De Trinitate* was in fact composed by the late fifth or early sixth-century Christian Neoplatonist, then obviously it could not have served as Cyril's source for the Porphyrian and Hermetic extracts. Rather, Pseudo-Dionysius must have read and used Cyril as a source.¹⁶
- Crawford, *Reconsidering the Relationship between (ps-)Didymus' De Trinitate and Cyril of Alexandria's Contra Julianum*, 2020, p. 2-4.

The Witness of God is Greater

• [Hicks] The most significant of the arguments raised against Didymean authorship elucidates the partial inadequacy of the traditional case in favor of it. This inadequacy has been largely overcome by studies revealing the extent to which De Trinitate is dependent upon Didymus, On the Holy Spirit, a dependence that is most naturally explained by assuming a common author. Other arguments underline differences in approach to the same theological topics between De Trinitate and parts of the exegetical corpus. But in the most significant of these cases (the argument about Christ's human soul), it has been demonstrated that 1) De Trinitate has different opponents in view and 2) that its argument is based on earlier sources.

1 John 5:6-9 : Three Interpretations

Thomas Burgess (1756-1837) Bishop of St. Davids

• The great doctrines, which St. John inculcates both in his Gospel and Epistle, are the DIVINITY and the INCARNATION of Christ. In his Gospel the Divinity of Christ is asserted in the first verse of the first chapter, and his Incarnation in the fourteenth verse. The Divinity of Christ is proved by the witness of the Father and of the Holy Spirit, to which Christ himself appeals (John 8:16,18; 15:26) and by his own testimony of himself, attested and interpreted by his living witnesses, the Jews, for which he suffered death on the Cross. (John 10:33, 36; 19:7) In calling himself the Messiah, and the Son of God, he "made himself God," and "equal with God." For in that sense the character of the Messiah is predicted in the prophecies of Isaiah by the title of "Emmanuel, or God with us" and "the mighty God;" and in that sense, the Jews had been accustomed to understand the prophecies. The Jews understood the prophecies of the Old Testament much [PAGE 25] better than our modern Unitarians, and too well to suppose that Christ, when he called himself the Son of God, and "one with the Father," meant only that he was of the same mind and will with the Father. Such a oneness with God would not have subjected him to the death of the Cross. His Incarnation is proved by his death, and by those evidences of it which are recorded in St. John's Gospel (John 19:30, 34) namely, his expiration on the Cross, and the blood and water which issued from his side. The Apostle follows the same course of doctrine in his Epistle. In the first chapter the Divinity and Incarnation of Christ are asserted, (1 Jn 1:1, 2) The two doctrines are afterwards inculcated in the strongest terms: "Who is a liar, but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ?" (1 Jn 2:22) "Every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God; and this is that spirit of Antichrist." (1 Jn 4:3) The Divinity of Christ is proved, (1 Jn 5:7) by the testimony of the same three witnesses, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, as in the Gospel; and his Incarnation by the same three evidences of his death, the spirit, which "he gave up" (παρέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα) the water and the blood, as are recorded in the nineteenth chapter of the Gospel (Jn 19:34). [PAGE 26] In the eighth verse the mention of the spirit precedes the water and the blood, as in the Gospel, because Christ expired on the Cross before the blood and water issued from his side, which is a correspondence with the Gospel that confirms the literal interpretation of Augustine, Eucherius, &c. and with it one of the evidences of the necessity of the seventh verse. But Christ "came by water" before he was manifested by blood; and, therefore, *water* (ὕδωρ), and *blood* (αἷμα) are placed as in the context of the sixth verse. It is worthy of remark, that the threefold testimony to Christ's Divinity, and the three evidences of his death are peculiar to the Gospel of St. John. But the omission, then, of either of the verses of the controverted passage, the 7th or 8th, one proof of the Apostle's argument is lost, and complete agreement of the Gospel and Epistle is destroyed. So far for the internal evidence from the *general scope* of the Gospel and the Epistle. If now we compare the seventh verse with its context in the 6th, 8th, and 9th verses, we shall again find that the passage is defective without the seventh verse. That Christ is the Son of God, is testified by the Spirit: "It is the Spirit that beareth witness." (1 Jn 5:6) In the same verse the Spirit is declared to be a true witness; "the Spirit is [PAGE 27] truth;" and is proved to be so in the seventh verse, by the concurrence of HIS testimony with that of the FATHER and the SON. The seventh verse, therefore, is introduced to verify the conclusion of the sixth; and the eighth to exemplify the assertion in the sixth: "this is he that came by water and blood." He was "manifested by water" at his baptism (John 1:31), by water and blood in his death. He "came," therefore, and was "manifested" not by water only, with which he commenced his ministry on earth, but by water and blood, with which he terminated it. Again, without the ἐν [Greek word "one" as "these three are one"] of the seventh verse, the eighth verse has no antecedent for its τὸ ἐν [Greek neuter article and "one" as "in" these three agree in one"]. Moreover without the seventh verse, the ninth is deprived of an obvious and apposite reference. "If ye receive the witness of men," if ye allow the validity of the testimony of three men, "the witness of God," in his threefold testimony, "is greater" in every way, in dignity, in truth, and unity. It is greater in unity, because though three men "may be one" in testimony [God's Law] by an entire unity of evidence, the three heavenly witnesses are necessarily one in testimony, being one in nature and [PAGE 28] substance. The THREE are proved to be ONE in nature by other passages of Scripture; they are, therefore, one both in nature and testimony, but "a fortiori" (i.e., from the stronger argument) one in testimony, because one in nature. It should always be borne in mind, that the purport of the seventh verse is not to inculcate the doctrine of the Trinity, but, as in the Gospel, to

The Witness of God is Greater

prove that "Jesus is the Son of God," by the testimony of the Three Divine Witnesses. (Burgess, A Letter to the Reverend Thomas Beynon, Archdeacon of Cardigan, 1829, p. 24-28)

John Jones ['Ben David'] (1766-1827) Welsh Unitarian Minister

• The advocates of the Trinity at first, when the danger was most imminent, were compelled to be silent, to refer only to the disputed text [1 Jn 5:7], and suppose its notoriety, its authenticity and its purport [to be] in their favour. Then, as the danger diminished with the lapse of time, they felt themselves free to quote it, but quote it in part, and that part only which, detached from the rest, favoured their interpretation, thus carefully guarding the system, as a serpent does its head, against being crushed under the broad and ponderous foot of Unitarianism. Now, the clauses in the disputed text and its context, fatal to the Trinitarian faith, are the two following: the representation of the Father, Word and Holy Spirit as three witnesses, and the clause in the eighth verse, which explains the unity asserted in the seventh to be unity of consent or testimony [i.e., "agreement"]. For if it be asked, as it is natural to do. What were they witnesses of, or what did they bear testimony to? The whole Epistle supplies the answer, That Jesus is the Christ or the Son of God. The testimony of the Father in the beginning of the Gospel answers, That Jesus is the beloved Son of God. The Logos of God, which became flesh, answers, That Jesus is the Son of God. The descent of the Holy Spirit on the apostles answers, That Jesus is the Christ, now sitting at the right hand of God. And if it be further asked, In what respect are these three witnesses one? The testimony which each gives supplies the true answer, that they are one in consent - and the same answer is given by the clause in the next verse, which says, that they "agree in one." We are then to expect that these clauses, one or both of them, should, as much as possible, be kept out of sight by the ancient advocates of the Trinity, whenever they notice this celebrated text. I propose next to examine briefly their writings without much regard to the order of time. Porson (Richard Porson 1759 – 1808), in his "Letters to Travis", p. 155, gives the following quotation: "Abbot Joachim (1135-1202 AD) compared the final clauses of the seventh and eighth verses, whence he inferred, that the same expression ought to be interpreted in the same manner. Since, therefore, he said, nothing more than unity of testimony and consent can be meant by "tres unum sunt" [Three are one] in the eighth verse, nothing more than unity of testimony and consent is meant in the seventh. This opinion the Lateran Council (1215 AD) and Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274 AD) confuted [Joachim's interpretation], by cutting out the clause in the eighth verse. Thomas tells us that it was not extant in the true copies; but that it was said to have been added by the Arian heresies [heretics], to [PAGE 93] pervert the sound understanding of the foregoing authority." This Abbot Joachim was an Arian: and he here at once puts a torch in our hand to guide us through the intricate windings of this subterraneous controversy. The verse pressed as hard against the Arians as against those who denied the pre-existence of Christ. And how does this champion of Arianism repel its force? By denying its genuineness? By pleading its absence from MSS. and versions? No; he admits its authenticity, and meets his antagonists by pointing out the true sense of the verse. And how did Thomas Aquinas answer? In a way which fully accounts for the silence of the more early fathers and for the erasure of the text from manuscripts and translations: They cut out the clause [final clause of verse 8] which led to the true understanding of the verse. (Ben David, On 1 John 5:7 [Letters to the Editor] in the Monthly Repository, 1826, p. 92-93)

Michael Servetus (1509-1553 AD) On the Errors of the Trinity

33. It remains to reply to certain passages of Scripture from which the Moderns suppose that the three beings can be deduced: as, There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word and the Holy Spirit and these three are one. (1 John 5:7) But in order to give this a more satisfactory answer, I shall reply first to two other passages of Scripture, which they also bring forward to prove this matter: I and the Father are one, and The Father is in me, and I in the Father. (John 10:30; 14:10,11) The first passage Augustine brings forward against Arius, because he said, one; and against Sabellius, because he said, are. (In Joannis Evang., Tract. Lxxi; MPL. xxv, 182; NPNF. Ser. I, ii, 328; Dods, xi, 261) And from this he argues the two beings as against Sabellius and one Nature as against Arius. Yet I think that the words make simpler sense, for Christ is speaking and he said, are; because, being elohim and man, he said, one in the neuter, as Tertullian says, (Adv. Praxean xxv; MPL. ii, 188; ANF. iii, 621; ANCL. xv, 391) and he did not say, one in the masculine. For the meaning of one in the masculine singular seems to be as if it denoted the singleness of one and the same being. But one in the neuter has reference not to singleness but to oneness of mind and harmony, so that the two might be credited with one power. And this is what the earlier writers rightly called one ousia, because there is one authority given by the Father to the Son. But later writers made a most wicked jest of the word homousion (i.e., Of the same substance), as well as of hypostasis,²⁹³ and Persons, making Nature out of ousia, not only contrary to the proper meaning of the word, but contrary to all passages of Scripture in which that word is found. For in John and Matthew, (John 17:2; Matthew 28:18) and wherever Christ speaks of the authority given him of the Father, the expression ousia is used, which to the Greeks signifies not Nature, but wealth, treasures, possessions, riches and power, which are all in Christ in rich measure;

The Witness of God is Greater

and he has one authority, one sympathy and will, with the Father. And "one" (Latin: unum) for Latins and "one" (Greek: ἓν) for the Greeks include those that are of one mind, are alike, and all mind the same thing; and to take unum in the Scriptures for one Nature is more Metaphysical than Christian; nay, it is foreign to the [PAGE 26] Scriptures. Greece never knew of eiv being taken for one Nature. Should you say, Why, then, do the Greek doctors take it so? Let Basil the Great reply to this, where he says (Adv. Eunomium, IV; MPG. xxxix, 679) that this is not in accordance with the proper meaning of the word, but is [metaphysical] philosophical reasoning. We ought therefore to get at the interpretation of the word either from its proper meaning, or from other passage of Scripture. But you will nowhere find that unum in the Scriptures means the Metaphysical unity of nature; indeed, quite the contrary, as appears from the words of Christ his own self, who like a faithful teacher explains himself where he prays the Father of the Apostles, that they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us...and that they may be one, even as we also are one. (John 17:21,22) Repeating the word again and again, he prays that they may be "one" (Latin: unum). Does it follow that we, who are one in the same way as they, constitute one Nature? Of course we are one, since we are of one mind, keeping the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. (Ephesians 4:3) Again, I will give them one heart and one way; (Jeremiah 32:39) and, the multitude of them that believed had one heart and one soul. (Acts 4:32) And along with understanding this saying, Origen would have another saying expressly understood: The Father and the Son, he says, are one, for it is evident that they are two beings in Substance, but one in sympathy and harmony and in identity of will. (Contra Celsum, VII. XI; MPG. xi, 1534; ANF. iv, 643 f.; ANCL. xiii, 500; where he explains John 10:30 in the light of these texts.) [PAGE 27] 36. From this point on the main question is easily settled. In the first place, the Father testifies: The Father that hath sent me, he beareth witness of me; (John 5:37) for he testifies, saying, This is my beloved Son. (Matthew 3:17) In the second place, the Word testifies; for the very language of Christ makes it plain enough that he is from Jehovah, as he witnesses concerning himself. From his words it is seen above all how great he is, although the world today makes Christ's words trifling and ineffectual. But when the spirit is given they will be found to be full of life. In the third place, the holy spirit testifies; but as to what this is, I say nothing here, meaning to set it forth in the following Book. (Book II, paragraph 21 ff) You shall also see what else can be understood by the Paraclete. For the present I say as Christ explains: For while I am present, the language that you have heard, or the words that I speak, bear testimony; (John 14:25,26; 15:26) afterwards, when ye are clothed with power from on high, as Luke says, (Luke 24:49) ye shall bear witness; and when this power had been received through the spirit coming upon them, he [PAGE 28] commanded them to bear witness. (Acts 1:8) And this is the witness of the holy spirit, even as Paul calls the witness of his conscience the witness of the holy spirit. (Romans 9:1) And these are the one, as has been explained above. (Paragraphs 33-35) And the Glossa Ordinaria itself explains: Are one; that is bearing witness of the same thing. (The Glossa Ordinaria of Walafrid Strabo served the West for five centuries as the chief source of biblical learning.; MPL 64.702 f.) For John's intention is to show the force of the truth from the agreement of the witnesses; because their testimonies do not waver or vary so that they can be objected to by some exception taken, as often happens in the case of different witnesses in law. Besides, a note on Matthew 17:3 says, You may see Moses and Elijah talking with Yahshua; for the Law and the Prophets and Jehovah say one thing and agree together. (Strabo, op. cit.; MPL 64:144) Thus three testify there to the Word itself: Christ himself and Moses, that is, the Law given by the Father and Elijah, that is, the spirit of the Prophets; because the testimony of Yahshua is the spirit of prophecy. (Revelation 19:10) And these three are one and between them there is the most complete harmony of thought. Again, an explanation is found in the words of the Master, who cites three witnesses: (John 5:33,36,37) firstly, of the witness of the spirit, for John bore witness when the spirit descended; secondly, his own witness, for the works that he does bear witness; thirdly, he adduces the witness of the Father who bears witness; and these three agree. (Servetus, On the Errors of the Trinity, Book 1.33-36, 1532 AD; Translated by Earl Morse Wilbur, 1932, p. 25-28)

Gregory Thaumaturgus : A Sectional Confession of Faith (circa 330-399 AD)

• [Spoerl] In the florilegia of citation from earlier writers that Theodoret of Cyprus appends to each of the three dialogues that make up the first three volumes of the "Eranistes" (meaning: collecting, gathering), he reproduces four passages from writings of Apollinarius that coincide with the received text of the "A Sectional Confession of Faith" (Greek: ἡ κατὰ μέρος πίστις). Two of these citations are, in Theodoret's words, then from the "Short treatise on the Faith," (Greek: λογίδιον περὶ πίστεως) by Apollinarius. Caspari, and more recently, Muhlenbert, concluded on the basis of this evidence that the "Short treatise on the Faith" (Greek: λογίδιον περὶ πίστεως) that Theodoret consulted for the Eranistes was none other than the "A Sectional Confession of Faith" (Greek: ἡ κατὰ μέρος πίστις), and that Theodoret knew that Apollinarius wrote it, either from the title treatise bore in the manuscript Theodoret used and/or some other report about its origin. Lietzmann supports Caspari's estimation of Theodoret's reliability by suggesting that Theodoret may have been able to obtain original manuscripts of Apollinarius' works when he was still residing in Antioch shortly after 420. At this time, as Theodoret relates in

The Witness of God is Greater

his church history, the Apollinarian community at Antioch rejoined the established church under bishop Theodotus. (Spoerl, A Study of the Κατὰ Μέρος Πίστις by Apollinarius of Laodicea, 1991, p. 66)

• [Spoerl] In the "Adversus fraudes Apollinistarum", Leontius of Byzantium claims that Apollinarius' disciples tried to win over the orthodox to their master's views by circulating works of his under the names of other venerable and orthodox fathers. Very early on in the treatise, Leontius states unequivocally that among the Apollinarian forgeries was "A Sectional Confession of Faith" (Greek: Ἡ Κατὰ Μέρος Ἀπολιναρίου Πίστις) which had been inscribed with the name of Gregory Thaumaturgus. Later on in the treatise, Leontius cites from a section of "A Sectional Confession of Faith" (Greek: ἡ κατὰ μέρος πίστις) that closely, but not exactly, reproduces the material in chapters 27 through 31 of the received text. While the "Adversus Fraudes" provided the definitive proof that "A Sectional Confession of Faith" (Greek: ἡ κατὰ μέρος πίστις), hitherto transmitted under Gregory Thaumaturgus, had Apollinarius as its author, Caspari notes that even prior to the early sixth century there were indications that the treatise was circulating pseudonymously. (Spoerl, A Study of the Κατὰ Μέρος Πίστις by Apollinarius of Laodicea, 1991, p. 67-68)

HITS:

- **IV. One therefore is God the Father, one is the Word the Son, one is the Spirit the life and the sanctification of all. And neither is there another God as Father, nor is there another Son as Word of God, nor is there another Spirit as life-giving and sanctifying.** Further, although the saints are called both gods, and sons, and spirits, they are neither filled with the Spirit, nor are to be assimilated to the Son and God. And if, then, any one makes this affirmation, that the Son is God, simply as being Himself filled with divinity, and not as being generated of divinity, he has belied the Word, he has belied the Wisdom, he has lost the knowledge of God; he has fallen away into the worship of the creature, he has taken up the impiety of the Greeks, to that he has gone back; and he has become a follower of the unbelief of the Jews, who, supposing the Word of God to be but a human son, have refused to accept Him as God, and have declined to acknowledge Him as the Son of God. But it is impious to think of the Word of God as merely human, and to think of the works which are done by Him as abiding, while He abides not Himself. And if any one says that the Christ works all things only as commanded by the Word, he will both make the Word of God idle, and will change the Lord's order into servitude. For the slave is one altogether under command, and the created is not competent to create; for to suppose that what is itself created may in like manner create other things, would imply that it has ceased to be like the creature. (Apollinarius, "Detailed Confession of the Faith")
 - **Greek: Εἷς οὖν ὁ πατήρ ὁ θεός, εἷς υἱὸς ὁ λόγος, ἐν πνεῦμα ζωῆ, ἡ ἀγιωσύνη τῶν ὄλων. καὶ οὔτε θεὸς ἕτερος ὡς πατήρ οὔτε υἱὸς ἕτερος ὡς λόγος θεοῦ οὔτε πνεῦμα ἕτερον ὡς ζωοποιὸν καὶ ἀγιαστικόν, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ θεοὶ καὶ υἱοὶ καὶ πνεύματα καλοῦνται οἱ ἅγιοι, οὔτε πνεύματος πληροῦνται οὔτε ὁμοιοῦνται πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν καὶ θεόν. Ἐὰν δέ τις οὕτως λέγῃ τὸν υἱὸν εἶναι θεὸν ὡς πληρωθέντα θεότητος καὶ αὐτόν, καὶ οὐχ ὡς γεννηθέντα ἐκ θεότητος, ἡρνήσατο τὸν λόγον, ἡρνήσατο τὴν σοφίαν, ἀπώλεσε τὴν γνώσιν τὴν περὶ θεοῦ, κατέπεσεν εἰς τὸ σέβειν τὴν κτίσιν, κατέλαβεν Ἑλλήνων ἀσεβίαν, ἐπὶ ταύτην ὑπέστρεψεν, τὴν ἰουδαίων ἀπιστίαν ἐμιμήσατο, οἱ τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ λόγον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπινον ἀπολαμβάνοντες θεὸν εἶναι τοῦτον οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν οὐδὲ θεοῦ υἱὸν ὠμολόγησαν· ἀσεβῆς δὲ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον ὡς ἀνθρώπινον νοεῖν καὶ τὸ ἔργα τὰ δι' αὐτοῦ μένοντα, μὴ μένοντος αὐτοῦ. Ἐὰν δέ τις εἴπῃ κελευόμενον διὰ τοῦ λόγου τὸν Χριστὸν ἐργάζεσθαι τὰ πάντα, καὶ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον ἀργὸν ποιήσῃ καὶ τὴν τοῦ δεσπότητος τάξιν εἰς δουλείαν μεταθήσῃ· δοῦλον [PAGE 170] γὰρ ἅπαν τὸ κελευόμενον καὶ τὸ κτιστὸν οὐχ ἰκανὸν εἰς τὸ κτίζειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐξισωθήσεται τῷ κτίσαντι αὐτὸ κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον, ἴν' ὡς ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἔκτισται, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸ κτίσῃ τὰ ἄλλα.** (Apollinarius, "ἡ κατὰ μέρος πίστις" in Apollinarius von Laodicea und seine Schule edited by Lietzmann, 1904, vol 1, p. 169-170)

Comment:

Note: "Father", "Word", and "Spirit" introduce the section. This is an allusion to I John 5:7.

- VII. But some treat the Holy Trinity in an awful manner, when they confidently assert that there are not three persons, and introduce (the idea of) a person devoid of subsistence. Wherefore we clear

The Witness of God is Greater

ourselves of Sabellius, who says that the Father and the Son are the same. For he holds that the Father is He who speaks, and that the Son is the Word that abides in the Father, and becomes manifest at the time of the creation, and thereafter reverts to God on the fulfilling of all things. The same affirmation he makes also of the Spirit. **We forswear this, because we believe that three persons - namely, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—are declared to possess the one Godhead:** for the one divinity showing itself forth according to nature in the Trinity establishes the oneness of the nature; and thus there is a (divinity that is the) property of the Father, according to the word, "There is one God the Father;" **and there is a divinity hereditary in the Son, as it is written, "The Word was God;"** and there is a divinity present according to nature in the Spirit - to wit, what subsists as the Spirit of God - according to Paul's statement, "Ye are the temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in you." (Apollinaris, "Detailed Confession of the Faith")

- **Greek:** Δεινὸν δὲ μελέτημά τινες κατὰ τῆς ἁγίας μελετῶσι τριάδος οἱ τρία πρόσωπα οὐκ εἶναι δισχυριζόμενοι, ὡς περ ἀνυπόστατον εἰσγοντες πρόσωπον· δι' ἧς ἀποφεύγομεν τὸν Σαβέλλιον λέγοντα τὸν αὐτὸν πατέρα, τὸν αὐτὸν υἱόν. πατέρα μὲν λέγει εἶναι τὸν λαλοῦντα, υἱὸν δὲ τὸν λόγον ἐν τῷ πατρὶ μένοντα καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν τῆς δημιουργίας φαινόμενον, [PAGE 172] ἔπειτα μετὰ τὴν ἀπάντων πλήρωσιν τῶν πραγμάτων εἰς θεὸν ἀνατρέχοντα. [τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος λέγει.] **πιστεύομεν γὰρ ἡμεῖς ὅτι τρία πρόσωπα μίαν ἔχοντα τὴν θεότητα δηλοῦνται, πατὴρ καὶ υἱὸς καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.** ἡ γὰρ θεότης μία φυσικῶς ἐν τριάδι μαρτυρουμένη τὴν ἐνότητα τῆς φύσεως, βεβαιοῖ, ὅτι περ καὶ ἴδιον μὲν πατρὸς κατὰ τὸ "εἷς θεὸς ὁ πατήρ", **πατρῶν δὲ τῷ υἱῷ κατὰ τὸ "θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος"** καὶ τῷ πνεύματι δὲ παρὸν φυσικῶς τὸ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ὑπαάρχειν καθὸ λέγει Παῦλος "ναὸς θεοῦ ἐστε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν". (Apollinaris, "ἡ κατὰ μέρος πίστις" in Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule edited by Lietzmann, 1904, vol 1, p. 171-172)

Comment:

Note: In this next section, the three persons given and declared to be one (three are one) and John 1:1 is referenced.

- VIII. Now the person in each declares the independent being and subsistence. But divinity is the property of the Father; **and whenever the divinity of these three is spoken of as one, testimony is borne that the property of the Father belongs also to the Son and the Spirit: wherefore, if the divinity may be spoken of as one in three persons, the trinity is established, and the unity is not dissevered; and the oneness which is naturally the Father's is also acknowledged to be the Son's and the Spirit's.** If one, however, speaks of one person as he may speak of one divinity, it cannot be that the two in the one are as one. For Paul addresses the Father as one in respect of divinity, and speaks of the Son as one in respect of lordship: "There is one God the Father, of whom are all things, and we for Him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by Him." Wherefore if there is one God, and one Lord, and at the same time one person as one divinity in one lordship, how can credit be given to (this distinction in) the words "of whom" and "by whom," as has been said before? We speak, accordingly, not as if we separated the lordship from the divinity, nor as estranging the one from the other, but as unifying them in the way warranted by actual fact and truth; and we call the Son God with the property of the Father, as being His image and offspring; and we call the Father Lord, addressing Him by the name of the One Lord, as being His Origin and Begetter. (Apollinaris, "Detailed Confession of the Faith")

- **Greek:** πρόσωπον μὲν γὰρ ἐκάστου τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸ καὶ ὑφεστάναι δηλοῖ, θεότης δὲ πατρὸς ἰδιότητα παροῦσαν υἱῷ τε καὶ πνεύματι μαρτυρεῖ· **ὥστε εἰ μὲν ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις μία ῥηθήσεται ἡ θεότης, καὶ ἡ τριάς διαβεβαιούται καὶ τὸ ἐν οὐ διακόπτεται καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα φυσικὴ υἱοῦ τε καὶ πνεύματος ἐνότης ὁμολογεῖται·** εἰ δὲ καὶ πρόσωπον ἐν λέγει τις ὡς περ καὶ τὴν θεότητα μίαν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς ἐν τὰ δύο ἐν τῷ ἐνί. ὁ γὰρ Παῦλος ἕνα μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς θεότητος τὸν πατέρα βοᾷ, ἕνα δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς κυριότητος τὸν υἱὸν λέγει· "εἷς θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν, καὶ εἷς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ". τοιγαροῦν <εἰ> εἷς μὲν θεός, κύριος δὲ εἷς, ἐν δὲ πρόσωπον καθὸ θεότης μίας κυριότητος, καὶ πῶς πιστεύεται τὸ "ἐξ οὗ" καὶ "δι' οὗ" ὡς προεῖρηται; καὶ οὐ διακόπτοντες ἡμεῖς τῆς θεότητος τὴν

The Witness of God is Greater

κυριότητα λέγομεν οὐδ' ἀπαλλοτριούντες θατέρου θάτερον, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐνοῦντες ὡς ἔχει τὸ [PAGE 173] πρᾶγμα καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια, καὶ θεὸν μὲν τὸν υἱὸν τῷ ἰδιώματι τοῦ πατρὸς καλοῦντες ὡς εἰκόνα καὶ γέννημα, κύριον δὲ τὸν πατέρα τῷ τοῦ ἐνὸς κυρίου προσαγορεύοντες ὀνόματι ὡς τούτου ἀρχὴν καὶ γεννήτορα. (Apollinaris, "ἡ κατὰ μέρος πίστις" in Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule edited by Lietzmann, 1904, vol 1, p. 172-173)

Comment:

Note: In this next section, the author indicates that there is a "witness" and/or "testimony" of these three persons "Father" "Son" "Spirit" alluding to John's use of "witness" and "testimony" in his writings about the Trinity and the Word.

- XXI. And again Paul says: "That mortality might be swallowed up of life. Now He that hath wrought us for the selfsame thing is God, who also hath given unto us the earnest of the Spirit." And again he says: "Approving ourselves as the ministers of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities," and so forth. Then he adds these words: "By kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned, by the word of truth, by the power of God." **Behold here again the saint has defined the holy Trinity, naming God, and the Word, and the Holy Ghost.** (Apollinaris, "Detailed Confession of the Faith")
 - **Greek:** καὶ πάλιν λέγει Παῦλος ἵνα καταποθῆ τὸ θνητὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ζωῆς· ὁ δὲ κατεργασάμενος ἡμᾶς εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο θεός, ὁ δοὺς ὑμῖν τὸν ἀππαβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος". καὶ πάλιν φησὶν "συνιστάνοντες ἑαυτοὺς ὡς θεοῦ διάκονοι, ἐν ὑπομονῇ πολλῇ, ἐν θλίψεσιν, ἐν ἀνάγκαις, ἐν στενοχωρίαις" καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. εἶτα ἐπιφέρει λέγων "ἐν χρηστότητι, ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ, ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἀνυποκρίπτῳ, ἐν λόγῳ ἀληθείας, ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ". **ἰδοὺ γὰρ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὤρισεν ὁ ἅγιος τὴν ἁγίαν τριάδα, ὀνομάσας θεὸν καὶ λόγον καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον.** (Apollinaris, "ἡ κατὰ μέρος πίστις" in Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule edited by Lietzmann, 1904, vol 1, p. 182)

Comment:

Note: The Trinity, three persons, is given as "God", "Word" "Holy Spirit" indicating another allusion to the use of "Word" in the naming of the persons of the Trinity.

- XXIII. And there, too, they ought to give ear to Paul, for he by no means separates the Holy Spirit from the divinity of the Father and the Son, but clearly sets forth the discourse of the Holy Ghost as one from the person of the Father, and thus as given expression to by God, just as it has been represented in the before-mentioned sayings. **Wherefore the holy Trinity is believed to be one God, in accordance with these testimonies of Holy Scripture; albeit all through the inspired Scriptures numberless announcements are supplied to us, all confirmatory of the apostolic and ecclesiastical faith.** (Apollinaris, "Detailed Confession of the Faith").
 - **Greek:** κἀνταῦθα ἀκουέτωσαν Παύλου μηδαμῶς χωρίζοντος τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τῆς θεότητος τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς δηλοῦντος τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος διαλαλίαν ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπάρχουσιν καὶ οὕτως ὡς ἀπὸ θεοῦ εἰρημένην, καθὼς ἀποδέδοται ἐν τοῖς προειρημένοις ῥητοῖς. **διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ εἰς θεὸς ἡ ἁγία τριάς πιστεύεται καὶ προσκυνεῖται κατὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς θείας γραφῆς μαρτυρηθέντα, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα πανταχοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἀναρίθμητοι διδασκαλῖαι ἡμῖν ὑπάρχουσι, συμμαρτυροῦσαι τῇ ἀποστολικῇ καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ πίστει.** (Apollinaris, "ἡ κατὰ μέρος πίστις" in Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule edited by Lietzmann, 1904, vol 1, p. 184)

Comment:

Note: Here the author again refers to the "testimony" and/or "witness" in the Holy Scripture concerning the Trinity. Use of the Greek word "witness" as in I John 5:7 is used and a further allusion to many other places in Scripture where the Trinity is spoken of.

The Witness of God is Greater

“In Earth” Greek Examples

Nicene Creed in Basil's Letter 125

- [Basil : Letter 125] Now let the creed itself, composed at Nicaea, be added by us: We believe in one God the Father Almighty, maker of all things, visible and invisible, and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, born of the Father, the only Begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father; God of God, Light of Light, true God of true God; begotten not made; consubstantial with the Father, by whom all things were made, **both in heaven and on earth**; who for us men and for our salvation came down and was incarnate, and was made Man. He suffered and arose on the third day, and He ascended into heaven and shall come to judge the living and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost... (Basil of Caesarea, Letter CXXV, A transcript of the faith as dictated by Saint Basil, and subscribed by Eustathius, bishop of Sebasteia; Translation R.J. Deferrari and M.R.P. McGuire, vol 3, Loeb Library Classics, 1961, p. 264-265)
 - **Greek:** Ἐγκείσθω δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ πίστις ἡ κατὰ Νίκαιαν συγγραφείσα. [2] «Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀορατῶν ποιητὴν. Καὶ εἰς ἓνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς Μονογενῆ, τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς: Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, Φῶς ἐκ Φωτὸς, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα: ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο τὰ τε **ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῆ**. Τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα καὶ σαρκωθέντα, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, παθόντα καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀνελθόντα εἰς οὐρανοὺς, ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. Καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας: ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι ἢ τρεπτόν ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοὺς τοιούτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ Ἐκκλησία.»(Basil of Caesarea, Letter CXXV; Migne Graeca, PG 32.548-549)

The Epistle of Barnabas 10:5 : ἐν τῇ γῆ

- [Barnabas]”And thou shalt not eat,”saith He, ”lamprey nor polypus nor cuttlefish.”Thou shalt not, He meaneth, become like unto such men, who are desperately wicked, and are already condemned to death, just as these fishes alone are accursed and swim in the depths, not swimming on the surface like the rest, but dwell **on the ground** beneath the deep sea.(Translated by J.B. Lightfoot.)
 - **Greek:** [5]”Καὶ οὐ φάγη,”φησίν, ”σμύραιναν οὐδὲ πολύποδα οὐδὲ σηπίαν: οὐ μὴ, φησίν, ὁμοιωθήσῃ κολλώμενος ὁ ἀνθρώποις τοιοῦτοις, οἵπινες εἰς τέλος [p. 376] εἰσὶν ἀσεβεῖς καὶ κεκριμένοι ἤδη τῷ θανάτῳ, ὡς καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἰχθύδια μόνᾳ ἐπικατάρᾳ ἐν τῷ βυθῷ νήχεται, μὴ κολυμβῶντα ὡς τὰ λοιπά, ἀλλ' **ἐν τῇ γῆ** κάτω τοῦ βυθοῦ κατοικεῖ. <www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/barnabas-lightfoot.html>.

Tobit : ἐν τῇ γῆ

- Tobit 3:15 And I did not stain my name or the name of my father **in the land** of my captivity. I am my father's only daughter and he does not have another child to inherit his property from him. Nor does he have a closely related clansman, nor a kinsman for whom I might preserve myself as a wife. Already seven have perished. Therefore, why do I still go on living? And if it does not seem best to you to kill me, Lord, now pay heed to their reproach about me.”(Littman, ”The Book Of Tobit In Codex Sinaiticus Text And Translation”, 2008, p. 11)
 - **Greek:** ὄνομα καὶ οὐδὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς μου **ἐν τῇ γῆ** τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας μου. μονογενῆς εἰμι τῷ πατρί μου, καὶ οὐχ ὑπάρχει αὐτῷ ἕτερον τέκνον, ἵνα κληρονομήσῃ αὐτόν, οὐδὲ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῷ ἐγγυς οὔτε συγγενῆς αὐτῷ ὑπάρχει, ἵνα συντηρήσω αὐτὴν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα. ἤδη ἀπώλοντό μοι ἑπτὰ, καὶ ἵνα τί μοί ἐστιν ἔτι ζῆν; καὶ εἰ μὴ σοι δοκεῖ ἀποκτεῖναι με, κἂν, νῦν εἰσάκουσον ὄνειδισμὸν μου. (Littman, ”The Book Of Tobit In Codex Sinaiticus Text And Translation”, 2008, p. 11)

The Third Council of Constantinople (692) : The Sixth Ecumenical Council

- [Council] And this our holy and Ecumenical Synod inspired of God has set its seal to the Creed which was put forth by the 318 Fathers, and again religiously confirmed by the 150, which also the other holy synods cordially received and ratified for the taking away of every soul-destroying heresy. The profession of faith of the 318 holy and blessed fathers in Nicaea:”WE believe in one God the Father all powerful, maker of all things both seen and unseen. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only-begotten begotten from the Father, that is from

The Witness of God is Greater

the substance [Gr. οὐσίας; Lat. substantia] of the Father, God from God, light from light, true God from true God, begotten [Gr. γεννηθέντα; Lat. natum] not made [Gr. ποιηθέντα; Lat. factum], CONSUBSTANTIAL [Gr. ὁμοούσιον; Lat. unius substantiae] with the Father, through whom all things came to be, both those **in heaven and those in earth...**"(Engl. tr. based on NPNF 2nd ser, v. 14)

- **Greek:** καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῶν τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὀκτῶ πατέρων ἐκτεθέν, καὶ αὐτῆς παρὰ τῶν ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα θεοφρόνως βεβαιωθέν, ὅπερ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ ἅγιοι σύνοδοι ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει πάσης ψυχοφθόρου αἰρέσεως ἀσπασίως ἐδέξαντο καὶ ἐπεκύρωσαν σύμβολον καὶ ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀγία καὶ οἰκουμένη θεοπνεύστως ἐπεσφράγισε σύνοδος. Ἐκθεσις πίστεως τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὀκτῶ ἁγίων καὶ μακαρίων πατέρων: Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα θεόν, πατέρα, παντοκράτορα, πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητὴν, καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μονογενῆ τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς, θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα: ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο τὰ τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῆ."
- Acts, Session XVIII., L. and C., Concilia, Tom. VI., col. 1019.
<ldysinger.stjohnsem.edu/@magist/0692_Const3_ec6/02_const3.htm>.

