

SAINT AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO

CONFERENCE WITH MAXIMINUS

Collatio cum Maximino

SABBATISMUS

Saint Augustine of Hippo (354–430)
Collatio cum Maximino · Conference with Maximinus

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Cum Augustinus et Maximinus Hippone-regio unum in locum convenissent, praesentibus multis, tam clericis quam laicis, MAXIMINUS dixit: Ego non ob istam causam in hanc civitatem adveni, ut altercationem proponam cum Religione tua, sed missus a comite Segisvulto contemplatione pacis adveni. Revera enim Eraclio presbytero amicali pactione mecum tractanti, responsum dedi ut valui, ita tamen ab ipso provocatus; quique in tantum exarsit, ut etiam adventum tuum contra me provocaret. Et quia dignata est Religio tua sibi facere injuriam, si interrogas, in quibus valeo responsum dabo. Si aliquid rationabile dixeris, necesse est ut sequar. Si quid enim de divinis Scripturis protuleris, quod commune est cum omnibus, necesse est ut audiamus: eae vero voces quae extra Scripturam sunt, nullo casu a nobis suscipiuntur: praeterea cum ipse Dominus moneat nos et dicat, Sine causa colunt me, docentes mandata et praecepta hominum (Matth. XV, 9).

AUGUSTINUS dixit: Si ad ista omnia respondere voluero, id etiam ego agere videbor, ne veniatur ad causam. Proinde ut cito agamus quod instat, dic mihi fidem tuam de Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto.

MAX. respondit: Si fidem meam postulas, ego illam teneo fidem quae Arimini a trecentis et triginta episcopis, non solum exposita, sed etiam subscriptionibus firmata est.

AUG. dixit: Jam dixi, et hoc ipsum repeto, quia respondere noluisti: Dic fidem tuam de Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto.

MAX. respondit: Cum enim non defecerim a responsione, cur accusor a tua Religione, quasi responsum non dederim?

AUG. dixit: Propterea dixi te respondere noluisse, quia dum ego quaererem ut diceres mihi fidem tuam de Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto, quod et nunc posco, tu mihi non dixisti fidem tuam, sed nominasti Ariminense concilium. Fidem tuam volo nosse, quid credas, quid sentias de Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto. Si dignaris, ore tuo audiam. Noli me mittere ad ea scripta, quae modo aut prae manu non sunt, aut eorum auctoritate non teneor. Dic quid credas de Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto.

MAX. respondit: Non ad excusandum me Ariminensis concilii decretum interesse volui, sed ut ostendam auctoritatem Patrum, qui secundum divinas Scripturas fidem nobis tradiderunt illam quam a divinis Scripturis didicerunt.

1. When Augustine and Maximinus had come together in one place at Hippo Regius, in the presence of many, both clergy and laity, MAXIMINUS said: I have not come to this city for the purpose of proposing a dispute with your Reverence, but I have come, sent by Count Segisvult, with a view to peace. Indeed, to the presbyter Heraclius, who was treating with me under a friendly agreement, I gave such a response as I could, having been provoked by him; and he became so incensed that he even called for your arrival against me. And since your Reverence has deigned to do yourself an injury, if you ask, I will give a response in those matters in which I am able. If you say anything reasonable, it is necessary that I follow. For if you bring forward anything from the divine Scriptures, which is common to all, it is necessary that we listen; but those words that are outside of Scripture are in no case accepted by us: especially since the Lord Himself warns us and says, 'In vain do they worship me, teaching the commandments and precepts of men' (Matthew 15:9).

2. AUGUSTINE said: If I should wish to respond to all these things, I too will seem to be acting so as to avoid coming to the main issue. Therefore, so that we may quickly address what is at hand, tell me your faith concerning the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.

MAXIMINUS responded: If you ask for my faith, I hold that faith which was not only set forth at Ariminum by three hundred and thirty bishops, but was also confirmed by their signatures.

3. AUGUSTINE said: I have already said, and I repeat it, that you were unwilling to answer: State your faith concerning the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.

MAXIMINUS responded: Since I have not failed in my response, why am I accused by your Reverence, as if I had not given an answer?

4. AUGUSTINE said: I said you were unwilling to answer for this reason: because while I was asking you to tell me your faith concerning the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, which I ask for now as well, you did not tell me your faith, but named the council of Ariminum. I want to know your faith, what you believe, what you think concerning the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. If you deign, let me hear it from your own mouth. Do not send me to those writings which are either not at hand now, or by whose authority I am not bound. State what you believe concerning the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.

MAXIMINUS responded: I did not wish to involve the decree of the council of Ariminum to excuse myself, but to show the authority of the Fathers, who according to the divine Scriptures handed down to us that faith which they learned from the divine Scriptures.

Sin vero placet; quia corde creditur ad justitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem (Rom. X, 10): instructi etenim sumus et parati ad respondendum omni exposcenti de nobis rationem de fide et spe quae in nobis est (I Petr. III, 15): et praeterea cum Dominus ipse Jesus dicat, Qui me confessus fuerit coram hominibus, confitebor et ego eum coram Patre meo qui est in coelis; et qui negaverit me coram hominibus, negabo et ego eum coram Patre meo qui in coelis est (Matth. X, 32, 33): istud periculum timens, quamvis leges imperiales non ignoro, tamen praecepto Salvatoris edoctus, qui monuit nos et dixit, Nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus, animam autem non possunt occidere (Ibid., 28); respondeo evidenter: Credo quod unus est Deus Pater, qui a nullo vitam accepit; et quia unus est Filius, qui quod est et quod vivit, a Patre accepit ut esset; et quia unus est Spiritus sanctus paracletus, qui est illuminator et sanctificator animarum nostrarum. Et hoc de divinis Scripturis assero. Si jubes, prosequor testimonia: si in aliquo reprehenderit Religio tua, dabo responsum in his in quibus reprehendi videor.

AUG. dixit: Movet me, quod ita posuisti proprie illuminatorem nostrum Spiritum sanctum; quasi Christus non sit illuminator noster. Hinc primo abs te volo audire quid sentias.

MAX. respondit: Nos enim unum auctorem Deum Patrem cognoscimus, a quo illuminatio omnis per gradus descendit. Nam denique et apostolus Paulus profert de se testimonium in Actibus Apostolorum, dicens. Sic enim mandavit nobis Deus; et inter caetera, Posui te in lumen gentium (Act. XIII, 47). Si Apostolus in lumine gentium positus est ut doctor, quanto magis Spiritus sanctus, qui illuminator est Apostoli; in quo et Apostolus locutus est, secundum ipsius Apostoli dicta, quia nemo potest dicere Dominum Jesum, nisi in Spiritu sancto (I Cor. XII, 3)? Utique illuminator est Spiritus sanctus, qui illuminavit Apostolum. Sed Spiritus sanctus a Christo accepit, secundum ipsius Christi testimonium, sicut ait in Evangelio Christus: Multa habeo vobis dicere, sed non potestis portare modo: cum autem venerit ille Spiritus veritatis, diriget vos in omnem veritatem. Non enim loquetura se, sed quaecumque audierit loquetur, et ventura annuntiabit vobis. Ille me clarificabit, quia de meo accipiet, et annuntiabit vobis (Joan. XVI, 12-14). Ergo Spiritus sanctus accepit a Christo, secundum testimonium Christi.

But if it pleases you; since 'with the heart one believes unto justice, but with the mouth confession is made unto salvation' (Romans 10:10); for we are instructed and 'prepared to give an answer to everyone who asks us a reason for the faith and hope that is in us' (1 Peter 3:15); and furthermore, since the Lord Jesus Himself says, 'Whoever confesses me before men, I will also confess him before my Father who is in heaven; and whoever denies me before men, I will also deny him before my Father who is in heaven' (Matthew 10:32-33); fearing this danger, although I am not ignorant of the imperial laws, yet taught by the precept of the Savior, who warned us and said, 'Do not fear those who kill the body but cannot kill the soul' (ibid., 28); I answer plainly: I believe that there is one God the Father, who received life from no one; and that there is one Son, who received from the Father that which He is and that He lives, so that He might be; and that there is one Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, who is the illuminator and sanctifier of our souls. And this I assert from the divine Scriptures. If you command, I will continue with testimonies; if your Reverence should find fault in anything, I will give a response on those points in which I seem to be at fault.

5. AUGUSTINE said: It troubles me that you have posited the Holy Spirit as properly our illuminator, as if Christ were not our illuminator. On this point, I wish first to hear from you what you think.

MAX. responded: For we acknowledge one author, God the Father, from whom all illumination descends through degrees. For indeed the apostle Paul also offers testimony of himself in the Acts of the Apostles, saying. For so God has commanded us; and among other things, I have set you to be a light for the Gentiles (Acts 13:47). If the Apostle was placed as a light for the Gentiles as a teacher, how much more so the Holy Spirit, who is the illuminator of the Apostle; in whom the Apostle also spoke, according to the Apostle's own words, because no one can say "Jesus is Lord," except in the Holy Spirit (1 Cor. 12:3)? Certainly, the Holy Spirit is the illuminator, who illuminated the Apostle. But the Holy Spirit received from Christ, according to the testimony of Christ himself, as Christ says in the Gospel: I have many things to say to you, but you cannot bear them now: but when he, the Spirit of truth, has come, he will guide you into all truth. For he will not speak on his own, but whatever he hears he will speak, and he will announce to you the things to come. He will glorify me, because he will take from what is mine and announce it to you (John 16:12-14). Therefore, the Holy Spirit received from Christ, according to the testimony of Christ.

Sine dubio autem Christus ipse confitetur quod, Doctrina mea non est mea, sed ejus qui me misit Patris (Joan. VII, 16); et, Quod vidi et audiui apud Patrem meum, loquor (Id. VIII, 38). Sive ergo Christus docens nos illuminat, Pater illuminat qui eum destinavit; sive Spiritus sanctus illuminat, illuminatio ad auctorem recurrit, qui est fons bonitatis: a quo consecutus, sive beatus Apostolus, sive etiam omnes sancti, illuminant quidem credentes, sed haec illuminatio ad unum auctorem recurrit. Et ea de causa dicebat propheta: Dominus illuminatio mea, et salus mea; quem timebo (Psal. XXVI, 1)?

6. AUG. dixit: Ego non nego illuminare Spiritum sanctum; sed utrum et Christus illuminet per se ipsum, et Pater illuminet per se ipsum, an non illuminent isti nisi per Spiritum sanctum: hoc requisivi breviter, hoc requiro.

MAX. respondit: Credo non latere Religionem tuam, beatum dixisse apostolum Paulum, Cum autem benignitas et humanitas apparuit Salvatoris nostri Dei, non ex operibus justitiae quae fecimus nos, sed secundum suam misericordiam salvos nos fecit, per lavacrum regenerationis et renovationis Spiritus sancti, quem effudit in nos abunde, per Jesum Christum Salvatorem nostrum (Tit. III, 4-6). Secundum hanc regulam dico Spiritum sanctum et profiteor illuminatorem per Filium: ut ante dictum est, Quem effudit in nos abunde, per Jesum Christum Salvatorem nostrum. Jam dedi responsum: quoniam sive Paulus illuminat, ad auctorem Deum Patrem recurrit haec illuminatio; sive Spiritus sanctus illuminat, ad auctorem recurrit illuminatio: sive Christus illuminat, ad auctorem recurrit illuminatio. Et hoc magisterio Christi edoctus, prosequor, sicut ait ipse Christus: Oves meae vocem meam audiunt, et sequuntur me; et ego vitam aeternam do eis, et non peribunt in aeternum, et non rapiet eas quisquam de manu mea. Pater meus quod dedit mihi, majus omnibus est, et nemo potest rapere illud de manu Patris mei. Et iterum sic ait: Ego et Pater unum sumus (Joan. X, 27-30). Ergo ad defendendas oves, ad illuminandas, Pater et Filius unum sunt, concordēs atque unanimēs secundum hanc rationem quam audisti, Quoniam nemo potest rapere de manu mea oves quas mihi dedit Pater: simili modo nec de manu Patris.

7. AUG. dixit: Res loqueris necessarias quidem, sed non ad causam. Ad interrogationem meam non respondisti, et tamen multa dixisti. Si velis, relictā quaestione quae inter nos vertitur, reddere totum Evangelium, qui dies sufficiunt, quantum temporis spatium necessarium est? Breviter mihi dic, quoniam interrogavi te, utrum illuminet per se ipsum Christus, an non illuminet nisi per Spiritum sanctum. Non solum ad hoc, respondere noluisti, sed si me non fallit quod audiui, magis Spiritum sanctum per Christum illuminare dixisti.

Without a doubt, however, Christ himself confesses that, My teaching is not mine, but his who sent me, the Father's (John 7:16); and, What I have seen and heard with my Father, I speak (John 8:38). Therefore, whether Christ teaching illuminates us, it is the Father who sent him who illuminates; or whether the Holy Spirit illuminates, the illumination returns to the author, who is the fount of goodness: from whom the blessed Apostle, or indeed all the saints, having received it, do indeed illuminate believers, but this illumination returns to the one author. And for this reason the prophet said: The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear (Psalm 26:1)?

6. AUG. said: I do not deny that the Holy Spirit illuminates; but whether Christ also illuminates by himself, and the Father illuminates by himself, or whether they do not illuminate except through the Holy Spirit: this I have asked briefly, this I ask.

MAX. responded: I believe it is not hidden from Your Religion that the blessed apostle Paul said, But when the kindness and love of God our Savior appeared, not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, through the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Spirit, whom he poured out on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Savior (Titus 3:4-6). According to this rule, I say and profess that the Holy Spirit is the illuminator through the Son: as was said before, Whom he poured out on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Savior. I have now given my answer: for whether Paul illuminates, this illumination returns to the author, God the Father; whether the Holy Spirit illuminates, the illumination returns to the author; whether Christ illuminates, the illumination returns to the author. And taught by this teaching of Christ, I continue, as Christ himself says: My sheep hear my voice, and they follow me; and I give them eternal life, and they shall never perish, and no one will snatch them out of my hand. What my Father has given me is greater than all, and no one can snatch it out of my Father's hand. And again he says thus: I and the Father are one (John 10:27-30). Therefore, for defending the sheep, for illuminating them, the Father and the Son are one, in concord and of one mind according to this reasoning which you have heard, Since no one can snatch from my hand the sheep which the Father has given me: in like manner neither from the hand of the Father.

7. AUG. said: You speak of things that are necessary indeed, but not to the point. You have not answered my question, and yet you have said many things. If you wish, leaving aside the question that is between us, to recite the entire Gospel, what days would suffice, how much time is necessary? Tell me briefly, since I asked you, whether Christ illuminates by himself, or whether he does not illuminate except through the Holy Spirit. Not only did you refuse to answer this, but if what I heard does not deceive me, you have rather said that the Holy Spirit illuminates through Christ.

MAX. respondit: Non decet in religione, praeterea cum de Deo loquamur, calumniam inferre. Ego et responsum dedi, et si non sufficiunt quae diximus, addimus testimonia, quia per Jesum Christum Spiritus sanctus effusus est in omnes credentes. Sic enim legimus beatum Petrum dixisse: Hunc Jesum suscitavit Deus, cujus nos omnes testes sumus. Dextera itaque Dei exaltatus, et promissione Spiritus sancti accepta a Patre, effudit hoc donum quod nunc vos et videtis et auditis (Act. II, 32, 33). Dixi enim quod omnia quaecumque suggerit nobis Spiritus sanctus, a Christo consecutus sit. Recurre ad testimonia ante lata, et invenes ita.

8. AUG. dixit: Cum vis conari probare quod ipse non nego, in rebus superfluis necessarium tempus absumis. Ego non nego per Christum diffusum fuisse super credentes Spiritum sanctum. Sine causa hoc per tantas moras testimoniis probare voluisti, quod ipse confiteor. Ego hoc dixi, hoc quaesivi, hoc iterum dico: utrum Christus per Spiritum sanctum illuminet, an Spiritus sanctus per Christum illuminet; quia dixisti superius per Christum illuminare Spiritum sanctum. Si autem non recolis, recitentur verba tua in Gestis, ut appareat ea nos jussisse recitari, et probabo te dixisse quod quaero.

MAX. respondit: Probatio erat necessaria, si non ipse temetipsum placasses. Jam enim prosecutus es in testimoniis quae protuli, vel in ratione quam dedi, quod et ipse sic habeas. Cum finita sit ergo ista quaestio, propone aliam ad quam tibi respondeam. Nam professus es jam in quaestione ista satisfactum tibi fuisse.

9. AUG. dixit: Dixisti Spiritum sanctum per Christum illuminare, an non dixisti? Rogo te ut unum de duobus breviter mihi respondere digneris. Dixisti, an non dixisti?

MAX. respondit: Ego Spiritum sanctum professus sum secundum Salvatoris magisterium, quia sive illuminat, a Christo accepit; sive docet, a Christo accepit; omnia quaecumque gerit Spiritus sanctus, ab unigenito Deo consecutus est: et si parva sunt testimonia, addo.

10. AUG. dixit: Ne dicat nos calumniari, legantur verba ipsius paulo superius.

Antonius notarius ad locum recitavit: Dico Spiritum sanctum et profiteor illuminatorem per Filium, ut ante dictum est, quem effudit abunde in nos, per Jesum Christum Salvatorem nostrum. Cumque recitatum est:

MAX. replied: It is not fitting in religion, especially when we are speaking of God, to bring slander. I have both given a response, and if what we have said is not sufficient, we add testimonies, because through Jesus Christ the Holy Spirit was poured out upon all believers. For thus we read that the blessed Peter said: This Jesus God has raised up, of which we are all witnesses. Therefore, being exalted at the right hand of God, and having received from the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit, he has poured out this gift which you now both see and hear (Acts 2:32, 33). For I have said that whatever the Holy Spirit suggests to us, he has obtained from Christ. Refer back to the testimonies previously brought forward, and you will find it so.

8. AUG. said: Since you wish to try to prove what I myself do not deny, you are wasting necessary time on superfluous matters. I do not deny that the Holy Spirit was poured out upon believers through Christ. Without cause you have wished to prove with so many lengthy testimonies that which I myself confess. I said this, I asked this, I say it again: whether Christ illuminates through the Holy Spirit, or the Holy Spirit illuminates through Christ; because you said earlier that the Holy Spirit illuminates through Christ. But if you do not recall, let your words be read from the Acts, so that it may be apparent that we ordered them to be read, and I will prove that you said what I am asking about.

MAX. replied: The proof would have been necessary, if you had not yourself been satisfied. For you have already followed up on the testimonies which I brought forth, or on the reasoning which I gave, that you yourself also hold it so. Since this question is therefore finished, propose another to which I may respond to you. For you have already professed that you were satisfied on this question.

9. AUG. said: Did you say that the Holy Spirit illuminates through Christ, or did you not say it? I ask you to deign to answer me briefly one of two things. Did you say it, or did you not say it?

MAX. replied: I have professed the Holy Spirit according to the teaching of the Savior, that whether he illuminates, he has received it from Christ; whether he teaches, he has received it from Christ; all things whatsoever the Holy Spirit does, he has obtained from the only-begotten God: and if the testimonies are few, I will add more.

10. AUG. said: Lest he say that we are slandering him, let his own words from a little earlier be read.

Antonius the notary read from the passage: I say and profess that the Holy Spirit is the illuminator through the Son, as was said before, whom he poured out abundantly upon us, through Jesus Christ our Savior. And when it was read:

MAX. respondit: Ut videtur, ipse potius dilationi studes, ut non ad principalem causam recurramus, sed per totum diem vis argumentis nos in una detinere quaestione. Nos enim recitamus, quod per Filium Spiritus sanctus sit effusus, et non tantum beatum Paulum testem produximus, verum etiam et Petrum priorem Apostolorum. Habet enim prosecutio nostra, quod Spiritus sanctus a Christo accepit, secundum praecedens testimonium: Ille me clarificabit, quia de meo accipiet et annuntiabit vobis. Idem itidem compulsus iterum dico, quia sive illuminat Spiritus sanctus, sive docet, sive instruit, omnia a Christo consecutus est; quia per Christum facta sunt omnia, et sine illo factum est nihil (Joan. I, 3). Christus dicit quia a genitore suo omnia haec consecutus est, et vivit propter Patrem, et omnis lingua confitetur quia Dominus Jesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris (Philipp. II, 11). Et quia omnis viri caput Christus est; caput autem mulieris, vir; caput autem Christi, Deus (I Cor. XI, 3). Et quia Filio Spiritus sanctus est subjectus: et quia Filius Patri est subjectus, ut charissimus, ut obediens, ut bonus a bono genitus. Nec enim Pater contrarium sibi genuit: sed talem genuit, qui etiam clamat et dicit, Ego quae placita sunt Patri, facio semper (Joan. VIII, 29).

11. AUG. dixit: Si et Christus illuminat per Spiritum sanctum, et Spiritus sanctus illuminat per Christum, par potestas est. Lege autem tu mihi subjectum Christo Spiritum sanctum, quod paulo ante dixisti. Quod autem dicis Dominum dixisse de Spiritu sancto, De meo accipiet; ideo dictum est, quia de Patre accepit, et omnia quae sunt Patris, sine dubio et Filii sunt. Nam ipse cum hoc dixisset, adjecit, Ideo dixi, De meo accipiet; quia omnia quae habet Pater, mea sunt (Id. XVI, 14, 15). Dic ergo quod interrogavi, et testimoniis proba, subjectum Christo Spiritum sanctum: cum potius legamus ipsum dicentem, Spiritus Domini super me, propter quod unxit me evangelizare pauperibus (Luc. IV, 18). Si super se ipse dixit Spiritum sanctum, quomodo tu dicis Spiritum sanctum Christo esse subjectum? Dixit autem Christus, super se Spiritum sanctum: non quia super Verbum Dei est, quod est Deus; sed quia super hominem, quod Verbum caro factum est. Ubi enim scriptum est, Verbum caro factum est (Joan. I, 14); nihil aliud est quam, Verbum homo factum est. Quia, Videbit omnis caro salutare Dei (Isai. XL, 5); nihil est aliud quam, Omnis homo. Et, In lege non justificabitur omnis caro (Rom. III, 20); nihil est aliud quam, Omnis homo. Propter quod ergo Verbum caro factum est, et ille semetipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens (Philipp. II, 7), ex ipsa forma servi dixit, Spiritus Domini super me. Nam par potestas est, una substantia est, eadem divinitas.

