

CHRISTOLOGY AND THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON

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Cover byline: Reproduced by permission of the American Research Center in Egypt, Inc. (ARCE). **Left - St. Severus, Patriarch of Antioch; Right - St. Dioscorus, 25th Pope of Alexandria and Patriarch of the See of St. Mark**

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To the souls of all the Holy Confessors of Christ who suffered martyrdom for the sake of the Orthodox faith,
To the souls of all the great defenders of faith, the successors of St. Mark the Apostle,
Evangelist, and Martyr, the Alexandrian Popes St. Athanasius, St. Theophilus, St. Cyril,
St. Dioscorus, St. Timothy, St. Theodosius, and St. Benjamin,
To the soul of their great successor the late 117th Patriarch ***His Holiness Pope Shenouda III,***

I dedicate this work.

To the soul of the great St. Severus Patriarch of Antioch, and
To my Father, ***His Holiness Pope Tawadros II,*** *the 118th Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria, and all of my Fathers the Patriarchs, Metropolitans, Bishops and the Clergy of the Oriental Orthodox Churches I also dedicate this work, requesting their blessings and prayers together with the prayers of all the Faithful peoples of Christ.*

Shenouda Maher Ishak



The Thrice-Blessed, His Holiness Pope Shenouda III,
the 117th Pope of Alexandria and Patriarch of the See of St. Mark (1971-2012)



His Holiness Pope Tawadros II,
the 118th Pope of Alexandria and Patriarch of the See of St. Mark

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c. = *circa*, about.

CA = *Collectio Avellana* = *Epistulae imperatorum pontificum aliorum*...I and II, ed. O. Guenther, Vienna 1895, 1898 = *CSEL* 35/1-2.

CCL = *Corpus Christianorum*, series *latina*, Turnhout 1, 1953ff.

CF = Chalcedonian Formula.

cf. = *confer*, compare with.

ch. = chapter.

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† = died.

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ed. = edited by; editor; edition.

e.g. = *exempli gratia*, for example, for instance.

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fasc. = fascule.

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ibid. = *ibidem*, in the same place.

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i.e. = *id est*, which is to say, in other words.

IUCD = see: Meyendorff, *IUCD*.

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t. = tome.

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ThR = *TR*

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tr., trans. = translated by.

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Zacharias, *HE* = Zachariah, *HE*.

PREFACE

It was about a quarter of a century ago since our beloved father the late Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria His Holiness Pope Shenouda III began delegating me to the Joint International Commissions for theological dialogue with both the Catholic Church and the Orthodox (i.e. the Byzantine family of churches) under the co-chairmanship of His Eminence Anba Bishoy Metropolitan of Damiette, Barari, Kafr El-Sheik and General Secretary of the Holy Synod of the Coptic Church.

The responsibility of being delegated to these Joint Commissions which involved the duty of preparing and submitting papers for the theological discussions motivated me to dedicate much of my time for expanding and deepening my Patristic studies in the field of theology and Christology, together with the history of the Church in general and the history of the early Church councils in particular.

Later, in September 2009 during the meetings of the North American Coptic Clergy Seminar, His Holiness Pope Shenouda III commissioned me, in the presence of all on Monday September 14th 2009, to publish my work on the Council of Chalcedon, giving me the blessing together with his command. Soon I found it necessary to develop my lengthy original papers through expanding on treating the subject comprehensively to be a book on *Christology and the Council of Chalcedon*, requisite especially with the view that the theological dialogues will be extended beyond my life-time.

This book owes much to various works of scholars. The publication of the English translation of *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon* in three volumes, together with the notes and comments by the editors Richard Price and Michael Gaddis made it possible to quote directly from the Acts and from their valuable comments and notes on the acts. In addition to the works of scholars from the non-Chalcedonian side as V.C. Samuel and Catholicos Karekin Sarkissian, I owe a very large debt of gratitude to scholars from the Chalcedonian side who devoted themselves for studying and publishing the writings of our great Fathers the Orthodox Miaphysites, and tried as much as they could to be fair, or relatively fair, in demonstrating the true orthodoxy of our fathers the confessors and guardians of the true faith, who suffered severe persecutions for the sake of the faith which they preserved pure, preferring to accept martyrdom rather than accepting the Council of Chalcedon or the *Tome* of Leo.

It is duty bound to mention among the Chalcedonian scholars in whose writings one can find very valuable testimonies and indispensable information: Aloys Grillmeier (later cardinal) and his collaborator Dr. Theresia Hainthaler, R.V. Sellers, John Meyendorff, John Romanides, John Anthony McGuckin, W.H.C. Frend, L.D. Davis, S.J. Davis, Pauline Allen and C.T.R. Hayward, Roberta C. Chesnut, I.R. Torrance and many others (see bibliography).

With view of informing our Oriental Orthodox people in the clerical and monastic circles, ecclesiastical institutes and seminaries about these works, selections of testimonies from those Chalcedonian scholars are quoted here verbatim in abundance. I believe such testimonies from Chalcedonian scholars would hopefully be more convincing to their fellows on the Chalcedonian side in the Joint Theological dialogues than expressing the

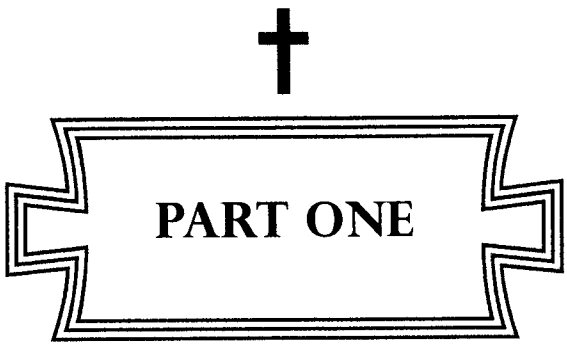
same meanings in my own words.

I would like to apologize for not being able to prepare indices for this first edition of the book to avoid long delay. The detailed table of contents, however, which is at the beginning of the book and at the beginning of each part together with the numerous cross-references between various sections of the book might partially compensate for the absence of the indices.

I owe a large debt of gratitude to the Reverend Deacon Antonios the Shenoudian from the Coptic Monastery of St. Shenouda in Rochester, NY, for his typing this entire book.

May God the *Logos* Incarnate our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ about Whom this research is concerned bless this work and make it a fruitful contribution beneficial in healing the divisions and leading to the unity of the Church on the basis of the identity of the authentic Apostolic Orthodox faith entrusted to us as expressed, confirmed and followed by the Fathers of the First Three Ecumenical Church Councils through the intercessions of the Holy *Theotokos* and the prayers of our Fathers the Apostles, Martyrs and all the Confessor Saints.

Shenouda Maher Ishak
January 21, 2013 A.D.; Tubah 13, 1729 A.M.
Feast of the Wedding in Cana of Galilee



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I. THE DOCTRINE OF NESTORIUS EXAMINED

I.A. What Nestorianism Is:

I.A.1. DEFINITION OF NESTORIANISM:

Nestorianism is the doctrine that there were two Persons in the Incarnate Christ, the one Divine and the other Human, closely and inseparably joined together and yet distinct, as opposed to the orthodox doctrine that the Incarnate Christ was a single Person at once perfect in his Divinity and perfect in his Humanity. It was characterized by the rejection of the term *"Theotokos"* (*ODCC*, ed. 2, p. 961).

I.A.2. DIFFERENT VERDICTS:

Opinion is widely divided as to what the doctrine of Nestorius really was and whether Nestorius was a Nestorian. His sustained objection to the term *"Theotokos"* has traditionally been held to imply that he asserted not only two different natures, but also two different persons, in Christ, the one the *Logos* and the other the man, born of Mary. "But we must not overlook that he repeatedly affirmed the oneness of Christ, though he preferred to speak of conjunction (συνάφεια) rather than of union (ἕνωσις)", (*ibid.*, p. 962). He rejected St. Cyril's conception of a *hypostatic* union (ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν) substituting for it a union of the will (κατ' εὐδοκίαν). "The latter term certainly savoured of Adoptianism, of which he was actually, though unjustly, accused" (*ibid.*). His zeal for upholding the two natures "which he believed to be both self-subsisting and therefore incapable of being physically united in the Person the God-man; caused him to fall into unguarded language, and the fact that his own friends finally abandoned him supports the view that, by trying to defend, he actually compromised the Antiochene Christology" (*ibid.*).

I.A.3. NESTORIANISM OPPOSES APOLLINARIANISM:

Apollinarius (or Apollinaris) the younger, (*c.* 310 – *c.* 390) "bishop of Laodicea in Syria, who began his theological life as a decided and orthodox opponent of Arianism, but in later years developed the heresy named after him... Adopting the Platonic trichotomy of man into body, soul, (ψυχή) and spirit (πνεῦμα or νοῦς), as in *IThessalonians* 5:23, he asserted that, while our Lord had a true human body and a true human soul (i.e. that part of man which is common to him and the animals), the *Logos* or Word occupied in Him the place of the πνεῦμα, which is the highest part of man. This idea is due to a reaction from Arianism, and a desire to affirm at once the real divinity of our Lord and His real unity. But an imperfect humanity means an unreal Incarnation, and Apollinarius's teaching was emphatically condemned at the Second General Council, that of Constantinople, A.D. 381, Canon I" (*ERE*, vol. IX, p. 323).

Nestorianism, on the other hand, in order to emphasize the reality of our Lord's

manhood, in opposition to Apollinarianism, "conceives of the Incarnate as uniting in Himself two persons, the *Logos* and a man, although these two persons were so inseparably united that they might in a sense be deemed one. But putting aside all technicalities, it fails to affirm, as Pearson admirably puts it (*Expos. of the Creed*; art. iii, p. 293, n. 92), that 'the Son of God begotten of His Father before all worlds, was incarnate and made man, and ... that the same only-begotten Son was conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary'. Nestorianism in reality denies a true Incarnation just as much as Apollinarianism does" (*ERE*, vol. IX, p. 327).

I.A.4. THE SAYING ABOUT GOD AND AN INFANT:

This saying is so important historically that it must be considered in some detail.

"In the Acts of the Council of Ephesus we read (Mansi, iv. 1181) that Nestorius was reported to the Council as saying that it is not right concerning God to speak of suckling or birth from the Virgin" (Maclean in *ERE* IX, p. 329). So also then continued the witness Theodotus, bishop of Ancyra 431-8, who had been his friend that "he heard Nestorius affirm, during these days of delay, 'For my own part, never would I call a child of two or three months old God' (Mansi, iv. 1181c); though what Nestorius afterwards claimed that he said or meant was simply that 'God was not two or three months old'. Whatever the exact words used – and much turns upon whether 'God' is subject or predicate in the sentence – the conversation of 19 June, in which they were used, was reported to the Council; and then it was that the Council perceived it was not a question of words but of ideas" (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 239).

"Socrates (*Eccl. Hist.* vii, 34) reports Nestorius as saying at Ephesus during the time of waiting for the Antiochenes: 'I would not name him who is two or three months old God' (ἐγὼ τὸν γενόμενον διμηναῖον καὶ τριμηναῖον οὐκ ἄν θεὸν ὀνομάσαιμι)' (*ERE* IX, p. 329), where θεὸν 'God' is a predicate, not a subject.

"This saying embittered the people against Nestorius more than any other, and was doubtless one great reason for attributing to him the heresy of Paul of Samosata" (*ibid.*).

"Nestorius deals with this saying in *Heraclides*, and either he or his Syriac translator gives another turn to the sentence (Bedjan, p. 202; Nau, p. 121). Here it is made to run: 'I do not say that God is aged two or three months', ... as a matter of fact, Nestorius was not understood in this sense; for there is not the slightest ground for supposing that Socrates willfully distorted his speech" (*ERE* IX, p. 329).

Maclean goes on successfully arguing that "...it is by no means certain that (supposing that the words were exactly as given in the Acts of the Council) Nestorius, when he spoke them, meant what *Heraclides* suggests. For what is the meaning of the phrase in *Heraclides*? The proposition that 'a two or three months' old child is not God' is perfectly intelligible, however erroneous it may be. But there is no satisfactory sense in the phrase 'God is not two or three months old'. No one would dream of affirming that He was. And, if Nestorius really did mean such a foolish thing by words uttered on the spur of the moment, we cannot conceive why he should have repeated it 'often' (πολλάκις), ... why did it make such a sensation in the Council of Ephesus? The letter of the Council to the emperors (Mansi, iv. 1235ff.) has the saying thus: ἐγὼ τὸν διμηναῖον καὶ τριμηναῖον θεὸν οὐ λέγω, which shows that the Council understood the saying as Socrates did; in this form it can only

mean 'I do not call one who is two or three months old God'. Assuredly no one present would have affirmed that 'God was two or three months old'. And, if that were the meaning of the saying, why did not Nestorius explain it at once, when he found what a sensation it caused? Under these circumstances the suspicion arises that in the heat of the moment, and very probably without meaning quite all that he said, Nestorius made the statement attributed to him by Socrates, whether it was in the exact words given in the *History*, or in those given in the Acts of the Council, or in the letter to the emperors; and that on reflexion he made the explanation which is found in *Heraclides*. The explanation has all the appearance of being an after-thought" (*ERE* IX, pp. 329, 330).

I.A.5. WHAT NESTORIUS DID NOT TEACH:

Nestorius did not hold, as he was often charged with holding because of his dislike to the Marian title *Theotokos*, that the Child born of Mary was a human babe afterwards associated by the Divine Word with Himself. Nay, he affirmed that from the first moment of the human life, it was indissolubly associated with the Word (Nau, p. 173).

Thus, Maclean writes in his learned article about "Nestorianism" saying: "We may clear the way by dismissing a popular charge against him, namely, that he denied that our Lord was God. It was commonly thought that he was in agreement with Paul of Samosata and Photinus. The former, a bishop of Antioch in the middle of the 3rd cent., taught that our Lord was merely man and 'was not before Mary, but received from her the origin of His being'; and that He pre-existed only in the foreknowledge of God (Athanasius, *de Synodis*, iii [45]). Photinus, the pupil of Marcellus of Ancyra in the 4th cent., taught much the same doctrine. But this was not Nestorius's teaching, and the idea that it was so is largely due to his unfortunate saying about God and an infant (see section I.A.4.). Socrates (*Eccl. Hist.* vii, 32) says that he had examined Nestorius's writings, and found that he did not hold these opinions; and the extant sermons and fragments, as well as *Heraclides*, fully bear out this verdict" (*ERE* IX, p. 327).

I.B. Nestorius's Principal Writings

Nestorius's principal writings were his letters and sermons, which, however, for the most part, survive only in fragments. (See I.D.2, 4, 5). "Fortunately we not only possess Cyril's excerpts of Nestorius, but in one case we still have the original Greek text of one of Nestorius' sermons and this sermon is the chief subject of book three of the *Adversus Nestorium*" (Wilken, *JECM*, p. 202). "For Nestorius' works, see Loofs, F., ed., *Nestoriana: Die Fragmente des Nestorius*, pp. 165-168". "For an English translation of the First Sermon of Nestorius against the *Theotokos* see Norris, *CC*, pp. 123-131."

Nestorius was also the author of the extensive treatise known as *The Bazaar of Heraclides of Damascus*. This treatise was first discovered in Syriac translation in 1895 and first published in 1910 from the unique manuscript in the Patriarchal Library at Kotchanes in the mountains of Kurdistan. It is an 'Apology' of Nestorius in his last years which was originally written in Greek under the pseudonym of 'Heraclides of Damascus'. "There is little doubt that Heraclides is a fictuous personage; and once we get to the book itself, there is no veiling of the fact that Nestorius is the author; a pseudonym was necessary to prevent

the book from being burned unread by those who hated the very name of the writer; for he retained very few friends, even among the Antiochenes, in his later life" (*ERE* IX, p. 325). In this 'Apology', he begins with a lengthy introduction on heresies contrary to the Faith of Nicaea, proceeds to a history of the Council of Ephesus, giving, in the form of a dialogue with the Egyptian Sophronius, a defense of his teaching and at the same time a history of his life. "On the whole the treatise is more of an attack upon St. Cyril than a defence of himself" (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 206). Written when the theological climate had completely changed, Nestorius is here claiming that his own beliefs were identical with those expressed in the *Tome* of Leo (the *Dogmatic Epistle* to Flavian, bishop of Constantinople, *Ep.* xxviii, AD 449) which Nestorius praises greatly. "The *Bazaar* proves that Nestorius survived the death of Theodosius on July 28, 450... It was this work which led a number of scholars like Harnack, Loofs, Fendt, Ficker, Bethune-Baker, Duchesne and Rucker to a revision of the traditional opinion regarding Nestorius, though his person and doctrine still present a problem." (For a bibliography of the edition, translations and studies of the *Bazaar of Heraclides*, see Quasten III; pp. 516-517).

The doctrine of Nestorius has been re-examined by several writers in the light of the *Bazaar of Heraclides*, which comes from a much later period in Nestorius's life, "with the result that, while Bethune-Baker thinks that he ought to have been acquitted, Nau and Bedjan consider that, even after his 'Apology', he would have been rightly condemned" (*ERE* IX, p. 327).

I.C. Favorite Expressions of Nestorius and Examples of His Teaching:

I.C.1. FAVORITE EXPRESSIONS OF NESTORIUS:

1. "Two *hypostases*": "He always speaks of 'two *hypostases*' in Christ. It seems fairly clear that he used the word ὑπόστασις in its earlier sense of 'substance', and that he means by 'two *hypostases*'...two natures. But he causes some confusion by talking of the two *hypostases* and their two 'characteristics' or natures (φύσις). His persistent refusal to see any other possible sense of ὑπόστασις, though another sense had become common long before his day, ... is a justification of Socrates' opinion (*Eccl. Hist.*, vii. 32) that he was ignorant..." (*ERE* IX, p. 328).

2. "Man": "In many passages of Nestorius 'a man' is used where it is charitable to suppose that 'manhood' is meant" (*ibid.*).

3. "Metaphors": "The metaphors 'temple', 'veil', 'vesture', and 'instrument', (ὄργανον) are very common in Nestorius, as they had been in Theodore of Mopsuestia. In themselves they are unobjectionable; their context must determine whether they are suitable. If it is the 'manhood' that is the temple or vesture, etc., the phrases are perfectly orthodox. But, if 'a man' is the temple, etc., they may reasonably be objected to as erroneous. A few examples out of a great number are the following: 'Mary did not bear the Godhead but a man (*hominem*), the inseparable instrument of the Divinity' (Loofs, *Nestoriana*, p. 205)... 'The Creature did not bear the Creator, but bore a man (ἄνθρωπον), the instrument of [the] Godhead' (p. 252). 'The Lord was clothed with our nature... the vesture of [the] Godhead, the inseparable clothing of the divine substance' (p. 298). 'I said that the temple

was passible, and not God who quickens the temple which has suffered' (*Heraclides* [Bedjan, p. 318; Nau, p. 202])" (*ERE* IX, p. 328).

4. "Connection": "It is much more difficult to find an orthodox sense for the expression συνάφεια ('connexion'), by which the union effected by the Incarnation is expressed by Nestorius and Theodore. This is symptomatic of the whole trend of their teaching towards the conception of two distinct beings joined together, though joined inseparably. They objected to the expression ἕνωσις ('union'), holding that it conveyed the idea of a confusion... But the main objection to συνάφεια was that it spoke of a conjunction of the Word with a man, not of human nature with the Word" (*ibid.*).

5. "Two *Prosopa* united in One": "Nestorius also frequently uses the word πρόσωπον. But he uses it very ambiguously. Thus he several times speaks in *Heraclides* of the πρόσωπον of the Godhead and the πρόσωπον of the manhood (Bedjan, p. 289; Nau, p. 183, etc.)... He affirms, indeed, one πρόσωπον in our Lord, but he frequently appears to conceive of two persons (πρόσωπα) united so as to make one person (*Heraclides* [Bedjan, pp. 94, 305, etc.; Nau, pp. 61, 193, etc.])" (*ERE* IX, pp. 328-329).

I.C.2. EXAMPLES OF NESTORIUS'S TEACHING:

"From other writings of Nestorius may be cited a few examples, in addition to those already given. In some Nestorius approaches a position which it is difficult to distinguish from true Nestorianism... Cassian quotes him as saying: 'No one bears one who was before herself' (*'nemo anteriorem se parit'*), and almost the same words (with *'antiquiorem'*) occur in his first letter to Pope Coelestine (Loofs, *Nestoriana*, pp. 168, 351). On one occasion (*ibid.*, p. 352), with reference to the name *'Theotokos'*, he asks if, because the babe John was filled with the Holy Ghost from his mother's womb, one ought to call Elisabeth *'Pneumatokos'* ('Spirit-bearer') – a question which shows him to have been either a hopelessly confused thinker, or else (if the relation of the Son of Mary to the *Logos* is to be compared with that of John to the Holy Spirit) a confirmed 'Nestorian'. Another saying (Loofs, *Nestoriana*, p. 292) which is decidedly ambiguous is: 'The same (ὁ αὐτός) was both babe and Lord of the babe ... the same was babe and inhabitant (οἰκήτωρ) of the babe'. The phrases 'Lord of the babe' and 'inhabitant of the babe' seem to point to two persons, namely 'the Lord' ('the inhabitant') and 'the babe', even though they be united with 'the same'" (*ERE* IX, p. 329).

"Nestorius repeated Theodore's language about the *Logos* dwelling in Christ, and about the indwelling being due to God's good pleasure (εὐδοκία). He said that he was willing to worship 'him that is borne on account of him that bears' (Bethune-Baker, pp. 44, 93, 153)" (*ERE* IX, p. 329).

"In *Heraclides* the language is very diffuse and the arguments often difficult to follow; they are on the whole better balanced than those of his earlier works, though they include much that is ambiguous. The following is a specimen (Bethune-Baker, p. 86): 'He passed through blessed Mary... I said that God the Word "passed" and not "was born", because He did not receive a beginning from her. But the two natures being united are one Christ. And He who "was born of the Father as to the divinity" and "from the holy Virgin as to the humanity", is, and is styled, one; for of the two natures there was a union... The two natures unconfused I confess to be one Christ'. [He goes on to argue against the name *'Theotokos'*]" (*ERE* IX, p. 329).

"It must be added that his summary of his own position in *Heraclides* is hopelessly confused (Bedjan, p. 128f.; Nau, p. 83). It contains a statement of Christ's sinlessness; but it shows all the old inability to see the difference between the abstract and the concrete" (*ERE* IX, p. 329).

The saying about God and an infant: This saying is very important historically, and was discussed before under section I.A.4.

I.D. The Marian Title *Theotokos* and the *Communicatio idiomatum*:

(I.D.1.) Nestorius was consecrated bishop of Constantinople in April, 428 A.D. Shortly after his consecration, in a letter to St. Celestine, bishop of Rome, Nestorius mentioned the term *Theotokos* and indicated that he preferred *Christotokos* as a title for the Savior's mother. Apparently this letter did not itself spark a controversy, but shortly afterward, a certain presbyter, Anastasius by name, whom Nestorius brought with him from Antioch to serve as his domestic chaplain, preached on 22 November 428; and in the course of his sermon denied that Mary is *Theotokos*. "Let no one", Anastasius cried, "call Mary the mother of God. For Mary was but human: and it is impossible for God to be born of human kind" (Socrates, *H.E.* VII. xxxii, parag. 2). Some of the congregation protested when he anathematized those who called Mary *Theotokos*, and the scandal was great, not only because the term was current coin, and of long standing in Christendom (see IV.A.4.), but because Nestorius agreed with Anastasius and did not censure him. He received him at the Eucharist (Wilken, *JECM*, pp. 201-202; Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 201).

(I.D.2.) On Christmas Day, Nestorius began a course of sermons in support of Anastasius his chaplain, and within a few months a collection of Nestorius's sermons had been made and forwarded to St. Cyril of Alexandria (*ibid.*).

In his first sermon as translated by Dr. Neale, Nestorius asks: "Has God a mother? Then we may excuse paganism for giving mothers to its divinities. Then was Paul a liar when he testified concerning Christ that He was 'without father, without mother, without descent'. No: Mary was not the mother of God. For 'that which is born of the flesh is flesh: and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit'. A creature brought not forth Him who is uncreated; the Father begat not of the Virgin an Infant God, the Word; for 'in the beginning was the Word', as John saith: a creature bore not the Creator, but rather a man who was the organ of Deity. For the Holy Ghost created not God the Son: and 'that which is conceived of her is of the Holy Ghost'; but He fabricated of the Virgin a Temple wherein God the Word should dwell. God was incarnate, but never died; yea, rather, elevated him in whom He was incarnate; He descended to raise that which had fallen, but He fell not Himself. On account of the Employer, then, I venerate the vestment which He employed; on account of that which is concealed, I adore that which appears" (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 202, quoting Neale, J.M., *Patr. Al.*, i. 236; Latin and Greek in Loofs, *Nestoriana* 252 sq., 262, II. 3, 4). "A lawyer named Eusebius, afterwards bishop of Dorylaeum, *c.* 448-51, stood up and protested that the Eternal Word was born in flesh" (*ibid.*, quoting St. Cyril of Alexandria, *Adv. Nest.* i, chap. 4...).

(I.D.3.) "But the opposition continued, and on Lady Day, 429, Proclus, the bishop intended for Cyzicus and afterwards patriarch of Constantinople, was appointed to preach.

In the presence of Nestorius, he delivered a panegyric 'on the Virgin mother of God'" (*ibid.*, p. 203, referring to *PG* lxv. 679-92; Marius M. [*PL* xlviii. 775-81]; *Conc. Eph.* i, § 2 [Mansi, iv. 577-87], and, for a summary, Neale, *Patr. Al.* i. 239 sq.).

"'It is the feast of the Virgin', Proclus said in that panegyric, § 1, 'in whose womb the incircumscript God found an habitation. God, § 2, was born of a woman, but not bare God; man too was born of her, but not mere man. Be not ashamed, O man, § 3, of that birth: it was the means of our salvation. If God had not been born, He could not have died; if He had not died, He could not have destroyed him that had the power of death, i.e. the devil. If the Word had never dwelt in the Virgin's womb, then Flesh had never ascended the Father's throne. Quite right, § 4, was St. Paul in speaking of Him as "without father, and without mother". He is without a mother as the Creator, without a father as the created'..... 'If Christ be one, § 8, and the Word another, then,' he insists, 'we have no longer a Trinity but a Quaternity.' Returning to the Incarnation, 'the Lord', he says, § 9, 'came to save: but, in so doing, to suffer. A mere man could not save: a mere God could not suffer. So God became man. That which was, saved: and that which was made, suffered.' And so the preacher concluded, in a magnificent peroration, with setting forth the antitheses of the Incarnation. They are rhetoric of course, but empty rhetoric if Mary is not *Theotokos*. But if she be so, then 'the Self-same was in the Father's bosom and in the womb of His mother. He lay in a mother's arms, while he walked upon the wings of the wind. He was adored by angels, while He sat at meat with publicans. The Cherubim durst not behold Him, while Pilate condemned Him...." (*ibid.*, pp. 203-204).

(I.D.4.) The oratory of Proclus was greeted with prolonged applause, to which Nestorius reacted beginning an extemporized answer in which he said: "...To say that God was born of Mary is to give a handle of unbelief to the pagans; to say that God was joined to the Son of Mary is firm and impregnable ground...." (*Sermo* iv, parag. 2&3 = *PL* xlviii, 782B&C).

(I.D.5.) Nestorius's answer was not without its effect. It was further elaborated in what are given as three sermons of this date, just after Easter, 429, dealing with three statements of Proclus that 'Mary is mother of God', that 'God was made High Priest', and that 'God was born and died'. (*Sermones* v-vii of Marius Mercator = *PL* xlviii. 785ff.: they were answered by St. Cyril, *Adv. Nest.* = Op. x. 9-143; *PG* lxxvi. 9-248).

"... 'God', says Nestorius in the first, 'passed through the Virgin mother of Christ: that God was born of her is never asserted in Holy Scripture. It always uses such expressions as that Christ, the Son, the Lord was born of her. It says "the young child and His mother", not "God and His mother".'..." (*Sermo* v, § 9 = *PL* xlviii 787D; Loofs, *Nestoriana* 278; as quoted in Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 205). In the last sermon he taught that it was not God but Jesus who died and rose again (*Sermo* vii § 7 = *PL* xlviii. 792A); and, like Theodore, he took the confession of St. Thomas, "My Lord and my God", as a doxology to the Father (*ibid.* § 8 = 792B; as quoted in Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 205).

(I.D.6.) St. Cyril of Alexandria sent his *First Letter to Nestorius*, June 429. "I am told", he says, "that you are leaving no stone unturned to injure me at Court. But it was not my letter to the monks which caused the prevailing excitement: it was some papers or other, whether proceeding from you or not, that were circulated here, which did it. I must take some steps to put matters right. Inquiries from Caelestine, bishop of Rome, and complaints from the Eastern churches, make it incumbent upon me. Your language has given deep offence. Yet if

you would but recognize the one word *Theotokos*, you would at once recover your reputation for orthodoxy, and at the same time restore peace to the Church" (quoted as abridged in Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 211; see also the present work under Part One, section IV.A.6.).

(I.D.7.) Indeed, Nestorius had lost ground with his own flock since his sermons at Christmas. Moreover, "Dorotheus, bishop of Marcianopolis in Moesia, had scandalized them by shouts in church, where Nestorius was seated on his throne, of 'Anathema to him who calls Mary mother of God'" (Kidd, *op. cit.*, pp. 211, 212, quoting St. Cyril, *Ep.* xi, parag. 3); "and Nestorius had shown his approval by admitting him to communion then and there" (Kidd, *op. cit.*, quoting St. Cyril, *Ep.* viii). "The people protested, and refused to communicate. Some of the clergy withdrew from his allegiance. Others preached against the teaching of their archbishop, and were inhibited; while their flocks were beaten for shouting, 'We have an Emperor, but not a bishop'. Basil and his monks petitioned the Emperor against him; and a priest named Philip held conventicles, and celebrated the Eucharist in a private house" (Kidd, *op.cit.*, quoting St. Cyril, *Commonitorium* = Mansi, iv. 549D; and *Ep.* xi = *Op.* x. 40 = *PG* lxxvii. 85-9).