Jean Hessels (1522-1566 AD) : Almost All Greek MSS read "in earth"

- Jan Hessels, Jean Leonardi Hasselius or Jean Hessels[1] (Hasselt, 1522 – 1566) was a Flemish theologian and controversialist at the University of Louvain.[2] He was a defender of Baianism.[3]
- Hessels was born at Mechlin in 1522, and obtained his doctorate in theology from Louvain. He had been teaching for eight years in Park Abbey, the Premonstratensian house near Louvain, when in 1560, he was appointed professor of theology at the university. Like Michael Baius, who was his senior colleague, Hessels preferred drawing his theology from the Church Fathers, especially from Augustine of Hippo, rather than from the Schoolmen.[4] While Chancellor Ruard Tapper and Josse Ravesteyn, Professor of Theology were at the Council of Trent, Baius and Hessels took the occasion to introduce new methods and new doctrines.
- Not content, however, with a mere change of method they began to show their contempt for traditional opinions, and in a short time alarming rumours were in circulation both inside and outside the university that their teaching on Original Sin, Grace, and Free-will, was not in harmony with the doctrine of the Church. The Franciscans submitted to the judgment of the Sorbonne a number of propositions (18) selected from the writings or lectures of Baius and his friends, and the opinion of the Sorbonne was distinctly unfavourable.[5]
- As the dispute grew more heated and threatened to have serious consequences for the university and the country, in 1563, the Archbishop of Mechlin, Cardinal Granvelle, believing that the absence of the two professors might lead to peace, induced both to accompany theology professor the elder Cornelius Jansenius (later Bishop of Ghent) to the Council of Trent as the theologians of the King of Spain (1563).[5] There, Hessels took an active part. He prepared the decree "De invocatione et reliquiis sanctorum et sacris imaginibus".
- Even at Trent the Scholastic party found fault with his departure from the beaten tracks of learning; after his return the attacks continued. Rather than wasting his energy on dogmatic quarrels, Hessels directed his efforts in polemical works against Protestantism. In his support of papal infallibility he was an opponent of Georgius Cassander.[6] He also upheld the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception (impugned by Baius).
- He died November 7, 1566.
- Jean_Hessels. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean_Hessels>

Hessels Commentary on 1 John 5 - Earthly Witnesses

- *"And there are three that give testimony on earth: the spirit, the water, and the blood."* That is: God similarly bears witness down on earth through three things, that Jesus is Christ and his son. Those three things are the Holy Spirit, attesting and affirming that fact through the works of its grace; the water of baptism, symbolized by the water miraculously flowing out of Christ's side; and the blood of redemption, which also miraculously flowed out of the dead Savior's side.
- *"And these three are one."* The Greek says literally *"these three are into one"* or *"for one;"*¹ but that agrees with our reading. For in the language of Scripture, *"I will be to him for a father"* is the same as *"I will be to him a father."*² So likewise, *are for one and are one* mean the same. These things, however,

The Witness of God is Greater

are not said to be one in the same way as the Father, the Word and the Holy Spirit are; but because they bear witness to the same thing: that Jesus is the Son of God. Aug. explains it differently as we will see below, where we will also defer to the variety of lessons.

- Moreover, the testimony of the Holy Spirit is placed in the first place, because it endures forever in the Church, and makes faith in the other two testimonies of water and blood; For the Holy Spirit always works both faith in Christ and godliness even to the end of the age, and thus makes all the testimonies of God credible, some incredible. On this matter, see August. Book 22 of the City of God 5. The testimony of the water is put in second position because baptism is celebrated visibly in the Church until the end of the world even though the water that miraculously flowed out of Christ's side can no longer be seen. The testimony of the blood is listed in third position because Christ's blood was seen in its proper appearance only once, when he died. **We must note, about the threefold testimony in this passage, that manuscript readings varied even among the ancients. Almost all the Greek ones read "for there are three that give testimony on earth: the Spirit, the water, and the blood; and these three agree in one,"** without any mention of the threefold testimony from heaven - "*the testimony of the Father, of the Word and of the Holy Spirit.*"

- Jean Hessels, "In the first canonical commentary of Blessed the Apostle and the Evangelist" (Latin: In primam B. Ioannis Apostoli et Evangelistæ Canonicam Epistolam absolutissimus commentarius), 1568, p. 106-108; Translated by Sarah Van der Pas, correspondence, December 2021.

Latin:

- *Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua, & sanguis, hoc est: Similiter & in terra deorsum per tria dat Deus testimonia, Iesum esse Christum & filium suum. Ea autem sunt, Spiritus sanctus gratiæ suæ operationibus id contestans & asserens: Aqua baptismatis per aquam de Christi latere miraculosè profluentem designata: & sanguis redemptionis, qui et ipse non sine miraculo de mortui Saluatoris latere profluxit.*

- *Et hi tres vnum sunt. Græcè est, hi tres in vnum vel ad vnum sunt, sed hoc coincidit cum nostra lectione. Locutione enim scripturæ: Ego ero illi in patrem, idem est, ac si Latinè diceretur; Ego ero illi pater: sic idem est, Sunt in vnum, Sunt vnum. Dicuntur autem hæc vnum esse, non quomodo Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus sanctus; sed quia idem testantur, nempe quod Iesus sit filius Dei. Aliter exponit Aug. sicut videbimus infra, ubi etiam de varietate lectionum differemus.*

- Porro primo loco ponitur Spiritus sancti testimonium, quia hoc perpetuo in Ecclesia perdurat, ac reliquis duobus testimonijs aquæ & sanguinis fidem facit: Nihili enim testarentur ac persuaderent, si eius deesset operatio. Semper enim Spiritus sanctus & fidem in Christum & pietatem usque ad finem seculi operatur: atque ita credibilia facit omnia Dei testimonia, aliqui incredibilia. Qua de re vide August. lib 22 de civitate Dei cap. 5. Secundo loco ponitur testimonium aquæ, quia baptismus vsque ad finem seculi in Ecclesia visibiliter celebratur, & si aqua quæ miraculosè ex latere Christi profluxit, iam non videatur. Tertio loco recensetur testimonium sanguinis, quia Christi sanguis sub propria specie semel duntaxat, eo videlicet moriente conspectus est. **De triplici autem huius loci testimonio notare oportet, quod etiam apud veteres variarunt codices: Nam Græci ferè omnes sic habent: Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, Spiritus, aqua, & sanguis, & hi tres in vnum sunt: Nulla facta mentione triplicis testimonij de cœlo Patris, Verbi, & Spiritus sancti.**

- Jean Hessels, In primam B. Ioannis Apostoli et Evangelistæ Canonicam Epistolam absolutissimus commentarius, 1568, p. 106-108.

Comments:

- [Sarah Van der Pas]

1. Rendered in the KJV as "these three agree in one".
2. Heb. 1:5. In Greek ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα (literally "into/for a father"), translated literally in the Vulgate as *ego ero illi in patrem*.

The Witness of God is Greater

Apocalypsis S. Johannis (Syriac Apocalypse)

- [Hall] In 1627, Louis de Dieu published the Apocalypse at Leyden (Elzevirs, 4 to.), from a MS. that had been bequeathed to the University of Leyden by Joseph Scaliger; (Isaac H. Hall, "The Syriac Apocalypse", 1882, p. 135)
- [Hall] **The subscription to this last MS. states that it was copied from a MS. in the writing of Thomas of Harkel, in A. D. 622.** (Isaac H. Hall, "The Syriac Apocalypse", 1882, p. 136)
- [Hall] **From the language both of De Dieu and of Ussher nothing is certain beyond the fact that the MS. contained the fragment, John vii. 53 to viii. 11, with 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, the Apocalypse, and a small tractate of Ephrem Syrus. ...De Dieu could conjecture nothing as to the age of the Syriac Apocalypse, though he rightly supposed it to have been made directly from the Greek.** (Isaac H. Hall, "The Syriac Apocalypse", 1882, p. 137)
- [Hall] **As this text is almost exactly that of the Elzevir N. T. of 1624[F1], varying only in certain inconsiderable minutiae or oversights, it is natural that many things which De Dieu considered as variations from the Greek, or as imperfections of his MS., would now be thought marks of its better character. (fn. As more exact information may be desired respecting the Greek text of De Dieu, I will state that a careful collation with the Elzevir N. T. of 1633 discloses only about 38 differences, of which only two amount to a real variant, viz.: xvi. 5, D has ὁ ὄσιος for Ε ἑσόμενος and xx. 8, D omits τὸν before Μαγώγ.)** (Isaac H. Hall, "The Syriac Apocalypse", 1882, p. 139)
- [Gwynn] I have endeavoured to lead to the conclusion that this [Crawford Mss] Apocalypse is a portion of the original "Philoxenian" New Testament, as translated A.D. 508, for Philoxenus of Mabug, by Polycarpus "the Chorepiscopus." **I have endeavoured to show, farther, that the other version of the Apocalypse, first printed by Ludovici De Dieu in 1627, is a revision of this, and belongs probably to the Syriac New Testament of Thomas Harkel, of A.D. 616.** (Gwynn, The Apocalypse of St. John, in a Syriac Version Hitherto Unknown, 1897, p. iv)

• **John Gwynn (1827 in Larne – 1917 in Dublin) was an Irish Syriacist. He was Regius Professor of Divinity at Trinity College, Dublin (the University of Dublin) from 1888 to 1907.**[1] John continued studying while working. He took his MA in 1854 and became a Bachelor of Divinity in 1861. After taking holy orders he spent the next twenty years (1863 to 1883) working as a clergyman in County Donegal and County Londonderry. He was much involved in the process of "disestablishment" of the Church of Ireland, which took place in 1869. Simultaneously he was preparing to take his Doctorate in Divinity from Trinity, which he achieved in 1880. [1] **Then in 1883 he returned to Trinity College as a Divinity Lecturer; five years later he was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity. A meticulous scholar and linguist, John had mastered Latin, Greek and Hebrew while an undergraduate student, and later taught himself Syriac. He studied Syriac while commuting by train between Ulster and Dublin, partly in order to give himself some mental occupation during the journey. Over the years he published numerous learned articles.** His greatest work, which took him twenty years to complete, was a landmark annotated edition of a ninth century Irish manuscript written in Latin and known as the Book of Armagh.[6][1] John Gwynn also produced editions of the five books missing from the traditional canon of the New Testament which are found in the Aramaic New Testament of the Peshitta: 2 John, 3 John, 2 Peter, Jude (all in 1893), and Revelation (in 1897).[7] He worked from twenty different manuscripts for the epistles, but had to rely on only one, the Crawford Aramaic New Testament manuscript, for Revelation.[8] These were later added to the Gospels and Epistles of Philip E. Pusey and George Gwilliam to produce the 1905 United Bible Societies standard edition of the Syriac Peshitta. (John Gwynn (Syriacist). Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Gwynn_(Syriacist)>)

- [Gill] The genuineness of this text [Heavenly Witnesses] has been called in question by some, because it is wanting in the Syriac version, as it also is in the Arabic and Ethiopic versions; and because the old Latin interpreter has it not; and it is not to be found in many Greek manuscripts; nor cited by many of the ancient fathers, even by such who wrote against the Arians, when it might have been of great service to them: to all which it may be replied, that as to the Syriac version, which is the most ancient, and of the greatest consequence, it is but a version, and a defective one. The history of the adulterous woman in the eighth of John, the second epistle of Peter, the second and third epistles of John, the epistle of Jude, and the book of the Revelations, were formerly wanting in it, till restored from Bishop Usher's copy by De Dieu and Dr. Pocock, and who also, from an eastern copy, has supplied this version with this text. (John Gill, "1 John 5:7" in John Gill's Exposition of the New Testament, 3 vols, 1746.)

• **Lewis De Dieu (1590–?), protestant minister of Leyden, and professor in the Walloon college of that city, a man of great abilities, and uncommonly versed in the oriental languages,** was born April 7, 1590, at Flushing, where his father Daniel de Dieu was minister. Daniel was a man of great merit, and a native of Brussels, where he had been a minister twenty two years. He removed from thence in 1585, to serve the church at Flushing, after the duke of Parma had taken Brussels. He understood Greek and the oriental languages, and

The Witness of God is Greater

could preach with the applause of his auditors in German, Italian, French, and English. The churches of the Netherlands sent him, in 1588, over to queen Elizabeth, to inform her of the designs of the duke of Parma, who secretly made her proposals of peace, while the king of Spain was equipping a formidable fleet against England. Lewis, his son, studied under Daniel Colonius, his uncle by his mother's side, who was professor at Leyden in the Walloon college. He was two years minister of the French church at Flushing; and might have been court-minister at the Hague, if his natural aversion to the manners of a court had not restrained him from accepting that place. There are some circumstances relating to that affair which deserve to be remembered. Prince Maurice, being in Zealand, heard Lewis de Dieu preach, who was yet but a student; and some time after sent for him to court. The young man modestly excused himself, declaring, that he designed to satisfy his conscience in the exercise of his ministry, and to censure freely what he should find deserved censure; a liberty, he said, which courts did not care to allow. Besides, he thought the post which was offered him more proper for a man in years than a student. The prince, conscious that he was in the right, commended his modesty and prudence. He was called to Leyden in 1619 to teach, with his uncle Colonius, in the Walloon college; and he discharged the duty of that employment with great diligence till his death, which happened in 1642. He refused the post, which was offered him, of divinity professor in the new university of Utrecht; but, if he had lived long enough, he would have been advanced to the same post in that of Leyden. He married the daughter of a counsellor of Flushing, by whom he had eleven children. Father Simon speaks advantageously of the writings of Lewis de Dieu in the 35th chapter of his "Critical History of the Commentators on the New Testament." The estimation in which he was held by archbishop Usher, appears from the Letters of that excellent prelate, published by Dr. Parr. The titles of his learned writings are, 1. "Compendium Grammaticae; Hebraicae," Leyden, 1626, 4to. 2. "Apocalypsis S. Joanna Syriace ex manuscripto exemplari bibliothecae Jos. Scaligeri edita, &c." Leyden, 1627, 4to. 3. "Grammatica trilinguis, Hebraica, Syriaca, et Chaldaica," ibid. 1628, 4to. 4. "Animadversiones in quatuor evangelia," ibid. 1631, 4to. 5. "Animadversiones in Acta Apostolorum," ibid. 1634, 4to. 6. "Historia Christi et S. Petri Persice conscripta, &c." ibid. 1639, 4to. 7. "Rudimenta linguae Persicae," ibid. 1639, 4to. 8. "Animadversiones in Epistolam ad Romanes et reliquas Epistolas," ibid. 1646, 4to. 9. "Animadversiones in omnes libros Veteris Testamenti," ibid. 1648. 10. "Critica Sacra, sive animadversiones in loca quaedam difficiliora Veteris et Novi Testamenti," Amst. 1693, folio. 11. "Grammatica Linguarum Orientalium ex recensione Davidis Clodii," Francfort, 1683, 4to, in which the editor has collected all that De Dieu had published on the grammar of the Eastern languages. 12. "Aphorismi Theologi," Utrecht, 1693. This and the two following were edited by professor Leydecker of Utrecht. 13. "Traite co'ntre l'avarice, par Louis de Dieu, qui est le seul de tous ses ouvrages Flamans qu'il ait souhaite qu'on publie." Deventer, 1695, 8vo. 14. "Khetorica Sacra." 11 Gen. Dict. — Nicéron, vol. XV. — Foppen Bibl. Belg. — Moreri. Blount's Censura. Parr's Life and Letters of Archbishop Usher, pp. 413, 461, 464, 415, 480, 481, 486, 4S7, 490, 596. Saxij Onomast. ("Lewis De Dieu" in Chalmers' Biography, vol. 12, 1812, p. 65. <words.fromoldbooks.org/Chalmers-Biography/d/dieu-lewis-de.html>.)

Christians and the Public Archive

• [Adler] **In his epistle to the Philadelphians, Ignatius of Antioch scolds "some people" for expressing doubts about the authority of the gospel. "If I do not find it in the archives," he reports them as saying, "I do not believe in the gospel"** (Greek: ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις εὔρω, ἐὼ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ οὐ πιστεύω). (Philadelphians, 8.2) While the identity of Ignatius's opponents and the meaning of the words "archives" (Greek: τὰ ἀρχεῖα) in this passage are hardly certain, archival documents enjoyed high standing in the early church. **The archives at Tyre**, writes Theophilus, prove that the temple of Jerusalem was founded over 140 years before the Phoenician colonization of Carthage. (Ad Autolycom, 3.22) **For Tertullian, Rome's public archives confirmed the gospel account** of the portents occurring at the time of Jesus' crucifixion. (Apologeticus, 21.19) Official documents could also silence the voices of heretics. A heretic suspicious of the church's own testimony about the martyrdoms of Peter, Paul, James and Stephen, Tertullian writes in the Scorpiace, will find confirmation of the circumstances of their deaths in the imperial archives (instrumenta imperii) and the blood-stained stones of Jerusalem. (Scorpiace, 15.2-3) The weight of historical probability alone, he writes elsewhere, nullifies Marcion's claim that Jesus appeared in the world suddenly and without notice. Without any knowledge of his Jewish ancestry and birth, Tertullian asks, how could the Jews have accepted him into their holy places? But the **"most faithful witness of the Lord's nativity (testem fidelissimum dominicae nativitatis)" was the record of Jesus' enrollment in the Roman census maintained in the "archives of Rome."** (Adversus Marcionem, 4.7.7) (Adler, Christians and the Public Archive, 2011, p. 917)

• [Tertullian (155-220 AD) : Apology] It was the merited punishment of their sin not to understand the Lord's first advent: for if they had, they would have believed; and if they had believed, they would have obtained salvation. They themselves read how it is written of them that they are deprived of wisdom and understanding — of the use of eyes and ears. Isaiah 6:10 As, then, under the force of their pre-judgment, they had convinced themselves from His lowly guise that Christ was

The Witness of God is Greater

no more than man, it followed from that, as a necessary consequence, that they should hold Him a magician from the powers which He displayed — expelling devils from men by a word, restoring vision to the blind, cleansing the leprous, reinvigorating the paralytic, summoning the dead to life again, making the very elements of nature obey Him, stilling the storms and walking on the sea; proving that He was the Logos of God, that primordial first-begotten Word, accompanied by power and reason, and based on Spirit, — that He who was now doing all things by His word, and He who had done that of old, were one and the same. But the Jews were so exasperated by His teaching, by which their rulers and chiefs were convicted of the truth, chiefly because so many turned aside to Him, that at last they brought Him before Pontius Pilate, at that time Roman governor of Syria; and, by the violence of their outcries against Him, extorted a sentence giving Him up to them to be crucified. He Himself had predicted this; which, however, would have signified little had not the prophets of old done it as well. And yet, nailed upon the cross, He exhibited many notable signs, by which His death was distinguished from all others. **At His own free-will, He with a word dismissed from Him His spirit, anticipating the executioner's work. In the same hour, too, the light of day was withdrawn, when the sun at the very time was in his meridian blaze. Those who were not aware that this had been predicted about Christ, no doubt thought it an eclipse. You yourselves have the account of the world-portent still in your archives.** (Tertullian, Apology, 21; ANF, vol 3 <www.newadvent.org/fathers/0301.htm>)

• [Tertullian (155-220 AD) : Scorpiace] Now, then, the epistles of the apostles also are well known. And do we, (you say), in all respects guileless souls and doves merely, love to go astray? I should think from eagerness to live. But let it be so, that meaning departs from their epistles. And yet, that the apostles endured such sufferings, we know: the teaching is clear. This only I perceive in running through the Acts. I am not at all on the search. The prisons there, and the bonds, and the scourges, and the big stones, and the swords, and the onsets by the Jews, and the assemblies of the heathen, and the indictments by tribunes, and the hearing of causes by kings, and the judgment-seats of proconsuls and the name of Cæsar, do not need an interpreter. **That Peter is struck, that Stephen is overwhelmed by stones, Acts 7:59 that James is slain as is a victim at the altar, that Paul is beheaded has been written in their own blood. And if a heretic wishes his confidence to rest upon a public record, the archives of the empire will speak, as would the stones of Jerusalem. We read the lives of the Cæsars: At Rome Nero was the first who stained with blood the rising faith.** (Tertullian, Scorpiace ["Antidote for the Scorpion's Sting"], 15; ; ANF, vol 3 <www.newadvent.org/fathers/0318.htm>)

• [Tertullian (155-220 AD) : Against Marcion] Withdraw all the sayings of my Christ, His acts shall speak. Lo, He enters the synagogue; surely (this is going) to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. Behold, it is to Israelites first that He offers the "bread" of His doctrine; surely it is because they are "children" that He shows them this priority. Observe, He does not yet impart it to others; surely He passes them by as "dogs." For to whom else could He better have imparted it, than to such as were strangers to the Creator, if He especially belonged not to the Creator? **And yet how could He have been admitted into the synagogue— one so abruptly appearing, so unknown; one, of whom no one had as yet been apprised of His tribe, His nation, His family, and lastly, His enrolment in the census of Augustus — that most faithful witness of the Lord's nativity, kept in the archives of Rome?** They certainly would have remembered, if they did not know Him to be circumcised, that He must not be admitted into their most holy places. And even if He had the general right of entering the synagogue (like other Jews), yet the function of giving instruction was allowed only to a man who was extremely well known, and examined and tried, and for some time invested with the privilege after experience duly attested elsewhere. (Tertullian, Against Marcion, Book 4.15; ANF vol 3 <www.newadvent.org/fathers/03124.htm>).

• [Theophilus of Antioch (circa 183 AD)] Antiquity of the Temple. Then concerning the building of the temple in Judæa, which Solomon the king built 566 years after the exodus of the Jews from Egypt, there is among the Tyrians a record how the temple was built; and in their archives writings have been preserved, in which the temple is proved to have existed 143 years 8 months before the Tyrians founded Carthage **(and this record was made by Hiram (that is the name of the king of the Tyrians), the son of Abimalus, on account of the hereditary friendship which existed between Hiram and Solomon, and at the same time on account of the surpassing wisdom possessed by Solomon. For they continually engaged with each other in discussing difficult problems. And proof of this exists in their correspondence, which to this day is preserved among the Tyrians, and the writings that passed between them);** as Menander the Ephesian, while narrating the history of the Tyrian kingdom, records, speaking thus: "For when Abimalus the king of the Tyrians died, his son Hiram succeeded to the kingdom. He lived 53 years. And Bazorus succeeded him, who lived 43, and reigned 17 years. And after him followed Methuastartus, who lived 54 years, and reigned 12. And after him succeeded his brother Atharymus, who lived 58 years, and reigned 9. He was slain by his brother of the name of Helles, who lived 50 years, and reigned 8 months. He was killed by Juthobalus, priest of Astarte, who lived 40 years, and reigned 12. He was succeeded by his son Bazorus, who lived 45 years, and reigned 7. And to him his son Metten succeeded, who lived 32 years, and reigned 29. Pygmalion, son of Pygmalius succeeded him, who lived 56 years, and

The Witness of God is Greater

reigned 7. And in the 7th year of his reign, his sister, fleeing to Libya, built the city which to this day is called Carthage."The whole period, therefore, from the reign of Hiram to the founding of Carthage, amounts to 155 years and 8 months. And in the 12th year of the reign of Hiram the temple in Jerusalem was built. So that the entire time from the building of the temple to the founding of Carthage was 143 years and 8 months. (Theophilus of Antioch, To Autolytus, Book III, Chapter 22; ANF vol 2 <www.newadvent.org/fathers/02043.htm>)

• [Ephraem (306-373 AD)] To the true Scriptures of the Church all the Teachings bear witness that they are true; but as for the Scriptures belonging to the Teachings, only the Teachings bear witness concerning them, because the Scriptures of the Church do not appeal to the testimony of the Scriptures of the Teachings. Moreover to our Scriptures the Jews bear witness, for in every place... For inasmuch as God knew that the Teachings were about to go forth into the world He worked great Signs beforehand [...] and the dividing of the sea and the cloud, and the Pillar and the Quails and the Manna and all the Signs and all the Wonders... [break in the manuscript here] in order that they might bear witness concerning that people that it was the people of God [...] Moreover (to?) other countries some of them were scattered formerly, and (they bear witness) to-day concerning the aforesaid Jews and concerning their laws, as that (passage) in which it says, "The LORD hath brought evil upon this place, as He said." **But the Edicts which had been written by Nebuchadnezzar and by Darius were deposited among the archives of the aforesaid kingdom first of all, and then they were sent to the (various) countries.** And lo ! also the kings of the countries bear witness concerning the books of the Hebrews in the chronicles which [PAGE xxiv] belong to them, according to that which is said in Ezra, "Learn and see that this city is a warlike city from of old," together with that other (passage in) which he says, "Learn again and see that Darius commanded concerning this city that it should be built." **Thus the miracles which were wrought in the midst of Egypt inscribed in the archives of Aegyptus [Egypt]; and, again, the miracles which were wrought in the midst of Babylon were in the annals belonging to the kings of Babylon, and also (in those) belonging to the Greeks, and the Romans likewise, as well as (in) those of the aforesaid country of Jerusalem. For lo! Even to this day Tablets which are even now inscribed and set up bear witness to the people of the aforesaid city that they must not venture to enter within their limits. All these witnesses which I have enumerated to thee, together with the aforesaid teachings (and) together with the Hebrews, are witnesses to our Scriptures that they are true.** But to the Scriptures of the aforesaid teachings, as I have stated before, those teachings alone bear witness. And would that they all bore witness to the Scriptures of one another! For even if this were thought to be in their favour, inasmuch as their witnesses were many, yet it would be all against them that the testimony of each one of them about his fellow was a denial of his own teaching. For how could he be veracious [proved true] who proclaims Seven Gods, when another asserts after him in confirmation who proclaims only Two Gods? Or how could he who proclaims Three Gods assert (anything) in confirmation of both of them? Thus all the teachings are refuted by the Jews, because the Scriptures belonging to the Jews are truer than all the teachings [of the heretics]. But the Jews themselves, who by means of their true Scriptures have been able to overcome many teachings, are refuted by the Church... (Ephraim, Against Marcion I. Another Discourse Against the False Teachings in Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan, vol 2, 1912 [1969], p. xxiii-xxiv; Translated by C.W. Mitchell & A.A. Bevan & C. Burkitt, 1912.)

Translators & "Approved Greek" manuscripts

• **Philoxenus of Mabbug (died 523).** Later he devoted himself to the revision of the Syriac versions of the Bible, and with the help of his chorepiscopus ["rural bishop"] Polycarp produced in 508 the so-called Philoxenian version, which was in some sense the received Bible of the Syrian Miaphysites during the 6th century. (Philoxenus of Mabbug. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philoxenus_of_Mabbug>)

• **The Philoxenian version (508) is a revision of earlier Syriac versions of the Bible. It was commissioned by Philoxenus of Mabbug and completed by his chorepiscopus ["rural bishop"] Polycarp. Philoxenus' revisions were initiated by concerns that some of the Peshitto readings gave support to Nestorian theology.**[1] It became the received Bible of the Syrian Miaphysites during the 6th century. It was followed by the Harklean Version, an Aramaic language Bible translation by Thomas of Harqel completed in 616 AD in Egypt which was partly based on the Philoxenian version, and partly a new and very literal translation from the Greek New Testament.[2] (Philoxenian version. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philoxenian_version>)

• [André de Halleux] In "Commentary on the Prologue of John" (CPJ) Philoxenus expressed dissatisfaction with what *he perceived to be the inaccuracy of Peshitta*, complaining that "**When those of old undertook to translate these scriptures they made mistakes in many things.**" **He gives a number of examples of 'inaccurate' translations from the Greek, which seem to him to reflect adversely on his Christological perspective and to lend unwelcome**

The Witness of God is Greater

support to the Nestorians and other theological opponents. Beyond the lexical concessions which he thought Pershitta had made to his ideological rivals, he was concerned also that a Bible translation should scrupulously reflect the inspired original so as to verbally preserve and transmit the 'inscripturated' revelation:"He who would translate faithfully must choose carefully, selecting only those phrases and terms which were spoken by God or by his Spirit through the prophets and the apostles; because those things which are expressed in the Holy Scriptures are not the product of human thoughts that they should welcome any correction or reconstruction by the human mind... Anyone who corrupts or translates otherwise the verbs and nouns which were spoken by the Holy Spirit, not only is worthy of blame and reproach, but also is wicked and blasphemous and a partner of the Marcionites and Macedonians."(André de Halleux,"Introduction" in Philoxenus Commentaire du prologue johannique, vol 2, 1977, p. 2, 3)

• [Isaac H. Hall] *The history of these versions is given in the Syriac Indorsements on the manuscripts. The following occurs in a manuscript of the Four Gospels in the Bibliotheca Angelica at Rome:*"**This Book has been collated with two accurate manuscripts. This Book of the four Holy Evangelists was translated from the Greek tongue into Syriac, with great accuracy and much labor, first in the city of Mabug, in the days of the holy Mar Philoxenus, confessor, bishop of that city. It was afterwards collated with much diligence by me, Thomas, a poor sinner, with three highly approved and accurate Greek copies, at Enaton of the great city Alexandria, in the monastery of St. Anthony; in order that its writing might be to me for the profit of my sinful soul, and for that of the many that love and seek to know and preserve the profitable accuracy of the Divine Books. It was written and collated, at the place above named, in the year 927 of Alexander, in the 4th Indiction. But how much labor and anxiety I had with it and with its fellows [i.e., the Acts and Epistles] the Lord only knoweth, He who will recompense to every man according to his works in [the day of] his just and righteous Judgment.**"Adler cites two other similar manuscript endorsements, which, after the words "first in the city of Mabug,"insert" in the year 819 of Alexander the Macedonian, in the days of the holy Mar Philoxenus, confessor, bishop of that city. It was afterwards,"etc. [PAGE 501] From these endorsements, it appears that this translation was made at Mabug, or Menbij, as it is called in Arabic, the Hierapolis of the Greeks, a city of Syria, near the Euphrates, and the See of both a Nestorian and a Jacobite Bishop: and that it was made in the year 819 of Alexander, that is A.D. 508, and in the days of Philoxenus, the Bishop of Mabug. It is not said that it was made by Philoxenus, but only in his days. This Philoxenus, otherwise called Xenaias, was the Monophysite Bishop of Mabug, from A.D. 488 to A.D. 518, (see Assemani's Bibliotheca Orient. tom. ii); but he did not sit quietly on his throne. Being a warm partisan of Peter Fullo, he was in sharp conflict nearly all his life, and he could have had but little leisure for biblical studies. The persecutions he suffered, procured for him the title of Confessor among his own sect. **According to Moses Aghaeus, (in Assemani's Bibliotheca Orient. tom. ii) one Polycarp, a rural Bishop under Philoxenus, made this translation; and dedicated it, in the year specified, to Philoxenus, by whom he had been prompted to undertake the work. And hence this version is often called the Translation of Polycarp. It is this version from which the epistles published by Pococke were taken. It further appears, from these Endorsements, that about 100 years after this version was made by Polycarp, one Thomas, a monk, at Enaton, at the ninth milestone out of Alexandria, and in the monastery of St. Anthony, in that city, revised and re-wrote this translation, collating it with two (or some endorsements say three) highly approved Greek manuscripts. This was in the year of Alexander 927, or A.D. 616. Who this Thomas was, and when and where he lived, we learn from Bar-Hebraeus' Chronicon, (year of the Seleucidse 927, or A.D. 616) Bar-Hebraeus there says:"About this time flourished Thomas Harclensis, (i.e. Thomas of Harkel, the Syriac form of Heraclea, an obscure village in Palestine), a monk of the monastery of Taril; who in his childhood, learned Greek in the Kenserine monastery, and was afterwards Bishop of Mabug. Being persecuted by Domitian, the Meletian, he went to Egypt, and resided in the Enaton of Alexandria, in the holy monastery of the Antonies; where, with praiseworthy diligence, he restored, by a very exact and accurate emendation, the holy Codex of the Gospels, and the other Books of the New Testament, after the first version of them by the procuration of Philomenus, of Mabug."**From this statement, and from an inspection of the manuscripts, it appears that Thomas Harclensis corrected the text of Polycarp's translation. (Isaac H. Hall,"Appendix II. The Syriac Translations of the New Testament" in The Syriac New Testament, 1905, p. 500-501)

The Community of Living Witnesses

• [1 John] **That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of life;** (For the life was manifested, and we have seen it, and bear witness, and shew unto you that eternal life, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us;) **That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us: and truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ. (1 John 1:1-3)**

The Witness of God is Greater

- [1 Corinthians] Moreover, brethren, I declare unto you the gospel which I preached unto you, which also ye have received, and wherein ye stand; By which also ye are saved, if ye keep in memory what I preached unto you, unless ye have believed in vain. For I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures; And that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the scriptures: And that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve: **After that, he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once; of whom the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep.** (1 Cor 15:1-4)
- [Gospel of Luke] Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, **Even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eyewitnesses, and ministers of the word;** It seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus, That thou mightest know the certainty of those things, wherein thou hast been instructed. (Luke 1:1-4)
- [Eusebius : Church History] In opposition to those in Rome who were discarding the sound ordinance of the church, Irenaeus [130-202 AD] composed various letters. He addressed one to Blastus On Schism, **another to Florinus [presbyter of Rome], "On the Sole Sovereignty[1] or That God is not the Author of Evil", for Florinus seemed to be defending this opinion.** For his sake too, when he was attracted by the Valentinian error, a work was composed by Irenaeus On the Ogdoad,[2] in which **he also indicates that he had himself received the first succession of the apostles, and in it, at the end of the work, we find a most acceptable notice from him which we are obliged to give in this book and it runs as follows:"I adjure thee, who shalt copy out this book, by the Lord Jesus Christ, by his glorious advent when he comes to judge the living and the dead, that thou compare what thou shalt transcribe and correct it with this copy whence thou art transcribing, with all care, and thou shalt likewise transcribe the oath and put it in the copy."**May his words be spoken to our profit and be narrated in order that we may keep those primitive and truly sacred men as the best example of the most zealous care. In the letter to Florinus, which we have spoken of above, Irenaeus again mentions his intercourse with Polycarp, and says:

"These opinions, O Florinus, that I may speak sparingly, do not belong to sound doctrine. These opinions are inconsistent with the church, and bring those who believe in them into the greatest impiety. These opinions, not even the heretics outside the church ever dared to proclaim. **These opinions of those who were presbyters before us, who accompanied the apostles, did not hand on to you. For while I was still a boy I knew you in lower Asia in Polycarp's house when you were a man of rank in the royal hall and endeavoring to stand well with him. I remember the events of those days more clearly than those which happened recently, for what we learn as children grows up with the soul and is united to it, so that I can speak even of the place in which the blessed Polycarp sat and disputed, how he came in and went out, the character of his life, the appearance of his body, the discourses which he made to people, how he reported his intercourse with John and with the others who had seen the Lord, how he remembered their words, and what were the things concerning the Lord which he had heard from them, and about their miracles, and about their teaching, and how Polycarp had received them from the eyewitnesses of the word of life, and reported all things in agreement with the Scriptures.** I listened eagerly even then to these things through the mercy of God which was given me, and made notes of them, not on paper but in my heart, and ever by the grace of God do I truly ruminate on them, and I can bear witness before God that if that blessed and apostolic presbyter had heard anything of this kind he would have cried out, and shut his ears, and said according to his custom, 'O good God, to what time hast thou preserved me that I should endure this?' He would have fled even from the place in which he was seated or standing when he heard such words. And from his letters which he sent either to the neighboring churches, strengthening them, or to some of the brethren, exhorting and warning them, this can be made plain."
- Irenaeus"Letter to Florinus" in Eusebius, Church History, Book 5, chapter 20.
<www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/irenaeus-eusebius.html>
- [Irenaeus (130-202 AD)] **Polycarp also was not only instructed by apostles, and conversed with many who had seen Christ, but was also, by apostles in Asia, appointed bishop of the Church in Smyrna, whom I also saw in my early youth, for he tarried [on earth] a very long time, and, when a very old man, gloriously and most nobly suffering martyrdom, departed this life, having always taught the things which he had learned from the apostles, and which the Church has handed down, and which alone are true. To these things all the Asiatic Churches testify, as do also those men who have succeeded Polycarp down to the present time,-a man who was of much greater weight, and a more steadfast witness of truth, than Valentinus, and Marcion, and the rest of the heretics.** (Irenaeus, Against Heresies, Book 3, chapter 3. <textexcavation.com/irenaeusah3.html>)

The Witness of God is Greater

• [Irenaeus (130-202 AD)] **Such, then, being the state of the case, and this number [666] being found in all the most approved and ancient copies [of the Apocalypse], and those men who saw John face to face bearing their testimony [to it]; while reason also leads us to conclude that the number of the name of the beast, [if reckoned] according to the Greek mode of calculation by the [value of] the letters contained in it, will amount to six hundred and sixty and six; that is, the number of tens shall be equal to that of the hundreds, and the number of hundreds equal to that of the units (for that number which [expresses] the digit six being adhered to throughout, indicates the recapitulations of that apostasy, taken in its full extent, which occurred at the beginning, during the intermediate periods, and which shall take place at the end),**-I do not know how it is that some have erred following the ordinary mode of speech, and have vitiated the middle number in the name, deducting the amount of fifty from it, so that instead of six decads they will have it that there is but one. [I am inclined to think that this occurred through the fault of the copyists, as is wont to happen, since numbers also are expressed by letters; so that the Greek letter which expresses the number sixty was easily expanded into the letter Iota of the Greeks.] Others then received this reading without examination; some in their simplicity, and upon their own responsibility, making use of this number expressing one decad; while some, in their inexperience, have ventured to seek out a name which should contain the erroneous and spurious number. Now, as regards those who have done this in simplicity, and without evil intent, we are at liberty to assume that pardon will be granted them by God. But as for those who, for the sake of vainglory, lay it down for certain that names containing the spurious number are to be accepted, and affirm that this name, hit upon by themselves, is that of him who is to come; such persons shall not come forth without loss, because they have led into error both themselves and those who confided in them. **Now, in the first place, it is loss to wander from the truth, and to imagine that as being the case which is not; then again, as there shall be no light punishment [inflicted] upon him who either adds or subtracts anything from the Scripture, under that such a person must necessarily fall.** Moreover, another danger, by no means trifling, shall overtake [408-409] those who falsely presume that they know the name of Antichrist. (Irenaeus, Against Heresies, Book 5 : Chapter 30. <textexcavation.com/irenaeusah5.html>)

• [Tertullian (155-220 AD)] Come now, you who would indulge a better curiosity, if you would apply it to the business of your salvation, run over to the apostolic churches, in which the very thrones of the apostles are still preeminent in their places, in which their own authentic writings are read, uttering the voice and representing the face of each of them severally. (Prescription Against Heretics, 36; ANF 3:261; emphasis mine)

• [Mitchell] This has been a much disputed passage with discussions going at least as far back as Charles Hodge at Princeton University in the early 1800s. The Latin word used by Tertullian here for "authentic writings" is "authenticae litterae." **According to the Latin dictionary available on Perseus, this word means; "that comes from the author, authentic, original, genuine... the original writing, the original."** It seems then that Tertullian was telling his readers that he thought the original apostolic documents were being read in the apostolic Churches in the early third century. It is difficult for me to accept that the original writings of, say, Paul were still existing at Rome or Corinth, but it may have been that very early copies of these writings were still being read in these Churches. If we consider the useful life of papyrus documents given by Houston, of 100 to 125 years with an upper limit of 300 years, then it is entirely possible that copies of Paul's letters dating to the later half of the first century were still being read in some Churches. (Timothy N. Mitchell, The Church Fathers and The Useful life of Ancient Books, Sunday, March 15, 2015, <thetextualmechanic.blogspot.com/2015/03/the-church-fathers-and-useful-life-of.html>)

• [Peter : Bishop of Alexandria (d. 311 AD)] For "I came not to destroy the law, or the prophets, but to fulfil them," the Saviour Himself said in the Gospel. But after His public ministry He did not eat of the lamb, but Himself suffered as the true Lamb in the Paschal feast, as John, the divine and evangelist, teaches us in the Gospel written by him, where he thus speaks: "Then led they Jesus from Caiaphas unto the hall of judgment: and it was early; and they themselves went not into the judgment-hall, lest they should be defined, but that they might eat the passover." 26 And after a few things more. "When Pilate therefore heard that saying, he brought Jesus forth, and sat down in the judgment-seat, in a place that is called the Pavement, but in the Hebrew, Gabbatha. And it was the preparation of the passover, and about the third hour," 27 as the correct books render it, and the copy itself that was written by the hand of the evangelist, which, by the divine grace, has been preserved in the most holy church of Ephesus, and is there adored by the faithful. (Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, "That Up to the Time of the Destruction of Jerusalem, the Jews Rightly Appointed the Fourteenth Day of the First Lunar Month", Fragments #5, Chronicle Paschale; ANF vol 6, p. 282)

• **Chronicon Paschale (the Paschal or Easter Chronicle), [1] also called Chronicum Alexandrinum, Constantinopolitanum or Fasti Siculi, is the conventional name of a 7th-century Greek Christian chronicle of the world. Its name comes from its system of chronology based on the Christian paschal cycle; its Greek author named it Epitome of the ages from Adam the first man to the 20th year of the reign of the**

The Witness of God is Greater

most August Heraclius. The Chronicon Paschale follows earlier chronicles. For the years 600 to 627 the author writes as a contemporary historian—that is, through the last years of emperor Maurice, the reign of Phocas, and the first seventeen years of the reign of Heraclius. The "Chronicon Paschale" is a huge compilation, attempting a chronological list of events from the creation of Adam. The principal manuscript, the 10th-century Codex Vaticanus graecus 1941, is damaged at the beginning and end and stops short at 627. The Chronicle proper is preceded by an introduction containing reflections on Christian chronology and on the calculation of the Paschal (Easter) cycle. The so-called 'Byzantine' or 'Roman' era (which continued in use in Greek Orthodox Christianity until the end of Turkish rule as the 'Julian calendar') was adopted in the Chronicon as the foundation of chronology; in accordance with which the date of the creation is given as 21 March 5507.[2] (Chronicon Paschale. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chronicon_Paschale>)

• [Ambrosiaster (circa 366-384 AD)] **Some Greek manuscripts say that death reigned even in those who had not sinned in the way that Adam had. ...At least this is what is prescribed to us on the basis of the Greek manuscripts, as if there was no discrepancy among them.** Disagreement is the result. Somebody who could not win his argument altered the words of the text, in order to make them say what he wanted them to say, so that not rational argument, but the authority of the text, would determine the issue. However, it is known that there were Latin-speakers who translated ancient Greek manuscripts, which preserved an uncorrupted version from earlier times. But once these problems were raised by heretics and schismatics who were upsetting the harmony of the church, many things were altered so that the biblical text might conform to what people wanted. **Thus even the Greeks have different readings in their manuscripts. I consider the correct reading to be the one which reason, history and authority all retain. For the regarding of the modern Latin manuscripts is also found in Tertullian, [Gaius Marius] Victorinus and Cyprian.** Thus it was in Judea that the destruction of the kingdom of death began, since God was made known in Judea. But now it is being destroyed daily in every nation, since many who were once sons of the devil have become sons of God. Therefore, death did not reign in everyone, but only in those who sinned in the same way as Adam had sinned, as I said above... (Ambrosiaster. Commentary on Romans. 5:14; Translated by G.L. Bray, 2009, p. 42-44)

On the Incarnation and against the Arians : Theodoret & Galesius I

Theodoret (393-466 AD)

• Theodoret of Cyrus or Cyrillus (Greek: Θεοδώρητος Κύρρου; c. AD 393 – c. 458/466) was an influential theologian of the School of Antioch, biblical commentator, and Christian bishop of Cyrillus (423–457). He played a pivotal role in several 5th-century Byzantine Church controversies that led to various ecumenical acts and schisms. He wrote against Cyril of Alexandria's 12 Anathemas which were sent to Nestorius and did not personally condemn Nestorius until the Council of Chalcedon. His writings against Cyril were included in the Three Chapters Controversy and were condemned at the Second Council of Constantinople. Some Chalcedonian and East Syriac Christians regard him as a "full" saint.[a] (Theodoret. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theodoret>)

- **Testimony of the holy Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria.**
- **From the longer Discourse De Fide:** Of the same from his book against the Arians: "And when he says 'Wherefore God has also highly exalted Him and given Him a name which is above every name' he speaks of the temple of the body, not of the Godhead, for the Most High is not exalted, but the flesh of the Most High is exalted, and to the flesh of the Most High He gave a name which is above every name. Nor did the Word of God receive the designation of God as a favour, but His flesh was held divine as well as Himself." [Athanasius, De Incarnatione et Contra Arianos; Migne Graeca, PG 26.988-989]
- **Of the same from the same work:** "And when he says 'the Holy Ghost was not yet because that Jesus was not yet glorified,' he says that His flesh was not yet glorified, for the Lord of glory is not glorified, but the flesh itself receives glory of the glory of the Lord as it mounts with Him into Heaven; whence he says the spirit of adoption was not yet among men, because the first fruits taken from men had not yet ascended into heaven. Wherever then the Scripture says that the Son received and was glorified, it

The Witness of God is Greater

speaks because of His manhood, not His Godhead.”[Athanasius, De Incarnatione et Contra Arianos; Migne Graeca, PG 26.989B]

- Theodoret, Dialogue 2; <www.newadvent.org/fathers/27032.htm>; Migne Graeca, PG 84.180-181.