MAX. replied: As it seems, you yourself are rather eager for delay, so that we do not return to the principal matter, but you wish to detain us with arguments on one question for the whole day. For we recite that the Holy Spirit was poured out through the Son, and we have produced as a witness not only the blessed Paul, but also Peter, the first of the Apostles. For our discourse holds that the Holy Spirit received from Christ, according to the preceding testimony: He will glorify me, because he will take from what is mine and declare it to you. Being compelled, I say the same thing again: that whether the Holy Spirit illuminates, or teaches, or instructs, he has obtained all things from Christ; because through Christ all things were made, and without him was not anything made (John 1:3). Christ says that he has obtained all these things from his Father, and he lives because of the Father, and every tongue confesses that the Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father (Philippians 2:11). And that the head of every man is Christ; and the head of the woman is the man; and the head of Christ is God (1 Corinthians 11:3). And that the Holy Spirit is subject to the Son: and that the Son is subject to the Father, as most beloved, as obedient, as good begotten from good. For the Father did not beget one contrary to himself: but he begot such a one who also cries out and says, I always do what is pleasing to the Father (John 8:29).

11. AUGUSTINE said: If Christ illuminates through the Holy Spirit, and the Holy Spirit illuminates through Christ, their power is equal. But read to me that the Holy Spirit is subject to Christ, which you said a little while ago. As for what you say the Lord said of the Holy Spirit, "He will take from what is mine," this was said because He received from the Father, and all things that are the Father's are, without doubt, also the Son's. For when He had said this, He added, "Therefore I said, 'He will take from what is mine'; for all that the Father has is mine" (John 16:14-15). Therefore, answer what I have asked, and prove by testimonies that the Holy Spirit is subject to Christ, when rather we read Him saying, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor" (Luke 4:18). If He Himself said the Holy Spirit is upon Him, how can you say the Holy Spirit is subject to Christ? But Christ said the Holy Spirit was upon Him, not because He is above the Word of God, who is God, but because He is above the man that the Word was made flesh. For where it is written, "The Word was made flesh" (John 1:14), it is nothing other than "The Word was made man." Because "All flesh shall see the salvation of God" (Isaiah 40:5) is nothing other than "Every man." And, "By the law no flesh will be justified" (Romans 3:20) is nothing other than "Every man." Therefore, because "the Word was made flesh," and He "emptied himself, taking the form of a servant" (Philippians 2:7), it was from that form of a servant that He said, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me." For the power is equal, the substance is one, the divinity is the same.

Ideo quamvis Trinitatem colamus, quia Pater non est Filius, nec Filius est Pater, nec Spiritus sanctus aut Pater aut Filius: tamen unum Deum colimus, quia ipsa Trinitatis ineffabilis et excelsa conjunctio unum Deum ostendit, unum Dominum. Ideoque dictum est: Audi, Israel; Dominus Deus tuus, Dominus unus est (Deut. VI, 4). Quid nobis vultis facere duos deos et duos dominos? Dicitis Dominum Patrem et Deum Patrem, dicitis Dominum Christum et Deum Christum: interrogo, utrum ambo simul unus sit. Respondetis, Duo dii. Superest ut eis et templa et idola faciatis.

MAX. respondit: Religionis auctores nunquam in calumniam vertuntur. Interrogasti testimonia, ut ea quae professus sum testimoniis docerem: et ipse pares atque aequales profiteris tres, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum. Et praeterea cum tres aequales professus sis iterum conversus protulisti quidem testimonium divinarum Scripturarum, non ad aequalitatem pertinens, sed ad singularitatem omnipotentis Dei, quod unus sit omnium auctor. Ergo quia et aetate praecedis, et auctoritate major es, profer, instrue prius testimoniis, quod tres sint aequales, tres omnipotentes, tres innati, tres invisibiles, tres incapabiles: et tunc demum necesse est testimoniis ut acquiescamus. Si quo minus reddere rationem de divinis Scripturis non valueris, necesse me est, ut ad omnia quae in praecedenti dixi: sive enim Patrem solum qui quod vivit a nemine accipiens, sive Filium, quod sum professus, quia quod vivit a Patre accepit, sive de Spiritu sancto quae dixi: etiam quanta desideras testimonia proferam.

12. AUG. dixit: Ego quod quaesivi ut dicere dignareris, non dixisti, quo testimonio probares subjectum Christo Spiritum sanctum: respondeo tamen ad ea quae proposuisti. Sic non dicimus tres omnipotentes, quomodo non dicimus tres deos. Si enim de singulis interrogemur, utrum Deus sit Pater; respondemus, Deus: utrum Deus sit Filius; respondemus, Deus: utrum Deus sit Spiritus sanctus; respondemus, Deus. Cum autem de omnibus interrogati fuerimus, utrum tres sint; referimus nos ad divinam Scripturam dicentem, Audi, Israel; Dominus Deus tuus, Dominus unus est.

Therefore, although we worship the Trinity—because the Father is not the Son, nor is the Son the Father, nor is the Holy Spirit either the Father or the Son—we nevertheless worship one God, because the ineffable and exalted conjunction of the Trinity itself shows one God, one Lord. And therefore it was said: "Hear, O Israel: The Lord your God is one Lord" (Deuteronomy 6:4). Why do you wish to make for us two gods and two lords? You say the Father is Lord and the Father is God; you say Christ is Lord and Christ is God: I ask, are both together one? You answer, "Two gods." It only remains for you to make temples and idols for them.

MAXIMINUS responded: The authors of religion are never turned to calumny. You have asked for testimonies, so that I might teach by testimonies what I have professed; and you yourself profess three to be co-equal and equal: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. And furthermore, although you have professed three to be equal, you have turned again and brought forth a testimony from the divine Scriptures, not pertaining to equality, but to the singularity of almighty God, that He is the one author of all things. Therefore, since you precede in age and are greater in authority, bring forth and first instruct by testimonies that there are three who are equal, three almighty, three unbegotten, three invisible, three incomprehensible; and then at last it will be necessary for us to acquiesce to the testimonies. If you are unable to give an account from the divine Scriptures, it will be necessary for me to bring forth as many testimonies as you desire for all the things I have said before: whether concerning the Father alone, who receives life from no one; or the Son, as I have professed, because He received life from the Father; or what I have said concerning the Holy Spirit.

12. AUGUSTINE said: You have not said what I asked you to deign to say, namely, by what testimony you would prove the Holy Spirit to be subject to Christ; nevertheless, I will respond to the points you have proposed. Thus, we do not speak of three omnipotent beings, just as we do not speak of three gods. For if we are asked about each one individually, whether the Father is God, we answer, "God"; whether the Son is God, we answer, "God"; whether the Holy Spirit is God, we answer, "God". But when we have been asked about all of them together, whether they are three, we refer to the divine Scripture which says, "Hear, O Israel; the Lord your God, the Lord is one."

Et in hac divina praescriptione condiscimus, eandem ipsam Trinitatem unum esse Deum. Sic et de singulis si quaeratur, utrum Pater omnipotens sit; respondemus, Omnipotens: si Filius; hoc idem respondemus: si Spiritus sanctus; nec ipsum negamus omnipotentem. Nec tamen dicimus tres omnipotentes, quomodo non dicimus tres deos: sed sicut simul illi tres unus Deus, sic simul illi tres unus omnipotens est, et invisibilis unus Deus Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus est. Sine causa ergo putas nos numero coarctari, cum divinitatis potentia etiam rationem numeri excedat. Si enim animae multorum hominum accepto Spiritu sancto et quodam modo conflatae igne charitatis unam animam fecerunt, de qua dicit apostolus, Erat enim eis anima et cor unum (Act. IV, 32): tot corda, tot millia cordium, unum cor fecit charitas Spiritus sancti; tot millia animarum unam animam dixit Spiritus sanctus, quam ipse unam animam fecit: quanto magis nos unum Deum dicimus, semper sibi invicem et inseparabiliter et ineffabili charitate cohaerentes Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum?

MAX. respondit: Ac per hoc pares atque aequales dixisti, quod quidem testimoniis docere non valuisti, et ob istam rem ad aliam causam divertisti. Nos enim non diffidimus, sed certa cognoscentes fide, quod erat cor et anima una omnium credentium. Nec enim hoc praejudicat religioni nostrae, sed magis concordat. Sine dubio enim si omnium credentium erat cor et anima una, quare autem non Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus in consensu, in convenientia, in charitate, in unanimitate, unum esse dicantur? Quid enim fecit Filius, quod non placuit Patri? Quid praecepit Pater, in quibus non obtemperavit Filius? Quando enim Spiritus sanctus contraria Christo aut Patri tradidit mandata? Et constat secundum Salvatoris sententiam, quod ait, Ego et Pater unum sumus (Joan. X, 30); esse illos in concordia et in consensu unum. Sicut autem ipse professus es, Pater Pater est, qui nunquam fuit Filius; Filius Filius est, qui semper Filius manet; et Spiritus sanctus Spiritus sanctus est, quod est et quod legimus, profiteamur de Spiritu sancto, in hunc Spiritum sanctum, qui tantus ac talis est, ut etiam Angeli ipsi concupiscant in eum prospicere (I Petr. I, 12). Tantus est iste Spiritus sanctus, ut sufficiat ubique omnium postulationes suscipere, et advocacy fungī.

And from this divine prescription we learn that this same Trinity is one God. So too, if it is asked of each one individually, whether the Father is omnipotent, we answer, "Omnipotent"; if of the Son, we give the same answer; if of the Holy Spirit, we do not deny that he is omnipotent either. And yet we do not say there are three omnipotent beings, just as we do not say there are three gods; but just as those three together are one God, so those three together are one omnipotent being, and the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are one invisible God. Without reason, therefore, do you think that we are constrained by number, when the power of the divinity exceeds even the logic of number. For if the souls of many men, having received the Holy Spirit and been fused, as it were, by the fire of charity, made one soul, of which the apostle says, "For they had one soul and one heart" (Acts 4:32)—so many hearts, so many thousands of hearts, the charity of the Holy Spirit made one heart; so many thousands of souls, the Holy Spirit called one soul, which he himself made one soul—how much more do we call the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit one God, who are always mutually, inseparably, and with ineffable charity coherent with each other?

MAXIMINUS replied: And by this you have said they are peers and equals, a thing you were not able to prove with testimonies, and for that reason you have diverted to another matter. For we do not lack confidence, but know with sure faith that there was one heart and one soul for all believers. For this does not prejudice our religion, but rather agrees with it. For without doubt, if all believers had one heart and one soul, why then should not the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit be said to be one in consent, in harmony, in charity, in unanimity? For what did the Son do that did not please the Father? What did the Father command in which the Son did not obey? For when did the Holy Spirit deliver commands contrary to Christ or the Father? And it is established according to the Savior's statement, when he says, "I and the Father are one" (John 10:30), that they are one in concord and in consent. But as you yourself have professed, the Father is Father, who was never the Son; the Son is Son, who always remains the Son; and the Holy Spirit is the Holy Spirit, which is what we also read and profess concerning the Holy Spirit, this Holy Spirit, who is so great and of such a nature that even the Angels themselves long to look into him (1 Peter 1:12). So great is this Holy Spirit that he is sufficient everywhere to receive the petitions of all and to act as an advocate.

Et in hoc testem profero beatum Paulum, qui ait, Nam quid oremus, sicut oportet, nescimus; sed ipse Spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus (Rom. VIII, 26). Quod lego credo, quia gemitibus inenarrabilibus postulat Spiritus sanctus. Et ideo isto eruditus magisterio in tantum dico subjectum esse Spiritum sanctum, ut gemitibus postulet pro nobis. Unum autem profiteor Deum, non ut tres unus sit; sed unus Deus est, incomparabilis, immensus, infinitus, innatus, invisibilis, quem et Filius ipse et oravit et orat, apud quem et Spiritus sanctus advocacy fungitur. Nam quia orat Filius Patrem; quamvis enim soleatis omnia illa testimonia quae in sancto legimus Evangelio, corpori applicare; attamen nostrum est perscrutatis divinis Scripturis ostendere, quia et nunc sedens ad dexteram Patris interpellat pro nobis. Ea enim de causa dixi, et oravit et orat; quia nunc utique interpellat pro nobis, sicut ait Apostolus: Quis accusabit adversus electos Dei? Deus qui justificat? Quis est qui condemnet? Christus qui mortuus est, imo magis qui et resurrexit, qui et est in dextera Dei, qui et interpellat pro nobis (Ibid., 33, 34)? Aequae cum discipulis positus Christus, sic se rogaturum promisit, dicens: Si diligitis me, mandata mea servate; et ego rogabo Patrem, et alium advocatum dabit vobis, ut vobiscum sit in aeternum, Spiritum veritatis, quem hic mundus accipere non potest, quoniam non videt eum, nec novit eum: vos autem vidistis eum, et cognoscitis eum, quia apud vos manet, et in vobis est (Joan. XIV, 15-17). Si sufficiunt haec, bene est: si quominus, addam quanta jubet testimonia.

13. AUG. dixit: Ea quae nos confitemur, nobis probare non debes. Hoc enim faciendo, nihil aliud, sicut superius dixi, quam necessarium tempus absumis. Scimus Filium Dei Filium esse Dei: scimus a se ipso non esse, sed genitum esse a Patre. Patrem vero ipsum ingentum esse, a nullo esse, a nullo vitam accepisse: Filium vero a Patre accepisse vitam, sed non ita tanquam fuerit aliquando sine vita, ut acciperet vitam. Dedit enim ei vitam, gignendo vitam: gignendo cum vitam, dedit ei vitam. Aequalitatem autem ostendit dicendo: Sicut habet Pater vitam in semetipso, sic dedit et Filio vitam habere in semetipso (Joan. V, 26). Vitam in semetipso habet Pater; aequalem vitae Patris vitam in se habet Filius: sed tamen Filius a se ipso vitam non accipit, quia non a se ipso natus est, a Patre natus est. Gignendo dedit, non quia jam erat Filius sine vita, et dedit ei vitam, quomodo nos peccatores facti sumus sine vita, et per indulgentiam et gratiam accepimus vitam: ille vitam accepit a Patre, quia vita natus est a Patre.

And on this point I bring forward the blessed Paul as a witness, who says, "For we do not know what to pray for as we ought, but the Spirit himself intercedes for us with groanings that cannot be uttered" (Romans 8:26). What I read, I believe: that the Holy Spirit intercedes with groanings that cannot be uttered. And therefore, instructed by this teaching, I say that the Holy Spirit is subject to such an extent that he intercedes for us with groanings. But I profess one God, not that the three are one; but there is one God, incomparable, immense, infinite, unbegotten, invisible, to whom the Son himself both has prayed and does pray, and with whom the Holy Spirit acts as an advocate. For the Son prays to the Father; for although you are accustomed to apply all those testimonies that we read in the holy Gospel to his body, it is nevertheless our task, by searching the divine Scriptures, to show that even now, sitting at the right hand of the Father, he intercedes for us. For this reason I said, "he has prayed and he does pray"; because now he certainly intercedes for us, as the Apostle says: "Who will bring any charge against God's elect? It is God who justifies. Who is to condemn? Christ Jesus is the one who died—more than that, who was raised—who is at the right hand of God, who indeed is interceding for us" (Romans 8:33-34)? Likewise, when Christ was with his disciples, he promised that he would ask thus, saying: "If you love me, keep my commandments; and I will ask the Father, and he will give you another advocate, to be with you forever, the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it neither sees him nor knows him: but you have seen him, and you know him, for he dwells with you, and will be in you" (John 14:15-17). If these things are sufficient, it is well; if not, I will add as many testimonies as you command.

13. AUGUSTINE said: You should not have to prove to us those things which we confess. For in doing this, you are doing nothing else, as I said above, than wasting necessary time. We know the Son of God is the Son of God: we know that He is not from Himself, but was begotten by the Father. But we know that the Father Himself is unbegotten, is from no one, has received life from no one; whereas the Son has received life from the Father, but not in such a way that He was ever without life in order to receive life. For He gave Him life by begetting life: in begetting Him as life, He gave Him life. Moreover, He shows their equality by saying: "As the Father has life in Himself, so He has granted the Son also to have life in Himself" (John 5:26). The Father has life in Himself; the Son has in Himself a life equal to the life of the Father: yet the Son did not receive life from Himself, because He was not born of Himself, He was born of the Father. By begetting He gave, not because the Son already existed without life and He gave Him life—in the way that we sinners were made without life and through indulgence and grace received life—but He received life from the Father because He was born as life from the Father.

Ac per hoc tu non potuisti dicere subjectum esse Filio Spiritum sanctum, nisi quia gemitibus interpellat pro nobis. Videtur enim tibi illa perfectio sanctitatis in gemitibus semper esse, nec respirare a gemendo. O aeterna miseria! Intellige locutionem, et blasphemiam devitabis. Sic enim dictum est, Gemitibus interpellat; ut intelligeremus, Gemitibus interpellare nos facit. Adest enim nobis, et infundendo charitatem nobis, facit nos interpellare gemitibus. Denique alio loco cum dicit Apostolus, Clamantem, Abba, Pater (Galat. IV, 6); alio loco dicit, In quo clamamus, Abba, Pater (Rom. VIII, 15): exposuit quid sit, Clamantem, Abba, Pater; dicendo, In quo clamamus. Ac per hoc quid est, Clamantem, nisi, clamare facientem? Do exemplum locutionis hujus. Nonne Deus est omnium praescius futurorum? Quis hoc negabit insanus? Tamen ait Apostolus, Nunc autem cognoscentes Deum, imo cogniti a Deo (Galat. IV, 9). Si nunc eos cognovit Deus, non eos noverat, non elegerat, non praedestinaverat ante mundi constitutionem. Sed sic dixit, Nunc autem cognoscentes Deum, imo cogniti a Deo; ut intelligerent Deum fecisse in eis cognitionem suam. Cognoscentes Deum. Quid est, Cognoscentes Deum? Nolite vobis arrogare, nolite superbire: Cogniti estis a Deo. Quid est, cogniti estis a Deo? Cognitores suos Deus vos fecit: Deus vobis dedit ut cognoscatis. Quomodo est et illud Domini: Nunc cognovi, dicit Abrahae Dominus, Nunc cognovi quoniam timeas Dominum (Gen. XXII, 12). Quando attulit filium suum ad holocaustum Abraham, dicit ei Deus, Nunc cognovi. Ipsa est tota Dei praescientia? tunc cognovit, quando dixit, Nunc cognovi? Sed quid est, Nunc cognovi? Id est, Nunc cognoscere te feci. Si ergo has locutiones sicut Libris divinis eruditus agnosceres, de gemitibus illis quibus dictum est gemitibus interpellare Spiritum sanctum, non eum faceres miserum. Quid enim est aliud, semper gemens, quam semper miser? Ideo nos gemimus, quia miseri sumus. Et gratias Spiritui sancto, quia charitate aeterni saeculi facit nos gemere, propter quod dictus est gemens. Facit nos clamare propter quod dictus est clamans. Facit nos cognoscere Deum, propter quod dictum est, Imo cogniti a Deo. Facit Abraham Deus cognoscentem, propter quod ei dixit, Nunc cognovi.

MAX. respondit: In quibus nos reprehendis, in ipsis ipse detegeris. Certum est enim, et divina nos monet Scriptura, quod ex multiloquio non effugies peccatum; parcens autem labiis, sapiens eris (Prov. X, 19). Quamvis etiam etsi per totum diem quisque de divinis Scripturis proferat testimonia, non in verbositate illi imputabitur revera : quod si aut litteraria arte usus, aut expressione spiritus sui quisque concinnet verba quae non continent sanctae Scripturae; et otiosa sunt et superflua.

And for this reason you could not say that the Holy Spirit is subject to the Son, except because He intercedes for us with groanings. For it seems to you that this perfection of holiness consists in always groaning, and never taking a breath from groaning. O eternal misery! Understand the expression, and you will avoid blasphemy. For thus it is said, "He intercedes with groanings," so that we might understand, "He makes us intercede with groanings." For He is present with us, and by infusing charity into us, He makes us intercede with groanings. Finally, in another place when the Apostle says, "crying, 'Abba, Father'" (Gal. 4:6), in another place he says, "in whom we cry, 'Abba, Father'" (Rom. 8:15): he explained what "crying, 'Abba, Father'" means by saying, "in whom we cry." And therefore what is "crying," if not "making to cry"? I give an example of this expression. Is not God foreknowing of all future things? What madman will deny this? Yet the Apostle says, "But now that you have come to know God, or rather to be known by God" (Gal. 4:9). If God knew them now, He had not known them, had not chosen them, had not predestined them before the foundation of the world. But he said, "But now that you have come to know God, or rather to be known by God," so that they might understand that God had produced in them the knowledge of Himself. "Knowing God." What is "knowing God"? Do not be arrogant, do not be proud: "You are known by God." What is "you are known by God"? God has made you knowers of Himself: God has given you the ability to know. In the same way is that saying of the Lord: "Now I know," says the Lord to Abraham, "Now I know that you fear the Lord" (Gen. 22:12). When Abraham brought his son for a burnt offering, God says to him, "Now I know." Is this the whole of God's foreknowledge? Did He come to know then, when He said, "Now I know"? But what is "Now I know"? It means, "Now I have made you to know." Therefore, if you, as one learned in the divine Books, recognized these expressions, you would not make the Holy Spirit miserable on account of those groanings with which it is said the Holy Spirit intercedes. For what else is "always groaning" than "always miserable"? We groan for this reason, because we are miserable. And thanks be to the Holy Spirit, because by the charity of the eternal age He makes us groan, on account of which He is said to be groaning. He makes us cry out, on account of which He is said to be crying out. He makes us know God, on account of which it is said, "Or rather to be known by God." God makes Abraham knowing, on account of which He said to him, "Now I know."

MAX. replied: In those things for which you reprehend us, you yourself are exposed. For it is certain, and divine Scripture warns us, that "from much speaking you will not escape sin; but by refraining your lips, you will be wise" (Proverbs 10:19). Although, even if someone were to bring forth testimonies from the divine Scriptures all day long, it would not truly be imputed to him as verbosity: but if anyone, using either literary art or the expression of his own spirit, should compose words which the holy Scriptures do not contain, they are both idle and superfluous.

Sufficit mihi, qui ad istam regulam te adduxi, ut profitearis quod Pater Pater est, quia innatus est, quia a nemine accepit vitam; et quia Filius a Patre consecutus est vitam; et quia Spiritus sanctus Spiritus sanctus est. Dicendo autem unum Deum, bene quidem faceres, si confitendo unum Deum, non Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum unum diceres Deum, contra tuam sententiam veniens.