(I.D.8.) The dislike which Nestorius felt for the Marian title *Theotokos* does not mean that he held, as he was often charged with holding, "that the Child born of Mary was a human babe afterwards associated by the Divine Word with himself. Nay, he affirmed that from the first moment of the human life, it was indissolubly associated with the Word (Nau, 173). So, he did not repudiate *Theotokos*. But he demurred to it; and that on the ground of its paganism. 'I have said many a time that, if any simple soul among you or anywhere else finds pleasure in the term, I have no objection to it. Only do not let him make the Virgin a goddess' (Loofs, *Nestoriana*, 272). Here the caution is not against Mariolatry but against paganism; as if the Godhead of Mary's Son were derived from her" (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 206). (For passages in which Nestorius accepts the term *Theotokos*, but with a preference for supplementing it by *anthropotokos*, see *ibid.* n. 9, referring to Loofs, *Nestoriana*, 167, 181, 184 sq., 191 sq., 301 sqq., 309, 312, 319).

(I.D.9.) Nestorius's opposition to the Marian title *Theotokos* is also based on the argument that if the Son is born of Mary, he must be passible. Acknowledging the *Theotokos*, in his view, would only support the Arian argument that the Son was not truly God because he was passible. "In this connection Nestorius links Arianism and Apollinarianism; both heresies make the *Logos* subject to human affections" (Wilken, *JECM*, p. 212, n. 23).

(I.D.10.) St. Cyril saw red in Nestorius's view against the title *Theotokos*. Those who deny the *Theotokos* make of Christ an "ordinary man having nothing more than we have". How could every knee bow and angels worship him if he were an ordinary man? Because Christ is the Son become man "we were able to conquer in Christ and be stronger than sin, put off corruption and escape death... If Emmanuel was an ordinary man, how could the death of man benefit the human nature?...." (Wilken, *JECM*, p. 211 quoting Arcad. 7 = *ACO* I:1, 5, 63-64 bringing more quotations from *Adversus Nestorium* I:1).

(I.D.11.) So, while Nestorius *denied* the *Theotokos* because he saw that it suggested that the Son was not truly God, St. Cyril "*defended* it because it affirmed that the Son was truly man and that it was the divine Son, not an ordinary man, who underwent death and raised men to new life in the resurrection" (*ibid.*, p. 215).

(I.D.12.) In the spring of 430 A.D., St. Cyril composed a major refutation of Nestorius

in five books, the *Adversus Nestorium*, in which he collects and criticizes more than forty statements from Nestorius's sermons, published in the previous year, but his name does not appear in St. Cyril's work. Thus, the first book refutes selected passages attacking the Marian title *Theotokos*, the four others, those defending a duality of persons in Christ (Quasten III, p. 126). St. Cyril's impression of the teaching of his opponent is that Nestorius "would present us with 'a God-bearing man, conjoined with him in equality and dignity'; he everywhere divides the natures, setting each by itself; he has the conception of a 'mere relationship', and would teach this indwelling of the *Logos* in a mere man..." (Sellers, p. 151, n. 5).

(I.D.13.) In his most mature work on Christology, the *Quod Unus Christus sit* ('Christ is one'), St. Cyril's argument is almost wholly exegetical and soteriological. It opens with an attack on Nestorius's denial of the Marian title *Theotokos*. St. Cyril states at the outset that the central problem with the Nestorian Christology is that it does not take the incarnation seriously. By denying the title *Theotokos* Nestorius refuses to recognize that it is the divine Son who has become incarnate, taken on human flesh and redeemed man.

(I.D.14.) St. Cyril wrote also the treatises *Quod sancta Virgo deipara sit et non Christipara* and *Quod beata Maria sit deipara* (*PG* lxxvi. 250f.) in defense of *Theotokos* (Sellers, p. 142, n. 5). Emperor Justinian I also testifies about the year 542 that the treatise *Against Those That Do Not Acknowledge Mary to be the Mother of God* (*Adversus nolentes confiteri sanctam Virginem esse Deiparam*) is a genuine work of St. Cyril (Quasten III, p. 128).

[For the title *Theotokos* see also Part One, section IV, and Part Three, section IV.D.].

I.E. Nestorianism Denies a True Incarnation:

I.E.1. THE NESTORIAN THEORY OF *PROSOPIC* UNION AMOUNTS TO A DENIAL OF THE WORD INCARNATE:

Nestorius asserts that Christ is twofold in nature: there is in Him a distinction of Godhead and manhood (Loofs, *Nestoriana*, p. 281; Nau, p. 286). These two elements are each to be thought of as a *prosopon* (πρόσωπον) or living whole. It must be emphasized that "πρόσωπον is for Nestorius not the same as what we call *person*. For our notion of *person* the main thing is the oneness of the subject or of the internal self. We can, therefore, use the term *person* only for rational beings... For Nestorius, who in this respect was influenced by the manner of speaking common at that time, the main thing in his notion of πρόσωπον, according to the etymology of the word and to the earlier history of its meaning, was the external undivided appearance" (*Heraclides*, ed. Bedjan, p. 89 = tr. Nau, p. 58. Compare Bedjan 31ff. = Nau 18ff., where Nestorius is regarding a soldier's uniform as his πρόσωπον). He was, therefore, able to call a bishop preaching from the pulpit the πρόσωπον of the church (because the church appeared in him) (Loofs, *Nestoriana*, p. 332, 13; quoted in Loofs, *Nestorius*, pp. 76-77). Loofs (*op. cit.*) adds saying: "In his opinion, I believe, everything had its πρόσωπον, that is its appearance, its kind of being seen and judged. In not a few places in Nestorius, it is true, the meaning of πρόσωπον coincides with our understanding of the term *person*, e.g. 'Cyril's πρόσωπον' means Cyril, (Bedjan 195 = Nau 117), 'these πρόσωπα' means these persons (Bedjan 197 = Nau 118). Nevertheless,

it must be stressed that the notion of πρόσωπον in Nestorius had a wider application than our term person (see Loofs, *Nestorius*, p. 77).

Nestorius as an adherent of the Antiochian school could as little realize a really existing nature without πρόσωπον (*prosopon*) as without ὑπόστασις (*hypostasis*) (Loofs, *Nestorius*, p. 78, quoting *Heraclides*, ed. Bedjan 316 = tr. Nau 202). In his opinion, the whole of the characteristics which make the nature must as necessarily have a form of appearance, i.e. a *prosopon*, as a real being by which they are borne, i.e. an *hypostasis* (*ibid.*).

Nestorius is very emphatic on the conception of the reality of "the *prosopa* of the natures". Thus to quote but one of many passages which can be adduced in this connection: "I predicate two natures, that He indeed who is clothed is one, and He wherewith He is clothed another, and these two *prosopa* of Him who is clothed and of Him wherewith He is clothed" (*Bazaar*, p. 218, as quoted in *Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 188).

Moreover, it should be noted that, speaking of the Man, Nestorius says that "He was not without activity in His own nature", (*ibid.*, p. 233) and that "the *prosopon* of the humanity is moved to and fro by the humanity in accordance with the nature of man" (*ibid.*, p. 211). "It may not be without significance that it was not till after his condemnation, when he wrote the *Bazaar*, that Nestorius was outspoken concerning the human *prosopon* of Jesus Christ" (*Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 188, n. 4).

The difficulty of Nestorius was that he could not imagine what was later invented by the Council of Chalcedon in its definition of "two natures in one *prosopon* and *hypostasis* of Christ". Nestorius, like the Antiochenes could not conceive of a nature (namely, Christ's human nature) complete, but impersonal, and therefore capable of attaching to His Divine Person.

[The Alexandrines cannot accept Nestorius's slogan "Christ in two natures", since each nature – as Nestorius himself admits – would necessarily have its *hypostasis* and *prosopon*. Therefore, St. Cyril never spoke of two natures after the union, but only "one incarnate nature of God the Word". This is because the perfect rational humanity of Christ was never actualized outside its union with the *hypostasis* and nature of God the Word who, from the first moment of conception in the womb of the holy Virgin Mary, united himself to the rational ensouled flesh which he took from her, making it his own and personalizing it in his own *hypostasis*, through a *hypostatic* and natural union.]

Kidd (*HC*, vol. III, p. 207) abridges Nestorius's theory of *prosopic* union quoting his *Treatise of Heraclides*, saying: "Christ is twofold in nature... 'Even in the union, the natures remain without confusion. The natures are not without their respective πρόσωπα nor the πρόσωπα without their respective essences' (Nau 273). But, it would be objected, this means two Christs and two Sons. Nestorius persistently repudiated the inference (Loofs, *Nestoriana* 281; Nau 286). 'Son,' 'Christ,' 'Lord,' he replied, are titles given in Scripture, not to the one or the other element in His being, but to Himself —the Person Incarnate (Loofs, *Nestoriana* 273f.). We must therefore suppose, he argues, a kind of 'give and take between the two πρόσωπα' (Nau 233); and, as its consequence, a resultant πρόσωπον (*ibid.* 127f., 132, 146, 282), i.e. 'but one πρόσωπον for the two natures' (*ibid.* 194), if we are to give the only reasonable explanation of the one Christ".

But what does Nestorius understand by the one *prosopon* of Christ? Loofs (*Nestorius*, p. 79ff.), gives his answer saying: "Nestorius has in his mind the undivided appearance of

the historic Jesus Christ. For he says, very often that 'Christ is the one πρόσωπον of the union' (e.g. Bedjan 212 = Nau 128). And he argued with Cyril: 'You start in your account with the creator of the natures' [i.e. the eternal Word] 'and not with the πρόσωπον of the union' [i.e. the historical Figure of the Gospels] (Bedjan 225 = Nau 136; compare Bedjan 255 = Nau 154). To understand this idea of Nestorius all thoughts of a substantial union ought to be dismissed. A substantial union—so Nestorius argues—including a confusion, a mixture, a natural composition, would result in a new being (Bedjan 250f. = Nau 151). Here the natures are unmixed.... These different natures are united not substantially but in the πρόσωπον of the union (e.g. Bedjan 213 = Nau 129).... It is the leading idea of Nestorius that the natures of Christ made reciprocate use of their πρόσωπα (e.g. Bedjan 341f. = Nau 219; Bedjan 289 = Nau 183; Bedjan 307 = Nau 195; Bedjan 334 = nau 213), the Godhead of the form of a servant, the manhood of the form of God (e.g. Bedjan 81 = Nau 52; Bedjan 90f. = Nau 59; Bedjan 241 = Nau 145). In this sense in the one πρόσωπον of Christ, according to Nestorius, 'a union of the πρόσωπα' took place (Bedjan 305 = Nau 193; compare Bedjan 213 = Nau 129; Bedjan 275 = Nau 174; Bedjan 281 = Nau 177) so that 'this is that and that is this' (Bedjan 331 = Nau 211)". The idea he was thus trying to bring out would seem to be that, just as the Word assumed the form of a servant, manifesting Himself as man, so the humanity had the form of Godhead bestowed upon it, the result of the exchange being the unique *prosopon* of Jesus Christ.

Nestorius could therefore say, "I separate the natures, but I unite the worship", and this was indeed his watchword (e.g. *Sermon* I, Loofs, *Nestoriana*, p. 262; Norris, *CC*, p. 130); and, when charged with setting up a merely moral union in Christ, he could reply that it is a union of will and not of essence, but at the same time maintain that "so far from God the Word being one person and the man, in whom He is, another, it is One and the Self-same in two natures and yet One Christ, Son and Lord" (*ibid.* 224).

Kidd (*op. cit.*, pp. 208-209) comments on this Nestorian theory saying: "It would appear then that, according to Nestorius, 'the Incarnation has set up a new person composed of the Word and of the human person conjoined with Him. The new person is called "Christ", "Son" and "Lord"; and it is this person, not the Divine Word, who is the subject of all the experiences which Cyril ascribed to the Word Himself' (Loofs, *Nestoriana* 269). Mary, therefore, is not *Theotokos* but *Christotokos*, or mother of the resultant person. **The Nicene Creed, argued Nestorius, speaks of 'Jesus Christ' and not of the Word as 'incarnate...crucified...raised again' (Nestorius's second letter to St. Cyril = St. Cyril, *Ep.* V). But he forgot that between subject and predicate of this sentence stood 'God of God...of one substance with the Father'. It was, then, 'the only-begotten Son of God, a Person antecedent to and not resultant from the Incarnation, the same both before and after that event, who took upon Him our nature and so was the continuous subject of experiences, human in succession to divine'. Nestorius therefore failed to establish the unity of Christ by his theory of two πρόσωπα—the Word and the human person—making use of each other in a composite Person; and he did not succeed in avoiding the assertion of two persons in Christ, after all. 'The Word of God', he says, 'is the God of Christ' (Loofs, *Nestoriana*, 291f., 340): where 'Christ' must necessarily stand not for the composite Person but for the human element in**

his double being. On the point, then, that, according to Nestorius, for all his efforts to escape the conclusion, there were in Christ two beings and not one Divine Person, Cyril was in the right. He had far greater gifts of theological penetration than Nestorius; and he was now convinced that teaching was being given which would render redemption through the Incarnate impossible".

Indeed the Nestorian theory of *prosopic* union is to be traced back to the teaching of Theodore of Mopsuestia who had formed the theological mind of Nestorius. Theodore's theory really amounted to no more than a moral union: and this he admitted by comparing the union of divine and human in our Lord to the conjugal union. Thus he says: **"...through the union the two natures which have been brought together make up one *prosopon* according to the union. Just as the Lord said of a man and his wife that 'they are no longer two, but one flesh' (*Mark* 10:8), so let us reasonably say, in accordance with the principle of the union 'so they are no longer two *prosopa*, but one', the natures being of course distinguished. ...For when we distinguish the natures, we say that the nature of God the Word is complete, and that [his] *prosopon* is complete (for it is not correct to speak of an *hypostasis* without its *prosopon*); and [we say] also that the nature of the man is complete, and likewise [his] *prosopon*. But when we look to the conjunction, then we say one *prosopon*"** (Norris, *Manhood and Christ*, pp. 228-229).

Certainly man and wife are 'one flesh', but after marriage they still remain two persons as before. And Theodore repeatedly spoke of the union between God and a man, between 'Him who assumed' and 'him who was assumed'.

It is clear therefore that the Nestorian theory of *prosopic* union amounted to a denial of the Word Incarnate. Thus, with Bedjan (xiii) and Nau (xxviii), "we cannot forget that 'the two Natures' in the teaching of Nestorius involve two distinct *hypostases* and two persons (*prosopa*) united in one by simple give and exchange, so that it is certain that, even with the *Book of Heraclides* as his defence, Nestorius would nevertheless have been condemned as a heretic" (quoted by Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 208, n. 5).

That is why the issue raised by Nestorianism was to St. Cyril a very plain one, which involved the very essence of the Apostolic Christianity. Therefore, he made up his mind to do the battle against Nestorius for the doctrine of a real Incarnation and a really Divine Jesus Christ.

Thus, St. Cyril writes to Acacius Bishop of Melitene saying: "Nestorius then, on the one hand, is discovered to be totally destroying the incarnate birth of the Only-begotten Son of God—he denies that he was born of a woman in accordance with the Scriptures. This is what he said: 'That God entered from the Virgin Mother of Christ I was taught by divine Scripture; that God was born of her was I nowhere taught' (see Loofs, *Nestoriana*, pp. 277f.). And again in another sermon: 'Accordingly nowhere does divine Scripture say God was born of the Virgin Mother of Christ, but Jesus Christ Son and Lord' (*ibid.*, p. 278). How can anyone doubt when he all but shouts the very thing out clearly, that when he says these things he is dividing the one into two sons and is asserting the personally distinct existence of a Son, Christ and Lord, the Word begotten of God the Father and in addition that of a

different separate and personally distinct Son, Christ and Lord, born of the holy Virgin?" (St. Cyril's *letter to Acacius of Melitene*, parag. 9, tr. Wickham, *Select Letters*, pp. 44-47).

Also in the five books entitled *Adversus Nestorii blasphemias* (composed earlier in the spring of the year 430 A.D.), St. Cyril collects and criticizes more than forty statements from the sermons which Nestorius delivered against Proclus. Briefly, the great Alexandrian author "cannot but think that this 'thoughtless exponent of pernicious doctrine', in 'dividing the natures' and attributing what is divine in Christ to the *Logos* and what is human to 'the Man assumed', is dividing the one Christ into a duad of Sons – the one the divine *Logos*, the eternal Son of God, the other the Man, regarded 'as another beside him'..." (Sellers, pp. 151-152). **St. Cyril realized that the teaching of his opponent is this: "Nestorius denies the necessity of calling the Virgin '*Theotokos*'; he would present us with 'a God-bearing man, conjoined with him in equality and dignity'; he everywhere divides the natures, setting each by itself; he has the conception of a 'mere relationship', and would teach this indwelling of the *Logos* in a mere man; he allots the sayings in the Gospels, some to the *Logos*, considered individually, and some to 'him born of a woman', considered 'as another beside him'. Nestorius, he says, should curb his tongue, and remember that, when we sin against the brethren, and wound a weak conscience, we sin against Christ** (*adv. Nestor.* ii; ed. Pusey, VI. pp. 92ff)" (Sellers, p. 151, n.5).

St. Cyril shows that the term *Theotokos* (which Nestorius had grudgingly admitted) does not mean 'parent of the Godhead' (*Adv. Nest.* i.1). **"He criticizes the inadequate sense that Nestorius had put upon the Nicene Creed (*ibid.* i. 7, 8), and on the words of Scripture; contends that he had reduced the Incarnation to an 'association' (συνάφεια, *ibid.* i.3) of God with a man, or an 'indwelling' (*ibid.* i. 6, 8) of God in a man.... He exposes the merely verbal sense in which alone Nestorius could apply the term 'God' to the being whom he called Christ; and says that, on his theory, he cannot exclude the notion of two Sons (*ibid.* ii.1). Had then the Divine Son Himself become Incarnate, or had He merely allied Himself to a man? Was the Gospel one of a human Saviour, or of the reunion of mankind with God through a Saviour, Divine in his Person as well as human in the nature which he vouchsafed to assume? (*ibid.* ii.2). This, according to Cyril, is the issue at stake: no verbal dispute, but a question between two versions of the Christian Creed, or rather between two creeds—the Christian doctrine of salvation, and something less"** (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 236). "Cyril was fully assured that, despite all that Nestorius might say to the contrary, the latter was dividing the one Christ into two Sons, each, 'the one' and 'the other', with an independent existence" (Sellers, p. 7).

Scripture, St. Cyril declares, "does not say that the *Logos* united a man's *prosopon* to Himself, but that He became flesh (*PG* lxxvii. 48c). It should be understood that what Cyril is denying here is not that the *Logos* united to Himself a manhood complete with a human rational soul, but that the 'union' is such that in Jesus Christ two *prosopa*, two Persons, are set side by side" (*Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 194 & n. 2).

By way of warning St. Cyril declares that "he who divides the natures posits two sons" (Sellers, p. 152). "Cease dividing the natures after the union" is the advice which the Bishop of Alexandria gives to his adversary (*ibid.*, quoting *Adv. Nestor.* ii. 8;

ed. Pusey VI. pp. 118f. For other passages in the *adv. Nestor.* which illustrate Cyril's point of view, see ii. 6, 10; *ibid.* pp. 112, 122. See also St. Cyril's *Apology against the Oriental Bishops* = *Apol. Adv. Orient.* iii; *ibid.* p. 280). "... **'After the union', he argues, there can be no dividing into two Persons, since after the union with flesh the *Logos* is still the same Person who existed eternally without flesh.** How then, he would ask, can one thus divide him who is 'one and the same Son and Lord both before the incarnation and after the incarnation? For there can be no 'this Son and that Son', no 'one and another', no 'first and second', but 'one only—the same both before flesh and after flesh'...." (Sellers, p. 152, quoting St. Cyril's *Apol. adv. Orient.*, iii; *adv. Nestor.* ii. 6, ed. Pusey VI. pp. 280, 112).

Consequently, that his adversary might be afforded no way of escape, St. Cyril "confronted him with **the Twelve Anathematisms**, and demanded of him an express rejection of any such notions as that Jesus Christ is a 'God-bearing man', in whom there is a 'mere divine indwelling', and who is 'conjoined' with the *Logos* 'in dignity or authority or rule', or that the flesh which the *Logos* united to himself in a 'natural union'—that is, in a real *unitio*—can be regarded 'as that of another [existing individually] beside him'" (Sellers, p. 7, quoting Anathema xi). "It is particularly noteworthy that in four other Anathematisms Cyril makes the same point: the sayings in the evangelic and apostolic writings must not be allotted, some 'to a man considered individually beside the *Logos*', and others, as God-befitting, solely to the *Logos* of God the Father (Anath. iv); Jesus must not be regarded 'as another beside him, energized by him' (Anath. vii); the man assumed is not to be co-worshipped with the *Logos* 'as if one person with another' (Anath. viii; Latin version); one must confess that it was the divine *Logos* who was made High Priest and our Apostle when he became flesh and man like us, and not 'a man born of a woman, existing individually as another beside him' and offering the sacrifice on his own behalf (Anath. x)" (*ibid.*, n. 2).

In fact, it was **St. Athanasius of Alexandria**, who wrote his famous *Letter to Epictetus*, bishop of Corinth, about sixty years before the rise of Nestorianism, condemning and refuting several heretical ideas expressed by different heterodox groups at Corinth, as to the relation of the historical Christ to the eternal Son. Among these groups, some were Arians and Apollinarians that shared Docetic views. Others, having proceeded on the assumption, incidentally combated by St. Athanasius, that the Manhood of Christ was a *Hypostasis* or Person, they excluded the Man Jesus from the Trinity, through explaining his relation to God on the lines of Photinus or the later Nestorians. The *Letter to Epictetus* gained almost canonical reputation and was much quoted in the Christological controversies of the next eighty years. When the Nestorians tried to falsify the text for their own purpose, St. Cyril of Alexandria (letters 39, 40 and 45) unmasked the corruptions.

The following is a small quotation from the *Letter to Epictetus* (parag. 2), in which St. Athanasius repudiates ideas adopted later by the Nestorians. Thus he writes: "...Or how did men called Christians venture even to doubt whether the Lord, Who proceeded from Mary, while Son of God by Essence and Nature, is of the seed of David according to the flesh, and of the flesh of the Holy Mary? Or who have been so venturesome as to say that Christ Who suffered in the flesh and was crucified is not Lord, Saviour, God, and Son of the Father? Or how can they wish to be called Christians who say that the Word has descended upon a holy man as upon one of the prophets, and has not Himself become man, taking the body from

Mary; but that Christ is one person, while the Word of God, Who before Mary and before the ages was Son of the Father, is another? Or how can they be Christians who say that the Son is one, and the Word of God another?" (*NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. IV, p. 571).

I.E.2. THE NESTORIAN THEORY OF TWO *HYPOSTASES* AND *PROSOPA* IN CHRIST LEADS TO A QUATERNITY INSTEAD OF THE TRINITY BECAUSE OF THE ADDITION OF THE MAN IN CHRIST TO THE TRINITY:

I.E.2.a. The Christology of Nestorius Leads to a Quaternity:

On Lady Day, 429 A.D., Proclus the bishop intended for Cyzicus and afterwards patriarch of Constantinople, gave a sermon in the presence of Nestorius, which was a panegyric: "On the Virgin Mother of God" (q.v. in *PG* lxv. 679-692; Marius M. in *PL* xlviii. 775-781; *Conc. Eph.* i.2 in Mansi iv. 577-587). Having in mind what Nestorius said before in his first sermon (Loofs, *Nestoriana* 252ff., 262, II. 3,4; quoted in Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 202) that, "a creature bore not the Creator, but rather a man who was the organ of Deity.... On account of the Employer, then, I venerate the vestment which He employed; on account of that which is concealed, I adore that which appears", Proclus in his sermon, refuted the teaching of Nestorius that the Man Jesus is one and the Word is another, and both are worshipped together, showing the danger of this implication on the Holy Trinity, saying (parag. 8): "If Christ be one and the Word another, then", he insists, "we have no longer a Trinity but a Quaternity" (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 203).

I.E.2.b. The Refutation of the Nestorian Quaternity by St. Cyril of Alexandria:

St. Cyril of Alexandria, having the sermons of Nestorius before him, refuted the perverted way of his adversary who "proclaims unto us two gods: one, as if by Nature and in truth, the Word forth of God the Father, and other than He, him who is co-named with Him.....the God-inspired Scriptures wholly proclaim One Christ and Son and Lord: but this too-curious man says Two and he is not ashamed to add a worshipped man to the Holy and Consubstantial Trinity: for he says again, 'But this kinsman after the flesh of Israel, man according to what is manifest, begotten according to Paul's voice of the seed of David, is by connection Almighty God', and then adds, 'Hear Paul proclaiming both, he confesses the man first and then deifies what is manifest by connection with God, that none may suspect the Christian of being a man-worshipper. Keep we therefore unconfused the connection of the natures, confess we One God, reverence we the Man who is co-worshipped by a Divine connection along with the Almighty God.'... If therefore on naming Man thou knowest that He is with this God by Nature, it is well and I will stop: but if severing the natures, not merely in respect of knowing which is the human, which again the Divine, but rather parting them from their concurrence unto unity, confessedly thou art a man-worshipper, ... go alone on the perverted way" (St. Cyril, *Against Nestorius*, ii. 13, 14: in Pusey, *Five Tomes*, etc., pp. 78, 80).

Again, St. Cyril writes *Against Nestorius* (iv. 6) saying: "If therefore the Word of God the Father be not rather in flesh, or made Man, but a God-clad man with bodily side and

who endured the piercing, how is He seen on the Throne of the Supreme Godhead, revealed to us as a new god fourth after the Holy Trinity? Hast thou not shuddered at a mere man, devising worship for the creature? Are we then holden in the ancient snares? have we then done insult to God and has the holy multitude of the spirits above gone astray with us? If we have been set free from the ancient deceit, refusing as blasphemous to worship the creature, why dost thou casting us again into the old charges, exhibit us man-worshippers? For we know and believe that the Word out of God the Father assumed flesh and blood: but since He hath remained the Same, i.e., God, He retained the Dignity of His inherent Excellence over all, albeit in flesh as we, yet being no less God, now too than of old, even though He have been made Man, He hath the Heaven His adorer and the earth worshipping Him" (Pusey, *Five Tomes, etc.*, p. 152).

St. Cyril also wrote a dialogue, highly prized in antiquity, entitled *Quod unus sit Christus*, i.e. "Christ is One", published in Pusey, *Five Tomes, etc.*, pp. 237-319. J.A. McGuckin prepared a new English translation and published it under the title: *On the Unity of Christ* (New York, 1995), from which we quote the following (pp. 72-73):

"A.....Even the Lord and Savior of all says this about the wretched: 'Whatever you do to one of the least of these, you do to me' (*Matthew* 25:40). Are we to conclude that if someone worships the one who is of the line of David, he can be said to have worshipped the Son? And if someone refuses to believe in such a son are we to think he has really offended the natural Son whose only desire is that we should honor and believe in this man in just the same way and degree that we do him? If this were to be the case would not the slave have been held in the same honor as the Lord since he is elevated to the eminence of the deity? But in that case 'God is increased' as the scriptures say (*Psalm* 81:10 LXX), and surely something of an unequal nature must have been added to the holy and consubstantial Trinity, so as to receive worship along with it, and share in the same glory?"

"B. They would say that this 'reference' ought to be taken in some sense like this: that insofar as we understand that the Word of God is inseparably conjoined to the descendant of David, so we worship him as God."

"A. But is this mere conjunction with the Word enough to allow him to grasp the proper glory of God and rise above the bounds of the created order? Does this make him an object of worship even though he is not God? I notice, for example, how someone in the Psalms sings this to God: 'My soul is bound to you' (*Psalm* 63:8), and the blessed Paul also writes: 'Whoever is bound to the Lord is one spirit with him' (*1Corinthians* 6:17). So tell me, should we also worship such people as this, since they too have a bonding 'in reference' to God? But even so, the term 'bonding' surely has a stronger and much more suitable significance than to speak of a 'conjunction', for does not someone with a bonding experience an extreme form of conjunction?"

"B. So it would seem."

In a fragment published (Pusey, *Five Tomes, etc.*, p. 349), from the first book of St. Cyril that Christ is One against Theodore of Mopsuestia, the Holy Alexandrian Father says: "For there are, there are who deny their Redeemer and Lord and say that He is not true Son of God the Father Who in the last times of the age endured for our sakes birth of a woman after the flesh; but rather that a new and late god appeared to the earth, having the glory of sonship acquired from without just like us and boasting as it were in honours not his

own, so that it is just man-worship and nothing else, and some man is worshipped together with the Holy Trinity by us and by the holy angels..... For what else than a snare and a stumbling-block, is a tongue uttering perverse things and counter to the sacred Scriptures and shamelessly resisting the Tradition of the Holy Apostles and Evangelists? We must therefore repudiate them who are obnoxious to such evil charges whether they are among the living or not: for from that which injures it is necessary to withdraw, and not to look to person but to what pleases God".

I.E.2.c. The Orthodox Doctrine of Incarnation, as Explained by St. Athanasius, Does Not Lead to a Quaternity:

From the *Letter* of St. Athanasius to Epictetus we understand that some heterodox groups, having proceeded on the assumption, incidentally combated by St. Athanasius, that the Manhood of Christ was a *Hypostasis* or Person, and since the Trinity is a trinity of Persons, not of Essences, they argued that if Christ is truly man having a distinct personality from the Son then the Triad will be a Tetrad. To avoid this, one class identified the *Logos* and the Man, either by assuming that the *Logos* was changed into flesh, or that the flesh was itself non-natural and of the Divine Essence. The other class excluded the Man Jesus born of the Virgin from the Trinity, explaining His relation to God on the lines of the heretics Marcellus and his pupil Photinus or the later Nestorians.