Greek Text:

- **Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου ἐπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας.**
- **Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ περὶ πίστεως λόγου τοῦ μείζονος.** Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς Ἀρειανούς τόμου. Καὶ ὅτε λέγει, "Διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσε, καὶ ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ ὄνομα, τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα," περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ λέγει, οὐ περὶ τῆς θεότητος. Οὐ γὰρ ὁ ὕψιστος ὑψοῦται, ἀλλ' ἡ σὰρξ τοῦ ὑψίστου ὑψοῦται, καὶ τῇ σαρκὶ τοῦ ὑψίστου ἐχαρίσατο ὄνομα τὸ 161 ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα. Καὶ οὐχ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ καταρχὴν ἔλαβε τὸ καλεῖσθαι θεός, ἀλλ' ἡ σὰρξ αὐτοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐθεολογήθη.
- **οὐ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου.** Καὶ ὅτε λέγει, "Οὐπω ἦν πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ὅτι Ἰησοῦς οὐδέπω ἐδοξάσθη," τὴν σάρκα αὐτοῦ λέγει μηδέπω δοξασθεῖσαν. Οὐ γὰρ ὁ κύριος τῆς δόξης δοξάζεται, ἀλλ' ἡ σὰρξ τοῦ κυρίου τῆς δόξης αὐτῆ λαμβάνει δόξαν, συναναβαίνουσα αὐτῷ εἰς οὐρανόν. "Ὅθεν φησί, καὶ πνεῦμα υιοθεσίας οὐπω ἦν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, διότι ἡ ληφθεῖσα ἀπαρχὴ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων οὐπω ἦν ἀνελθοῦσα εἰς οὐρανόν. "Ὅσα οὖν λέγει ἡ γραφή, ὅτι ἔλαβεν ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ἐδοξάσθη," διὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα αὐτοῦ λέγει, οὐ διὰ τὴν θεότητα.
- Theodoret, Dialogue 2; Migne Graeca, PG 84.180-181

Gelasius (d. 496)

• Pope Gelasius I was the bishop of Rome from 1 March AD 492 to his death on 19 November 496.[2] He was probably the third and final bishop of Rome of Berber descent.[3] Gelasius was a prolific author whose style placed him on the cusp between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages.[4] His predecessor Felix III employed him especially in drafting papal documents. During his pontificate he called for strict Catholic orthodoxy, more assertively demanded obedience to papal authority, and, consequently, increased the tension between the Western and Eastern Churches. (Pope Gelasius I. Wikipedia.

<en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_Gelasius_I>

Latin Text:

- **33. Athanasii episcopi Alexandrini in libris adversus haereticos**
- **Ejusdem de incarnatione:** Dum dicit evangelista: "nondum erat Spiritus sanctus, quia Jesus nondum fuerat glorificatus," (John 7:39) carnem ejus dicit nondum glorificatam. Non enim Dominus gloriae glorificatur, sed caro Domini hanc gloriam accepit coascendens ei in coelum, unde et Spiritus sanctus adoptionis nondum erat in hominibus, et quod assumptae ex nobis primitiae in coelum non ascenderant. Quaecunque ergo Scriptura dicit, quia "Filius accepit, et glorificatus est Filius, propter humanitatem ejus dicit, non propter divinitatem.
- **Ejusdem in eodem libro:** Unde, ait, et Deus cum superexaltavit, et donavit ei nomen quod est super omne nomen" (Phil 2:9) non enim excelsus exaltatur, sed caro exaltatur excelsi, et carni excelsi "donavit nomen, quod est super omne nomen"; et non Verbum Dei per gratiam accepit, ut vocaretur Deus, sed caro ejus cum eo deificata est.
- (Gelasius I, Tractatus III; Thiel, Epistolae Romanorum pontificum genuinae et quae ad eos scriptae sunt a S. Hilario usque ad Pelagium II, vol 1, 1868, p. 554-555)

Comments:

Note: Gelasius translated Theodoret's quotes into Latin. These quotes are the same as above, but obviously the ability to translate Greek into Latin was still very much alive in Gelasius' time.

The Mysterious Omission of Porson

• [Burgess] The learned Prelate [Richard Simon] attributes the origin of the seventh verse in Latin to a Latin gloss on the eighth; and its first appearance in Greek to a Greek translation of the Lateran Decrees, which was made about the year 1300. That the first quotations of the seventh verse were made prior to the first composition of the Latin gloss by nearly two centuries, I have shewn in the preceding pages (and elsewhere, that the verse was extant in Greek many centuries before the Lateran Council of 1215). As a proof of its

The Witness of God is Greater

existence in Greek before the meeting of the Lateran Council, I shall here add the authority of Euthymius Zigabenus, who lived (according to Cave) about the year 1116. And I am the more desirous of adducing his authority, because Mr. Porson, in the account which he has given of it [*Letters to Travis*], has not dealt quite fairly with his author, or his own readers. The passage of the original is in f. 112, col. 1. (ριβ' [p. 112r]) of the Tīrgovište edition of the *Panoplia Dogmatika* (Greek: Πανοπλία Δογματική) 1710, the only edition of the Greek text.

"Καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν τὸ μαρτυροῦν, ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια· Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ Πατήρ, ὁ Λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἐν εἰσι. Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῆ, τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα· καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἐν εἰσίν. Εἰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαμβάνομεν, ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ θεοῦ μείζων ἐστί." (1 John 5:6-9) Θέα δὴ πάλιν, ὅτι τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ κῆρυξ Θεόν τε καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ θυσικῶς τὸ Πνεῦμα καλεῖ. Εἰρηκῶς γὰρ, ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμά ἐστι τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ μαρτυροῦν, μικρόν τι προελθὼν ἐπιφέρει, "Ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ Θεοῦ μείζων ἐστί." (1 John 5:9) Πῶς οὖν ἐστί ποίημα [**τὸ τῶν ὄλων Πατρὶ συνθεολογούμενον, καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος συμπληρωτικόν;**] (Euthymius, *Panoplia*, Chapter 12; Migne Graeca, PG 130.871-872; Tīrgovište, 1710, ριβ' [p. 112r])

• [Burgess] The words inclosed in brackets are omitted in Mr. Porson's translation, which is as follows:

• [Porson]"*And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth. For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one. And there are three that bear record on earth, the spirit, the water, and the blood; and the three agree in one. If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater. See now again, how the preacher of truth calls the Spirit by nature*" God, and of God; for having said, that it is the Spirit of God that witnesses, a little onward he adds, the witness of God is greater. How then is he a creature, &c." [**Omitted: who is declared to be God with the Father of all things, and complete of the Holy Trinity?**]

• [Burgess] To his translation Mr. Porson has subjoined the following observations:

• [Porson]"Upon this passage I observe, first, that an author, who adopts this reasoning" [that is, without the clause omitted by Mr. Porson]" must have been ignorant of the seventh verse. How could he otherwise have missed the opportunity of insisting upon the *connumeration* of the three persons," [which is in the untranslated clause he does *not* miss,] "the assertion of their joint testimony, and their *unity*? Euthymius's reasoning at present receives all its vigour from the close conjunction of the sixth, eighth, and ninth verses, and is only clogged by the insertion of the seventh."

• [Burgess] With the omitted clause before us, it is clear, that the whole vigour of Euthymius's reasoning does not depend on the sixth, eighth and ninth verses. Even the translated passage asserts more than is contained in those verses. "See now again, how the preacher of truth calls the Spirit by nature God, and of God, *God, and of God by nature* (Greek: Θεόν τε καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ θυσικῶς)," that is, of the same nature with God. That the Spirit is God, Euthymius exemplifies by a comparison of the sixth and ninth verses. "For (the preacher of truth) having said, that it is the Spirit that beareth witness, a little onward he adds, 'the witness of God is greater,'" thus identifying the Spirit with God. But *God, and of God by nature* (Greek: Θεόν τε καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ θυσικῶς), that is, or the same nature with God, conveys a declaration of the Divinity of the Spirit, which is not contained in the sixth and ninth verses, much less in the eighth, which relates solely to the *human nature* of Christ, - viz. to his *expiration* on the cross, and to the *water* and *blood* that issued from his side. [Burgess: Mr. Porson understands πνεῦμα, in the eighth verse, of the *human spirit*, or *breath*, (see *Letters*, p. 351, 397) which is the meaning adopted by Eucherius, Cassiodorus, Erasmus, &c.] **GOD OF GOD** must mean two distinct persons. But the Spirit is not distinguished from the Father and *connumerated with him* except in the seventh verse. The sixth and ninth verses are, therefore, are not sufficient for the reasoning of Euthymius. "How *therefore*," (concludes Euthymius, from the whole passage) "How is he [the Spirit] a creature, &c." - Here Mr. Porson unaccountably closes the passage by his *et cetera*. I say, unaccountably, because the omitted words relate expressly to the seventh verse. "How therefore is he a creature, who is declared to be *God with the*

The Witness of God is Greater

Father of all things, and complete of the Holy Trinity?”that is, with the Father and the Son, constituting the Holy Trinity. This is a conclusion drawn from the whole quotation from St. John. But there is nothing that resembles this doctrine in the sixth, eighth, or ninth verse, which can belong only to the seventh. *There* [in verse 7] undoubtedly the Spirit is declared to be God with the Father, and to be one of the three persons of the Holy Trinity. In the omitted clause we have that CONnumeration (Greek: συνθεολογούμενον), and UNITY (Greek: τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος συμπληρωτικόν), - insisted on, which Mr. Porson requires, as an evidence of the seventh verse, but which he lost sight of, or at least withheld from his readers, by the omission of the last clause.

• [Burgess] The observations of Euthymius being an express appeal to the Epistle of St. John for the Deity of the Holy Spirit, and inferring *from thence* that he is God, - God of God, - of the same nature with God, - and one of the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity, the seventh verse is indispensable to the passage in the *Panoplia*, however it may have been omitted in the Latin translation, and the Moscow Trinity College and Bodleian Manuscripts. The Turgovist edition was printed from Eastern MSS collated with a copy in the Imperial Library at Vienna. The MSS of the *Panoplia* appear to have suffered greatly by transcription, and multiplication of copies. Fabricius says, that Chrysanthius [editor of 1710 edition] supplied from a Vienna MS what was deficient in the Eastern MSS observing, at the same time, that a whole chapter is wanting in the Vienna MS which is extant in the oriental copies. Matthaei has given in the Preface to his edition of Euthymius' commentary on the four Gospels, some copious supplements to the Turgovist edition of the *Panoplia*.

[Note: The MSS in Moscow found by Mathaei were not used for the 1710 edition. These MSS which Mathaei collated (Fabricius indicates suffered from mutilation) were completely destroyed when Napoleon's army burned Moscow. The Vienna MSS were only used for headings of titles. The Latin edition sponsored by the Vatican was based on an unknown Greek MSS that was prepared for Zini to translate and omits many parts of the *Panoplia* which are critical of Roman Church. The MSS used for the 1710 edition were collected from Mt Athos and the Byzantine libraries and have yet to be discovered. One can reasonably assume that these manuscripts were destroyed during the two world wars and the Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe. See: Nadia Miladinova's *The Panoplia Dogmatike by Euthymios Zygadenos*, 2014, pages 1-106.]

• [Burgess] I am unable to account for Mr. Porson's omission of the final clause in the passage of Euthymius. I cannot ascribe it to accident, and I am unwilling to impute it to design. But, whatever was the cause, the fact of the omission may serve as some abatement to the argument”from the silence of the Fathers”(Latin: *ex silentio Patrum*), so often urged against the controverted verse.

• [Burgess] May we not derive some further light from this passage of Euthymius, to illustrate the history of 1 John v.7 ? The first and only edition of the Greek text of the *Panoplia* contains the seventh verse. But the MSS collated by Matthaei and Mr. Porson omits the verse. It is not found in the Latin Translation, nor in Cyril's Thesaurus, to which Euthymius refers for his materials in the part of the *Panoplia*. yet the conclusion of the passage, in which the Spirit is connumerated, first *expressly* with the Father, and then, *tacitly* with the Father and the Son, in the Holy Trinity, requires the seventh verse, so clearly and imperatively, that if not a single Greek MS of the *Panoplia* were extant, there could be no doubt, that Euthymius must have written it

• Burgess, *A Vindication of 1 John, V. 7. from the Objections of M. Griesbach*, 1823, 2nd edition, p. xxxv-xxxix.

William of St. Thierry, "Faith in the Trinity" in *Enigma of Faith*

Comments on 1 John 5:7 in Context

• 23. When I found everything clear in the Scriptures which were common both to the wise and to the simple, and which engaged the strong in such a way as not to frighten away the weak, then I recalled the prophets, reproach to the Jewish people for despising the waters of Shiloah which flowed silently in their own country and for journeying to Egypt to drink the turgid waters of the river of Egypt. We are not constrained to purchase our water there with money, as some complain through another prophet, nor”to give a hand to Egypt and

The Witness of God is Greater

Assyria so that we may be filled with bread"; rather, we receive all things free. Divine authority, which it is wrong to contradict, stands ready there to aid everyone saying, "Only believe and you will be saved." And, "All things are possible to one who believes." Therefore, Lord our God, we hear you there speaking the truth, "Go, baptize every nation in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit," and immediately we believe in you, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Truth would not say this if you were not this. Nor would you have ordered us to be baptized, Lord God, in the name of one who was not Lord and God; and not in the name but in the names, if you, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, were not one God. For it would not have been proclaimed by the voice of God, "Hear, Israel, the Lord your God is one God," if you were not one God, you who are Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. And if you, God the Father, were yourself your Son, your Word, Christ, and if you yourself were your gift and the gift of your Son, the Holy Spirit, we would not read in the Words of truth, "God sent his own Son," nor would you, the only begotten Son, speak of the Holy Spirit who proceeds from the Father and from you, "Whom the Father will send in my name," and "Whom I will send you from the Father." Therefore it is not the Father himself who is the Son, nor the Son himself who is the Holy Spirit. With my whole attention directed on this rule of faith, Lord, I will seek your face and continually search for your face as much as I can and as much as you render me capable of doing. Lord my God, my one hope, hear me lest exhausted I lose the will to seek you. May I ardently seek you always. Give the strength to seek, you who have given the desire. And when the strength is sufficient, add to the desire which you have given. May I always remember you, understand you, and love you until, faithfully remembering you and prudently understanding you and truthfully loving you, O Triune God, according to the fullness which you know, you reform me to your image in which you created me.

• 24. Therefore, I have here everything concerning the Lord my God which I was searching for some time. I have it free of tormenting questions, insidious sophistry, and noisy arguments; namely, what it is that the Father is, the Son is, and the Holy Spirit is. This is my faith about God because it is the Catholic faith. I believe what I read or hear because he, who calls himself Truth, has instructed me to believe it. For, he said, "Whoever believes will be saved. But who does not believe will be condemned." And what is believed if not the Truth which is the Lord Jesus Christ? A man is not a Christian who is unwilling to believe him and to believe in him. I openly confess that I am a Christian. I believe him whom I believe in. And I believe his Scriptures through which I am confident I will have life. This is the foundation which the Wisdom of God has ordained, the Word of God has proclaimed, and which the Apostles, likewise builders, have put in place. And whoever wishes to add to it should examine what he is adding; however, he can be sure of the foundation, for the foundation will stand.¹¹⁸ However, what is added will be tested by fire; but as to the composition of the foundation, he who made it will see to that.

• 25. Now, why do I seek what cannot be known in this life? For example, why do I seek to know how the Trinity in heaven can be a unity, or how three can be one; since the Lord and the Apostles and the prophets before them taught that this is the nature of the Lord our God, and added nothing more than this? If the Word and Wisdom of God had wished us to know this in this life, no one could have taught it better in this world than he, through himself or through his Apostles. I can say with confidence that even our holy Fathers, doctors of the Church after the Apostles, could have said nothing more if they had been permitted to speak. For as long as they were able, they wished to add nothing beyond this. We can go through the entire list of the canonical Scriptures, both Old and New Testaments, and as for the name "Trinity," nowhere do we read that God is a Trinity. And nowhere is it to be found even that they are three: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; except in the Epistle of John where it is said, "There are three who bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit; and these three are one." However, even this is lacking in the ancient translation. ²⁶ But I say this only about the name and number, not about the interpretation or understanding of the Trinity. Just as has already been said, all the Scriptures declare that God the Father, and God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit are one God. However, nowhere are there mentioned three persons in the Divinity, nowhere is there mentioned the relation of these persons, nowhere the celebrated name for consubstantiality, homoousion, or even the name of simple substance, nowhere the category of relation,¹²¹ nor the other categories. But when heresies began to arise in the Church, against novelty in terminology and interpretation these words or names and others of this kind were invented in the cause of the faith; however, without changing the ancient interpretations and without falsifying the canonical Scriptures. Because of this, these names were accepted by all the faithful with even the same authority and reverence with which they accepted from ancient times the

The Witness of God is Greater

names of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and all the other ancient names of these realities of which all these names are signs. With the Divine Names or whatever words are used to say something about God, attention must be given not so much to the signs themselves of the names or words, as to that which is designated through these signs. The time was at hand to sift the Catholic faith in order to purify it; to practice it in order to test it. And for this reason the ineffable nature of the Highest Good has rather indulgently allowed himself to be lowered into human words to help man in his devotion towards God; not, however, so much that he is confined by human reason. Since words of this kind are instruments of common reason concerning common realities, they are nothing but scandals when they are used in the cause of the faith, unless they are adapted faithfully to the reasoning of faith. The great Lord and his Wisdom which is without number have not refused a name implying number, "Trinity," in that it is simply stated that God is Father, God is Son, and God is Holy Spirit. Likewise, he has not refused that new name, homoousion, by which those who are Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are said to be one God; the one name designating what they each are, the other designating what they are in relation to one another and that they are one.

• William, of Saint-Thierry, Enigma of Faith. Translated by J. D. Anderson, 1974.

"Priscillianist Creed"

• [Chapman] **Priscillian found himself bound to defend the Comma.** In the Priscillianist creed "We confess the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit" (Latin: Nos patrem et filium... ; See Caspari, Kirchengeschichte, vol 1, 1883, p. 308, and Kunstle, Antipriscilliana, 1905, p. 67). We have a clear reference: "The Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit is God; These are one in Christ Jesus" (Latin: Pater Deus, Filius Deus, et Spiritus sanctus Deus; haec unum sunt in Christo Iesu). Now a few lines further on we read: "If any one has no faith in the truth of this, he cannot be said to be of the Catholic churches; he does not explain Catholic faith, but he is inappropriate, profane, rebellious against the truth." (Latin: Si quis vero hanc fidem non habet, catholicas dici non potest; qui catholicam non tenet fidem, Alienus Est, Profanus Est, adversus veritatem rebellis est.) This is a citation of St. Cyprian, De Cath. Eccl. Unit. 6 "Whoever is separated from the Church and is joined to an adulteress, is separated from the promises of the Church; nor can he who forsakes the Church of Christ attain to the rewards of Christ. He is a stranger; he is profane; he is an enemy." (Latin: Nec perueniet ad Christi praemia qui relinquit ecclesiam Christi; ALIENUS EST, PROFANUS EST, hostis est.) **Why a citation from this particular chapter? Obviously because this is the chapter which contains the famous words: "and again it is written of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, 'And these three are one.'" (Latin: Et iterum de Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto scriptum est: 'et hi tres unum sunt'),** to which so many moderns have unsuccessfully appealed to prove the antiquity of the reading in I John [5:7-8]. **It seems plain that the passage of St. Cyprian was lying open before the Priscillianist author of the Creed (Priscillian himself?) because he was accustomed to appeal to it in the same way. In Priscillian's day St. Cyprian had a unique position as the one great Western Doctor.** (Chapman, Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels, 1908, p. 264)

• [Kunstle] 2. A heretical answer to Fides Damascus. Hahn publishes a short rule of faith under the title "Fides sancti Ambrosii", which has long been known as part of Quesnel's collection of canons. This text became of greater interest after Caspari took it from Cod. I. 101 sup. saec. VIII, which also contains the so-called Muratorian fragment 4, had edited it in a form that clearly shows the heretical character of the text in Cod. Augiensis XVIII, where he also appears under the name of Ambrosius, but at the end has the undoubtedly correct address in capitals: "TO POPE DAMASUS" (Latin: AD DAMASUM PAPAM). Due to the printing by Quesnel, the Reichenauer, the Milanese and a Berlin manuscript, I will first have a critical edition of the piece. ...The author of this rule seeks with great zeal to preserve the unity in the Godhead; In it he goes so far that he does not call father, son and spirit "personae" but "formae". The Codex Canonum has seen the herbalism of this terminology and put "personae", but "formae" is the original reading, as can be seen from the Ambrosianus. Reginbert, the scribe of Augiensis, also found "formae" in his model and wrote that way first, but then erased it again. Just as the unknown author rejects the formula "tres personae", he does not want to confess "una substantia", but only "una potestas", as it must be called in line 6 after Augiensis and Berolinensis. On this point, Ambrosianus also tried to color the text orthodox; but as follows from the

The Witness of God is Greater

explanatory addition: "Consequently, diversity makes them several, but the unity of might excludes numerical quantity, because unity is not a number." (Latin: *Ergo diversitas plures facit, unitas vero potestatis excludit numeri quantitatem*), "*una potestas*" is the original reading; also in line 3 he avoids the expression "*una substantia*" and replaces it with "*unitas potestatis*". Among the Western theologians, only Priscillian emphasized absolute unity in the divine being in this harsh way; he is also reminiscent of the combination of apparently heterodox statements with completely orthodox-sounding phrases. This is where I count the sentence: "The Father is God, the Son is God and the Holy Spirit is God" (Latin: *Pater deus, filius deus et spiritus sanctus deus*) with the strange addition: "These are one in Christ Jesus." (Latin: *Haec unum sunt in Christo Jesus*). In this form the so-called Comma loanneum is found earliest in Priscillian's first treatise: "there are three who testify in heaven, the Fathers, the Word, and the Spirit, and these three are one in Jesus Christ" (Latin: *tria quae testimonium dicunt in caelo pater verbum et spiritus et haec tria unum sunt in Christo Iesu*). With this passage, however, Priscillian, like the author of our rule of faith, does not want to express the consubstantial unity of the three divine persons, but rather emphasize the absolute unity of the divine being, which excludes any personal difference. Both Priscillian and the author of our Confession use the biblical passage Eph 4, 5 in the same sense: "One Lord, one faith, one baptism" (Latin: *unus deus (dominus), una Fides, unum baptisma*). With these words the apostle justifies the necessity of a unanimous opinion in religious conviction and in Christian life; Priscillian, on the other hand, as well as the author of the Rule of Faith, use the Bible passage to prove their Sabellian conception of the divine essence; they tear it out of context and falsify the Pauline thought. (Künstle, *Antipriscilliana: dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchungen und Texte aus dem Streite gegen Priscillians Irrlehre*, 1905, p. 58-61)

Peregrinus

- [Chapman] The canons of Priscillian, prefixed to the Epistles of St. Paul in many (chiefly Spanish) manuscripts, are preceded by an introduction headed "Prooemium sancti Peregrini episcopi in epistolas Pauli Apostoli", in which it is explained that the canons were not written by St. Jerome but by Priscillian, and that they are given in an expurgated edition. The prologue of Priscillian himself to his canons follows; it shows none of the characteristics of style found in the tractates of Priscillian; it has presumably been rewritten by Peregrinus, if the tractates are genuine.
- [Chapman] The Codex Gothicus of the cathedral of Leon contains a prayer, and the words "et Peregrini f. o karissimi memento". The preface of St. Jerome to his lost translation of the Books of Solomon from the Septuagint occurs in some Manuscripts after his preface to his translation of those books from the Hebrew; in most of these Manuscripts (Spanish, or under Spanish influence) a note is appended explaining that both prefaces are given because, to the Vulgate text which follows, there have been added in the margin the additions found in the Septuagint; then come the words "et idcirco qui legis semper Peregrini memento". The Stowe codex of St. John also has a subscription, in which the writer describes himself as "Sonic Peregrinus". Sonic is said to be Celtic for a warrior; it reminds us of "Vincentius", and St. Vincent of Lérins in fact wrote his Commonitorium under the pseudonym of Peregrinus. But he cannot be identified with the Spanish Peregrinus, as he was not a bishop. The latter has been identified by Schepss, Berger, Fritsche, and Künstle with Bachiarius, a Spaniard who left his country, and is fond of speaking of his peregrinatio; he was accused of Priscillianism, and defended his own orthodoxy; but he was a monk, and we do not know that he ever became a bishop. It is however most probable that the Spanish Peregrinus lived at the beginning of the fifth century, and he cannot be later than the eighth. **Künstle is wrong in attributing to him the Pseudo-Jerome's prologue to the Catholic Epistles.**
- Chapman, "Peregrinus" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1911.

Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana I 101 sup. : CLA 352 (726 - 775 AD)

- **Provenance:** Written probably at Bobbio, to judge by the type of uncial. The Bobbio ex-libris with a cancelled number 23 occurs on fol. 1 and again, without the number, on fol. 32v. The inventory number 96 is written on the outside front cover. Bobbio charters in eighth century cursive were used in the front binding. The cover is unusually old. <elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/690>
- **Description:** Script is a rather irregular and debased uncial of a late type by various hands, allowing intrusion of half-uncial and even minuscule elements (on fol. 60v the scribe drops into half-uncial for the whole of line

The Witness of God is Greater

seven; minuscule n occurs passim): the bow of A often hangs above the line; the lower bow of B protrudes; i-longa is used frequently at the beginning of a word; the second upright of N usually intersects the middle stroke; the bow of R is mostly low and open; the cross-stroke of T is often looped at the left; the lower left limb of X turns to the right; LL run together. Interlinear notes in cursive on a number of pages (foll. 41v, 48v, etc.). <elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/690>

- HERE BEGINS THE FAITH OF SAINT AMBROSE THE BISHOP. We profess that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are one God, in such a way that in a perfect Trinity are both the fullness of divinity and a unity of might. For to divide the unity of the Trinity is to say that there are three gods. **The Father is God, the Son is God and the Holy Spirit is God. These are one in Christ Jesus.** Therefore there are three shapes, but one might. Consequently, diversity makes them several, but the unity of might excludes numerical quantity, because unity is not a number. And so there is one God, one faith, one baptism. If any man does not have this faith, he cannot be called a Catholic. He who does not hold the Catholic faith is alien, impious, rebellious against truth.
 - **Latin:**
 - f73v.line 025 INCIPIT FIDES SANCTI AMBROSII EPISCOPI
 - f73v.line 026 NOS patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum unum deum confitemur,
 - f73v.line 027 ita ut in trinitate perfecta et plenitudo
 - f73v.line 028 divinitatis sit et unitas potestatis. Nam tres
 - f73v.line 029 deos dicit, qui unitatem separat trinitatis. **Pater**
 - f73v.line 030 **deus, filius deus et spiritus sanctus deus. Haec unum sunt**
 - f73v.line 031 **in Christo Iesu.** Tres itaque formae, sed una potestas. (f73v : Image 156)
 - f75r.line 001 Ergo diuersitas plures facit, unitas uero potes-
 - f75r.line 002 tatis excludit numeri quantitatem, quia unitas nu-
 - f75r.line 003 merus non est. Sic itaque unus deus, una fides, unum
 - f75r.line 004 baptisma. Si quis autem hanc fidem non habet, cha-
 - f75r.line 005 tolicus[sic] dici non potest, quia catholicam non tenet
 - f75r.line 006 fidem; alienus est, aduersus ueritatem rebellis est (f75r : Image 159)
 - <213.21.172.25/0b02da82800c3ea6>
 - <ambrosiana.comperio.it/opac/detail/view/ambro:catalog:76502>
 - <www.mirabileweb.it/manuscript/milano-biblioteca-ambrosiana-i-101-sup--manuscript/4475>

Comments:

- [Caspari] It can also be found in a letter from Carl the Great to Leo III (Pater - filius - et spiritus sanctus, hae tria unus deus est). See also the words: "Pater deus, filius deus, spiritus sanctus deus. Haec unum sunt in Christo Iesu" in a "Fides" enclosed with Ambrosius (see below, p. 308, note 5). 10) (on p 305.) After the preceding and following (Et denuo ipse dominus dicit) the evangelist (John) The following words are the words of Christ in Matthew. (Expositio fidei catholicae in Caspari, Kirchenhistorische Anecdota, 1883, p. 306, fn. 9)
- [Caspari] The words "super apostolis" are the last on the page containing the "Expositio fidei catholici" (fol. 74). With them it breaks off. The words with which the following sheet (fol. 75) begins: "Consequently, diversity makes them several, but the unity of might excludes numerical quantity, because unity is not a number. And so there is one God, one faith, one baptism. If any man does not have this faith, he cannot be called a Catholic. He who does not hold the Catholic faith is alien, impious, rebellious against truth." (Latin: *Ergo diuersitas plures facit, unitas uero potestatis excludit numeri quantitatem, quia unitas numerus non est. Sic itaque unus deus, una fides, unum baptisma. Si quis autem hanc fidem non habet, catholicus dici non potest, quia catholicam non tenet fidem; alienus est, aduersus ueritatem rebellis est*) - these values form the continuation and conclusion of "Fides sancti Ambrosii episcopi", which begins on the last seven lines of fol. 73v stands and thus reads: "We profess that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are one God, in such a way that in a perfect Trinity are both the fullness of divinity and a unity of might. For to divide the unity of the Trinity is to say that there are three gods. The Father is God, the Son is God and the Holy Spirit is God. These are one in Christ Jesus. Therefore there are three shapes, but one might." (Latin: *Nos patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum confitemur, ita ut in trinitate perfecta et plenitudo sit diuinitatis et unitas potestatis. Nam tres deos dicit, qui unitatem separat trinitatis. Pater deus, filius deus et spiritus sanetus deus, Haec unum sunt in Christ Iesus.*

The Witness of God is Greater

Tres itaque formae, sed una substantia). It follows that fol. 75r originally on fol. 73 followed, and fol. 74, which contains the "Expositio fidei catholicae", interrupts the rubbing sequence of the leaves. The "Fides sancti Ambrosii episcopi" can be found in the "Codex canonum ecclesiasticorum et constitutionum sanctae sedis apostolicae" c. 37, Leonis Magni Opp. T. 111 col. 277 ed. Ball. (Col. 582 ed. Mig.). (Expositio fidei catholicae in Caspari, Kirchenhistorische Anecdota, 1883, p. 308, fn. 5)

The Witness of God is Greater

Synod of Antioch 341 AD : A Scripture Reference

• **Source:** Thomas Burgess. A Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of St. David's on a Passage of the Second Symbolum Antiochenum of the Fourth Century As an Evidence of the Authenticity of 1 John V. 7, p. 120-123.

120

IV.

*A Comparison of every Article of the SYMBOLUM
ANTIOCHENUM with corresponding passages
of Scripture.*

ΠΙΣΤΕΤΟΜΕΝ ΕΙΣ

ἘΝΑ ΘΕΟΝ	1 Cor. viii. 6.
πατέρα	1 Cor. viii. 6.; xv. 6.
παντοκράτορα	Αποκ. ii. 8.
ο των ὅλων δημιουργοντε και ποιητην, και προνοητην	} Heb. xi. 10.
εξ ου τα παντα	1 Cor. viii. 6.
ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ἘΝΑ ΚΥΡΙΟΝ	} 1 Cor. viii. 6.
ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΝ	
τον υιον αυτου	} John iii. 16; John i. 14; 1 John iv. 9.
τον μονογενη θεον* (f. Θεου)	
δι ου τα παντα	1 Cor. viii. 6.
τον γεννηθεντα προ των αιωνων ει του πατρος	} 1 John i. 1. } John xvii. 5.

* Μονογενη Θεον is an expression not authorised by Scripture. Instead of Θεον we should perhaps read Θεου, *the only begotten of God*, as in John i. 14. *the only begotten of the Father*, μονογενοϋ παρα Πατρος. So also in the *Symbolum Ariminense*, (Athanas. Opp. T. I. p. 722. A.) ὁ μονογενης του Θεου.

Θεον εκ Θεου	John i. 1. 14.
ὄλον εξ ὄλου	Col. ii. 9.
μονον εκ μονου*	1 Tim. vi. 15; Jude, 4.
τελειον εκ τελειου	Heb. ii. 10.
βασιλεα εκ βασιλεως	Apoc. xvii. 14.
κυριον απο κυριου	Col. ii. 24.
Λογον ζωντα	1 John i. 1.
ΣοΦιαν ζωσαν	1 Cor. i. 24. 30.
Φως αληθινον	John i. 9.
ὄδον	John xiv. 6.
αληθειαν	John xiv. 6.
αναστασιν	John xi. 25.
ποιμενα	John x. 11.
θυραν	John x. 9.
ατρεπτον τε και αναλλοιωτον	} Heb. i. 3; xiii. 8.
της θεοτητος, ουσιας τε και	
βουλης και δυναμεως και δοξης	
του πατρος απαρραλλαντον εικονα	} Jam. i. 17.
τον πρωτοτοκον πασης κτι-	
σεως	} Col. 15.
τον οντα εν αρχη προς τον	
θεον	} John i. 1.
Λογον Θεου	
δι' ου τα παντα εγενετο	1 Cor. viii. 6; John i. 2.

* Αληθως υιον τον υιον καλουμεν οτι μονος και μονου και μονως και μονον (ου γαρ και Πατρης) και ὄλον υίος και ὄλου, και απ' αρχης, ου ποτε το ναι υίος ηγμενος. Chrysost. Orat. xxxiii. p. 321.