A nobis unus colitur Deus, innatus, infectus, invisibilis, qui ad humana contagia et ad humanam carnem non descendit. Est autem et Filius secundum Apostolum, non pusillus, sed magnus Deus: sicut ait beatus Paulus, Expectantes beatam spem et adventum gloriae magni Dei et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi (Tit. II, 13). Iste enim magnus Deus Christus dicit, quod ascendo ad Patrem meum et Patrem vestrum, Deum meum et Deum vestrum (Joan. XX, 17). De sua enim subiectione unum statuit Deum. Iste est ergo unus Deus, ut jam recitavimus testimoniis, quem Christus et Spiritus sanctus adorant, et omnis creatura veneratur et colit: hac ratione unum profitemur. Non tamen quod copulatio vel permistio Filii cum Patre, aut vel certe Spiritus sancti cum Filio vel cum Patre, faciat unum Deum. Sed quia ille solus unus perfectus est Deus, qui, ut ipse prosecutus es, vitam a nemine accepit, qui Filio dedit suo exemplo habere vitam in semetipso: copulatos quidem dicimus in charitate et in concordia.

Jam ut superius reddidimus rationem, alterum esse Patrem, et non ipsum Filium, ipse nos instruit Salvator, dicendo: Si ego testimonium dico de me, testimonium meum non est verum; alius est qui testificatur de me. Et ne praesumptorio spiritu quidam putarent, quod aut de Joanne Baptista dixerit alium, aut forte de Petro apostolo vel Paulo; ipse prosecutus est: Vos misistis ad Joannem, et testimonium reddidit veritati. Ego autem testimonium ab homine non accipio: sed haec dico, ut vos salvemini. Ille, inquit, lucerna fuit ardens et lucens; vos autem voluistis ad horam exultare in lumine ejus. Ego autem habeo testimonium majus Joanne. Opera quae dedit mihi Pater ut perficiam ea, ipsa opera quae ego facio, testificantur de me, quia Pater me misit. Et qui misit me Pater, ipse testificatur de me (Id. V, 31-37). Quis tam stultus est, ut non intelligat quoniam alius de alio testimonium perhibuit, Pater de Filio, qui utique et dicebat: Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo bene complacui; ipsum audite (Matth. XVII, 5)?

Dilectum lego, et credo quod Pater est qui diligit, et Filius qui diligitur. Unigenitum audio Christum, et non dubito quia unus ab uno est genitus. Primogenitum Paulus clamat, dicens: Qui est imago Dei invisibilis, primogenitus universae creaturae.

It is sufficient for me, who have brought you to this rule, that you profess that the Father is Father because He is unbegotten (*innatus*), because He received life from no one; and that the Son obtained life from the Father; and that the Holy Spirit is Holy Spirit. But in saying "one God," you would indeed do well, if, in confessing one God, you did not say that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are one God, thus contradicting your own opinion.

By us one God is worshipped, unbegotten (*innatus*), unmade (*infectus*), invisible, who did not descend to human contagions and to human flesh. But the Son is also, according to the Apostle, not a lesser, but a great God: as the blessed Paul says, "Awaiting the blessed hope and the coming of the glory of the great God and our Savior Jesus Christ" (Titus 2:13). For this great God, Christ, says, "I am ascending to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God" (John 20:17). For by His own subjection, He establishes one God. This, therefore, is the one God, as we have already recited with testimonies, whom Christ and the Holy Spirit adore, and every creature venerates and worships: for this reason we profess one. Not, however, that a coupling or mingling of the Son with the Father, or certainly of the Holy Spirit with the Son or with the Father, makes one God. But because He alone is the one perfect God, who, as you yourself have stated, received life from no one, who gave to the Son by His own example to have life in Himself: we do indeed say they are united in charity and in concord.

Now, as we have given the reason above, that the Father is one and not the Son Himself, the Savior Himself instructs us, saying: "If I bear witness of myself, my testimony is not true; there is another who testifies of me." And lest some, with a presumptuous spirit, should think that He said "another" either of John the Baptist, or perhaps of the apostle Peter or Paul, He Himself continued: "You sent to John, and he bore witness to the truth." "But I do not receive testimony from man: but I say these things that you may be saved." "He," He said, "was a burning and shining lamp; and you were willing for a time to rejoice in his light." "But I have a testimony greater than John's." "The works which the Father has given me to accomplish, the very works that I do, testify of me, that the Father has sent me." "And the Father who sent me, He Himself testifies of me" (John 5:31-37). Who is so foolish as not to understand that one testified of another, the Father of the Son, who also indeed said: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear him" (Matthew 17:5)?

I read "beloved," and I believe that it is the Father who loves, and the Son who is loved. I hear Christ called "only-begotten," and I do not doubt that one was begotten from one. Paul proclaims Him "firstborn," saying: "Who is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation."

Et profiteor secundum sententiam divinarum Scripturarum, quod est Filius primogenitus, et non ingenuus: et quia in illo creata sunt omnia quae sunt in coelis, et quae sunt in terra, visibilia et invisibilia, sive Throni, sive Dominationes, sive Principatus, sive Potestates; omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et in ipso creata sunt; et ipse est ante omnes, et omnia in ipso constant (Coloss. I, 15-17): et iste Filius Dei, Deus unigenitus, cum sit ante omnes. Ipse enim dicit: Quod vidi apud Patrem meum, loquor (Joan. VIII, 38). Iste Filius etiam, quod vos carni ascribitis, in sancto ait Evangelio: Si diligereis me, gauderetis utique, quoniam vado ad Patrem; quoniam Pater major me est (Joan. XIV, 28). Ista enim legentes credimus, et profitemur secundum Apostolum, quod ei omnia subjecta sint ut magno Deo (I Cor. XV, 25). Iste enim magnus Deus, quem talem genuit Pater, ut ipse persecutus es, utique majorem Patrem confessus est, ut statuatur illum unum Deum, in cuius et sinu describitur a Joanne evangelista. Audi utique ipsum clamantem et dicentem de invisibilitate omnipotentis Dei, quod Deum nemo vidit unquam; unigenitus Filius qui est in sinu Patris ipse narravit (Joan. I, 18). Hinc instructus Paulus clamat, et dicit: Beatus et solus potens, Rex regum et Dominus dominantium; qui solus habet immortalitatem, et lucem habitat inaccessibilem; quem vidit hominum nemo, neque videre potest; cui honor et potestas in saecula. Amen (I Tim. VI, 15, 16). De hoc iterum dicit: Soli sapienti Deo, per Jesum Christum, cui gloria in saecula. Amen (Rom. XVI, 27). Et ideo unus Deus a nobis pronuntiatur, quia unus est super omnia Deus innatus, infectus, ut persecuti sumus.

Filium autem natum si Paulo non credis dicenti, primogenitum universae creaturae: vel ipsi Filio crede dicenti ad Pilatum, cum ei diceret, Ergo tu rex es? Ait Christus, Ego in hoc natus sum (Joan. XVIII, 37). Natum lego, profiteor quod lego: primogenitum lego, non discredito: unigenitum lego, etiamsi ad equuleum suspendar, aliter non sum dicturus: quod docent nos sanctae Scripturae, profiteor.

Tu enim qui dicis quod unus sit Pater et Filius, dic Patrem unigenitum, dic primogenitum: dic quae sunt Patris in Filio, dic Filium unigenitum, dic innatum, dic quia nemo eum vidit unquam, neque videre potest. Prosequere de Spiritu sancto talia qualia de Patre legimus, ut aequalem ostendas Spiritum sanctum Patri. Dic, rogo, habe me discipulum. Prosequere de Filio, quod Filius sit innatus, quod sit sine origine. Si aequalis, utique talis: si talis, utique innatus: si innatus, utique nec vidit eum quisquam hominum. Da testimonia, et instrue, et doce, et habebis me discipulum.

And I profess according to the meaning of the divine Scriptures, that the Son is first-born, and not unbegotten (*ingenitus*); and that "in him all things were created that are in heaven and that are on earth, visible and invisible, whether Thrones, or Dominions, or Principalities, or Powers; all things were made through him, and were created in him; and he is before all, and in him all things consist" (Colossians 1:15-17): and this Son of God, the only-begotten God, is before all. For He Himself says: "What I have seen with my Father, I speak" (John 8:38). This Son also, a point which you ascribe to the flesh, says in the holy Gospel: "If you loved me, you would certainly rejoice, because I am going to the Father; for the Father is greater than I" (John 14:28). For reading these things, we believe and profess according to the Apostle, that all things are subject to Him as to a great God (cf. 1 Corinthians 15:25). For this great God, whom the Father begot as such, as you yourself have stated, certainly confessed the Father to be greater, so as to establish Him as the one God, in whose bosom He is also described by John the Evangelist. Hear Him indeed crying out and speaking of the invisibility of the omnipotent God, that "No one has ever seen God; the only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, He has declared Him" (John 1:18). Instructed by this, Paul cries out and says: "The blessed and only Sovereign, the King of kings and Lord of lords; who alone has immortality, and dwells in unapproachable light; whom no man has seen, nor can see; to whom be honor and power forever. Amen" (1 Timothy 6:15-16). Of Him he says again: "To the only wise God, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory forever. Amen" (Romans 16:27). And therefore one God is proclaimed by us, because there is one God over all, unbegotten, unmade, as we have stated.

But if you do not believe Paul when he says the Son was born, the firstborn of all creation, then believe the Son Himself when He said to Pilate, who asked Him, "So you are a king?" Christ said, "For this I was born" (John 18:37). I read "born," I profess what I read: I read "firstborn," I do not disbelieve: I read "only-begotten," and even if I were to be hung on the rack, I would not say otherwise: what the holy Scriptures teach us, I profess.

For you who say that the Father and the Son are one, call the Father 'only-begotten,' call Him 'firstborn'; say what things of the Father are in the Son; call the Son 'only-begotten,' call Him 'unbegotten,' say that no one has ever seen Him, nor can see Him. Set forth concerning the Holy Spirit such things as we read of the Father, so that you may show the Holy Spirit to be equal to the Father. Speak, I ask, and have me as a disciple. Set forth concerning the Son, that the Son is unbegotten, that He is without origin. If equal, then certainly such as He: if such as He, then certainly unbegotten: if unbegotten, then certainly no man has seen Him. Give testimonies, and instruct, and teach, and you will have me as a disciple.

14. AUG. dixit: A vobis unum Deum coli dixisti, sicut te loquente advertere potui: consequens est ut aut non colatis Christum, aut non unum Deum colatis, sed duos. Dixisti etiam de Patre, quod ad humana contagia et ad humanam carnem non descenderit. Si forte nescis, contagia ubi dicuntur, aliquam contaminationem significant: voluisti ergo Christum intelligi venisse ad humana contagia: ergo humana carne inquinatum professus es Christum. Ego autem dico, imo catholica fides, quam cum Ecclesia Christi teneo, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum sic factum esse Verbum carnem, ut nulla de humano genere et de humana carne contagia pateretur. Venit enim mundare, non coinquinari. Suscepit ergo animam humanam, et carnem humanam sine ulla peste contagii: et utrumque, id est et animam humanam et carnem humanam, in se ipso salvare dignatus est. Sed quia de ejus invisibilitate veritati, quantum video, non vis acquiescere, rogo ut cogites secundum carnem et secundum hominem fuisse visibilem Christum. Nam secundum id quod Verbum est Deus apud Deum, et ipse invisibilis est. Sapientia Dei est Christus: humana sapientia invisibilis est; et Dei sapientia visibilis erit? Quantum ergo attinet ad illam naturam in qua aequalis est Patri, pariter est Deus, pariter omnipotens, pariter invisibilis, pariter immortalis. Dixisti etiam, quantum adverti, sic accipiendum esse quod ait Apostolus, Qui solus habet immortalitatem (I Tim. VI, 16); ut in hac sententia solus Pater accipi debeat. Ergo Verbum Dei mortale vis esse? Sapientia Dei non est immortalis secundum te. Non intelligis quia non potuisset ullo modo mori Filius, nisi carnem mortalem suscepisset a nobis? Denique caro in illo mortua est, non ipse mortuus est quantum ad Deum pertinet, quantum ad divinitatem attinet, qua aequalis est Patri. Sic enim hominibus ait, Nolite timere eos qui corpus occidunt, et postea non habent quid faciant (Luc. XII, 4): quia anima mori non potest; Verbum Dei mori potest? Sapientia Dei mori potest? Unigenitus ille non assumpta carne mori potuit? Assumpta autem carne qua factus est homo, sicut aequalem se novit quando dicit, Ego et Pater unum sumus (Joan. X, 30); sic se novit minorem, quia Verbum caro Factum est, et habitavit in nobis (Id. I, 14). Non rapinam arbitratus est esse aequalis Deo. Natura enim erat, non rapina: non enim usurpavit hoc, sed natus est hoc. Verumtamen semetipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens: agnovisti aequalem, jam incipe agnoscere minorem: formam servi accipiens, in similitudinem hominum factus, et habitu inventus ut homo (Philipp. II, 6, 7).

14. AUGUSTINE said: You said that one God is worshiped by you, as I was able to discern while you were speaking: it follows, therefore, that you either do not worship Christ, or you do not worship one God, but two. You also said of the Father, that He did not descend to human contagions and to human flesh. In case you do not know, where "contagions" are spoken of, they signify some contamination: you wished it to be understood, therefore, that Christ came to human contagions: therefore you have professed that Christ was defiled by human flesh. But I say—indeed, the Catholic faith, which I hold with the Church of Christ, says—that our Lord Jesus Christ was so made the Word flesh that He suffered no contagions from the human race and from human flesh. For He came to cleanse, not to be defiled. He therefore took up a human soul and human flesh without any plague of contagion: and He deigned to save both, that is, both the human soul and the human flesh, in Himself. But since, as far as I can see, you are unwilling to acquiesce to the truth concerning His invisibility, I ask you to consider that Christ was visible according to the flesh and according to His humanity. For according to that by which He is the Word, God with God, He Himself is also invisible. Christ is the Wisdom of God: human wisdom is invisible; and will the Wisdom of God be visible? Therefore, as far as pertains to that nature in which He is equal to the Father, He is equally God, equally omnipotent, equally invisible, equally immortal. You also said, as far as I noticed, that what the Apostle says, "Who alone has immortality" (1 Tim. 6:16), should be understood in such a way that in this statement, the Father alone should be understood. Do you therefore wish the Word of God to be mortal? According to you, the Wisdom of God is not immortal. Do you not understand that the Son could in no way have died, unless He had taken on mortal flesh from us? In short, the flesh died in Him; He Himself did not die, insofar as pertains to God, insofar as pertains to the divinity by which He is equal to the Father. For thus He says to men, "Do not fear those who kill the body, and after that have nothing more that they can do" (Luke 12:4): because the soul cannot die; can the Word of God die? Can the Wisdom of God die? Could that Only-Begotten One have died without having assumed flesh? But having assumed the flesh by which He was made man, just as He knows Himself to be equal when He says, "I and the Father are one" (John 10:30), so He knows Himself to be lesser, because "the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us" (John 1:14). "He did not consider it robbery to be equal with God." For it was His by nature, not by robbery: for He did not usurp this, but was born this. "Nevertheless, He emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant": you have acknowledged the equal, now begin to acknowledge the lesser: "taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and in habit found as a man" (Phil. 2:6-7).

Ecce qua forma major est Pater: discerne dispensationem suscepti hominis a manente immortaliter divinitate, et non erras in verbis, quae multum amas dicere, et ea non dignaris sapere. Profiteor autem, sicut dicis Patrem innatum, Filium natum. Sed non ideo sunt diversae naturae atque substantiae, quia ille non natus est, ille natus est. Etenim si natus est, Filius est: si Filius est, verus Filius est, quia unigenitus est. Nam et nos dicti sumus filii: sed numquid unigeniti sumus tot filii? Aliter ille Filius unigenitus: ille natura Filius, nos gratia filii: ille unigenitus de Patre natus, hoc est quod Pater secundum naturam, secundum substantiam. Qui autem dicit eum propterea quia natus est, ideo alterius esse naturae, negat verum filium. Habemus autem Scripturam: Ut simus in vero Filio ejus Jesu Christo; ipse est Deus verus et vita aeterna (I Joan. V, 20). Quare verus Deus? Quia verus Dei Filius. Si enim animalibus dedit ut non generent nisi quod sunt; homo hominem generat, canis canem, et Deus Deum non generat? Si ergo ejusdem substantiae est, quare dicis minorem? An forte, quia homo pater quando generat filium, etsi homo hominem generat, tamen major minorem generat? Expectemus ergo ut crescat Christus, quomodo crescunt homines quos generant homines. Si autem Christus ex quo natus est, quod non est a tempore, sed ab aeternitate, quod est hoc est, et tamen minor est; melior est humana conditio: quia homo vel crescere potest, et aliquando venire habet ad aetatem patris sui, ad robur patris sui; ille, nunquam: quomodo verus filius? Usque adeo autem Filium agnoscimus Deum magnum, ut Patri dicamus aequalem. Itaque sine causa nobis, quod valde profitemur, testimoniis et multiloquio probare voluisti. Dicit autem, Deum meum et Deum vestrum (Joan. XX, 17); attendens formam hominis in qua erat. Caeterum quantum attinet ad illud quod dixit Joannes, In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum (Id. I, 1); non est Pater Dei Deus, sed Deus est Christi, quia Christus factus est homo. Unde et ipse dicit in Psalmis, cur illi sit Pater Deus: De ventre matris meae Deus meus es tu (Psal. XXI. 11).

Behold in what form the Father is greater: distinguish the dispensation of the assumed humanity from the immortally remaining divinity, and you will not err in the words which you love so much to say, and which you do not deign to understand. I profess, however, as you say, that the Father is unbegotten, the Son begotten. But they are not for that reason of a different nature and substance, because the one is not begotten, the other is begotten. For if He is begotten, He is a Son: if He is a Son, He is a true Son, because He is the only-begotten. For we too are called sons: but are we, so many sons, only-begotten? That Only-Begotten Son is different: He is Son by nature, we are sons by grace: He is the only-begotten, born of the Father, that is, what the Father is according to nature, according to substance. But he who says that He is of another nature for the reason that He was begotten, denies a true son. But we have the Scripture: "That we may be in His true Son, Jesus Christ; He is the true God and eternal life" (1 John 5:20). Why true God? Because He is the true Son of God. For if He gave to animals that they should not beget anything other than what they are; a man begets a man, a dog a dog, and does God not beget God? If, therefore, He is of the same substance, why do you say He is lesser? Or is it perhaps because a human father, when he begets a son, although a man begets a man, yet the greater begets the lesser? Shall we then wait for Christ to grow, as men whom men beget grow? But if Christ, from the moment He was begotten—which is not from time, but from eternity—is what He is, and yet is lesser, then the human condition is better: because a man can at least grow, and is destined to come someday to the age of his father, to the strength of his father; He, never: how then is He a true son? We, however, acknowledge the Son to be so great a God that we declare Him equal to the Father. Therefore, you have wished to prove to us, with testimonies and much speaking, something we strongly profess, and for no reason. But He says, "My God and your God" (John 20:17), referring to the form of man in which He was. Moreover, as for that which John said, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God" (John 1:1), the Father is not the God of God, but God is the God of Christ, because Christ was made man. Whence He Himself also says in the Psalms why the Father is God to Him: "From my mother's womb you are my God" (Ps. 21:11).

Quando dicit de ventre matris sibi illum esse Deum, ostendit propter hoc esse Deum Patrem Filio, quia homo est Filius, secundum quod Pater major est Filio. Unde dicit, Deum meum et Deum vestrum. Inde est et illa subjectio quam non debemus mirari secundum hominem redditam Patri, quando, sicut scriptum est, etiam parentibus subditus erat (Luc. II, 51): et de illo scriptum est, Minorasti eum paulo minus ab Angelis (Psal. VIII, 6). Vellem autem hoc etiam aliquibus Scripturarum testimoniis doceres nos, ubi legatur adorari Patrem a Spiritu sancto. A Filio autem accipio, etiamsi non proferas testimonia, quoniam homo adorat Deum : admittitur facile, secundum hominem dictum, quamvis nec hoc legas. Tamen specialiter de te exigo, ut adoratum Patrem a Spiritu sancto legas nobis, aut commemores testimonium divinum: fortassis enim sit, sed me fugiat: ut si inveneris, respondeam quomodo id accipi debeat, sicut de gemitibus Scripturarum solemni locutione respondi. Quod autem dicis, quod per illam copulationem ineffabilem non sit unus Deus Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus; vis nosse quantum valeat ista copulatio? Non ex locutionibus nostris, sed ex divinis eloquiis certe manifestum est, aliud esse spiritum hominis, aliud esse spiritum Dominum; unde dicitur, Dominus spiritus est (II Cor. III, 17), id est, quia corpus non est: et tamen ait Apostolus, Qui adhaeret meretrici, unum corpus est; qui autem adhaeret Domino unus spiritus est (I Cor. VI, 16, 17). Si ergo ista adhaesio diversarum naturarum spiritus (quia aliud est hominis, aliud Dei) fecit unum spiritum; non vis ut tantum adhaereat Patri Filius, ut sit unus Deus? Hoc accipe etiam de Spiritu sancto, qui Deus est. Caeterum si Deus Spiritus sanctus non esset, templum utique nos ipsos non haberet. Scriptum est quippe in Apostolo, Nescitis quia templum Dei estis, et Spiritus Dei habitat in vobis (I Cor. III, 16)? Et iterum, Nescitis quia corpora vestra templum in vobis est Spiritus sancti, quem habetis a Deo (Id. VI, 19)? Nonne si templum alicui sancto angelo excellentissimo de lignis et lapidibus faceremus, anathemamur a veritate Christi et ab Ecclesia Dei; quoniam creaturae exhiberemus eam servitutem, quae uni tantum debetur Deo? Si ergo sacrilegi essemus faciendo templum cuicumque creaturae, quomodo non est Deus verus cui non templum facimus, sed nos ipsi templum sumus? Quomodo autem dixerit Christus, Sicut habet Pater vitam in semetipso, sic dedit Filio habere vitam in semetipso (Joan. V, 26), superius respondi. Concordia autem et charitate, quia dicis factum fuisse ut unum sint Pater et Filius; quando mihi protuleris dictum esse quod unum sint quae sunt diversae substantiae, tunc cogitabo quid debeam respondere.