St. Athanasius repudiates such heretical ideas in his *Letter to Epictetus* (parag. 2) saying: "What lower region has vomited the statement that the Body born of Mary is coessential with the Godhead of the Word? or that the Word has been changed into flesh, bones, hair, and the whole body, and altered from its own nature? Or who ever heard in a Church, or even from Christians, that the Lord wore a body putatively, not in nature; or who ever went so far in impiety as to say and hold, that this Godhead, which is coessential with the Father, was circumcised and became imperfect instead of perfect; and that what hung upon the tree was not the body, but the very creative Essence and Wisdom? Or who that hears that the Word transformed for Himself a passible body, not of Mary, but of His own Essence, could call him who said this a Christian? Or who devised this abominable impiety, for it to enter even his imagination, and for him to say that to pronounce the Lord's Body to be of Mary is to hold a Tetrad instead of a Triad in the Godhead? Those who think thus, saying that the Body of the Saviour which he put on from Mary, is of the Essence of the Triad....." (*NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 4, pp. 570f. and n. 1).

St. Athanasius, then, proceeds (parag. 8-9) to refute these heretical ideas and defend the orthodox dogma of the human Body which the Word took from the Virgin which creates no addition to the Trinity because of the true incarnation through the union of the uncreated Word to his created body. Thus he writes:

"(8)... Again, they will blush deeply who have even entertained the possibility of a Tetrad instead of a Triad resulting, if it were said that the Body was derived from Mary. For if (they argue) we say the Body is of one Essence with the Word, the Triad remains a Triad; for then the Word imports no foreign element into it; but if we admit that the Body derived from Mary is human, it follows, since the Body is foreign in Essence, and the Word is in it, that the addition of the Body causes a Tetrad instead of a Triad."

"9. When they argue thus, they fail to perceive the contradiction in which they involve

themselves. For even though they say that the Body is not from Mary, but is coessential with the Word, yet none the less (the very point they dissemble, to avoid being credited with their real opinion) this on their own premises can be proved to involve a Tetrad. For as the Son, according to the Fathers, is coessential with the Father, but is not the Father Himself, but is called coessential, as Son with Father, so the Body, which they call coessential with the Word, is not the Word Himself, but a distinct entity. But if so, on their own shewing, their Triad will be a Tetrad. For the true, really perfect and indivisible Triad is not accessible to addition as is the Triad imagined by these persons. And how do these remain Christians who imagine another God in addition to the true one? For, once again, in their other fallacy one can see how great is their folly. For if they think because it is contained and stated in the Scriptures, that the Body of the Saviour is human and derived from Mary, that a Tetrad is substituted for a Triad, as though the Body created an addition, they go very far wrong, so much so as to make the creature equal to the Creator, and suppose that the Godhead can receive an addition. And they have failed to perceive that the Word is become Flesh, not by reason of an addition to the Godhead, but in order that the flesh may rise again. Nor did the Word proceed from Mary that He might be bettered, but that he might ransom the human race. How then can they think that the Body, ransomed and quickened by the Word, made an addition in respect of Godhead to the Word that had quickened it? For on the contrary, a great addition has accrued to the human Body itself from the fellowship and union of the Word with it. For instead of mortal it is become immortal; and, though an animal body, it is become spiritual, and though made from earth it entered the heavenly gates. The Triad, then, although the Word took a body from Mary, is a Triad, being inaccessible to addition or diminution; but it is always perfect, and in the Triad one Godhead is recognized" (*ibid.*, pp. 573-574).

Therefore, the Orthodox dogma is that the Holy Trinity did not receive any addition when "one of the Trinity" became man. This is because the Word united Himself *hypostatically* and naturally to the body which he took from the Virgin and became man. So, the Word did not dwell in a man or assume a man, but He Himself was incarnate and became man. There is no addition to the Trinity because the man Jesus Christ is Himself the eternal *Logos* Incarnate.

Nestorius, having failed to establish the unity of Christ by his theory of two *hypostases* with their respective *prosopa* – the *Logos* and the human person from the seed of Abraham – making use of each other in a composite Person, he did not succeed in avoiding the assertion of two persons in Christ who are to be worshipped together. This led to the result that the man in Christ was added to the Trinity as the fourth person.

Nestorius himself tried to deal with the reproach that his doctrine leads to a Quaternity instead of the Trinity and that he is a man-worshipper (*Heraclides*, Bedjan 33 = Nau 19; Bedjan 34 = Nau 20; Bedjan 38 = Nau 23). But he did not give a satisfactory answer to this reproach (Loofs, *Nestorius*, p. 127, referring to Bedjan 360 = Nau 231, compare n. 4; what is said in Bedjan 33f. = Nau 20 suffices just as little).

I.E.2.d. The Christology of Chalcedon, as Represented by its Antiochene Supporters, Leads to a Quaternity:

In spite of the anathema pronounced against Nestorius by the Council of Chalcedon, the

anti-Chalcedonians condemned that council with the conviction that it renewed the wicked tract of Nestorius and called it the true belief. Its formula: "one *hypostasis* of Christ in two natures" was understood by many supporters of the council in an Antiochene Christological sense of two natures in Christ with their respective *hypostases* and *prosopa*, and after introducing two persons, they are declared to be one Person only out of dignity, honour or worship, as both Theodore and Nestorius have written. Consequently the Council of Chalcedon is accused of proclaiming the addition of a fourth Person in the Trinity, through bringing in Christ after the Trinity (Budge, *Philoxenus*, vol. II, p. xlvii, 'On the Heresies'). Such accusations are not unfounded, because Chalcedon adopted the Antiochene formula "two natures after the union" and received the *Tome* of Leo with its Nestorianizing character (see Part Five, section IV.), especially because of the "in two natures" formula of the *Tome* of Leo which was put in opposition to the "of or from two natures" formula of St. Cyril as quoted by his successor St. Dioscorus.

The non-Chalcedonians also could not forget that "at Chalcedon, Theodoret of Cyrus, the very man who dared to write against their champion and had pretended that the *hypostatic* union involved the idea of 'mixture', and Ibas of Edessa, that other divider of the One Christ, had been reinstated and given authority once more to spread their poison among their flocks" (Sellers, p. 265).

Paschasinus, the Roman legate at Chalcedon, declared Ibas to be innocent before certain bishops added the stipulation that he had to anathematize Nestorius. L'Huillier (p. 199) comments saying: "By explicitly recognizing the orthodoxy of the letter of Ibas to Mari, Paschasinus had been a bit imprudent, since a century later, the fifth ecumenical council condemned this document because it attacked the doctrine of St. Cyril".

That is what Paschasinus declared in the tenth session of Chalcedon (on 27th of October) that Ibas had been recognized innocent and his (heretical) letter to be orthodox. Thus paragraph 161 of the minutes of that session reads: "Paschasinus and Lucentius the most devout bishops and Boniface the presbyter, representing the apostolic see, said through Paschasinus: 'Now that the documents have been read, we know from the verdict of the most devout bishops that the most devout Ibas has been proved innocent, and from the reading of his letter we have found him to be orthodox. We therefore decree that both the honour of the episcopate and the church from which he was unjustly ejected in his absence should be restored to him..." (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 305). Price (*ibid.*, n. 119) quotes Diepen suggesting that "Paschasinus commended the letter because he had not understood it".

Grillmeier comments, concerning the Fathers of Chalcedon, saying: "They produce formulas...not as scholars. None of them could even have given a definition of the concepts with which they have now expressed Christological dogma" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. I, p. 545).

The Byzantine theologian Meyendorff explains the reasons for the opposition to the Council of Chalcedon saying:

"At Chalcedon, the Fathers, following the express desire of the emperor, had promulgated a new definition of the faith, ... Few of them were articulate theologians, so that, in the years which immediately followed the council, the only authoritative spokesman for Chalcedon in the East happened to be Theodoret of Cyrus, but his authority, in spite of his rehabilitation in 451, was marred by his earlier polemics against Cyril. And, in actual fact,

Theodoret never really understood Cyril's Christology. His writings continued to reflect the basic approach of Theodore of Mopsuestia, an attitude—so he thought—Chalcedon had legitimized. The absence, in the Chalcedonian camp, of authoritative theological figures, ... a balanced reaffirmation of Cyrillian Christology, had tragic consequences in the face of the spontaneous popular revolt provoked by the deposition of the Alexandrian pope, Dioscoros" (*IUCD*, p. 187). He adds saying: "The predominance of Antiochene Christology among the apologists of the council is obvious, first in their interpretation of the statement which proclaims that the characteristics of the two natures are 'concurring in one person (πρόσωπον) and one *hypostasis*,' and, second, in their aversion to 'theopaschite' formulae. The two points are, of course, related..... For Theodoret and many other Chalcedonians, the expression 'concurring in one *prosopon* and one *hypostasis*' implied a new and weakened use of the term *hypostasis*, as *synonymous with prosopon*..... The 'Antiochene' interpretation of the statement appears not only in the writings of Theodoret, especially in his *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*, published in 453, and his letter to the Nestorian John of Aegaea, but also in what we know of the positions of Gennadius, archbishop of Constantinople (458-471), of his successor Macedonius (495-511), of the *Acoemetae* ('Non-Sleeping') monks, also in Constantinople, and other Chalcedonian churchmen of the period. The common position of these apologists of the council was their avoidance of the notion of '*hypostatic*' union and its implications. They were of course not formally Nestorian.....but, in fact, just as their Antiochene teachers Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, they were consistently reluctant to admit a real *unity of subject* in Christ. This was particularly evident whenever they touched upon Christ's passion. When asked the question directly—'*Who* suffered on the cross?'—they would answer: 'the flesh of Christ,' His 'humanity,' His 'human nature,' or 'the things human' (τὰ ἀνθρώπεια), i.e. impersonal entities. Indeed, they would not admit the existence in Christ of a second person—this would be straight Nestorianism—but were unable to concede that, since only *somebody* (not 'something') can really *suffer*, St. Cyril was right, in the famous twelfth Anathematism of his third letter to Nestorius, in saying: God the Word 'suffered in the flesh'..... It is this systematic reluctance by many Chalcedonians to accept 'theopaschism'—which Christologically was as essential as the admission that Mary was the 'Mother of God', not of another, human person—which gave ammunition to the council's opponents.... They were right in rejecting the Antiochene identification of the term *hypostasis* with *prosopon*" (*ibid.*, pp. 190-192).

"In reality,...the Chalcedonian statement did not only solve some problems: it also created new ones....it was incomplete, especially in its failure to affirm, with sufficient and convincing clarity, and not only by implication, that the term *hypostasis* designated the pre-existing *hypostasis* of the Second Person of the Trinity" (*ibid.*, p. 193).

Walter Kasper (now Cardinal) reached a similar conclusion. Thus he says: "The Chalcedon definition lies essentially within the framework of western Christology; there was no place for Cyril's dynamic Christological idea of the hegemony of the *Logos* within the apparently symmetrical scheme of two natures which meet in one person. That led to the first great schism in the Church, and to a long history of errors and confusion.... Consequently Chalcedon represented a reaching out towards a solution, and created as many problems as it solved" (Kasper, *Jesus the Christ*, p. 238).

The quarrel about the decision of Chalcedon shows how disagreeable it was to the

majority of the Eastern Christians. The first step of importance in the direction of rejecting the implication of the Antiochene interpretation of the Chalcedonian definition was the ***Henotikon*** of the Emperor Zeno in 482 A.D. This edict states regarding our Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God, Himself God, that, "His truly sinless Incarnation from the Mother of God did not produce an addition of a Son, because the Holy Trinity continued a Trinity even when one member of the Trinity, God the Word, became incarnate....and every one who has held or holds any other opinion, either at the present or another time, whether at Chalcedon or in any synod whatever, we anathematize; and specially the before-mentioned Nestorius and Eutyches, and those who maintain their doctrines" (Kidd, *Documents*, vol. II, p. 332).

Philoxenus (*c.* 440-523), Bishop of Mabbug, in his treatise "On the Heresies" reiterates the same accusation saying: "And that addition, which took place at Chalcedon, proclaimeth a fourth Person in the Trinity, and it bringeth in Christ after the Trinity" (Budge, *Philoxenus*, vol. II, p. xlvii).

Then he expresses the Orthodox dogma saying: "Orthodox Christians, the children of the Holy Church, confess One Nature of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. And they believe that one of the Persons of this Trinity—the second Person of the Trinity—Himself came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Spirit of the Virgin Mary, and He took from her a body, but the Incarnation made no addition to His Person, for as it was a Trinity, so it remained, even after one of the Trinity, God the Word, had become incarnate. And He in very truth was born and was made manifest in the world...." (*ibid.*).

A similar, but more detailed statement of faith in respect of the Trinity, is compiled by Philoxenus, from which we quote here two representative paragraphs, which read: "I believe in a Trinity, a Trinity which can neither be reduced nor diminished to Two [Persons], nor added unto so that it becometh Four [Persons]. Nothing from the fullness thereof can be diminished, neither can it receive any other person from without. Everything which is outside this Trinity hath been created, but whatsoever is contained therein hath been from everlasting. And it is adorable; nothing outside of it is to be worshipped, and within it there is nothing which worshippeth. Outside of it there is no other God at all, neither inside of it is there a man that hath been made....." (*ibid.*, pp. xxxi-xxxii).

"Now therefore, one of the Persons of this Trinity came down by the mystery of depletion, and of the Holy Virgin became man. Inasmuch as He was God, His nature was not changed in its being, and no addition to His Person took place, but He remained the Only-begotten, even after He had taken upon himself a body...." (*ibid.*, p. xxxii.).

The eighth of the Anathemas compiled by St. Philoxenus against Chalcedon reads as follows: "VIII. And we anathematize the Council of Chalcedon also because it distinguisheth in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God, natures, and attributes, and functions, and celestial and terrestial qualities, and Divine and human properties. And it considereth Him [to be] Two, and it introduceth an idea of Four, and it worshippeth an ordinary man, and in every particular it findeth Him to be a creature, even as do the Jews and heathen, and it agreeth with the wicked Nestorius who is accursed and doomed to perdition" (*ibid.*, pp. xxxv, xxxvi).

St. Severus also gave his orthodox profession of faith in the address (*prosphonesis*) which he delivered on the occasion of his consecration as patriarch of Antioch (November, 512), in

which he anathematized all heretics, especially Nestorius and Eutyches, Chalcedon, Leo's *Tome* and all supporters of the 'two natures after the union' [*Homily* I, *PO* 38, pp. 254-268 (Coptic), 255-259 (Syriac)]. Naturally the reproach that Chalcedon signified a 'fourness' in the Trinity instead of the threeness also turned up again (§22, pp. 264-265, quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 282).

When discussing the proper understanding of the *hypostatic* union, St. Severus comes to the conclusion that the Nestorian teaching and the Council of Chalcedon result in a quaternity: "But if there is in reality one single *hypostasis*, there will also be one single incarnate nature of the God-*Logos*. Or, if there are two natures, there will also necessarily be two *hypostases* and two persons and the Trinity will be devised as a quaternity. But, so say these godless ones, we hold on to two natures and a single person (*prosopon*) and unite these two natures through the appellation as Christ, Son and Lord, and through the power [hence only through a moral bond]...We say...that this distinction is insidious and deceitful and has for its goal to let us assent to what is not, and vice versa to declare as false what is real" (*Hom.* 58: *PO* 8, 225; quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 144).

Grillmeier further comments concerning this: "Directed to the Chalcedonians (='Nestorians') once again is a similar reflection on the trinitarian implications and complications which Severus, together with other opponents of the Council, finds in the two-natures formula" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 145). He quotes St. Severus saying: "If there is not one nature and one single *hypostasis* of the God-*Logos*, it is utterly necessary that consequently we add falsely to the Trinity a fourth person. For the duality establishes each nature in itself, separate and for itself, and if once the human nature is distinct from the *Logos* [which for Severus means separate], one necessarily has to ascribe to it a proper person. And when it is time, the heavenly throne will reject that one which is foreign, and not only because he is foreign, but more still because he is a supernumerary; for how is that one not a supernumerary who makes a quaternity from the Trinity and introduces into heaven and allows to live there a human being who was made God, and who simultaneously regards him as uncreated and a creature worthy of worship and suddenly creates and assembles a new God, as the pagans are accustomed to fabricate and to name such falsely as gods, who seek them among human beings and allow them to ascend to heaven?" (*Hom.* 47: *PO* 35, 311-313; quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 145).

"**Anthimus of Trebizond** had been one of the ... (Chalcedonian) representatives at the colloquies of 532, but he was an ascetic, one who was said to have eaten no bread, oil or wine for years, and the arguments of the Monophysite (~Miaphysite) leaders must have impressed him. Soon after he had been consecrated patriarch, Theodora brought him into contact with Severus who convinced him completely both of his own orthodoxy and of the iniquity of Chalcedon. The letter which he wrote to him and whose text is preserved by Zacharias (*HE*, IX. 21) probably dates to after his expulsion from office and Severus' return to Alexandria, but it could hardly have been very long before he aroused well-founded suspicion that he was at heart an anti-Chalcedonian. To Severus, he proclaimed his acceptance of the Twelve Anathemas, of the *Henotikon* in the Severan sense, of the Theopaschite doctrines of Justinian and the condemnation of the Antiochenes, Ibas, Theodore and Theodoret. He urged .... that the two-nature doctrine transformed Trinity into Quaternity" (Frend, *RMM*, pp. 270-271). "Zacharias states that the three patriarchs, meaning Severus, Anthimus and

Theodosius, were now in communion, and this is confirmed by Severus himself. Every pro-Chalcedonian in the east took fright" (*ibid.*, p. 271, quoting Zacharias, *HE*, IX. 19&20).

The Chalcedonian monks from Scythopolis, who are to be regarded as representatives of the neo-Alexandrian school of thought, drew up their formula "One of the Holy Trinity was crucified in the flesh"—which was an enlargement of St. Cyril's Twelfth Anathematism. In support of their formula "they argue that Jesus Christ is not *alius aliquis extra Trinitatem*, as if the Trinity dwelt in him—which was what the followers of Theodore and Nestorius were saying—but that he is *Unus de Trinitate qui crucifixus est carne qua factus est*" (Sellers, p. 306, quoting *De Christ. profess.*, *PG* lxxxvi.i.81B, 82Af.)

"Indeed, they explicitly state that he who cannot accept the formula has been blinded through the darkness of the Nestorian perfidy. For their contention is that if Christ is the divine *Logos*, and if the *Logos* is a Person of the Trinity, Christ must be one of the Trinity made man; therefore, they go on, the Nestorian doctrine of an indwelling of 'the one in the other' or a relative union of two persons 'of one heart and soul' (*Acts* 4.32)—as if he were the *vicarius* or minister of the divine *Logos*, and not the divine *Logos* himself made man—is altogether excluded by their formula" (*ibid.*, quoting *Ad Ep. Horm. respon.*, *PG* lxxxvi.i.99Df., 101Dff.).

The Chalcedonian Council of Constantinople, 553, sanctioned that Scythian formula, stating in the Tenth Anathema of that council: "If anyone does not confess that our Lord Jesus Christ who was crucified in the flesh is true God and the Lord of Glory and one of the Holy Trinity: let him be anathema". What weight this sanction had is illustrated by the remark of the same council, that the Holy Trinity did not receive any addition when "one of the Trinity" became man. This remark is purposely directed against Nestorius, Theodorus of Mopsuestia, and against the Antiochian interpretation of the Chalcedonian definition. Thus Anathema V of that council of 553 A.D. reads:

"If anyone understands the expression 'one only Person of our Lord Jesus Christ' in this sense, that it is the union of many *hypostases*, and if he attempts thus to introduce into the mystery of Christ two *hypostases*, or two Persons, and, after having introduced two persons, speaks of one Person only out of dignity, honour or worship, as both Theodorus and Nestorius insanely have written; if anyone shall calumniate the holy Council of Chalcedon, pretending that it made use of this expression [one *hypostasis*] in this impious sense, and if he will not recognize rather that the Word of God is united with the flesh *hypostatically*, and that therefore there is but one *hypostasis* or one only Person, and that the holy Council of Chalcedon has professed in this sense the one Person of our Lord Jesus Christ: let him be anathema. For since one of the Holy Trinity has been made man, viz.: God the Word, the Holy Trinity has not been increased by the addition of another person or *hypostasis*" (Percival, pp. 312-313). The reference in this canon is to an old reproach made by the Miaphysites who "maintained that through the assumption of the one *hypostasis* in two natures a *tetras*, a quaternity, was introduced into the Trinity. (And precisely because the one *physis* of the God-*Logos* is said to be now united with a second *physis* and the *trias* to be changed into a *tetras*). The like-sounding reproach which is expressed in Canon V does not target this notion, but rather the assumed teaching of two *hypostases* by the two Antiochenes named" (i.e. Theodore and Nestorius; Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 449 & notes 531-532).

I.F. St. Cyril's Defense of the Unity of Christ Against Nestorius's Heretical Biblical Exegesis:

I.F.1. THE PRIESTHOOD OF CHRIST:

The passage from *Hebrews* 3:1-2 is one of the key passages in the Christological debates. It reads: "Therefore, holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, consider the Apostle and High Priest of our confession, Christ Jesus who was faithful to the one who appointed him (lit.: made him)". As Apostle and High Priest, Christ is both God's representative to man and man's Mediator before God. In Him the offices of prophet and priest—of Moses and Aaron—are combined.

I.F.1.a. The Priesthood of Christ in the Writings of Nestorius and Other Antiochenes:

We still have the original Greek text of Nestorius's sermon on *Hebrews* 3:1-2, and this sermon is the chief subject of book three of the *Adversus Nestorium* (text in Loofs, *Nestoriana*, pp. 230-242).

Throughout the sermon Nestorius develops his interpretation of *Hebrews* 3 against an Arian interpretation. "The Arians believe," says Nestorius, "that the divine *Logos* is not one with the Father because he is said to have been created and because he became a priest. But if it is true that the high priest is God, why does he make an offering?". Thus he says: "If divinity is a high priest, who is honored by the service of the high priest? If God is the one who makes the offering, there is no one to whom the offering is made.... A priest must bring an offering because he himself is in need of perfection from the offerings according to the word of St. Paul. 'For every high priest chosen from among men is appointed to act on behalf of men in relation to God; he can deal gently with the ignorant and wayward, since he himself is beset with weakness. Because of this he is bound to offer sacrifice for his own sins as well as for those of the people.' But the nature of divinity does not need perfection by grace. Why then is the Word of God thought to be called priest by them even though he did not need sacrifices for his own improvement like other priests" (Wilken, *JECM*, pp. 203-204, quoting Loofs, *Nestoriana*, pp. 232-233).

"Nestorius answers by saying that the priest who makes offerings cannot be God, because God does not need to make an offering. The priest who makes an offering must be a man if the offering is to have any significance. To bolster this interpretation he appeals to the context of the passage. In the previous chapter St. Paul had said that Christ is 'made like his brethren in every respect.' This means, says Nestorius, that he is man. Indeed St. Paul said that it is 'not with angels that he is concerned but with the descendants of Abraham.' 'Is the Godhead the seed of Abraham?' asks Nestorius. 'It is not the merciful one who suffers, but the temple which suffers; the life-giving God does not suffer, but the seed of Abraham [suffers]' (*ibid.*, pp. 204-205, quoting Loofs, *Nestoriana*, p. 234). 'The one called the seed of Abraham', says Nestorius, 'the one who in all things is similar to his brothers and who became a high priest in time and who was perfected through suffering.' The heretics misinterpret the Scriptures when they say that the 'divine impassible *Logos*' became a 'passible high priest'" (*ibid.*, p. 205, quoting Loofs, *Nestoriana*, p. 236).

In his celebrated sermon on the Highpriesthood of Christ (*Sermo* V), Nestorius says:

"He who [ὁ] is 'Yesterday and to-day', according to the word of Paul [*Hebrews* xiii. 8] is seed of Abraham—not He who says [ὁ λέγων] 'Before Abraham was I am' [St. *John* viii. 58]."

"He who [ὁ] assumed the fraternity of a human soul and body is 'like unto His brethren in all things' [*Hebrews* ii. 17]—not He who says [ὁ λέγων] 'He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father' [St. *John* xiv. 9]."

"'Apostle' [*Hebrews* iii. 1] is, clearly, He who says [ὁ λέγων] among the Jews 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me...' [St. *Luke* iv. 18]" (*Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 191, quoting Loofs, *Nestoriana*, pp. 234f.).

"The designation of Christ as priest does not call into question the divinity of the Son," says Nestorius, "for this passage refers to the man Jesus, the one from the seed of Abraham, and not to the *Logos*" (Wilken, *JECM*, p. 207).

In his discussion of the priestly work of Christ, Nestorius concludes that Christ was sent to us from the seed of Abraham "'offering the sacrifice of his body for himself and his race' that man might be reconciled to God" (*ibid.*, p. 208). The words of Nestorius that Christ makes offering for himself as well as for the race of men were understood by St. Cyril with the inference that Nestorius meant that Christ was in need of an offering. It is here that St. Cyril begins his attack in the *Adversus Nestorium* written in the spring of 430, which "represents Cyril's most thorough reply to Nestorius and the most militant statement—except for the twelve anathemas—of his point of view" (*ibid.*, p. 209).

St. Cyril was convinced that Nestorius was simply dividing Christ into the divine Son and the one from the seed of Abraham.

This attitude is clear in the Antiochene theology. For example, Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch from *c.* 324 to 330, says that "the 'Word' is not the subject of the human actions or suffering of Christ. Passages in the Scriptures which speak of Jesus' suffering must not be attributed to the *Logos*, either by nature or according to the flesh; they must be ascribed to the man Jesus. It is Jesus who advances in wisdom, who hungers and thirsts, and who suffers" (*ibid.*, p. 206, quoting fragment 47 and referring to several other fragments from the writings of Eustathius).

Also Theodoret (*c.* 393 – *c.* 466), Bishop of Cyrrhus, in his exegesis of *Hebrews* 3:1 says: "We cannot apply this passage to the Word believing that he is 'made', i.e. if we wish to remain orthodox" (*ACO* I:1, 6, 137, 11ff.).

Again Theodoret, in his reply to the Tenth Anathematism of St. Cyril, he says (after quoting *Hebrews* 5:7,10): "Who [τίς], then, is He who was perfected by toils of virtue, not being perfect by nature? Who is He who learned obedience through trial, and before His experience was ignorant of it? Who is He that lived with godly fear, and with strong crying and tears offered supplication, not being able to save Himself, but appealing to Him that is able to save, and asking for release from death? Not the divine *Logos*, the Impassible, the Immortal, the Incorporeal.... On the contrary, it is that of David's seed which was assumed by Him, the mortal, the passible, and that which is afraid of death.... It was the nature assumed from us for our sakes that experienced our sufferings without sin—not He that on account of our salvation took it."

"And to make it clear that this teacher does not hesitate to 'personalize' 'that which was assumed', we add what he says towards the end of his *Reprehensio*, apropos of the words 'Consider the Apostle and high Priest of our confession...' (*Hebrews* iii. 1, 2):"

"No one who holds the orthodox faith would call the uncreated and unmade divine *Logos*, who is co-eternal with the Father, a creature – but, on the contrary, Him of David's seed [τὸν ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβίδ], who being free from all sin became our Highpriest and Victim, He Himself having offered Himself on our behalf to God—having in Himself the divine *Logos* of God, united to Himself, and inseparably conjoined" (*Two Ancient Christologies*, pp. 192-193, quoting *Reprehen. xii Capp. x...*).

He also says: "The Word did not assume the rank of the priesthood of Melchizedek, rather it was the one from the 'seed of David who existed free from sin, our priest, and became a victim by offering himself to God for us, having in himself clearly the Word of God united to him and inseparably joined to him' (*ACO* I:1, 6, 137, 14-19). See also Andrew of Samosata, (*ACO* I:1, 7, 53 18ff.). Theodore of Mopsuestia's comments on *Hebrews* 3:1 are not extant in his *Commentary on Hebrews*. The extant fragments, however, suggest that he would have given a similar interpretation" (Wilken, *JECM*, pp. 203-204, notes 6 & 8).

I.F.1.b. The Priesthood of Christ in the Writings of St. Athanasius of Alexandria:

St. Athanasius of Alexandria sets the orthodox pattern by claiming that the *Logos* remains the subject of all predications, while not everything is predicated of him "according to his own nature". Thus "the *Logos* suffers, but not according to his own nature. He suffers 'according to the flesh'. By distinguishing two types of predications Athanasius sought to safeguard the divinity of the Son and at the same time to recognize the reality of the incarnation" (*ibid.*, pp. 205-206). The phrases "he became" and "he was made", says Athanasius, "must not be 'understood as if the Word considered as Word was made, but that the Word, being Demiurge, afterwards was made high priest, by putting on a body which was originated and made, which he is able to offer for us; wherefore he is said to be made'" (*ibid.*, p. 214, quoting Athanasius, *Orat.* i.53ff. = *PG* 26:161d-164-a; 169a-b). [See also *Orat* ii.9, *NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. IV, p. 353].

I.F.1.c. The Priesthood of Christ in the Writings of St. Cyril of Alexandria:

St. Cyril's chief complaint from Nestorius's sermon on *Hebrews* 3 is that "Nestorius' explanation of the priesthood of Christ implies that the one who offered himself to God is not the divine Son. As evidence for this interpretation Cyril cites Nestorius' statement that the priest not only made offering for others, but that he also offered the sacrifice 'for himself'. If Christ offered the sacrifice for himself as well as for others, he must have been in need of an offering. But this is to say that he had sinned. 'If he offers sacrifice for us and it is fitting for him, he is most certainly and of necessity in need of it, as we who were under the yoke of sin.' This is an intolerable position for Cyril, for it suggests that Christ is like other men. He too sinned" (Wilken, *JECM*, pp. 209-210; quoting Cyril's *Adversus Nestorium* iii.6; see also *ACO* I:1, 5, 24, 20-21).