εν ᾧ τα πάντα συνεστήκε	Col. i. 17.
τον επ' εσχατων των ἡμερων	Heb. i. 2.
κατελθοντα ανωθεν	John vi. 38.
γεννηθεντα εκ παρθενου	Matt. i. 22, 23.
ανθρωπων γενομενον	John i. 14.
μεσιτην θεου και ανθρωπων	1 Tim. ii. 5.
αποστολον της πιστεως ἡμων	Heb. iii. 1.
αρχηγον της ζωης	Acts ii. 15.
τον παθοντα ὑπερ ἡμων	1 Pet. ii. 21.
ανασταντα τη τριτη ἡμερα	1 Cor. xv. 4.
ανελθοντα εις ουρανους	Eph. iv. 8, 9, 10.
κατεσθεντα εν δεξιᾳ του	} Col. iii. 1.
πατρος	
και παλιν ερχομενον μετα	} Matt. viii. 38.
δοξης και δυναμειωσ	
κριναι ζωντας και νεκρους.	} Luke ix. 26.
ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ	} 1 Pet. iv. 5.
ΤΟ ΑΓΙΟΝ το εις παρακλησιν	
και αγιασμον και τελειωσιν τοις	} Acts ix. 31; Rom. xv.
πιστευουσιν διδομενον	
καθως και ὁ κυριος ἡμων Ιησους	} 16; 1 Cor. vi. 11;
Χριστος διεταξατο τοις μαθηταις	
λεγων, πορευθεντες μαθητευσατε	} Eph. iv. 12.
παντα τα εθνη, βαπτιζοντες	
αυτους εις το ονομα του Πατρος	} Matt. xxviii. 19.
και του Υιου και του ἁγιου	
Πνευματος	

123

(δηλονοτι Πατρος αληθωι πα-
τρος οντος, Τιου δε αληθωι υιου
οντος, του δε αγιου Πνευματος
αληθωι αγιου πνευματος οντος
των ονοματων ουχ απλωι ουδε
αργωι κειμενων, αλλα σημαινον-
των οικειαν εκαστου των ονομα-
ζομενων υποστασιν τε και ταξιν
και δοξαν')

ωι ειναι τη μεν υποστασει }
τρια, τη δε συμφωνια εν. }

Heb. v. 5; Matt. iii.
17; John xv. 26.

1 John v. 7.

THE END.

The Witness of God is Greater

In 1791 : Prologue found in 145 MSS

• [Hales] The Vulgate version. The Disputed clause is found in this [version], as we have seen. This version, [PAGE 176] as we learn from Jerome himself, was rendered conformable throughout to the Greek text: "Novum Testamentum fidei Graecae reddidi." And he thus describes the process: "If at any time a question arise among the Latin copies, and there be a variety of readings between them, we recur to the fountain of the Greek Language, in which the New Testament was written." Hieron. Suniae et Fretelae. Vol. iii. p. 26, Edit. Erasm. 1546, or Travis, p. 43, 139. (fn. What became of Jerome's Greek MSS.? His translation was made at Bethlehem, near Jerusalem, about AD 384. Soon after his death the Saracens subdued the Holy Land, and after them the Turks. His MSS perished during their desolating dominion.) And in the prologue to the seven Canonical epistles, he has given his sanction to this verse in the most decided terms. "Had these Epistles been as faithfully rendered into the Latin language by the interpreters, as they were written by the Apostles, James, Peter, John, and Jude, they would not produce ambiguity to the readers, nor would the varieties of expression contradict each other: especially in that place, where we read of the Unity of the Trinity in the first epistles of John. In which we have found, that unfaithful translators have erred greatly from the truth of the Faith; inserting in their editions only the testimony of the three words, 'water, blood,' and 'spirit,' and omitting the testimony of 'the Father, the Word,' and 'the Spirit;' by which, principally, both the Catholic faith is confirmed, and the one substance of the divinity of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is proved."

• [Hales] To set aside, if possible, this testimony, Griesbach, as usual, objects to this prologue, 1. as "falsely ascribed to Jerome of old," and 2. not to be found in any manuscripts prior to the ninth century; and 3. that in several especially the older, the author's name is omitted."

• [Hales] (1.) But the same sentiments precisely are to be found in other parts of Jerome's writings, allowed to be genuine. [PAGE 178] In his epistle to Marcella, he thus impreaches the unfaithfulness of the Latin translators, "I wished to recall to the Greek origin (from whence they do not deny that they were translated) the corruption of the Latin copies; which is proved by the diversity of all the books." (Travis, p. 369) And in unison with the foregoing, is his solemn confession of faith, inscribed to pope Damasus. "And as, confounding Arius, we say that there is one and the same substance of the Trinity, and confess one God in three persons; so, shunning the impiety of Sabellius, we distinguish the three persons, expressed by their peculiarity. The Father is always Father, the Son is always Son, and the Holy Ghost is always Holy Ghost. And thus, in substance they are one (Latin: unum) but in persons and in names they are distinguished." Hieron. op. vol. iv. p. 42.

The prologue, therefore, is not "false," but "truly" ascribed to Jerome, since it tallies with his sentiments and doctrine.

• [Hales] (2.) The second objection is captious; because no manuscripts of the Latin Vulgate are now to be found, prior to the ninth century; all that have been collated bearing as late or a later date.

• [Hales] (3.) A very considerable majority of the oldest and best MSS exhibit this prologue, not always, indeed, in its proper place, viz. immediately before the Epistles of St. John; and, when not found there, it was hastily presumed by Griesbach and others, without further examination that the MSS in question did not contain it. The omission of the author's name, however, is perfectly immaterial; for its proper position before the Catholic Epistles in other MSS joined to the internal evidence of the prologue itself, prove that it could belong to no other than Jerome; and of course, wherever else it was found, it was equally his property. And further, from the researches of Travis, in the Royal Library at Paris, in the month of July, 1791, it appears that, out of twelve of the most ancient MSS of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, only two omit the prologue; out of fourteen such MSS in the Palatine library at Vienna, inspected by professor Alter, only one omits it; and out of ten, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, only one omits it. And in fine, out of 163 MSS inspected in these three public libraries, only 18 omit it in all; leaving a balance of 145, in every one of which, this Prologue ("Prologus galeatus" it has been styled) has been actually found.

• Hales, Faith in the Holy Trinity, the Doctrine of the Gospel, and Sabellian Unitarianism Shewn to Be "The God-Denying Apostacy.", 1818, vol 2, p. 175-179.

The Witness of God is Greater

• [W.C.B.] Robert Stephens had inserted our verse in his edition, on the authority of seven MSS (Greek NT 1555). The opponents of the verse, not being able to find these seven MSS. *supposed* that certain MSS. which they had seen, must, for some reasons, have been the MSS. of Stephens: and from these singular premises they conclude that Stephens was not justifiable in inserting the 7th verse : because these MSS. which they *conjectured* to have been *his seven*, did not contain the verse. They allude to certain MSS. in the French king's library. Mr. Travis visits Paris to examine them. He does it satisfactorily: and shows that such is the difference between these MSS. and Stephen's text, that he certainly had not followed them. Dr. Marsh attacks Mr. Travis. He admits that there is considerable difference between the French MSS. and the text of Stephens, but maintains that there is a *general resemblance* (a very safe assertion.) And then he employs an *algebraic theorem* to prove the identity of these MSS. with those of Stephens. *He applies algebra* to a moral or critical inquiry ! See Butler's Hor. Bibl. vol. i. p.393. Perhaps the opponents of the good bishop may propose to extract the square or cube root of his argument; or to measure it by yards and feet. And on his principles he cannot object—even although they should employ *superficial* instead of *solid* measurement'. (W.C.B."No. V. Review of the argument on behalf of the text of the Heavenly Witnesses"(August 1826) in *The Magazine of the Reformed Dutch Church*, 1827, vol 1, p. 145)

dem forma revictam, qua ipsæ revincuntur; & ostendere simul ubinam quærenda sit veritas, quam apud illas non esse jam constat. Posterior nostra res non est, immo omnibus prior est: hoc erit testimonium veritatis, ubique occupantis principatum, ab Apostolis utique non damnatur, immo defenditur: hoc erit indicium proprietatis. Quam enim non damnant, qui extraneam quamque damnaverunt, suam ostendunt, ideoque & defendunt. Age jam qui voles curiositatem melius exercere in negotio salutis tuæ, percurrere Ecclesias Apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ Apostolorum suis locis præsentant, apud quas ipsæ authenticæ litteræ eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem, & repræsentantes faciem uniuscujusque. Proxima est tibi Achaïa? habes Corinthum. Si non longe es à Macedonia, habes Philippos, habes Theffalonicenses. Si potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum. Si autem Italiæ adjaces, Romam, unde nobis quoque autoritas præsto est.

[TERTULL. *de Præscript. Hæret.* C. xxv. xxvi.]

Nº XXXIII.

Latin MSS of the BIBLE, which contain the seven canonical Epistles, in the Royal Library at Paris.

THE NUMBER OF THE MSS AS MARKED IN THE LIBRARY.	THE CONTENTS OF EACH MS.	ITS SUPPOSED AGE.	THE PREFACE OR PROLOGUE OF JEROME.
No. 1	The whole Bible.	9 Century.	Has the Prol. (a)
3	The whole Bible.	9 Century.	Has the Prologue. 3 (2 Vols.)

(a) This Bible has the following inscription. "A. D. 850 Carolo Calvo obtulerunt Vivianus Comes et Petrus Metensis, dum Fusoni transfarentur."

The Number &c.	The Contents of each MS.	Its supposed age.	The Preface &c.
No. 4 (2 Vols.)	{ The whole, except part of } the Gospels.	9 Century.	Has the Prologue.
5 (2 Vols.)	{ The whole, except part of } the Old Testament.	13 Century.	Has the Prologue.
6 (4 Vols.)	The whole Bible.	10 Century.	Has the Prologue.
7	The whole Bible.	11 Century.	Has the Prologue.
8 (2 Vols.)	—except the Apocalypse.	11 Century.	Has the Prologue.
9	{ Part of the Old Testament } and all the new except the Apocalypse.	12 Century.	Has not the Prologue. (b)
10	The whole Bible.	13 Century.	Has the Prologue.
11	The whole Bible.	13 Century.	Has the Prologue.
12	{ Part of the Old and the } whole of the New Testa- ment.	13 Century.	Has the Prologue.
13	The whole Bible.	13 Century.	Has the Prologue.
14	The whole Bible.	13 Century.	Has the Prologue.
15	The whole Bible.	13 Century.	Has the Prologue.
16	The whole Bible.	13 Century.	Has the Prologue.
17	The whole Bible.	13 Century.	Has the Prologue.
18	The whole Bible.	{ <i>Biblia Papa</i> vocata (scil. <i>Clementis Pa-</i> <i>pæ vii.) A.</i> D. 1378 ad 1394.	Has the Prologue.
19 (2 Vols.)	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
20	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
21	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
22	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
23	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
24	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
25	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
26	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
27	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
28	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
29	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
30	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
31	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
32	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
33	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
34	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
35	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
36	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
37	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
38	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
39	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
40	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
41	—except a part of Genesis.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
42	—except the Psalms.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
43	{ —except a part of St. Paul's } Epistles.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
47	—pages occasionally lost.	11 Century.	Has the Prologue.

(b) When the Prologue was not found in its usual station, viz. immediately before the Epistle of St. James, it was presumed, without further examination, that the MS did not contain it.

The Number &c.	The Contents of each MS.	Its supposed age.	The Preface &c.
No.			
89	Part only of the Old Testament & the Acts the seven Canonical Epistles, the Epistle to the Romans and the Apocalypse.	12 Century.	Has the Prologue.
93	Imperfect—the 1. Epistle of St. <i>John</i> is mutilated in particular.	9 Century.	Has not the Prologue.
104	Part of the Old and all the New Testament.	12 Century.	Has the Prologue.
111	Part of Old, all New Test.	12 Century.	Has the Prologue.
116	Part of Old, all New Test.	13 Century.	Has the Prologue.
135	Part of the Old, and all the New Testament, except the Gospels.	12 Century.	Has the Prologue.
137	Part of the Old, and all the New Testament, except the Gospel of St. <i>Matthew</i> and the Acts of the Apostles.	13 Century.	Has the Prologue.
140	Part of the Old, and the whole of the New Testament.	15 Century.	Has the Prologue.
150	Part of the Old, and the Acts, the Canonical Epistles, and the Apocalypse of the New Testament.	13 Century.	Has the Prologue.
156	Part of the Old, and the whole of the New Testament.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
161	The whole Bible.	13 Century.	Has the Prologue.
162	The whole Bible.	13 Century.	Has the Prologue.
163	The whole Bible.	10 Century.	Has the Prologue.
164	The whole Bible.	13 Century.	Has the Prologue.
165	The whole Bible.	13 Century.	Has not the Prologue.
166	The whole Bible.	13 Century.	Has the Prologue.
167	The whole Bible.	13 Century.	Has the Prologue.
168	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
169	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
170	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has not the Prologue.
171	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
172	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
173	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
174	The whole Bible.	14 Cent.	{ The leaf left where the Prologue is usually inserted.
175	The whole Bible,	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
176	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
177	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
178	The whole Bible.	14 Century	{ Two leaves left where the Prologue is usually inserted.
179	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
180	—except the Psalms.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
181	Part of the Old, and the whole of the New Testament.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
182	The whole Bible, except Apoc.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.

The Number &c.	The Contents of each MS.	Its supposed age.	The Preface &c.
No.			
198	The whole Bible.	10 Century.	Has the Prologue.
199	The whole Bible.	10 Century.	Has the Prologue.
200	The whole Bible.	13 Century.	Has the Prologue.
201	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
202	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
203	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
204	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
205	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
206	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
207	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
208	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
209	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
210	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
211	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
212	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
213	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
214	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
215	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
216 (2 Vols.)	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
217	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
218	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
219	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has not the Pro.
220	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
221	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
222	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
223	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
224	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
225	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
226	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
227	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
228	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
229	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has not the Pro.
230	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
231	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
232	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
233	The whole Bible.	15 Century.	Has the Prologue.
233 A.	The whole Bible.	15 Century.	Has the Prologue.
234	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
242	{ Part of the Old Testament, the Epistle to the Romans and the Canonical Epistles. }	13 Century.	Has not the Pro.
247	{ Part of the Old, and the whole of the New Testa- ment. }	14 Century.	Has the Prologue
250	{ The whole of the New Testament. }	9 Century.	Has the Prologue.
251	The whole New Test.	13 Century.	Has the Prologue.
252	The whole New Test.	13 Century.	Has the Prologue.
253	Part of Old, all New Test.	13 Century.	Has the Prologue.
254	All New Test. except Apoc.	13 Century.	Has the Prologue.
255	{ The whole of the New Test- ament. }	15 Century.	Has the Prologue.
305	{ The Acts, the Canonical E- pistles, the Epistles of St. Paul, and the Apocalyptic. }	12 Century.	Has the Prologue. 306 The

The Number &c.	The Contents of each MS.	Its supposed age.	The Preface &c.
06	{ The Acts, the Apocalypse, the Canonical Epistles and the four Gospels.	12 Century.	Has the Prologue.
307	{ The Acts, and the Canonical Epistles with the Glossa Ordinaria.	14 Century.	Has not the Prol.
308	{ Acts, Canonical Epistles, Apocalypse with the Glossa Ordinaria.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
309	{ St. Paul's Epistles, Acts, Canonical Epistles, Apocalypse.	12 Century.	Has the Prologue.
315	{ Canonical Epistles, Acts, Apocalypse, Epistle to Romans.	12 Century.	Has not the Prol.
316	Canonical Epistles.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
319	The whole New Testament.	14 Century.	Has not the Prol.
320	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has not the Prol.
321	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has not the Prol.
322	The whole Bible.	A. D. 1422.	Has the Prologue.
338	Catholic Epistles.	12 Century.	Has not the Prol.
339	Catholic Epistles.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
341	The whole New Testament.	{ (N. B. This Book could not be found in the Summer of 1791.)	
342	The whole Bible.	13 Century.	Has not the Prol.
343	The whole Bible.	14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
344	{ St. Paul's Epistles, Canonical Epistles.	15 Century.	Has the Prologue.
588	{ Apocalypse, Catholic Epistles.	13 Century.	Has not the Prol.
2328	Canonical Epistles.	9 Century.	Has not the Prol.

In the Palatine Library at Vienna.

The Number &c.		Its supposed age.	The Preface &c.
1	N. B. Through a fear of giving much trouble, Mr. Proffor ALTER was not requested to state a full account of the contents of these MSS.	13 Century.	Has the Prologue.
17		A. D. 1333.	Has the Prologue.
23		15 Century.	Has the Prologue.
50		9 Century.	Has not the Prol.
51		14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
63		14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
64		14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
81		14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
83		13 Century.	Has the Prologue.
93		14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
99		14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
381		12 Century.	Has the Prologue.
457		14 Century.	Has the Prologue.
687		A. D. 1247.	Has the Prologue.

N. B. There are ten Latin MSS of this kind in the Library of Trinity College Dublin, of which nine contain the Prologue.

* H

No. XXXIV.

Bibliography

- A. Capone, "The narrative sections of Macarius Magnes' Apocriticus", in Lessico, argomentazioni e strutture retoriche nella polemica di età cristiana (III-V sec.), a c. di A. Capone, Turnhout 2012, pp. 253-270 [1]. <www.academia.edu/2455548>.
- Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs: Latin: 14. Saturninus proconsul Sperato dixit: Perseveras Christianus? 15. Speratus dixit: Christianus sum; et cum eo omnes consenserunt. 16. Saturninus proconsul dixit: Numquid ad deliberandum spatium vultis? 17. Speratus dixit: In re tam iusta nulla est deliberatio. 18. Saturninus proconsul dixit: Quae sunt res in capsula vestra? 19. Speratus dixit: Libri et epistulae Pauli viri iusti. (Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs. Documents on the Persecution of the Early Church. Bible Researcher. <www.bible-researcher.com/persecution.html#scillitan>)."Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs": The Latin of this text appears in J.A. Robinson, ed., The Passion of S. Perpetua (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1891; repr., Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2004), 114. See also ANF 9:280–82.
- Adams, James Noel, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain. Bilingualism in Ancient Society : Language Contact and the Written Text. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1014770502>. <books.google.com/books?id=BSpfTD6Cbjoc&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Add MS 9348, ff 30v-35v. Ephraem the Syrian, Sermo in Transfigurationem Domini (TLG 4138.135; CPG 3939). Sermo in Transfigurationem Domini (TLG 4138.135; CPG 3939) f30r-f35v. <www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_9348_f030v>
- J.A. de Aldama, "El Simbolo 'Clemens Trinitas' notas para su texto y su historia." in Gregorianum 14 (1933) 485-500. <books.google.com/books?id=dr-VvmeXfScC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Alexakis, Alexander. Codex Parisinus Graecus 1115 and Its Archetype. Washington (D.C.): Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1014853581>. <books.google.com/books?id=m1IDKwYu2AMC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- [Alexander of Asby] The meditations of Alexander of Ashby: an edition. Bestul, Thomas H.. (1990) - In: Mediaeval Studies vol. 52 (1990) p. 43-81. <[ark:/13960/t2w442h4s](https://doi.org/10.31743/vp.3380)>
- Alexandrou, M. 2017. The Palaeography of Byzantine Music: A Brief Introduction with Some Preliminary Remarks on Musical Palimpsests. Athens: Hellenic Academic Ebooks. <hdl.handle.net/11419/6487>.
- Alexandru Prelipcean, "Does the Great Canon of Andrew of Crete Speak About the Heresies and their Combating?" in Vox Patrum 37 (2017) t. 68. <doi.org/10.31743/vp.3380>
- Alexey Fokin, "The Doctrine of the 'Intelligible Triad' in Neoplatonism and Patristics" in M. Vincent (Ed.), Studia patristica: Papers presented at the Sixteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2011. Volume 15: Cappadocian Writers; The Second Half of the Fourth Century (Vol. 15, pp. 45-71). (Studia Patristica; Vol. 67). Leuven: Peeters Publishers. <www.academia.edu/29646905/The_Doctrine_of_the_Intelligible_Triad_in_Neoplatonism_and_Patristics?auto_download=true&email_work_card=view-paper>
- Allen, Pauline. Sophronius of Jerusalem and seventh-century heresy: the Synodical letter and other documents. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/269433643>. <books.google.com/books?id=oqkVDAAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Ambrosiaster, and Gerald Lewis Bray. Commentaries on Romans and 1-2 Corinthians. Downers Grove, Ill: IVP Academic, 2009. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1056592995>. <books.google.com/books?id=KXny711jfBEC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Amphilochius, Methodius, Andrew, and François Combefis. Tōn en hagiois patrōn hamōn Amphilochiou Ikōniou, Methodiou Patarōn, kai Andreou Krētēs Ta Euriskomena = SS. Patrum Amphilochii Iconiensis, Methodii Patarensis, et Andreae Cretensis : opera omnia quae reperiri potuerunt. Parisiis: Apud Simeonem Piget, 1644. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1179213028>. <books.google.com/books?id=kYu_1g91zVgC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Andreas de Santacroce, advocatus consistorialis, acta latina concilii Florentini. Concilium Florentinum Documenta et Scriptores, Series B, Vol. VI. Roma, Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1955, lvi-288 p. 164, 172. <books.google.com/books?id=X_rYAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA164#v=onepage&q&f=false>
- Andrist, P. "Literary Distance and Complexity in Late Antique and Early Byzantine Greek Dialogues Adversus Iudaeos (late 4th - early 9th c.)", in Cameron Averil, Gaul Niels, Dialogues and Debate from Late Antique to Late Byzantium, London, New York 2017, p. 43-64, 2017 <www.academia.edu/38647636/Literary_Distance_and_Complexity_in_Late_Antique_and_Early_Byzantine_Greek_Dialogues_Adversus_Iudaeos_late_4th_-_early_9th_c._>
- Andrist, P., Pseudathanasianische Dialoge, in Athanasius Handbuch. Hg. P. GEMEINHARDT. Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2011, p. 355-362.

The Witness of God is Greater

- Antolín, Guillermo (O.S.A.). Opúsculos desconocidos de San Jerónimo. Separata de: Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1909 , p. 205-355.
<books.google.com/books?id=p0NCK0n_uq4C&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Armfield, H. The Three Witnesses The Disputed Text in St. John. London: [s.n.], 1883.
<www.worldcat.org/oclc/493179828>. <books.google.com/books?id=5eQCAAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Armand Puig Tàrrach."La Bíblia llatina en els països de llengua catalana fins al segle XIII", en Revista Catalana de Teologia 28 (2003) 103-134
- Pseudo-Ephrem the Syrian. Homily on the Transfiguration of Our Lord and God, the Savior Jesus Christ (ed. Assemani, Ephraem Syri Opera omnia, Greek and Latin 2:41-49; Coptic: ed. Budge, "On a Fragment"; Latin: ed. Tosti, Bibliotheca casinensis, 3, Florilegium: 28-31. CPG 3939.
- J.S. Assemani, Sancti patris nostri Ephraem Syri Opera omnia quae extant graece, syriace, latine, vol. 2, Rome, 1743, p. 41-49, digitised and distributed online by the Bonn University and Regional Library at <digitale-sammlungen.ulb.unibonn.de/content/pageview/99006>
- Athanasius von Alexandrien Bibliographie, ed. by Christel Butterweck. 1995. <doi.org/10.1007/978-3-663-14504-2>. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/915632764>. <books.google.com/books?id=e_fOBgAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Athanasios Delios,"Χριστοῦ τὸν ἱεράρχην": the course of the sticheron from the old (non-kalophonic) to the kalophonic melos" in Journal of the International Society for Orthodox Church Music, 122, Vol. 3 (2018), 121–132.
<journal.fi/jisocm/article/view/88723/47888>.
- Athanasiou, Maria. Splendor of the Saints: Mini-Study of the Lives of the Saints of the Orthodox Church. [Place of publication not identified]: Westbow Press, 2020. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1141916786>. <books.google.com/books?id=C2XNDwAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Athanasius, and John Henry Newman. Select Treatises of S. Athanasius ... in Controversy with the Arians. 1842. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/21917605>. <books.google.com/books?id=72oMAAAAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Athanasius, S., Manfré, G., Baratti, A. Tou en agiois patros ēmōn Athanasiou archiepiskopou Alexandreias ta euriskomena panta =: Sancti patris nostri Athanasii archiepiscopi Alexandrini Opera omnia quae extant : vel quae ejus nomine circumferuntur : ad mss. codices Gallicanos, Vaticanos, &c. necnon ad commelinianas lectiones castigata, multis aucta : nova interpretatione, praefationibus, notis, variis lectionibus illustrata : nova sancti doctoris vita, onomastico, & copiosissimis indicibus locupletata : opera & studio monachorum ordinis S. Benedicti e congregatione Sancti Mauri : novissimis nunc curis emendatiora, & quarto volumine aucta. Patavii: Ex typographia Seminarii, apud Joannem Manfrè. 1777. <books.google.com/books?id=N0Dwvwm7_swC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Attridge, H. W. (2011). "The Acts Of John And The Fourth Gospel". in From Judaism to Christianity: Tradition and Transition. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill. <doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004187696.i-336.81>.
- Augustine, Albert C. Outler, Augustine: Confessions and Enchiridion. 1955. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/305121>. <books.google.com/books?id=PWlCAAAMAIAAJ&source=gbs_book_other_versions>. <www.ccel.org/ccel/augustine/confessions.iii.html>. <www.ling.upenn.edu/courses/hum100/augustinconf.pdf>.
- Augustine, and Henry Browne. Homilies on the Gospel According to St. John: And His First Epistle. 1848. vol 2. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1359918>. <books.google.com/books?id=-EsMAAAAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Augustine. Homilies on the Gospel According to S. John: And His First Epistle. London: W. Smith, vol 11, 1883. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1914447>. <books.google.com/books?id=zc0IAQAAMAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Augustine. On the Christian Doctrine, transl. by J. F. Shaw, in: St. Augustine: City of God and Christian Doctrine (Kindle Edition), Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of The Christian Church, Edinburgh: T&T Clark. NPNF1-02, <www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf102.v.v.xv.html>. <www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf102/Page_542.html>.
- Augustine. Sancti Augustini opera. Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (CSEL) 12. Vindobonae: Tempsky, 1887. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/84676630>. <archive.org/details/corpuscriptoru19wissgoog/page/n6>.
- Augustinus, Aurelius, and Angelo Mai. Novae Patrum bibliothecae tomus primus, continens Sancti Augustini novos ex codicibus Vaticanis Sermones. Item eiusdem Speculum et alia quaedam cum diversorum patrum scriptis et tabulis XVI. Nova Patrum Bibliotheca. Romae: Typis Sacri Consilii Propagando Christiano Nomini, 1852. Section 10 (p. PT599) <books.google.com/books?id=T17uTVo2000C&source=gbs_navlinks_s>. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/956146557>.
- Augustí, and A. B. Caillau. Sancti Augustini Hipponensis episcopi Opera omnia: multis sermonibus ineditis aucta et locupletata extracta e collectione SS. Ecclesiae Patrum. Parisiis: apud Parent-Desbarres, editorem, 1840. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1078159540>. <books.google.com/books?id=7jlcnvfMWcAC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Ausonius, Decimus Magnus, and Hugh G. Evelyn-White. Ausonius, with an English Translation. London: W. Heinemann, 1919. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1042949431>. <archive.org/details/deciausonius01ausouoft>.
- Avitus, Alcimus Ecdicius, and Rudolf Peiper. Alcimi Ecdicii Aviti, Viennensis episcopi Opera quae supersunt. Berolini: Apud Weidmannos, 1883. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/781822103>. <archive.org/details/alcimiecdiciiavi62avit>.
- Avit, Danuta Shanzer, and Ian N. Wood. Letters and Selected Prose. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1020476073>. <books.google.com/books?id=4EudhzP65IsC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.

The Witness of God is Greater

- Awde, Nicholas. *Armenian perspectives: 10th anniversary conference of the Association internationale des etudes arméniennes*; School of Oriental and African Studies, London. London: Curzon, 1997. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/50416748>. <books.google.com/books?id=6BVqsmrT7SUC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Backus, Iréna. *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West : from the Carolingians to the Maurits*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/431248221>. <books.google.com/books?id=vPC8m0_cz5wC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Baehrens, Wilhelm Adolf. *Homilien zum Hexateuch in Rufins Übersetzung. Teil 1: Die Homilien zu Genesis, Exodus und Leviticus*. 2012. vol 1 <www.worldcat.org/oclc/979838426>. <books.google.com/books?id=Sp_iA81rukQC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>. <doi.org/10.1515/9783110275391>.
- Ignace Baise, "La Disputatio Cerealis contra Maximinum (CPL 813, CE). Tradition manuscrite et édition critique" in *Revue Bénédictine*, 116/2, 2006, 233-286. <[DOI: 10.1484/J.RB.5.100553](https://doi.org/10.1484/J.RB.5.100553)>.
- Baldwin, B. (1982). The date and purpose of the Philopatris. In J. Winkler & G. Williams (Authors), *Later Greek Literature* (Yale Classical Studies, pp. 321-344). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <[doi:10.1017/CBO9780511972928.010](https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511972928.010)>.
- Baldwin, B. (1989). *Some Pleasures of Later Roman Literature: The African Contribution*. *Acta Classica*, 32, 37-57. Retrieved from <www.jstor.org/stable/24591870>.
- Barbaro, N. *Giornale dell' assedio di Constantinopoli*, (ed. E. Cornet). Vienna, 1856.
- Barbaro, N. *Diary of the Siege of Constantinople, 1453*. J. R. Jones, (Trans.). Jericho, N.Y.: Exposition Press, 1969.
- Barber, Malcolm. *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2014. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/881571694>. <site.ebrary.com/id/10885743>. <books.google.com/books?id=cnHXAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Barlaam Calabro, and Antōnēs Phyrigos. *Opere contro i Latini: introduzione, storia dei testi, edizione critica, traduzione e indici*. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1998. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/682520733>. <books.google.com/books?id=NSEUAQAAMAAJ>.
- Basil the Great. *The Holy Spirit*. Translated by Blomfield Jackson. From *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol. 8*. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1895.) Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight. <<http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/3203.htm>>.
- Baster Haar Romeny. (2007). *Procopius of Gaza and his Library*. Hagit Amirav and Bas Ter Haar Romeny (Eds.), *From Rome to Constantinople: Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron* (Late Antique History and Religion 1; Leuven: Peeters), p. 173-190. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/173516086>. <books.google.com/books?id=mimRtU4vtDwC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Baumstark, Anton. "Ein syrisches Citat des 'Comma Johanneum'" in *Oriens christianus*, vol. 2 (1902), p. 438-441. <books.google.com/books?id=k5s8pvR4c0oC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Bauer, Adolf. *Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik: Text und Miniaturen des griechischen Papyrus der Sammlung W. Golenišček*. Wien: Gerold, 1905. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/180000848>. <archive.org/details/bub_gb_gdYsAAAAAYAAJ>.
- Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. (1921). *Les fragments de Freising (Épîtres de s. Paul et Épîtres catholiques)*. Rome: Bibliothèque vaticane. <catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001641382/Home>.
- Beatrice, Pier Franco (1979). *Il sermone De centesima, sexagesima, tricesima dello Ps. Cipriono e la teologia del martirio*. *Augustinianum* 19 (2):215-243. DOI: 10.5840/agstm197919213
- Beck, H. (1959). The Selection of Bishops Suffragan to Hincmar of Rheims, 845-882. *The Catholic Historical Review*, 45(3), 273-308. Retrieved February 21, 2020 <www.jstor.org/stable/25016580>
- Bede, and David Hurst. *The Commentary on the Seven Catholic Epistles of Bede the Venerable*. Kalamazoo, Mich: Cistercian Publications, 1985. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/10724712>. <books.google.com/books/about/The_Commentary_on_the_Seven_Catholic_Epi.html?id=4-nYAAAAAMAAJ>.
- 'Ben David' [John Jones]. 'Letters to the Editor' in *The Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature* 20 (1825), 533-534; 21 (1826): 15-20, 91-94, 146-152, 214-221, 274-280, 318-322, 468-473.
- Bengel, Johann Albrecht, Philipp David Burk, and Johann Albrecht Bengel. *D. Io. Alberti Bengelii Apparatus criticus ad Novum Testamentum: criseos sacrae compendium, limam, supplementum ac fructum exhibens*. Tubingae: Sumtibus Io. Georgii Cottae, 1763. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/714971133>. <books.google.com/books?id=IBs-AAAAcAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Berger, Samuel. *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du Moyen Age*. B. Franklin, 1893. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/867056369>. <archive.org/details/histoiredelavulg00berg/page/n8>. <books.google.com/books?id=ANU3AQAAMAAJ>.
- Bernard. *Oeuvres complètes de Saint Bernard: traduction nouvelle*. Paris: Vivès, 1865. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1049965884>. <archive.org/details/oeuvrescomplte04bern>.
- Bernard Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta. La tradition manuscrite des oeuvres de Saint Jérôme, vol. 1 - Epistulae*. Steenbrugis: in Abbatia S. Petri, 1969. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/877689077>.
- Berndt, Guido M., and Roland Steinacher. *Arianism: Roman Heresy and Barbarian Creed*. 2016. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1019158240>. <books.google.com/books?id=qZcGDAAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.

The Witness of God is Greater

- Bianchini, Giuseppe, Athanasius, Giovanni Antonio Faldoni, Giuseppe Filosi, Vigilius, Lodovico Perini, and Anastasius. *Enarratio pseudo-Athanasiana in symbolum ante hac inedita. Et Vigilius Tapsitani De trinitate ad Theophilum liber 6. Nunc primum genuinus, atque assumptis carens prolatus ex vetustissimo codice amplissimi Capituli Veronensis, opera et studio Josephi Bianchini ... Accedit Symbolum Nicænum, cum Symmachi papæ vita ex vetustissimis membranis nunc integre in lucem emissa. Veronæ: ex typographia Petri Antonii Berni bibliopolæ, 1732.* <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1002738855>. <books.google.com/books?id=V42fOZvrEI8C&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- *Biblia sacra vulgatae editionis. Stamperia Vaticana. Romae : ex Typographia Apostolica Vaticana, 1592. Biblioteca nazionale centrale - Firenze - IT-FI0098 <info:sbn/BVEE008854>*
- Biville, F. (2002). "The Graeco-Romans and Graeco-Latin: A Terminological Framework for Casus of Bilingualism." In: J. N. Adams, M. Janse, and S. Swain (eds.), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 77–102.
- Biville, F. (2018, September 10). *Multilingualism in the Roman World*. Oxford Handbooks Online. Retrieved 10 Jul. 2019. <www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935390.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199935390-e-101>.
- Carlos Blanch, *Justino Mártir - Expositio Rectae Fidei (bilingüe)*, [n.d.]. <www.academia.edu/38557540/Justino_M%C3%A1rtir_Expositio_Rectae_Fidei_biling%C3%BCe_>
- Bogdan G. Bucur, "Exegesis and Intertextuality in Anastasius the Sinaite's Homily on the Transfiguration," *SP* 68 (2013): 249-260. 67. <www.academia.edu/5460613/Exegesis_and_Intertextuality_in_Anastasius_the_Sinaites_Homily_on_the_Transfiguration>
- Bogdan G. Bucur, "Isaiah 6 in Hymnography and Iconography" in *Pro Ecclesia Vol 23-N3: A Journal of Catholic and Evangelical Theology*, 2014, p. 309-330.
- Bolland, Jean, Godefrid Henschen, Daniel Van Papenbroeck, and Michel Cnobbaert. *Acta sanctorum aprilis collecta, digesta, illustrata, a Godefrido Henschenio et Daniele Papebrochio e societate Jesu. Tomus I [-III]. 1675.* <archive.org/details/actasanctorum06uns>. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/493252502>.
- Bollandus, Ioannes, Gofridus Henschenius, and Jacques Meursius. *Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur, vel à Catholicis Scriptoribus celebrantur: quae ex Latinis & Graecis, aliarumque gentium antiquis monumentis. Antuerpiae: Apud Ioannem Meursium, 1894.* <www.worldcat.org/oclc/915739406>.
- Bonaventure, Bernardino, Luigi da Parma Canali, Aloysius Lauer, David Fleming, Ignatius Jeiler, and Fidelis. *Opera omnia. Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi): Ex typ. Collegii s. Bonaventurae, 1882.* <www.worldcat.org/oclc/38558708>. <books.google.com/books?id=v4MKQAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Michel Bonnet und Sever J. Voicu, Hgg., *Amphiloque d'Iconium: Homélie 2: Homélie 6–10, Fragments divers, Épître synodale, Lettre à Séleucos (SC 553; Paris: Cerf, 2012), 342–353.*
- Booth, Phil, Richard Price, and Catherine Cubitt. *The Acts of the Lateran Synod of 649*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1014056184>. <books.google.com/books?id=OJtBnwEACAAJ>.
- Bradshaw, Paul F. *Eucharistic Origins*. 2012. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/781542981>. <books.google.com/books?id=mVJNAwAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- *Breviarium romanum, ex decreto concilii Tridentini restitutum. 1686.* <www.worldcat.org/oclc/717560589>. <books.google.com/books?id=6hNAAAAcAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- *Bridget of Sweden (1303-1373 AD)*. Bridget, Denis Searby, and Bridget Morris. *The Revelations of St. Birgitta of Sweden. Liber Caelestis, Vol. 1, Books 1-3*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. <https://books.google.com/books?id=A1jCBwAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- *Bridget of Sweden (1303-1373 AD)*. Bridget, Simon Hörmann, Juan de Torquemada, Consalvus Durantus, Joannes Hermann à Gelder, Joannes Wagner, and Sebastianus Rauch. *Revelationes caelestes sraphicae Matris S. Birgittae Suecae sponsae Christi praelectae, ordinis sponsi sui SS. Salvatoris fundatricis: olim ab eminentissimo domino Ioanne Cardinale de Turrecremata recognitae & approbatae : a reverendissimo Consalvo Duranto Episcopo Feretrano insigni tractatu de visionibus, revelationibus, apparitionibus, ecstasi, & raptu, ac plurimis notis, eruditissimè illustratae : nunc demum juxta exemplaria Romana recens impressae, plurimis mendis purgatae, vitâ & miraculis ejusdem sanctae matris, ac filiae divae Catharinae primae ordinis abbatissae, & alijs ornatae. Monachii: Sumptibus Joannis Wagneri, & Joannis Hermanni à Gelder, bibliopolarum Monacensium, 1680.* <catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/012454494> <babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.31175032446729;view=1up;seq=389>.
- Brooke, Alan England. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Johannine Epistles*. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1912. <catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/355394.html>. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/609200860>. <archive.org/details/criticalexegetic43broouoft/page/n8>.
- Brown, Raymond E. *The Epistles of John: Translated, with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1982. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/7925227>. <books.google.com/books?id=JIM0Q0bjgYkC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Brownlee. "Gleanings and Hints Towards an Argument for the Authenticity of John v. 7" in *The Christian Advocate* 2 (August, 1825), 300-306.