When He says that from His mother's womb He is God to Him, He shows that for this reason God the Father is God to the Son, because the Son is man, according to which the Father is greater than the Son. Hence He says, "My God and your God." From this also comes that subjection, which we should not be surprised was rendered to the Father according to His humanity, since, as it is written, He was also subject to His parents (Luke 2:51): and of Him it is written, "You have made him a little lower than the Angels" (Ps. 8:6). I would wish, however, that you would also teach us this with some testimonies from the Scriptures, where it may be read that the Father is adored by the Holy Spirit. From the Son, however, I accept it, even if you do not produce testimonies, since man adores God: it is easily admitted, spoken of according to His humanity, although you do not read this either. Nevertheless, I demand of you specifically that you read to us, or recall a divine testimony, of the Father being adored by the Holy Spirit: for perhaps it exists, but escapes me: so that if you find it, I may answer how it ought to be understood, just as I have responded concerning the groans of the Scriptures with a solemn expression. As for what you say, that through that ineffable union the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are not one God; do you wish to know how powerful that union is? It is certainly manifest, not from our own expressions, but from the divine utterances, that the spirit of man is one thing, and the Lord the Spirit is another; whence it is said, "The Lord is a spirit" (2 Cor. 3:17), that is, because He is not a body: and yet the Apostle says, "He who is joined to a prostitute is one body; but he who is joined to the Lord is one spirit" (1 Cor. 6:16-17). If, therefore, this joining of spirits of different natures (for the spirit of man is one thing, that of God another) has made one spirit, do you not wish that the Son should so adhere to the Father as to be one God? Understand this also of the Holy Spirit, who is God. Moreover, if the Holy Spirit were not God, He would certainly not have us ourselves as a temple. For it is written in the Apostle, "Do you not know that you are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwells in you?" (1 Cor. 3:16). And again, "Do you not know that your bodies are a temple of the Holy Spirit within you, whom you have from God?" (1 Cor. 6:19). If we were to make a temple of wood and stones for some most excellent holy angel, would we not be anathematized by the truth of Christ and by the Church of God, since we would be offering to a creature that service which is owed to God alone? If, therefore, we would be sacrilegious in making a temple for any creature, how is He not true God for whom we do not make a temple, but are ourselves the temple? As to how Christ said, "As the Father has life in Himself, so He has granted the Son to have life in Himself" (John 5:26), I have answered above. But as for concord and charity, because you say it was by these that the Father and the Son are one, when you have produced for me a statement that things of different substance are one, then I will consider what I should answer.

Legimus enim, Qui plantat et qui rigat unum sunt (I Cor. III, 8): sed ambo homines erant, ejusdem substantiae fuerant, non diversae. Item legimus ipso Christo dicente, Ut sint unum, sicut et nos unum sumus (Joan. XVII, 11). Non dixit, Ut ipsi et nos unum: sed, Ut ipsi sint unum, in natura sua et in substantia sua, concordī aequalitate quodam modo uniti atque conflati; sicut Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus unum, propter individuam eandemque naturam. Aliud est enim, unum sunt; aliud, unus est. Quando dicitur, Unum sunt; etsi non dicatur quid unum, intelligitur una substantia. Quando dicitur, Unus est, de duabus diversisque substantiis, necesse est ut quaeratur quid unus. Verbi gratia, diversa substantia est anima et corpus, tamen unus homo: diversa substantia est spiritus hominis et spiritus Dei, tamen cum Domino adhaeret, unus spiritus est (I Cor. VI, 17): addidit, spiritus; non dixit, Unum sunt. Ubi autem dicitur, Unum sunt, una substantia significatur, quod vos non vultis, et audetis dicere verum Christum Dei Filium vos confiteri. Non autem ideo major est Pater, quia testimonium dicit de Filio. Nam et Prophetæ perhibuerunt Filio testimonium. Alius est quidem qui perhibet testimonium, alius cui perhibetur: quia Pater Pater est, Filius Filius est. Non quia unum non sunt, aut unus Deus non sunt, quando cohaerentes atque conjuncti sunt, quod semper sunt. Sic autem dicis hinc inter Patrem et Filium esse diversitatem, quia Pater diligit et Filius diligitur; quasi negare possitis quod Filius diligat Patrem. Si ambo se invicem diligunt; cur negatis eos unius esse naturae? Quod dixi de Patre unde dictus sit major, quia propter formam servi dictum est; hoc dico et de invisibilitate, quoniam visibilis Filius propter eandem formam servi dictus est. Caeterum, quantum attinet ad ipsam divinam substantiam, vel Patris, vel Filii, vel Spiritus sancti omnino est invisibilis. Nam quando se patribus divinitas ostendebat, per subjectam creaturam se invisibilem demonstrabat. Nam per ipsam suam naturam usque adeo invisibilis est, ut ipse Moyses ei cum quo facie ad faciem loquebatur, diceret: Si inveni gratiam ante te, ostende mihi temetipsum manifeste (Exod. XXXIII, 11, 13). Volebat enim eum videre, sicut videtur Deus oculis cordis. Beati enim mundo corde, quia ipsi Deum videbunt (Matth. V, 8). Sic volebat videre Moyses eum cui dicebat, Ostende mihi temetipsum manifeste: sicut et invisibilia Dei, per ea quae facta sunt, conspiciuntur. Sic enim ait Apostolus: Invisibilia enim ejus, per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur, sempiterna quoque virtus ejus ac divinitas (Rom. I, 20). Ecce intelligendo conspiciuntur invisibilia Dei, et tamen invisibilia dicuntur.

For we read, "He who plants and he who waters are one" (1 Cor. 3:8): but both were men, they were of the same substance, not different. Likewise we read Christ Himself saying, "That they may be one, as we also are one" (John 17:11). He did not say, "That they and we may be one," but, "That they may be one," in their own nature and in their own substance, united and fused, as it were, by a concordant equality; just as the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are one, on account of their individual and same nature. For "they are one" is one thing; "he is one" is another. When it is said, "They are one," even if it is not said what one, one substance is understood. When it is said, "He is one," of two different substances, it is necessary to ask what one. For example, the soul and the body are of different substance, yet one man: the spirit of man and the spirit of God are of different substance, yet when he "is joined to the Lord, he is one spirit" (1 Cor. 6:17): he added "spirit"; he did not say, "They are one." But where it is said, "They are one," one substance is signified, which you do not want, and yet you dare to say that you confess the true Christ, the Son of God. The Father is not, however, greater for the reason that He bears witness of the Son. For the Prophets also bore witness to the Son. The one who bears witness is indeed one, and the one to whom it is borne is another: because the Father is Father, the Son is Son. Not because they are not one, or are not one God, when they are cohering and conjoined, which they always are. But you say that from this there is a diversity between the Father and the Son, because the Father loves and the Son is loved; as if you could deny that the Son loves the Father. If both love each other, why do you deny that they are of one nature? What I said about why the Father is said to be greater—that it was said on account of the form of a servant—this I also say about invisibility, since the Son was said to be visible on account of the same form of a servant. Moreover, as far as pertains to the divine substance itself, whether of the Father, or of the Son, or of the Holy Spirit, it is altogether invisible. For when the divinity showed itself to the fathers, it demonstrated itself as invisible through a subordinate creature. For by its own nature it is so invisible that Moses himself, with whom He spoke face to face, said to Him: "If I have found grace before you, show me yourself clearly" (Exod. 33:11, 13). For he wished to see Him as God is seen with the eyes of the heart. "For blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God" (Matt. 5:8). Thus Moses wished to see Him to whom he said, "Show me yourself clearly": just as also "the invisible things of God are seen through the things that are made." For thus says the Apostle: "For His invisible things, being understood through the things that are made, are clearly seen, His eternal power also and divinity" (Rom. 1:20). Behold, by understanding, the invisible things of God are seen, and yet they are called invisible.

Et omnia per ipsum facta sunt Christum (Joan. I, 3), et visibilia et invisibilia, et ipse a nobis credi visibilis potest? Hinc etiam dicis de Patre tantum intelligi debere quod ait Apostolus, Soli sapienti Deo (Rom. XVI, 27). Ergo solus est Pater Deus sapiens, et non est sapiens ipsa Dei Sapientia, quod est Christus; de quo ait Apostolus: Christum Dei Virtutem et Dei Sapientiam (I Cor. I, 24)! Superest ut dicatis (quid enim non audetis?) insipientem esse Sapientiam Dei. Sic autem dicis Patrem infectum, quasi Filius factus sit, per quem facta sunt omnia. Scito factum esse Filium, sed in forma servi. Nam in forma Dei usque adeo non est factus, ut per illum facta sint omnia. Si enim ipse factus est, non per illum sunt omnia facta, sed caetera. Non itaque dico Filium ingenum; sed Patrem genitorem, Filium genitum. Hoc tamen genuit Pater quod est: alioquin non est verus Filius, si quod est Pater, non est Filius; sicut de partibus animalium supra diximus; quia veri filii hoc sunt per substantiam quod parentes. Quid est autem quod poscis, ut ostendam tibi aequalem Patri Spiritum sanctum esse, quasi tu ostenderis Patrem majorem esse Spiritu sancto; sicut potuisti ostendere de Filio, propter formam servi? Scimus enim dictum esse Patrem Filio majorem esse, quia in forma servi erat Filius; et adhuc in forma est humana Filius, quam levavit in coelum: propterea dictum est de illo quod et nunc interpellat pro nobis (Rom. VIII, 34). Et sempiterna erit in regno haec eadem forma immortalis: propter quod dictum est, Tunc et ipse Filius subjectus erit ei qui illi subjecit omnia (I Cor. XV, 28). Nam de Spiritu sancto qui nullam suscepit creaturam ad unitatem personae suae, quamvis se per subjectam creaturam visibiliter et ipse, sive per columbae speciem, sive per linguas igneas sit demonstrare dignatus (Matth. III, 16, et Act. II, 3), nunquam dictus est eo major Pater; nunquam dictus est Spiritus sanctus adorasse Patrem, nunquam dictus est minor Patre. Sed dicis de Filio, Si aequalis esset, utique talis: id est, ut quia non est ingenuus, non videatur talis. Posses dicere non esse hominem quem genuit Adam, quia ipse Adam non est genitus, sed factus a Deo. Si autem potuit Adam esse, et non esse genitus, et tamen hoc generare quod erat ipse, non vis ut potuerit Deus Deum aequalem sibi? Puto me tibi ad omnia respondisse. Sed si non vis esse discipulus, noli esse multiloquus.

And "all things were made through Him," Christ (John 1:3), both visible and invisible, and can He Himself be believed by us to be visible? From this you also say that what the Apostle says, "To the only wise God" (Rom. 16:27), ought to be understood of the Father alone. Is the Father, therefore, the only wise God, and is the very Wisdom of God, which is Christ, not wise; of whom the Apostle says: "Christ the Power of God and the Wisdom of God" (1 Cor. 1:24)! It remains for you to say (for what do you not dare?) that the Wisdom of God is unwise. But you say the Father is unmade, as if the Son, through whom all things were made, were made. Know that the Son was made, but in the form of a servant. For in the form of God He was so far from being made, that through Him all things were made. For if He Himself was made, not all things were made through Him, but the rest. I do not, therefore, say the Son is unbegotten; but the Father is the begetter, the Son is the begotten. Yet the Father begot that which He is: otherwise He is not a true Son, if the Son is not what the Father is; as we said above concerning the offspring of animals, because true sons are by substance that which their parents are. But what is this you ask, that I should show you the Holy Spirit is equal to the Father, as if you had shown that the Father is greater than the Holy Spirit, just as you were able to show concerning the Son, on account of the form of a servant? For we know it was said that the Father is greater than the Son, because the Son was in the form of a servant; and the Son is still in the human form, which He raised to heaven: for this reason it was said of Him that even now He "intercedes for us" (Rom. 8:34). And this same immortal form will be eternal in the kingdom: on account of which it was said, "Then the Son Himself will also be subject to Him who put all things under Him" (1 Cor. 15:28). For concerning the Holy Spirit, who took up no creature into the unity of His person—although He Himself deigned to show Himself visibly through a subordinate creature, whether in the form of a dove or in tongues of fire (Matt. 3:16, and Acts 2:3)—it was never said that the Father is greater than Him; it was never said that the Holy Spirit adored the Father, it was never said that He is lesser than the Father. But you say of the Son, "If He were equal, He would surely be such": that is, because He is not unbegotten, He does not seem to be such. You might as well say that the one whom Adam begot was not a man, because Adam himself was not begotten, but made by God. But if Adam could exist, and not be begotten, and yet beget that which he himself was, do you not wish that God could have begotten a God equal to Himself? I think I have answered you on all points. But if you do not wish to be a disciple, do not be a chatterbox.

MAX. dixit: Loqueris quasi auxilio principum munitus, nihil secundum timorem Dei. Longas horas sustinui, exposuisti ut tibi visum est. Respondemus Deo auxiliante ad omnia. Nec enim nudo sermone, sed testimoniis divinarum Scripturarum muniti. Tantum sicut nos patientes fuimus exponente tua Religione, et ipse cum tuis patientiam accommoda, ut ad singulos tuos sermones demus responsum, sicut et ipse ad nostros respondisti quod tibi placuit.

Nos Christum colimus ut Deum omnis creaturae. Nam qui adoratur et colitur, non tantum ab hominum natura, verum etiam et ab omnibus Virtutibus coelestibus, audi clamantem beatum Paulum: Hoc enim sentite in vobis quod et in Christo Jesu: qui cum in forma Dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est esse se parem Deo; sed semetipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens, in similitudinem hominum factus, et habitu inventus ut homo: humiliavit semetipsum, factus obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis. Propter quod et Deus eum superexaltavit, et donavit ei nomen quod est super omne nomen. Illud utique quod tu in tuis prosecutionibus, sciens quod professioni tuae erat contrarium, subducendum putasti, sciens quia lectio te argueret. Nam quod omne genu flectatur Christo, utique sic prosequitur ipse Paulus, cum dixisset, Donavit illi nomen quod est super omne nomen: sequitur, Ut in nomine Jesu omne genu flectatur, coelestium, terrestrium, et infernorum; et omnis lingua confiteatur quia Dominus Jesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris (Philipp. II, 5-11). Dicendo enim, Ut in nomine Jesu omne genu flectatur, coelestium, terrestrium, et infernorum; universa conclusit. Nihil est in coelo quod non genu flectat Christo: nihil remansit in terra quod non genu flectat Christo: nihil in inferis quod non genu flectat Christo. Et hoc Pater ei donavit. Possunt enim probare qui legunt, si ex mea auctoritate vel ex multiloquio, ut accusas, hanc prosecutionem feci, aut certe de auctoritate divinarum Scripturarum respondeo.

Dicis Spiritum sanctum quod aequalis sit Filio. Da testimonia, ubi adoratur Spiritus sanctus, ubi ei coelestia et terrestria et inferna genu flectant. Nos enim, quod adorandus sit Deus Pater, beato Paulo apostolo clamante didicimus: Propterea flecto genua mea ad Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ex quo omnis paternitas in coelis et in terra nominatur (Ephes. III, 14, 15). Auctoritate sanctarum Scripturarum adoramus Patrem: aequae ab ipsis divinis Scripturis instructi, colimus et adoramus Deum Christum. Si alicubi adorandus sit Spiritus sanctus: si Pater ei sic perhibuit testimonium, si Filius, si ipse de se ista amplexus est, lege praeter quam diximus ex divinis Scripturis.

MAX. said: You speak as if fortified by the help of princes, with nothing according to the fear of God. I have endured for long hours; you have expounded as it seemed good to you. We will respond to all things, with God's help. For we are fortified not with mere speech, but with the testimonies of the divine Scriptures. Just as we were patient while your Reverence was expounding, so you yourself with your followers should also show patience, so that we may give a response to each of your statements, just as you yourself responded to ours as you saw fit.

We worship Christ as the God of all creation. For He who is adored and worshipped, not only by human nature but also by all the heavenly Virtues, hear the blessed Paul proclaiming: "For let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus: who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and in habit found as a man. He humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, even to the death of the cross." "Therefore God also hath highly exalted him, and hath given him a name which is above every name." That part, indeed, which you, in your arguments, thought should be withdrawn, knowing that it was contrary to your profession, knowing that the reading would refute you. For that every knee should bow to Christ, Paul himself continues thus, after he had said, "He hath given him a name which is above every name," it follows, "That in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that the Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father" (Philippians 2:5-11). For by saying, "That in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth," he included all things. There is nothing in heaven that does not bow the knee to Christ; nothing has remained on earth that does not bow the knee to Christ; nothing in the underworld that does not bow the knee to Christ. And this the Father has given to him. For those who read can judge whether I have made this argument from my own authority or from much speaking, as you accuse, or whether I am certainly responding from the authority of the divine Scriptures.

You say that the Holy Spirit is equal to the Son. Give testimonies, where is the Holy Spirit adored, where do heavenly, earthly, and infernal beings bow the knee to him? For we have learned that God the Father is to be adored from the blessed apostle Paul proclaiming: "For this cause I bow my knees to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom all paternity in heaven and earth is named" (Ephesians 3:14-15). By the authority of the holy Scriptures we adore the Father; equally instructed by the divine Scriptures themselves, we worship and adore God the Christ. If the Holy Spirit is to be adored anywhere, if the Father has thus borne witness to him, if the Son has, if he himself has embraced these things for himself, read it from the divine Scriptures, beyond what we have said.

Quod Christus est in dextera Dei, quod interpellat pro nobis (Rom. VIII, 34), sic etiam in alio loco ipse prosequitur Paulus dicens: Quae sursum sunt quaerite, ubi Christus est in dextera Dei sedens (Coloss. III, 1). Sic ad Hebraeos ipse scribens ait: Purificatione peccatorum facta, consedit ad dexteram magnitudinis in excelsis (Hebr. I, 3). Sic utique et Spiritus sanctus jam ante per prophetam praecinuerat, dicens: Dixit Dominus Domino meo, Sede a dextris meis. Sic et ipse Filius in Evangelio professus est (Psal. CIX, 1; Matth. XXII, 44). Praeterea ad illum principem qui eum adjuvans dicebat: Dic nobis si tu es Christus Filius Dei benedicti: ait ipse, Ego sum; vel certe, Tu dicis: et, Amodo videbitis Filium hominis sedentem ad dexteram virtutis Dei (Marc XIV, 61, 62, et Matth. XXVI, 63, 64).

Nos enim Spiritum sanctum competenter honoramus ut doctorem, ut ducatorem, ut illuminatorem, ut sanctificatorem: Christum colimus ut creatorem: Patrem cum sincera devotione adoramus ut auctorem, quem et unum auctorem ubique omnibus pronuntiamus. Istae enim calumniae de philosophicae artis instructione veniunt. Non puto te minus legisse quod ait Apostolus: Quoniam Christus utique cum non esset peccator, pro nobis peccatum fecit, ut nos efficeremur justitia Dei in ipso (II Cor. V, 21). Nec hoc sane ad te forte pervenit, quod dixerit Scriptura, Maledictus omnis qui pendet in ligno: quod interpretans beatus apostolus Paulus dicit, Factus pro nobis maledictum, ut benedictio in gentibus adimpleretur (Deut. XXI, 23; Galat. III, 13). Nec hoc sane pervenit ad te, quod ait ipse Paulus: Primus homo Adam de terra terrenus, secundus homo Dominus de coelo coelestis advenit (I Cor. XV, 47). Ergo et Christus suscepit hominem, ut ipse exposuisti. Et ea de causa diximus quod ad terrena contagia descendit. Non enim ignoramus illum secundum quod legimus, Qui peccatum non fecit, nec inventus est dolus in ore ipsius: qui cum malediceretur, non remaledicebat; cum pateretur, non comminabatur: commendabat autem se iudicanti juste (I Petr. II, 22, 23), Nec hoc ignoramus quod ait Baptista Joannes, Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccatum mundi (Joan. I, 29). Constat, ut et ipse persecutus es. Nec enim ad omnia obstinati esse debemus, ut non quae bene dicis laudemus. Valde enim justa est persecutio tua, quia ob hoc venit Christus, ut nos potius a peccatis et ab iniquitatibus mundaret; non tamen ut ipse contaminaretur, sicut et ipse persecutus es. Certum est enim, quod secundum divinitatis suae substantiam illam beatam, quam habuit ante mundi constitutionem, ante saecula, ante tempora, ante dies, ante menses, ante annos, antequam quidquam esset, ante aliquam excogitationem, in illa beata natura Deus natus a Patre est.

That Christ is at the right hand of God, that he makes intercession for us (Romans 8:34), so also in another place Paul himself continues, saying: "Seek the things that are above, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God" (Colossians 3:1). Thus, writing to the Hebrews, he says: "When he had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high" (Hebrews 1:3). So indeed had the Holy Spirit already foretold through the prophet, saying: "The Lord said to my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand." Thus also the Son himself professed in the Gospel (Psalm 109:1; Matthew 22:44). Furthermore, to that high priest who adjured him, saying, "Tell us if you are the Christ, the Son of the blessed God," he himself said, "I am," or certainly, "You say so," and, "Hereafter you shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of the power of God" (Mark 14:61-62, and Matthew 26:63-64).

For we fittingly honor the Holy Spirit as teacher, as guide, as illuminator, as sanctifier; we worship Christ as creator; we adore the Father with sincere devotion as author, whom we also proclaim everywhere to all as the one author. For these calumnies come from instruction in the philosophical art. I do not think you have failed to read what the Apostle says: For Christ, though he was not a sinner, was made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him (II Cor. V, 21). Nor, surely, has this perhaps reached you, what the Scripture said, Cursed is everyone who hangs on a tree; which the blessed apostle Paul, interpreting, says, He was made a curse for us, that the blessing might be fulfilled in the gentiles (Deut. XXI, 23; Galat. III, 13). Nor, surely, has this reached you, what Paul himself says: The first man Adam was of the earth, earthly; the second man, the Lord, came from heaven, heavenly (I Cor. XV, 47). Therefore, Christ also took on man, as you yourself have explained. And for that reason we said that he descended to earthly contagions. For we are not ignorant of him, according to what we read, He who committed no sin, nor was deceit found in his mouth; who, when he was cursed, did not curse back; when he suffered, he did not threaten, but entrusted himself to the one who judges justly (I Petr. II, 22, 23). Nor are we ignorant of what John the Baptist says: Behold the Lamb of God, behold him who takes away the sin of the world (Joan. I, 29). It is established, as you yourself have stated. For we ought not to be obstinate in all things, so as not to praise what you say well. For your statement is very just, that Christ came for this reason: to cleanse us from sins and iniquities, but not so that he himself might be contaminated, as you yourself have also stated. For it is certain that, according to the substance of his blessed divinity, which he had before the foundation of the world, before the ages, before times, before days, before months, before years, before anything was, before any thought, in that blessed nature God was born of the Father.

In Deo enim comparatione digna uti decet. Hoc sane mihi displicet, et valde animo dolui in tua prosecutione: ut enim diceres quod homo hominem generat, et canis canem; tam foeda comparatio in illam tantam immensitatem produci non debuit.

Quis autem ignorat quod Deus Deum genuit, quod Dominus Dominum genuit, quod Rex Regem genuit, quod Creator Creatorem genuit, quod bonus bonum genuit, quod sapiens sapientem genuit, quod clemens clementem genuit, potens potentem? Nihil subtraxit Pater in generando Filium. Nec enim invidus, sed ut fons bonitatis tantum bonum genuit: cujus bonitatis testis est omnis creatura, secundum tuam ipsius prosecutionem, quam valde laudo, ubi de divinis Scripturis protulisti, dicendo: Invisibilia enim ejus, a creatura mundi, per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur; sempiterna quoque virtus ejus ac divinitas (Rom. I, 20).