St. Cyril also refuted Nestorius's view of priesthood in his Third Letter to Nestorius known as the Synodal Letter which was delivered to Nestorius on Sunday, 30 November, 430. In parag. 9 of that letter, St. Cyril writes on behalf of the Alexandrian Synod, saying:

"9. If he is also called 'apostle' and 'high priest of our confession' (cf. *Hebrews* 3:1), in so far as he ministers to God the Father, on our behalf, that confession of faith which is

rendered for him and through him to God the Father, and indeed to the Holy Spirit as well, again we insist that he is by nature the Only Begotten Son of God; and we do not attribute the title or reality of the priesthood to any man different to him, since it was he who became the mediator between God and men (*1Timothy* 2:5) and a reconciler for peace (cf. *Acts* 7:26) by offering himself up as a fragrant sacrifice to God the Father (cf. *Ephesians* 5:2). This is why he said: 'You did not want sacrifice or offering, but prepared a body for me. You took no pleasure in holocausts and sin offerings. Then I said: look I come. In the scroll of the book it stands written of me, O God, to do your will' (*Hebrews* 10:5-7; *Psalm* 39:7-9). For he offered his own body as a fragrant sacrifice on our behalf, not indeed for himself, for what offerings or sacrifices did he need for himself since as God he is greater than all sin? Even if 'all sinned and fell short of the glory of God' (*Romans* 3:23) in so far as we became prone to stray, and the nature of man was infected with sin, nonetheless he is not like this. This is why it is his glory that we fall short of; and so how could any doubt remain that the true lamb has been slain for us and on our behalf? To say that: 'He offered himself for his own sake as well as ours' cannot fail to incur the charge of blasphemy, for he was guilty of no transgression whatsoever and committed no sin (cf. *1Peter* 2:22), so what offerings did he need when there was no sin for which they had to be made?" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria, Ep.* 17, parag. 9, pp. 271-272).

The tenth of the twelve anathematisms appended to that letter is devoted to that topic, in which St. Cyril declares:

"*Anathematism 10.*"

"The divine scripture says that Christ became 'the high priest and apostle of our confession' (*Hebrews* 3:1) and 'offered himself for our sake as a fragrant sacrifice to God the Father' (*Ephesians* 5:2). So if anyone says that it was not the very Word of God who became our high priest and apostle when he became flesh and man as we are, but it was someone different to him, a separate man born of a woman; or if anyone says that he made the offering also for himself and not rather for us alone (for he who knew no sin had no need of offerings), let him be anathema" (*ibid.*, pp. 274 & 291).

From the *Explanation of the Twelve Chapters*, i.e. Anathematisms written when St. Cyril was under house-arrest at Ephesus in the summer of 431, we quote here his Explanation of the tenth anathematism:

"*Explanation 10.*"

"27. Small indeed in the sight of the Word born from God are the human characteristics, but he did not reject them for the sake of the economy. He is by nature Lord of all, and he subjected himself to our condition, assuming the form of a slave, and was called our 'High Priest' and 'Apostle', since the limitations of the manhood summoned him even to this. He offered himself for our sake as a fragrant sacrifice to God the Father: 'For in one offering he perfected those to be sanctified for ever' (*Hebrews* 10:14), as it is written. I do not know how those who think otherwise are able to maintain that it was not the Word of God himself who became man so as to be called the apostle and high priest of our confession, but as it were a different man distinct from him. They say that this man was born of the holy virgin, was designated apostle and high priest, arrived at this by a promotion, and offered himself as a sacrifice to God the Father not only for our sake but for his own as well. But all of this is completely alien to the orthodox and blameless faith, for 'he committed no sin' (*1Peter*

2:22) and he who is greater than transgression and wholly blameless of sin would have no need to offer sacrifice on his own behalf. So, because certain people who think differently reject this, and suppose instead that there are two sons, there was a great need for this anathematism to counter their wickedness clearly" (McGuckin, *op. cit.*, p. 291).

I.F.2. THE ADAM-CHRIST TYPOLOGY:

Nestorius distinguished between the *Logos* and the one from the seed of Abraham. St. Cyril rejects this distinction and offers instead the image of the second Adam, the heavenly man, who is at once the divine *Logos* and from the seed of Abraham. After quoting a number of Scriptural verses asserting that Christ did not sin (*John* 14:30; 8:46, etc.), St. Cyril goes on to affirm that Christ could hardly have been guilty of sin because he is the second Adam. Thus he writes:

"Therefore, he was named the last Adam, not enduring the sickness of the first one, but rather in himself first ridding the nature of man of the blame for that ancient transgression. For it was condemned in Adam, but in Christ was seen most approved and worthy of wonder. He was of the earth, but Christ was heavenly. Human nature was put to shame in the first...but in Christ it has been preserved inviolable, and as in a second firstfruits of the race it was seen both unafflicted by sins and superior to the curse and doom, death and decay" (Wilken, *JECM*, p. 210, quoting *Adv. Nest.* iii.6). "The second Adam did not need to make offering for himself, because he was 'superior to sin as God'. The divine Son—not an ordinary man—makes offering for mankind" (*ibid.*). That is why St. Cyril "saw red when Nestorius said that Christ offered the sacrifice for himself as well as for other men. This could only mean, says Cyril, that Christ was simply a man who was 'like us but with the name of divinity plastered on'" (*ibid.*, p. 211, quoting *Adv. Nest.* iii.6). St. Cyril brings a similar argument against Nestorius's view of the Marian title "*Theotokos*". "Those who deny the *theotokos* make of Christ an 'ordinary man having nothing more than we have'. How could every knee bow and angels worship him if he were an ordinary man? Because Christ is the Son become man 'we were able to conquer in Christ and be stronger than sin, put off corruption and escape death, so to speak, from the great joy in Christ: O death, where is your victory? Where is your sting, O Hell?' As we fell in Adam, we have conquered in Christ. If Emmanuel was an ordinary man, how could the death of man benefit human nature? Although many holy prophets died in former times, the famous Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Moses and Samuel, and the other holy successors, the death of these did not help the race of men on earth, but Christ delivered it. He offered his own flesh for us and giving it to death on account of us he delivered us from the bonds of sin" (*ibid.*, quoting *Arcad.* 7 = *ACO* I:1, 5, 63-64).

The term "ordinary man" enters the vocabulary of St. Cyril through St. Athanasius who wrote saying: Christ is "not an ordinary man" because he is the "true Son of God by nature who has become man yet is not the less Lord and God and Saviour" (*ibid.*, p. 212, quoting *Orat.* iii. 32&51).

St. Cyril sometimes uses the phrase "simply a man" or a "mere man" as parallel to "ordinary man". Thus he writes to Emperor Theodosius' sister and wife concerning the teaching of Nestorius saying:

"Since human nature was sentenced to the curse and condemnation of death because

of the deed of the first-formed, it was necessary to recover again that which it had in the beginning that there be a demonstration of unswerving obedience. But this was far beyond the measure of mankind. For there was no one free of sin.... But God the Father, skillfully recapitulating all things in Christ, laboring with great gentleness to return human nature to what it was in the beginning, sent his Son born of a woman in order that by taking for himself the same body and making it his own, he might, as man on earth, be shown not to have known sin, and, therefore, being in everything subject to the God and Father, he might make human nature righteous in himself, free it from the bonds of death, crowned by the God and Father with the decree of sinlessness". This could not have been done, says Cyril, by a "man simply" (ἄνθρωπον ἁπλῶς), but only by the "only Son who had become man" (*ibid.*, pp. 212-213, quoting *De Recta fide ad Pulcheriam et Eudoxiam* = *Pulch.* 20, in *ACO* I:1, 5, 38).

"Cyril's argument against Nestorius, then, is that the divine Son, not a 'mere man' from the seed of Abraham, became the apostle and high priest of our confession. Christ cannot be divided into one from the seed of Abraham and one from the bosom of the Father. Christ is the one unique and extraordinary man, at once from God and born of man like us" (*ibid.*, p. 213; quoting *Adv. Nest.* iii.2).

"Nestorius is really guilty of a Jewish interpretation of Christ, says Cyril, for he does not recognize how different Christ is from others. God had 'given the law to men, Moses being the mediator. But the law was incapable of achieving good...for it brought nothing to perfection'. Our redemption does not come through a 'man like us but rather from God', for he that suffered in the flesh is God and he is our high priest" (*ibid.*). The Jews sever Christ from God and make of him a mere man. "Why do you let yourself fall into the pedantries of the Jews?... Confess with us one Christ and do not sever him into two again". Jesus had to rebuke the Jews for not recognizing that he was the Son come from God (*John* 10:34-36). For "he who was God has truly been made man that we too might be called offspring, no more of the first, i.e. of the earthy, to whom it was said by God, 'earth you are and to earth you shall return' and who leads us to death, but of the second, from above and out of heaven—Christ, I mean—who brings us again to the purest life, renders incorrupt that which is bound by death, and frees from sins that which was enchained by the bonds of sin". The result of Nestorius's thinking, says Cyril, is that there can be no new creation. "We have been deceived and are no less now in that situation in which we were of old before the coming. How then did 'old things pass away' and how have they become new? What shall we say about the words 'if anyone is in Christ he is a new creature'" (*ibid.*, pp. 213-214, abridging *Adv. Nest.* iii.3. See also iv.5).

St. Cyril's chief criticism in his *Adversus Nestorium* is that Nestorius's view of Christ is inadequate for the following reasons: he believes that Christ is a mere man and therefore not the second Adam, the heavenly divine Son. Since he is an ordinary man he cannot be the initiator of a new covenant to take the place of the Mosaic one, and consequently there can be no creation and beginning of a new way (*ibid.*).

The verse from *2Corinthians* 5:17: "if anyone is in Christ he is a new creation", was used in the Trinitarian controversy to defend the divinity of the *Logos*. St. Athanasius and others "argued that Christ was 'firstborn' because he was the beginning of a new creation. Firstborn of creation did not mean that he was the first to be created, but that he was the

first of the new creation through the resurrection. But in the controversy with Nestorius, *2Corinthians* 5 is not used to defend the divinity of the Son but to demonstrate that the divine Son has truly become man and conquered death. 'He will be called Jesus for he was in truth the one who underwent birth in the flesh from a woman. Thus he has saved his people, not as a man connected with God, but as God made in the likeness of those who are endangered, in order that in him first the human race might be re-formed to what it was in the beginning; for in him all things were new.'.." (*ibid.*, p. 215, quoting St. Cyril, *Christ is One* 744a).

Similarly the terms "firstborn" and "only begotten" were sharply distinguished from one another in the Trinitarian controversy. *Monogenes* ("only begotten") referred to the relationship with the Father, and *prototokos* ("firstborn") to the Son as man. "This distinction is still preserved, but now Cyril finds himself arguing that the two terms refer to one person. We say that 'the one Lord and Christ...the same is conceived of as only begotten and first begotten'" (*ibid.*, pp. 215-216, quoting *Adv. Nest.* iii.5).

"In the controversy with Nestorius the Adam typology is used frequently to show that the Son underwent genuine human experience. The Son did not come 'simply to be seen by those on earth and to live among men.' If this is so, then he only appeared to become man. No, he actually became man, 'sharing in flesh and blood and partaking of the same nature' (*Hebrews* 2:14-15) as man that he might destroy the power of the devil. God did 'what the law could not do' by sending his Son.... For this reason Christ is a unique and exceptional man. 'Christ was the first and only man on earth who did not know sin, nor was guile found in his mouth. He was established as the root and firstfruits of those being re-formed to newness of life in the Spirit and the incorruption of the body, and receiving the firmness of divinity and transmitting it by participation and by grace to the whole human race. For knowing this the divine Paul said: 'As we bore the image of the earthly, we will also bear the image of the heavenly.' The image of the earthly has a propensity toward sin and inclines us toward death. The image of the heavenly, i.e. Christ, is set on sanctification and the return and renewal of death and corruption to incorruption and life.'..." (*ibid.*, p. 216, quoting *De Recta fide, ad Theodosium* 20 = *ACO* I:1, 55, 3-13; see also *Pulch.* 5 = *ACO* I:1, 5, 28, 10ff.).

Nestorius's dualistic Christology could not account for the uniqueness of Christ. "Nestorius could not show why this one man overcame death when others did not. If Christ were an ordinary man linked to God he would hardly be unique. He would have been like other great men—Abraham, Moses, the prophets—who were incapable of meeting the challenge of death. The typology of the second Adam establishes that Christ is the unique and extraordinary man, because he has come from heaven. He is God's Son... Nestorius' Christology does not explain the redemption of mankind, nor does it take into account the biblical data concerning Christ" (*ibid.*, pp. 216-217).

Thus in his most mature work on Christology, the *Quod Unus Christus Sit* (*"Christ is One"*), St. Cyril's argument is almost wholly exegetical and soteriological. This dialogue on the unity of person in Christ opens with an attack on Nestorius's denial of the *Theotokos* and his false doctrine that the Word of God was not made flesh but was united only to a man, with the result that there is the true and natural Son of God and "another one", an adopted son of God, who does not share the dignity and honor of the first. Therefore, the

Nestorian Christology does not take the incarnation and redemption of man seriously. After the introductory comments, St. Cyril turns to the first controverted texts. "For our sake he made him to be sin who knew no sin, so that in him we might become the righteousness of God" (*2Corinthians* 5:21), and Christ "was made a curse" (*Galatians* 3:13). Some exegetes claimed that Christ had not actually become a curse, but that he appeared to have become one, or to have been cursed on behalf of mankind. St. Cyril's interpretation is that if Christ only appeared to be made a curse, then the incarnation is denied. Thus he writes:

"... 'Was he not accursed that he might undo the curse and did not the Father make him sin that he might end sin?' He would not render mankind incorruptible if he 'had not achieved this in his own flesh first. For he did not allow it to remain mortal and under decay, Adam transmitting to us the punishment for the transgression, but rather as the flesh of the incorruptible God, his very own flesh, rendered it superior to death and decay'. If Christ is not made a curse the 'whole plan of the mystery is gone'. For 'how can God have raised him from the dead if he did not die? How would he have died if he had not been born according to flesh? How can there be a coming alive [ἀναβίωσις] from the dead bringing hope of everlasting life to the saints, if Christ was not raised?'..." (Wilken, *JECM*, pp. 217-218, quoting *Christ is One*, 720b-e).

St. Cyril appeals to the Adam typology to show that the Son underwent human suffering. "He himself likewise partook of the same (nature), that through death he might destroy him who has the power of death..." (*Hebrews* 2:14-17). The reference to "*1Corinthians* 15:45 also accents the idea that the one who underwent genuine suffering was superior to other men, for through his death the way was prepared for resurrection and a 'return for mankind to what is better'. If Jesus had been simply another man like Adam, the human race would not have entered on a new way. How could Jesus cleanse men from sin, Cyril writes, 'if he were a common man and was under sin?... He was not a common man with a nature like ours tyrannized over by sin... We are transformed in Christ as a kind of firstfruits into what he is and superior to corruption and sin. As Paul says 'As we bore the image of the earthly, so we shall bear the image of the heavenly, i.e. of Christ.' For Christ is considered a heavenly man.'..." (*ibid.*, p. 218; quoting St. Cyril's *Christ is One* 722d-723d. See also 724d, 725c-e.). [In his first letter to Succensus, St. Cyril also refers to the Adam typology to show that the *Logos* became truly man and underwent suffering].

Nestorius is quoted by St. Severus of Antioch as saying: "He who said 'My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?' was the human nature, wise one" (Loofs, *Nestoriana*, p. 360. From St. Severus's *Contr. Gr.* III.i.4 we learn that the saying was to be found in Nestorius's sermon on St. *Matthew* xviii.21—see Loofs, *op. cit.*, p. 332: quoted in *Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 192 & n. 2).

In Theodoret's reply to St. Cyril's Twelfth Anathematism, after the saying, "But now ye seek to kill me, a man that hath told you the truth" (*John* 8:40), there is this: "What is threatened with death is not the very Life, but He that has the mortal nature" (quoted in *Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 193).

If Christ is the second Adam, writes St. Cyril, then it is incongruous to say that the human experiences described in the Gospels refer to the "assumed man". In reference to *Matthew* 27:46, "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?", St. Cyril takes the text as an affirmation of the reality of the incarnation and appeals to the Adam typology to

support his view (*Christ is One* 756 d ff.). "If there was to be a redemption of mankind there must be a new beginning, and the new beginning could only come about if the man from heaven actually underwent suffering and death and conquered death by his resurrection.... only if Christ is a unique and uncommon man could he conquer death and be the beginning of a new life. Since we are earthly, the 'curse and decay which came through the law was transmitted to us...but in Christ we have been made heavenly... grace coming down on us as from a second beginning and root, i.e. in him.' For he 're-formed us in himself for the first time to an admirable and marvelous birth and life,' since we no longer belong to the first father Adam in whom we became corrupt. Only the divine Son can conquer death and bring life, for only he is without sin and superior to other men. Is it the Word then who suffers? asks Cyril. Of course, it is the 'image of the invisible God who endures the cross, despising the shame. For we do not say that simply a man honored by connection with him has been given for us, but it is the Lord of glory himself who was crucified for us.' Therefore the 'Father has not given for us a common man taken aside to be in the rank of mediator... but him who is above the whole creation, the Word which beamed forth from his being.' Only God can bring salvation to men, says Cyril. 'After all, this is a matter concerning the salvation of the whole world.'..." (*Christ is One* 725d-e; 724d; 765b-766c., as quoted in Wilken, *JECM*, p. 219).

I.G. Conclusion from the Evidence of Nestorius's *Heraclides* as to His Nestorianism:

It seems in accordance with the evidence to hold that Nestorius sometimes used Nestorian and sometimes Chalcedonian language. Bedjan and Nau, the editor and translator of *Heraclides*, think that, even after the explanations offered in it, Nestorius would have been condemned as heretical. "We must not forget that the two natures involve with him two distinct *hypostases* and two persons (*prosôpons*) united together by simple loan and exchange" (Nau, p. xxviii).

"If we may suppose that we have *Heraclides* as it left Nestorius's pen, unaltered by the Syriac translator, we have, indeed, a better presentment of doctrine than in some of his other writings, though even in *Heraclides* the tendency is heretical, and the expressions, e.g., of two πρόσωπα are hard to reconcile with true teaching" (*ERE* IX, p. 331).

Perhaps when freed from the temptation that besets an eloquent and popular preacher of saying rather more than on calm reflexion he would have written, and when in seclusion he had more time for thinking out the problem and for writing on it at leisure, Nestorius to a certain extent rid himself of some of his errors. For his heresy was due to confusion of thought.

As Maclean puts it, "We probably cannot come to a better conclusion than that of the contemporary historian, Socrates (*Eccl. Hist.* vii, 32), who...having perused his writings 'found him to be an ignorant man'; he 'found that he did not deny Christ's Godhead', but that he was 'scared at the term *Theotokos* as though it were a bugbear' (or 'hobgoblin'). This was due, Socrates says, to the fact that, though eloquent, he was not well educated, and did not know the 'ancient expositors'. The conclusion, then, which seems most suitable to the evidence is that, while Nestorius was not a systematic and consistent upholder of what

we call 'Nestorianism', yet he sometimes spoke erroneously; and even if we give him the benefit of the doubt with regard to technical terms, it is difficult to acquit him altogether of a certain amount of heresy, and of a heresy which is particularly dangerous" (*ERE* IX, p. 331).

Finally we have to remember that "errors are usually the result of reaction from another error; Apollinarism was a reaction from Arianism, Nestorianism from Apollinarism, as afterwards Eutychianism was a reaction from Nestorianism. It is not always easy to hit the golden mean between two doctrinal extremes. Nestorius could see no mean between his teaching and that of Apollinarius, and, as a consequence, he also, like Apollinarius, tended to destroy the Incarnation, though in an opposite manner" (*ibid.*). But he was an ignorant and obstinate man, who did not see the outcome of his own teaching (*ibid.*).

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II. THE REAL FOUNDERS OF NESTORIANISM

The real founders of Nestorianism are Diodore, bishop of Tarsus (died *c.* 390), and his pupil Theodore (*c.* 350-428), bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia. They belong to a group of thinkers usually referred to as "the Antiochene school". In opposition to Apollinarianism, they held the doctrine that there were "two natures" in Christ, the divine *Logos* on the one hand, and a complete human being, Jesus of Nazareth, on the other. This Antiochene tradition is often traced back to the third century, to the figure of one Paul of Samosata, who was condemned for teaching that Jesus was a human being inspired and indwelt by God. Adolf Harnack (as quoted in Loofs, *Nestorius*, pp. 114f.) "says that the Antiochians were going the same way as Paul of Samosata and he even thinks that the explanations of Theodore of Mopsuestia about the relation of the *Logos* and the man in Christ, and about Christ's natures, will, feelings and so on were, here and there, literally identical with those of Paul of Samosata".

Certain it is, at any rate, that the fourth-century Antiochenes used this very model of "indwelling" to understand the nature of the incarnation—the model which Athanasius and Apollinaris were most eager to repudiate and which modern interpreters of patristic Christology have labeled the "*Logos-Anthropos*" or "Word-man" model.

"The Council of Ephesus (431 A.D.)..., while it condemned Nestorius by name, contented itself with condemning Theodore's creed, without mentioning Theodore; and the Nestorian party consequently fell back upon the works of Theodore, and began to circulate them in several languages as affording the best available exposition of their views (Liberatus, *Brev.* 10). This circumstance deepened the mistrust of the orthodox, and even in the East there were not wanting some who proceeded to condemn the teaching of Theodore. Hesychius of Jerusalem, about A.D. 435, attacked him in his Ecclesiastical History; Rabulas, bishop of Edessa, who at Ephesus had sided with John of Antioch, now openly anathematized Theodore in the church (Ibas, *Ep. ad Marin.*). Proclus demanded from the bishops of Syria a condemnation of certain propositions supposed to have been drawn from the writings of Theodore" (Swete in *DCB*, vol. iv, p. 938).

As early as 438 A.D., St. Cyril of Alexandria accused Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia in his work *Contra Diodorum et Theodorum* of being responsible for the teaching of Nestorius. This tractate consists of three books of which considerable fragments are extant in Greek and Syriac (Quasten III, p. 128). It was the same charge of Nestorianism that led to the final condemnation of Diodore by a Synod at Constantinople in 499 and the same fate to his pupil Theodore in Anathema XII at the Council of Constantinople of 553 A.D.

St. Cyril repeats the same accusation in about nine of his letters. Thus, he writes his first letter to Succensus, Bishop of Diocaesarea, saying: "Since your Perfection, though, puts the question whether or not one should ever speak of two natures in respect of Christ, I feel bound to make the following point. Somebody called Diodore, one who had previously been a foe of the Spirit (according to general report), joined the communion of the orthodox Church. Having rid himself, as he therefore supposed, of the contamination of Macedonianism, he went down with another illness. He thought and wrote that David's descendant through the holy Virgin was one distinct son and the Word begotten of God the

Father was yet another distinct son. He masked the wolf by a sheep's fleece. He pretends to call Christ 'one' and restricts the name 'Son' to the Only-begotten Son, the Word begotten of God the Father, yet he also styles David's descendant 'son', awarding him the term (as he says himself) 'by way of the category of grace' on the grounds, he declares, of being united with the real Son—united, though, not in our sense of the term but merely in rank, sovereignty and equality of honour. Nestorius was Diodore's pupil and got befogged by the latter's books. He claims to confess one Christ, Son and Lord but he also divides the one and indivisible into two, alleging that a man has been joined to God the Word by a shared name, by equality of honour, by rank" (*Letter 45*, parag. 2-3, Wickham, *Select Letters*, pp. 70-73).

St. Cyril wrote also to John, Bishop of Antioch and his synod that the opinions of Diodore, Theodore, and others of the same school had "borne down with full sail upon the glory of Christ" (St. Cyril's *Letter 67*, parag. 7, *FCNT*, vol. 77, p. 63).

Again St. Cyril wrote to Emperor Theodosius concerning this matter, saying: "..... there was a certain Theodore and before him Diodore, the bishop, the latter of Tarsus, the former of Mopsuestia. These were the fathers of the blasphemy of Nestorius. In books which they composed they made use of a crude madness against Christ, the Savior of us all, because they did not understand his mystery. Therefore, Nestorius desired to introduce their teachings into our midst and he was deposed by God. However, while some bishops of the East anathematized his teachings, in another way they now introduce these very teachings again when they admire the teachings which are Theodore's and say that he thought correctly and in agreement with our Fathers, I mean, Athanasius, Gregory and Basil. But they are lying against holy men. Whatever they wrote, they are the opposite to the wicked opinions of Theodore and Nestorius. Therefore, since I have learned that they may bring certain matters concerning these men even to your pious ears, I ask that you preserve your souls entirely intact and clean of the impieties of Theodore and Diodore. As I said above just now, Nestorius stated the teachings which are those of these men, and for this he was condemned as impious by the general council assembled at Ephesus according to the will of God" (*Letter 71*, parag. 1-2, *ibid.*, pp. 70-71).

Moreover, St. Cyril wrote to Acacius, bishop of Melitene, notifying him about his letter to John and saying: "I have written also such a letter to him, but, as it seems, the worse is winning. While feigning to hate the teachings of Nestorius they weld them together again in a different way by admiring the teachings of Theodore although they are tainted with an equal, or rather a far worse, impiety. For Theodore was not the pupil of Nestorius, but Nestorius was his, and they speak as if from one mouth spitting up one poison of heterodoxy from their hearts. The bishops of the East, accordingly, wrote to me that it was not necessary to discredit the teachings of Theodore, in order that, they say, those of the blessed Athanasius, Theophilus, Basil, and Gregory might not also be discredited, for they, too, said what Theodore said. I did not endure them writing these things, but I said with frankness that Theodore had both a blasphemous tongue and a pen that served it, while they have been teachers of complete orthodoxy and were eminent for this. But they so convinced those in the East that outcries occurred in the churches on the part of the people, 'Let the faith of Theodore increase. As Theodore believed, so we believe,'..... Since it was necessary that written opposing arguments be present before them, after looking into the books of Theodore and Diodore in which they had written, not about the Incarnation of the only begotten, but rather against his

Incarnation, I selected certain of the chapters and in the approved manner I set myself against them revealing that their teaching was in every way full of abomination" (St. Cyril's *Letter 69*, parag. 2-4, *ibid.*, pp. 66-67; see also *Letter 68* to the same Acacius and to Theodotus. See also St. Cyril's *Letter 55* 'On the Creed', parag. 42).

It was during the visit which St. Cyril paid to Jerusalem (Aelia), that he received a letter from the orthodox in Antioch concerning Nestorian bishops who were indefatigably circulating the works of Theodore who had formed the theological mind of Nestorius. St. Cyril mentions this in his letter to Lampon (*Letter 70*) and comments that he wrote to John of Antioch about this.

In *Letter 74*, St. Cyril writes to Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa, saying: "Consequently your holiness, my lord, has always indeed shone round about, but most especially now when you have become the pillar and base of the truth for all the inhabitants of the East, and are driving out like a deadly disease the abominable and newly sprouted blasphemies of Nestorius which are derived from another root, I mean, Theodore of Cilicia (i.e. of Mopsuestia in Cilicia). For from there this ungodliness took its beginning" (*ibid.*, pp. 77-78).

St. Cyril insisted that no one should be allowed to preach Theodore's opinions; but at the same time he did not urge any condemnation of his memory, and even dwelt on the duty of welcoming all converts from Nestorianism without a word of reproach as to the Past. He saw that it would be imprudent to proceed publicly against the memory of one whose name is so highly esteemed that the people cried out in some Eastern churches, "We believe as Theodore did," and would rather be "burnt" than disown him. Therefore, St. Cyril wrote to Proclus, Bishop of Constantinople, concerning Theodore that it was enough to condemn the errors of his books, having regard to the terrible disturbances which more extreme measures would excite in the East. Thus he says: "....That we find in his writings some things said strangely and full of unmixed blasphemy is doubtful to no one of those who are accustomed to think the truth..... If he were still among the living and was a fellow-warrior with the blasphemies of Nestorius, or desired to agree with what he wrote, he would have suffered the anathema also in his own person. But since he has gone to God, it is enough, as I think, that what he wrote absurdly be rejected by those who hold the true doctrines, since by his books being around the chance to go further sometimes begets pretexts for disturbances. And in another way since the blasphemies of Nestorius have been anathematized and rejected, there have been rejected along with them those teachings of Theodore which have the closest connection to those of Nestorius" (St. Cyril's *Letter 72*, parag. 2&4, *ibid.*, p. 73).

St. Severus of Antioch also cites St. Cyril as saying of Theodore "Sodom has been more justified than you. You have surpassed the babblings of the heathen which they uttered against Christ, 'reckoning the Cross foolishness'. You have shown that the charges against Jewish arrogance are nothing" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 135, n. 2, quoting *Select Letters* v. 6, ed. Brooks, p. 317. Compare Mansi, *Collectio* IX, col. 235).

[But see also in Part One, sections V.C.2. and V.C.3.]

II.A. Diodore of Tarsus:

Diodore was reckoned before as a note of orthodoxy in his own day because of his zeal in combating Arianism and his opposition to Emperor Julian the Apostate. He became

bishop of Tarsus in 378 and ruled his see until his death before 394 or around 390. From the opening of the fifth century onwards, his reputation declined, and he was branded as a Nestorian by St. Cyril as early as 438 and by a synod held at Constantinople in 499 (*FCNT*, vol. 76, p. 190, n. 4; Kelly, *Doctrines*, p. 302). Only fragments of his very extensive writings (largely Biblical commentaries) survive. Many were destroyed by Arians, while others perished when the condemnation of his pupil Theodore made Diodore himself viewed as a confirmed Nestorian heretic. "The sparseness of the surviving fragments of his writings, and the uncertainty of the provenance of some of them, make it difficult to reconstruct his Christology with precision" (*ibid.*). However, if we depend for our knowledge of Diodore on fragments collected by Abramowski and by Brière and quoted by Kelly (*Doctrines*, p. 303) and the ones cited by Kidd (*HC*, vol. III, pp. 194-196), we can understand his thought as follows: "The divinity, he argued, must be compromised if the Word and the flesh form a substantial unity analogous to that formed by body and soul in man. In reaction to this his own theory strove to hold them apart, and thus he was led to distinguish the Son of God and the son of David" (Kelly, *Doctrines*, p. 303, quoting Fragment 42 in Abramowski).