The Witness of God is Greater

- Bruyne, Donatien de. *Les fragments de Freising (Épîtres de s. Paul et Épîtres catholiques)*. Rome: Bibliothèque vaticane, 1921. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1081772>. <catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001641382/Home>
- Joseph Bryennius (1350-1432 AD) : Travis, George. *Letters to Edward Gibbon, Author of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. 3rd Edition. London: Printed for the author, and sold by Rivingtons, 1794. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/520086>. <books.google.com/books?id=nf0qAAAAyAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Bryennius, Joseph. Ἰωσήφ Μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου τὰ Εὐρεθέντα ἀξιῶσει τοῦ Ὑψηλοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου πρώην ἡγεμόνος Μολδοβλαχίας Κυρίου Κυρίου Γρηγορίου Ἀλεξάνδρου Γκίκα Βοεβόδα δι' ἐπιμελείας Εὐγενίου διακόνου τοῦ Βουλγάρως ἥδη τὸ πρῶτον τύποις ἐκδοθέντα. [Twenty-Four Homilies on the Procession of the Holy Spirit. edited by Eugenius Bulgaris] 3 vols. Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1768-84. <digital.lib.auth.gr/record/124794?ln=en>. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/700770905>. <editions.academyofathens.gr/epetirides/xmlui/handle/20.500.11855/566>.
- Bucur, Bogdan Gabriel. *Scripture Re-Envisioned: Christophanic Exegesis and the Making of a Christian Bible*. Leiden: Brill, 2018. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1066344621>. <books.google.com/books?id=KSODwAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Budde, T. (2012). *The Versio Dionysii of John Scottus Eriugena. A Study of the Manuscript Tradition and Influence of Eriugena's Translation of the Corpus Areopagiticum From the 9th through the 12th century*. <central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item?id=NR97716&op=pdf&app=Library&oclc_number=1019491637>.
- Bull, George. *Bishop Bull's Works on the Trinity*. Oxford: J.H. Parker, 1851. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/71367710>. <books.google.com/books?id=oNsGAAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Burgess, Thomas, and John Mill. *Adnotationes Millii: auctae et correctae ex prolegomenis suis, Wetstenii, Bengelii, et Sabaterii, ad I. Joann. V. 7 : una cum duabus epistolis Richardi Bentleii et observationibus Joannis Seldeni, Christophori Matthiae Pfaffii, Joannis Francisci Buddei, et Christiani Friderici Schmidii*. Mariduni: Typis Joannis Evans, 1822. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/13842818>. <books.google.com/books?id=EFgPAAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Burgess, Thomas, A Vindication of 1 John, V. 7. from the Objections of M. Griesbach: in Which Is Given a New View of the External Evidence, with Greek Authorities for the Authenticity of the Verse, Etc. With a Facsimile. Rivingtons: London, 1823. 2nd edition. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/559460695>. <books.google.com/books?id=fvZhAAAAcAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Burgess, Thomas, and John Mill. *Adnotationes Millii: auctae et correctae ex prolegomenis suis, Wetstenii, Bengelii, et Sabaterii, ad I. Joann. V. 7 : una cum duabus epistolis Richardi Bentleii et observationibus Joannis Seldeni, Christophori Matthiae Pfaffii, Joannis Francisci Buddei, et Christiani Friderici Schmidii*. Mariduni: Typis Joannis Evans, 1822. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/13842818>. <books.google.com/books?id=wUZOQAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Burgess, Thomas, Joanna Baillie, and Thomas Burgess. *An Introduction to the Controversy on the Disputed Verse [I V. 7] of St. John As Revived by Mr. Gibbon: To Which Is Added Christian Theocracy or a Second Letter to Mrs. Joanna Baillie on the Doctrine of the Trinity*. Salisbury: W.B. Brodie and Co., Canal, 1835. <books.google.com/books?id=GyTD51w2InMC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Burgess, Thomas. *A Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of St. David's on a Passage of the Second Symbolum Antiochenum of the Fourth Century As an Evidence of the Authenticity of 1 John V. 7*. London: Printed for F. and C. Rivington, 1825. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/33164801>. <archive.org/details/lettertoclergyof00burg>.
- Burn, Andrew Ewbank. *An Introduction to the Creeds and to the Te Deum*. 1899. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1129721841>. <books.google.com/books?id=H15AAAAAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Burrus, Virginia. *The Making of a Heretic: Gender, Authority, and the Priscillianist Controversy*. Berkeley: University of California, 1995. <ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft009nb09t>
- Burton, Edward. *Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Doctrine of the Trinity and of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost*. Oxford: University Press, 1831. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/6299276>. <books.google.com/books?id=IQNAAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Busbecq, Ogier Ghislain de, Charles Thornton Forster, and Francis Henry Blackburne Daniell. *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin De Busbecq*. London: C.K. Paul, 1881. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/581750882>. <books.google.com/books?id=6GMuAQAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Butler, Alban, David Hugh Farmer, and Paul Burns. *Butler's Lives of the Saints*. Tunbridge Wells, Kent: Burns & Oates, 1995. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/33824974>. <books.google.com/books?id=fuH5Uka64MUC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Cadiou, René. *Commentaires inédits des Psaumes; étude sur les textes d'Origène contenus dans le manuscrit Vindobonensis 8*. Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles lettres", 1936. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/7467602>. <books.google.com/books?id=52tAAAAIAAJ>.
- Caesarii Arelatensis, Sancti, *Opera Omnia, Breviarium adversus haereticos in vol 2, 182-308* (ed. Dom. Germanus Morin. 2 vol. Maredsous 1937-1942)
- Caesarius of Arles. *Sermons, Volume 1 (1–80) (The Fathers of the Church, Volume 31)*. Translated by Sister Mary Magdeleine Mueller. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1956. doi:10.2307/j.ctt32b128 <books.google.com/books?id=0pWzRdNohzgC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>

The Witness of God is Greater

- Caesarius of Arles. *Sermons, Volume 2 (81–186)* (The Fathers of the Church, Volume 31). Translated by Sister Mary Magdeleine Mueller. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1956. doi:10.2307/j.ctt32b128 <books.google.com/books?id=Oz0PeXaXP2sC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Caesarius of Arles. *Sermons, Volume 3 (187–238)* (The Fathers of the Church, Volume 31). Translated by Sister Mary Magdeleine Mueller. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1956. doi:10.2307/j.ctt32b128 <books.google.com/books?id=DZchkgEoDjIC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Caesarius, and Germain Morin. *Caesarii Arelatensis opera*. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (CCSL) vol 103-104. Turnholti: Brepols, 1953. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/5266415>.
- Caesarius, and Germain Morin. *Sancti Caesarii episcopi arelatensis Opera omnia nunc primum in unum collecta*. Maretioi: [Maretioi ad Sanctum Benedictum], 1949. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/233871485>. <lccn.loc.gov/ac38000086>. Volume 2, <books.google.com/books?id=YHzYAAAAMAAJ>. Volume 1, Part 1 <books.google.com/books?id=55MKAQAAMAAJ>. Volume 1, Part 2 <https://books.google.com/books?id=y3vYAAAAMAAJ>. Note: 1. Sermones; seu, Admonitiones: Pars prima, continens praefationem, sermones de diversis et de scriptura Veteris Testamenti. Pars altera, continens sermones de scriptura Novi Testamenti, de tempore, de sanctis, ad monachos; cum appendice et indicibus.--2. Opera varia: Epistulae, Concilia, Regulae monasticae, Opuscula theologica Testamentum. Vita ab eius familiaribus conscripta.
- Calov, Abraham, and Hugo Grotius. 1719. *Biblia Novi Testamenti Illustrata : In Quibus Emphases vocum ac mens dictionum genuina è fontibus, contextu & analogia Scripturae eruuntur ...; Præmissis, ... librorum sigulorum præloquiis, & partitionibus ... etiam, ex voto Eruditorum, Annotatis Grotii Universis, ... Ita Adornata ... Adjecto denique sub finem Indice quintuplici locupletissimo T. 2 T. 2*. Dresdæ [u.a.]: Zimmermann. 1719. <mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10326552-6>. <reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10326552_00744.html>
- Averil Cameron, "Byzantine Africa: The Literary Evidence," in *Excavations at Carthage 1978*, ed. J.H. Humphrey, 1982. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/4340746>.
- Cameron, Averil, and Niels Gaul. *Dialogues and Debates from Late Antiquity to Late Byzantium*. 2017. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/957243345>. <books.google.com/books?id=lkYIDwAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Carnes, Natalie. *Beauty: A Theological Engagement with Gregory of Nyssa*. 2014. <site.ebrary.com/id/11215657>. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/903899756>.
- Caro, Georg, and Johann Lietzmann. *Catenarum Graecarum catalogus*. 1902. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/56001749>. <archive.org/details/CatenarumGraecarumCatalogus>.
- Cartwright, Steven R. *A Companion to St. Paul in the Middle Ages*. Leiden: Brill, 2013. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/808421700>. <books.google.com/books?id=iQlZAQAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Caserta, A. 1986. 'Cereale di Castello (Sec. V) in difesa del dogma trinitario', in G. Lorizio and V. Scippa (eds.), *Ecclesiae sacramentum: studi in onore di P. Alfredo Marranzini S.J.* (Naples), 91–109. <books.google.com/books?id=5WMwAAAAYAAJ&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=Caserta>.
- Casey, R. (1931). *Armenian Manuscripts of St. Athanasius of Alexandria*. *The Harvard Theological Review*, 24(1), 43-59. <www.jstor.org/stable/1507897>.
- Caspari, C. P. *Ungedruckte, unbeachtete und wenig beachtete Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel*. Christiania: P.T. Malling, 1866. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/13711819>. <https://books.google.com/books?id=EJYXpjUCQakC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Caspari, Carl Paul. *Kirchenhistorische Anecdota: Nebst neuen Ausg. patristischer u. kirchlich-mittelalterlicher Schriften*. Veröffentlicht u. m. Anm. u. Abh. begleitet 1 1. Christiania: Malling, 1883. pp. 133-147. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/162853451>. <books.google.com/books?id=LL8UAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>. <Online: www.tertullian.org/articles/caspari_altercatio.htm>.
- Cassian, and P. Tzamalikos. *A newly discovered Greek Father: Cassian the Sabaite eclipsed by John Cassian of Marseilles*. Leiden: Brill, 2012. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1090058903>. <books.google.com/books?id=0TXdLO2C-TwC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Cassiodorus, and P. G. Walsh. *Explanation of the Psalms*. New York, N.Y.: Paulist Press, 1990. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/972892777>. <books.google.com/books?id=2M08R28pzasC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Catholic Church. *Councils., Cossart, G., Labbe, P., Hardouin, J., France. Conseil d'Etat., Catholic Church. Pope. (1714-1715). Acta conciliorum et epistolae decretales, ac constitutiones summorum pontificum*. Parisiis: Ex Typographia Regia. 1714-1715. <babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433000352082;view=1up;seq=23;size=150>
- Chadwick, H. (1958). *Pseudo-Athanasii de Trinitate libri x–xii: Expositio fidei catholicae, Professio arriana et confessio catholica, De Trinitate et de Spiritu Sancto*. *Recognovit brevis adnotatione critica instruit Manlius Simonetti*. Pp. 148. Bologna: Cappelli, 1956. Paper. *The Classical Review*, 8(1), 86-86. doi:10.1017/S0009840X00164054
- Chadwick, Henry. *Augustine of Hippo: A Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1006079599>. <books.google.com/books?id=BxwUDAAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.

The Witness of God is Greater

- Chadwick, Henry. *Priscillian of Avila: The Occult and the Charismatic in the Early Church*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/614288864>.
- Chapman, J. (1911). *Peregrinus*. In *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York: Robert Appleton Company. Retrieved November 14, 2020 from New Advent: <www.newadvent.org/cathen/11664b.htm>.
- Chapman, J. (1923). *St Jerome and the Vulgate New Testament*. III. *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 24(95), 282-299. <www.jstor.org/stable/23950471>.
- Chapman, John. *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/4140405>. <books.google.com/books?id=XYpAAAAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- P. Charalampakis: *Once again on St. Ioannikios the Great and the Slavs of Bithynia in Zgodovinski časopis*, 71, 2017, 3-4, (156), 512-525.
- Chazelle, Celia. *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion*. 2001. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/45195870>. <books.google.com/books?id=wAKmrAHj060C&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Chitwood, Zachary, and Johannes Pahlitzsch. *Ambassadors, artists, theologians: Byzantine relations with the Near East from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries*. 2019.
- Chrystal, James. *Authoritative Christianity. The First Ecumenical Council ... Which Was Held [325] A.D. at Nicaea in Bithynia*. Jersey City, N.J.: J. Chrystal, 1891. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/2553668>. <books.google.com/books?id=fo4OAAAAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Church, F. Forrester, and Terrence J. Mulry. *The Macmillan Book of Earliest Christian Hymns*. New York: Macmillan, 1988. (p. 62-63) <archive.org/details/macmillanbookofe000unse>. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/17954728>.
- Church of Ireland. *The Christian Examiner and Church of Ireland Magazine*. Dublin, Ire: W. Curry, Jun, 1825. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/11036422>. <books.google.com/books?id=HxoEAAAQAQAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Clarke, Professor M. L., M. L. Clarke, and D. H. Berry. *Rhetoric at Rome: A Historical Survey*. 2002. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/974634863>. <books.google.com/books?id=2fCEAgAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Clément d'Alexandrie, and Robert Pierce Casey. *The "Excerpta Ex Theodoto" of Clement of Alexandria, Edited with Translation, Introduction and Notes, by Robert Pierce Casey*. London: Christophers, 1934. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/458271857>. <books.google.com/books/about/The_Excerpta_Ex_Theodoto_of_Clement_of_A.html?id=xT19QwAACAAJ>.
- Coca, M. (2017). *Hacia una edición crítica de los "Sermones" de Don Martín García*. <www.academia.edu/25948616/Hacia_una_edici%C3%B3n_cr%C3%ADtica_de_los_Sermones_de_Don_Mart%C3%ADn_Garc%C3%ADa>
- Coccius, Jodocus. *Thesaurus catholicus in quo controversiae fidei ... SS. Scripturarum, conciliorum et SS. ... Patrum testimoniis ... explicantur*. [Lieu de publication non identifié]: [éditeur non identifié], 1599.
- Cod. 1370. 939 Vienna, Austrian National Library Cod. 1370 (BStK.-Nr. 939). BStK Online. Database of Old High German and Old Saxon gloss manuscripts. <glossen.germ-ling.uni-bamberg.de/manuscripts/13203>. <data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13959082>. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/421883831>. <books.google.com/books?id=f9t5yN0RfVIC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Coleti, Sebastiano, Giovanni Battista Albrizzi, Jean Baptiste du Sollier, Giovanni Pien, Willelm Cuypers, Pieter van den Bosch, B. Falconi, and Parmesan. *Acta Sanctorum Julii. Venetiis: Apud Io. Baptistam Albrizzi Hieron. Fil. et Sebastianum Coleti, 1698*. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/928688335> <books.google.com/books?id=hdZhAAAACAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Comnena, Anna, and Elizabeth Dawes. *The Alexiad of the Princess Anna Comnena: Being the History of the Reign of Her Father, Alexius I, Emperor of the Romans, 1081-1118 A.D.* London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1967. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/956585>. <books.google.com/books?id=IQceAAAAMAAJ>. <sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/annacomnena-alexiad.asp>.
- Consolamini commentary series: *Alcuin of York Commentary on Revelation: Commentary and the Questions and Answers Manual (English and Latin) Translated by Sarah Van Der Pas. Edited by John Litteral. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, July 14, 2016*.
- Conti, Marco. *The life and works of Potamius of Lisbon: a biographical and literary study with English translation and a complete commentary on the extant works of Potamius Epistula ad Athanasium, De Lazaro, De martyrio Isaiaae Prophetae, Epistula de substantia, Epistula Potami*. Volume 32 of *Instrumenta patristica*. Steenbrugis: In Abbatia S. Petri, 1998. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/185472679>. <books.google.com/books/about/The_life_and_works_of_Potamius_of_Lisbon.html?id=HIIQAQAIAAJ>
- John J. Contreni. "Haimo of Auxerre, Abbot of Sasceium (Cessy-les-Bois), and a New Sermon on I John V, 4-10." *Revue Bénédictine* 85 (1975): 303-320. <DOI: 10.1484/J.RB.4.00829>
- Conybeare, F. C. *The Dialogues of Athanasius and Zacchaeus and of Timothy and Aquila*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/9508802>. <archive.org/details/dialoguesofathan00cony>.

The Witness of God is Greater

- Cordier, Balthasar. *Expositio patrum Graecorum in psalmos 3. 3.* Antwerpiae: Moreti, 1646. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/312916506>. <books.google.com/books?id=uullAAAACAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae. *Chronicon paschale 1. 1.* Edited by Ludovicus Dindorfius. Bonnae: Weber, 1832. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/264694299>. <books.google.co.uk/books?id=KrXICuth_rIC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>. <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=KrXICuth_rIC&pg=PA11#v=onepage&q&f=false>
- Cosaert, Carl P. *The Text of the Gospels in Clement of Alexandria.* Atlanta, Ga: Soc. of Biblical Literature, 2008. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1074658990>. <books.google.com/books?id=27U9z0LKcclC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Council of Chalcedon, Richard Price, and Michael Gaddis. *The acts of the Council of Chalcedon.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/61260294>. <books.google.com/books?id=6IUaOOT1G3UC#v=onepage&q&f=false>.
- Crafer, T. (1907). *Macarius Magnes, a Neglected Apologist.* *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 8(31), 401-423. <www.jstor.org/stable/23949118>.
- Crawford, Matthew R. "Canon Tables, Eusebian", in: *Brill Encyclopedia of Early Christianity Online*, General Editor David G. Hunter, Paul J.J. van Geest, Bert Jan Lietaert Peerbolte. Consulted online on 10 July 2020. First published online: 2018. <dx.doi.org.ezproxy2.acu.edu.au/10.1163/2589-7993_EECO_SIM_00000519>.
- Crawford, M. R. (2020). *Reconsidering the Relationship between (ps-)Didymus' De Trinitate and Cyril of Alexandria's Contra Julianum.* *Journal of Theological Studies*. <www.academia.edu/40218883/Reconsidering_the_Relationship_between_ps_Didymus_De_Trinitate_and_Cyril_of_Alexandrias_Contra_Julianum>
- Criore, Raffaella. *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/45861681>. <books.google.com/books?id=wvtz4yVS378C&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Critobulus, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*; Translated by René Guerdan in *Byzantium Its Triumphs and Tragedy.* London: Allen & Unwin, 1956.
- CSEL: Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, and Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.* Vindobonae [i.e. Vienna]: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1866. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1565180>.
- Cunningham, Francis L. B. (1958) "The Relationship Between Mary and the Church in Medieval Thought," in *Marian Studies: Vol. 9, Article 8, Pages 52-78.* <ecommons.udayton.edu/marian_studies/vol9/iss1/8>
- Cunningham, Mary. *The life of Michael the Synkellos.* Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, Dept. of Greek & Latin, Queen's University of Belfast, 1991. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/681422933>. <books.google.com/books?id=VgXZAAAAMAAJ>.
- Cyprianus, Thascius Caecilius, and Ezio Gallicet. *La Chiesa: Sui cristiani caduti nella persecuzione; L'unità della Chiesa cattolica; Lettere scelte.* Milano: Paoline (The Church: On the Christians who died in persecution; The unity of the Catholic Church; Selected letters), 1997. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/237322048>. <books.google.com/books?id=Q5VZuQ9L1nkC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- *The Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature.* James Strong and John McClintock; Harper and Brothers; NY; 1880. Website HTML, editorial descriptions, and images ©2021 Study Lamp Software LLC. Source: McClintock and Strong Cyclopaedia book module from SwordSearcher. <www.biblicalcyclopedia.com/C/cerealis.html>
- Dadoyan, Seta B. *The Armenians in the Medieval Islamic World: Armenian Realpolitik in the Islamic World and Diverging Paradigms - Case of Cilicia Eleventh to Fourteenth Centuries.* Milton: Taylor and Francis, 2017. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1004196897>. <public.ebookcentral.proquest.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=5042537>.
- Dainese, D. (2017). "Clement's Exegesis of 1 John in the Adumbrationes". In *Clement's Biblical Exegesis.* Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill. p. 292-324. <doi.org/10.1163/9789004331242_014>.
- Dales, Douglas. *Alcuin II: A Study of His Theology.* Cambridge: James Clarke, 2013. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/824521201>. <books.google.com/books?id=i54ABAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Johannes Damascenus, *Oktoechos (Octas hymnorum. Praemissae sunt precesiones variae, in fine accesserunt Constantini Porphyrogenetae hymni, qui ex aposteilaria dicuntur, nec non Leonis Philosophi Imperatoris codina idiomela i.e. hymni sub ortum solis canendi.)* (graece) Glykys, 1823.
- Johannes von Damaskos, and Bonifatius Kotter. *Die Schriften. Band 4 Liber de haeresibus. Opera polemica Band 4 Liber de haeresibus. Opera polemica.* 2011. <doi.org/10.1515/9783110879698>. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1154187927>. <books.google.com/books?id=qxe6lb-5sEwC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Daniélou, J. (1971). *Le traité De centesima, sexagesima, tricesima et le judéo-christianisme latin avant Tertullien.* *Vigiliae Christianae*, 25(3), 171-181. doi:10.2307/1583316
- Jean Darrouzès. *Trois documents de la controverse gréco-arménienne.* *Revue des études byzantines*, tome 48, 1990. pp. 89-153.

The Witness of God is Greater

- Davidson, Samuel. *A Treatise on Biblical Criticism, Exhibiting a Systematic View of That Science*. Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1853. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/778733>. <books.google.com/books?id=Xgw2AQAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Davis, L. (1971). Hincmar of Rheims as a Theologian of the Trinity. *Traditio*, 27, 455-468. Retrieved June 27, 2020. <www.jstor.org/stable/27830928>.
- De Lubac, S. J., Henry Cardinal, and C. J., Gemma Simmonds. *Corpus Mysticum: The Eucharist and the Church in the Middle Ages*. Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990. <public.ebookcentral.proquest.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=4689181>.
- J.A. Demetracopoulos, "Palamas Transformed: Palamite Interpretations of the Distinction between God's 'Essence' and 'Energies' in Late Byzantium," in *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History 1204-1500*, ed. M. Hinterberger and C. Schabel (Paris: Peeters Leuven, 2011), 263-372. <www.elemedu.upatras.gr/english/images/jdimitrako/Palamas_Transformed_Demetracopoulos.pdf>
- Denzinger, Heinrich. *The Sources of Catholic Dogma*. St. Louis: Herder, 1957. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1151234328>. <archive.org/details/sourcesofcatholi00denz>.
- Denzinger, Heinrich Josef, and Klemens Bannwart. *Enchiridion Symbolorum definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum. Friburgi Brisgoviae: Freiburg im Breisgau, 1908*. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/898513605>. <books.google.com/books?id=CsPkyJCZ4KUC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- De Rubeis, Bernardo Maria. *Fr. Jo. Fran. Bernardi Mariae De Rubeis Ordinis Praedicatorum De tribus in caelo testibus Patre Verbo & Spiritu Sancto qui tres unum sunt I. Ep. Joan. cap. V. v. 7. dissertatio adversus Samuelem Crellium aliosque*. Venetiis: Cudebat Simon Occhi(1S), 1755. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/797889550>. <books.google.com/books?id=QrBRAAAAcAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Defries, David James. *Constructing the Past in Eleventh-Century Flanders: Hagiography at Saint-Winnoc*. 2004. <http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc_num=osu1095712760>. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/57172998>
- Tomasz Derda, "Some Non-Documentary Texts from Deir el-Naqlun" in *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 25 (1995), pp. 41-48.
- Diarmaid MacCulloch (2010). *A History of Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years*. Penguin Books. <books.google.com/books?id=u1eTZKpJVS4C&pg=PT319>.
- Dijkstra, Roald. *The Apostles in Early Christian Art and Poetry*. 2016. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1039898222>. <books.google.com/books?id=NClzCwAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Ekaterina Dikova, "The Sermon on the Transfiguration of Christ (CPG 3939) Ascribed to St. Ephrem the Syrian in South Slavonic Translation: The Construction of Rhetorical Rhythm" in *Translations of Patristic Literature in South-Eastern Europe*, 2020.
- Dindorf, Ludwig August, and Charles Du Fresne Du Cange. *Chronicon paschale*. Bonnae: Impensis Ed. Weberi, 1832. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/66251023>. <books.google.com/books?id=8CQAAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Diodore of Tarsus (d. 390) : [GREEK TEXT] : *Ἔπιτομή τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ ἁγίου Διοδώρου τοῦ Ταρσεύου*. incubator.wikimedia.org. <incubator.wikimedia.org/wiki/Ἔπιτομή_τῆς_ἱστορίας_τοῦ_ἁγίου_Διοδώρου_τοῦ_Ταρσεύου>.
- Dionysius, and Charles Lett Feltoe. *The letters and other remains of Dionysius of Alexandria*. Cambridge (England): University Press, 1904. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1004055>. <books.google.com/books?id=kSUGOTKWAYUC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Dioscorus, and David W. Johnson. *A Panegyric on Macarius, Bishop of Tkōw*. Translated by D.W. Johnson. Leuven: Peeters, 1980. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/769240629>. <lccn.loc.gov/81196596>. <books.google.com/books?id=UH4PAQAIAAJ&source=gbs_ViewAPI>.
- Charles Vincent Dolman, "Recent Evidence in Support of 1 John v. 7", *The Dublin Review*, 90 (1882), p. 426-439. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/4710639>. <books.google.com/books?id=twoJAQAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Döpp, Siegmund, and Wilhelm Geerlings. *Dictionary of Early Christian Literature*. New York: Crossroad, 2011. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1010720091>.
- Dorenkemper, Mark. *The Trinitarian Doctrine and Sources of St. Caesarius of Arles*. Fribourg, Switzerland: University Press, 1953. <catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/4470034.html>. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/973558386>. <lccn.loc.gov/a55010296>. <books.google.com/books/about/The_Trinitarian_Doctrine_and_Sources_of.html?id=nLEqAQAAMAAJ>
- Dorhout, Ambrosius. *Ambrosii Dorhout V.D.M. Dokkumani, Animadversiones in loca selecta V.T. ... Annexæ sunt III Dissertationes*. Leovardiæ: Abrahamum Ferwerda, 1765. vol. 1 <www.worldcat.org/oclc/71435040>. <books.google.com/books?id=dXRpZT-mhuwC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- G. Dorival, "Biblical Catenæ: Between Philology and History" in *Commentaries, Catenæ, and Biblical Tradition: Papers from the Ninth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament in Conjunction with the COMPAUL Project*. Edited by H. Houghton, 2016. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/958003092>.

The Witness of God is Greater

- Dossey, L. (2003). THE LAST DAYS OF VANDAL AFRICA: AN ARIAN COMMENTARY ON JOB AND ITS HISTORICAL CONTEXT. *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 54(1), new series, 60-138. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23968969>
- Du Pin, Louis Ellies, and William Wotton. *A New History of Ecclesiastical Writers: Containing an Account of the Authors of the Several Books of the Old and New Testament, of the Lives and Writings of the Primitive Fathers, an Abridgment and Catalogue of Their Works ... Also a Compendious History of the Councils, with Chronological Tables of the Whole.* London: Printed for Abell Swalle and Tim. Childe, 1692. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/221464168>. <quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A69887.0001.001/1:22.51?rgn=div2;view=fulltext>
- Duplessis, Michel Toussaint Chrétien. *Description géographique et historique de la haute Normandie: divisée en deux parties, dont la première comprend Le pais de Caux & la seconde Le vevin ; on y a joint un dictionnaire géographique complet & les cartes géographiques de ces deux provinces.* Paris: Chez Nyon père, Didot, Giffart, Nyon fils, 1740. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/977872682>. <books.google.com/books?id=TMrjwPxOTu4C&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Durantis, Guillaume, Johannes, and Grazioso Perchacino. *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum.* A.R.D. Gvlielmo Dvrando Mimatensi Episcopo, I.V.D. clarissimo concinnatum: atq[ue] nunc recens vtilissimis Adnotationibus illustratum. Adiectum fuit præterea aliud Diuinorum officiorum Rationale ab Ioanne Beletho Theologo Parisiensi, ab hinc ferè quadringentis annis conscriptum, ac nunc demum in lucem editum; Cum duplici, vno prioris, altero posterioris Rationalis Indice locupletissimo. Venetiis: Perchacinus, 1568. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/258323691>. <archive.org/details/gri_33125009312923>.
- Ebert, Friedrich Adolf. *Zur Handschriftenkunde. Die Bildung Des Bibliothekars.* Leipzig: Steinacker und Hartknoch, 1825. Bändchen 2. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/894691801>. <books.google.com/books?id=vxVSAAAacAAJ&pg=PA186#v=onepage&q&f=false>.
- [Editor], Review of "A Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of St. David's, on a Passage of the Second Symbolum Antiochenum of the Fourth Century, as an evidence of the authenticity of 1 John v. vii. By T. Burgess, D. D. &c. Bishop of St. David's (now of Salisbury.) Rivington, 1825., pages 123." in *The Christian Examiner, and Church of Ireland Magazine*, vol 2, January to June 1826, p. 54-61.
- Edwards, W. (1909). *Ausonius, the Poet of the Transition.* *The Classical Journal*, 4(6), 250-259. <www.jstor.org/stable/3287364>.
- Eleutherio. [February 20th]"De S. Eleutherio Episcopo Tornacen si in Belgio, Commentarius praeuius" in *Tomum Tertium De Actis Sanctorum Mensis Februarii*, vol 3, 1865, p. 180-208)
- Michael D. Elliot, "Canon Law Collections in England ca 600–1066: The Manuscript Evidence" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 2013) <hdl.handle.net/1807/43550>. <individual.utoronto.ca/michaelelliott/manuscripts/texts/sanblasiana.html>.
- Elliott, J. K. (ed.), 'The Acts of John', in J. K. Elliott (ed.), *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford, 1993; online edn, Oxford Academic, 1 Nov. 2003), <doi.org/10.1093/0198261829.003.0022>.
- Emilio Bonfiglio, 'The Armenian Translations of John Chrysostom: The Issue of Selection', in Madalina Toca and Daniel Batovici (eds), *Caught in Translation: Studies on Versions of Late-Antique Christian Literature, Texts and Studies in Eastern Christianity 17* (Leiden, 2020), 35–63. <academia.edu/41623253/The_Armenian_Translations_of_John_Chrysostom_The_Issue_of_Selection>
- Robert B. Eno, "Doctrinal Authority in the African Ecclesiology of the Sixth Century: Ferrandus and Facundus." *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 22 (1976), 95-113.
- Ephraem, C. W. Mitchell, Anthony Ashley Bevan, and F. Crawford Burkitt. *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan, Of Which the Greater Part Has Been Transcribed from the Palimpsest B.M. Add. 14623 and Is Now First Published.* Farnborough, Hants: Gregg International, 1969. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/977494806>. <archive.org/details/cu31924092341662>.
- Ephraem. *Select Works of S. Ephrem the Syrian, Tr. Out of the Original Syriac with Notes and Indices by Rev. J.B. Morris.* Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1847. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/317696212>. <dl.ub.uni-freiburg.de/diglit/ephraem1743-6/0133>. <archive.org/details/selectedworksofs00ephrrich/page/i>.
- Epiphanius, and Young Richard Kim. *Ancoratus.* Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2014. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/884035405>. <site.ebrary.com/id/10883594>. <books.google.com/books?id=gxHWAwAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Epiphanius. *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis. Books II and III. De Fide.* Translated by Frank Williams. Second, revised edition. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 79. Leiden: Brill, 2013. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1049321113>. <books.google.com/books/about/The_Panarion_of_Epiphanius_of_Salamis.html>.
- Erigena, Johannes Scotus. *Periphyseon = The Division of Nature.* tr. I. P. Sheldon-Williams and JJ O'Meara. Montréal: Bellarmin, 1987. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/16717916>.
- Eusebius of Caesarea, *Church History.* Translated by Arthur Cushman McGiffert. From *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol. 1.* Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1890.) Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight. <www.newadvent.org/fathers/250102.htm>. NPNF2-01

The Witness of God is Greater

- Eusebius, and Vinzenz Bulhart. *Eusebius Vercellensis Episcopi quae supersunt*. Turnholt: Brepols, 1957. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/888599241>. <books.google.com/books/about/Eusebii_Vercellensis_Episcopi_quae_super.html?id=VtsrAAAAIAAJ>. <www.brepols.net/Pages/ShowProduct.aspx?prod_id=IS-9782503000916-1>.
- Euthymius Zigabenus. *Exposition of the Psalter & Dogmatic Chapters as contained in Moscow Synodal Library manuscript gr. 195 and collated with other early manuscripts from Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale), London (British Library), Constantinople (Old Seraglio Library), Sinai (Saint Catherine's Monastery Library), Florence (Laurenziana Library) and Munich (Bavarian State Library)*, by John Raffan, 2015. <www.academia.edu/25967928/Zigabenus_Psalter_Commentary_Parallel_Text>.
- Euthymius, and Alexius. *Panoplia dogmatikē Alexiou vasilēōs tou Komnēnou*. Tergovystō: [publisher not identified], 1710. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/44826113>. <books.google.com/books?id=peEGAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Evagrius, and Michael Whitby. *The ecclesiastical history of Evagrius Scholasticus*. 2000. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/45325022>. <books.google.com/books?id=YP9cuh3KX3wC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Evagrius, Joseph Bidez, and Léon Parmentier. *The ecclesiastical history of Evagrius with the scholia*. London: Methuen & Co, 1898. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/3027973>. <books.google.com/books?id=e34sAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Everson, D. L. (2018). "Jeremiah in the Latin". In *The Book of Jeremiah*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill. doi: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004373273_021
- *Expositio Fidei catholicae : [Fides Isatis ex Judaeo. Expositio fidei catholicae] (I John 5:7) : ed. A. Hoste, (1957), CCSL 9, pp. 331-348.* (Caspari, 1883, p. 305).
- *Expositio in Apocalypsin [Exposition of the Apocalypse]*. Ambrose Autpert (d. 781) lived in a monastery in Gaul. Robert Weber, ed. *Ambrosii Autperti opera. Expositionis in Apocalypsin Libri I-V. CCM 27. Libri VI-X. CCSL 27A*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1975. Latin edition. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/313947070>. <books.google.com/books?id=ehVAAAaAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Facundus, Anne Fraïsse-Bétoulières, Jean-Marie Clément, and Roel Vander Plaetse. *Défense des Trois chapitres à Justinien. Tome I, Livres I-II. Introduction, traduction et notes par Anne Fraïsse-Bétoulières*. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2002. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/492523528>.
- Facundus, and Sara Petri. *Difesa dei tre capitoli*. Roma: Città nuova, 2007. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/181090309>. <books.google.com/books?id=RuHMohGYjI4C&source=gbs_navlinks_s>. vol 1 <books.google.com/books?id=RuHMohGYjI4C&source=gbs_navlinks_s>. vol 2 <books.google.com/books?id=KGgYd7sllX0C&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Faustus, August Engelbrecht, Faustus, Faustus, Faustus, Faustus, Faustus, and Ruricius. *Fausti Reiensis praeter sermones pseudo-eusebianos opera. Accedunt Ruricii Epistulae*. Vindobonae [Vienna, Austria]: F. Tempsky, 1891. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/869784>. <books.google.com/books?id=uNDJcInb6aYC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Fergus Millar, "Theodoret of Cyrrhus: a Syrian in Greek Dress?" in *From Rome to Constantinople: Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron*. Ed. Averil Cameron, Hagit Amirav, and R. B. ter Haar Romeny., 2007, p. 105-126. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1166926984>. <books.google.com/books?id=mimRtU4vtDwC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Fiano, Emanuel (2017). *Three Powers in Heaven: The Trinitarian Controversies in Fourth-Century Roman Syria And the Christian-Jewish Continuum*. Dissertation, Duke University. <hdl.handle.net/10161/16241>.
- Fickermann, N., ed. *Die Regensburger rhetorischen Briefe*. In *MGH Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*. 5. Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV, pp. 259-382. Weimar, 1950. <periodika.digitale-sammlungen.de/wsa/Blatt_bsb00000522,00266.html>
- Fickermann, Norbert. "St. Augustinus gegen das »Comma Johanneum«?" *Biblische Zeitschrift* 22 (1934): 350-358.
- Flanagan, S. (1984). *Hildegard of Bingen : the psychological and social uses of prophecy / Sabina Flanagan*. <hdl.handle.net/2440/21528>
- Flynn OP, T.. O. (2017). "Forerunners of the Nineteenth-Century Missionary Presence (1): Catholic Missionaries and Apologists in the Early Qājār Era" in *The Western Christian Presence in the Russias and Qājār Persia, c. 1760–c. 1870*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill. doi: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004313545_004
- Foakes-Jackson, F. J., Kirsopp Lake, James Hardy Ropes, and Henry J. Cadbury. Part 1. *The Acts of the Apostles*. Vol 3. Edited by F.J. Foakes Jackson, D.D. & Kirsopp Lake, D.D., D.Litt. Eugene, Or: Wipf and Stock, 2002. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/54887704>. <books.google.com/books?id=89ZKAAwAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Forster, Charles. *A New Plea for the Authenticity of the Text of the Three Heavenly Witness ; or, Porson's Letters to Travis Eclectically Examined and the External and Internal Evidences for 1 John V, 7 Eclectically Re-Surveyed*. Cambridge [England]: Deighton, Bell, 1867. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/14916459>. <books.google.com/books?id=yXIsAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Fournier, Éric, "Cerealis", in: *Brill Encyclopedia of Early Christianity Online*, General Editor David G. Hunter, Paul J.J. van Geest, Bert Jan Lietaert Peerbolte. Consulted online on 23 June 2021 <dx.doi.org/10.1163/2589-7993_EECO_SIM_00000595>