8. Adhuc autem adjicio, non contraria his quae bene sunt dicta dicens, sed consensum accommodans: quoniam ex magnitudine pulchritudinis condigne Creator eorum cognoscitur atque colitur. Ut puto dedimus ad ista responsum; quoniam hoc et beatus Paulus iterum prosequitur: Quoniam chirographum quod erat contrarium nobis, ipsum tulit Christus de medio, affigens illud cruci; et exuens se carnem, potestates et principatus transduxit fiducialiter, triumphans eos in semetipso (Coloss. II, 14, 15). Attamen et sicut homo qui exercitationem liberalium litterarum vel rhetoricae artis non feci, si quod vitium fecissem in sermone, ad sensum respicere debuisses, et non vitium sermonis intendens, in crimen nos inducere. Absit, absit: Unigenitus Deus, Deus est universae creaturae, mundus, incoinquinatus, sanctus, securus, nullam in se habens immunditiam. Nam qui non honorificat Filium, non honorificat Patrem qui misit illum (Joan. V, 23). Quod enim Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis, evangelista testatur: Et vidimus, ait, gloriam ejus, gloriam tanquam unigeniti a Patre, plenum gratiae et veritatis (Id. I, 14). De hoc ipso et ante jam Vetus Testamentum praecinuerat, dicens, Lavabit in vino stolam suam, et in sanguine uvae opertorium suum (Gen. XLIX, 11). Quod lego, credo: quoniam Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis. Iterum lego beatum Paulum dixisse: Qui transfigurabit corpus humilitatis nostrae, conforme fieri imagini corporis gloriae suae (Philipp. III, 21). Credo enim quod Christus Deus a Patre genitus, ante omnia saecula, ipse sibi secundum Salomonem perfectam aedificasset domum, secundum quod legimus, Sapientia ipsa sibi aedificavit domum (Prov. IX, 1): quam domum vice templi accepit.

For in speaking of God, it is fitting to use a worthy comparison. This indeed displeases me, and I was greatly grieved in my soul by your statement: for to say that a man begets a man, and a dog a dog—such a foul comparison ought not to have been brought forth concerning that so great immensity.

But who is ignorant that God begot God, that the Lord begot the Lord, that the King begot the King, that the Creator begot the Creator, that the good begot the good, that the wise begot the wise, that the merciful begot the merciful, the powerful the powerful? The Father took away nothing in begetting the Son. For he was not envious, but as the fount of goodness, he begot so great a good; to whose goodness every creature is a witness, according to your own statement, which I greatly praise, where you brought forth from the divine Scriptures, saying: For his invisible things, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; his eternal power also and divinity (Rom. I, 20).

8. Furthermore, I add, not saying things contrary to what has been well said, but lending my agreement: for from the greatness of the beauty, their Creator is worthily known and worshipped. I think we have given a response to these things; for the blessed Paul also pursues this again: For the record of debt that stood against us, Christ himself took it from our midst, nailing it to the cross; and divesting himself of the flesh, he led away the powers and principalities with confidence, triumphing over them in himself (Col. 2:14-15). And yet, as a man who has not practiced the liberal arts or the art of rhetoric, if I should have made any fault in my speech, you ought to have looked to the meaning, and not, by focusing on a fault of speech, bring a charge against us. Far be it, far be it: The only-begotten God is God of all creation, pure, undefiled, holy, secure, having no impurity in himself. For he who does not honor the Son does not honor the Father who sent him (John 5:23). For that the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, the evangelist testifies, saying: And we have seen his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth (John 1:14). Concerning this very thing, the Old Testament had already prophesied before, saying, He will wash his robe in wine, and his garment in the blood of the grape (Gen. 49:11). What I read, I believe: that the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us. Again, I read that the blessed Paul said: Who will transform the body of our humility, to be conformed to the image of the body of his glory (Phil. 3:21). For I believe that Christ, God begotten of the Father before all ages, built for himself a perfect house according to Solomon, as we read, Wisdom herself has built her house (Prov. 9:1): which house he received in place of a temple.

9. Nam et ipse dedisti rationem, secundum quid sit visibilis, secundum quid invisibilis: ut puto non recens haec auditio pervenit ad aures tuae Religionis. Nam et in prosecutione quam prosecutus es, comparisonem accipiens animae, ostendisti piam et justam rationem esse ut credamus et cognoscamus, quia si anima humana in corpore posita, oculis corporalibus videri non potest; quanto magis Creator animae corporalibus oculis videri non potest? Nam si Angeli secundum naturae suae substantiam invisibiles habentur; quanto magis Creator Angelorum, qui tanta ac talia fecit, Angelos, Archangelos, Sedes, Dominationes, Principatus, Potestates, Cherubim, Seraphim? Ad quorum multitudinem, ut legimus in Evangelio, omne genus humanum ad unam comparavit ovem, dicens: Relictis nonaginta novem in montibus, venit quaerere unam errantem. Nam denique, Sic erit gaudium, ait, in coelo super uno peccatore poenitentiam agente, quam in nonaginta novem justis qui non indigent poenitentia (Luc. XV, 4, 7). Nam qui non indigent poenitentia qui sunt, nisi utique illae coelestes virtutes, quibus nihil est cum humana natura commune? Consideranda est virtus Unigeniti Dei, et in ipso admiranda est magnitudo omnipotentiae Dei Patris, qui tantum ac talem genuit Filium, tam potentem, tam sapientem, sic plenum, qui tantas ac tales coelestes virtutes fecit. Et ne verbosi inveniamur, sicuti jam et denotare nos dignatus es: quod quidem atque utinam contingat, ut et nos possimus dicere, Nos stulti propter Christum; et, Tanquam purgamenta mundi hujus facti sumus (I Cor. IV, 10, 13), et si quid aliud tua Religio de nobis voluerit judicare. Scimus illum qui dixit: Quoniam propter te improprium sustinui tota die (Psal. LXVIII, 8). Ad quod exemplum nos provocans Paulus, dicebat: Imitatores mei estote, sicut et ego Christi (I Cor. IV, 16). Nam et Petrus ait: Christus passus est pro vobis, relinquens vobis exemplum, ut sequamini vestigia ejus (I Petr. II, 21). Secundum divinitatis suae substantiam, non solum ab hominibus non videtur Filius, sed etiam nec a coelestibus virtutibus. Potest enim archangelus angelum videre, angelus animas nostras spirituales et videre et penetrare: hoc est utique, majorem inferiores et videre et penetrare. Et secundum Salvatoris sententiam, ut dicebat tunc ad illum qui se divitem jactabat, Stulte hac nocte expostulatur anima tua a te (Luc. XII, 20); est officium angeli, ut animam restituat ante conspectum Domini. Non tamen anima potest angelum videre, aut exhibere. Isto enim ordine ascende superius; et invenies quemadmodum est unus invisibilis Deus Pater, qui superiorem non habet a quo circuminspiciatur: qui quantus est, infinitus est; qui nec finiri verbis, nec mente concipi potest: de cujus magnitudine, non solum humana lingua, sed etiam et omnes coelestes virtutes pariter coadunatae dicunt ut valent, non tamen explicant ut est. Plenus est ab omni quod dicitur. Hunc enim solus Filius condigne honorat et laudat, quanto plus a suo genitore ante omnem excogitationem est consecutus.

9. For you yourself have given the reason, in what respect he is visible, and in what respect invisible: for I think this is not a recent hearing that has come to the ears of Your Religion. For also in the argument you have pursued, taking the comparison of the soul, you have shown it to be a pious and just reason that we should believe and know that if the human soul, placed in the body, cannot be seen by bodily eyes, how much more can the Creator of the soul not be seen by bodily eyes? For if the Angels according to the substance of their nature are held to be invisible, how much more the Creator of the Angels, who made such great and such kinds of beings: Angels, Archangels, Thrones, Dominations, Principalities, Powers, Cherubim, Seraphim? To whose multitude, as we read in the Gospel, he compared the entire human race to a single sheep, saying: 'Leaving the ninety-nine in the mountains, he came to seek the one that was lost.' For finally, 'So,' he says, 'there will be joy in heaven over one sinner who repents, more than over ninety-nine righteous persons who need no repentance' (Luke 15:4, 7). For who are those who do not need repentance, if not surely those celestial virtues, which have nothing in common with human nature? The power of the Only-begotten of God is to be considered, and in him is to be admired the magnitude of the omnipotence of God the Father, who begot so great and such a Son, so powerful, so wise, so full, who made such great and such kinds of celestial virtues. And lest we be found verbose, as you have already deigned to note of us: which indeed I wish would happen, that we too might be able to say, 'We are fools for Christ's sake,' and, 'We have become as the refuse of this world' (1 Cor. 4:10, 13), and whatever else Your Religion may wish to judge of us. We know him who said: 'For your sake I have borne reproach all the day' (Psalm 68:8). Paul, provoking us to this example, said: 'Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ' (1 Cor. 4:16). For Peter also says: 'Christ suffered for you, leaving you an example, that you should follow in his steps' (1 Peter 2:21). According to the substance of his divinity, the Son is not seen, not only by men, but also not even by the celestial virtues. For an archangel can see an angel, and an angel can see and penetrate our spiritual souls: that is, a greater being can see and penetrate lesser ones. And according to the Savior's saying, as he then said to him who boasted of being rich, 'Fool, this night your soul is demanded of you' (Luke 12:20); it is the office of an angel to restore the soul before the sight of the Lord. Yet the soul cannot see or present an angel. For ascend higher in this order, and you will find how there is one invisible God the Father, who has no superior by whom he might be surveyed: who, as great as he is, is infinite; who can neither be defined by words nor conceived by the mind: of whose magnitude, not only the human tongue, but also all the celestial virtues united together speak as they are able, yet they do not explain it as it is. He is full beyond all that is said. For the Son alone worthily honors and praises him, by as much more as he has received from his Father before all thought.

Nam quia et honorat et collaudat et glorificat suum genitorem, quamvis quatuor Evangelia testantur, attamen in compendium referens, eis quae carni soletis applicare postpositis, jam nunc proferam testimonia, ubi in coelis suum Patrem adorat. Dicit enim sic Paulus ad Hebraeos: Non enim in manufactis templis intravit Christus exemplarium veritatis; sed in ipso coelo modo apparet personae Dei pro nobis (Hebr. IX, 24)? Hoc utique post Christi regressum in coelis. Posteaquam enim de coelo locutus est, dicens, Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris (Act. IX, 4)? Posteaquam Spiritus sanctus ait, Segregate mihi Barnabam et Paulum in opus ministerii quo vocavi eos (Id. XIII, 2): vocatus Paulus dicit, Non in manufactis templis intravit Jesus exemplarium veritatis, sed in ipso coelo modo apparet personae Dei pro nobis. Et quia suggessit Religio tua, ut ad hoc demus responsum, si Filius videat Patrem; legimus in Evangelio: Non quia vidit Patrem quisquam, nisi qui est a Deo, hic vidit Patrem (Joan. VI, 46). Vidit ergo Patrem, sed vidit incapabilem. Pater autem sic videt Filium, ut tenens in sinu suo et habens, secundum antelatum testimonium, quod Deum nemo vidit unquam; unigenitus Filius qui est in sinu Patris, ipse narravit (Id. I, 18). Videt enim Pater Filium ut Filium: Filius videt Patrem ut Patrem immensum. Humanam sapientiam invisibilem pronuntiat tua Religiositas: ut puto sufficit Isaiae dictum dicentis, Numquid modicum est vobis certamen praestare hominibus? Et quomodo Domino praestabitis certamen (Isai. VII, 13)? Certum est autem quia non est modicum hominibus certamen praestare, cum quando quamvis sit ille quisque sapiens, habeat sapientiore qui eum videat. Deinde hujus enim sapientia non in opere ejus perspicitur? non in discipulis probatur? Non ergo invisibilis est humana sapientia, quae comprehendere potest, quae videtur, quae et reprehenditur. De caetero autem decet et ordinis est, dignis te uti comparationibus; quia de Deo loqueris, de illa immensitate; cui etsi comparatio detur, quantum fieri potest secundum excogitatum humanum, aut certe secundum auctoritatem divinarum Scripturarum, non per omnia comparatio ulla digna invenitur ad illum, qui est incomparabilis.

Ego Patrem solum secundum antelata testimonia, non cum altero et tertio dico quod unus est, sed quod solus unus est Deus. Si vero solus unus non est, pars est. Nec enim ex partibus compositum unum dico Deum: sed ille quod est, virtus est ingenua simplex: Filius ante omnia saecula et ipse virtus est genitus. De hac sane virtute Filii beatus Apostolus dicebat: Congregatis vobis et meo spiritu, cum virtute Domini Jesu (I Cor. V, 4). Dico enim et profiteor quod nos sancta docent Evangelia.

For that he both honors and praises and glorifies his Father, although the four Gospels testify to it, nevertheless, to put it briefly, setting aside those things which you are accustomed to apply to the flesh, I will now bring forth testimonies where he adores his Father in the heavens. For thus says Paul to the Hebrews: 'For Christ has not entered into handmade temples, copies of the true things, but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us' (Heb. 9:24)? This, of course, is after Christ's return to the heavens. For after he spoke from heaven, saying, 'Saul, Saul, why are you persecuting me?' (Acts 9:4)? After the Holy Spirit said, 'Set apart for me Barnabas and Paul for the work of the ministry to which I have called them' (Acts 13:2): Paul, having been called, says, 'Jesus has not entered into handmade temples, copies of the true things, but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us.' And because Your Religion has suggested that we give a response to this, whether the Son sees the Father; we read in the Gospel: 'Not that anyone has seen the Father, except he who is from God; he has seen the Father' (John 6:46). He saw the Father, therefore, but he saw him as incomprehensible. The Father, however, sees the Son in such a way as holding and having him in his bosom, according to the previously cited testimony, that 'No one has ever seen God; the only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he has made him known' (John 1:18). For the Father sees the Son as Son: the Son sees the Father as immeasurable Father. Your Religiosity pronounces human wisdom to be invisible: I think the saying of Isaiah is sufficient, who says, 'Is it a small thing for you to weary men? And how will you weary the Lord also?' (Isaiah 7:13)? But it is certain that it is not a small thing to weary men, since however wise any man may be, he has a wiser one who sees him. Furthermore, is not this man's wisdom perceived in his work? Is it not proven in his disciples? Therefore, human wisdom is not invisible, which can be comprehended, which is seen, and which is also reprov'd. For the rest, however, it is fitting and orderly that you use worthy comparisons, because you speak of God, of that immensity; to whom, even if a comparison is given, as far as is possible according to human thought, or certainly according to the authority of the divine Scriptures, no comparison is found worthy in all respects for him, who is incomparable.

According to the testimonies previously cited, I say that the Father alone is one God; not that He is one with a second and a third, but that He alone is one God. But if He is not alone one, He is a part. For I do not say that God is one composed of parts; but He, what He is, is a simple, unbegotten power (*virtus*); the Son, before all ages, is Himself also a begotten power. Indeed, concerning this power of the Son, the blessed Apostle said: 'When you are assembled, and my spirit is present, with the power of the Lord Jesus' (I Cor. 5:4). For I say and profess what the holy Gospels teach us.

Et quia Spiritus sanctus et ipse sit virtus in sua proprietate: de quo Dominus testimonium perhibet, dicendo, Vos autem sedete (ad suos discipulos) in civitate Jerusalem, quoadusque induamini virtute ab alto (Luc. XXIV, 49).

Si ob hoc invisibilis Filius a te pronuntiatur, eo quod oculis humanis contemplari non possit; cur non et coelestes virtutes pariter invisibiles pronuntias, quando nec ipsae obtutibus humanis videri possint? Ego quidem testimonium protuli sine aliqua interpretatione verborum meorum, dicens: Beatus et solus potens, Rex regum, et Dominus dominantium (I Tim. VI, 15). Si Scripturam recitavi, reprehendi non debui: sin vero perscrutaris sensum Scripturae, reddo rationem.

Ait enim Apostolus, Beatus et solus potens, Rex regum. Solum dicit potentem Patrem, non quia Filius non sit potens. Audi igitur testimonium de Filio, ipsum Spiritum sanctum clamantem et dicentem, Tollite portas, principes vestri; et elevamini, portae aeternales, et introibit rex gloriae. Et sequitur: Quis est iste rex gloriae? Et responsum intellige: Dominus fortis et potens (Psal. XXIII, 7, 8). Quomodo non potens, cujus potentiam omnis praedicat creatura?

Quomodo non sapiens, de quo Spiritus sanctus collaudans ejus sapientiam clamat et dicit: Quam magnificata sunt opera tua, Domine! Omnia in sapientia fecisti (Psal. CIII, 24). Nam cum omnia per Christum sint facta, sine dubio illum Spiritus sanctus laudans dicebat, Omnia in sapientia fecisti. Et cum ita habeatur, requirendum est ergo quomodo beatus Paulus dicit, Beatus et solus potens? Ut puto, ideo solum potentem dicit, quia solus est incomparabilis in sua potentia. De cujus incomparabilitate propheta admirans dicebat: Deus, quis similis erit tibi (Psal. LXXXII, 2)? Vis nosse quod solus est potens? Intuere Filium, admirans potentiam Filii. In ipso enim adverte, quia solus est potens, qui tam potentem genuit. Pater enim in illa immensa potentia potentem creatorem genuit. Filius in sua illa a Patre accepta potentia, ut ipse ait, Omnia mihi tradita sunt a Patre meo (Matth. XI, 27), non creatorem creavit, sed creaturam constituit. Istam enim potentiam admirans Dei Patris, dicebat Paulus, Beatus et solus potens. Nam si et homo potens et verus, secundum quod de Job legimus, Erat homo ille verus et justus Dei cultor; adhuc et regionem illius describens dicit, quod esset potens et magnus inter omnes ex parte Orientis (Job I, 1, 3): quomodo ergo solus potens Pater? Sed solum dicit ob hoc, quia nullus ei comparatur, quia solus est tantae magnitudinis, tantae potestatis, tantae potentiae. Pari modo et sapientem solum Patrem praedicat beatus Paulus apostolus dicens sic, Soli sapienti Deo (Rom. XVI, 27). Sed requirenda est ratio, quemadmodum solus sapiens: non quod Christus non sit sapiens.

And that the Holy Spirit is also Himself a power in His own property, concerning which the Lord bears witness, saying (to His disciples), 'But stay in the city of Jerusalem until you are clothed with power from on high' (Luke 24:49).

If for this reason the Son is declared invisible by you, because He cannot be contemplated by human eyes, why do you not likewise declare the celestial powers invisible, since they too cannot be seen by human gaze? I, for my part, have brought forth a testimony without any interpretation of my words, saying: 'The blessed and only Sovereign, the King of kings and Lord of lords' (I Tim. 6:15). If I have recited Scripture, I ought not to be reproached; but if you scrutinize the meaning of the Scripture, I will give an account.

For the Apostle says, 'The blessed and only Sovereign, the King of kings.' He calls the Father the only Sovereign, not because the Son is not powerful. Hear, therefore, the testimony concerning the Son, the Holy Spirit Himself crying out and saying, 'Lift up your gates, O princes; and be lifted up, you everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in.' And it follows: 'Who is this King of glory?' And understand the response: 'The Lord strong and mighty' (Psalm 23:7, 8). How is He not powerful, whose power every creature proclaims?

How is he not wise, of whom the Holy Spirit, praising his wisdom, cries out and says: How magnificent are your works, O Lord! You have made all things in wisdom (Psalm 103:24). For since all things were made through Christ, without doubt the Holy Spirit, praising him, said, You have made all things in wisdom. And since this is so, it must therefore be asked how the blessed Paul says, Blessed and only powerful? As I think, he says 'only powerful' for this reason, because he alone is incomparable in his power. Regarding his incomparability, the prophet, marveling, said: O God, who will be like you (Psalm 82:2)? Do you wish to know that he alone is powerful? Look upon the Son, marveling at the power of the Son. For in him, understand that he who begot one so powerful is alone powerful. For the Father, in that immense power, begot a powerful creator. The Son, in that power of his received from the Father—as he himself says, All things have been handed over to me by my Father (Matthew 11:27)—did not create a creator, but established a creature. For it was marveling at this power of God the Father that Paul said, Blessed and only powerful. For if a man is also powerful and true—according to what we read of Job, That man was true and a just worshipper of God; and further, describing his region, it says that he was powerful and great among all the people of the East (Job 1:1, 3)—how then is the Father alone powerful? But he says 'only' for this reason, because no one is compared to him, because he alone is of such greatness, of such might, of such power. In like manner, the blessed apostle Paul also proclaims the Father alone to be wise, saying thus, To the only wise God (Romans 16:27). But the reason must be sought as to how he is alone wise: not that Christ is not wise.

Jam protulisti Christum Dei Virtutem et Dei Sapientiam (I Cor. I, 24): dedimus et nos testimonia, quod omnia in sapientia condidit. Sed vere solus sapiens Pater. Credimus Scripturis, et veneramur ipsas Scripturas divinas: et neque apicem unum praeterire optamus, timentes periculum quod in ipsis divinis Scripturis est positum: Vae detrahentibus aut addentibus (Deut. IV, 2)! Vis scire quanta est sapientia Patris? Intuere Filium, et videbis sapientiam Patris. Et ea de causa ipse Christus dicebat, Qui me vidit, vidit et Patrem (Joan. XIV, 9): hoc est, in me ejus videt sapientiam, ejus laudat virtutem; illum glorificat, qui me tantum ac talem genuit ante omnia saecula, unus unum, solus solum. Non quaerens materiam unde faceret, non in auxilio aliquem accipiens, sed ut novit ipse sua virtute et sapientia genuit Filium. Non, ut calumniam facientes dicitis, quoniam sicuti alia creatura ex nihilo facta est, ita et profitemur quod ex nihilo quasi unus de creaturis sit factus. Quod quidem audi auctoritatem synodicae lectionis, quia in Arimino patres nostri inter caetera et hoc dixerunt: Si quis ex nihilo Filium dicit, et non ex Deo Patre, anathema sit. Si vis, sane testimonia profero. Ait enim sic beatus apostolus Joannes: Qui diligit genitorem, diligit et eum qui ex eo natus est (I Joan. V, 1).