"Jealous for the completeness of the human nature in Christ which Apollinaris denied, Diodore distinguished in the Saviour the Son of God from the son of David. The latter, according to him, was taken and is inhabited by the Former; or, as he puts it, 'Complete before the ages the Son of God assumed complete the son of David'. As, then, the son of David is simply the temple of the Word, one cannot speak of him as the Word in the strict sense of the term. The Word is not son of David; He is David's lord. Nor is He son of Mary. Never let God the Word be thought of as Mary's son. He has not two births: the first, eternal of the Father, the second, in time, of his mother; but, born of the Father, He made for Himself a temple of him who was born of Mary. The man thus born of Mary is not son of God by nature, but by grace; only God the Word is Son by nature. But, said Diodore's opponents, there are, on that showing, two Sons. Diodore replied with a quibble, and added that all he meant was that God the eternal Word dwelt in him who was of the seed of David" (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, pp. 194-195, quoting Diodore, *Contra Synusiastas*, I, Fragments i, ii, iii = *PG* xxxiii. 1560 ABC).

"Scripture, he pleaded, draws a sharp line of demarcation between the activities of the 'two Sons'. The union was not the result of any fusion ('mixture') of the Word with the flesh; if it had been, why should those who blaspheme against the Son of Man receive forgiveness, while those who blaspheme against the Spirit do not? Rather it came about through the Word dwelling in the flesh as in a temple" (Kelly, *Doctrines*, p. 303, quoting Fragments 19, 20, 35 & 42 in Abramowski).

The Council held under Pope Athanasius at Alexandria in 362 had accurately diagnosed the tendency of Diodore's teaching when it characterized his school as holding that 'in Christ, the Word, as in a prophet, was simply dwelling in a holy man' (St. Athanasius, *Tomus ad Antiochenes*, parag. 7, *NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 4, pp. 483-486).

Against such teachings of Diodore and the Antiochenes who considered Mary as *anthropotokos* "Mother of Man", denying her title of *theotokos* "Mother of God", St. Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa (*c.* 371 – *c.* 395) says that the Holy Virgin Mary "must be called Mother of God. Gregory employs the term *theotokos*...and rejects the term *anthropotokos* used by some innovators, the Antiochenes. In his letter to Eustathia, Ambrosia and Basilissa (*Ep.* 17), he

asks the question: 'Do we announce another Jesus? Do we produce other Scriptures? Have any of ourselves dared to say "Mother of Man" of the Holy Virgin, the Mother of God, which is what we hear that some of them say without restraint?'..." (Quasten, vol. III, p. 289; *NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 5, p. 544).

The Apollinarians accused Diodore of "reviving the teaching of Photinus and holding that 'the Divine Word' merely 'dwelt in the seed of David, as in the prophets'. True, with Photinus the Word was impersonal; whereas Diodore spoke of 'the Son of God' in relation to 'the son of David'. But, in disowning the charge, Diodore could only distinguish his view from that of Photinus by saying that, whereas with the Prophets the divine indwelling was temporary and partial, in Jesus it was eternal and entire" (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 195, quoting Marius M., *Excerpta Th.* v, parag. 9 = *PL* xlviii. 1062B). "The son of David was permanently and completely filled with the glory and wisdom of the Word" (Kelly, *Doctrines*, p. 303, quoting Fragments 35 & 38 in Abramowski).

Verbally, Diodore "maintained the unity of Person in our Lord. He held that just as, at an audience with the Emperor, we 'adore' the imperial mantle because of him who wears it, or the temple because of the god who dwells therein, so the man Jesus simply shares in the adoration due to God the Word" (Kidd, *op. cit.* quoting Marius M., *Excerpta Theodori* v; parag. 10 = *PL* xlviii. 1062B. See Kelly, *op. cit.*).

Our Lord Jesus Christ on this showing "was no more than the supreme saint. Diodore, in effect, substituted for the Incarnation a very exceptional degree of intercourse between two persons; between the Divine Son and one particular man. Cyril of Alexandria was therefore quite right when he observed that, if it be a question of the sources of Nestorianism, they will be found in the teaching of Diodore" (Kidd, *op.cit.*, p. 196).

On the suggestion of St. Philoxenus of Mabbug, Emperor Anastasius I ordered that a synod (*synodos endemousa*) be summoned by Patriarch Macedonius of Constantinople, in which a confession of faith was read out in the name of St. Philoxenus before the assembly. This synod which took place in 499 A.D. anathematized Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Nestorius, Theodoret, Ibas of Edessa, Andrew of Samosata, John of Aigai, Eutherius of Tyana (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 270 and n. 121). A. de Halleux claims that the synod of 499 took place in 507 (*ibid.*, n. 121).

II.B. Theodore of Mopsuestia:

II.B.1. THEODORE'S LIFE HISTORY:

Theodore, who was born at Antioch, *c.* 350, was ambitious for the Bar in his early life. He studied rhetoric and literature under Libanius, in whose school he began his lifelong friendship with St. John Chrysostom. Before the age of twenty and by the example and advice of the latter, he was induced to enter the monastery of Diodore near Antioch. Soon, however, his ardor cooled and he fell in love with a girl named Hermione. Then he left the cloister in order to become a lawyer and marry her. Two eloquent letters of St. Chrysostom *ad Theodorum lapsum* (*PG* 47, 277-316) succeeded in dissuading him and he returned to the monastery. In 383 he was ordained priest by Flavian, the bishop of Antioch, and in 392 he was consecrated bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia. Here he actively defended Chrysostom, the

friend of his youth; "befriended Julian, bishop of Eclanum, and other Pelagianizing exiles from the West; and after receiving Nestorius on his way to possess himself of the throne of Constantinople, died (in 428) at the end of an episcopate of six and thirty years" (Kidd, *op. cit.* See Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.* i.2). Diodore's pupil, Theodore, like his master, was accused by St. Cyril of being responsible for the teaching of Nestorius [see quotations from St. Cyril cited before under Part One, section II.].

According to Maclean (*ERE* IX, p. 324): "Theodore goes much farther than his master, and in him has been seen both by ancient and by modern writers the real founder of Nestorianism. This is the view of the contemporary layman Marius Mercator... Marius emphatically fathers the error on Theodore (*PL* XLVIII, 110)... Theodore was '*felix opportunitate mortis*' (i.e. 'lucky for dying in favorable time'). He died in 428, a few months after Nestorius went to Constantinople. Had he lived longer, there can be little doubt that he would have been condemned for the teaching which was in reality his own, though it was popularized by Nestorius and therefore named after him".

Theodore was formally condemned as a heretic at the Chalcedonian Council of Constantinople 553, i.e. 125 years after his death. Thus he shared the fate of his master Diodore of Tarsus who was condemned by a synod at Constantinople in 499. Anathema XII of the Council of Constantinople of 553 gives examples of the heretical teachings of Theodore and concludes saying: "...If, then, anyone shall defend this most impious Theodore and his impious writings, in which he vomits the blasphemies mentioned above, and countless others besides against our Great God and Saviour Jesus Christ, and if anyone does not anathematize him or his impious writings, as well as all those who protect or defend him, or who assert that his exegesis is orthodox, or who write in favour of him and of his impious works, or those who share the same opinions, or those who have shared them and still continue unto the end in this heresy: let him be anathema" (Percival, p. 315).

Theodore is the most typical representative of the Antiochene school of exegesis. His *Commentary on the minor Epistles of St. Paul* has reached us entire, though in Latin; his *Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John* in Syriac. But more important, for our purpose, are the fragments of his dogmatic and controversial treatises (published in *PG* lxvi. 969-1020; Swete ii, 289-339).

II.B.2. THEODORE'S ANTHROPOLOGY AND PELAGIANISM:

An important source of our knowledge of Theodore's anthropology is his dogmatic treatise, *Adversus defensores peccati originalis*, "Against the defenders of the original sin" (*PG* lxvi. 1005-1012; Swete ii. 332-337). It was an attack on Jerome and Augustin and all those who maintained that original sin is inherent in our nature, which places Theodore on the Pelagian side. Indeed, Theodore gave a friendly welcome to Augustin's opponent Julian of Eclanum who, condemned in the West, sought help and protection in the East. This is unquestionably the explanation—though Theodore may have been all unconscious of the connexion—of his defective theory of the Incarnation. "His errors," says Dr. Swete, "are mainly due to an imperfect realization of the nature and extent of human sin. With Theodore sin is a weakness rather than a disease, a negative rather than a positive evil..." (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 197, quoting Swete i, p. lxxxvi f.).

The excerpts of Theodore's writings which Marius Mercator presents as a proof of

Theodore's Pelagianism, Photius' report about the latter's treatise *Adversus defensores peccati originalis* as well as the citations of the Chalcedonian Council of Constantinople of 553 reveal his opposition to the doctrine of original sin and exhibit his own views as follows: "Man was not created immortal, but mortal; Adam and Eve harmed only themselves by their sin; universal mortality is not a chastisement of Adam's sin; the effects of the sin of Adam—the present condition of man—are not penalties, but a test, an experiment instituted by God. The tortures of the damned will come to an end" (Quasten III, p. 419).

As regards the last point, Swete (*DCB* iv, p. 946) summarizes Theodore's view saying: "The punishments of the condemned will indeed be in their nature eternal, being such as belong to eternity and not to time (*'non ad tempus, sed aeterno sunt'*); but both reason and Scripture lead us to the conclusion, that they will be remissible upon repentance. 'Where (he asks) would be the benefit of a resurrection to such persons, if they were raised only to be punished without remedy or end? What would, then, be the meaning of such texts as *Matthew* v. 26, *Luke* xii. 47, 48? Moreover, Theodore's fundamental conception of the mission and Person of Christ compels him to believe that there will be a final restoration of all creation...". [Of course, Theodore is contradicting our Lord's teaching in *Matthew* 25:41, 46 and *Mark* 9:43-48. Compare also *Revelation* 14:11 and *Daniel* 12:2.]

II.B.3. THEODORE'S CHRISTOLOGY:

II.B.3.a. The Accusation: A Father of Nestorianism:

Theodore's Christology has been responsible for the charge that he was the father of Nestorianism. This accusation is based principally on the lengthy excerpts from *De incarnatione*, i.e. *On the Incarnation*, which is the most important work of Theodore which he composed before he became bishop of Mopsuestia. These excerpts were assembled by Leontius of Byzantium and presented to the Chalcedonian Council of Constantinople of 553, together with the less extensive fragments of the *Contra Apollinarem* (Mansi 9, 203-229; *PG* 66, 969-1002) as a proof of Theodore's Nestorianism. Thus Bardenhewer (*Patrology*, p. 321) drew the following conclusion: "We possess at present only isolated fragments of these works but enough, however, to make certain that Theodore was a Nestorius before Nestorius. Like Diodorus he taught that in Christ there were two persons. The divine nature is a person, and the human nature is a person. The unity of the two natures consists in the community of thought and will. The Christian adores one sole Lord because the man who was joined to the *Logos* in a moral union was raised, in reward of his perseverance, to a divine dignity" (quoted in Quasten III, p. 415).

St. Athanasius and the Alexandrians (and also Apollinarius) "saw the divine *Logos* himself as the model of humanity, that image of God in which humanity was created. Accordingly, what was important to them was the identity of Jesus as the *Logos*, for they envisaged assimilation to the *Logos* as the proper destiny of a human being. In the Antiochenes, however, pious attention is focused rather on Jesus the human being in his struggle with evil. It was he, in his movement to a fulfilled life of immutable goodness, with whom they identified themselves and in whom they saw their own destiny realized" (Norris, *CC*, p. 24).

II.B.3.b. Theodore's Doctrine of Peccability of Christ:

Theodore was anxious for a saviour with experiences really like our own. He insisted that the Lord took not only a body but a complete man composed of a body and an immortal soul, capable of exercising a real choice between good and evil, although persistently choosing good. It was necessary for him to take human nature in its mutable state, to pass through a period of growth, not only in body but in wisdom (*Luke* 2:52), to enter into conflict, not only with the Evil one, but with the passions of the human soul. "Indeed, He was troubled by passions both of the soul and of the body, and knew what the struggle with concupiscence was (Theodore, *De Incarn.* 15, in Swete, ii.311)—an assertion in which Theodore's fundamental Pelagianism comes out; for Julian of Eclanum, who took refuge with him, was the only other thinker to venture upon this daring affirmation. Theodore would say that it was a condition of moral progress, as in us, so in the Saviour" (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, pp. 198-199).

Only Julian and Theodore maintained the peccability of our Lord, but the Church affirms his impeccability. "If we say that, in order to be a sympathetic Saviour, He must be capable of moral fall, then we deprive Him of a higher office, viz. His power to restore. 'A peccable Christ could not be a life-giving Christ'" (*ibid.*, p. 199, n.1).

Theodore "was aware, of course, of the Apollinarian argument that the soul is naturally sinful, but cited *1Timothy* 3,16 ('He was justified in the Spirit') and *Hebrews* 9,14 ('Who in the Spirit offered Himself without spot to God') as demonstrating that divine grace kept Christ's mind and will immune from sin" (Kelly, *Doctrines*, p. 304). Christ has an exceptional bent towards virtue owing to "his supernatural birth, and subsequent Baptism of the Spirit, which he received in a manner peculiar to himself, but yet more to his union with the Person of the divine Word. This union he had indeed received as the reward of his foreseen sinlessness and virtue" (Swete in *DCB*, iv, p. 944). "His life was a continual progress from one stage of virtue to another, a meritorious course of which the end was victory over death and an entrance into the immortal and immutable state" (*ibid.*). "From the Resurrection onwards, He was 'exempt from the possibility of a moral fall' (Theodore, *De Incarn.* vii, in Swete ii, 296f.) and so indissolubly united to God (Theodore, *Exp. Symb.*, in Swete ii, 330, 1.2)" (Kidd, *op. cit.*).

II.B.3.c. The Accusation: A Doctrine of "Two Sons":

In the area influenced by the Antiochian school of thought, where the integrity of the man assumed by the *Logos* was consistently affirmed, the distinction between Christ's divine and human components was particularly stressed (as e.g. Diodore of Tarsus), with the risk of distinguishing two subjects, the man and the *Logos*, and consequently two Christs in him. This divisionist Christology has its implications for soteriology: by distinguishing too clearly between the man Jesus and the *Logos*, we exclude the latter from the death on the cross, i.e. from the supreme redemptive act, whereas St. Athanasius had maintained against the Arians that only God could redeem man from Adam's sin.

Theodore of Mopsuestia "is a typical representative of the Antiochene tradition: so he gives the maximum value to the humanity assumed by the divine *Logos* and its capacity to operate autonomously: it is a genuine subject, which Theodore likes to define as Son

of David in correlation to the Son of God, the *Logos*. And it is superfluous to add that he makes normal use of the phraseology of the *homo assumptus* to present the union (indwelling of the *Logos* in the temple represented by the body, etc." (Simonetti, in Ber. *EEC*, II, p. 825). "This means, of course, as we have said, that for Theodore and his followers, there are always two subjects in Christ. They express this belief by speaking indifferently of two '*hypostases*' (i.e., objective realities) or of two 'natures'. By the latter term they meant not two abstract essences but two concrete realities of different kinds. The divine 'nature', for them, means the *Logos*, and the human 'nature' means the man whom the *Logos* joined to himself" (Norris, *CC*, p. 25). "The Man is Son only by virtue of his indissoluble union with the Divine Word; when we call Christ the Son of God, we think principally of Him who is truly and essentially Son, but we include in our conception the man who is indissolubly One with Him, and therefore shares His honours and His Name" (Swete, in *DCB* iv, p. 945).

It is characteristic of Theodore to describe the humanity as "the man assumed" (e.g. *Catechetical Homilies* = *Cat. Hom.* 8, 5) "and occasionally his language seems almost to suggest that the Word adopted a human being who was already in existence. A typical sentence runs, 'Let us apply our minds to the distinction of natures; He Who assumed is God and only-begotten Son, but the form of a slave, he who was assumed, is man' (*Cat. Hom.* 8, 13). He thus gives the impression of presupposing a real duality" (Kelly, *Doctrines*, p. 305). He describes the man Jesus as "one from among us" (*ibid.*, n. 3, quoting *Cat. Hom.* 16, 2).

Theodore, commenting on *Galatians* iv. 4 ("God sent forth his Son, born of a woman, born under the law"), writes: "Clearly the Apostle is speaking of the Man [*de homine*], and is referring to Him who was made of a woman and lived under the Law. And rightly does he call Him 'Son'; seeing that above all men He was made partaker of filial adoption on account of the conjunction by which the divine *Logos* vouchsafed to conjoin Him [*eum*] with Himself [*sibi*] (Swete, i. p. 62). Or to quote his comment on *Colossians* i. 13 ('...translated us into the kingdom of the Son of his love')": "He does not say 'of the Son', but 'of the Son of His love', for we are not partakers of the Kingdom of the divine *Logos*—for how can we be joined to the Artificer of the universe? The Apostle meant that we are joined to the Man who was assumed [*suscepto homini*].... Hence he called Him [*eum*] 'the Son of His love', for He is not the Son of the Father by nature, but through love was deemed worthy of the adoption of sons" (*ibid.*, p. 260; quoted in *Two Ancient Christologies*, pp. 190-191).

Therefore, the Chalcedonian Council of Constantinople of 553 condemned Theodore for his divisionist Christology, exhibited in the excerpts presented to the Council from his writings, which implied that Jesus was a mere man. Consequently, Theodore comments on *John* 20:22 and *John* 20:28 (*PG* 66:783) denying that Jesus really breathed the Holy Spirit on his disciples and taking Thomas's words "My Lord and my God" not as a confession of the Godhead of our Lord but as a glorification of the Father. Thus, the Council declared its Anathema XII on anyone who defends "the impious Theodore of Mopsuestia, who has said that the Word of God is one person, but that another person is Christ, vexed by the sufferings of the soul and the desires of the flesh, and separated little by little above that which is inferior, and become better by the progress in good works and irreproachable in his manner of life, as a mere man was baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and obtained by this baptism the grace of the Holy Spirit, and became worthy of Sonship..... The same [Theodore] has dared, among numerous other

blasphemies, to say that when after the resurrection the Lord breathed upon his disciples, saying, 'Receive the Holy Ghost,' he did not really give them the Holy Spirit, but that he breathed upon them only as a sign. He likewise has said that the profession of faith made by Thomas when he had, after the resurrection, touched the hands and the side of the Lord, viz.: 'My Lord and my God,' was not said in reference to Christ, but that Thomas, filled with wonder at the miracle of the resurrection, thus thanked God who had raised up Christ. And moreover (which is still more scandalous) this same Theodore in his *Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* compares Christ to Plato, Manichaeus, Epicurus and Marcion, and says that as each of these men having discovered his own doctrine, had given his name to his disciples, who were called Platonists, Manicheans, Epicureans, and Marcionites, just so Christ, having discovered his doctrine, had given the name Christians to his disciples" (Percival, p. 315).

II.B.3.d. The Doctrine of Inhabitation:

Yet Theodore "dismisses Diodore's theory of two Sons as 'naïve' (*Cat. Hom.* 8, 14; cf. *De Incarn.* 12 = Swete ii, 303), arguing that 'the distinction of natures does not prevent their being one'. How then does he conceive of the union between the *homo assumptus* and the Word Who assumed him? The metaphor of indwelling (ἐνοίκησις) provides him with his most satisfying explanation. 'He applies the term "garment"', he remarks on *Psalm* 45,8, 'to His body, which was wrapped about Him, the divinity being within in virtue of His indwelling'. Again, he teaches that the human nature is, as it were, a temple or shrine in which the Godhead dwells, finding authority for this line of thought in the Lord's identification of His body with the Temple in *John* 2,19 (*Cat. Hom.* 8, 5)" (Kelly, *Doctrines*, p. 305).

"*A priori* there are three conceivable modes of Divine indwelling; it might be essential, effectual, or moral (κατ' οὐσίαν, κατ' ἐνέργειαν, κατ' εὐδοκίαν). But an essential indwelling of God is excluded by every adequate idea of His Nature: ...for in His essence God cannot be limited or circumscribed. Again, in His operations God is everywhere present, and such a presence constitutes no peculiar privilege. The special indwelling of God in man must therefore consist of that co-operation which He vouchsafes to those whom He regards with complacency (*Psalms* xxxiv.19; cxlvii.10, 11; cf. *Luke* iii.22). It is a moral approximation, a moral union of the Divine Nature with souls which possess a moral affinity to His own mind and will" (Swete in *DCB* iv, p. 945). In a well-known passage preserved by his critics (*De Incarn.* 7 = Swete ii. 293), Theodore argued that "the Word cannot have pervaded the humanity either substantially (κατ' οὐσίαν) or by direct activity (κατ' ἐνέργειαν), since the Godhead is necessarily present everywhere in both these ways, whereas the presence of the Word in the *homo assumptus* must presumably be special. His conclusion is that the union is κατ' εὐδοκίαν, i.e. by favour or grace. By this he suggests that God does not simply approve of the men in whom He dwells, but that He actively cooperates with and assists them by His loving disposition. In contrast to the Apostles and just men, however, He dwelt in the *homo assumptus* 'as in a son'..." (Kelly, *Doctrines*, p. 305). The *Logos* unites himself to Jesus from the moment of Jesus' conception, and as Jesus' human life goes on, maturing and fulfilling itself more and more through his struggle against evil, the reality of this union comes to fuller and fuller expression. "The

man Christ became Son by adoption at the baptism in accordance with the voice which said, Οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα, ('This is my Son, the Beloved, with whom I am well pleased'—*Matthew* 3:17), words which Theodore held that it would be madness to interpret in reference to the Divine Word. But even this secondary sonship of Christ is unique in rank and privilege. The man who is one with the Eternal Son is the image of the Indivisible God, the firstborn of every creature, i.e. he takes precedence of the whole creation and is entitled to and shall receive the homage and adoration of the whole universe" (Swete in *DCB* iv, p. 945).

Theodore conceives the relationship between God and humanity in the incarnation in terms of will rather than in terms of substance. There is complete distinctness between the human and the Divine natures in Jesus, yet there is also a unity of will and of operation. Theodore "insists upon the reality of this co-operation, but within, and as a consequence of, the union. No doubt it is this theme which, more than any other, calls attention to Theodore's Christological dualism—to his emphasis on the independence of the Man as a subject of moral activity.....although he offers no 'explanation' of the union beyond his assertion that it is an indwelling which takes place by a disposition of the divine Will, it seems evident that Theodore attaches great significance to the relationship of subordination between the Word and the Man which, as he sees it, makes an organic unity of a 'conjunction' between two subjects" (Norris, *Manhood and Christ*, p. 228). "The unity of Christ is not the unity of two equal partners, but one which is achieved through the subordination of the humanity to the Word" (*ibid.*, p. 232). "This emphasis on a relationship of subordination appears both in Theodore's doctrine that the glory of the Man *is* the natural glory of the Word, and in his reiteration of the notion that the Word 'works all things' in the human nature. His point seems to be that there is a single source (though not a single subject) of all that Christ is and does, and that this source is the divine Word who indwells the Man" (*ibid.*, p. 228).

In one of his fragments, Theodore explains the unity by appealing to the principle of indwelling according to good pleasure and, derivatively, that of the Word as the source of all that is done in and through the Man. Thus, he writes: "The unity of person is known from the fact that he accomplishes all things through him. This unity is brought about by the indwelling according to good pleasure. So when we say that the Son of God will come as judge from the heavens, we understand the simultaneous coming of the Man and of God the Word: not because God the Word, like the Man, is naturally brought down, but because by good pleasure there will be unity with him wherever he is, because of the fact that he accomplishes everything through him" (*ibid.*, p. 232, quoting Swete ii, p. 297).

II.B.3.e. Unity of *Prosopon*:

The unity of the *prosopon* is the effect of a certain kind of relationship between two differing concrete natures. (Cf. Swete ii. 308)...when we look to the conjunction, then we say one *prosopon*. It would be useful to highlight the connection between Theodore's Christological and exegetical uses of *prosopon*. "In the exegetical context, the *prosopon* was the subject of whom, or to whom, a psalm was spoken.... The *prosopon* of a psalm could be an individual, a group, or a multitude. But it constituted one *prosopon* if it was the subject of whom the psalm was spoken.... Now when Theodore found the Scriptures speaking of the Word and the man assumed..., it seems only natural that he would express this in

terms of 'one *prosopon*'. Thus he would express the fact that there is one subject of whom the Scriptures speak, whether they refer to the Word or to the man assumed. Theodore's use of the term *prosopon* to express such an idea, as we have seen, does not necessarily imply that this 'one subject' is an individual, a 'person' in the strict, philosophical sense. It seems rather, simply to be a way of saying that the Word and the man together constitute one subject of whom one can say what pertains to either of them (*ibid.*, p. 263). Theodore's exegetical use of *prosopon* combines the ideas of a grammatical subject and an interested party—where the party, like the subject, may be intrinsically either singular or plural. And Christ, in the Scriptures, is treated as one *prosopon* in both of these senses. He is a single subject of predication, and a single 'party' in his actions and interests, although, at the same time, he is both human and divine" (Norris, *Manhood and Christ*, p. 230).

"When Theodore speaks of Christ as one *prosopon*, he means that, because of the union between the Word and the assumed Man, the Lord presents himself to the world and to the believer as a single object of knowledge and faith and a single agent of reconciliation with God. This is the fact of the *persona communis*" (*ibid.*, p. 231).

The unity of the *prosopon* is consistent with the duality of "nature". It is the outward manifestation by which the two concrete natures are recognized as an historical functional or generic unit. **"It really amounted to no more than a moral union, after all; and this Theodore unwarily admitted by comparing the union of the divine and human in our Lord to the conjugal union"** (Kidd, *op. cit.*, p. 200).

Thus, he writes in a well-known fragment preserved by Leontius: **"...through the union the two natures which have been brought together make up one *prosopon* according to the union. Just as the Lord said of a man and his wife that 'they are no longer two, but one flesh', so let us reasonably say, in accordance with the principle of the union, 'So they are no longer two *prosopa*, but one', the natures being of course distinguished. For just as in the former case it does no harm for the one flesh to be called by the number two, since it is evident in what sense they are called one; so also in the latter case the union of the *prosopon* does not militate against the difference of the natures. For when we distinguish the natures, we say that the nature of God the Word is complete, and that [his] *prosopon* is complete (for it is not correct to speak of an *hypostasis* without its *prosopon*); and [we say] also that the nature of the man is complete, and likewise [his] *prosopon*. But when we look to the conjunction, then we say one *prosopon*"** (Swete ii., p. 299, quoted in Norris, *Manhood and Christ*, pp. 228-229).

Theodore's simile of a husband and wife is quoted in Anathema XII of the Chalcedonian Council of Constantinople of 553, which says: "And, again, this same impious Theodore has also said that the union of God the Word with Christ is like to that which, according to the doctrine of the Apostle, exists between a man and his wife, 'They twain shall be in one flesh'" (Percival, p. 315).

Certainly man and wife are one flesh (*Mark* 10:8; *Ephesians* 5:31); but after marriage they still remain two persons as before. Moreover, we have to remember that Theodore repeatedly spoke not of the union between God and man, but between God and a man, between "Him who assumed" and "Him who was assumed" (Swete ii. 295f.).

Theodore obviously thinks of the unity of the *prosopon* as a product of the union of two *prosopa*, i.e. that of the Word and that of the Man he assumed. Thus he writes: "In the same way...we say that the essence (οὐσία) of the divine Word is his own, and that that of the Man is his own. For the natures are distinguished, but the *prosopon* is perfected as one by the union. Whence, when we undertake to distinguish the natures, we say that the *prosopon* of the man is perfect, and perfect also (the *prosopon*) of the Deity. But when we look steadfastly at the union, then we pronounce that both natures are one *prosopon*, since the Manhood receives through the Deity honour beyond its constitution, and the Deity fulfils all righteousness in the Manhood" (Swete ii, p. 300, quoted in Norris, *Manhood and Christ*, p. 231).

Theodore "unconsciously placed the personality of Jesus in his manhood: for Jesus to him was a man who became God not, as to Apollinaris, God who became man" (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 200). That is to say his Christology is from below, beginning with a man who became God, in contrast to the Orthodox Christology from above which begins from God the *Logos* who was made man.

Theodore "never really meant that the very Self or Ego of the Divine Son entered this worldly sphere" (as in his comments on *John* 1:14: Swete ii. 300, or on *John* 20:22 or on *John* 20:28: *PG* 66:783, cited in Kidd, *op. cit.*).

He spoke of two whole and complete natures that were united without being confused in a single *prosopon* or person (to evaluate this formula, we must bear in mind that the Greek *prosopon* had never lost its original meaning of "form, external appearance"). The Incarnate is 'one *prosopon*', and by this he means that he is the 'one subject' Who can be addressed now as God and now as man.

Theodore's "doctrine was, not that Christ was a third *prosopon* effected by the union of the *prosopa* of the Word and the man, but that the indwelling Word imparted His own *prosopon* to the man in indissoluble, ineffable union" (Kelly, *Doctrines*, p. 307). In fact, Theodore, despite this unitive formula, continued to distinguish too clearly between the divine and human operations in Christ, so as to predicate in him, in effect, two subjects corresponding to two natures.

He disliked the term θεοτόκος ("*Theotokos*"), but allowed that it might be used in a certain sense. Mary was both ἀνθρωποτόκος ("man-bearer") and θεοτόκος ("God-bearer"). She was mother of the man, but in that man, when she gave Him birth, there was already the indwelling of God (Swete ii. 310, ll. 10-21).

"Jesus himself could be called Son of God, as Diodore had put it , not in the strict sense but simply as having acquired his Sonship through association with the Word" (Kidd, *op. cit.*, quoting Swete ii. 311f., 308.ll.16f).

The Man Jesus shares an honour which is not his by nature; and the work of the Man, rightly attributed to him as its immediate subject, is nevertheless, in the last resort, the work of the divine Son.