The Witness of God is Greater

- Fourth Lateran Council (1215). Stephan Kuttner and Antonio Garcia y Garcia, "A New Eyewitness Account [German Cleric] of the Fourth Lateran Council," *Traditio* 20 (1964), 115-178. <www.jstor.org/stable/27830771>.
- Fourth Lateran Council (1215). Translated by Constantin Fasolt in Julius Kirshner and Karl F. Morrison, eds., *Medieval Europe*, vol. 4 of University of Chicago Readings in Western Civilization (Chicago, 1986), 369-376. <mafiadoc.com/61-eyewitness-account-of-the-fourth-lateran-council-classesv2_59ed0ebe1723ddfc8e63120c.html>.
- Fourth Lateran Council : 1215. Introduction and translation taken from *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Norman P. Tanner. Papal Encyclicals Online. Your guide to online Papal and other official documents of the Catholic Church. Constitutions. www.papalencyclicals.net/councils/ecum12-2.htm
- Fraigneau-Julien, Bernard. "Un traité anonyme de la Sainte Trinité attribué à saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie." *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, 49:2 (1961), 386-405.
- Stig Simeon R. Frøyskov, "Jerusalem Rite" in *Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology* (2013). <www.academia.edu/4874556/_Hymnography_of_the_Rite_of_Jerusalem>.
- Frassetto, Michael. *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/638786077>
- Fresco, Karen L., and Charles D. Wright. *Translating the Middle Ages*. London: Taylor and Francis, 2016. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1018163847>. <books.google.com/books?id=RcyXCwAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Friedman, Russell L. *Intellectual Traditions at the Medieval University: The Use of Philosophical Psychology in Trinitarian Theology Among the Franciscans and Dominicans, 1250-1350*. 2013. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1013281995>. <books.google.com/books?id=uRkyAQAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Michèle Gaillard. «Les deux vitæ anciennes de saint Éleuthère, évêque de Tournai : tradition manuscrite et contextes d'écriture », dans M. Cavalieri et E. De Waele, *Industria apium. L'archéologie : une démarche singulière, des pratiques multiples. Hommages à Raymond Brulet* p. 345-369, Louvain-La-Neuve, 2013.
- Galano, Clemente. *Conciliatio Ecclesiae Armenae Cum Romana Ex Ipsis Armenorum Patrum, Et Doctorum Testimoniis*, In duas Partes, Historialem & Controversialem divisa 2,2. 2,2. Romae: Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, 1661. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/164887330>. <books.google.com/books?id=ZSFVAAAAcAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 102, p. 278 – Ambrose, *De spiritu sancto* and *De incarnationis dominicae sacramento*. Victricius of Rouen, *De laude sanctorum* (<https://www.e-codices.ch/en/list/one/csg/0102>)
- Gamber, Klaus. *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores: secunda editio aucta*. Freiburg/Schweiz: Universitätsverlag, 1968. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/874370756>. <books.google.com/books?id=v0Ex5jV8yscC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Gampel, A. (2012). Papyrological Evidence of Musical Notation from the 6th to the 8th centuries. *Musica Disciplina*, 57, 5-50. Retrieved December 13, 2020. <www.jstor.org/stable/24427165>.
- Gantner, Clemens, Rosamond McKitterick, and Sven Meeder. *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe*. 2015. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/889736738>. <books.google.com/books?id=VQVEBgAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Don Martín García and Manuel Montoza Coca, *Los sermones de Don Martín García: obispo de Barcelona*. Edición y Estudio. Volumen II, 2018. <www.tesisenred.net/bitstream/handle/10803/650416/mmc2de2.pdf>.
- Geelhaar, Tim. *Christianitas: eine Wortgeschichte von der Spätantike bis zum Mittelalter*. 2015. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/900797556>. <books.google.com/books?id=1YAtCgAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Gelasius, *Tractate 3 De duabus naturis in Christo adversus Eutychem et Nestorium*. Translated in Edward J. Kilmartin S.J., *The Eucharist in the West: History and Theology*. [United States, Liturgical Press, 2004.], pp. 41-42.
- George Isaac Huntingford (1748–1832 AD) : Bishop Hereford. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Huntingford>.
- Georgius Cedrenus, Charles Annibal Fabrot, Jacques Goar, Bartolomeo Javarina, Ioannes Scylitza, and Wilhelm Xylander. *Georgiou tou Kedrenou Synopsis historion = Georgii Cedreni Compendium historiarum*. Venetiis: Ex Typographia Bartholomaei Javarina, 1729. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1025489750>. <books.google.com/books?id=90PU5O-iXEIC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Georgius, and Carl de Boor. *Georgii monachi chronicon* edidit Carolus de Boor. Lipsiae: in aedibus B.G. Teubneri, 1904. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/4981436>. <archive.org/details/georgiimonachic00boorgoog>.
- Gilbertus, Anna Sapir Abulafia, and G.R. Evans. *The works of Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster*. 1986. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1035573727>. <books.google.com/books?id=-0wtAAAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Germain Morin, "Les douze livres sur la Trinité attribués à Vigile de Thapse" in *Revue bénédictine* vol. 15 (1898) p. 1-10. <doi.org/10.1484/J.RB.4.02952>.
- Gill, John, and John Gill. *Exposition of the New Testament ... In Which the Sense of the Sacred Text Is Given, Doctrinal and Practical Truths Are Set in a Plain and Easy Light, Difficult Places Explained, Seeming Contradictions Reconciled ... the Whole Illustrated with Notes Taken from the Most Ancient Jewish Writings*. London: Printed for the Author, 1746. <www.biblestudytools.com/commentaries/gills-exposition-of-the-bible/1-john-5-7.html>.
- Giulea, D. (2018). Antioch 268 and Its Legacy in the Fourth-Century Theological Debates. *Harvard Theological Review*, 111(2), 192-215. doi:10.1017/S0017816018000056

The Witness of God is Greater

- Glessner, Justin. *The Makings of an Average Joe Gender, the Everyday, and the Reception of Joseph of Nazareth in Early Christian Discourse*. De Gruyter, 2017 <www.worldcat.org/oclc/957506831>. <books.google.com/books/about/The_Making_s_of_an_Average_Joe.html?id=lp1CvgAACAAJ&source=kp_book_description>. <open.library.ubc.ca/cIRcle/collections/ubctheses/24/items/1.0167591>.
- Goddard, E. H. *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*. [Devizes, Eng.]: [Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society], 1854. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1745018>. <books.google.com/books?id=K2VIAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Goes, Damião de. [Damiani a Goes ... Aliquot Opuscula. Fides, Religio, Moresque Æthiopum. Epistolæ Aliquot Preciosi Joannis Paulo Jovio & Ipso Damiano [I.E. David, Emperor of Ethiopia] Interpretibus. Deploratio Lappianæ Gentis. Lappiæ Descriptio. Bellum Cambaicum. De Rebus & Imperio Lusitanorum Ad Paulum Jovium Disceptatiuncala. Hispaniæ Ubertas & Potentia. Pro Hispania Adversus Munsterum Defensio ... Item Aliquot Epistolæ Sadoleti, Bembi & Aliorum ... Cum Farragine Carminum Ad Ipsum Damianum.]. 1791. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1064375199>. <books.google.com/books?id=v6hfAAAACAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Michael Gorman, "Jacob Pamelius (1536-1587) and a St Victor manuscript used for the 1563 edition of Bede: Paris lat. 14489", in *Scriptorium*, Tome 52 no. 2, 1998. pp. 321-330. <doi.org/10.3406/scrip.1998.1848> <www.persee.fr/doc/AsPDF/scrip_0036-9772_1998_num_52_2_1848.pdf>
- Görres-Gesellschaft. *Oriens Christianus*. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1901. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1642167>. <books.google.com/books?id=k5s8pvR4c0oC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- González, Justo L. *A History of Christian Thought*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1987. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/17774192>. <books.google.com/books?id=1VMeQcNyDjYC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Goode, William. *The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice: Or, A Defence of the Catholic Doctrine That Holy Scripture Has Been, Since the Times of the Apostles, the Sole Divine Rule of Faith and Practice to the Church, against the Dangerous Errors of the Authors of the Tracts for the Times and the Romanists, in Which Also the Doctrines of the Apostolical Succession, the Eucharistic Sacrifice, Etc. Are Fully Discussed*. London: Hatchard, 1853. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/698283185>. <books.google.com/books?id=1XdLAQAAMAAJ>. <catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100803769>.
- Graham Lovell, "Gregory of Neocaesarea's Theology and Statement of Faith: A Seed of the Fourth Century Theological Debate", *Phronema*, VOL. 31(1), 2016, 25-57
- Grantley R. McDonald, *Raising the Ghost of Arius. Erasmus, the Johannine Comma and Religious Difference in Early Modern Europe* [Ph.D. dissertation Leiden 2011; impressum: Bruxelii: Ex officina Antipodea, 2011], 424 pages. <hdl.handle.net/1887/16486>.
- Sylvain Grébaud, *Ordre du baptême et de la confirmation dans l'Église éthiopienne*, (Extrait de la Revue de l'Orient chrétien. 3-e série, t.6, (26), n.1 et 2 (1927-1928), p. 105-189) par Sylvain Grébaud. Paris, Librairie Auguste Picard, 1928.
- Green, Ashbel. *The Christian Advocate*. [Philadelphia]: [A. Finley], 1823. vol 3. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1554425>. <books.google.com/books?id=_tk2AAAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Green, Ashbel. *The Christian Advocate*. [Philadelphia]: [A. Finley], 1825. vol 3. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1554425>. <books.google.com/books?id=_tk2AAAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Green, Richard M., "Odo of Morimond: His System of Contemplation as Based on Matthew XX, the Parable of the Vineyard" (1969). *Master's Theses*. 3050. <scholarworks.wmich.edu/master_theses/3050>
- Green, Roger. *Latin epics of the New Testament: Juvencus, Sedulius, Arator*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/86069030>. <books.google.com/books?id=bwZREAAAQBAJ>.
- Greenslade, S. L. *Early Latin Theology: Selections from Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose, and Jerome*. London: SCM Press, 1956. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/6573135>. <books.google.com/books?id=130YTvKKClC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Gregory Nazianzen, *Letters*, Translated by Charles Gordon Browne and James Edward Swallow. From *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol. 7*. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1894.) Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight. <www.newadvent.org/fathers/3103a.htm>.
- Gregory Nazianzen, *Orations*, Translated by Charles Gordon Browne and James Edward Swallow. From *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol. 7*. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1894.) Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight. <<http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/310233.htm>>.
- Grenfell, Bernard P., and Arthur S. Hunt. *The Amherst Papyri: Being an Account of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of Lord Amherst of Hackney*. London: H. Frowde, 1900. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1039500652>. <archive.org/details/amherstpapyribei02grenuoft>.
- Grenfell, Bernard P., and Arthur S. Hunt. *The Oxyrhynchus papyri*. 1898. vol 15. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/855777953>. <archive.org/details/oxyrhynchuspapyr15gren>.

The Witness of God is Greater

- Gross Jules. Carmelo Ottaviano, Joachim abbatis Liber contra Lombardum, 1934. In: *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, tome 14, fascicule 4, 1934. <www.persee.fr/doc/rscir_0035-2217_1934_num_14_4_1640_t1_0608_0000_1>.
- Grotius, Hugo. *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum: denuo emendatius editae*. Groningae: Zuidema, 1826. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/54569616>. <books.google.com/books?id=2ExxdW6lyPgC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Grumel, V. (1929). Nicéphore Blemmyde et La Procession Du Saint-Esprit. *Revue Des Sciences Philosophiques Et Théologiques*, 18(4), 636-656. Retrieved June 18, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/44412388
- Grützmacher, Georg. *Hieronymus: eine biographische Studie zur alten Kirchengeschichte*. Leipzig: Dieterich, 1901. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/6975670>. <books.google.com/books?id=wSLgAAAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Guillaume d'Auxerre (1150-1230 AD). *Tract.III.79. Prima dominica post pascha. Magistri Guillelmi Autissiodorensis Summa de officiis ecclesiasticis*, ed. Franz Fischer, Cologne 2007-2013, online:guillelmus.uni-koeln.de. <guillelmus.uni-koeln.de/tcrit/tcrit_t3c79>.
- Gwatkin, Henry Melvill. *Studies of Arianism: Chiefly Referring to the Character and Chronology of the Reaction Which Followed the Council of Nicaea*. 1900. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/903126673>. <books.google.com/books?id=WVsdFugJsbAC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Gwynn, John. *The Apocalypse of St. John, in a Syriac Version Hitherto Unknown ; Edited, (from a Ms. in the Library of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres), with Critical Notes on the Syriac Text, and an Annotated Reconstruction of the Underlying Greek Text*. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, and Co, 1897. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/3491194>. <archive.org/details/apocalypseofstjo00gwynuoft>.
- H. Musurillo. *Review of "Pseudo-Athanasii De Trinitate libri X-XII, éd. Manlio Simonetti, Bologne, Cappelli, 1956"*. *Latomus*, 17(1), 1958, p. 125-127. <www.jstor.org/stable/41518792>.
- H.A.G. Houghton, "The Use of the Latin Fathers for New Testament Textual Criticism" in B.D. Ehrman and M.W. Holmes (edd.), *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis* (second edition; NTTSD 42), Leiden: Brill, 2012, pp. 375–405.
- Haak, Theodore. *The Dutch Annotations Upon the Whole Bible: or, All the Holy Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, Together with, and According to, Their Own Translation of All the Text: As Both the One and the Other Were Ordered and Appointed by the Synod of Dort, 1618, and Published by Authority, 1637. Now Faithfully Communicated to the Use of Great Britain, in English. Whereunto Is Prefixed an Exact Narrative Touching the Whole Work, and the Translation. By Theodore Haak, Esq. H. Hills: London, 1657*. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/557476596>. <eebo.chadwyck.com/search/ful_l_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTI ON=ByID&ID=V61806>. <bibleconsultants.nl/downloads/english/The-Dutch-Annotations-upon-the-Whole-Bible-1657/scans/>. <gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:12425026>.
- 'House of Lords Journal Volume 8: 24 September 1646', *Journal of the House of Lords: volume 8: 1645-1647 (1802)*, pp. 502-04. <www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=34107>.
- Hacikyan, A. J., Gabriel Basmajian, Edward S. Franchuk, and Nourhan Ouzounian. *The Heritage of Armenian Literature*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/42477084>. <books.google.com/books?id=2gZzD0N9ld8C&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Hales, William. *Faith in the Holy Trinity, the Doctrine of the Gospel, and Sabellian Unitarianism Shewn to Be "The God-Denying Apostacy."...: In a Connected Series of Letters*. London: Printed for F.C. and J. Rivington, no. 62, St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1818. vol 2. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/706018073>. <books.google.com/books?id=lyBMAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Hall, Isaac. (1882). *The Syriac Apocalypse*. *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, 2(2), 134-151. Retrieved June 11, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/3268655 <archive.org/details/jstor-3268655>. <books.google.com/books?id=OTstAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft [Handbook of Ancient Studies]*. München: C.H. Beck, 1893. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/64215500>. <books.google.com/books?id=bv0_AQAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Hannah, D. (1999). *Isaiah's Vision in the Ascension of Isaiah and the Early Church*. *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 50(1), new series, 80-101. Retrieved from <www.jstor.org/stable/23967860>.
- Hanson, R. P. C. *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God: The Arian Controversy 318-381*. London: T & T Clark, 2005. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1045039738>. <books.google.com/books?id=tclFM-nRh2IC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Hardy, Thomas Duffus. *The Athanasian Creed in Connexion with the Utrecht Psalter, Being a Report to the Right Honourable Lord Romilly, Master of the Rolls, on a Manuscript in the University of Utrecht*. [London]: [Printed by G.E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, printers to the Queen, for H.M. Stationery Off.], 1872. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/4172689>. <books.google.com/books?id=xXtWAAAaAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Harford, John S. *The Life of Thomas Burgess Late Lord Bishop of Salisbury*. London: Longren u.a, 1840. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/165777153>. <books.google.com/books?id=2eQ5AAAaAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.

The Witness of God is Greater

- Florina Rodica Hariga, "Joachim of Fiore's Symbolical Depictions of the Trinity and the Interpretation according to the Principle of Similitude", *Meta*, Vol. XI, No. 1, June 2019. <www.metajournal.org/articles_pdf/287-295-hariga-meta-2019-no1.pdf>.
- Hayes, Walter M. *The Greek Manuscript Tradition of (Ps.) Basil's Adversus Eunomium, Books IV-V*. Leiden: Brill, 1972. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/584244>. <books.google.com/books?id=nNIUAAAAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Head, Thomas. *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*. New York: Routledge, 2001. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/47282793>. <books.google.com/books?id=kDD_0GztLYkC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Hefele, Charles Joseph. *A History of the Councils of the Church, From the Original Documents*. Edinburgh: Clark, 1876. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/13902075>. <archive.org/details/ahistoryofthecou02hefeuoft>.
- Hefele, Karl Joseph von. *A History of the Councils of the Church: From the Original Documents*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1883. <<http://books.google.com/books?id=ETIqAQAAMAAJ>>. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/679305685>.
- Henschen, G. (editor) 1658. *Eleutherius, Episcopus Tornacensis in Belgio. Acta Sanctorum (AA SS). Februarius. III. Antwerp, 180-208*.
- Heracleon, Alan England Brooke, and Origen. *The Fragments of Heracleon*. Cambridge [England]: University Press, 1891. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/5073176>. <books.google.com/books?id=7d0IAQAAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Herzog August Bibliothek, *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel, Part 2, Issue 5, 1908, p. 317-318* <www.worldcat.org/oclc/6859288>. <books.google.com/books?id=93oDAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Herzog, J. J., Philip Schaff, Albert Hauck, Samuel Macauley Jackson, Charles Colebrook Sherman, and George W. Gilmore. *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, Embracing Biblical, Historical, Doctrinal, and Practical Theology and Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Biography from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1908-1914. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/766061>. <www.ccel.org/s/schaff/encyc/encyc06/hm/iii.lvii.cxx.htm>. <books.google.com/books?id=GREMAAAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Hessels, Jean. In primam B. Ioannis Apostoli et Evangelistæ Canonicam Epistolam absolutissimus commentarius. Lovanii: Apud Ioannem Bogardum, #Sub Biblijs Aureis#, 1568. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/65743256>. <books.google.com/books?vid=KBNL:KBNLB410013401>.
- Hicks, Jonathan. *Trinity, Economy, and Scripture: Recovering Didymus the Blind*. 2015. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/915775008>. <public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=4395087>.
- Hildegard of Bingen, Barbara J. Newman, and Caroline Walker Bynum. *Scivias*. New York, N.Y.: Paulist Press, 1990. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1050055877>.
- Hills, Edward F., and Stephen E. Moring. *The King James Version Defended*. Des Moines, Iowa: CRP, 2006. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1009563248>. <archive.org/details/TheKingJamesVersionDefended>.
- Hinschius, Paul. *Decretales pseudo-Isidorianae et capitula Angibrammi*. 1863. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/900661148>. <books.google.com/books?id=4aIUAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Hippolyte, and Paul de Lagarde. *Hippolyti Romani Quae feruntur omnia, graece, e recognitione Pauli Antonii de Lagarde*. Lipsiae: In aedibus B.G. Teubneri, 1858. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/457992041>. <books.google.com/books?id=S9QCAAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Hippolytus, Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus, Caius, Novatianus, Alexander Roberts, and James Donaldson. *Ante-Nicene Fathers. Vol. 5*. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1995. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/456656493>. <www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf05>.
- Hobson, J. (2017). *Exegetical Theory and Textual Communities in Late Anglo-Saxon England*. UC Berkeley. ProQuest ID: Hobson_berkeley_0028E_16863. Merritt ID: ark:/13030/m5547rhs.
- Hoffmann, Lars Martin. *Der antijüdische Dialog Kata Ludaion des Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto : Editio princeps, Einführung und Kommentar*. Mainz: Univ. 2007. <nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:hebis:77-41079>
- Houghton, H. A. G. *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts*. 2017. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1004187385>. <books.google.com/books?id=CXQqCwAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- J. Leonhard Hug, *An Introduction to the Writings of the New Testament*. London: C. & J. Rivington, 1827. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/7971547>. <books.google.com/books?id=5AM5UT6KzzYC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Humfress, Caroline. *Orthodoxy and the Courts in Late Antiquity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/154707941>. <books.google.com/books?id=3XYSDAQAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Hunter, David G. *Marriage, Celibacy, and Heresy in Ancient Christianity: The Jovinianist Controversy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/731121497>. <ebooks.rahnuma.org/religion/Christianity/Marriage_Celibacy_and_Heresy_in_Ancient_Christianity.pdf>.
- José Carlos Martín Iglesias, "Reglas monásticas" in *Escritores visigóticos*. Madrid, 2011 (Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 321), pp. 1-28.
- Ignatius, S., Lightfoot, J. Barber., Polycarp, S. (1889). *S. Ignatius. S. Polycarp: Revised texts with instructions, notes, dissertations, and translations*. 2d ed. London: Macmillan. <catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/011257995>.

The Witness of God is Greater

- Ilaria Ramelli, "Methodius" in Mateo Seco, Lucas F., and Giulio Maspero. *The Brill Dictionary of Gregory of Nyssa*. Leiden: Brill, 2009. 494-496 <www.worldcat.org/oclc/435879431>. <books.google.com/books?id=ID3zg6t4y7MC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- International Conference on Patristic Studies, Maurice F. Wiles, Edward Yarnold, and P. M. Parvis. *Papers presented at the Twelfth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1999*. Leuven: Peeters, 1997. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1000792328>. <books.google.com/books?id=XBLtIGhU9UYC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Ioannidou, A. (2014). *The kalophonic settings of the Second Psalm in the Byzantine chant tradition of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*. <academicworks.cuny.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1432&context=gc_etds>
- Isaac, and A. Hoste. *Isacis Judaei quae supersunt [Fides Isatis ex Judaeo. Expositio fidei catholicae]*. Turnholti: typographi Brepols, 1957. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/26832753>.
- Isidore of Seville (560-636 AD), and Carmen Codoñer Merino. *El "De viris illustribus" de Isidoro de Sevilla. Estudio y edición crítica*. [By Carmen Codoñer Merino.]. 1964. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/752821722>.
- Isidore, and Stephen A. Barney. *The etymologies of Isidore of Seville*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/56942080>. <books.google.com/books?id=3ep502syZv8C&source=gbs_navlinks_s>. <sfonline.org/Uploads/2002/st%20isidore%20in%20english.pdf>.
- Izbicki, Thomas M., *The Eucharist in Medieval Canon Law*, Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2015. <[doi:10.1017/CBO9781316408148](https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781316408148)>. <books.google.com/books?id=vRGrCgAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Jacobi, "HIPPOLYTUS," Philip Schaff, ed., *A Religious Encyclopaedia or Dictionary of Biblical, Historical, Doctrinal, and Practical Theology*, 3rd edn., Vol. 2. Toronto, New York & London: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1894. pp.995-996. (Hippolytus. earlychurch.org. <www.earlychurch.org.uk/hippolytus.php>)
- Janssens, Jean Hermann, and Jean-Jacques Pacaud. *Herméneutique sacrée ou Introduction à l'Écriture sainte en général, et en particulier à chacun des livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament, à l'usage des séminaires*. Paris: J.-J. Blaise, 1828. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/490070890>.
- Jansen, Till, and Theodore. *Theodor von Mopsuestia, De Incarnatione: Überlieferung und Christologie der Griechischen und Lateinischen Fragmente einschliesslich Textausgabe*. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2009. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/460058824>. <books.google.com/books?id=z6Odh5lXnY4C&source=gbs_navlinks_s>. <books.google.com/books?id=BpK3x4a2O10C&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Jean Daniélou : *The Origins of Latin Christianity*. Translated by David Smith and John Austin Baker ; edited with a postscript by John Austin Baker. London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1977. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/2493433>. <mediaglagol.com.ua/book/2_de_centesima_sexagesima_tricesima>. <books.google.com/books/about/The_origins_of_Latin_Christianity.html?id=e8MbAAAAIAAJ>.
- Jefford, Clayton N. *The Didache in context: essays on its text, history, and transmission*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995. <doi.org/10.1163/9789004267237>. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/883413000>. <books.google.com/books?id=tZ5DwAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Jenkins, C. (1942). "A Newly Discovered Reference to the 'Heavenly Witnesses' (1 John v. 7, 8) in a Manuscript of Bede" in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 43(169/170), 42-45. Retrieved April 27, 2020. <www.jstor.org/stable/23957167>
- Jerome and TeSelle, Eugene (1970). *Augustine the Theologian*. London. <www.augustinus.it/latino/lettere/lettera_200_testo.htm>
- Jerome, and Marie Liguori Ewald. *The Homilies of Saint Jerome*. 1964. vol 2 (Homilies 60-96). <www.worldcat.org/oclc/412009>.
- Jerome. *De Viris Illustribus (On Illustrious Men)*, 87. Translated by Ernest Cushing Richardson. From *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol. 3*. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1892.) Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight. <www.newadvent.org/fathers/2708.htm>.
- Jerome. *De Viris Illustribus - On Illustrious Men*. Translated by Ernest Cushing Richardson. From *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol. 3*. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1892.) Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight. <www.newadvent.org/fathers/2708.htm>.
- Jerome. *Letter To the Presbyter Marcus*. Translated by W.H. Fremantle, G. Lewis and W.G. Martley. From *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol. 6*. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1893.) Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight. <www.newadvent.org/fathers/3001017.htm>.
- Jerome. *On Illustrious Men. 53 Tertullian*. Translated by Ernest Cushing Richardson. From *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol. 3*. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1892. Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight. <www.newadvent.org/fathers/2708.htm>. NPNF2-03-27.
- Jerome. *Tractatus sive homiliae in psalmos. Maredsoli: Apud Editorem, 1895. vol 3*. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1050266933>. <archive.org/details/p3tractatussiveh03jero>.

The Witness of God is Greater

- Jessalynn Lea Bird, Edward Peters, and James M. Powell. *Crusade and Christendom: annotated documents in translation from Innocent III to the fall of Acre, 1187-1291*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/859160637>. <books.google.com/books?id=B6g7GfTuckYC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Jewel, "The Reply to Harding's Answer" in *The Works of John Jewel*, vol 2, 1847, p. 656-657.
- Jewel, John, and John Ayre. *The Works of John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury*. 1845. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/3565760>. <books.google.com/books?id=n1XAAAACAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Jiménez de Cisneros, Francisco, and Diego López de Zúñiga. [Biblia polyglotta]. [Alcalá de Henares]: [Industria Arnaldi Guillelmii de Brocario in Academia Complutensi], 1517. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/221924662>.
- Joachim, and Carmelo Ottaviano. *Joachimi abbatis Liber contra Lombardum (scuola di Gioacchino da Fiore) a cura di Carmelo Ottaviano*. Roma: Real accademia d'Italia, 1934. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/10757304>. <books.google.com/books/about/Joachimi_abbatis_Liber_contra_Lombardum.html?id=Q5wNAAAAIAAJ>
- Joachim, and Johannes. *Expositio magni prophete Abbatis Joachim in Apocalipsim: Opus illud celebre: Aurea v[idelicet] ac pre c[a]eteris longe altior [et] profundior explanatio in Apocalipsim Abbatis Joachim de statu vniuersali reipublic[a]e christian[a]e. Deq[ue] ecclesia carnali in proximo reformanda atq[ue] in primeuam sui [a]etatem redigenda ... in lucem primo venit. Cui adiecta sunt. Eiusde[m] psalteriu[m] dece[m] cordar[um] opus p[ro]p[ri]e diuinu[m]. Uenetijs: Bindoni & Pasini, 1527*. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/633878435>. <books.google.com/books?id=mnBYAAAAACAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Joachim. *Psalterium Decem Cordarum, in Quo De Summa Trinitate Eiusq[ue] Distinctione [Per] Pulchre Indagatur, De Numero Psalmo[Rum] [Et] Eo[Rum] Archanis Ac Mysticis Sensibus, De Psalmodia, De Modo [Et] Vsu Psalle[M]Di Simul [Et] Psalle[M]Tiu[S] [Venetijs, In Calcographia F. Bindoni [Et] M. Pasyni; Expensis Heredum O. Scoti, 1527*. 1965. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/639839737>. <books.google.com/books/about/Psalterium_Decem_Cordarum_in_Quo_de_Summ.html?id=7kVCcgAACAAJ>.
- Johannes, Graham Neville, and Johannes. *Six Books on the Priesthood*. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1977. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1073352223>. <books.google.com/books?id=IAZxoylk-alC&vq=three&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Johannine Comma (1 John 5:7) KJV Today. <www.kjvtoday.com/home/the-father-the-word-and-the-holy-ghost-in-1-john-57>.
- John Chrysostom (349-407 AD) : K.P. (2014). *Ps.-Chrysostom De Cognitione Dei (PG 64:43-46 = CPG 4703) : Draft Translation*. Academia. <www.academia.edu/9927046>.
- John, and P. Bonifatius Kotter. *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co, 1969. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/823661493>. <books.google.com/books?id=lvq90CgNxDQC&newbks=1&newbks_redir=0&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Johnson, S.J., David W., "MACARIUS OF Tkôw, SAINT (d. 451/452)," in *Claremont Coptic Encyclopedia*, (CE:1492a-1494a). <ccd.libraries.claremont.edu/cdm/ref/collection/cce/id/1243>. <1230.pdf>.
- Jonathan A. Draper, "The Didache" in *The Expository Times: The Apostolic Fathers*. academia.edu, 2019. <www.academia.edu/10188927/The_Apostolic_Fathers_The_Didache?source=swp_share>
- *Journal of Theological Studies*. London: Clarendon Press, 1900. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1782539>. <books.google.com/books?id=gzdKAAAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Joyal, Mark, Iain MacDougall, and John C. Yardley. *Greek and Roman Education: A Sourcebook*. 2009. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/974130288>. <www.amazon.com/Greek-Roman-Education-Sourcebook-Sourcebooks-dp-0415338069/dp/0415338069>.
- Jurgens, W. A. *The Faith of the Early Fathers; A Source-Book of Theological and Historical Passages from the Christian Writings of the Pre-Nicene and Nicene Eras*. Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 1970. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/307322>.
- Justinus, Tatianus, Theophilus, Hermias, and Prudent Maran. *S. P. N. Justini philosophi et martyris opera quae exstant omnia*. Hagae Comitum: apud Petrum de Hondt, 1742. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/781954074>. <books.google.com/books?id=JVckxAdPyRsC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, and Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. Vindobonae [i.e. Vienna]: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1866. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1565180>. <books.google.com/books?id=zy8RAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Kaster, R. (1983). Notes on "Primary" and "Secondary" Schools in Late Antiquity. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* (1974-), 113, 323-346. doi:10.2307/284019
- Kattenbusch, Ferdinand. *Das apostolische Symbol: seine Entstehung, sein geschichtlicher Sinn, seine ursprüngliche Stellung im Kultus und in der Theologie der Kirche ; ein Beitrag zur Symbolik und Dogmengeschichte*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1894. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/5782728>. <books.google.com/books?id=EE9JAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Kaye, John. *Some Account of the Council of Nicea, In Connexion with the Life of Athanasius*. London: F.J. Rivington, 1853. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1014285>. <books.google.com/books?id=5p1AAAAACAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>

The Witness of God is Greater

- Kazimierz Ginter (Rome), *The Trisagion Riots (512) as an Example of Interaction between Politics and Liturgy*. *Studia Ceranea* 7, 2017, p. 41–57. DOI: 10.18778/2084–140X.07.03
<www.academia.edu/36752072/The_Trisagion_Riots_512_as_an_Example_of_Interaction_between_Politics_and_Liturgy>.
- Keefe, Susan A. *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*. Notre Dame, Ind: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002. vol 1,2,3. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/50590737>.
- J.N.D. Kelly, reviews of: *Histoire d'une entreprise apologétique au Ve siècle*. By P. Canivet. Pp. xxiv+384. (Bibliothèque de l'Histoire de l'Église.) Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1958; *Théodore de Cyr: Thérapeutique des maladies helléniques*. Edited and translated by P. Canivet. 2 vols. Pp. 860. (Sources chrétiennes, 57.) Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1958; in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, Volume X, Issue 2, October 1959, Pages 408–409, <doi.org/10.1093/jts/X.2.408>.
- Kidd, B. J. *The Churches of Eastern Christendom from A.D. 451 to the Present Time*. London: Faith Press, 1927. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/987957133> .<archive.org/details/churchesofeaster0000bjki>
- Kilmartin, Edward J., and Robert J. Daly. *The Eucharist in the West: History and Theology*. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2004. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1156659514>. <books.google.com/books?id=WI2gC7IFmC4C>.
- G. D. Kilpatrick. (1978). *The Itala*. *The Classical Review*, 28(1), 56-58. Retrieved from <www.jstor.org/stable/3062542>.
- Kim, H.G. (2016). *Ps.-Athanasius, Dialog I de sancta trinitate: Einleitung, Kommentar und Übersetzung*. Erlangen/Nürnberg. <opus4.kobv.de/opus4-fau/files/8109/Hyounggun_Kim_Dissertation.pdf>.
- Kinzig, Wolfram. "Das griechische Bekenntnis des Akakios von Beroia (CPG 6481) wiederhergestellt" *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum / Journal of Ancient Christianity*, vol. 18, no. 3, 2014, pp. 486-508. <doi.org/10.1515/zac-2014-0022>.
- Kirsch, J.P. (1911). *Muratorian Canon*. In *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York: Robert Appleton Company. Retrieved November 2, 2019 from *New Advent*: <www.newadvent.org/cathen/10642a.htm>.
- Knittel, Franz Anton, and William Alleyn Evanson. *New Criticisms on the Celebrated Text, 1 John V. 7. "For There Are Three That Bear Record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost ; and These Three Are One."* A Synodical Lecture, by Francis Antony Knittel ... Published at Brunswick in 1785. Translated from the Original German, by William Alleyn Evanson. London: C. and J. Rivington, St. Paul's Church-Yard, J. Hatchard and Son, Piccadilly, 1829. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/265610435>. <books.google.com/books?id=kKsCAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Koester, Helmut. *History and Literature of Early Christianity*. Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 1987. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1119612169>. <public.eblib.com/choice/PublicFullRecord.aspx?p=5893254>. <books.google.com/books?id=8QmuDwAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Künstle, Karl. *Antipriscilliana: dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchungen und Texte aus dem Streite gegen Priscillians Irrlehre*. 1905. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/16311542>. <books.google.com/books?id=baufuOZpsw4C&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Künstle, Karl. *Das Comma Ioanneum: auf seine herkunft untersucht*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche, 1905. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/11685306>. <books.google.com/books?id=rYQrAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Kuper, C.N. 2017. *The Latin Controversial Dialogues of Late Antiquity*. PhD diss. Bryn Mawr College. <www.semanticscholar.org/paper/The-Latin-Controversial-Dialogues-of-Late-Antiquity-Kuper/57ae8f2ac341b9ac0250559a4e76529cde7c8b91>.
- Kusabu, Hisatsugu. *Comnenian Orthodoxy and Byzantine Heresiology in the Twelfth Century: A Study of the Panoplia Dogmatica of Euthymios Zigabenos*. 2013. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/921284108>. <search.proquest.com/docview/1492335530>. <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&rft_val_fmt=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:dissertation&res_dat=xri:pqm&rft_dat=xri:pqdiss:3606321>.
- La Due, William J. *The Trinity Guide to the Trinity*. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2003. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/783149861>. <books.google.com/books?id=0WvgLISKW7oC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Labbé, Philippe, and Gabriel Cossart. *Sacrosancta Concilia Ad Regiam Editionem Exacta: Quae Nunc Quarta Parte Prodit Auctior 7 7. Lutetiae Parisiorum: Societas Typographica Librorum Ecclesiasticorum*, 1671. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/164893439>. <books.google.com/books?id=3o5EAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Labourt, Jérôme. "St. Ephraem." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 5. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909. 18 Nov. 2018 <www.newadvent.org/cathen/05498a.htm>.
- Labriolle, Pierre Champagne de. *The history and literature of Christianity: from Tertullian to Boethius*. London: Routledge, 2012. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/829425962>. <books.google.com/books?id=bb77AQAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Laemmer, Hugo. *Scriptorum Graeciae orthodoxae bibliotheca selecta*. 1 1. Friburgi Brisgoviae: Herder, 1864. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/705375944>. <books.google.com/books?id=3ykBAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Laistner, M. (1942). *An Addition to Bede in MS. Balliol 177*. *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 43(171/172), 184-187. Retrieved April 27, 2020. <www.jstor.org/stable/23957201>.
- Lake, Kirsopp, and Silva Lake. *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*. 1934. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/10052523>.