14. Miror namque, charissime. Cum enim et Spiritum sanctum de substantia Patris esse dicatis, si Filius ex substantia Dei Patris est, de substantia Patris et Spiritus sanctus, cur unus Filius est, et alius non est filius? Quid vobis deliquit, cum ex eadem sit substantia, cum aequalis sit Filio, ut dicis; quare enim non et ipse haeres omnium constitutus; quare non et ipse filius? quare non et ipse eo vocabulo vocatur quo et Christus, Primogenitus omnis creaturae (Coloss I, 15)? Aut si aequalis, jam non unus unigenitus, habens et alterum secum genitum, et praeterea ex eadem substantia Patris, unde et Filium dicitis esse. Quod quidem et doloris est audire. Non enim ad animae ingenuitatem comparatis illam tantam magnificentiam, sed ad fragilitatem corporis. De corpore utique nascitur caro, corporalis filius: non tamen anima de anima nascitur. Si ergo nostra anima incorruptibiliter generat et impassibiliter, nullam sentiens diminutionem, non inquisitionem aliquam; sed legitime secundum jura divina generat filium, sapientia consensum accommodans corpori ipsa integra manet: quanto magis omnipotens Deus? jam et paulo ante dixi, ad quem omnis comparatio humana sileat, tamen ut valemus dicere conamur, quanto magis Deus Pater incorruptibilis incorruptibiliter genuit Filium? Genuit autem: cautionem meam tene, utique habens testimonia sanctarum Scripturarum: Generationem ejus quis enarrabit (Isai. LIII, 8)?

You have already brought forth Christ, the Power of God and the Wisdom of God (1 Corinthians 1:24): and we too have given testimony that he created all things in wisdom. But truly, the Father alone is wise. We believe the Scriptures, and we venerate the divine Scriptures themselves: and we do not wish to pass over a single jot, fearing the danger that is set down in the divine Scriptures themselves: Woe to those who take away or add (Deuteronomy 4:2)! Do you wish to know how great the wisdom of the Father is? Look upon the Son, and you will see the wisdom of the Father. And for this reason Christ himself said, He who has seen me has seen the Father also (John 14:9): that is, in me one sees his wisdom, praises his power; one glorifies him who begot me, so great and of such a kind, before all ages, the one the one, the alone the alone. Not seeking material from which to make, not taking anyone to help, but as he himself knew, by his own power and wisdom he begot the Son. Not, as you who slander say, that just as another creature was made from nothing, so too do we profess that he was made from nothing as one of the creatures. Regarding this, indeed, hear the authority of the synodical reading, because at Ariminum our fathers, among other things, also said this: If anyone says the Son is from nothing, and not from God the Father, let him be anathema. If you wish, I shall certainly bring forth testimonies. For thus says the blessed apostle John: He who loves the one who begets, loves also him who is born of him (1 John 5:1).

14. For I wonder, dearest friend. For since you say that the Holy Spirit is also of the substance of the Father, if the Son is from the substance of God the Father, and the Holy Spirit is of the substance of the Father, why is one the Son, and the other is not a son? What offense has he committed against you, since he is of the same substance, since he is equal to the Son, as you say; for why is he not also appointed heir of all things; why is he not also a son? Why is he not also called by that name by which Christ is also called, Firstborn of all creation (Col. 1:15)? Or if he is equal, then the Son is no longer the one only-begotten, having another begotten with him, and furthermore from the same substance of the Father, from which you also say the Son is. To hear this is indeed a cause for sorrow. For you do not compare that great magnificence to the noble nature of the soul, but to the fragility of the body. From the body, indeed, is born flesh, a corporeal son; yet a soul is not born from a soul. If, therefore, our soul generates incorruptibly and impassibly, feeling no diminution, no defilement whatsoever, but lawfully according to divine laws generates a son, its wisdom accommodating its consent to the body while it remains whole: how much more so almighty God? As I said a little before, before whom all human comparison should be silent, yet we attempt to speak as we are able, how much more did God the incorruptible Father incorruptibly beget the Son? He begot, however: hold to my caution, having indeed the testimonies of the holy Scriptures: Who shall declare his generation? (Isa. 53:8).

Genuit ut voluit, ut potens, nihil subtrahens, nulla invidia intercipiente potentem genuit. Dixi, religiosis non decet calumniam facere: ego Verbum Dei, Verbum Dei profiteor, non mortale, non corruptibile. Siquidem corpus quod suscepit pro salute nostra, clamat de illo Scriptura, Requiescet caro mea in spe; hoc est, resurrectionis spe: quoniam non derelinques animam meam in inferno, neque dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem (Psal. XV, 9). Si enim illud quod sanctum vocatum est Filius Dei, corruptionem non vidit, quia tertio utique die resurrexit a mortuis; quanto magis divinitas, quae suscepit corpus incorruptibilis manet? Cur dicis quod non intelligis? Si non tibi ad omnia responsum dederam, merito sine intellectu esse iudicabor: si quominus tamen non est religionis injuriis appetere. Ego enim non solum Filii Dei sapientiam immortalem esse assero, sed etiam comprobabo quod et sanctorum Dei sapientia immortalis sit. Nam si et ipsi, hoc est, eorum corpora ad immortalitatem revocantur; quanto magis eorum viva illa sapientia, quae usque ad consummationem saeculi in omnibus credentibus floret, utique immortalis manet? Licet in prolixitate sermonis praetermiserim de immortalitate omnipotentis Dei, de eo quod dixit beatus apostolus Paulus, Qui solus habet immortalitatem (I Tim. VI, 16): attamen replicabo textum; subsequar autem et interpretationem Deo favente et donante gratiam. Sic enim solus immortalitatem habere describitur, sicut et solus potens, sicuti et solus sapiens. Quis autem spiritualium hominum ignorat, quia anima humana immortalis est? Praeterea cum Salvatoris sit sententia, dicentis, Nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus, animam autem non possunt occidere (Matth. X, 28), ut immortalem. Cum ergo anima sit immortalis, multo magis omnes coelestes virtutes immortales esse conspicimus. Nam cum dicat Salvator, Qui verbum meum custodit, mortem non videbit in aeternum (Joan. VIII, 51). Et si qui verbum Christi custodit, mortem non videbit in aeternum; quanto magis ille secundum divinitatis suae potentiam immortalis est, cujus tantam vim habet verbum? In eo autem quod dicit, Qui solus habet immortalitatem; jam reddimus rationem. Habet quidem Filius immortalitatem, sed accipiens a Patre. Habent et omnes virtutes coelestes immortalitatem, sed accipientes per Filium, quia omnia per illum sunt. Pater autem vere solus habet immortalitatem, qui ipsam immortalitatem aliunde non est consecutus, qui genitorem non habet, qui originem non habet. Filius autem, ut ipse prosecutus es, quod ex Patre sit genitus.

He begot as he willed, as the powerful one, subtracting nothing, with no envy intervening, he begot the powerful one. I have said, it is not fitting for religious men to make slanderous accusations: I profess the Word of God, the Word of God, not mortal, not corruptible. Indeed, concerning the body which he took up for our salvation, Scripture proclaims: My flesh shall rest in hope; that is, in the hope of resurrection: for you will not leave my soul in hell, nor will you allow your Holy One to see corruption (Ps. 15:9). For if that which is called the holy Son of God did not see corruption, because on the third day he indeed rose from the dead, how much more does the divinity, which took up the body, remain incorruptible? Why do you say what you do not understand? If I do not give you an answer to all things, I shall deservedly be judged to be without understanding; yet if I do not, it is still not a matter of religion to attack with insults. For I not only assert that the wisdom of the Son of God is immortal, but I will also prove that the wisdom of the saints of God is also immortal. For if they themselves, that is, their bodies, are recalled to immortality, how much more does that living wisdom of theirs, which flourishes in all believers until the consummation of the age, certainly remain immortal? Although in the prolixity of my discourse I may have omitted the matter of the immortality of almighty God, concerning that which the blessed apostle Paul said, Who alone has immortality (1 Tim. 6:16), I will nevertheless return to the text; and I will follow up with an interpretation, with God favoring and granting grace. For he is described as alone having immortality in the same way as he is alone powerful, and as he is alone wise. But who among spiritual men is ignorant that the human soul is immortal? Furthermore, since it is the Savior's own declaration, when he says, Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul (Matt. 10:28), that it is immortal. Since, therefore, the soul is immortal, much more do we perceive all the celestial virtues to be immortal. For when the Savior says, He that keeps my word shall never see death (John 8:51). And if he who keeps the word of Christ shall never see death, how much more is he immortal according to the power of his divinity, whose word has such great force? But concerning that which he says, Who alone has immortality, we have already given the reason. The Son indeed has immortality, but receives it from the Father. All the celestial virtues also have immortality, but they receive it through the Son, because all things are through him. The Father, however, truly alone has immortality, who has not obtained that immortality from another source, who has no begetter, who has no origin. The Son, however, as you yourself have stated, was begotten of the Father.

Saepius aequalem Filium asseris Patri: cum ipse unigenitus Deus semper et in omnibus auctorem suum praedicet Patrem, a quo, ut paulo ante dixi, et vitam se consecutum hoc modo professus est, dicens, Sicut Pater habet vitam in semetipso, sic dedit et Filio vitam habere in semetipso (Id. V, 26). Intuere igitur, quoniam et immortalitatem et incorruptibilitatem et inaccessibilitatem utique a Patre cum vita accepit. Pater autem habet in se vitam, non ab aliquo accipiens: et ideo vere beatus et solus potens. Quis semetipsum exinanivit (Philipp. II, 7)? Pater aut Filius? Quis cui per obedientiam festinavit placere, quam qui dicebat: Ego quae placita sunt ei facio semper (Joan. VIII, 29)? Quis est iste qui ad monumentum Lazari veniens dicebat: Pater, gratias ago tibi, quoniam audisti me; et ego sciebam quia semper me audis, sed propter eos qui circumstant, dixi, ut credant quia tu me misisti (Id. XI, 41, 42)? Quis utique iste est, qui cum caeci nati oculos figuraret, dicentibus discipulis, Quis peccavit, hic aut parentes ejus, ut caecus nasceretur? respondit, Neque hic peccavit, neque parentes ejus; sed ut manifestentur opera Dei in illo: me oportet operari opera ejus qui me misit (Id. IX, 2-4)? Iste est utique Filius charissimus Patri, qui et accipiens panes, non prius fregit, sed prius in coelum respexit, et gratias egit suo genitori, et sic fregit et distribuit. Sic utique et in ipsa passione, imo magis proximus passioni, ut refert evangelista (Matth. XXVI, 26): Etenim Dominus Jesus in ea nocte qua tradebatur, accepit panem, et gratias agens fregit (I Cor. XI, 23, 24). Hic est Filius, ut jam non obtundam eloquentia sermonis vel copia testimoniorum proferens plurima, sed per compendium finiam, qui usque ad passeris mortem sine permissione Patris nihil fieri, hoc modo praedicavit, dicens: Nonne duo passeris asse veneunt; et unus ex illis non cadet in terram sine voluntate Patris (Matth. X, 29)? Hic sane et de sua potestate, quam accepit a Patre, dicebat: Potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam, et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam. Hoc enim praeceptum accepi a Patre meo (Joan. X, 18). Si ita referunt Evangelia, teneatur quod legimus: si quominus aliud aliquid forte, aut ut obliviosus minus dixi, reprehendar. Nec enim talis sum, ut emendationem non accipiam. Praeterea cum episcopum praecipiat beatus apostolus Paulus docibilem esse (I Tim. III, 2); ille est autem docibilis, qui quotidie et discit et proficit docendo meliora: non respuimus, si quid melius dictum fuerit; ad omnia sumus parati, quamvis injuriis afficiamur. Verumtamen ut non obstrepatur veritati, non nostram querimus injuriam, sed Dei gloriam praedicamus.

You very often assert the Son to be equal to the Father, when the only-begotten God himself always and in all things proclaims the Father as his author, from whom, as I said a little before, he professed that he had obtained life in this way, saying, As the Father has life in himself, so has he given to the Son to have life in himself (John 5:26). Consider, therefore, that he certainly received immortality and incorruptibility and inaccessibility from the Father along with life. The Father, however, has life in himself, not receiving it from anyone: and therefore he is truly blessed and only potentate. Who emptied himself (Phil. 2:7)? The Father or the Son? Who hastened to please whom through obedience, other than he who said: I do always those things that please him (John 8:29)? Who is this who, coming to the tomb of Lazarus, said: Father, I thank you that you have heard me. And I knew that you always hear me, but because of the people who stand by I said it, that they may believe that you have sent me (John 11:41-42)? Who indeed is this, who, when he was forming the eyes of the man born blind, and the disciples said, Who sinned, this man or his parents, that he was born blind? answered, Neither has this man sinned, nor his parents; but that the works of God should be made manifest in him. I must work the works of him that sent me (John 9:2-4)? This is indeed the Son most dear to the Father, who, upon receiving the loaves, did not break them first, but first looked up to heaven, and gave thanks to his begetter, and so he broke and distributed them. So also indeed in the passion itself, or rather, close to the passion, as the evangelist relates (Matt. 26:26): For the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it (1 Cor. 11:23-24). This is the Son—so that I may not now weary you with eloquence of speech or by bringing forth a great many testimonies, but may finish concisely—who preached that nothing happens, not even the death of a sparrow, without the permission of the Father, saying in this way: Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father's will (Matt. 10:29)? This same one also said of his own power, which he received from the Father: I have power to lay down my life, and I have power to take it again. This commandment have I received of my Father (John 10:18). If the Gospels report it thus, let what we read be held: if not, or if perhaps I have said something else, or less than I should have as one who is forgetful, let me be corrected. For I am not such a person as to not accept correction. Furthermore, since the blessed apostle Paul commands a bishop to be teachable (1 Tim. 3:2); and he is teachable who both learns daily and progresses by teaching better things: we do not reject it if something better has been said; we are prepared for all things, although we may be afflicted with insults. Nevertheless, so that the truth may not be obstructed, we do not complain of our own injury, but we proclaim the glory of God.

Certum est quod ait Apostolus, Qui cum in forma Dei esset. Quis enim negat Filium esse in forma Dei? Quod enim sit Deus, quod sit Dominus, quod sit Rex, jam puto latius exposuimus. Et quia non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo, hoc nos beatus apostolus Paulus instruit, quod ille non rapuit, nec nos dicimus; sed quia exinanivit semetipsum, factus obediens Patri usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis (Philipp. II, 6-8), totis viribus praedicamus. Nos dicti sumus filii gratia, non natura hoc nati: ideo unigenitus est Filius, quia quod est secundum divinitatis suae naturam, hoc est natus Filius. Cui forte si ipse fratrem applicas, quia Spiritum sanctum parem atque aequalem asseris Filio; aequae et de substantia Patris eum esse profiteris: si ita est, ergo jam non est unigenitus Filius, cum et aliter sit ex eadem substantia. Nos in Patrem Deum innatum, naturam non accepimus: credimus quod ait Christus, Spiritus est Deus (Joan. IV, 24). Filius natus est, ut diximus: nos et verum Filium profiteamur, et similem Patri non denegamus: praeterea de divinis Scripturis instructi. Nam quia diversas accusamur dicere naturas, hoc scito, quod nos dicimus, quod Pater spiritus spiritum genuit ante omnia saecula, Deus Deum genuit: et caetera quae jam superius dicta sunt. Verus innatus Pater verum genuit Filium. Sed cum dicit Dominus in Evangelio, Ut cognoscant te solum Deum verum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum (Id. XVII, 3); sic solum verum dicit Patrem, quomodo et solum bonum, et solum potentem, quomodo et solum sapientem. Ut puto nec ipse diabolus ausus est dicere quod Pater non perfectum genuit ante omnia Filium. Non enim proficientem genuit. Homo enim, cujus et accepisti comparisonem, si poterat perfectum mox generare filium, non parvulum generaret, qui coagmentatis annis tandem aliquando compleat sui genitoris voluntatem. Pater autem qui vere beatus est et solus potens, talem genuit Filium qualis et nunc est, qualis et permanet sine fine, non proficientem, sed perfectum: quique et perfectionem a suo genitore accepit, a quo et vitam consecutus est. Salvatoris est sententia, In ore duorum aut trium testium constabit omne verbum (Matth. XVIII, 16). Protulisti apostolicum testimonium, Qui cum in forma Dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est: quod tuo arbitrio interpretatus es; aequae et nos, ut sensi-mus, respondimus. In auditorum sane erit arbitrio, quid eligant alterum de duobus: aut certe secundum sequentiam lectionis Filium obedientem Patri approbent, qui se exinanivit, formam accipiens servi; cui et Pater donavit, ut diximus, nomen quod est super omne nomen: an tuam quisque intelligat interpretationem.

It is certain what the Apostle says, *Who, being in the form of God*. For who denies that the Son is in the form of God? For that He is God, that He is Lord, that He is King, I think we have already explained at greater length. And that *He did not consider it robbery to be equal with God*, the blessed apostle Paul instructs us on this, that He did not seize it, nor do we say so; but that *He emptied Himself, becoming obedient* to the Father *even unto death, the death of the cross* (Philippians 2:6-8), we preach with all our strength. We are called sons by grace, not born so by nature: therefore the Son is only-begotten (*unigenitus*), because what He is according to the nature of His divinity, this He is as the born Son. To whom if you perhaps apply a brother, because you assert the Holy Spirit to be like and equal to the Son, and likewise profess Him to be of the substance of the Father: if this is so, then the Son is no longer only-begotten, since there is another from the same substance. We have not received nature in the unbegotten Father God: we believe what Christ says, *God is Spirit* (John 4:24). The Son was born, as we have said: we both profess a true Son and do not deny He is like the Father, having been instructed, moreover, by the divine Scriptures. For since we are accused of speaking of different natures, know this, that we say that the Father, a spirit, begot a spirit before all ages, God begot God, and the rest which has already been said above. The true unbegotten Father begot the true Son. But when the Lord says in the Gospel, *That they may know you, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom you have sent* (John 17:3), He calls the Father the only true God in the same way that He calls Him the only good, the only powerful, and the only wise. As I think, not even the devil himself has dared to say that the Father did not beget a perfect Son before all things. For He did not beget one who would advance or develop. For a man, whose comparison you have also accepted, if he were able to generate a perfect son at once, would not generate a small child who, with the accumulation of years, might at last someday fulfill his father's will. But the Father, who is truly blessed and alone powerful, begot such a Son as He is now, and as He remains without end, not one who develops, but one who is perfect: who also received perfection from His begetter, from whom He also obtained life. It is the Savior's sentence, *In the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall stand* (Matthew 18:16). You have brought forward the apostolic testimony, *Who, being in the form of God, did not consider it robbery*: which you have interpreted according to your own judgment; likewise we too have responded as we have understood it. It will certainly be for the hearers to judge which of the two they choose: either they will surely approve, according to the sequence of the reading, the Son obedient to the Father, who *emptied himself, taking the form of a servant*, to whom the Father also *gave*, as we have said, *the name which is above every name*; or each one will understand your interpretation.

Ascendo ad Deum meum et ad Deum vestrum (Joan. XX, 17), Dominum propter formam servi dixisse, quam suscepit, asseris, ut puto, ut dicis: si ipse humilians se in corpore dum esset humano, quamvis devicta morte triumphato diabolo post resurrectionem suam, isto utitur sermone, dicens, Ascendo ad Patrem meum et ad Patrem vestrum: ubi jam humilitas carnis necessaria non erat, ut dicis, propter Judaeos: sed integra regula fidei tradebatur. Sicuti et in alio loco post resurrectionem suam, assumptis discipulis suis in montem Oliveti, dicebat: Data est mihi omnis potestas in coelo et in terra: euntes docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti, docentes eos servare omnia quaecumque mandavi vobis (Matth. XXVIII, 18-20). Et si Filius humilitatis gratia et non veritatis hoc dixit, cur ausus fuit Apostolus eadem repetere et dicere, Ut Deus Domini nostri Jesu Christi Pater gloriae (Ephes. I, 17)? Aut certe, Deus et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi scit, qui est benedictus in saecula (II Cor. XI, 31)? Necnon, Ut unanimes in uno ore honorificetis Deum et Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi (Rom. XV, 6)? adhuc autem aggregat et dicit, Benedictus Deus et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi (II Cor. I, 3)? Cur sane et ante incarnationem Christi etiam Spiritus sanctus ad Filium dicebat. Propterea unxit te Deus, Deus tuus (Psal. XLIV, 8)? Quam unctionem, quamvis argumentari volueris, probare non poteris in corpore factam: siquidem baptizatum legimus (Matth. III, 16), unctum autem non legimus in corpore. Sed ex ipsa lectione, cum dicat, Propterea oleo laetitiae unxit te prae consortibus tuis, Deus, Deus tuus: utique ostenditur quoniam laetitiae oleum pro vocabulo olei illam laetitiam designat, de qua dicebat per Salomonem, Ego eram ad quem adgaudebat quotidie; laetabar autem ante faciem ejus in omni tempore, cum laetaretur orbe perfecto, et laetaretur in filiis hominum (Prov. VIII, 30, 31). In eo autem quod dicit, Ego eram ad quem adgaudebat quotidie: utique legitur in libro Geneseos, quoniam ad omnia opera Filii Pater, sicut legimus, Et vidit Deus, et ecce omnia bona valde (Gen. I, 31); laudans Filii sui opus, gaudebat et laetabatur in Filio; aequae et Filius perfecta voluntate Patris laetabatur in conspectu sui genitoris. Omnis Scriptura divinitus inspirata utilis est ad docendum (II Tim. III, 16). Ob quam rem non transibit iota unum vel unus apex (Matth. V, 18). Dominus dixit, Coelum et terra transibunt, verba autem mea non praeteribunt (Id. XXIV, 35).

You assert, I think, as you say, that the Lord said, "I ascend to my God and to your God" (John 20:17), on account of the form of a servant which He took up. If He Himself, humbling Himself while He was in a human body—even though death was conquered and the devil triumphed over after His resurrection—uses this speech, saying, "I ascend to my Father and to your Father," at a time when the humility of the flesh was no longer necessary, as you say, on account of the Jews, but the complete rule of faith was being handed down. Just as also in another place after His resurrection, having taken His disciples up the Mount of Olives, He said: "All power in heaven and on earth has been given to me: go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you" (Matthew 28:18-20). And if the Son said this for the sake of humility and not of truth, why did the Apostle dare to repeat the same things and say, "That the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory" (Ephesians 1:17)? Or surely, "The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is blessed forever, knows" (2 Corinthians 11:31)? And also, "That with one mind and one mouth you may glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ" (Romans 15:6)? Moreover, does he not also add and say, "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ" (2 Corinthians 1:3)? Why, indeed, even before the incarnation of Christ, did the Holy Spirit also say to the Son, "Therefore God, your God, has anointed you" (Psalm 44:8)? This anointing, although you may wish to argue about it, you will not be able to prove was done in the body; for we read that He was baptized (Matthew 3:16), but we do not read that He was anointed in the body. But from the reading itself, since it says, "Therefore God, your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness above your fellows," it is certainly shown that the oil of gladness, instead of the word "oil," designates that gladness of which He spoke through Solomon: "I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him, when he rejoiced in the completed world, and my delights were with the sons of men" (Proverbs 8:30-31). Moreover, in that which is said, "I was daily his delight," it is certainly read in the book of Genesis that at all the works of the Son, the Father, as we read, "And God saw, and behold, all things were very good" (Genesis 1:31); praising the work of His Son, He rejoiced and was glad in the Son; and equally the Son, the will of the Father being perfected, rejoiced in the sight of His begetter. "All Scripture, inspired by God, is profitable for teaching" (2 Timothy 3:16). For which reason, "one jot or one tittle shall not pass" (Matthew 5:18). The Lord said, "Heaven and earth will pass away, but my words will not pass away" (Matthew 24:35).