Anathema XII of the Council of Constantinople of 553 quotes Theodore saying that Christ "as a mere man was baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and became worthy of Sonship, and to be worshipped out of regard to the Person of God the Word (just as one worships the image of an emperor)" (Percival, p. 315; see Kidd, *op. cit.*, p. 201, n. 1, quoting Swete ii. 359.ll.15-33; ii. 309, where he says that Christ is the

Image of God, we worship Him as we adore the Emperor's Images – a simile borrowed from Diodore).

II.B.4. AN EPITOME OF THEODORE'S HERETICAL DOCTRINES:

Theodore's anthropology reveals his opposition to the doctrine of original sin and confirms his Pelagian tendency. Moreover, his teaching that the tortures of the damned will come to an end in a final restoration of all creation is clearly heterodox.

Theodore's Christology follows the Antiochene "Word-man" model. He was so preoccupied in getting rid of Apollinarianism (which preached that the Lord's humanity was without soul, or, more precisely, without *nous*, the soul's rational faculty), that he came first to overlook the truth which it shared with orthodoxy, in starting from the thought of God made man; and then, by way of correcting its doctrine of a defective humanity, to affirm explicitly that there was in our Lord's manhood a human body and a rational soul. But this orthodox expression of faith was not sufficient for Theodore, who, in his overreaction to Apollinarianism, went further to speak of a human person in the Lord, an autonomous genuine subject, which Theodore likes to define as Son of David, the subject of moral activity in correlation to the Son of God, the *Logos*. "Thus there were two sons (Swete, ii. 303.ll.16f.), one of whom, the son of Mary, was by grace and not by nature (*ibid.*, ii. 306.ll.1-8), as Diodore had said, Son of God, so that Mary was not, except titularly, the mother of God" (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 201). Theodore, however, denies that we can speak of two Lords and two sons, since the two natures are united in an ineffable and eternally indissoluble way in a single *prosopon*. As the union does not destroy the distinction of natures, so this distinction does not prevent the two natures being one. But this should not blind one to the weakness of his position.

"**In the first place**, even his most benevolent critic must admit that there were dangers in his habitual use of the contrast between the Word and 'the man', the God and His shrine, the 'assumer' and the 'assumed', Him Who indwells, or puts on, and him who is indwelt, or put on. These dangers are glaringly illustrated by the way in which he represents the man Jesus as thanking the Father for counting him worthy of adoption, or discoursing with the Word as if they were separate Persons" (Kelly, *Doctrines*, p. 308). Indeed, Theodore, especially in his *Commentary on John*, deals with Christ, man and God as two subjects distinct from each other.

"**Secondly**, for all his insistence on the unity of the natures, his conception of it as a 'conjunction' (συνάφεια) rather than a 'union' (ἕνωσις) was ultimately unsatisfactory. It is not really surprising to discover that he sometimes thought of the Holy Spirit as the medium of this conjunction, thereby veering perilously close to adoptionism" (Kelly, *op. cit.*, quoting Theodore's *Commentary on John* 16, 14; 17, 11).

Thirdly, Theodore's "understanding of the impeccability of Christ cannot be accepted because he thinks of *impeccantia* rather than impeccability. He lacked the true conception of the immutability of Christ and of the *communicatio idiomatum*" (Quasten III, p. 417).

Fourthly, "it is apparent that, while he was alive to the necessity of a unique subject in the God-man and regularly spoke of 'one *prosopon*', he had not clearly worked out all the implications of this. On his theory the Godhead and the manhood were juxtaposed, finding their unity in a 'common Person'" (Kelly, *op. cit.*). It is beyond doubt that the result

is insufficient, both in the terminology used (*homo assumptus*, as well as his antithesis *Filius Dei-Filius David*) and because the way in which the union is achieved is unclear, all the more since *prosopon* (= figure, external aspect) appeared less weighty than *hypostasis* to indicate this union.

"The doctrine of the one *prosopon* is not, therefore, to be taken as an equivalent for the later dogma of '*hypostatic* union'. For Theodore, the one *prosopon* is indeed a *persona communis*: the outward unity of presentation which is the result of the Word's indwelling of the Man" (Norris, *Manhood and Christ*, p. 232). It was this dualism, this "two natures" doctrine, which made Theodore's Antiochene "*Logos-Anthropos*" model for the incarnation the subject of violent attack from St. Cyril of Alexandria and all the Orthodox who insisted that Jesus was, in the last resort, simply the *Logos* himself.

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III. THE CONDEMNATION OF THE NESTORIAN HERESY BY FATHERS, PERSONS AND COUNCILS:

III.A. The Condemnation of the Nestorian Heresy by the Fathers and Councils Before the Council of Chalcedon:

III.A.1. POPE COELESTINE AND THE ROMAN SYNOD OF AUGUST, 430 A.D.:

As is mentioned under section IV.A.8. of this Part, Pope Coelestine held a Synod in Rome in August 430 with the result that Nestorius was condemned and St. Cyril of Alexandria entrusted with carrying the sentence into execution. To this effect St. Coelestine, in the name of the Roman Synod, wrote to St. Cyril commending his vigilance and saying: "... If he, Nestorius, persists, an open sentence must be passed on him, for a wound like this, when it affects not one member only, but rends the whole body of the Church, must be cut away at once. For what has he to do with those who are of one mind, he who considers that he alone knows best, and dissents from our belief? Let those therefore remain in our communion whom this man has excluded from communion for opposing him; and tell him that he himself will not be able to retain our communion, if he continues in his way of error, opposing the apostolic teaching."

"And so, appropriating to yourself the authority of our see, and using our position, you shall with resolute severity carry out this sentence, that either he shall within ten days, counted from the day of your notice, condemn in writing this wicked preaching of his, and shall give assurance that he will hold, concerning the birth of Christ our God, the faith which the Roman Church and the Church of your Holiness and universal religion holds; or if he will not do this (your Holiness having at once provided for that Church) he will know that he is in every way removed from our body as not being willing to accept the care lavished on him by those wishing to heal him, and as hastening on a destructive course to his own perdition and to the perdition of all entrusted to him" (Coelestine, *Ep.* XI. 3-4, in *PL*, L. 463ff.; Stevenson, *CCC Documents*, p. 300).

Pope Coelestine also wrote to Nestorius ordering him to retract his teaching publicly within ten days or be excommunicated (Coelestine, *Ep.* XIII, *PL* 50. 484).

III.A.2. POPE CYRIL AND THE ALEXANDRIAN SYNOD OF NOVEMBER, 430 A.D.:

We also mentioned under section IV.A.10. of this Part, that St. Cyril proceeded to put into execution the commission of Pope Coelestine of Rome. Therefore, he held a Synod at Alexandria in November, 430 A.D., and in their Synodical Letter, *Cum Salvator*, St. Cyril sent his third and last admonition to Nestorius, saying:

"...We have therefore to transmit to you, the letter of Celestine and the Roman Council and to inform you that if, within ten days from the receipt of this communication of ours, you do not renounce your errors, we can have no further communion with you but only with those whom you have excommunicated. It will not be sufficient for you to confess the Nicene faith in words, for you put a forced interpretation on it. You must declare in writing and on oath that you anathematize your impious tenets, and believe what we believe", and by "we" is meant "all bishops and doctors of East and West" (a summarized quotation from St. Cyril's *Ep.* 17). In order to give precision to the things which Nestorius was to anathematize, the authors of the Synodical Letter subjoined the Twelve Anathemas to which he was to assent as well. These Twelve Anathemas summarize the Cyrilline Christology in uncompromising terms.

"On Sunday, 7 December 430, letter and anathematisms were delivered to Nestorius, after the celebration of the Liturgy. Four Egyptian bishops had brought them. They also presented the letter of Celestine. They also carried letters from Cyril to the clergy and people of Constantinople, and to its abbots and monasteries" (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, pp. 228-229).

III.A.3. THE ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF EPHESUS, 431 A.D.:

After having verified the impious character of the doctrine professed by Nestorius, the fathers of the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, on the 22nd of June 431 A.D., anathematized and deposed him in absence, since he had refused to appear. The following is the sentence declared against him:

"Necessarily being constrained by the canons and by the letter of our very holy father and concelebrant Celestine, bishop of the church of the Romans, with many tears we have made this following sad decision against him [Nestorius]: Therefore, He against whom he has blasphemed, our Lord Jesus Christ, has decreed by the present and very holy council that Nestorius be excluded from the Episcopal dignity as well as the whole priestly college" (L'Huillier, p. 148, quoting *ACO* I, I, 2, p. 54).

"We note the mention of the sentence already pronounced in Rome; however, the fathers of the council were not content to sanction it automatically. It was only after having conducted their own proper investigations, as they wrote to the emperor, that the fathers gathered in Ephesus decided the case against Nestorius. In the acts of the council, the decree is followed by 190 signatures, implying that some were added later on. In fact, 154 members of the council took part in this session, as well as the deacon Bessula" (*ibid.*).

The same evening (22nd June) or the following day (23rd June), **the sentence issued against Nestorius** was made known to him by a letter which reads as follows:

"The holy council, gathered together in the great city of the Ephesians by the grace of God, on the convocation of the very pious sovereigns and friends of Christ, to Nestorius, the new Judas: Be informed that, by reason of your impious preachings and of your disobedience to the canons, this present day, June 22, in conformity with church rules, you have been deposed by the holy council, and you are excluded from all rank in the Church" (*ibid.*, p. 149, quoting *ACO* I, I, 2, p. 64; see Mansi, iv. 1228).

"The fathers of the Council of Ephesus did not issue any canons bearing on general church discipline, but they did pass certain rulings required by the local circumstances of the times. In addition, they gave some answers to concrete cases and problems that were

submitted to them. From this very diverse material, Byzantine canonists have drawn some texts that were inserted into the canonical collections towards the end of the sixth century" (*ibid.*, p. 153).

"The first six canons which are found in the eastern collections dating from after Chalcedon are extracts from the letter which the fathers sent around to make known their decisions at the July 17 session. They were approved at the time of the second session on July 31. After these six canons, we find the διαλαλία, that is, the resolution adopted by acclamation at the meeting of July 22; it states that there is to be no other symbol of faith except that of Nicea. Later on, this decree was counted as canon 7" (*ibid.*).

III.A.4. THE *FORMULARY OF REUNION*, 433 A.D.:

In two years following the Council of Ephesus, strenuous efforts were made to heal the schism between the Alexandrians and the Antiochenes. Finally, an accord was arrived at in the spring of 433: John of Antioch recognized the deposition of Nestorius and the condemnation of his doctrine in a letter sent to St. Cyril of Alexandria in which he said:

"Since this confession of faith has been accepted, it has pleased us, for the removal of all contention, and to direct the universal peace in the churches of God, and to remove the scandals which have grown up, to hold Nestorius, who formerly was the Bishop of Constantinople, as deposed. We anathematize his worthless and 'profane novelties' because the holy churches of God with us have kept the right and healing faith and guard it and hand it on to the people, just as your holiness does also" (*FCNT*, vol. 76, p. 146 = Cyril, *Ep.* 38). [For more details see Part One, section V.]

III.A.5. THE BANISHMENT OF NESTORIUS AND THE NESTORIANS:

After his condemnation for heresy and deposition by the first Council of Ephesus, in 431, Nestorius was sent back by an Imperial order to his monastery of St. Euprepius, near Antioch, where he lived for four years. The emperor invited the Cyrillian party with the papal legates to the consecration of Nestorius's successor, Maximian (431-434).

After the agreement was reached between St. Cyril of Alexandria and John of Antioch, Emperor Theodosius II and Pope Sixtus III, Coelestine's successor, were informed of the Act of Union. "Maximian of Constantinople died and was replaced by Proclus, bishop of Cyzicus, who had twice been a candidate for the post. Meanwhile, the emperor began to pressure Theodoret of Cyrus to embrace the Act of Union. He was deluged with imperial letters and threats, petitions from his own people and even the intervention of the ascetic Simon Stylites from the top of the sixty foot pillar where he spent thirty-eight years. Finally, Theodoret relented and signed the Act. He wrote cordially to Cyril but refused to condemn Nestorius outright. With that most of the resistance collapsed. In the end, fifteen recalcitrant bishops favoring Nestorius were deposed, and Alexander of Hieropolis was condemned to the metal mines of Egypt, intransigent to the end" (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 163).

"Nestorianism was henceforth relentlessly pursued and harassed in the Roman-Byzantine empire. A law of August 8, 435, even prohibited the adherents of Nestorianism to call themselves Christians; they were also forbidden to hold meetings" (L'Huillier, p. 152, quoting *ACO* I, I, 3, p. 68 and I, IV, p. xi, n. 1). Moreover, they "were forbidden to read

or transcribe his books which were to be searched out and burnt" (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 163).

Banished from the Roman-Byzantine empire, "the Nestorian theologians took refuge in Persia, where they managed to have their doctrine accepted among the Christians of that country" (L'Huillier, pp. 152-153).

During this time Nestorius continued to agitate on behalf of his condemned teachings. Archbishop John of Antioch complained to Theodosius, who ordered the final banishment of Nestorius to the Great Oasis (Khargah) in Egypt on 3 August 435, where we find him in 439 when Socrates finished his *History*. Thence he was driven by the barbarians to Panopolis (Akhmim); thence removed to Elephantine opposite to Syene (Aswan), and thence again to Panopolis where he "was sent to a place near it, probably the fortress of Psinblje (Shard Heap) mentioned in Coptic sources..." (*Cop. E.*, vol. 6, p. 1786). The exact date of Nestorius's death is unknown. "In the *Bazaar of Heracleides* he shows a knowledge of Dioscorus' deposition and exile by the Council of Chalcedon, which would place his death sometime after 451..." (*ibid.*, p. 1787).

III.A.6. THE LETTER OF ACACIUS (*c.* 432) AND THE *TOME* OF PROCLUS TO THE ARMENIAN CHURCH, 437 A.D.:

While the Nestorian controversy raged, especially in the aftermath of the Council of Ephesus (431 A.D.), the Armenian Church was undergoing an intellectual renaissance under its head the Catholicos Sahag (= Isaac, 390-439 A.D.) and its principal theologian St. Mesrub. Classics of the Greek and Syriac Fathers were being translated into Armenian among them the works of the Antiochene Theodore, Bishop of Mopsuestia, the intellectual father of "Nestorius's" teaching. Temporarily deposed in 428, Sahag was replaced by several catholicoi appointed from the Syrian Nestorian Catholicosate of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. But resistance to Nestorianism was instigated by letters from the staunch Cyrillian theologians like Acacius of Melitene, whom the exiled Sahag had consulted specifically on the matter, 433 A.D. (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 281). Acacius of Melitene and Rabulla of Edessa cautioned the Armenians about accepting the writings of Theodore who formed the theological mind of the heretic Nestorius. They redoubled their efforts to wean the Armenians from "the Jewish heresy", i.e. Nestorianism.

In his letter to the Armenian Catholicos Sahak, Acacius bishop of Melitene warns the Armenian Church from the malicious heresy of Nestorius and his followers saying: "... having in mind the common good we deemed it good to advice you that these people are moulded in no other [disease] than in Jewish disease..." (Sarkissian, p. 113, referring to *B.L.*, pp. 14-15). Sahak, in his answer to the letter of Acacius, writes with reference to the Nestorians, "I think that the men like these do not know at all the Scriptures and their power, but have regard only to the Jewish dregs" (Sarkissian, p. 115, quoting *B.L.*, p. 17).

"An Armenian synod decided to send two priests to Constantinople to find out where the truth lay. The new patriarch Proclus was clear-headed in his views and had supported the term *Theotokos* in a sermon preached before Nestorius himself years before. In 437 he wrote a *tome* to the Armenian Church" (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 164). From the Armenian text of that *Tome* we quote here a few lines, which are not found in the Greek text, as translated by Sarkissian (p. 124): "Now, hold [together] steadfastly in one spirit and as one person; be, by faith, athletes of the Gospel and not stricken by anathema and condemnation with

Nestorius and Theodore who had been his teacher and who showed forth the evil plant and the malicious novelties which exceeded the denial of the Jews and, like the heresy of the Arians and others who deviated from the glory of the holiness and from the right faith; they were anathematized by all the peoples, and their books [containing] perverse ideas were burnt before all the people. You, too, keep yourselves safe from them and do the same as the assembly of the bishops did, and let no one regard this temporary shame as his own and inherit the eternal shame and be condemned and destroyed with them in the hell". [For the Greek text see Mansi, v, pp. 421-438; analyzed in Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, pp. 273-274].

"Proclus was not content to send his letter only to the Armenians, but decided to circulate it among the bishops of the Orient asking for their signatures and express condemnation of passages taken from Theodore of Mopsuestia's writings and appended to the letter. The Oriental bishops were thunderstruck; the affair of Nestorius was settled. John of Antioch wrote on behalf of the bishops of the Orient that they had condemned Nestorius and accepted the faith of Nicaea, but that they would not condemn a man long dead. The emperor himself ruled that it was a mistake to condemn posthumously a man who had died in full communion with the Church. John wrote also to Cyril asking him to stop this agitation. Loyal to the Act of Union, Cyril wrote to Proclus asking him to withdraw his request to the bishops of the Orient. Proclus complied, and the issue was dropped for the moment" (Davis, *FSEC*, pp. 164-165).

III.A.7. POPE DIOSCORUS OF ALEXANDRIA AND THE SECOND COUNCIL OF EPHESUS, 449 A.D.:

It was now fifteen years after the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D. Many of the chief actors of the Nestorian crisis had passed away. Others, however, remained.

The Antiochene Nestorian cause was not lacking in defenders.

Of these, the ablest was Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus, north of Antioch. He had already provided much of the intellectual defense of Nestorius's position. Just after the First Council of Ephesus, Theodoret delivered a scandalous sermon in which he relieved his feelings by inveighing against the victorious Cyrillines as "hatchers of serpent's eggs" (Mansi, iv. 1409B): men too, who believed in a "passible Godhead" (*ibid.* 1410B, quoted in Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 252). He consented to the *Formulary of Reunion* (433), expressing himself as satisfied with Cyril's later language on the ground that it cancelled his earlier teaching (Mansi, v. 840B); but he would not consent to the deposition and condemnation of Nestorius (*ibid.*).

After the reunion of the Easterns with St. Cyril, Theodoret wrote a letter of sympathy (*letter* 172) to Nestorius, saying: "Let no one therefore persuade your holiness that I have accepted the Egyptian writings as orthodox, with my eyes shut, because I covet any see. For really, to speak the truth, after frequently reading and carefully examining them, I have discovered that they are free from all heretical taint, and I have hesitated to put any stress upon them, though I certainly have no love for their author, who was the originator of the disturbances which have agitated the world.... But to what has been done unjustly and illegally against your holiness, not even if one were to cut off both my hands would I ever assent, God's grace helping me and supporting my infirmity. This I have stated in writing to those who require it. I have sent to your holiness my reply to what you wrote to me, that you may know that, by God's grace, no time has changed me like the centipedes and chameleons

who imitate by their colour the stones and leaves among which they live" (*NPNF*, second series, vol. 3, p. 345).

Theodoret was ready to do battle again. His pertinacious refusal to anathematize Nestorius persisted until the eighth session of the Council of Chalcedon (Mansi v. 997).

When St. Cyril realized that the Orientals, though pretending to hate the doctrine of Nestorius, were still retaining it through adhering to that of Theodore, since both spoke the same, and in order to warn the faithful, he composed his treatise *contra Diodorum et Theodorum*. "Theodoret again took the challenge, and composed his *Apology on behalf of Diodore and Theodore, warriors for the (true) religion*, excerpts from which were read in 449 at the Second Synod of Ephesus. Theodoret alludes to the work in his letter to Irenaeus of Tyre (*Ep.* 18)" (Sellers, p. 28, n. 2). Theodoret had written also to the monks of the Orient against St. Cyril and against the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus (*Ep.* 151).

When St. Cyril died in 444 A.D., a letter circulated under the name of Theodoret of Cyrus expressing the sentiments of the bishops of the Orient: "Tell the guild of undertakers to lay a heavy stone upon his grave, for fear he should come back again and show his changeable mind once more. Let him take his doctrines to the shades below...". This letter was quoted as Theodoret's in the Chalcedonian Council of Constantinople of 553 A.D., and is published as Theodoret's *Epistle* number 180 (*NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 3, pp. 346-347) with a note from the publisher about those who contested its genuineness saying: "To treat it as genuine would be to vilify Theodoret". But Neander and the publisher are inclined to accept the genuineness of the letter, the arguments against which they do not regard as carrying conviction. The general tone of the letter too much resembles that of undisputed polemical writings of Theodoret. The extreme Nestorianism and bitterness of feeling are no arguments against the authorship of Theodoret. He can on occasion use very strong language, as for instance letter 150 (*ibid.*, pp. 324-325) where he alludes to St. Cyril as a shepherd not only plague smitten himself but doing his best to inflict more damage on his flock than that caused by beast of prey, by infecting his charge with his disease.

"It must be needless to add that Cyril's character is not to be estimated aright by ascribing any serious value to a coarse and ferocious invective against his memory, which was quoted as Theodoret's in the fifth General Council (Theodor. *Ep.* 180; see Tillemont, xiv. 784). If it were indeed the production of the pen of Theodoret, the reputation which would suffer from it would assuredly be his own" (quoted in *DCB*, vol. I, p. 772).

"Apart from the 'atrocious letter', full of conceits which it is inconceivable how any one could have written, Mercator, a contemporary, says it was one of the charges against Archbishop Domnus, that he had been present when Theodoret preached a sermon, exulting in the peace which would ensue from St. Cyril's death. 'No one now compels to blaspheme. Where are they who say, that He Who was crucified is God?' (Mercator from, *Gesta quæ contra Domnum Antioch. Ep. conscripta sunt*, p. 276. ed. Garn.)" (quoted in Pusey, *Five Tomes*, etc., p. xv).

On the accession of St. Cyril's successor, St. Dioscorus, to the throne of St. Mark (444 A.D.), Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus (died 458), wrote to him (*Ep.* 60) congratulating him on his universal reputation for modesty and reason. But from the first to last, St. Cyril's successor is the resolute anti-Nestorian. He was determined to stamp out the embers of Nestorianism wherever they might be found. He, therefore, found himself directly opposed

to those who were setting forward impious teaching concerning the great mystery. So, when he was informed of the agitation at Antioch and received from Theodosius the monk and certain others papers containing some of the homilies and exclamations of Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus (Perry, p. 323), he contacted Domnus, bishop of Antioch, expressing to him the distress of the Church of Alexandria concerning the blasphemies which were uttered in the Great Church of Antioch before a vast concord of people, without being reproved. St. Dioscorus's complaint was that those who should have silenced the turmoil had themselves been responsible for it (*ibid.*, pp. 327ff.). That this was the case was too clear from the outrageous statement of Theodoret, who while claiming that he did not divide Emmanuel, said that St. "Thomas touched him who rose (from the dead) but worshipped him who raised him" (*ibid.*, pp. 294, 324). When Theodoret uttered these words, the people cried, "That is the faith of Diodore and Theodore" (Sellers, p. 43, n. 2).

Ibas (Yihîbâ), after the First Council of Ephesus, 431, continued to propagate Nestorius's view at Edessa. "No sooner, then, were the writings of Nestorius put under the ban, than those of his masters in theology, Diodore and Theodore, were circulated instead. They were translated into Syriac by Ibas (Yihîbâ) a priest, and (on the death of Rabbûla) bishop, of Edessa, 435-†57; into Armenian by Eulalius, a bishop of Persarmenia and friend of Theodoret....and into Persian by a correspondent to whom Ibas, now leader of the Nestorian party at Edessa, had recently written a letter, 433, censuring the Council of Ephesus; denouncing Cyril's Twelve Articles; repudiating Rabbûla, bishop of Edessa, as a turncoat and a tyrant; and describing the Reunion as a retractation of his errors by 'the Egyptian'. The recipient of the letters of Ibas is commonly known as Maris, bishop of Ardashir. But "Marī" means "My lord": and Ardashir is the Persian name for Seleucia-Ctesiphon'" (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, pp. 270-271, quoting Mansi, vii. 241-250).

Ibas was also accused of saying that "Hell was only a threat" and that the "Jews crucified a man". "Enough people believed this to pin a charge of blasphemy on him" (Frend, *RC*, p. 765, referring to *ACO* II.3, p. 17). He seems to have had no fears of speaking of the two *prosopa* of Jesus Christ, for, according to the report submitted to the Second Council of Ephesus, 449 A.D., this staunch supporter of the Antiochene doctrine had said: "There is one *prosopon*—He who is of God the Father; and there is another *prosopon*—He who is of the Virgin" (Perry, p. 108, quoted in *Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 188, n. 4).

"Then there was a disciplinary problem. Domnus had consecrated the former count Irenaeus as bishop of the city of Tyre. Irenaeus had been feared and hated by Cyril. It was discovered that he had been twice married, and this could be urged against him to secure his deposition and discredit Domnus" (Frend, *RC*, *op. cit.*).

"For his part the emperor Theodosius feared that Nestorianism was the work of demons set on undermining the stability of the empire. During 448, under the influence of his grand chamberlain, Chrysaphius, he proscribed the writings of Nestorius along with those of Porphyry" (*ibid.*, quoting *Codex Justinianus* I.1.3.). He also "deposed Irenaeus, and left no doubt that he favored Dioscorus against all comers" (*ibid.*).

St. Dioscorus, "confident that the evil doctrine of Nestorius could be rooted out only through maintaining the teaching of the Fathers, he set up as the watchwords of his campaign the formulas, 'one incarnate nature of the divine *Logos*', and, 'after the union, one nature'..... Further, he was determined, so far as he could, to enforce the acceptance

of the Twelve Anathematisms; for it was evidence of their trickery that the Orientals had never recognized the instrument which guaranteed the complete expulsion of the Nestorian heresy" (Sellers, p. 33).

"Cf. the warning uttered by Theodoret in his letter to Domnus (written soon after 30 March 449, when Theodosius summoned the bishops to the Synod of Ephesus): 'Those who belong to other dioceses do not understand the poison lying in the Twelve Chapters, but, mindful of the celebrity of the writer, suspect no ulterior motive; and I consider that his successor in the see is doing everything to have them confirmed at a second synod' (*Ep.* cxii)'" (Sellers, p. 33, n. 3).

The Acts of the Second Council of Ephesus, 449 A.D., are discussed in detail, together with the sentences of condemnation and depositions pronounced by that Council against the Nestorianizers in Part Two, section I.C.2. and section II.

"To complete his victory, Dioscorus published his encyclical letter (Perry, pp. 373ff.), demanding that the writings of Nestorius—lest they should be circulated under the names of orthodox teachers—should be burnt, and that only the treatises of the holy Fathers, and those of others whose teaching was in harmony with the faith established at Nicaea and Ephesus, should be in use, and that for ever" (Sellers, p. 87 = Part Two, sections II.D. & E.).

Through the help of Chrysaphius, St. Dioscorus, "could also secure the publication of an imperial *lex* (Mansi, vii. 495ff.) in which these decisions, as well as those made concerning the fate of Domnus, Theodoret and Flavian, were confirmed. Further, that for all time there might be a *perfectissima solutio* of the whole doctrinal question, it was laid down that the bishops through their metropolitans should subscribe what had been determined at Nicaea and confirmed at Ephesus, and that none should be ordained whose views were those of Nestorius and Flavian and men of the same mind" (Sellers, p. 87).

III.B. The Condemnation of the Nestorian Heresy by the Council of Chalcedon, 451 A.D., and by the Later Pro-Chalcedonian Persons and Councils:

III.B.1. THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, 451 A.D., CONDEMNED NESTORIUS, AND YET WAS ACCUSED OF BEING A NESTORIAN COUNCIL:

(i) The Council of Chalcedon is said to have had condemned Nestorius, at least implicitly, since it accepted the Councils of Nicaea, 325 A.D., Constantinople, 381 A.D., and the exposition of their faith, of the illustrious Cyril of the blessed memory set forth at the Council of Ephesus (in which Nestorius was condemned) (Percival, p. 260).

(ii) Chalcedon, however, created a schism, and was labeled by many as a Nestorian council. This labeling seems to be not unfounded.

(iii) In the words of Frend (*RC*, p. 773), "For Rome, **Chalcedon** was an unalterable Definition of Faith; **for the majority in the East, it represented a compromise acceptable to the emperor, but one which went near to vindicating Nestorius**".

(iv) In fact, **St. Dioscorus** and all the anti-Chalcedonian Churches never ceased to anathematize the Council of Chalcedon (see Part Six), because they always viewed it as a Nestorian or, at least, a Nestorianizing council.

(v) From the Ten Anathematisms of **St. Philoxenos of Mabbogh** against the Council of Chalcedon we quote hereinafter Anathemas IV, V, and VI which define the reasons for considering it a Nestorianizing council and Anathemas IX and X to demonstrate his fiery style in cursing it:

"IV. And we anathematize the Council of Chalcedon also because it anathematized Nestorius, although agreeing with him and with his doctrine."

"V. And we anathematize the Council of Chalcedon also because it received Leo the wicked, of Rome, and because it anathematized Dioscorus the confessor of the orthodox faith, who had anathematized Leo the wicked, and would not agree with him."

"VI. And we anathematize the Council of Chalcedon also because it received Ibas and Theodoret as orthodox."

"IX. And it shall be anathematized, and heaven, and earth, and all the Church which hath been redeemed by the Blood and Resurrection of God shall say"

"X. that there shall be a curse upon the Council of Chalcedon, and upon every one who hath agreed or agreeth therewith—except he hath already repented, or shall repent—for ever, Amen" (Budge, *Philoxenus*, vol. II, pp. xxxiv-xxxvi).

(vi) Evagrius (*Hist. Eccl.* Bk. 4, ch. 4) also tells us that **St. Severus of Antioch** ceased not daily to anathematize Chalcedon (quoted in Torrance, p. 5).