The Witness of God is Greater

- Lardner, Nathaniel, and Andrew Kippis. *The Works of Nathaniel Lardner*. London: W. Ball, 1838. vol 4. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/2387267>. <books.google.com/books?id=LWw_AQAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Lars Martin Hoffmann: *Der antijüdische Dialog Kata Iudaion des Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto*. Universitätsbibliothek Mainz 2015 (Mainz, Univ., Diss. 2008. <d-nb.info/1073879976>.
- Lateran Council Fourth. *Councils*. 1116-1225 AD, vol. 7, p. 17-18. Catholic Church. Councils., Cossart, G., Labbe, P., Hardouin, J., France. Conseil d'Etat., Catholic Church. Pope. (1714-1715). *Acta conciliorum et epistolae decretales, ac constitutiones summorum pontificum*. Parisis: Ex Typographia Regia. <babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433000352082;view=1up;seq=23;size=150>
- Le Hir, Arthur Marie, and Charles Auguste Grandvaux. *Études bibliques*. Paris: Joseph Albanel, 1869. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/15617298>. <books.google.com/books?id=QkFMvysbU8oC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Benjamin de Lee, "Niketas Byzantios, Islam, and the Aristotelian Shift in Ninth-century Byzantium" in *Ambassadors, artists, theologians: Byzantine relations with the Near East from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries* edited by Zachary Chitwood, 2019, p. 223)
- Lefebvre-Teillard, A. (2008). "Chapitre XI. «Pater Is Est Quem Nuptiae Demonstrant»: Jalons Pour Une Histoire De La Présomption De Paternité". In *Autour de l' enfant*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill. <doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004169371.i-381.36>
- Lietzmann, Hans. *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1904. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1071175945>. <books.google.com/books?id=NPufAAAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Levy, Ian Christopher, Gary Macy, and Kristen Van Ausdall. *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*. Leiden: Brill, 2011. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1049180250>. <books.google.com/books?id=gy8VhoP2tW0C&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Lienhard, J. (1986). *Ps-Athanasius, Contra Sabellianos, and Basil of Caesarea, Contra Sabellianos et Arium et Anomoeos: Analysis and Comparison*. *Vigiliae Christianae*, 40(4), 365-389. doi:10.2307/1584036
- Léon, Pietro Ballerini, and Girolamo Ballerini. *Sancti Leonis Magni romani pontificis Opera Omnia ... curantibus Petro et Hieronymo fratribus Balleriniis*. [Lieu de publication non identifié]: [éditeur non identifié], 1753. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/401990699>. <books.google.com/books?id=C9jBME94ttQC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- C. Leonardi, «La vita e l'opera di Ugucione da Pisa decretista», *Studia Gratiana*, t. 4, p. 54.
- Levy, K. (1963). *A Hymn for Thursday in Holy Week*. *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 16(2), 127-175. doi:10.2307/829939
- Litteral, John (editor) and Sarah Van Der Pas (translator) (2014). *The Glossa Ordinaria, Epistles of St. John*. Ancient Bible Commentaries in English. Litteral's Christian Library Publications. ISBN 9781500626280.
- Lingas, A. (2015). *Cyprus: Between East and West*. Portland, USA: Cappella Romana. <openaccess.city.ac.uk/16592/>
- Lipsius, Richard Adelbert et al. *Acta Apostolorvm Apocrypha Post Constantinum Tischendorf Denvo Edidervnt Ricardvs Adelbertvs Lipsivs Et Maximilianvs Bonnet*. Apvd Herrmannvm Mendelssohn 1891-1903. <worldcat.org/en/title/25415450>. <books.google.com/books?id=3m9jWArVpaQC&oe=UTF-8>.
- Lipton, Sara, "Jacques de Vitry 'Sermons for Sundays and Festivals'" in *History of Emotions/Emotions in History*, vol 13, August 23-24, 2016.
- Littman, R.J. (2008). "The Book Of Tobit In Codex Sinaiticus Text And Translation". In *Septuagint Commentary Series, Volume Tobit*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004171077.i-211.9>
- Lloyd Patterson, "Methodius, Origen, and the Arian Dispute," in *Studia Patristica* 19 (Elmsford, NY: Pergamon Press, 1982), 912-23
- Lloyd Patterson, *Methodius of Olympus* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1997), 208-20,
- Lorenzo Dattrino, *Unitas in Trinitate: Catechesi per i catechisti*, Roma: Raffaele Garofalo, 2009. <www.aracneeditrice.it/pdf/9788854822702.pdf>
- E.A. Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores* (11 vols. ; Supp. ; Cambridge Oxford 1934-1971), t. 10, 1583.
- Lowe Elias Avery, *Codices Latini Antiquiores. A palaeographical guide to latin manuscripts prior to the ninth century. Part VII: Switzerland*, Oxford 1956 (Osnabrück 1982), p. 27. <csg-0225.pdf> <www.e-codices.unifr.ch/pdf/descriptions/csg-0225.pdf>
- Lucian, and M. D. (translator) Macloed. *Lucian, Vol. 8, Translated by M.D. Macleod*. London: Heinemann, 1967. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/650341633>.
- Marie Eugenie Lusby, "Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis Breviarium adversus haereticos: a translation with introduction and notes" (master's thesis, Catholic University of America, 1958). <hdl.handle.net/1961/cuislandora:182416>
- Luxorius, and Morris Rosenblum. *A Latin Poet Among the Vandals*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/319170>. <hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.06018.0001.001>.
- Maassen, Friedrich. *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande: bis zum Ausgange des Mittelalters*. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagssanstalt, 1870. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/19434278>.

The Witness of God is Greater

- Macarius Magnes, and T. W. Crafer. *The Apocriticus of Macarius Magnes*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1919. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/3805183>. <books.google.com/books?id=laUAAAAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>. <www.tertullian.org/fathers/macarius_apocriticus.htm>
- Macarius, and Könstēs Avramēs. *Euangelikē salpigs*. En Lipsia tēs Saxōnias: typ. tou Vreitkoph, 1765. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/50624031>. <books.google.com/books?id=7PBBAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Macarius, and Richard Goulet. *Le Monogénès*. 1 1. Paris: Vrin, 2003. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1069051157>. <books.google.com/books?id=UHRyAAAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>. <www.amazon.com/dp/2711616479>.
- Macarius, Jeremy M. Schott, and M. J. Edwards. *Apocriticus*. 2015. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/910218001>.
- MacCulloch, Diarmaid. *Christian History An Introduction to the Western Tradition*. 2012. <www.vlebooks.com/vleweb/product/openreader?id=none&isbn=9780334048831>. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1124322728>. <books.google.com/books?id=22SmDwAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Madoz, J. (1938). *El símbolo del VI Concilio de Toledo (a. 638): En su centenario XIIIº*. *Gregorianum*, 19(2), 161-193. <www.jstor.org/stable/23567054>.
- Maffei, Scipione. *Istoria teologica delle dottrine e delle opinioni corse ne' cinque primi secoli della Chiesa in proposito della divina grazia, del libero arbitrio, e della predestinazione. Nella quale ... si raccolgono i sentimenti in queste materie di Sant'Agostino ... Si aggiungono alcuni Opuscoli ecclesiastici dell'autor medesimo con importanti aneddoti in membrane antichissime rinvenuti*. Trento: Giambattista Parone, 1742. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1051058588>. <books.google.com/books?id=2vf98uwWa7sC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Albertus Magnus (1206-1280 AD). *I Sentent. Dist. XXV, F. Art. V & VI*. Albertus, Auguste Borgnet, Jacques Quéatif, and Émile Borgnet. B. Alberti Magni Opera omnia. Parisiis: Apud Ludovicum Vivès, 1890. <https://books.google.com/books?id=eMfRAAAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Mai, Angelo. *Novae patrum bibliothecae*. Romae: Typis sacri Consilii propogando christiano nomini, 1844. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/705960636>. <books.google.com/books?id=ywFQAAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Cyril Mango, "The Life of St Andrew the Fool Reconsidered", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 2, 1982, p. 297-313, repris dans *Byzantium and its Image*, Londres, 1984.
- Mango, C., & Ševčenko, I. (1973). *Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara*. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 27, 235-277. <doi.org/10.2307/1291343>
- Marciniak, P. (2020). "Chapter 9 The Power of Old and New Logoi: The Philopatris Revisited". In *Satire in the Middle Byzantine Period*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill. <doi.org/10.1163/9789004442566_010>. <books.google.com/books?id=3qUPEAAAQBAJ&pg=PA179>.
- Marco Cavalieri, Raymond Brulet, and Andrea Augenti. *Indvstria Apivm: l'archéologie: une démarche singulière, des pratiques multiples ; hommages à Raymond Brulet*. 2013. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1113773345>. <books.google.com/books?id=7dFGAgAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Marinis, V. (2017). *The Vision of the Last Judgment in the Vita of Saint Niphon (BHG 1371z)*. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 71, 193-228. <doi.org/10.2307/26497750>.
- Marrou H.I. *Manlio Simonetti, Pseudo-Athanasii De Trinitate Ll. X- XII. Expositio fidei catholicae. Professio arriana et confessio catholica. De Trinitate et de Spiritu Sancto*. In: *L'antiquité classique*, Tome 26, fasc. 2, 1957. pp. 477-479. <www.persee.fr/doc/antiq_0770-2817_1957_num_26_2_3329_t1_0477_0000_2>.
- Marrou, Henri Irénée. *A History of Education in Antiquity*. 1964. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/13774003>. <archive.org/details/historyofeducati00marr>. <books.google.com/books?id=DqAOAQAAMAAJ&source=gbs_book_other_versions>.
- Martin Schanz & Carl Hosius & Gustav Krüger. *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*. Teil III. Bis Zum Gesetzgebungswerk des kaisers justinian von Martin Schanz. Die Zeit Von Hadrian 117 Bis Auf Constantin 324. Dritte Neubearbeitete Auflage von Carl Hosius und Gustav Krüger. (Müller's Handbuch der Altettumstviissenschaft. Bd. viii.) Munchen : C. H. Beck, 1927. [English: Martin Schanz & Carl Hosius & Gustav Krüger. *History of Roman literature*. Part III. To The Legislative Works of the Emperor Justinian by Martin Schanz. The Time From Hadrian 117 To Constantine 324. Third revised edition by Carl Hosius and Gustav Krüger. (Müller's Handbook of Ancient Studies., Vol. VIII.)] <www.worldcat.org/oclc/64215500>. <books.google.com/books?id=bv0_AQAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Martin, David. *A Critical Dissertation Upon the Seventh Verse of the Fifth Chapter of St. John's First Epistle: There Are Three, That Bear Record in Heaven, &C. Wherein the Authentickness of This Text Is Fully Prov'd against the Objections of Mr. Simon and the Modern Arians. Written Originally in French by Mr. Martin, and Now Translated into English*. London: Printed for William and John Innys, at the Prince's Arms at the West End of St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1719. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/642573548>. <books.google.com/books?id=4tlbAAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Martin, David. *The Genuineness of the Text of the First Epistle of Saint John. Chap. V. 7 There Are Three in Heaven, &C. Demonstrated by Proofs Which Are Beyond All Exception ... By David Martin ... Translated from the French*. London: Printed for W. and J. Innys, 1722. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/79509639>. <books.google.com/books?id=qblHAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>

The Witness of God is Greater

- B. Marx, "Severiana unter den Spuria Chrysostomi bei Montfaucon-Migne", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 5, 1939, 281-367.
- Mathisen, R. (1997). Barbarian Bishops and the Churches" in *Barbaricis Gentibus*" During Late Antiquity. *Speculum*, 72(3), 664-697. doi:10.2307/3040758
- Mathisen, Ralph. (2003). Sigisvult the Patrician, Maximinus the Arian, and political stratagems in the Western Roman Empire c. 425-40. *Early Medieval Europe*. 8. 173-196. <DOI: 10.1111/1468-0254.00043>. <www.academia.edu/28286057/Sigisvult_the_Patrician_Maximinus_the_Arian_and_political_stratagems_in_the_Western_Roman_Empire_c_425_40>
- E. Ann Matter, "Exegesis of the Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages", in M. Frassetto (ed.), *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium*, 2002, p. 29-40.
- Matthaei, Christian Friedrich von. *Nouum Testamentum XII tomis distinctum Graece et Latine*. Vol. 11. Rigae: Impensis Ioann. Frider. Hartknochii, 1782. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/9556120>. <books.google.com/books?id=w1gUAAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Mauropus, Jean, and Paul de Lagarde. *Johannis, Euchaitorum metropolitae quae in codice vaticano graeco 676 supersunt Johannes Bollig, ... descripsit, Paulus de Lagarde, ... edidit*. Gottingae: Dietrich, 1882. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/457511006>. <archive.org/details/iohanniseuchait00vatigooq>.
- Mazza, Enrico, and Matthew O'Connell. *The Celebration of the Eucharist: The Origin of the Rite and the Development of Its Interpretation*. Collegeville (MN): The Liturgical Press, 1999. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1203873728>. <books.google.com/books?id=rNv2NOKNAekC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- McClintock, John, and James Strong. *Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature*. New York: Harper & Bros, 1891. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1103181622>. <books.google.com/books?id=KRvtImPZaasC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>. <[www.biblicalcyclopedia.com/L/lucian-\(2\).html](http://www.biblicalcyclopedia.com/L/lucian-(2).html)>.
- McClure, J. (1979). HANDBOOKS AGAINST HERESY IN THE WEST, FROM THE LATE FOURTH TO THE LATE SIXTH CENTURIES. *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 30(1), new series, 186-197. www.jstor.org/stable/23961683
- McClure, M. L., and Charles Lett Feltoe. *The Pilgrimage of Etheria*. London: Society for promoting Christian knowledge, 1919. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/2221416>. <books.google.com/books?id=Qi3gQwAACAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>. <archive.org/details/pilgrimageofethe00mccliala>.
- McDonald, Grantley. *Biblical Criticism in Early Modern Europe: Erasmus, the Johannine Comma, and Trinitarian Debate*. 2016. <doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781316408964>. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/957198309>. <books.google.com/books?id=Q6BODAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- McGinn, Bernard. (2008). Disegni dei tempi. Il "Liber Figurarum" e la teologia figurativa di Gioacchino da Fiore (review). *The Catholic Historical Review*. 94. 334-336. 10.1353/cat.0.0032.
- McGuckin, J. A. (2015). *St. Cyril of Alexandria: The Christological Controversy*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1066741435>. <doi:doi.org/10.1163/9789004312906>. <books.google.com/books?id=Q-p5DwAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Robert E. McNally, "Isidorian Pseudepigrapha in the Early Middle Ages" in Díaz y Díaz, Isidoriana, ed. Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz (Leon: 1961).
- Methodius, and G. Nathanael Bonwetsch. *Methodius, herausgegeben im auftrage der Kirchenväter-commission der Königl. preussischen akademie der wissenschaften*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1917. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/848182314>. <www.archive.org/details/methodiusherausg00meth>. <www.roger-pearse.com/weblog/die-griechischen-christlichen-schriftsteller-gcs-volumes-available-online/>. <books.google.com/books?id=5raFcfTZOY4C&pg=PA487#v=onepage&q&f=false>.
- Meyer, John R. *The Soteriology of Saint Athanasius of Alexandria: The Confirmation of the Christian to Christ*. Pamplona: University of Navarra, 1992. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/69141803>. <core.ac.uk/download/pdf/83562715.pdf>.
- Michael Maynard. "In Defence of the Johannine Comma" in *The Burning Bush*. Official organ of the student body of the Far Eastern Bible College supported by the faculty. vol 3, no. 1 (January 1997), editor Jeffery Khoo. p. 31-37. <www.febc.edu.sg/assets/pdfs/bbush/The%20Burning%20Bush%20Vol%203%20No%201.pdf>. [The Burning Bush is published bi-annually in January and July, and contains theological papers, sermons, testimonies, book reviews, College news, and alumni reports. It is distributed gratis to the FEBC family, Bible-Presbyterian Churches, and friends of the College and Church. Interested parties are cordially invited to a complimentary subscription renewable on a yearly basis.]
- Michael Moises Garcia, *Saint Alban and the Cult of Saints in Late Antique Britain*, August 2010, dissertation. <www.academia.edu/3585748/Saint_Alban_and_the_Cult_of_Saints_in_Late_Antique_Britain>
- Michaelis, Johann David, and Herbert Marsh. *Introduction to the New Testament, Translated from the Fourth Edition of the German, and Augmented with Notes, Etc. (and a Dissertation on the Origin and Composition of the Three First Gospels)*. 1802. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/316587066>. <books.google.com/books?id=Y1gHAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.

The Witness of God is Greater

- Mikropoulos, M. (2016). Les positions théologiques d'Amphiloque d'Iconium sur le débat trinitaire au IV^{ème} siècle. <tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-01493874/document>.
- Miladinova, Nadia, Euthymios Zigavēnos, and Antoine Arnauld. The Panoplia Dogmatike by Euthymios Zygadenos A Study on the First Edition Published in Greek in 1710. Boston: Brill, 2014. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1105494624>. <books.google.com/books?id=SYmIBAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>. <[9789004277816 - The i Panoplia Dogmatike i by Euthymios Zygadenos] The i Panoplia Dogmatike i by Euthymios Zygadenos>.
- Mill, John, and Ludolf Kuster. Novum Testamentum Græcum, cum lectionibus variantibus mss. exemplarium, versionum, editionum, ss. patrum et scriptorum ecclesiasticorum; et in easdem notis: accedunt loca scripturæ parallela, aliaque exegetica : præmittitur dissertatio de libris N.T. et canonis constitutione et s. textus N. Foederis ad nostra usque tempora historia. Amstelodami: Apud Joh. Fridericum Gleditsch et Fil, 1710. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/466036349>. <books.google.com/books?id=lq5eAAAaAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Millar, F., & Adams, J. (2009). Linguistic Co-existence in Constantinople: Greek and Latin (and Syriac) in the Acts of the Synod of 536 C.E. The Journal of Roman Studies, 99, 92-103. Retrieved April 4, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/40599741
- Millar, Fergus. Greek Roman Empire - Power and Belief Under Theodosius II (408-450 AD). 2006. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1027077653>. <books.google.com/books?id=0bowDwAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Miller, Maureen C. The Bishop's Palace: Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/43520888>. <books.google.com/books?id=V1eyqRVFLaYC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Mohyla, Petro, and Julian Joseph Overbeck. The Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Eastern Church. London: Thomas Baker, 1898. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/19041035>. <archive.org/details/cu31924029363094>.
- Molhuysen, P. C. Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek. Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff's uitgevers-maatschappij, 1911. vol. 3 col. 295. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/2230501>. <resources.huylgens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/nbnw/#source=3&page=155&view=imagePane&accessor=accessor_index>. <www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/48826389>.
- Montfaucon, Bernard de. Bibliotheca Coisliniana olim Segueriana: sive manuscriptum omnium graecorum. Parisiis: L. Guerin, 1715. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/715210951>. <books.google.com/books?id=QcY-AAAAcAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Morin, Germain. "Le Breviarium fidei contre les Ariens produit de l'atelier de Césaire d'Arles." Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique (1939): 35-53.
- G. Morin, "Une epistula ou apologie faussement attribuée à saint Hilaire de Poitiers," RevBen 15 (1898): 97-99.
- Mosheim, Johann Lorenz von, James MURDOCK, and Henry Soames. [Institutes of Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern ... A New and Literal Translation from the Original Latin, with Copious Additional Original and Selected. By J. Murdock.]. 1841. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/562557441>. <books.google.com/books?id=IL8PAAAAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- A Moutié, "Charte de fondation des Célestins de Limay, près Mantes, par Charles V en 1376 [sic]", Bulletin du Comité de la Langue, de l'Histoire et des Arts de la France, IV (1857). <books.google.com/books?id=IC1NAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA239>
- Müller, Wolfgang P., Huguccio, the Life, Works, and Thought of a Twelfth-Century Jurist. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1994. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/28111360>. <books.google.com/books?id=RPeKDwAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Murdock, James. The Syriac New Testament. Boston: John K. Hastings, 1905. Translated into English from the Peshitto version by James Murdock ; with a historical introd. and a biographical sketch of the translator by Horace L. Hastings, and a bibliographical appendix by Isaac H. Hall. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/4011430>. <books.google.com/books?id=LEEyAQAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Narsai, Frederick G. McLeod, and François Graffin. Narsai's metrical homilies on the Nativity, Epiphany, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension: critical edition of Syriac text. Turnhout, Belgique: Brepols, 1979. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/12692678>. <books.google.com/books?id=AHk9AAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_book_other_versions>. <lccn.loc.gov/85170026>.
- Natalia Smelova. Melkite Syriac Hymns to the Mother of God (9th to 11th centuries): Manuscripts, Language and Imagery, in L. Brubaker, M. Cunningham (eds.), The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium: Texts and Images. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011. p. 117-131. <www.academia.edu/2943617/Melkite_Syriac_Hymns_to_the_Mother_of_God_9th_to_11th_centuries_Manuscripts_Language_and_Imagery_in_L._Brubaker_M._Cunningham_eds._The_Cult_of_the_Mother_of_God_in_Byzantium_Texts_and_Images._Aldershot_Ashgate_2011._P._117-131>
- Sánchez Navarro, L. A. El «De Virginitate» Ps-atanasiano. Introducción, traducción, notas - Burgense 36 (1995) 361-391.

The Witness of God is Greater

- Neale, J. M. *The Liturgies of S. Mark, S. James, S. Clement, S. Chrysostom, and the Church of Malabar*; Translated, with Introduction and Appendices. London: Hayes, 1859. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/978131488>. <books.google.com/books?id=vr8S5r587zwC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Neale, John M., and John M. Neale. *The Patriarchate of Alexandria 2*. London: Masters, 1847. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/645416289>. <books.google.com/books?id=ItEAAAAAcAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Neale, J. M., and Ross Wards. *Hymns of the Eastern Church*. London: J.T. Hayes, 1882. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/772779852>. <books.google.com/books?id=glc7kRNBMdwC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Neckam, Alexander, and Rodney M. Thomson. *Speculum speculationum*. Oxford [etc.]: Oxford Univ. Press, 1988. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1087593678>. <books.google.com/books?id=PRLZAAAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- A New Source for the Early Octoechos Papyrus Vindobonensis G 19.934 and its musical implications www.asbhm.pitt.edu/page12/Troelsgard.pdf
- Newman, B. (1998). Possessed by the Spirit: Devout Women, Demoniacs, and the Apostolic Life in the Thirteenth Century. *Speculum*, 73(3), 733-770. <[doi:10.2307/2887496](https://doi.org/10.2307/2887496)>.
- Barbara Newman, "Hildegard of Bingen: Visions and Validation," *Church History* 54 (1985): pp. 163–75.
- Newman, Barbara. "'Sibyl of the Rhine': Hildegard's Life and Times," in *Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World*, ed. Barbara Newman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 1–29.
- Newman, John Henry. *Two Essays on Biblical and on Ecclesiastical Miracles*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1892. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/323020>. <books.google.com/books?id=iXg9AAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Newton, An Historical Account of Two Notable Corruptions of Scripture: In a Letter to a Friend. United Kingdom: J. Green, 1841. <books.google.com/books?id=cloPAAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Nicetas de Remesiana, Gerald G. Walsh, Bernard Peebles, Rudolph E. Morris, and J. Reginald O'Donnell. *Niceta of Remesiana: Writings*. New York: Fathers of the Church, 1949. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/949023514>. <ccn.loc.gov/50005703>.
- Nicetas, Saint, Bishop of Remesiana, and Andrew Ewbank Burn. *Niceta of Remesiana: His Life and Works*. [Edited] by A.E. Burn. Lat. University Press: Cambridge, 1905. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/562466188>. <archive.org/details/NicetaOfRemesiana1905/page/n14>.
- Nicholas P. Constat. (2004). The Last Temptation of Satan: Divine Deception in Greek Patristic Interpretations of the Passion Narrative. *The Harvard Theological Review*, 97(2), 139-163. <www.jstor.org/stable/4495080>.
- Nikētas, and J. Darrouzès. *Nicētas Stēthatos: opuscules et lettres*. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1961. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/38642307>. <books.google.com/books?id=hAksAAAAIAAJ>.
- Nock, A. (1951). *Speculum*, 26(3), 503-506. doi:10.2307/2850878
- Nolan, Frederick. *An Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate, or Received Text of the New Testament ; in Which the Greek Manuscripts Are Newly Classed, the Integrity of the Authorised Text Vindicated, And the Various Readings Traced to Their Origin*. London: Printed for F.C. and J. Rivington, 1815. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/630112773>. <books.google.com/books?id=FF4UAAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Nolan, Frederick. *Supplement to an Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate: Or, Received Text of the New Testament ; Containing the Vindication of the Principles Employed in Its Defence*. London: T. and W. Boone, 1830. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/32955260>. <books.google.com/books?id=nlwVAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- William of Ockham (1287-1347 AD). *Guillelmi de Ockham Opera theologica*. St. Bonaventure N.Y.: Ed. Instituti Franciscani Universitatis S. Bonaventurae, 1967. vol 4. <epdf.tips/queue/opera-theologica-vol-02.html> <epdf.pub/opera-theologica-vol-02.pdf>
- William of Ockham (1287-1347 AD). *Guillelmi de Ockham Opera theologica*. St. Bonaventure N.Y.: Ed. Instituti Franciscani Universitatis S. Bonaventurae, 1967. vol 4. <epdf.tips/queue/opera-theologica-vol-04.html> <epdf.pub/opera-theologica-vol-04.pdf>
- Olin, John C. *Catholic Reform: From Cardinal Ximenes to the Council of Trent, 1495-1563 : an Essay with Illustrative Documents and a Brief Study of St. Ignatius Loyola*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1990. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/22496698>. <books.google.com/books?id=woMG48uGDhcC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Omar, Mohd Nasir. (2015). "The Life of Yahya Ibn 'Adi: A Famous Christian Philosopher of Baghdad" in *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*. 6. <[10.5901/mjss.2015.v6n2s5p308](https://doi.org/10.5901/mjss.2015.v6n2s5p308)>. <[6196-23973-1-PB.pdf](https://doi.org/10.5901/mjss.2015.v6n2s5p308)>.
- Origen, and Gary Wayne Barkley. *Homilies on Leviticus 1-16*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1990. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1004488833>. <books.google.com/books/about/Homilies_on_Leviticus_1_16.html?id=U8grmAEACAAJ>.
- Olkinuora, Jaakko. *Byzantine Hymnography for the Feast of the Entrance of the Theotokos: An Intermedial Approach*. 2015. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/911265184>. <www.academia.edu/12601440/Byzantine_Hymnography_for_the_Feast_of_the_Entrance_of_the_Theotokos_An_Intermedial_Approach>.

The Witness of God is Greater

- Oltean, D. (2021). East Syrian Networks in Constantinople: Mar Aba, Paul the Persian, and the Sleepless Monks. *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 29, 237 - 259.
- Ommanney, G. D. W. *A Critical Dissertation on the Athanasian Creed: Its Original Language, Date, Authorship, Titles, Text, Reception and Use*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/3917124>. <archive.org/details/acriticaldisser00ommagooq>.
- Origen, Charles Vincent de La Rue, and Karl Heinrich Eduard Lommatzsch. [Origenous ta heuriskomena panta]. = Origenis Opera omnia qua graece vel latine tantum exstant et ejus nomine circumferuntur ex variis editionibus et codicibus manu exaratis, gallicanis, italicis, germanicis et anglicis collecta, recensita atque annotationibus illustrata, cum vita auctoris et multis dissertationibus. Berolini: Sumtibus Haude et Spener (S.J. Joseephy), 1831. Opera Omnia, vol. 13. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/43183166>. <books.google.com/books?id=fbINAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Origen. *Commentary on the Gospel of John (Book VI)*. Translated by Allan Menzies. From *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 9. Edited by Allan Menzies. (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1896.) Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight. <www.newadvent.org/fathers/101506.htm>.
- Origen. *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew (Book XII)*. Translated by John Patrick. From *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 9. Edited by Allan Menzies. (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1896.) Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight. <www.newadvent.org/fathers/101612.htm>.
- Origenes, Charles de La Rue, and Jacques Vincent. *Origenous ta euriskomena panta = Origenis opera omnia : quae graece vel latine tantum extant et eius nomine circumferuntur : ex variis editionibus & codicibus manu exaratis, gallicanis, italicis, germanicis & anglicis collecta, recensita, latine versa atque annotationibus illustrata, cum copiosis indicibus, vita auctoris & multis dissertationibus*. Parisiis: typis Iacobi Vincent, 1733. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1025103999>. <books.google.com/books?id=9L37G5AJwjAC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Origenes, and Charles de La Rue. *Opera Omnia*, vol. 16, *Origenis Adamantii Opera Omnia*, vol. 10. Wirceburgi: Stahel, 1785. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/634102143>. <books.google.com/books?id=4JxY3gQ4bUcC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Orme, William, and Ezra Abbot. *Memoir of the Controversy Respecting the Three Heavenly Witnesses, I John V. 7.: Including Critical Notices of the Principal Writers on Both Sides of the Discussion*. New York: J. Miller, 1866. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1131262165>. <books.google.com/books?id=A05CAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Orthodox Eastern Church. (1858). *Paraklētikē ētoi Oktōēchos hē Megalē: periechousa pasan tēn anēkousan autē akolouthian meta tōn en tō telei synēthōn prosthēkōn. Nea ekdosis, En Venetia: Ek tēs ekklēsiastikēs typographias tou Phoinikos*. <catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/011553285/Home>. <books.google.com/books?id=t8UUAAAQAQAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Ορθόδοξος Ομολογία της καθολικής και αποστολικής Εκκλησίας της Ανατολικής. [s.l.]: [s.n.], [1667]. <anemi.lib.uoc.gr/metadata/7/4/d/metadata-165-0000030.tkl>.
- Otto, Johann Karl Theodor von. *Corpus apologetarum christianorum saeculi secundi*. Ienae: H. Dufft, 1851. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/9688070>. <books.google.com/books?id=9pSC0IEcEdYC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Papadakis, Aristeides. "Gregory II of Cyprus and an Unpublished Report to the Synod." *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, 16 (Summer, 1975). <grbs.library.duke.edu/article/download/8621/4711>.
- Papadakis, Aristeides. *Crisis in Byzantium: The Filioque Controversy in the Patriarchate of Gregory II of Cyprus (1283-1289)*. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1997. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/37451846>. <books.google.com/books/about/Crisis_in_Byzantium.html?id=TUBllg0JpgUC>.
- Papadoyannakis, Y. (2008). *Defining Orthodoxy in Pseudo-Justin's Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos*. In H. Zellentin, & E. Iricinschki (Eds.), *Heresy and Identity in Late Antiquity* (pp. 115-127). (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism; No. 119). Mohr Siebeck.
- Paul Cullen. *The Authenticity of the Text of the Three Heavenly Witnesses (Part 2)*. *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol 4 (January 1868), p. 195-210.
- Paul Gilliam III, *Ignatius of Antioch and the Arian Controversy*, (Th.D. diss., University of Edinburgh, 2011). <www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk/bitstream/handle/1842/9795/Gilliam2011.pdf>.
- Peltanus, Theodorus, and David Sartorius. *Sacrosancti, magni et oecumenici concilii Ephesini primi, acta omnia, Theolori Peltani, ... opera, nunc primum latinitate donata ac in sex tomos distributa... Accesserunt his... in singula capita periochae... Ex amplissima... ducis Bavariae bibliotheca. Ingolstadii: ex typ. Davidis Sartorii, 1576*. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/491903812>. <books.google.com/books?id=qqxMAAAcAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- István Perczel, "Finding a Place for the Erotapokriseis of Pseudo-Caesarius: A New Document of Sixth-century Palestinian Origenism Palestinian Christianity: Pilgrimages and Shrines" in *ARAM Periodical* 18-19 (2006-2007): 49-83, 2006. <www.academia.edu/731041/Finding_a_Place_for_the_Erotapokriseis_of_Pseudo-Caesarius_A_New_Document_of_Sixth-century_Palestinian_Origenism>

The Witness of God is Greater

- Peter Lombard, and Giulio Silano. *The Sentences*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2007. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/77046097>. <books.google.com/books?id=HNOanXL6SVoC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Petrus Abbas Aethiops, and Paulus PP. [foggia] MODVS BAPTI=ZANDI, PRECES ET BENEDICTIONS, QVIBVS ECCLESIA AETHIO-pum vtitur, cum Sacerdotes benedicunt puerperare, v=na cum infante Ecclesiam ingredienti post qua=dragesimum puerpem diem. Item Orationes, quibus isdem vtuntur in Sacramento Baptismi & confirmationis. Item Missa qua communiter vtuntur, quæ etiam Canon vniuersalis appellatur, nunc primum ex lingua Chal=dæa siue Æthiopica in Latinam conuersa. 1550. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1231722548>. <books.google.com/books?id=s2VvKAAAACAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Pezè, Warren. "Florus, Agobard et le concile de Quierzy de 838". En *Haut Moyen Âge*, 2019, p. 175–90.
- Phan, Peter C. *The Cambridge companion to the Trinity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/699759472>. <books.google.com/books?id=yG3Vei_6whUC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Phelan, Owen M. *The Formation of Christian Europe The Carolingians, Baptism, and the Imperium Christianum*. New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. <dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198718031.001.0001>. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1120433875>. <books.google.com/books?id=wCgDBQAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Philoxenus, and A. Vaschalde. *Three Letters of Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabbogh (485-519): Being the Letter to the Monks, the First Letter to the Monks of Beth-Gaugal, and the Letter to Emperor Zeno*. Roma: Tipografia Della R. Accademia Dei Linchi, 1902. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/5853517>. <archive.org/details/threelettersphi00philgoog>. <www.tertullian.org/fathers/philoxenus_three_04_letter_to_monks.htm>.
- Philoxenus, and André de Halleux. *Commentaire du prologue johannique*. Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1977. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/3847203>.
- Pieper, Franz. *Christian dogmatics*. Saint Louis: Concordia Pub. House, 1950. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/384416>. <books.google.com/books/about/Christian_dogmatics.html?id=l_kQAQAIAAJ>.
- Pier Franco Beatrice, "Martirio ed ascesi nel sermone pseudo-cipriano" *De centesima, sexagesima, tricesima*," in *Paradoxos politeia: Studi patristici in onore di Giuseppe Lazzati*, ed. Raniero Cantalamessa and L.F. Pizzolato (Milan, 1979) 3-24.
- Plummer, Alfred. *Epistles of Saint John: Volume 61 of The Cambridge Bible for schools and colleges*. Cambridge: University Press, 1889. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/353083>. <books.google.com/books?id=TnkwAQAAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Pollard, T. (1960). *The Creeds of A.D. 325 Antioch, Caesarea, Nicaea*. *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 13(3), 278-300. <[doi:10.1017/S0036930600051930](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0036930600051930)>
- Polybiblion: *Revue bibliographique universelle*. Paris: Aux bureaux de la revue, 1876. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1762626>. <books.google.com/books?id=1CsKAQAIAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Juliano Pomerio, and Mary Josephine Suelzer. *The Contemplative Life*. New York: Newman, 1947. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/955790681>.
- Hugh Pope (December 1936). [Review of the book *God in Patristic Thought*, by G.L. Prestige]. *New Blackfriars*, 17, p. 947-948. <[doi:10.1111/j.1741-2005.1936.tb05659.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-2005.1936.tb05659.x)>
- Porson, Richard. *Letters to Archdeacon Travis, in Answer to His Defence of the Three Heavenly Witnesses, I John V. 7*. London: T. and J. Egerton, 1790. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/31244246>. <books.google.com/books?id=sTROAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Possidius, and Herbert T. Weiskotten. *Sancti Augustini vita scripta a Possidio episcopo (Life of Saint Augustine written by bishop Possidius)*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1919. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/6732215>. <archive.org/details/sanctiaugustiniv00possrich>. <www.tertullian.org/fathers/possidius_life_of_augustine_02_text.htm>.
- J.P. Postgate, "The Moscow Manuscript of Columella" in *Classical Association - Great Britain. The Classical Review*, vol 17, London: D. Nutt, 1903. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1554850>
- Priscillianus, and Marco Conti. *Priscillian of Avila: the Complete Works*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/587740504>.
- Proclus, and Nicholas Constas. *Proclus of Constantinople and the Cult of the Virgin in Late Antiquity: Homilies 1-5, Texts and Translations*. Leiden: Brill, 2003. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1058919152>. <books.google.com/books?id=MEuKcfOrlqQC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Marta Przyszychowska, "Are the Definitions (liber de definitionibus) of the Pseudo-Athanasius of Alexandria, chapter II of the Guide (Viae Dux) of the son of Anastasis?" in *E-PATROLOGOS*, 4/1, 2019, p. 50-92. <www.patrologia.uksw.edu.pl/sites/default/files/EP4.1.2019.pdf>.
- Pseudo-Fulgentius of Ruspe, *Liber de Trinitate*, ed. J. Fraipont (1961) in *Florilegia Biblica Africana saec V*, CCSL 90, Turnhout, 239-259. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/868653630>.
- Quasten, Johannes, and Angelo Di Berardino. *Patrology*. Westminster, Md: Christian Classics, Inc, 1986. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/21573624>.

The Witness of God is Greater

- Quodvultdeus's exile and dramatic voyage to Naples took place at some point between the autumn of 439, when Geiseric conquered Carthage, and probably spring or summer 440. (Vopřada, D. (2019). "Quodvultdeus and His Work". In *Quodvultdeus and His Work*, 2019.
- Marco Rainini, « Tommaso d'Aquino legge (e critica) una figura di Gioacchino da Fiore? », *Oliviana* [Online], 6 | 2020, Online since 09 April 2020, connection on 21 July 2020. <journals.openedition.org/oliviana/1356>. <dipartimenti.unicatt.it/scienze-religiose-Lateran_IV_15_Potesta.pdf>
- Ranke, Ernst. *Codex fuldensis: Novum Testamentum latine interprete Hieronymo ex manuscripto Victoris Capuani edidit, prolegomenos, introduxit, commentariis adornavit by Ernestus Ranke. Marburgi & Lipsiae.: Elwert, 1868.* <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1071100982>. <books.google.com/books?id=s5QHAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Reitzenstein, R. (2009). *Eine frühchristliche Schrift von den dreierlei Früchten des christlichen Lebens. Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der Älteren Kirche*, 15(1), pp. 60-90. Retrieved 6 Sep. 2019, from doi:10.1515/zntw.1914.15.1.60
- Remus Feraru, *The Alexandrian Pact of Union between the Imperial Church and the Theodosian Monophysites (633 AD) the Premise of Monoenergism*, in *Teologia*, Universitatea Aurel Vlaicu, Arad, nr. 76 (3), 2018, p. 69-90. <revistateologia.ro/downloads/Teologia/3_2018/7_Feraru.pdf>.
- C. van Rhijn, "The local church, priests' handbooks and pastoral care in the Carolingian period" in *Chiese locali e chiese regionali nell'alto medioevo*, *Settimane 61* (Spoleto, 2014), pp. 689–706.
- Riebe, Alexandra (1992) *Marcellus of Ancyra in modern research*, Durham theses, Durham University. <etheses.dur.ac.uk/5779/>
- Riedl, Matthias. *A Companion to Joachim of Fiore*. 2017. <doi.org/10.1163/9789004339668>. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1007137281>. <books.google.com/books?id=VDE9DwAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Riedinger, Rudolf. *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum. Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum*. 2013. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1164785639>. <books.google.com/books?id=bUEgAAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Rigolio, Alberto. *Christians in Conversation: A Guide to Late Antique Dialogues in Greek and Syriac*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2019. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1078430722>. <books.google.com/books?id=_hCIDwAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Robb, F. (1997). *The Fourth Lateran Council's Definition of Trinitarian Orthodoxy*. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*. <www.academia.edu/8204815/The_Fourth_Lateran_Councils_Definition_of_Trinitarian_Orthodoxy>
- Robert A. Kraft, *The Amherst Papyri Revisited: Fragments of LXX/OG MSS*, [30 December 2001, 11 February 2002] Published in *Hamlet on a Hill: Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Prof. T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (*Analecta Orientalia Lovaniensia* 118; Leuven: Peeters 2003). Accessed: 25 January 2020. <ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rak/amherstpap/info/PAMhInt.html> <ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rak/amherstpap/images/PAMh199.JPG>
- Robert A. Pretty, trans., *Adamantius. Dialogue on the True Faith in God* (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 137-8 *Adamantius, Dialogue of*, ed. W.H. van de Sande Bakhuyzen (*GCS ser.*), 1901.
- Robinson, I. (1976). *The 'Colores Rhetorici' in the Investiture Contest*. *Traditio*, 32, 209-238. Retrieved April 2, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/27831007
- Roger Pearse. *1 John 5:7 in the fourth century? Theodore, Diodorus, the Suda, and Byzantine punctuation*. roger-pearse.com, September 10, 2018. <www.roger-pearse.com/weblog/2018/09/10/1-john-57-in-the-fourth-century-theodore-diodorus-the-suda-and-byzantine-punctuation/>.
- Rordorf, Willy, and André Tuilier. *La doctrine des douze apotres: (Didache')*. Paris: Edition du Cerf, 1978. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/859658183>. <zh.b-ok2.org/book/5228079/f1498e>. <books.google.com/books?id=uAcKAQAIAAJ&source=gbs_ViewAPI>.
- Rose, E. *Ritual memory: the apocryphal Acts and liturgical commemoration in the early medieval West (c. 500-1215)*. 2009. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1162548944>. <books.google.com/books?id=bA6wCQAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Steven Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople 1453*. Cambridge University Press 1964. <worldcat.org/title/1014032031>. <www.new.dli.ernet.in/handle/2015/461488>.
- Rupert, Jean Gribomont, and Élisabeth de Solms. *Les oeuvres du Saint-Esprit*. Paris: Cerf, 1967. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/516710757>.
- Rydén, L. (1974). *The Andreas Salos Apocalypse. Greek Text, Translation, and Commentary*. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 28, 197-261. doi:10.2307/1291359
- Rydén, Lennart. *The Life of St Andrew the Fool Vol. 1 : Introduction, Testimonies and Nachleben. Indices*. Uppsala, Suecia: Uppsala University, 1995. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/186067541>. <urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-49327>.
- Rydén, Lennart. *The Life of St. Andrew the Fool. V. 2. Text, translation and notes. Appendices*. Uppsala, Suecia: Uppsala University, 1995. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1055102544>. <urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-128006>.