Constat quod in principio erat Filius, et apud Patrem erat, et Deus erat: et hic erat in principio apud Deum, ut primogenitus omnis creaturae: et omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil (Id. I, 1-3): quod in Spiritus sancti persona suscipi non potest. Nec enim talia invenies referri ex divinis Scripturis, ut eum aequalem asseras Filio. Siquidem et Filius in principio erat: Pater vero ante principium et sine principio est, ut ingenitus et innatus. Erat autem in principio ut primogenitus omnis creaturae (Coloss. I, 15). Ante omnem creaturam erat, antequam quidquid esset, et apud Deum erat, et Deus erat, et hic erat in principio apud Deum.

Quid, si audieris Patrem dicentem, Tecum principium in die virtutis tuae, in splendoribus sanctorum, ex utero ante luciferum genui te (Psal. CIX, 3)? Ex ventre matris, quod nec Iudaei diffidunt, natum profiteris secundum carnem. Et cur ista testimonia in medium non proferantur, quae illam nativitatem demonstrant in principio, sicut et praecedens nos instruit testimonium? Si propter corpus in quo exinanivit semetipsum, qui cum dives esset, propter nos pauper factus est, ut ait Apostolus (II Cor. VIII, 9), debitorem se sentit suo genitori; multo magis qui illum tantum ac talem genuit, ei debitam venerationem et debitum obsequium, ut charissimus Filius necesse est ut semper offerat suo genitori. Optime prosecutus es dicens, quoniam et parentibus propter formam servi esset subjectus (Luc. II, 51). Si enim parentibus subjectus invenitur quos ipse creavit, quia omnia per ipsum sunt facta; nec enim post tempora, sed ante tempora novimus Filium genitum a Patre: si parentibus subditus, ut divinarum Scripturarum auctoritas luce clarius praedicat; quanto magis utique illi suo genitori est subditus, qui tantum ac talem genuit, secundum quod ait apostolus Paulus, Cum omnia fuerint Filio subjecta, tunc et ipse Filius subjectus erit illi qui sibi subjecit omnia (I Cor. XV, 28)? Hoc vis ut et a nobis dicatur, quod corpori, imo magis dispensationi, quam pro nostra salute suscepit, omnia subjecta profiteamur: revera et corpus Patri subjectum, non Filium ipsum unigenitum Deum. Nos enim scimus et credimus quod Pater judicat neminem, sed omne iudicium dedit Filio, ut omnes honorificent Filium, sicut honorificant et Patrem (Joan. V, 22, 23). Hoc enim profiteamur, quia et in resurrectione, cum omnia fuerint Filio subjecta, cum omnes eum honorant, et venerantur, et adorant, nec tunc sane Filius extollit se: sed etiam cum omnibus sibi subjectis subditus Patri hoc modo invenitur, ut dicat, Venite, benedicti Patris mei, possidete regnum paratum vobis ab origine mundi (Matth. XXV, 34).

It is established that in the beginning was the Son, and He was with the Father, and He was God; and He was in the beginning with God, as the firstborn of all creation; and all things were made by Him, and without Him was made nothing (cf. John 1:1-3); which cannot be understood of the person of the Holy Spirit. For you will not find such things said of him in the divine Scriptures, that you might assert him to be equal to the Son. For indeed the Son was in the beginning; but the Father is before the beginning and without beginning, as unbegotten (*ingenitus*) and unborn (*innatus*). But He was in the beginning as "the firstborn of all creation" (Colossians 1:15). He was before every creature, before anything was, and He was with God, and He was God, and He was in the beginning with God.

What if you were to hear the Father saying, "With you is the principality in the day of your power, in the splendors of the saints, from the womb before the morning star I have begotten you" (Psalm 109:3)? You profess that he was born from the womb of his mother according to the flesh, a fact which not even the Jews deny. And why are these testimonies not brought forth, which demonstrate that nativity in the beginning, just as the preceding testimony also instructs us? If, on account of the body in which he emptied himself, "who, though he was rich, for our sakes became poor," as the Apostle says (II Cor. 8:9), he feels himself a debtor to his Begetter; how much more is it necessary that he, as a most beloved Son, should always offer due veneration and due obedience to him who begot one so great and of such a kind. You have argued excellently by saying that he was also subject to his parents on account of the form of a servant (Luke 2:51). For if he is found subject to the parents whom he himself created—because all things were made through him, and indeed we know the Son was begotten by the Father not after time, but before time—if he was subject to his parents, as the authority of the divine Scriptures proclaims more clearly than light, how much more, then, is he subject to his own Begetter, who begot one so great and of such a kind, according to what the apostle Paul says, "When all things shall be subdued unto the Son, then the Son also himself shall be subject unto him that put all things under him" (I Cor. 15:28)? You wish this to be said by us as well, that we profess all things to be subject to the body, or rather, to the dispensation which he undertook for our salvation: in truth, the body is subject to the Father, not the Son himself, the Only-begotten God. For we know and believe that "the Father judges no one, but has given all judgment to the Son, that all may honor the Son, just as they honor the Father" (John 5:22, 23). For this we profess: that even at the resurrection, when all things will have been subjected to the Son, when all honor, venerate, and adore him, not even then, indeed, does the Son exalt himself; but even with all things subject to him, he is found to be subject to the Father in this way, that he says, "Come, you blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world" (Matt. 25:34).

Jam dictum est quod et ipse pro tuo arbitrio secundum sensum tuum visus es alienare. Stat tamen apostolicum dictum, quia sicut oportet, orare nescimus; sed ipse Spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus. Et quia argumento visus es obstrepere dicens, Ergo tam miserabilis est Spiritus sanctus, ut gemit? Nos enim non miserabilem Spiritum sanctum dicimus, siquidem ex ipsa lectione gloria Spiritus sancti ostenditur, quia non pro se gemit: sed audi lectionem, quia pro sanctis (Rom. VIII, 26, 27). Siquidem nec Filius pro se, sed pro nobis utique postulat et interpellat, sicut jam protuli in praecedenti. Qui in modico fidelis est, et in majus fidelis invenitur (Luc. XVI, 10).

Nec enim aliter asseri potest quod Pater et Filius unum sint, nisi hoc sane modo quo tu ipse et nos probare possumus his ipsis exemplis quibus usus es. Nam si, ut dicis, et Apostolus confirmat, Qui adjungit se Domino, unus spiritus est (I Cor. VI, 17); est utique unus spiritus in consensu implens voluntatem Dei, secundum Salvatoris magisterium: qui etiam hoc modo nos orare docuit, ut inter caetera precum nostrarum et hoc dicamus, Fiat voluntas tua sicut in coelo et in terra (Matth. VI, 10). Terra utique nos sumus. Sicut ergo in coelestibus Dei fit voluntas, ut et in nobis hoc modo compleatur qui hoc oramus, et hoc factis adimpleamus; ut unus spiritus efficiamur cum Deo, quando hoc volumus quod Deus vult. Nam et ipse Filius passioni proximus, hoc ad suum genitorem utique clamabat dicens: Abba, Pater, transeat a me calix iste; verumtamen non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu vis (Marc. XIV, 36). Dicendo autem, Non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu vis; ostendit vere suam voluntatem subjectam suo genitori, propter cujus voluntatem faciendam de coelo descendit, ut ait: Descendi de coelo, non ut faciam voluntatem meam, sed voluntatem ejus qui misit me (Joan. VI, 38). Consonans ergo et conveniens est Filii voluntas ad voluntatem Patris. In quantum major est Filius ut Deus ab omni creatura, in tantum magis consonans voluntati Patris invenitur, et magis adhaeret suo genitori. Dico enim, adhaeret suo genitori ut charissimus filius, in amore, et dilectione, et unanimitate, et consensu, et convenientia. Omnia quae proferuntur a sanctis Scripturis, plena veneratione suscipere debemus. Nec enim in nostrum magisterium devenit divina Scriptura, ut a nobis emendationem accipiat. Atque utinam et digni inveniamur Scripturarum discipuli approbari!

It has already been said that you yourself, according to your own will and in your own sense, have seemed to distort this. Nevertheless, the apostolic saying stands: that "we do not know what we should pray for as we ought, but the Spirit himself makes intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered." And because you seemed to raise a clamor with the argument, saying: "Therefore, is the Holy Spirit so miserable that he groans?" For we do not say the Holy Spirit is miserable, since from this very reading the glory of the Holy Spirit is shown, because he does not groan for himself; but listen to the reading, for it says "for the saints" (Rom. 8:26, 27). Indeed, neither does the Son ask and intercede for himself, but for us, as I have already brought forth in the preceding section. "He who is faithful in a very little is faithful also in much" (Luke 16:10).

For it cannot be asserted in any other way that the Father and the Son are one, except in this sound manner by which you yourself and we can prove it with these very examples you have used. For if, as you say and the Apostle confirms, "He who is joined to the Lord is one spirit" (1 Cor. 6:17), he is certainly one spirit in consensus, fulfilling the will of God, according to the teaching of the Savior, who also taught us to pray in this way, that among the other things in our prayers we should also say this: "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven" (Matt. 6:10). We, certainly, are the earth. Therefore, just as the will of God is done in the heavens, so may it be fulfilled in us who pray for this, and may we accomplish this by our deeds, so that we may become one spirit with God, when we will what God wills. For the Son Himself, when near His passion, certainly cried out this to His Father, saying: "Abba, Father, let this cup pass from me; yet not as I will, but as you will" (Mark 14:36). But by saying, "Not as I will, but as you will," He truly showed His will to be subject to His Father, to do whose will He descended from heaven, as He says: "I came down from heaven, not to do my own will, but the will of him who sent me" (John 6:38). Therefore, the will of the Son is consonant and in agreement with the will of the Father. Inasmuch as the Son as God is greater than every creature, so much the more is He found to be consonant with the Father's will, and the more He adheres to His Father. I say, He adheres to His Father as a most beloved son, in love, and affection, and unanimity, and consent, and harmony. We ought to receive all things that are brought forth from the holy Scriptures with full veneration. For divine Scripture has not come under our authority, that it should receive correction from us. And would that we might be found worthy to be approved as disciples of the Scriptures!

Suscipio quae protulisti, Nescitis quia templum Dei estis, et Spiritus Dei habitat in vobis (I Cor. III, 16)? Nec enim Deus inhabitat in homine, quem non ante Spiritus sanctus sanctificaverit atque purgaverit. Denique et ad Mariam illam beatam virginem dicebatur, Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te: utique ad sanctificandum et ad purgandum. Deinde sequitur, Et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi (Luc. I, 35). Altissimi autem virtus quod Christus sit, jam et ipse protulisti. Veritas non ex argumento colligitur, sed certis testimoniis comprobatur. Ob quam causam testimonia proferre debetis, quia Spiritus sanctus Deus est, quia Dominus est, quia Rex est, quia Creator est, quia factor est, quia consedet Patri et Filio, quia adoratur, si non a coelestibus, vel certe a terrestribus, ut dicam, forte enim ostensurus es, quia vel ab infernis adoratur. Haec enim dicimus, non derogantes Spiritui sancto. Est enim Spiritus sanctus, ut jam superius prosecuti sumus, sine quo nemo potest dicere, Dominum Jesum (I Cor. XII, 3). Iste est Spiritus sanctus in quo clamamus, Abba, Pater (Rom. VIII, 15). Iste est Spiritus sanctus tantus ac talis, in quem etiam et Angeli prospicere concupiscunt (I Petr. I, 12). Talis est, tam potens, ut ubique in omni creatura, sive in oriente, sive in occidente, quam etiam in septentrione et meridiano, quisquis eum adorat, non possit dicere, Dominum Jesum, nisi in Spiritu sancto. Talis est hujus natura, qui ubique praesens sit omnibus invocantibus Deum in veritate (Psal. CXLIV, 18). Tantus ac talis est, ut ubi quisque fuerit baptizatus, in eodem momento, etsi in oriente baptizetur, etsi in occidente, et ubi et ubi, adsit Spiritus sanctus. Intuere quanta est potentia Spiritus sancti. Si enim quis derogat Spiritui sancto, derogat utique unigenito Deo, per quem omnia facta sunt, et sine quo factum est nihil (Joan. I, 3): sicut et qui non honorificat Filium, non honorificat Patrem qui eum misit (Id. V, 23).

22. Dicis quod non dixerit Salvator noster Christus, Ut ipsi et nos unum; sed, Ut ipsi sint unum in natura sua et substantia sua, concordia aequalitate quodam modo uniti atque conflati: et Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, unum propter individuum eandemque naturam. Recito lectionem, quam legentes possunt probare quid Christus dixerit. Sic enim ait in Evangelio, Patrem suum orans pro discipulis: Pater, fac illos unum, sicut et nos unum sumus: sicut ego in te et tu in me, ut et illi in nobis unum sint; ut cognoscat hic mundus quoniam tu me misisti, et dilexisti illos sicut me dilexisti (Joan. XVII, 21-23). Quod lego, credo: dilectionis fecit mentionem, et non substantiae. Certum est autem ipsum Salvatorem dixisse, Qui audit mandata mea, et custodit ea, ille est qui diligit me. Qui autem diligit me, diligetur a Patre meo, et ego diligam illum; et veniemus, et mansionem apud eum faciemus (Id. XIV, 21, 23).

I accept what you have brought forth: "Do you not know that you are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwells in you?" (1 Cor. 3:16). For God does not dwell in a man whom the Holy Spirit has not first sanctified and purified. Finally, it was also said to that blessed virgin Mary, "The Holy Spirit will come upon you," certainly for sanctifying and for purifying. Then follows, "And the power of the Most High will overshadow you" (Luke 1:35). But that the power of the Most High is Christ, you yourself have already brought forth. Truth is not gathered from argument, but is proven by sure testimonies. For which reason you ought to bring forth testimonies that the Holy Spirit is God, that He is Lord, that He is King, that He is Creator, that He is maker, that He sits with the Father and the Son, that He is adored, if not by celestial beings, then certainly by terrestrial ones—so I might say, for perhaps you will show that He is even adored by those in hell. For we say these things not to detract from the Holy Spirit. For the Holy Spirit is He, as we have already discussed above, without whom "no one can say, 'Jesus is Lord'" (1 Cor. 12:3). This is the Holy Spirit "in whom we cry, 'Abba, Father'" (Rom. 8:15). This is the Holy Spirit, so great and of such a kind, "into whom even the Angels desire to look" (1 Pet. 1:12). Such is He, so powerful, that everywhere in all creation, whether in the east or in the west, and also in the north and south, whoever adores Him cannot say, "Jesus is Lord," except in the Holy Spirit. Such is His nature, that He is present everywhere to all who call upon God in truth (Ps. 144:18). So great and of such a kind is He, that wherever anyone is baptized, at that very moment, whether he is baptized in the east, or in the west, or wherever it may be, the Holy Spirit is present. Consider how great is the power of the Holy Spirit. For if anyone detracts from the Holy Spirit, he certainly detracts from the only-begotten God, through whom "all things were made, and without whom was not anything made" (John 1:3), just as "he who does not honor the Son does not honor the Father who sent him" (John 5:23).

22. You say that Christ our Savior did not say, "That they and we may be one," but, "That they may be one in their nature and their substance, united and fused in a certain way by a concordant equality: and the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are one on account of their individual and same nature." I recite the passage, so that those who read may verify what Christ said. For thus He speaks in the Gospel, praying to His Father for the disciples: "Father, make them one, just as we are one: as I am in you and you are in me, that they also may be one in us; that this world may know that you sent me, and have loved them as you have loved me" (John 17:21-23). What I read, I believe: He made mention of love, and not of substance. Moreover, it is certain that the Savior Himself said, "He who hears my commandments and keeps them, he it is who loves me." "But he who loves me will be loved by my Father, and I will love him; and we will come, and make our home with him" (John 14:21, 23).

Si enim tanta illa sublimitas atque majestas Patris, necnon etiam Filii, intra unam aediculam mentis nostrae recipitur; quanto magis utique Filius certum est et sine dubio quod erit in Patre? Ita tamen ut Filius, ut alius a Patre: qui quidem, ut ipse exposuisti, unum sunt, Pater et Filius; non tamen unus: unum ad concordiam pertinet, unus ad numerum singularitatis. Nam et Pauli beati testimonium protulisti, quod libenti animo suscepimus: siquidem firmum genus est veritatis, quod ab ipsis etiam contradicentibus promitur. Recitasti enim Paulum dixisse, Ego plantavi, Apollo rigavit; sed Deus incrementum dedit. Itaque neque qui plantat est aliquid, neque qui rigat; sed qui incrementum dat Deus. Qui plantat autem et qui rigat unum sunt; unusquisque autem suam mercedem accipiet secundum suum laborem (I Cor. III, 6-8). Adverte igitur, quia licet unum sint concordia, attamen unusquisque suam mercedem accipiet secundum suum laborem. Intuere ergo et illud quod Dominus ait, Ego et Pater unum sumus (Joan. X, 30): quod certa fide a nobis creditur et suscipitur. Qui dicit, Ego; Filius est: qui dicit, et Pater; alterum Patrem ostendit. Unum ait; non, unus. Saepius dictum est quia unum ad concordiam pertinet. Quomodo non unum Pater et Filius, cum quando clamat Filius, Ego quae placita sunt Patri facio semper (Id. VIII, 29)? Tunc demum non esset unum cum Patre, si contraria Patri faceret aliquando. Sic autem et Apostoli unum sunt cum Patre et Filio, in eo quod in omnibus ad voluntatem Dei Patris respicientes, ad imitationem Filii subditi uni Deo Patri et ipsi inveniuntur. Et non tantum pro Apostolis legimus Salvatorem orasse, ut unum sint, sed etiam pro credituris per verbum illorum, dicens: Non solum pro his rogo; sed et pro credituris per verbum illorum in me: ut omnes unum sint, sicut tu Pater in me, et ego in te, ut et illi in nobis unum sint; ut cognoscat hic mundus quia tu me misisti, et dilexisti illos sicut me dilexisti. Dilectionis fecit, ut diximus, mentionem, et non divinitatis. Quis autem ignorat quod Paulus, Paulus est; et Apollo, Apollo est: cum quando dicat ipse Paulus, Plus omnibus illis laboravi; non ego autem, sed gratia Dei mecum (I Cor. XV, 10)? Nam qui plus laborat, plus consequitur. Verumtamen unum sunt, in consensu, in convenientia, in dilectione; quando id faciunt quod Deus vult.

For if that great sublimity and majesty of the Father, and also of the Son, is received within the small dwelling of our mind, how much more certain and beyond doubt is it that the Son will be in the Father? Yet in such a way that the Son is other than the Father: for indeed, as you yourself have explained, the Father and the Son are one (*unum*); yet not one person (*unus*): *unum* pertains to concord, *unus* to the number of singularity. For you have also brought forth the testimony of the blessed Paul, which we have received with a willing mind: for that is a firm kind of truth which is brought forth even by those who contradict it. For you have recited that Paul said, "I planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase." "Therefore, neither he who plants is anything, nor he who waters; but God who gives the increase." "Now he who plants and he who waters are one; and each one will receive his own reward according to his own labor" (1 Cor. 3:6-8). Take note, therefore, that although they are one in concord, yet "each one will receive his own reward according to his own labor." Consider, therefore, also that which the Lord says, "I and the Father are one" (John 10:30): which is believed and received by us with certain faith. He who says, "I," is the Son: He who says, "and the Father," shows another, the Father. He says "one" (*unum*); not "one person" (*unus*). It has been said rather often that "one" (*unum*) pertains to concord. How are the Father and the Son not one, when the Son proclaims, "I always do what is pleasing to the Father" (John 8:29)? He would then indeed not be one with the Father, if He ever did things contrary to the Father. Thus, also, the Apostles are one with the Father and the Son, in that in all things, looking to the will of God the Father, they are found to be subject to the one God the Father in imitation of the Son. And we read that the Savior prayed not only for the Apostles, that they might be one, but also for those who would believe through their word, saying: "I do not pray for these only; but also for those who will believe in me through their word: that they may all be one, just as you, Father, are in me, and I in you, that they also may be one in us; that this world may know that you sent me, and have loved them as you have loved me." He made mention, as we have said, of love, and not of divinity. Who, moreover, is ignorant that Paul is Paul, and Apollos is Apollos, when Paul himself says, "I have labored more than all of them; yet not I, but the grace of God with me" (1 Cor. 15:10)? For he who labors more, achieves more. Nevertheless, they are one in consent, in harmony, in love, when they do what God wills.

Dicis quod unus est Deus. Astrue, si Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus unus est Deus, an solus Pater unus Deus dicendus est, cujus Filius Christus noster est Deus. Judaico more hortaris nos profiteri unum Deum? An de subiectione Filii potius, secundum quod habet fides christiana, ostenditur unus esse Deus, cujus filius noster est Deus, ut diximus? Nam quia Pater et Filius non est unus, vel Paulo crede dicenti, quod per singulas fere Epistolas pronuntiat, dicens: Gratia vobis et pax a Deo Patre nostro et Domino Jesu Christo (Rom. I, 7; I Cor. I, 3; II Cor. I, 2; Galat. I, 3, et Ephes. I, 2). Adhuc autem: Unus Deus Pater, ex quo omnia, et nos in ipso; et unus Dominus Jesus Christus, per quem omnia, et nos in ipso (I Cor. VIII, 6). Iste est qui a nobis Christianis unus Deus praedicatur, quem Filius unum pronuntiat bonum, dicens: Nemo bonus, nisi unus Deus (Marc. X, 18). Non quod Christus non sit bonus: ipse enim ait, Ego sum pastor bonus (Joan. X, 11). Non quod Spiritus sanctus non sit bonus: audi prophetam clamantem, Spiritus tuus bonus deducet me in viam rectam (Psal. CXLII, 10). Audi autem adhuc Salvatoris testimonium dicentis, Bonus homo de thesauro cordis sui profert bona (Luc. VI, 45). Necnon etiam et omnis creatura Dei bona valde. Si creatura bona, si homo bonus, si Spiritus sanctus bonus, si Christus bonus, quemadmodum unus bonus requirendum est. Quia utique sic ait Salvator, Nemo bonus, nisi unus Deus: eo quod ipse est fons bonitatis, qui quod est bonus, a nemine accepit. Nam et Christus quod est bonus, a suo genitore est ut sit bonus; et omnis creatura Dei bona, per Christum accepit ut esset bona. Sed sive Filius, sive qui per illum sunt facti, de illo uno fonte bonitatis unusquisque secundum mensuram fidei suae assumpserunt ut essent boni. Pater autem unus, quod est bonus, a nemine accepit. Et ideo ait Christus, Nemo est bonus, nisi unus. Sic ergo unus est Deus, quia unus est incomparabilis, quia unus est immensus, ut jam sumus prosecuti.