(vii) St. Jacob of Sarug writes to the monks of Mar Bassus (*Letter* XVII, parag. 5) saying: "I am now what I was before, all the time anathematizing with the whole Church Nestorius and his teaching, those of his opinion and the Council of Chalcedon, because this [Council] also employed words which accord with the opinion of Nestorius, the anathematized [one]. As for Diodore, Theodore, Theodoret, Ibas and the *Tome* of Leo, they are anathematized by [the very fact] that one says: 'I anathematize Nestorius and those of his opinion'. And because these men evidently adhere to the opinion of Nestorius, they are anathematized with him since they are of his opinion". (See more details under Part One, section III.C.7.)

(viii) Theodoret who, as we have seen before (under Part One, section III.A.7.), wrote to Nestorius after the reunion of the Easterns with St. Cyril, declaring that, if his two hands were to be cut off, he would never agree to what had been done against Nestorius. This man, Theodoret, whom a decree of the Second Council of Ephesus, 449 A.D., had deposed (see Part Two, section II.C.2.g.), was present at Chalcedon. "Pope Leo of Rome had recognized him as orthodox (Mansi, vii, 190D), the imperial commissioners stood up for his right to be a member of the council (Mansi, vi, 592D and vii, 190BC), and the synod rehabilitated him after he had consented to anathematize Nestorius in the eighth session. [See Part Four of the present work under section III.F.1.]. Nevertheless he was not forced to retract his book against Cyril's anathematisms" (Loofs, *Nestorius*, pp. 98-99).

(ix) In the same way **Ibas of Edessa**, who had likewise been deposed in 449 (Perry, p. 134f.), was at Chalcedon reinstated as bishop (Mansi, vii, 262-270), without having been forced to recant what he had said in his letter to Maris about St. Cyril's "Apollinarism" as he called it, although this letter had been condemned by the Council of Ephesus of 449 A.D. The letter of Ibas to Maris, says Facundus, Bishop of Hermiane in North Africa in the sixth century (ii.1.f.), was read without a dissentient voice at the Council of Chalcedon (*DCB*, iv, p. 937). At Chalcedon, the Roman legates were opposed to reading any information about

Ibas in the acts of the council of Ephesus of 449, "claiming that the decision of this assembly had been annulled by Pope Leo. This objection was accepted. The legates declared that Ibas had been recognized to be innocent and that he ought to be reinstated in his bishop's chair and return to his church... The members of the council declared in favor of Ibas, but certain bishops added the stipulation that he had to anathematize Nestorius, which he did (*ACO* II, I, 3, pp. 38-42)..." (L'Huillier, p. 199). By explicitly recognizing the orthodoxy of the letter of Ibas to Maris, Paschasinus (the Roman Papal legate) had been imprudent since a century later, the Chalcedonian (fifth ecumenical) council of Constantinople, 553, condemned this document because it attacked the doctrine of St. Cyril (see *ibid.*).

(x) Hence it follows that **the decision of Chalcedon was interpreted in very different ways** by the western church, by the adherents of St. Cyril and by Theodoret, Ibas and other Antiochians.

"It is, therefore, impossible," says Loofs, "to answer in one sentence the question whether Nestorius was orthodox according to the standard of the Chalcedonian definition. It is certain that he could have accepted the creed of Chalcedon and its standards of faith as easily as Theodoret,... **Nestorius can therefore be regarded as orthodox according to the Antiochian interpretation of the Chalcedonian definition**" (Loofs, *Nestorius*, pp. 99-100).

(xi) The formulas contained in the *Tome* of Leo were accepted by Nestorius who believed, by 451, that Leo was saying what he (Nestorius) had always said. Thus he wrote in the *Book of Heraclides* (tr. Nau, p. 298) saying: "As for myself, when I had found and read this writing, I thanked God that the Church of Rome had an orthodox and irreproachable confession of faith, although, in so far as concerns me she had come to a different decision" (Stevenson, *CCC Documents*, p. 349).

(xii) "Thus according also to the western interpretation of the Chalcedonian definition Nestorius can be regarded as orthodox" (Loofs, *Nestorius*, p. 100).

To this effect writes the German Catholic theologian, **Kasper** (now Cardinal) saying: "**Nestorius** of the Antiochene school, who at once became a stumbling-block, found his way even before Chalcedon to the distinction between nature and person, and anticipated the Chalcedon formula of the one person in two natures. **After long being accused in the history of dogma and theology of the gravest heresies, and having even been called a new Judas by the Council of Ephesus, he is now to a large extent being rehabilitated by historical scholarship.** The pre-eminence of the *Logos*, which was Cyril's view, never, indeed, occurred to Nestorius; the unity of one person was, according to him, the result of the mutual penetration of the two natures" (Kasper, *Jesus the Christ*, p. 235).

(xiii) The Byzantine writer **Meyendorff** explains how and why the **Chalcedonian definition was interpreted in a Nestorian sense** which gives a justification for the uncompromising attitude of the Miaphysites in labeling Chalcedon as a Nestorian council. Thus he writes saying: "At Chalcedon, the Fathers, following the express desire of the emperor, had promulgated a new definition of the faith, for which they felt no real necessity and whose language was inconsistent with their habitual (theological) language.... Few of them were articulate theologians, so that, in the years which immediately followed the council, the only authoritative spokesman for Chalcedon in the East happened to be Theodoret of Cyrus, but his authority, in spite of his rehabilitation in 451, was marred by

his earlier polemics against Cyril. And, in actual fact, Theodoret never really understood Cyril's Christology. His writings continued to reflect the basic approach of Theodore of Mopsuestia, an attitude—so he thought—Chalcedon had legitimized" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 187).

"The predominance of Antiochene Christology among the apologists of the council is obvious, first in their interpretation of the statement which proclaims that the characteristics of the two natures are 'concurring in one person (πρόσωπον) and one *hypostasis*,' and, second, in their aversion to 'theopaschite' formulae. The two points are, of course, related. Since Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, the Antiochenes had insisted upon the *concrete* integrity of both divinity and humanity of Christ, and designated them as 'natures' which could not be confused, or even be seen in true 'communion' with each other. Their relationship was seen as a 'contact' (συνάφεια) , whereas the oneness of Christ was expressed by the term 'one *prosopon*,' a weak term meaning 'person,' but also 'mask' or 'impersonation,' or 'role.' For Theodoret and many other Chalcedonians, the expression 'concurring in one *prosopon* and one *hypostasis*' implied a new and weakened use of the term *hypostasis*, as synonymous with *prosopon*. Taken by itself, the expression perhaps made such an interpretation possible" (*ibid.*, pp. 190-191).

"The Chalcedonian statement...was incomplete, especially in its failure to affirm, with sufficient and convincing clarity, and not only by implication, that the term *hypostasis* designated the pre-existing *hypostasis* of the Second Person of the Trinity" (*ibid.*, p. 193).

"The 'Antiochene' interpretation of the statement appears not only in the writings of Theodoret, especially in his *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*, published in 453, and his letter to the Nestorian John of Aegaea, but also in what we know of the positions of Gennadius, archbishop of Constantinople (458-471), of his successor Macedonius II (496-511), of the *Acoemetae* ("Non-Sleeping") monks, also in Constantinople, and other Chalcedonian churchmen of the period. The common position of these apologists of the council was their avoidance of the notion of '*hypostatic*' union and its implications. They were of course not formally Nestorian and always defended themselves from teaching the doctrine of 'two sons'—the pre-existing Son of God being distinct from the 'son of Mary,' born in history—but, in fact, just as their Antiochene teachers Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, they were consistently reluctant to admit a real *unity of subject* in Christ. This was particularly evident whenever they touched upon Christ's passion. When asked the question directly—'*Who* suffered on the cross?'—they would answer: 'the flesh of Christ,' His 'humanity,' His 'human nature,' or 'the things human' (τὰ ἀνθρώπεια), i.e. impersonal entities. Indeed, they would not admit the existence in Christ of a second person—this would be straight Nestorianism—but were unable to concede that, since only *somebody* (not 'something') can really *suffer*, St. Cyril was right, in the famous twelfth Anathematism of his third letter to Nestorius, in saying: 'God the Word "suffered in the flesh"...'" (*ibid.*, pp. 191-192).

(xiv) Gennadius was a Nestorian and a great enemy of St. Cyril. In 458 A.D. he was a presbyter at Constantinople and was designated by Pope Leo of Rome to fill the see of Constantinople (*DCB*, vol. II, p. 629). It was not a unanimous election (*ibid.*) and he occupied the see of Constantinople from 458 until his death at 471 A.D. (His Feast days in the Byzantine Church are 25 August and 17 November.) **Gennadius wrote around 431 A.D. a treatise against the Twelve Anathemas of exceptional sharpness and**

bitterness (Quasten III, pp. 525-526). Facundus of Hermiane quotes several passages of this polemic. John Damascene cites in his *Sacra Parallela* a passage from Gennadius's treatise *Ad Parthenium*, a follower of Nestorius (*ibid.*). In these *Two Books to Parthenius*, **Gennadius exclaims, "How many times have I heard blasphemies from Cyril of Egypt? Woe to the scourge of Alexandria!" "Can we sufficiently deplore the corruptions of which he has been and is the author? There are no blasphemies which he does not vomit against the holy fathers, against the apostles, against Jesus Christ Himself.** He destroys the humanity which the Word took of us and for us; he makes that nature suffer which is incapable of suffering" (*DCB*, vol. II, p. 629).

Gennadius's Nestorianism appears clearly in his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*. Grillmeier (*CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 168) quotes Diekamp saying that in the *Commentary* of Gennadius *on the Letter to the Romans* there are "clear indications of Antiochene Christology, just as he is closest to the Antiochenes in his type of exegesis. **His repeated talk of the adoption (*hyiothesia*) of Christ, which is the pattern of our adoption, shows that at the time of the composition of this commentary he [Gennadius] did not conceive the unity of God and man as a true unity of person**". Grillmeier (*op.cit.*) goes on saying: "In any case, the commentary on the Letter to the Romans proves to us that at one time the Patriarch Gennadius was not too far removed from Nestorianism. The fact that he was accused of Nestorian tendencies by some when he was still patriarch (Diekamp, p. 68, n. 4) may perhaps have been based on recollections of this commentary".

Gennadius also composed an encomium on the *Tome* of Leo (Quasten III, p. 526). In his Praise of Leo's *Tome*, obviously destined to defend Chalcedonian teaching as he understood it, "Gennadius translated the essential terms in such a way that it was impossible for the strict disciples of Cyril to accept them. While rejecting formal Nestorianism, **the patriarch avoided the term *Theotokos* and *hypostatic* union, in discussing the two natures of Christ and in emphasizing the particular identity of each one of them** (*hekatéras phýseōs idiótēta sōzoménēn*), **he spoke of union only as 'in a single *prósōpon*'**. Undoubtedly, for Gennadius Antiochene Christology had lost none of its force, and he used it abundantly in his commentaries on Scripture" (Meyendorff, *CECT*, p. 21, citing in p. 173, n. 13, Fr. Diekamp, ed., *Analecta Patristica*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 117 [Rome, 1938], 77-78).

(xv) The *Tome* of Leo itself awakens suspicion by its dualism (see Part Five, section IV.).

[This section is reproduced with many additional examples to demonstrate the Nestorianizing character of the Council of Chalcedon and its supporters, in Part Five of the present work under section V: "The Evidence for the Accusations Against the Council of Chalcedon as being a Nestorian Council"].

III.B.2. THE *HENOTIKON* OF JULY, 482 A.D.:

The *Henotikon* is the theological formula put forward in 482 A.D. with the purpose of healing the schism which occurred at Chalcedon 451 A.D. It was a masterpiece of diplomacy and clear thinking, apparently the work chiefly of Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople and Pope Peter Mongos, Patriarch of Alexandria, sponsored by the Emperor Zeno (*ODCC*, ed. 2, p. 632). It was widely accepted in the East, but never countenanced at Rome (*ibid.*).

"It declared the three Councils of Nicea, Constantinople and Ephesus to be standards

of the faith, received the Twelve Chapters (Anathemas) of Cyril, and **anathematized Nestorius and Eutyches**. Doctrinally, the *Henoticon* avoided the contentious technical phrase (ἐν δύο φύσεσιν), and indeed taught a positive doctrine which both sides could accept. Thus, it affirmed the double consubstantiality, stated that Christ is 'one and not two', and said that both the miracles and the sufferings are those of a single person. Finally, it anathematized any one who held any other opinion, 'whether at Chalcedon or in any synod whatever'. This was not an explicit condemnation of Chalcedon, but amounted to a downgrading of it, so that **its main importance lay in its condemnation of Nestorius and Eutyches**" (Torrance, p. 11).

III.B.3. THE CHALCEDONIANS UNDER EMPEROR ANASTASIUS, 491-518 A.D.:

Flavian, Patriarch of Antioch (498-512) ventured to take rigorous measures against his anti-Chalcedonian opponents who were lead by Philoxenus of Mabbugh (Sellers, p. 280). Flavian had already signed the *Henoticon*, but refused to accept the *Typos* of Emperor Anastasius which was drafted by Severus, because it contained a direct anathema against Chalcedon (*ibid.*, p. 281). Flavian, then, joined forces with Elias of Jerusalem, summoned all bishops of the Orient to a Synod at Sidon. There, except for the ten bishops who followed Philoxenus, the rest refused to anathematize Chalcedon (*ibid.*). Evagrius (*Hist. Eccl.* Bk.3, ch. 31) tells us that **Flavian admitted Chalcedon only as far as regards the deposition of Nestorius and Eutyches, and not as a definition of faith**. He refused at Sidon in 512 explicitly to anathematize Chalcedon for Philoxenus, though he was prepared to anathematize Nestorius and the school of Diodore (*The Syriac Chronicle*, Bk. 7, ch. 10; quoted in Torrance, p. 13). When the monks poured down from the hill country of Coele-Syria in support of Philoxenus, "Flavian thoroughly unnerved, offered to condemn the Council (of Chalcedon) and all Nestorians. But the surrender came too late. Philoxenus had already secured an edict of deposition; and with the full approval of Anastasius, now brought Severus to Antioch (512)" (Sellers, p. 281).

Two or three years later, a synod of Orientals met at Tyre "for the purpose of effecting the needed reforms", and there, Severus "expounded the *Henoticon* as meaning the abrogation of the transactions at Chalcedon, and openly anathematized the addition which it had made to the faith" (*Chron Z.M.* vii. 10, 12).

"Synodal letters were sent to John II of Alexandria, Timothy of the royal city, who had succeeded Macedonius, and Elias of Jerusalem. The first two accepted what had been done at Tyre, but Elias, supported by a strong body of Chalcedonians, refused to communicate with Severus" (Sellers, p. 282).

According to Theodorus Lector, *H.E.* ii, **Elias was commanded by Anastasius to summon his bishops and condemn Chalcedon; he refused, though he was ready to anathematize Nestorius, Eutyches, Diodore and Theodore**. See also Theophanes, *Chron.* 6004 (Sellers, p. 282, n. 2). Thereupon, Olympius, the governor of Palestine, acted on instructions from Constantinople and ejected Elias from his see in 516 A.D. (See *ibid.*, p. 282).

"Indeed, at this time the Chalcedonians were so dismayed that some of them were prepared to accept the Synod and the *Tome*, 'not as a definition of faith, nor as a symbol, nor as an interpretation, but only as an anathema against Nestorius and Eutyches'" (*ibid.*). "Thus a body of Chalcedonians met (between

515 and 518) at Alexandretta in Cilicia Secunda and, in a letter to the Emperor, expressed their readiness to regard Chalcedon only as anathematizing Nestorius and Eutyches. See Philoxenus, *Ep. ad Maron.* (ed. Lebon, *op. cit.* pp. 60, 66f). The same attitude was adopted by certain bishops at Constantinople, according to the letter of Severus to Theotecnus the archiatros (Brooks, *Select Letters*, pp. 83f). And in their letter to Alcison, the monks of Palestine tell how Flavian of Antioch had tried to satisfy Philoxenus with a similar confession (Evagrius, *H.E.* iii. 31)" (Sellers, p. 282, n. 3).

At Jerusalem, Elias's deacon, John, who was a supporter of the Miaphysite cause, was elected to succeed him and expected to anathematize Chalcedon. However, on the day of his enthronement, two leaders of Palestinian Chalcedonian monasticism – Sabbas and Theodosius – "standing on the ambo and supported – according to accounts – by 10,000 monks, demanded, on the contrary, that he accept Chalcedon. After hours of chaotic disturbance the moral authority of the monks prevailed: John anathematized not the council, but Nestorius, Eutyches and Severus, accepting four ecumenical councils" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 205, referring to the *Life of Sabbas* by John of Scythopolis).

III.B.4. THE CHALCEDONIANS UNDER EMPERORS JUSTIN I, 518-527 A.D., AND JUSTINIAN, 527-565 A.D.:

On July 9th, 518, after the death of Anastasius, Justin I, an old peasant was proclaimed Emperor. With a passion for uniformity which exceeded that of all his predecessors, he was determined that only one faith, that of Chalcedon, should be held throughout Christendom. Therefore, he at once drove out the leaders of the opposition to the Chalcedonian decrees and made peace with Rome. John of Cappadocia, Patriarch of Constantinople was compelled to proclaim the Synod of Chalcedon and to remove the name of St. Severus from the diptychs (Mansi viii. 1057-1065). In March, 519, John anathematized his predecessor Acacius who was responsible for the *Henotikon* which was a downgrading of Chalcedon. The bishops who refused to conform with the decrees of Chalcedon were many, and these were either deprived or sent into exile. St. Severus escaped from Antioch on September 29th, 518, and was able to reach Egypt, his hospitable place of refuge (Sellers, p. 302, n. 1&f.).

So times had changed. The Chalcedonians of the age of Justin and Justinian were supported by the government. But, theirs was a divided house; for if there were those among them who, like John the Grammarian and John of Scythopolis, had been brought up in the Alexandrian way of belief there were others who interpreted Chalcedon in a strictly Antiochene or Nestorian sense. "In fact, the traditional opposition between the Alexandrian and the Antiochene theologians is reflected in the history of the pro-Chalcedonian movement at this time" (*ibid.*, p. 304).

The two critics of St. Cyril: Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas, who were rehabilitated by Leo and the Council of Chalcedon, were causing great embarrassment to the Chalcedonians, because the anti-Chalcedonians never stopped accusing the Council of Chalcedon of Nestorianism. Therefore, **Emperor Justin I**, at the height of his **pro-Chalcedonian reaction in 520, admitted in his Mandate to Hypatius that Theodoret of Cyrus is "a man 'everywhere accused of error of faith', being together with Theodore of Mopsuestia, associated with Nestorius"** (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 236, quoting Mansi ix, col. 364).

Leontius of Byzantium tells us that during his earlier years, when he was at Constantinople, he joined those who favoured the teaching of the classical Antiochenes and were in sympathy with Nestorius and that he had become "their most ready prey". (See his *Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos* iii, *PG* lxxxvi.i.1377B, quoted in Sellers, p. 308).

The monks of Scythopolis are to be regarded as representatives of the neo-Alexandrian school of thought. Theirs is the anti-Nestorian outlook. Led by John Maxentius, they drew up their formula **"One of the Trinity was crucified in the flesh"**, and at the same time produced a document containing an able defense of the formula (John Maxentius, *de Christ. Profess.*, *PG* lxxxvi.i.79ff.) and a collection of patristic quotations. They sent representatives to Rome; these took with them a concise expression of their doctrine in form of eleven anathematisms (*contra Nestorianos Capitula*, *PG* lxxxvi.i.87f.). Emperor Justinian, at the beginning, spoke of them in his letter to Hormisdas (*PL* lxiii.475) as men whose mind was set upon dissension, but had now come to favour their views. To the annoyance of Justinian, Pope Hormisdas hesitated to pronounce on the validity of the formula. On the other hand the "Sleepless" monks at Constantinople, taking the Pope's hesitation as their cue, had strongly condemned the formula, and when they knew that it carried with it the same theological implications as "*Theotokos*", they went on to reject that Marian title, too (Mansi, viii.815f.). Consequently "Justinian himself took the initiative, and in 531, after summoning both the Chalcedonians and the anti-Chalcedonians to a *Collatio*, the only result of which was a formal acceptance of the formula, decreed that it should be used; and after some delay this decision was endorsed by the successor of Hormisdas, Pope John II (532-535), who had convened a Council for that purpose [for the letter of Justinian to John II, and the Pope's letters to the Emperor and Senate, see *PL* lxvi. 14ff, 17ff, 20ff.]" (Sellers, p. 305, n. 3). [See details in Part Three of the present work under sections X.F.7.f. and X.F.7.g.].

The Scythian monks "explicitly state that he who cannot accept the formula has been blinded through the darkness of the Nestorian perfidy.....Moreover, they expressly anathematize 'all the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius his disciple', and all who think in the same way" (*ibid.*, p. 306, quoting *De Christ. profess.*, *PG* lxxxvi.i.85A). But it should be noted that they also condemn not only Eutyches, but also St. Dioscorus and all the great anti-Chalcedonian Miaphysite leaders (*ibid.*).

In January 543 A.D., **Justinian published an imperial rescript against** the Origenists and sent letters to the heads of the great sees directing them to do the same in their synods to class Origen with Severus and other leading Monophysites as well as with Sabellius, Arius, Apollinarius, **Nestorius** and Eutyches, as worthy of condemnation (*PG* lxxxvi.i.980D; Sellers, p. 314).

Also **Leontius of Byzantium** in the third book of his *contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos*, written *c.* 543-544, (*PG* lxxxvi.i.1357-1396), **presents us with "a passionate attack against Theodore of Mopsuestia and the demand that he should be formally condemned. The ideas of the Bishop of Mopsuestia, he proclaims, had originated with Paul of Samosata, and, having been handed down in succession, had descended upon Diodore of Tarsus, his guide along these evil ways**; and, since no narrow channel was sufficient to contain the full stream of his impiety, **his ideas had been received by Nestorius; but, while Theodore had escaped, Nestorius had been caught and compelled to pay the penalty of excommunication which such**

teaching so fully deserved" (*ibid.* 1376C f.). Leondius also "can praise Rabûlla of Edessa and Proclus of Constantinople for their defense of the faith against the 'Nestorians'..." (*ibid.* 1381A., see Sellers, pp. 315-316).

It is evident, therefore, that Leondius played his part in preparing the way for the condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia and his writings in the Chalcedonian Council of Constantinople of 553 A.D. which was convoked by the Emperor Justinian. [See next entrance].

III.B.5. THE "THREE CHAPTERS", POPE VIGILIUS AND THE CHALCEDONIAN SECOND COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE, 553 A.D.:

The "Three Chapters" (κεφάλαια, *capitula* i.e. 'heads') are the three subjects condemned by Emperor Justinian in an edict of 543-544. **The term "chapter", because of its closeness in Greek and Latin with the word meaning "head" (κεφαλη, *caput*), was applied to the three subjects condemned. The anathemas of the "Three Chapters" are directed against (1) the person and works of Theodore of Mopsuestia (2) the writings of Theodoret of Cyrus against St. Cyril of Alexandria, and (3) the letter of Ibas of Edessa to Maris.** Because Theodoret and Ibas were rehabilitated at Chalcedon, they were not condemned personally, but only their writings where the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus (431 A.D.) and the Christology of St. Cyril were specifically criticized. As all three were considered sympathetic to Nestorius, Justinian issued the edict in the hope of conciliating the anti-Chalcedonians by a display of anti-Nestorian zeal. The Eastern Chalcedonian patriarchs assented, but in the West the Emperor's interference was unpopular, and Pope Vigilius, though a friend and an appointee of Empress Theodora hesitated and refused at first to approve the edict on the ground that it was opposed to the Chalcedonian decrees. After being summoned to Constantinople, however, Vigilius eventually issued in 548 his "*Judicatum*" (*Iudicatum*) – or papal "adjudication" – to Menas, the Patriarch of Constantinople; this condemned the Three Chapters, but upheld the Chalcedonian decisions. A storm of protest in the West convinced Justinian (Theodora had died in 548), that papal authority was insufficient and that the issue of the "Three Chapters" had to be brought before a general council. Pope Vigilius was thus allowed to take back his *Judicatum*. Later on Justinian "published a personal *Confession of faith*, which being an imperial document, had automatically the legal authority of an edict. It proclaimed the authority of the four councils, reaffirming particularly Chalcedon, but also included anathemas against the 'Three Chapters'. Vigilius...considered this publication as a breach of confidence since it had been agreed that the issue would be discussed at a council..." (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 240). So, "when this decree was accepted by Askidas, Menas, and other bishops of the Imperial party, Pope Vigilius excommunicated them (551 A.D.) (*ODCC*, ed. 2, p. 339), but the sentence did not last for long (*ibid.*, p. 902).

The Council was convened under the presidency of Eutychius, the new Patriarch of Constantinople who was appointed after the death of Menas. There were eight sessions in all (May 5th to June 2nd). The 165 bishops who signed the acts were almost all Easterns. "Vigilius refused to attend or even to be represented, because, in his view, not enough Western bishops participated in the debates" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 241).

At the first session of the Council, held on May 5th, 553, the bishops heard an **apologetic**

letter from Justinian. The following is a quotation from that letter which shows the dangers of the preponderance of the Nestorian activities inside the Chalcedonian Church. Thus it reads:

"...**But the Nestorians want to impose their heresy upon the Church; and, as they could not use Nestorius for that purpose, they made haste to introduce their errors through Theodore of Mopsuestia, the teacher of Nestorius, who taught still more grievous blasphemies than his.** He maintained, e.g., that God the Word was one, and Christ another. **For the same purpose they made use of those impious writings of Theodoret which were directed against the first Synod of Ephesus, against Cyril and his Twelve Chapters, and also the shameful letter which Ibas is said to have written.** They maintain that this letter was accepted by the Synod of Chalcedon, and so would free from condemnation Nestorius and Theodore who were commended in the letter. If they were to succeed, the *Logos* could no longer be said to be 'made man', nor Mary be called the Mother (*genetrix*) of God...." (Percival, p. 302).

As the council continued its course, Vigilius drew up the so-called "*Constitutum*" signed by himself and sixteen Western bishops and three Roman clerics, in which, while condemning 60 propositions of Theodore of Mopsuestia, he refused to anathematize his person on the ground that "he had died in communion with the Church and because the dead could not be excommunicated. Furthermore, neither Theodoret, nor Ibas could be liable to condemnation because the council of Chalcedon had exonerated them. Finally, Vigilius anathematized those who were condemning the 'Three Chapters'..." (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 242).

"Justinian refused to accept the *Constitutum* as sufficient, declaring that he possessed written evidence from Vigilius that he had already condemned the 'Three Chapters', and that, by producing the *Constitutum* now, he was only condemning himself. Indeed, at the seventh session of the council, the evidence was produced. It included several letters of Vigilius, where the pope was defending his *Judicatum* of 548, or otherwise rejecting the 'Three Chapters', and his solemn vow 'on the four Gospels' given on August 15, 550, where he solemnly promised to Justinian that he would do his best to have the 'Three Chapters' condemned. Following the reading of these documents, Justinian, in a letter to the council, proposed that the name of Vigilius be deleted from the diptychs and he himself be 'separated from communion', since, after having condemned the 'Three Chapters' for a period of seven years, he was now opposing the consensus of the Church. The council unanimously complied, declaring that, by doing so, it was 'serving unity with the apostolic see of Old Rome'—by removing its unworthy incumbent!" (*ibid.*).

"The eighth session on June 2 was consecrated to the approval of a rather lengthy definition followed by fourteen anathemas" (English tr. of the text in *NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 14 = Percival, pp. 306-316).

"It took Pope Vigilius six more months to change his mind again. Still in Constantinople, on December 8, 553, he wrote to patriarch Eutychius a letter formally repenting having written the *Constitutum*. Invoking the example of St. Augustine—who also had written *Retractions*!—he declared that further study of the Fathers had convinced him of the heresy of the 'Three Chapters', and that he was now anathematizing them. On February 23, 554, he published a *Second Constitutum*, where he maintained the same attitude, reaffirming fidelity to Chalcedon and declaring that the Ibas' letter was not authentic. This latter view

on the letter, aimed at safeguarding the authority of Chalcedon, had been held by Justinian himself, and is admitted, as a possibility, in the conciliar decree of 553. These actions of Vigilius were followed by his reconciliation with the emperor and restoration of his name in the diptychs of Constantinople" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 243).

"Despite the Papal acceptance, the Council was not at once recognized as oecumenical in the West. Milan and Aquileia even broke communion with Rome, and relations were not restored with Milan until the end of the 6th, and with Aquileia until the end of the 7th, century" (*ODCC*, ed. 2, p. 340).

"Of the 14 anathemas pronounced by the Council, the first twelve are directed chiefly against Theodore of Mopsuestia, the 13th against Theodoret of Cyrus, and the 14th against Ibas. In the 11th anathema the name of Origen occurs in a list of heretics, but there are grounds for believing this to be an interpretation" (*ibid.*).

This condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia and of the anti-Cyrillian writings of Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas of Edessa, sanctioned by this Council, in anathemas 12-14, clearly manifested the fact that an Antiochene interpretation of the Chalcedonian definition no longer was allowed. And twice in the decision of the Council of Constantinople of 553 an Antiochene interpretation of the Chalcedonian formulas was expressly anathematized (anathemas 5 and 6). St. Cyril, therefore, remained the master of the field. Even his Synodical Epistle with the Twelve anathemas against Nestorius actually was approved, for Theodoret and Ibas were criticized for having attacked it (see anathemas 13 and 14). The *hypostatic* union is interpreted in the sense of synthetical union (anathema 4). The *Logos* took on a human flesh with soul and mind in such a way, that out of the two natures came one Christ (anathema 8), who was the subject of both the miracles and the sufferings (anathema 3); the two natures, of which the one Christ is composed, are only to be distinguished in abstraction, i.e. theoretically (anathema 7), the *Logos* himself was born a second time through St. Mary (anathema 2), the "theopaschite" formulae were used, i.e. the crucified in the flesh is true God and One of the Holy Trinity (anathema 10, compare anathema 5). The famous Cyrillian formula – "one incarnate nature of God the Word" – was even mentioned as legitimate, provided the Chalcedonian "two natures" formula was admitted also (anathemas 7 and 8).