The Witness of God is Greater

- S. Aureli Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi liber qui appellatur speculum et liber de divinis scripturis sive speculum quod fertur s. Augustini, ed. F. Wehrich, CSEL 12 (Vienna, 1887). <www.mlat.uzh.ch/MLS>. <books.google.com/books?id=rCkRAAAAYAAJ>. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1565180>.
- S. Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Hispaniarum Doctoris Opera omnia, denuo correctata et aucta, ed. Faustino Arévalo, 7 vols (Rome: 1797-1803).
- Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffa', and B. Evetts. History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1907. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/2177778>. <www.tertullian.org/fathers/severus_hermopolis_hist_alex_patr_02_part2.htm>.
- Saint Basil, the Letter, vol 3, Loeb Library Classics. London: W. Heinemann, 1961; Translated by Roy J. Deferrari, and Martin R. P. McGuire.
- Salvatore, M. (2010). The Ethiopian Age of Exploration: Prester John's Discovery of Europe, 1306-1458. *Journal of World History*, 21(4), 593-627. <www.jstor.org/stable/41060852>.
- Salvioni, Giovanni Maria. Sancti patris nostri Ephraem Syri Opera omnia quae exstant Graece, Syriace, Latine, in sex tomos distributa ad mss. codices vaticanos, aliosque castigata, multis aucta, interpretatione, praefationibus, notis, variantibus lectionibus illustrata nunc primum ... e Bibliotheca Vaticana prodeunt Syriacum textum recensuit Petrus Benedictus ... notis vocalibus animavit, Latine vertit, & variorum scholijs locupletavit. Tomus primus [- tertius] Syriace et Latine. 3. 3. Sancti Patris Nostri Ephraem Syri Opera Omnia Quae Exstant Graece, Syriace, Latine, in Sex Tomos Distributa Ad Mss. Codices Vaticanos, Aliosque Castigata, Multis Aucta, Interpretatione, Praefationibus, Notis, Variantibus Lectionibus Illustrata Nunc Primum ... E Bibliotheca Vaticana Prodeunt Syriacum Textum Recensuit Petrus Benedictus ... Notis Vocalibus Animavit, Latine Vertit, & Variorum Scholijs Locupletavit. Tomus Primus [- Tertius] Syriace Et Latine. Romae: Ex Typographia Pontificia Vaticana apud Jo. Mariam Henricum Salvioni, 1743. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/955919191>. <books.google.com/books?id=BCrpGqQjVmQC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Sandt, Hubertus Waltherus Maria van de, and David Flusser. The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and Its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity. Assen, Netherlands: Royal Van Gorcum, 2002. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/50229418>. <books.google.com/books?id=jm7S_r_nW9YC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- John Sanidopoulos, The History of the Small Paraklesis (Supplication) Canon to the Theotokos, August 1, 2011. <www.johnsanidopoulos.com/2011/08/history-of-small-paraklesis.html>.
- Schaff, Philip, and David S. Schaff. The Creeds of Christendom: With a History and Critical Notes. Grand Rapids, Mich: Baker Books, 2007. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/421106926>. <ccel.org/ccel/schaff/creeds1.ix.iii.iv.html>.
- Schaff, Philip. History of the Christian Church. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1910. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/4306917>. <archive.org/details/historyofthechri009648mbp>. <www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/hcc2.v.xv.xxxvi.html>.
- Schaff, Philip. The Creeds of Christendom: With a History and Critical Notes. New York: Harper, 1877. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/2589524>. <books.google.com/books?id=15sPAAAAIAAJ&ppis=_c&source=gbs_navlinks_s>. <www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/creeds2/Page_283.html>.
- Schöck, Cornelia: The controversy between al-Kindī and Yaḥyā b. 'Adī on the Trinity, Part two: Gregory of Nyssa's and Ibn 'Adī's refutations of Eunomius' and al-Kindī's 'Error', in: *Oriens* 42/1-2, 2014, 220–253. <doi.org/10.1163/18778372-04201008>.
- Désirée Scholten, "Cassiodorus' Historia tripartita before the earliest extant manuscripts" in *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe*, 2015, p. 34-50.
- Schwartz, Eduard, Johannes Straub, and Rudolf Schieffer. *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 1914. <www.degruyter.com/view/serial/15992>.
- Johann Martin Augustin Scholz, *Biblisch-kritische Reise in Frankreich, der Schweiz, Italien, Palästina, und im Archipel, in den Jahren 1818, 1819, 1820, 1821, nebst einer Geschichte des Textes des N.T. 1823*. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1063157360>. <books.google.com/books?id=dd0UAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Scully, Ellen. *Physicalist Soteriology in Hilary of Poitiers*. 2015. <search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=980563>. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1004001355>. <books.google.com/books/about/Physicalist_Soteriology_in_Hilary_of_Poi.html?id=PCJKCAAQAQBAJ>.
- Scrivener, Frederick Henry Ambrose, and Edward Miller. *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament for the Use of Biblical Students*. London: G. Bell, 1894. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/741597>. <books.google.com/books?id=7H0PEMjlcPAC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Selden, John. *De Synedriis & Praefecturis luridicis Veterum Ebraeorum*. Londinum: Flesher, 1653. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/163812574>. <books.google.com/books?id=Sz9BAAAACAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Sellev, P. (1990). Five Days of Creation? The Origin of an Unusual Exegesis (Ps.-Cyprian, De centesima 26). *Zeitschrift Für Die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft Und Die Kunde Der Älteren Kirche*, 81(3–4), 277–283. Retrieved from <search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=rh&AN=ATLA0000875147&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.

The Witness of God is Greater

- Seraphim Holland of the Russian Orthodox Church of St Nicholas, The Great Canon. Thursday of the Fifth Week of Great Lent. <www.orthodox.net/greatlent/great-canon-fifth-week.html>.
- Serle, Ambrose. *Horae Solitariae: Or, Essays Upon Some Remarkable Names and Titles of Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit Occuring in the Old and New Testaments.* New York: Carter, 1842. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/16107667>. <books.google.com/books?id=bU8XAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Servetus, Michael, Earl Morse Wilbur, Michael Servetus, and Michael Servetus. *The Two Treatises of Servetus on the Trinity: On the Errors of the Trinity, 7 Books, A.D. 1531 ; Dialogues on the Trinity, 2 Books ; On the Righteousness of Christ's Kingdom, 4 Chapters, A.D. 1532.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932. <www.teleiosministries.com/pdfs/Doctrines_of_Men/errors_trinity_servetus.pdf>
- The Service of the Small Paraklesis to the most Holy Theotokos, Translated and set to meter by Demetri Kangelaris and Nicholas Kasemeotes. Edited by Rev. Fr. Dimitrios Tobias, February 2018. <www.stbasilchicago.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Paraklesis-St.-Basil-the-Great-Version.pub_.pdf>
- Severus of Antioch: A collection of letters from numerous Syriac manuscripts (1915). Letters 62-118. *Patrologia Orientalis. Tomus Decimus Quartus. A Collection of Letters of Severus OF Antioch from numerous Syriac manuscripts.* Edited and translated by E. W. Brooks. <www.tertullian.org/fathers/severus_coll_3_letters.htm>.
- Severus, and Ernest Walter Brooks. *A Collection of Letters of Severus of Antioch: From Numerous Syriac Manuscripts.* Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1916. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/717291062>. <books.google.com/books/about/A_collection_of_letters_of_Severus_of_An.html?id=xSsDxwEACAAJ>. <www.forgottenbooks.com/de/download/PatrologiaOrientalis_10930474.pdf>.
- C. R. B. Shapland, trans., *The Letters of Athanasius Concerning the Holy Spirit.* New York: The Philosophical Library, 1951.
- Shaw, R. L. J. *The Celestine Monks of France, C. 1350-1450: Observant Reform in an Age of Schism, Council and War.* 2018. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1078149396>. <www.degruyter.com/doi/book/10.1515/9789048538157>.
- Shute Barrington (26 May 1734 – 25 March 1826) : Bishop of Llandaff in Wales, as well as Bishop of Salisbury and Bishop of Durham in England. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shute_Barrington>.
- Siecienski, A. (2007). The Authenticity of Maximus the Confessor's "Letter to Marinus": The Argument from Theological Consistency. *Vigiliae Christianae*, 61(2), 189-227. <www.jstor.org/stable/20474812>.
- Silvas, Anna. *Jutta and Hildegard: The Biographical Sources.* Turnhout: Brepols, 1998. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/41477368>. <books.google.com/books?id=L_WL9R92dF4C&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Simon, Richard. *Histoire De La Religion Des Juifs, Et De leur établissement en Espagne & autres parties de l'Europe, où ils se sont retirés après la destruction de Jerusalem.* 1680. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1005843279>. <books.google.com/books?id=7zWEVvHQSasC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- *Slavic Chronicle (in old Slavonic). Conquest of Tsarigrad (ed. J.J. Sreznevsky), Publications of the Academy of Science of St. Petersburg, 1854.*
- Smith, J. (1883). *Alcuin's Bible. The Hebrew Student*, 2(10), 322-324. Retrieved February 29, 2020 <www.jstor.org/stable/3156077>
- Smith, William, and Henry Wace. *A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines: Being a Continuation of "The Dictionary of the Bible".* London: J. Murray, 1877. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1113401>. <books.google.com/books?id=JuY5AQAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Socrates of Constantinople (Greek: Σωκράτης ὁ Σχολαστικός; [1] c. 380 – after 439), also known as Socrates Scholasticus, was a 5th-century Christian church historian, a contemporary of Sozomen and Theodoret. He is the author of a *Historia Ecclesiastica* ("Church History", Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία) which covers the history of late ancient Christianity during the years 305 to 439. (Socrates of Constantinople. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socrates_of_Constantinople>)
- Souter, Alexander. *The Text and Canon of the New Testament.* London: Duckworth & Co, 1913. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/13385709>. <books.google.com/books?id=khIVAAAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Sozomen. *Church History. Book 3. Chapter 5. The Bishops assembled at Antioch, on the Refusal of Eusebius of Emisa to accept the Bishopric of Alexandria, ordain Gregory, and change the Language of the Nicene Creed.* NPNF02, vol 2. <www.newadvent.org/fathers/26012.htm>.
- Sozomen. *History of the Church. Book 6. Chapter 12. Councils of Sicily and of Tyana. The Synod which was expected to be held in Cilicia is dissolved by Valens. The Persecution at that Time. Athanasius the Great flees again, and is in Concealment; by the Letter of Valens he reappears, and governs the Churches in Egypt.* NPNF02, vol 2. <www.newadvent.org/fathers/26012.htm>.
- Spoerl, Kelley. *A Study of the Κατὰ Μέρος Πίστις by Apollinarius of Laodicea.* Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, Toronto, 1991.
- St. Ephraim the Syrian (306-373 AD) on the Holy Transfiguration. Published by NFTU NEWS at August 19, 2017. <nftu.net/st-ephraim-the-syrian-on-the-holy-transfiguration/>

The Witness of God is Greater

- Stallman-Pacitti, C. (2018). *The Life of Saint Pankratios of Taormina*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill. <doi.org/10.1163/9789004366442>. <books.google.com/books?id=iJyDwAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1057018489>.
- Stead, George Christopher. *Divine Substance*. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1977. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1040433362>. <books.google.com/books?id=5l_Q4XOLdRcC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Steiger, P. (2019). *The Blessings of Blindness: Divine Illumination as Spiritual Health*, *Scrinium*, 15(1), 89-110. <doi.org/10.1163/18177565-00151P07>.
- Steinová, E., & Renswoude, I.V. (2017). *The annotated Gottschalk: Critical signs and control of heterodoxy in the Carolingian age*. <doi.org/10.1484/M.HAMA-EB.5.114194>.
- Stephan Kuttner and Antonio Garcia y Garcia, "A New Eyewitness Account of the Fourth Lateran Council," *Traditio* 20 (1964), 115-178. There is an English translation of the Latin text by Constantin Fasolt in Julius Kirshner and Karl F. Morrison, eds., *Medieval Europe*, vol. 4 of *University of Chicago Readings in Western Civilization* (Chicago, 1986), 369-376. <mafiadoc.com/61-eyewitness-account-of-the-fourth-lateran-council-classesv2_59ed0ebe1723ddfc8e63120c.html>
- Stevens, S. (1982). *THE Circle of Bishop Fulgentius*. *Traditio*, 38, 327-341. <www.jstor.org/stable/27831119>.
- Stevenson, James, and W. H. C. Frend. *Creeds, Councils and Controversies: Documents Illustrating the History of the Church AD 337-461*. London: SPCK, 2000. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1015483204>. <books.google.com/books?id=pYzYAAAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Strickler, Ryan. (2017). *A Dispute in Dispute: Revisiting the Disputatio cum Pyrrho Attributed to Maximus the Confessor (CPG 7698)*. *Sacris Erudiri*. 56. 243-272. 10.1484/J.SE.5.114774.
- Stillingfleet, Edward. *A discourse concerning the nature and grounds of the certainty of faith in answer to J. S. [Sergeant, John, -- 1622-1707], his Catholick letters*. London: Printed for Henry Mortlock, 1688. <name.umdl.umich.edu/A61545.0001.001>
- Stock, Brian. *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/8554299>. <books.google.com/books?id=6Ves8Li9LH8C&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Stockhausen, Annette von. "Die pseud-athanasianische *Disputatio contra Arium.* Eine Auseinandersetzung mit 'arianischer' Theologie in Dialogform." In *Von Arius zum Athanasianum. Studien zur Edition der 'Athanasius Werke'*. Ed. Annette von Stockhausen and Hanns Christof Brennecke. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010: 133-155. <urn:nbn:de:bvb:29-opus4-81454>.
- Strunk, Oliver. 1974. 'A Cypriot in Venice', *Essays on Music in the Western World*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company. 79-93.
- Suidas, Thomas Gaisford, and Ludolf Küster. *Suidae Lexicon*. 1834. vol 1. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/67798805>. <books.google.com/books?id=uVhNAAAaAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Swainson, Charles Anthony. *The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds: Their Literary History : Together with an Account of the Growth and Reception of the Sermon on the Faith Commonly Called "The Creed of Athanasius"*. London: John Murray, 1875. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1012120057>. <books.google.com/books?id=6uRVAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Συμεών του Νέου Θεολόγου, Ὕμνοι (ΚΗ'-ΝΗ'), Φιλοκαλία των Νηπτικῶν και Ασκητικῶν 19ΣΤ, ΕΠΕ., *Θεσ/νίκη*, 1989
- Symeonis Junioris (949-1022 AD). *Simeon, and Paul McGuckin. The Practical and Theological Chapters and the Three Theological Discourses*. Kalamazoo, Mich: Cistercian Publ, 1982. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/220514705>. <books.google.com/books?id=qxvZAAAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Symeonis Junioris (949-1022 AD). *Darrouzès, J. (1966), Traités théologiques et éthiques [par] Syméon le Nouveau Théologien*, vol. 1 & 2. Paris. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/10644322>.
- Martin Tamcke, *Die Gespräche der deutschen Protestanten mit ägyptischen und äthiopischen Kopten*, in: *Koinonia*, Tom. 60/ Ap. 1, Thessaloniki 2019, S. 252-261. <koinonia.petheol.gr/index.php/koinonia/article/view/40/21>
- Taylor, Claire (1999) *Dualist heresy in Aquitaine and the Agenais, c.1000-c.1249*. PhD thesis, University of Nottingham. <eprints.nottingham.ac.uk/11848/1/313228.pdf>.
- Terian, Abraham. *The Armenian Gospel of the Infancy: with three early versions of the Protevangelium of James*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/213220686>. <books.google.com/books?id=edkVDAAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Abraham Terian, "The Early Creeds of the Armenian Church" in *Warszawskie Studia Teologiczne XXIV/2/2011*, 299-312. <akademiatolicka.pl/wp-content/uploads/wst/24-2/Terian.pdf>.
- Teske, Roland, trans., "Debate with Maximinus" in *Arianism and Other Heresies* pp. 188-220 (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, *The Complete Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century*, 1995). ISBN: 1565480384
- *Testimonia de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto*, ed. D. De Bruyne (1961), *Florilegia Biblica Africana saec. V*, CCSL 90, Turnhout, 225-233. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/928112040>.

The Witness of God is Greater

- The Irish Ecclesiastical Record. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1864. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1605447>. <archive.org/details/IrishEcclesiasticalRecordV01-1865/page/n11>.
- The La Cava Bible or Codex Cavensis (Cava de' Tirreni, Biblioteca statale del Monumento Nazionale Badia di Cava, Ms. memb. I) is a 9th-century Latin illuminated Bible, which was produced in Spain, probably in the Kingdom of Asturias during the reign of Alfonso II (c.760 – 842). (La Cava Bible. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/La_Cava_Bible>)
- The Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature. Hackney: Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper, 1806. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1758659>. <books.google.com/books?id=GX4UAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Theodore, and Henry Barclay Swete. Theodori Episcopi Mopsuesteni in Epistolas B. Pauli commentarii: the Latin version with the Greek fragments. Cambridge: The University Press, 1880. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/4682527>. <archive.org/details/theodoriepiscop01theogooq>.
- Théodore, and Pierre Canivet. Thérapeutique des maladies helléniques. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1958. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/865213>. <books.google.com/books?id=0P_YAAAAAAAJ&source=gbs_book_other_versions>.
- Thibodeau, Timothy M., and Timothy M Thibodeau. The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of William Durand of Mende A New Translation of the Prologue and Book One. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1162288305>. <books.google.com/books?id=MVE4AAAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Thiel, Andreas, and Pierre Coustant. Epistolae Romanorum pontificum genuinae et quae ad eos scriptae sunt a S. Hilario usque ad Pelagium II: ex schedis Clar. Petri Coustantii aliisque editis, adhibitis praestantissimis codicibus Italiae et Germaniae 1 1. Brunsbergae: Peter, 1868. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/643290530>. <books.google.com/books?id=n6UAAAAAaAAJ>
- Theoleptus, and Robert E. Sinkewicz. The Monastic Discourses. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of mediaeval studies, 1992. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/875499215>. <books.google.com/books?id=2sE7yI9yDuUC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Theodorus Peltanus and David Sartorius. Sacrosancti, magni et oecumenici concilii Ephesini primi, acta omnia, Theolori Peltani,... opera, nunc primum latinitate donata ac in sex tomos distributa... Accesserunt his... in singula capita periochae... Ex amplissima... ducis Bavariae bibliotheca. Ingolstadii: ex typ. Davidis Sartorii, 1576. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/491903812>. <books.google.com/books?id=qqxmAAAAaAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Theotokēs, Nikēphoros, and Nikolaos Zōsimas. Nikēphoru Theotoku Kyriakodromion eis tas praxeis tōn Apostolōn 2. (1840). - 400 S. 2. (1840). - 400 S. Athēnai: Koromēlas, 1840. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/165919018>. <books.google.com/books?id=ZYJBAAAAaAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Thiele, Walter. "Beobachtungen zum Comma Iohanneum (I Joh 5,7f.)." Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 50 (1959): 61–73.
- Ernst Timpe, "Die kirchenpolitischen Ansichten und Bestrebungendes Kardinals Bellarmin" in Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen, vol 3-4, 10 December 1904. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/310964856>. <books.google.com/books?id=RIEPAQAAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274 AD). Corpus Thomisticum. Index Thomisticus. by Roberto Busa SJ and associates web edition by Eduardo Bernot and Enrique Alarcón. English version. <www.corpusthomicum.org/it/index.age>.
- Thomas, and John M. Ashley. Ninety-Nine Homilies of S. Thomas Aquinas Upon the Epistles and Gospels For Forty-Nine Sundays of the Christian Year. London: Church Press, 1867. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/665157422>. <archive.org/details/ninety-nine-homilies-00-thom-uoft>.
- Divi Thomae Aquinatis Doctoris Angelici Sermons Pro Dominicis Diebus et Pro Sanctorum Solemnitatibus, ed. H. Hurter, 1874. <books.google.be/books?id=g3AB1bHzEfUC&hl=nl&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- D. Thomas & B. Roggema, (2009). "Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History". In Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill. <brill.com/view/serial/HCMR1BP>
- Thomas Joseph Lamy, The Decision of the Holy Office on the "Comma Joanneum" pp.449–483 American ecclesiastical review, 1897. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1479789>. <books.google.com/books?id=EAPOAAAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Thomas, David, Alexander Mallett, and Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala. Christian Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History. Volume 5, 1350-1500. 2013. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1084689767>. <books.google.com/books?id=dgy7SN3ZixsC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Thomas, David. Syrian Christians Under Islam: The First Thousand Years. Leiden: Brill, 2001. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/912534924>. <books.google.com/books?id=E51_-Js-bZwC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- "Tome | Biblia sacra vulgatae editionis / Sixtus | Biblia sacra vulgatae editionis / Sixtus". reader.digitale-sammlungen.de. 1590. Retrieved 27 February 2020 – via Bayerische Staatsbibliothek digital. <mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11203085-7>.
- Tondelli, Leone, Marjorie Reeves, and Beatrice Hirsch-Reich. Il "Libro delle figure" dell'abate Gioachino da Fiore. Torino: Società editrice internazionale, 1953. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/715532051>.
- Sir George Pretyma Tomline, 5th Baronet FRS (1750-1827 AD) : Bishop of Lincoln & Bishop of Winchester <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shute_Barrington>.

The Witness of God is Greater

- Tóth, P. 1. (2014). "New questions on old answers: Towards a critical edition of the Answers to the Orthodox of Pseudo-Justin" in *The journal of theological studies*, N.S.65(2), 550-599. <www.academia.edu/8736242/New_Questions_on_Old_Answers_Towards_a_Critical_Edition_of_the_Answers_to_the_Orthodox_of_Pseudo_Justin>
- Touliatos-Miles, Diane. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Musical Manuscript Collection of the National Library of Greece: Byzantine Chant and Other Music Repertory Recovered*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/695618746>. <books.google.com/books?id=JzArDwAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Travis, George. *Letters to Edward Gibbon, Author of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. London: Printed for the author, and sold by Rivingtons, 1794. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/520086>. <books.google.com/books?id=nf0qAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Georges de Trébizonde, *De la vérité de la foi des chrétiens*, Traduction française et Notes par A.Th. Khoury. CIS-Verlag, Altenberge 1987, 245 S., DM 69,80.
- Trilling, James. *The Soul of the Empire: Style and Meaning in the Mosaic Pavement of the Byzantine Imperial Palace in Constantinople*. [Washington]: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1989. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/861056676>.
- Triōdion katanyktikon: periechon hapasan tēn anēkousan autō akolouthian tēs hagian kai megalēs tessarakostēs. Ek tēs Hellēnikēs Typographias Tu Phoinikos, 1839. <catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008608073/Home>. <books.google.com/books?id=chFYAAAACAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Troncarelli, F. (2011). Early Joachimism and Early Franciscanism: Manuscript Evidence of a Common Destiny. *Franciscan Studies*, 69, 141-151. Retrieved July 21, 2020. <www.jstor.org/stable/41975507>
- Tsougarakis, Nickiphoros I., and Nickiphoros I. Tsougarakis. *The Latin religious orders in medieval Greece, 1204-1500*. 2012. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/819516805>. <books.google.com/books/about/The_Latin_Religious_Orders_in_Medieval_G.html?id=BLBluAAACAAJ&source=kp_book_description>.
- C.H. Turner. Review of Morin, Dom. "L'Ambrosiaster et le juif converti Isaac [Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse, 1899] in *Journal of Theological Studies* 1 (1900) 154-156. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1782539>. <books.google.com/books?id=gzdKAAAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Twisleton, Edward Turner Boyd. *The Tongue Not Essential to Speech; With Illustrations of the Power of Speech in the African Confessors*. London: J. Murray, 1873. <archive.org/details/tonguenotessenti00twisuoft>. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/5168459>.
- Tyrannius Rufinus. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tyrannius_Rufinus>.
- Union académique internationale. *Index scriptorum novus mediae latinitatis: Ab anno DCCC usque ad annum MCC ; qui afferuntur in Novo glossario ab Academiis Consociatis iuris publici facto*. Hafniae: Munksgaard, 1973. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/361551405>
- University of Chicago. *The American Journal of Theology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1897. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1480198>. <books.google.com/books?id=BIIPAQAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s> <books.google.com/books?id=BIIPAQAIAAJ&pg=PA424#v=onepage&q&f=false>.
- Valerio, and Consuelo Maria Aherne. *Valerio of Bierzo, An Ascetic of the Late Visigothic Period*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1949. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/3579072>. <catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000818499>.
- Van der Horst, P. (2004). *Reviewed Work: Le Monogénès. Introduction générale, édition critique, traduction française et commentaire par Richard Goulet by Macarios de Magnésie. Vigiliae Christianae*, 58(3), 332-341. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1584625>
- Jacques de Voragine, *Quadragesimale, De resurrectione Domini sermo 1 in Iacopo da Varazze, Sermones Quadragesimales*, G.P. Maggioni ed., Florence, Sismel, 2005, p. 516, l. 79 (texte disponible en édition électronique sur sermones.net - édition réalisée à partir de *Sermones aurei*, ed. Robert Clutius, Vienne-Cracovie, 1760, sermo 93). <sermones.net/thesaurus/document.php?id=jvor_265&list=dis&dis=dis_1>
- Varner, William C., and Evagrius. *Ancient Jewish-Christian dialogues: Athanasius and Zacchaeus, Simon and Theophilus, Timothy and Aquila : introductions, texts, and translations*. Lewiston, N.Y.: E. Mellen Press, 2004. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1200652966>. <books.google.com/books?id=EkYRAQAIAAJ>
- William R. Veder, Michael Syncellus' *Libellus De Recta Fide: Translation and Revision in Ricerche slavistiche* 15 (61) 2017: 5-29. <www.academia.edu/39703486/Michael_Syncellus_Libellus_de_recta_fide_Translation_and_Revision>
- Victor Vitensis. *Victor of Vita: history of the Vandal persecution*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1022824576>. <books.google.com/books?id=N_usIGzI5SwC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Victorinus, Marius, and Mary T. Clark. *Theological Treatises on the Trinity*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1981. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1154139891> <books.google.com/books?id=8byYDOjtw50C&source=gbs_navlinks_s>. Migne Latina, PL 8 1047B-C

The Witness of God is Greater

- Victorinus, Marius, et al. *Marii Victorini Opera*. Vindobonae [Vienna, Austria]: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1971. vol 1. <books.google.com/books?id=uDljQAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Jacques de Vitry, and Damianus a Ligno. *Reverendissimi D. Jacobi de Vitriaco ... Sermones in epistolas et evangelia dominicalia totius anni ... nunc ... primum in lucem editi ...* [F. Damianus a Ligno edidit.]. Antverpiae: In aedibus viduae et haeredum J. Stelsii, 1575. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/457428361>. <books.google.com/books?id=y3nB-1MIGx0C&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Voelker, John T, "The trinitarian theology of Marius Victorinus: Polemic and exegesis" (2006). *Dissertations (1962 - 2010)*. Access via Proquest Digital Dissertations. AAI3231314. <epublications.marquette.edu/dissertations/AAI3231314>.
- Volk, Robert. *Johannes Von Damaskos: Die Schriften, Band 6/1: Historia Animae Utilis De Barlaam Et Ioasaph (Spuria): Einführung*. Walter De Gruyter, 2009. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/741347957>.
- Vopřada, D. (2019). "Quodvultdeus and His Work". In *Quodvultdeus and His Work*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill. doi: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004412385_005
- Voss, Bernd Reiner. *Der Dialog in der frühchristlichen Literatur [The dialogue in early Christian literature]*. München: W. Fink, 1970. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/803661470>.
- Vranic, Vasilije. *The Constancy and Development in the Christology of Theodoret of Cyrrhus*. Leiden: Brill, 2015. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1002978065>. <books.google.com/books?id=kx6oBgAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- W.H. van de Sande Bakhuyzen, ed. *Der Dialog des Adamantius Περὶ τῆς εἰς θεὸν ὁρθῆς πίστεως*, GCS 4 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901), 160-62 = De la Rue 847a;
- Walz, Christian. *Rhetores Graeci: ex codicibus Florentinis, Mediolanensibus, Monacensibus, Neapolitanis, Parisiensibus, Romanis, Venetis, Taurinensibus et Vindobonensibus 3. 3*. Stuttgartiae: Cotta, 1834. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/165475684>. <books.google.com/books?id=3RHpRITX2SkC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Wandel, Lee Palmer. *Reading Catechisms, Teaching Religion*. 2015. <doi.org/10.1163/9789004305205>. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1030555656>. <books.google.com/books?id=8qy8CgAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Waterland, Daniel, and William Van Mildert. *The Works of the Rev. Daniel Waterland, D.D., Formerly Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, Canon of Windsor, and Archdeacon of Middlesex, to Which Is Prefixed a Review of the Author's Life and Writings*. 1843. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/903073133>. <books.google.com/books?id=pCYQAAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Waterland, Daniel. *The Works of the Rev. Daniel Waterland ... Now First Collected and Arranged. To Which Is Prefixed a Review of the Author's Life and Writings*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1823. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/34089081>. <books.google.com/books?id=S25fAAAAcAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Weigert, Laura. *Weaving Sacred Stories: French Choir Tapestries and the Performance of Clerical Identity*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/52937530>. <books.google.com/books?id=RO9OsHKTISUC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Weigl, Eduard (1914). "Untersuchungen zur Christologie des heiligen Athanasius" in *Forschungen zur Christlichen Liturature und Dogmengechichte XII*, 4 (1914), pp. 150-158. <books.google.com/books?id=bpxVAAAAAYAAJ> <catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/012407899>.
- Wes, Marinus Antony. *Classics in Russia 1700-1855: Between Two Bronze Horsemen*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/185933484>. <books.google.com/books?id=N9wviNiWb0EC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Wesche, Kenneth Paul. *On The Person of Christ. The Christology of Emperor Justinian*. Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1991. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1124575650>. <books.google.com/books?id=D1swX_6xaQ4C&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Westcott, Brooke Foss. *A General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament*. Cambridge: Macmillan, 1866. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/8507699>. <books.google.com/books?id=KDCRAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Westra, Liuwe H. *The Apostles' Creed: Origin, History, and Some Early Commentaries*. Proefschrift Katholieke Theologische Universiteit Utrecht, 2002. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1012250667>. <books.google.com/books/about/The_Apostles_Creed.html?id=_ebYAAAAMAAJ>.
- Weyman, Carl. *Beitrage Zur Geschichte Der Christlich-Lateinischen Poesie [Contributions to the History of Christian-Latin Poetry]*. Hildesheim: Olms, 1975. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/223482707>. <books.google.nl/books?id=La3xXCKJfy0C&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Whelan, Robin. *Being Christian in Vandal Africa. The Politics of Orthodoxy in the Post-Imperial West*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1005716422>. <books.google.com/books?id=oxc-DwAAQBAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Grantley R. McDonald, *Raising the Ghost of Arius. Erasmus, the Johannine Comma and Religious Difference in Early Modern Europe* [Ph.D. dissertation Leiden 2011; impressum: Bruxellois: Ex officina Antipodea, 2011], 424 pages. <hdl.handle.net/1887/16486>
- Whenham, John. *Monteverdi, Vespers (1610)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/35849109>. <books.google.com/books?id=MV94EVZwR3sC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.

The Witness of God is Greater

- White, H. J., John Wordsworth, and Hedley Frederick Davis Sparks. *Nouum Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi latine, secundum editionem Sancti Hieronymi*. Oxonii: Clarendon, 1889. <archive.org/details/nouumtestamentum01whit>. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1049954118>.
- Whitaker, William, and William Fitzgerald. *A disputation on Holy Scripture: against the papists, especially Bellarmine and Stapleton*. Cambridge [England]: Printed at the University Press, 1849. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/3334981>. <archive.org/details/adisputationonho00whituoft>.
- Wickert, Jacob. *Die Panoplia Dogmatica des Euthymios Zigabenos*. Berlin: Schade, 1910. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/977545613>. <archive.org/details/diepanopliadogm00wick>.
- Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1370 (Rec. 3324), ff. 1v-18 (Ordo de catechizandis rudibus [Catechising of the Uninstructed], ff. 1v-18). sec. IX primo-secondo quarto (first-second quarter). [www.mirabileweb.it/manuscript/wien-sterreichische-nationalbibliothek-1370-\(rec--manuscript/89489](http://www.mirabileweb.it/manuscript/wien-sterreichische-nationalbibliothek-1370-(rec--manuscript/89489)
- Wilhelmus, and Ferruccio Gastaldelli. *Comentum in tertiam ierarchiam Dionisii: que est de divinis nominibus*. Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1983. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/610219553>. <catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/9906181.html>.
- Wilhite, Shawn J., and Clayton N. Jefford. *The Didache: A Commentary*. 2019. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1120017281>. <books.google.com/books/about/The_Didache.html?id=5rGtDwAAQBAJ>.
- William, of Saint-Thierry, Abbot of, ca. 1085-1148? Saint-Thierry, and John D. Anderson. *Enigma of Faith, the: Translated, with an Introduction and Notes by John D. Anderson*. 1974. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1103577955>. <books.google.com/books/about/The_Enigma_of_Faith.html?id=AeMRAQAIAAJ>
- William Adler. (2011) *Christians and the Public Archive. The idea of the "archive" in early Christianity, with special interest in the archive of Edessa*. <www.academia.edu/37229732/CHRISTIANS_AND_THE_PUBLIC_ARCHIVE?auto=download>.
- William, of Saint-Thierry, Abbot of, ca. 1085-1148? Saint-Thierry, and John D. Anderson. *Enigma of Faith, the: Translated, with an Introduction and Notes by John D. Anderson*. 1974. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1103577955>. <books.google.com/books/about/The_Enigma_of_Faith.html?id=AeMRAQAIAAJ>
- Williams, Daniel H. *Ambrose of Milan and the End of the Nicene-Arian Conflicts*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/185544030>. <books.google.com/books/about/Ambrose_of_Milan_and_the_End_of_the_Nice.html?id=XI4y2iZANMEC>.
- Williams, John. *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*. University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/37353846>. <books.google.com/books?id=-fuLC3dJOwwC&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Wiseman, "Art. VII. Recent Evidence in Support of 1 John v. 7." in *Dublin Review*, Volume 90, 1882, p. 426-439. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/5053556>.
- Wiseman, Nicholas Patrick, and Robert Irving. *Essays on Various Subjects, by His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman. In Three Volumes*. London: C. Dolman, 61, New Bond Street, and 22, Paternoster Row, 1853. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1015502309>. <books.google.com/books?id=twoJAQAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>. <books.google.com/books?id=wfApAQAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Woodward, George Ratcliffe, and Harold Mattingly. *St. John Damascene Barlaam and Ioasaph*. London: W. Heinemann, 1914. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/578606908>. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/1016209073>. <books.google.com/books?id=RVRFAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>
- Wordsworth, Christopher. *Six Letters to Granville Sharp ... Respecting His Remarks on the Uses of the Definitive Article, in the Greek Text of the New Testament*. London: F. & C. Rivington, 1802. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/37754212>. <books.google.com/books?id=_10SAAAAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Yannis Papadoyannakis, "Instruction by Question and Answer: The Case of Late Antique and Byzantine Erotapokriseis", Center for Hellenic Studies. Harvard University. chs.harvard.edu. Accessed: 25 January 2020 <chs.harvard.edu/CHS/article/display/3258.yannis-papadoyannakis-instruction-by-question-and-answer-the-case-of-late-antique-and-byzantine-erotapokriseis> <www.brepolonline.net/doi/abs/10.1484/M.SBHC-EB.6.09070802050003050501000209>. <www.academia.edu/11571856/Towards_a_Classification_of_Sources_in_Byzantine_Question-and-Answer_Literature>.
- Yarza Urkiola, Valeriano, Potamio de Lisboa: estudio, edición crítica y traducción de sus obras. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Universidad del País Vasco, 1999, 271-307.
- Zahn, Theodor. *Forschungen zur geschichte des neutestamentlichen kanons und der altkirchlichen literatur von Theodor Zahn*. Erlangen: A. Deichert, 1884. *Supplementum Clementinum* vol 3. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/41564331>. <books.google.com/books?id=6GpbAAAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.
- Zahn T. (1884). *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur: Th. Supplementum Clementinum* Volume 3. A. Deichert. <worldcat.org/en/title/2758739>. <books.google.com/books?id=HXAAQAIAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s>.

The Witness of God is Greater

- Ziegler, L. Italafragmente der Paulinischen Briefe: nebst Bruchstücken einer vorhieronymianischen Übersetzung des ersten Iohannesbriefes : aus Pergamentblättern der ehemaligen Freisinger Stiftsbibliothek. Marburg: N.G. Elwert, 1876. <www.worldcat.org/oclc/181926949>. <archive.org/details/italafragmented01zieggoog/page/n5>.
- Review: Leo Ziegler, Italafragmente der Paulinischen Briefe nebst Bruchstücken einer vorhieronymianischen Übersetzung des ersten Johannesbriefes aus Pergamentblättern der ehemaligen Freisinger Stiftsbibliothek. [Fragments of the Versio Itala of the Epistles of Paul, with minute Portions of an Ante-Hieronymian Translation of the First Epistle of John]. Marburg: Elwert, 1876 in *The Theological Review: A Quarterly Journal of Religious Thought and Life* edited by Williams & Norgate, 1876, vol 13, p. 442-445.