Non denegamus quod Filius diligat Patrem, cum quando et scriptum legimus: Ut sciat hic mundus quia diligo Patrem, et sicut mandatum mihi dedit Pater, sic facio (Joan. XIV, 31). Constat Filium et diligi et diligere, et mandatum Patris, ut ipse asserit, implere. Et ideo unum sunt, secundum quod ait, Ego et Pater unum sumus (Id. X, 30). Nam in eo quod dicit, Qui me vidit, vidit et Patrem (Id. XIV, 9); certa fide credendum est quia qui videt Filium, per Filium videt et intelligit Patrem.

You say that God is one. Explain whether, if the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit is one God, the Father alone is to be called the one God, whose Son, our Christ, is God. Do you exhort us in the Jewish manner to profess one God? Or rather, is it shown from the subjection of the Son, according to what the Christian faith holds, that God is one, whose Son our Christ is God, as we have said? For that the Father and the Son are not one, believe even Paul when he says, which he proclaims in almost every Epistle, saying: "Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ" (Rom. 1:7; 1 Cor. 1:3; 2 Cor. 1:2; Gal. 1:3, and Eph. 1:2). And further: "One God, the Father, from whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we in him" (1 Cor. 8:6). This is He who is preached by us Christians as the one God, whom the Son proclaims as the one good, saying: "No one is good, except one, God" (Mark 10:18). Not that Christ is not good: for He Himself said, "I am the good shepherd" (John 10:11). Not that the Holy Spirit is not good: hear the prophet crying out, "Your good Spirit will lead me on a right path" (Ps. 142:10). Hear, moreover, the Savior's testimony, saying, "A good man out of the treasure of his heart brings forth good things" (Luke 6:45). And indeed, every creature of God is very good. If the creature is good, if man is good, if the Holy Spirit is good, if Christ is good, it must be investigated in what way one is good. Because the Savior certainly says, "No one is good, except one, God," for the reason that He is the fount of goodness, who did not receive from anyone that which makes Him good. For Christ, too, that He is good, is so from His begetter that He might be good; and every good creature of God has received through Christ that it might be good. But whether the Son, or those who were made through Him, each one has drawn from that one fount of goodness according to the measure of his faith, so as to be good. But the one Father, that He is good, has received from no one. And for this reason Christ says, "No one is good, except one." Thus, therefore, God is one, because He is one and incomparable, because He is one and immense, as we have already discussed.

We do not deny that the Son loves the Father, since we also read it written: "That this world may know that I love the Father, and as the Father gave me commandment, so I do" (John 14:31). It is established that the Son is both loved and loves, and that He fulfills the Father's commandment, as He Himself asserts. And for this reason they are one, according to what He says, "I and the Father are one" (John 10:30). For in that He says, "He who has seen me has seen the Father also" (John 14:9), it must be believed with certain faith that he who sees the Son, through the Son sees and understands the Father.

Propter formam servi, majorem Patrem professus es: quod mihi nimium stultum esse videtur. Scimus enim, quod et ipse protulisti, in forma servi etiam eum Angelis minorem factum. Nec enim satis in gloriam Dei profusus es, qui ad formam servi majorem Patrem profiteris. Ad formam servi et Angeli majores sunt. Nec enim ad hoc venit Christus, ut nos instrueret quod ad formam servi major est Pater: sed ideo Veritas ad nos venit, ut utique doceret nos, atque instrueret, quod Pater Filio major est, et hoc Filio qui magnus est Deus. Nos enim sic glorificamus Patrem, ut magno Deo majorem illum profiteamur, ut alto sublimiorem annuntiemus. An vero iste est debitus honor Dei, ut forma servili major sit Pater, tu videris.

Dicis quod se divinitas patribus ostendit: et paulo ante persecutus es, quod utique divinitas sit invisibilis. Ostendit se sane, non Pater, qui invisibilis est: ne si dicamus Patrem visum fuisse, Apostolum reddamus mendacem, qui ait, Quem vidit hominum nemo, neque videre potest (I Tim. VI, 16). Et non solum invenimur Novo resistere Testamento, verum etiam et Veteri pari modo contrarii invenimur. Denique sic ait Moyses: Non potest quisque Deum videre et vivere (Exod. XXXIII, 20). Ipse sane Moyses descripsit in libro Geneseos, quod ab illo primo homine Adam usque ad ipsam incarnationem semper Filius visus est. Nam si testimonia quaeris, utique habes positum Patrem ad Filium dicentem: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram. Sequitur: Et fecit Deus hominem (Gen. I, 26, 27). Quis utique Deus, nisi Filius? Hoc utique et tu in tuis tractatibus exposuisti. Iste ergo Filius qui est propheta sui genitoris, qui et dicebat, Non est bonum solum esse hominem; faciamus ei adjutorium secundum se (Id. II, 18): iste Filius Adae est visus, secundum quod legimus Adam dicentem, Vocem tuam audiavi ambulantis in paradiso, et abscondi me, quia nudus eram. Habes utique quod Deus dixit ei, Et quis tibi indicavit quia nudus eras, nisi de ligno de quo praeceperam tibi ne manducares, ex eo manducasti (Id. III, 10, 11)? Hic Deus et Abrahae visus est (Id. XVIII, 1): et quia Filius visus est Abrahae, si vis credere, utique ipse unigenitus Deus in sancto affirmavit Evangelio, dicens sic: Abraham pater vester exsultavit ut videret diem meum, et vidit, et gavisus est (Joan. VIII, 56). Hic etiam Filius a Jacob visus est, qui in figura qua erat venturus, id est, hominis, ante praemeditatus colluctasse cum Jacob invenitur. Unde et Jacob dicebat: Vidi Dominum facie ad faciem, et salva facta est anima mea. Et loci ipsius vocabulum nuncupatum est, Visio Dei.

You have professed the Father to be greater on account of the form of a servant: which seems to me to be exceedingly foolish. For we know, as you yourself have brought forth, that in the form of a servant He was made even lower than the Angels. For you have not been sufficiently lavish in the glory of God, you who profess the Father to be greater with respect to the form of a servant. With respect to the form of a servant, even the Angels are greater. For Christ did not come for this purpose, to instruct us that the Father is greater with respect to the form of a servant: but the Truth came to us for this reason, that He might indeed teach and instruct us that the Father is greater than the Son, and this, a Son who is great God. For we so glorify the Father, that we profess Him to be greater than a great God, that we announce Him to be more sublime than the sublime. But whether this is the due honor of God, that the Father is greater than the servile form, you may see for yourself.

You say that the divinity showed itself to the fathers: and a little before you maintained that the divinity is indeed invisible. It did indeed show itself, but not the Father, who is invisible: lest, if we should say the Father was seen, we make the Apostle a liar, who says, 'Whom no man hath seen, nor can see' (I Tim. 6:16). And not only are we found to resist the New Testament, but we are also found to be contrary to the Old in like manner. Finally, Moses says thus: 'No man can see God and live' (Exod. 33:20). Indeed, Moses himself described in the book of Genesis that from that first man Adam up to the incarnation itself, it was always the Son who was seen. For if you seek testimonies, you certainly have the Father set forth as saying to the Son: 'Let us make man to our image and likeness.' It follows: 'And God made man' (Gen. 1:26, 27). Which God, indeed, if not the Son? This you have also certainly expounded in your treatises. This Son, therefore, who is the prophet of his begetter, who also said, 'It is not good that the man should be alone; let us make him a help meet for him' (Gen. 2:18): this Son was seen by Adam, according as we read Adam saying, 'I heard thy voice walking in paradise, and I hid myself, because I was naked.' You certainly have what God said to him, 'And who told thee that thou wast naked, unless thou hast eaten of the tree whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldst not eat?' (Gen. 3:10, 11). This God was also seen by Abraham (Gen. 18:1): and because the Son was seen by Abraham, if you wish to believe, the only-begotten God himself certainly affirmed it in the holy Gospel, saying thus: 'Abraham your father rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it, and was glad' (John 8:56). This Son was also seen by Jacob, who is found to have wrestled with Jacob, having premeditated it beforehand in the figure in which he was to come, that is, of a man. Whence Jacob also said: 'I have seen the Lord face to face, and my soul has been saved.' And the name of that place was called 'Vision of God'.

Hoc ipsum affirmans utique Deus, qui in praemeditatione colluctabatur cum Jacob, quod in passione Christi impletum videmus. Ait enim ad ipsum Jacob, Jam non vocabitur nomen tuum Jacob, sed Israel erit nomen tuum (Gen. XXXII, 23-30), hoc est, Homo videns Deum. Hunc et in Novo Testamento visum probamus. De hoc Apostoli dicebant: Et vidimus gloriam ejus, gloriam quasi unigeniti a Patre (Joan. I, 14). Caeterum si, ut ipse conaris, Pater visus esse asseratur, mendaces sunt apud vos omnes Scripturae. Nam denique invisibilem Patrem Paulus praedicat (I Tim. VI, 16), et Dominus in Evangelio affirmat (Joan. I, 18). Saepius nos accusas, quod audenter atque praesumentur ea quae non sunt dicenda a nobis dicantur, quod quidem in arbitrio erit legentium probare. Nec enim sic loquimur, ut alicujus laudem consequamur; sed studio colligendae fraternitatis, quae nobiscum est: aut ob quam forte et ipse provocare nos dignatus es, ut responsum demus, ut in nobis illi denotati sic tuae consentiant, ut dixerim, professioni, necesse fuit me propter timorem Dei dare tibi responsum. Siquidem non tantum verbis me nudare conatus es a discipulatu eorum; verum etiam et tractatum tuum dedisti, ad quod necesse est me respondere ea quae de invisibilitate omnipotentis Dei prosecutus sum. Etiam et ipse, licet alio proposito, attamen tuis verbis affirmasti, quod Spiritus sanctus in specie columbae sit visus, necnon in specie ignis (Matth. III, 16, et Act. II, 3): Filius sane, in forma hominis: Pater autem, neque in specie columbae, nec in forma hominis; nec aliquando vertit se in formas, sed nec aliquando vertetur: de quo scriptum est, Ego sum qui sum, et non sum mutatus (Exod. III, 14, et Malach. III, 6). Filius sane in forma Dei constitutus jam, ut ipse protulisti, formam servi accepit, quod non Pater: Spiritus aequae sanctus suscepit speciem columbae, quam non suscepit Pater. Scito ergo, quia unus est invisibilis, unus etiam incapabilis atque immensus. Oro et opto discipulus esse divinarum Scripturarum: nam et superius credo retinere Religionem tuam, quod sic dedi responsum, quia si protuleris quod Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus unam habeant virtutem, unam substantiam, unam deitatem, unam majestatem, unam gloriam; si affirmaveris de divinis Scripturis, si alicubi scriptam lectionem protuleris, nos divinarum Scripturarum optamus inveniri discipuli.

Maximinus episcopus subscripsi.

Et post collationem praesentium Augustinus ista dictavit:

God himself certainly affirmed this, who in premeditation wrestled with Jacob, which we see fulfilled in the passion of Christ. For he says to Jacob himself, 'Thy name shall no more be called Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name' (Gen. 32:23-30), that is, 'Man seeing God'. We prove that he was also seen in the New Testament. Of him the Apostles said: 'And we saw his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father' (John 1:14). Moreover, if, as you attempt to do, it is asserted that the Father was seen, all the Scriptures are liars in your view. For finally, Paul preaches that the Father is invisible (I Tim. 6:16), and the Lord affirms it in the Gospel (John 1:18). You often accuse us that things which ought not to be said are said by us boldly and presumptuously, which indeed it will be in the judgment of the readers to test. For we do not speak in such a way as to obtain anyone's praise, but from a zeal for gathering the brotherhood which is with us; or for the sake of which you perhaps deigned to provoke us to give a response, so that those marked out among us might thus consent to your, I might say, profession, it was necessary for me, for fear of God, to give you a response. Indeed, not only have you attempted with words to strip me of their discipleship, but you have also given your treatise, to which it is necessary for me to respond with those things which I have pursued concerning the invisibility of almighty God. You yourself also, although with another purpose, have nevertheless affirmed in your own words that the Holy Spirit was seen in the form of a dove, and also in the form of fire (Matt. 3:16, and Acts 2:3): the Son, indeed, in the form of a man: but the Father, neither in the form of a dove, nor in the form of a man; nor does he ever change himself into forms, nor will he ever be changed: of whom it is written, 'I am who I am, and I have not changed' (Exod. 3:14, and Mal. 3:6). The Son, indeed, being already in the form of God, as you yourself have brought forth, took the form of a servant, which the Father did not: likewise the Holy Spirit took on the appearance of a dove, which the Father did not take on. Know, therefore, that one is invisible, one also incomprehensible and immense. I pray and desire to be a disciple of the divine Scriptures: for I also believe I retain your Religion from what I said before, in that I have given this response, because if you bring forth that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit have one power, one substance, one divinity, one majesty, one glory; if you affirm this from the divine Scriptures, if you bring forth a written passage from anywhere, we desire to be found disciples of the divine Scriptures.

I, Maximinus, bishop, have subscribed.

And after the conference of those present, Augustine dictated the following:

Auxilio principum munitum me loqui dixisti, non secundum timorem Dei: sed hominibus, quibus donat Deus intellectum, satis apparet quis loquatur secundum timorem Dei; utrum qui obedienter audit Dominum dicentem, Audi, Israel; Dominus Deus tuus, Dominus unus est (Deut. VI, 4); quod nos et obtemperanter audimus, et fideliter praedicamus: an ille qui hoc sic audire non vult, ut duos dominos duos deos esse contendat; atque ita introducendo duos deos et duos dominos, ostendat se non timere unum Dominum Deum dicentem, Audi, Israel; Dominus Deus tuus, Dominus unus est. Scis autem sermonem tuum prolixissimum occupasse nobis tempora quibus respondere possemus, et tantum diei remansisse, quantum omnino non sufficeret, ut ea quae dixisti, saltem nobis relegerentur. Noveris tamen omnia quae protulisti, ut probares Deum esse Filium Dei, et magnum Deum, et natum esse ex Patre, et alium esse ipsum et alium esse Patrem, quoniam non est Pater ipse qui Filius, ad ingentes moras pertinuisse, quibus necessarium tempus absumeres: quasi nobis abs te probandum esset, quod et nos esse verum fatemur. Non enim dicimus ipsum esse Patrem qui est Filius, aut ipsum esse Patrem vel Filium qui est in ipsa Trinitate Spiritus sanctus. Prorsus alius est ille, alius ille, et alius ille: sed simul omnes unus est Dominus Deus. Si enim dixerimus duos esse dominos deos; unum magnum, alterum majorem; unum bonum, alterum meliorem; unum sapientem, alterum sapientiozem; unum clementem, alterum clementiozem; unum potentem, alterum potentiozem; unum invisibilem, alterum invisibiliorem; unum verum, alterum veriozem; et si quid aliud isto modo te sentire monstrasti, ut duos dominos deos nos habere suaderes: si hoc ergo dixerimus, arguet nos ipse Deus, dicens, quod jam commemoravi, Audi, Israel; Dominus Deus tuus, Dominus unus est. Tanquam dicat nobis: Filii hominum, usquequo graves corde? utquid diligitis vanitatem, et quaeritis mendacium (Psal. IV, 3)? Utquid vobis facitis duos dominos deos? quare me clamantem, Audi, Israel, non vultis audire, Dominus Deus tuus, Dominus unus est; sed contra me clamatis, Domini dii nostri domini duo sunt? Numquid hoc faceretis, si Israel esse velletis? Cum hoc ergo nomen interpretetur, Homo videns Deum; rogo te, da veniam, si tu non vis, ego volo esse Israel. Volo quippe in eorum consortio computari, quibus donatur videre Deum.

You said that I speak fortified by the help of princes, not according to the fear of God: but to men, to whom God gives understanding, it is sufficiently clear who speaks according to the fear of God; whether it is he who obediently hears the Lord saying, "Hear, O Israel; the Lord your God, the Lord is one" (Deut. 6:4)—which we both hear submissively and preach faithfully—or he who is unwilling to hear this in such a way that he contends there are two lords and two gods, and thus, by introducing two gods and two lords, shows that he does not fear the one Lord God who says, "Hear, O Israel; the Lord your God, the Lord is one." You know, however, that your very lengthy discourse took up the time in which we could have responded, and that so little of the day remained that it would not have been nearly enough for the things you said to be even read back to us. You should know, however, that all the things you brought forth to prove that the Son of God is God, and a great God, and born of the Father, and that he is one person and the Father is another—since the Father is not he who is the Son—pertained to huge delays, with which you consumed the necessary time, as if you needed to prove to us what we ourselves confess to be true. For we do not say that he who is the Son is the Father, or that he who is the Holy Spirit in the Trinity itself is the Father or the Son. Absolutely, the one is one person, the other is another, and the third is another; but all together are one Lord God. For if we were to say that there are two lord gods—one great, the other greater; one good, the other better; one wise, the other wiser; one merciful, the other more merciful; one powerful, the other more powerful; one invisible, the other more invisible; one true, the other truer; and if you have shown that you think anything else in this manner, so that you would persuade us to have two lord gods—if, therefore, we were to say this, God himself will rebuke us, saying what I have already mentioned: "Hear, O Israel; the Lord your God, the Lord is one." It is as if he were to say to us: "O sons of men, how long will you be heavy of heart? Why do you love vanity, and seek after lying (Ps. 4:3)? Why do you make for yourselves two lord gods? Why are you unwilling to hear me when I cry, 'Hear, O Israel, the Lord your God, the Lord is one,' but instead cry out against me, 'Our lords gods are two lords'? Surely you would not do this, if you wished to be Israel? Since this name, therefore, is interpreted as "Man seeing God," I ask you, pardon me, but if you do not wish it, I wish to be Israel. For I wish to be counted in the company of those to whom it is given to see God.

Et gratias illi agimus, quia facit nos videre nunc per speculum in aenigmate, tunc autem facie ad faciem, sicut Apostolus dicit (I Cor. XIII, 12). Videmus itaque donante ipso, etsi adhuc per speculum in aenigmate, tamen videmus, quomodo inter se non sint duo ista contraria, ut et alius Pater sit, alius Filius, alius Spiritus sanctus, et tamen hi tres simul unus sit Dominus Deus. Egi, sicut potui, ut hoc etiam tu videres: sed resistere maluisti, quia Israel esse noluisti. Sed si hoc videre adhuc forsitan non potes, crede et videbis. Intelligendo enim videntur ista non oculis carnis intuendo. Et scis utique dixisse prophetam, Nisi credideritis, non intelligetis (Isai. VII, 9). Cum ergo audis, Dominus Deus tuus, Dominus unus est; noli duos dominos deos facere, Patrem et Filium. Et cum audis, Nescitis quia corpora vestra templum in vobis est Spiritus sancti quem habetis a Deo; et eodem loco : Nescitis quia corpora vestra membra sunt Christi (I Cor. VI, 19, 15): cum ergo haec audis, noli negare Deum esse Spiritum sanctum, ne templum creaturae facias membra Creatoris. Prius crede istos tres, et in suis singulis personis tres esse, et tamen simul non tres dominos deos, sed unum Dominum Deum esse: et dabit credenti et oranti ipse Dominus intellectum, ut id quod credis, etiam videre, id est, intelligere merearis. Nam considera diligenter omnia, quae prolixa disputatione dixisti, et videbis ex hoc errore descendere, quo facitis duos dominos deos, contra clarissimam vocem Domini Dei dicentis, Dominus Deus tuus, Dominus unus est: et negatis Deum Spiritum sanctum, cujus sanctum negare non potestis templum. Haec interim post Collationem nostram, qua praesentes alternatim locuti sumus, te admonuisse suffecerit: si autem Dominus voluerit, quoniam longum est, et tu remeare festinas, prosecutiones nostras ante oculos eorum qui legere voluerint, quanta potero perspicuitate constituam, et te veris quidem testimoniis divinis, falsa tamen vestra dogmata probare voluisse, velis nolis, ostendam.

Et alia manu: Augustinus episcopus subscripsi.

Item alia manu, Maximinus: Cum explicueris hunc libellum, et ad me transmiseris, si non ad omnia responsum dederis, tunc ero culpabilis.

Explicuere Gesta. Contuli .

And we give thanks to him, because he makes us see "now through a glass in a dark manner, but then face to face," as the Apostle says (1 Cor. 13:12). And so we see by his gift—although still "through a glass in a dark manner"—nevertheless we see how these two things are not contrary to each other: that the Father is one person, the Son another, and the Holy Spirit another, and yet these three together are one Lord God. I have done what I could so that you also might see this, but you preferred to resist, because you did not wish to be Israel. But if perhaps you are not yet able to see this, believe, and you will see. For these things are seen by understanding, not by gazing with the eyes of the flesh. And you surely know that the prophet said, "Unless you believe, you will not understand" (Isa. 7:9). When, therefore, you hear, "The Lord your God, the Lord is one," do not make two lord gods, the Father and the Son. And when you hear, "Do you not know that your bodies are a temple of the Holy Spirit within you, whom you have from God?" and in the same place: "Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ?" (1 Cor. 6:19, 15)—when, therefore, you hear these things, do not deny that the Holy Spirit is God, lest you make the members of the Creator a temple of a creature. First, believe that these three are three in their individual persons, and yet at the same time not three lord gods, but one Lord God; and the Lord himself will give understanding to the one who believes and prays, so that you may be worthy to also see—that is, to understand—what you believe. For consider diligently all the things which you said in your lengthy disputation, and you will see that they descend from this error, by which you make two lord gods—against the clearest voice of the Lord God saying, "The Lord your God, the Lord is one"—and deny that the Holy Spirit is God, whose holy temple you cannot deny. For now, after our Conference in which we who were present spoke in turn, let it suffice to have admonished you with these things. But if the Lord wills, since the matter is long and you are in a hurry to return, I will set forth our further arguments with as much clarity as I can before the eyes of those who may wish to read them, and I will show, whether you like it or not, that you wished to prove your false dogmas with what are indeed true divine testimonies.

And by another hand: I, Augustine, bishop, have subscribed.

Likewise by another hand, Maximinus: When you have finished this little book and have sent it to me, if I have not given a response to all things, then I will be culpable.

The Acts are concluded. I have collated.