It was the main purpose of all the anathematisms of the Council of 553 to show the Nestorian understanding of the union, of the one *prosopon*, and of the "*Theotokos*", to be heretical. Nevertheless this Council failed of its purpose of reconciling the Miaphysites because it safeguarded the authority of Chalcedon with its "in two natures" formula and the *Tome* of Leo.

Furthermore, "the eighth anathema in particular, while permitting the expression 'out of two natures' and confessing their '*hypostatic* union', condemned the belief that this now resulted in 'one nature'" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 282, referring to the text in Hefele/Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles*, III. I, 118-20).

III.B.6. THE CHALCEDONIAN THIRD COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE, 680-681 A.D., AND THE TRULLAN SYNOD, 692 A.D.:

The Chalcedonian Third Council of Constantinople was convoked at the demand of Emperor Constantine IV to settle the prolonged Monothelite controversy in the East. The

Dogmatic Decree of the Council is principally a reproduction of the Definition of faith of Chalcedon affirming the "in two natures" formula, to which is added the statement of the Two Wills and the Two Operations. The Council rejected all physical unity of the two wills but admitted the existence of a moral unity, resulting from the complete harmony between the Divine and the human will. The same position was affirmed regarding the duality of operations. **The decree includes also a résumé of the Christological teaching of various Councils and the heretics condemned therein**, of which we quote what is related to Nestorianism. Thus it says: "and also the first of Ephesus of 200 venerable men convened against **Nestorius the Judaizer**...and in addition to these...the Fifth holy Synod assembled in this place (i.e. Constantinople), against Theodore of Mopsuestia,....and the writings of Theodoret against the Twelve Chapters of the celebrated Cyril and the Epistle which was said to be written by Ibas to Maris the Persian" (Percival, p. 344).

Again **the Trullan Synod** held in 692 A.D. in the domed room ("trullus") of the Emperor Justinian II's palace at Constantinople **reaffirms in its first canon the condemnation of Nestorius "the champion of the division"** (*ibid.*, p. 359). [See Part Four, sections VII.B.5. and VII.B.6.a.].

III.C. The Condemnation of the Nestorian Heresy by the Anti-Chalcedonian Teachers and Councils:

III.C.1. ST. PETER THE IBERIAN AND ST. TIMOTHY II (AELURUS), POPE OF ALEXANDRIA (457-477 A.D.):

St. Peter the Iberian (or Georgian) was a teacher of St. Severus and the founder of a Georgian monastery in Jerusalem before becoming bishop of Maiuma (Gaza), *c.* 452, who together with Eusebius of Pelusium, consecrated St. Timothy II as bishop of Alexandria in 457. Peter was a renowned ascetic and staunch anti-Chalcedonian, whom the Georgian Church, in spite of its eventual acceptance of Chalcedon, venerates as a great ascetic saint (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, pp. 85-86, 108, n. 19, 188, n. 35, 189).

St. Severus of Antioch refers to and acknowledges the influence on him of **St. Timothy II of Alexandria and St. Peter the Iberian. "Both of these men condemned Eutychianism as explicitly as they condemned Nestorianism"** (Torrance, p. 13).

In his *Refutation of the Synod of Chalcedon and the Tome of Leo*, St. Timothy of Alexandria declares in the title which he gives to the first part that **those who had assembled at Chalcedon to define the faith "had ordained nothing other than that the impure doctrines of Nestorius should be received and preached in all the Churches of God"** (Sellers, p. 255 & n. 4. The text is quoted in full in Lebon, J., "La Christologie de Timothée Aelure d'après les sources syriaques inédites" *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, t. ix, p. 683; ed. & tr. Nau *PO* xiii, fasc. 2, pp. 218ff.).

For St. Timothy, "two natures" is the heresy of Nestorius. This is because "there is no nature (= *substantia*) which has not [its] *hypostasis*, and there is no *hypostasis* which exists without its *prosopon*; if, then, there are two natures, there are of necessity two *prosopa*; but if there are two *prosopa*, there are also two Christs, as these new teachers preach" (*Refutation of the Synod of Chalcedon...*, Part i, ed. Nau *op.cit.*, pp. 228f.).

He is most definite on this point: "As for us, we conform to the doctrine of the divine Scriptures and of the holy Doctors of the Church. **We anathematize those who speak of two natures or of two *ousiai* in respect of Christ**" (Sellers, p. 261 quoting Timothy's treatise *Against those who say "Two natures"* [*Brit. Mus. Add. MS.* 12156f. 19r]; cited in Lebon, *La Christologie de Timothée Aelure*, *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, t. ix, p. 687).

He gives his reason saying: **"That Nestorius was deposed because he spoke of 'two natures' in the one Christ is evident to anyone who is ready and willing to speak the truth"** (*Refutation of the Synod of Chalcedon...*, ed. Nau, *op. cit.*, p. 231. St. Timothy here quotes two passages from Nestorius, as he claims that this "heretic" was condemned because he had used the phrase "two natures", Sellers, p. 261 & n. 2).

In part ii of his *Refutation of the Synod of Chalcedon and the Tome of Leo*, **St. Timothy II takes one by one passages from the *Tome* of Leo and sets beside them passages from Diodore of Tarsus, Nestorius, Theodoret and Paul of Samosata, as he would emphasize the "Nestorianizing" character of the document** (Sellers, p. 266, n. 2).

III.C.2. THE ENCYCLICAL OF EMPEROR BASILISCUS, 475 A.D., AND HIS ANTENCYCLICAL:

Emperor Basiliscus (Jan. 475 – Aug. 476 A.D.) recalled St. Timothy of Alexandria from his exile which lasted seventeen years, 458-475, and handed him **the Encyclical, 475 A.D.** It was a document entirely in harmony with St. Timothy's ideas; for by it the Government of the Empire gave its sanction to the two Councils of Ephesus (431 and 449 A.D.; *PG* lxxxvi, 2600D.) and denounced at once the errors of Eutyches and "the innovation upon the faith which was enacted at Chalcedon, either in discourse or instruction or writing, in whatever manner, place or time". **It confirmed "all what were passed in the Metropolitan city of the Ephesians against the impious Nestorius and those who subsequently favoured his opinions"** (Kidd, *Documents*, vol. II, pp. 328-329).

The longer version of the Encyclical which is addressed "To the metropolitans and peoples of the whole *oikumene*" which defended the Second Council of Ephesus (449 A.D.) was available for the first time to the bishops whom St. Timothy II of Alexandria gathered around himself in the Third Council of Ephesus, 476 A.D. This version is transmitted in the collection which originated in Alexandria at the time of St. Peter III (Mongos): Codex Vaticanus gr. 1431: cf. Schwartz, E., "Codex Vaticanus gr. 1431", nr. 73, pp. 49-51, for the text *ibid.*, 133-137 (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 237, n. 3).

"The sharp reproach with regard to Chalcedon and Leo's *Tome* was based on the fact that these were a novelty vis-à-vis the Creed of 325 and the whole ecclesiastical and canonical order, and were a ratification of the teaching of Nestorius, as the longer version emphasizes. Condemnation and burning of the decisions of Chalcedon were to be carried out everywhere" (*ibid.*, p. 240).

According to the Chalcedonian historian Evagrius (*Hist. Eccl.*, III. 5) about 500 bishops subscribed the imperial Encyclical of Basiliscus, while the anti-Chalcedonian sources indicate that the supporters of the Encyclical who subscribed it were "700 bishops united in the true faith which was in the Encyclical" (Nau, in *PO* 13.166, where a text from B.M. Add. 12. 155, f. 108^{rv}, has the number of subscribers to the Encyclical 700 bishops. Zacharias, *HE.* v. 2, p. 107, has the same number. Similarly also Michael the Syrian, *Chron.*, IX. 5:

Chabot II, 145-146; quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 242, n. 16).

While St. Timothy II was in Alexandria, Acacius in Constantinople intrigued to bring back Zeno to the throne. Basiliscus, now too late, was forced to repudiate his Encyclical in an **Antencyclical** in which he restored the rights of the see of Constantinople. **"In this was expressed the condemnation of Nestorius and Eutyches and all their supporters**, which met the wishes of the friends and foes of Chalcedon alike...Significantly, there is no talk of the doctrine of Chalcedon....A veiled attack on Chalcedon is certainly to be found in the sentence: the Emperor leaves it to the readers to examine: 'wherefore those who have composed this writing [=Acacius, Daniel the Stylite and the archimandrites of Constantinople] have relegated the Council of Nicaea to forgetfulness'....In the judgment of Basiliscus Timothy apparently offered the better guarantee of maintaining Nicaea. The Council of Nicaea itself was characterized as 'what restrains the rule of the ungodly'..." (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 244 & n. 27).

III.C.3. THE *HENOTIKON* OF EMPEROR ZENO, JULY 482 A.D.:

[See Part One, section III.B.2.].

III.C.4. ST. PHILOXENUS, BISHOP OF MABBUG:

St. Philoxenus (*c.* 440-523 A.D.), who was appointed Bishop of Mabbug (Hierapolis) in Syria in 485 by St. Peter the Fuller Patriarch of Antioch, viewed the Council of Chalcedon as essentially a Nestorianizing council. This is very clear in the Ten Anathematisms of St. Philoxenus, from which we quote the following:

"IV. **And we anathematize the Council of Chalcedon also because it anathematized Nestorius, although agreeing with him and with his doctrine.**"

"V. And we anathematize the Council of Chalcedon also because it received Leo the wicked, of Rome, and because it anathematized Dioscorus the confessor of the orthodox faith, who had anathematized Leo the wicked, and would not agree with him."

"VI. And we anathematize the Council of Chalcedon also because it received Ibas and Theodoret as orthodox."

"IX. And it shall be anathematized, and heaven, and earth, and all the Church which hath been redeemed by the Blood and Resurrection of God shall say"

"X. that there shall be a curse upon the Council of Chalcedon, and upon every one who hath agreed or agreeth therewith—except he hath already repented, or shall repent—for ever, Amen" (Budge, *Philoxenus*, vol. II, pp. xxxiv-xxxvi).

St. Philoxenus did not hesitate to demand the condemnation of the virtual parents of the Nestorian abomination, Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, though these had been dead. Thus in his *Epistle ad Maronem*, 22f. (ed. Lebon, *Le Muséon*, t. xliii, pp. 73ff.), written according to Lebon in between 514-518, St. Philoxenus "argues that no one should have scruples about anathematizing the dead. He had written a treatise to show that the heretics themselves, as well as their heresies, should be condemned, even if they had long been dead. Did not the good Josiah receive praise from Almighty God for burning the bones of the evil (men according to the prophecy of the) man of God from Judah? And was not Origen condemned—by Theophilus of Alexandria (*c.* 399)—after he had been dead for more than a hundred and fifty years?" (Sellers, p. 268, n. 4).

"And of his uncompromising opposition to Nestorius and his followers the following brief extracts from a short tract of Philoxenus supply evidence:"

"I. We should anathematize Nestorius, and his doctrine, and his books, and everything which hath been composed by him, and every person who hath been or is of his opinions."

"II. We should anathematize the book of the heretics his children, and those who hold the same opinion as Nestorius and Diodorus who became Bishop of Tarsus. Now Diodorus was originally a Macedonian, but when he had embraced the true faith and had come into the orthodox Church, he fell into the heresy of Paul of Samosata."

"III. And we should anathematize Diodorus (*sic.*, Theodorus) who became a disciple of this man, **and also Theodoret who became Bishop of Cyrrhus**."

"IV. We should accept the *Henoticon* which expelled all the additions and novelties which arose against the faith of the three hundred and eighteen and of the one hundred and fifty Fathers."

"V. We should accept the Twelve Chapters which Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, wrote against all the blasphemies of Nestorius, and which are also written in the *Henoticon*; and we should anathematize every one who agreeth with them, and also every solution of them [written by] the heretics."

"VI. We should anathematize every one who would divide the One Christ into two natures."

"VII. We should not mingle with heretics by any manner of means, by communion, or by the desire for salutation, or by the gifts which the churches are wont to make to each other, until we have truly anathematized by the Book all their doctrine, and all the works which have been made by man thereupon." (Budge, *Philoxenus*, vol. II, pp. xxxvii-xxxix).

St. Philoxenus adds, "Now if any man who maketh use of the art or crafty skill of heretics shall say, It is not right that those who have died whilst holding the office of bishop should be anathematized, I reply concerning those who are called Diodorus, Theodorus, and Theodoret, If the memorials of these men be not in their churches, and if their names have been removed from the divine tablets whereon are inscribed the names of Prophets, and Apostles, and Martyrs, and the orthodox Bishops, and at the head of them all is the holy Virgin Mary, the God-bearer, why should they not be anathematized by us?" (*ibid.*, p. xxxix, n. 1).

In his list of heretics (Budge, *Philoxenus*, vol. II, Syriac text, pp. cxxxvi-cxxxviii, English trans. pp. xlv-xlvii), **St. Philoxenus mentions the Nestorian heresiarchs by name** saying: "Now **Diodorus, and Theodorus, and Theodoret, and Nestorius, and Irenaeus, and Eutherius, and Alexander, and Andrew, and Ibas, and Pût (Photius?), and Cyr, and John, and Acacius, and Barsauma** say, 'Christ is an ordinary man, and One Who shone by reason of His good works; and God loved Him, and delivered by Him the children of men'. And they say, 'He died, and He Who dwelt in Him raised Him up again'. And they divide Him into two sons, and two natures, and two persons – one of God the Creator, and one of man, one made and the other the Maker".

It was on the suggestion of St. Philoxenus of Mabbug that **Emperor Anastasius I ordered that a synod (*synodos endemousa*) be summoned by Patriarch Macedonius of Constantinople**. Whether St. Philoxenus himself took part in it cannot be clearly established, but a confession of faith was read out in his name before that assembly

(Zacharias, *HE*, VII. 8). **That synod which took place in 499 A.D. anathematized Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Nestorius, Theodoret, Ibas of Edessa, Andrew of Samosata, John of Aigai, Eutherius of Tyana** (see details and references in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 270 & n. 121). André de Halleux, however, claims that the synod of 499 took place in 507 (*ibid.*, n. 121). The response of Patriarch Macedonius is summed up as follows: "When Macedonius was required to do this, he anathematized them [the names (?)] under compulsion; but after that he used secretly to celebrate their memory in the monastery of Dalmatus..." (*ibid.*, p. 270 quoting the letter of the presbyter Symeon in Zacharias Rhetor, cont., *HE*, VII. 8,...etc.) [as mentioned under Part Five of the present work, sections V.C.12. and V.C.13.].

After the turn of events of 518-519 against the anti-Chalcedonians by the death of Emperor Anastasius I, St. Philoxenus, in a letter written from Philippopolis where he lived in exile before his martyrdom, looked back at the long development of the theme "God suffered" and determined his view of the place of the *Henotikon* not only as a condemnation of Nestorianism but also as a decisive condemnation of Chalcedon and Leo of Rome and his successors as Nestorians. Thus in his *Letter to the monks of Senoun* (published in *CSCO* 232, p. 38, 25-39, 9 and p. 63, 4-17), he says:

"...There [then] is what blessed Cyril also wrote who follows in everything the path of the holy Fathers, his precursors, without wandering either to the left or to the right from the royal highway along which they advanced. [For] he himself also says: the virginal conception is [that] of God [is to be expressed of Jesus Christ as God]; the birth is of God; the resemblance to us in all things is of God; the passion is of God; the resurrection from the dead is of God; the ascension into heaven is of God. And [it is] **because Nestorius departed from this way [in order to] show another one, new and strange, already trodden before him by the feet of heretics, I mean Diodore, Theodore [of Mopsuestia] and those of their persuasion, [that] he was anathematized with [his] doctrine, first by the holy Council held at Ephesus, then by all the bishops and archbishops who subscribed the unifying Edict [*Henoticon*]. These anathematized, apart from Nestorius, the erring Eutyches and his own heresy which is Manichaean. And they condemned also those who had assembled at Chalcedon, who even before the *Henoticon* had fallen under the anathema through the decision taken at the holy Council held at Ephesus where these words were officially sanctioned: 'Anyone who shall produce a definition of faith other than the august and holy [definition] coming from the Fathers of Nicaea, let him be anathema'**.....Know, then, I beseech you, venerable sons, that for our part we do not accept the [teachings] which have come from Rome and that we do not approve those who sent them, for all those who have occupied this see since Leo are Nestorians and work to have the cause of this heretic approved. And we no longer side with what has been invented at Jerusalem, whatever may be their pretence to confess the virgin [as] Mother of God, for they have thrown out this word as bait to catch the simple by means of it, without really accepting it. But we shall share completely the tradition and the communion of the Council of the diocese of Egypt and of [those] of our [Council], that of the East, which met a short time ago in Antioch, [a tradition] which moreover all the bishops from everywhere had approved forty years [ago] by subscribing the document *Henoticon* and the anathema of the Council of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo" (quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol.

II, part 1, pp. 285-286).

In 523 A.D., St. Philoxenus was murdered by suffocation from smoke. Thus he became a martyr for the sake of the true faith. His biographer relates the manner in which he was murdered saying: "And having filled the Church with divine doctrines, and expounded the Scriptures, and laid open to disgrace the faith of the Nestorians by means of his writings against them, they cast him forth into exile in the city of Gangra, and they suffocated him with smoke. Now they shut him up in an upper chamber, and made smoke in the room below it, and they shut the doors: in this way was he crowned, and he was suffocated by them in the true faith" (quoted in Budge, *Philoxenus*, vol. II, p. xxvi. See also Michael the Syrian, *Chron.*, Ar. tr. IX, 13, vol. II, p. 51. Cf. also Ferguson *EEC*, p. 918).

III.C.5. THE *TYPUS* OF EMPEROR ANASTASIUS I:

The text which is called the *Typus* of Emperor Anastasius was composed by the priest-monk Severus, the subsequent patriarch of Antioch, on the instruction of the Emperor. (See Severus, *Letter to Bishop Constantine*: *Select Letters*, Brooks II, 3-4 [v]). It was composed sometime between the meeting of the Synod of Antioch, 509 A.D., and the Synod of Sidon, 511 A.D. (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 273 ff.). The text as a whole is lost; it is preserved only in two Armenian extracts, one in the "Book of Letters" and the other in the "Seal of Faith". J. Lebon drew the attention of scholars to these fragments and made a Latin translation of them. His student, C. Moeller, has published and interpreted the shorter version (following the text of the "Seal of Faith"). We shall give an English translation of this made by Grillmeier (*op. cit.*, p. 275) which reads as follows:

"**From the letter of Emperor Anastasius against all schismatics**, written after the forty-first year of the Council of Chalcedon†: '**We accept only one definition of faith, that of the 318 Fathers who gathered at Nicaea**, which shows that one of the holy Trinity is our Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, which assumed flesh from the holy *Theotokos* and virgin Mary and became man. **That definition was maintained by the 150 holy Fathers who gathered at Constantinople through the Holy Spirit. According to that also the holy synod of those who gathered at Ephesus and anathematized the schismatic Nestorius and all those who think and believe as he did, as also does the letter which is called the *Henoticon* of Zeno, the orthodox Emperor, and as well the letter of John [of Nikiu (505-516)], the archbishop of Alexandria, which shows [these things] in the same way in which it anathematizes Leo's *Tome* and those who transgress that definition [of Nicaea] and defined two natures after the union for the one Christ.**"

"We, as we have received from the holy Fathers, do not say two natures, but we confess the Word of God as one nature become flesh, **and we anathematize the Synod of Chalcedon and with it also Leo and his *Tome* and those who say Christ is two sons, one before the ages and the other at the end of the ages.** But those who say, after professing the unity, [that there are] two natures, and two persons and two forms and two properties, and [that] the distinguishing characteristics also are the work of each of the

† The forty-first year of the Council of Chalcedon is 492 A.D., i.e. early in the reign of Anastasius. But the *Typus* was most probably written much later.

two natures, we reject and anathematize, because [this] is found to be contrary to the twelve chapters of blessed Cyril."

III.C.6. ST. SEVERUS, PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH:

Before his election to the patriarchate of Antioch, in November 512, St. Severus (*c.* 465-538 A.D.) composed the *typus* of Emperor Anastasius I, which is designated as a "formula of satisfaction" to establish the unity of the Churches in the East on the basis of an anti-Chalcedonian interpretation of the *Henotikon* of Emperor Zeno.

When Bishop John of Claudiopolis in Isauria attempted to introduce a compromise proposal as a "statement" into the *typus*, Severus resolutely rejected the proposal as being equivalent to emptying the *typus* of meaning. The proposal—made in the sense of Patriarch Flavian of Antioch—was to make a partial acceptance of Chalcedon possible, viz. regarding it not as a definition of faith, nor as a symbol, but only as an anathema against Nestorius and Eutyches. John states the proposed addition to the *typus* and his objective saying:

"...'We receive the synod at Chalcedon, not as a definition of faith, but as a rejection of Nestorius and of Eutyches'. Thus both those that are pleased with the Synod will not be angry, and you [Severus and his supporters] will receive contentment in that the doctrines which offend you are rejected" (quoted in Severus, *Letter to Bishop Constantine: Select Letters* I.1, Brooks II. 1-6).

"The attempt foundered on the resoluteness of Severus who discovered a logical contradiction in it...":

"If the Synod of Chalcedon introduced the doctrine of Nestorius into the churches...how can we say that it rejected the opinion of Nestorius? But, if the formula of satisfaction [=the *Typus*] in so many words rejects the doctrines of the Synod and the impious *Tome* of Leo, which are the life blood of the abomination of Nestorius, how can we honestly say that we accept this synod as against Nestorius?" (*ibid.* II.5. II.10-19, quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-277).

Grillmeier (*op. cit.*) comments saying: **"In the eyes of Severus Chalcedon is essentially 'Nestorianism'. Thus there is no division in the acceptance or rejection of the Synod respectively. Severus viewed the defenders of Chalcedon fundamentally as people who wanted to drive out the devil of Eutychianism with the Beelzebul of Nestorianism"**. This identification of Chalcedon and Nestorianism was really very clear for Severus. "Even the Encyclical of Basiliscus 'repudiated the impiety that was confirmed at Chalcedon'..." (*ibid.*, p. 277). "Even the condemnation of Eutyches rests on the Nestorianism of Chalcedon" (*ibid.*, n. 149).

On the day of his consecration, November 16th, 512, St. Severus, the new Patriarch of Antioch, anathematized the Council of Chalcedon from the ambo of the Cathedral church where he was consecrated. In his address (*prosphonesis*), the new patriarch "professed the first three Councils, and the *Henoticon* of Emperor Zeno which was sanctioned by Emperor Anastasius. **Anathematized**, however, **were all heretics, especially Nestorius and Eutyches, Chalcedon, Leo's *Tome* and all supporters of the 'two natures after the union', and every distribution of activities and properties in the one incarnate *Logos* to 'two' (natures), which meant for Severus the profession of two persons"** (see Severus, *Homily* I: *PO* 38, 254-268

[Coptic], 255-259 [Syriac].).

"Chalcedon had stirred up an even more furious storm than Nestorius had (Coptic §10, p. 258). At this Council the new Jews assembled (Coptic §14, pp. 260-261). **The word 'two' dissolves the unity.** According to the Coptic text, Severus at this time openly advocated the formula of the 'one person, the one *hypostasis*, the one nature of the incarnated Word in accord with the formula which the holy inspired Fathers handed on to us' (Coptic §15, pp. 262-263; as well §21, pp. 264-265). Naturally the reproach that Chalcedon signified a 'fourness' in the Trinity instead of a threeness also turned up again (§22, pp. 264-265). **In the Syriac text all the names of the Antiochenes familiar to us, beginning with Diodore of Tarsus and proceeding on to the Persian Barsauma, are anathematized, especially those who had written against the twelve anathemas of Cyril.** Finally Severus professed *communio* with John of Nikiu and Timothy of Constantinople, the successor of the deposed Macedonius" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, pp. 281-282).

"In April or October 513 the great *Oriental Synod* was held, at which the new patriarch presided. Philoxenus, seconded by his supporters, demanded a vote on the following points: (1) the legitimacy of the new patriarch, Severus, and the validity of Flavian's deposition; (2) the anathema against Chalcedon and Leo's *Tome*, and—as the obverse of this—the ratification of the orthodoxy of the opponents of the Council and the *Tome*; (3) the restoration of the peace of the Church on this basis. The *Henoticon* was accepted, yet not 'hypocritically in the manner of the deposed patriarchs Flavian and Macedonius', but 'honestly'. This was accentuated by a profession of faith and the signing of a charter condemning the teaching of 'two natures'. The result of the Synod was communicated in synodal letters to Timothy of Constantinople and John of Nikiu" (*ibid.*, p. 282).

St. Severus refers to the results of that Synod saying:

"And, when all the bishops of the East were present at Antioch, and anathematized the synod in writing, and we addressed a synodical letter to Timothy the prelate of the royal city, **we anathematized what was done at Chalcedon against the orthodox faith, and the Jewish *Tome* of Leo, and those who call our one Lord and God Jesus Christ two natures after the incomprehensible union"** (*ibid.*, p. 283, quoting St. Severus, *Letter to Hippocrates*: *PO* 12 nr.46, p. 321).

St. Severus states the same condemnation in his Synodical Letter (July 26th, 535) to St. Theodosius, Archbishop of Alexandria from which we quote the following: "...Now these things represent (as I suppose) **the divine teaching of the twelve apostles, from which the Twelve Chapters of the wise Cyril send forth breeze like a sweet-smelling ointment. Therefore we, too, anathematize with all our authority those who have boasted and spoken against them, and those who cast forth before them the seeds (that is, the tares) of Jewish anthropolatry – Paul of Samosata and Artemon who preceded him, and Photinus and Diodore and Theodore and Nestorius who openly displayed the impiety of these men and therefore himself provided a name for the heresy; and Theodore and Andrew and Ibas of Edessa and Alexander of Hierapolis, and Eutherius of Tyana and Irenaeus the bigamist (that is, the one who had two wives) and Cyrus and John who came from Aigiai in Cilicia, and Barsauma the Persian....and if there be anyone else like these persons – these the divine Chapters of our father Cyril**

refute: these are the things which are proclaimed by the whole church of the orthodox which is in the whole world and strengthen the soul of the faithful...."

"Now along with these afore-mentioned profane teachers of anthropolatry we must number and anathematize also the Synod of Chalcedon and the blasphemous *Tome* of the impious Leo of the church of the Romans, whom the same Synod called 'the pillar of orthodoxy': for outside the canon of the divinely inspired Fathers, it established a definition of the faith, and after the inexpressible union divided the divine and indivisible Incarnation into a duality of natures along with their activities and their particular properties, as the *Tome* itself also indicates to those who read it – since openly and at length it expounds what it means that the one, our Lord Jesus Christ, should be acknowledged as existing in two natures..." (Allen & Hayward, *Severus [of Antioch]*, pp. 166-167, quoting from a tr. of the text in *CSCO* 17: pp. 30-31).

III.C.7. ST. JACOB OF SARUG:

St. Jacob of Sarug (or more properly Serugh) (*c.* 451-521 A.D.), the famous Syriac ecclesiastical writer, who in 519 A.D. became Bishop of Batnae, the chief town of Sarug in Osrhoene, but died shortly afterwards, was primarily a Cyrillian, and has no intrinsic relationship either to Chalcedon or to the *Henoticon*. Grillmeier (*op. cit.*, p. 286, n. 180), refers to the work of Jansma, T, "The Credo of Jacob of Serugh", with its copious references, in which he emphasizes that "Jacob in his Christology had not written a single positive word that is not to be found in St. Cyril of Alexandria as well".

Letter XVII of St. Jacob of Sarug to the monks of Mar Bassus, written after the Oriental Synod of 513 under the presidency of Patriarch Severus of Antioch, shows most clearly how **he viewed Chalcedon as a Nestorian Council which he was anathematizing all the time together with all the Nestorians**. From this letter we shall cite parag. IV and V as quoted by Grillmeier (*op. cit.*, p. 287):

"IV. Severus...spoke the truth openly at the great assembly of the Oriental Synod, and what was done in the document *Henoticon* with hints and enigmas he [then] said with open words before the great multitude [of the city] of the daughter of the day whom Peter betrothed to the Crucified [=Antioch]. And since then it is proper for everyone who is a believer to speak openly, without shame, while adhering to the document *Henoticon* which rejects the Council covertly and with a hint. And [one] also adheres now to the public confession that was proclaimed at the Oriental Synod which was gathered around the great, holy and blessed Severus, when the Council [held] in Chalcedon was anathematized, which [Council] had been anathematized by the Alexandrians and the other countries from the [very] beginning, but since the document *Henoticon* onwards by the whole world. Now, however, the meaning of the document *Henoticon* has become manifest through saintly Severus the Patriarch."

"V. For myself...neither have I learned from the document *Henoticon* something I did not [already] know nor have I added anything to my faith from the confession of Severus. **For I am now what I was before, all the time anathematizing with the whole Church Nestorius and his teaching, those of his opinion and the Council of Chalcedon, because this [Council] also employed words which accord with the opinion of Nestorius, the anathematized [one]. As for Diodore, Theodore,**

Theodoret, Ibas and the *Tome* of Leo, they are anathematized by [the very fact] that one says: 'I anathematize Nestorius and those of his opinion'. And because these men evidently adhere to the opinion of Nestorius, they are anathematized with him since they are of his opinion."

III.C.8. POPE THEODOSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA:

St. Theodosius I, the thirty-third Pope of Alexandria (535-566 A.D.), on his accession to the throne of St. Mark, sent from Alexandria a synodical letter to St. Severus in the summer of 535 which includes a *confession-like* ('confiteor') exposition of his faith and a catalogue of heretics condemned by him and his Church.

Thus St. Severus "could declare himself in complete agreement with **the list of heretics** that condemned all opponents of *una persona et una hypostasis Verbi Dei incarnata* on the left (**Apollinarian, Eutychian, Gaianite**) and on the right (**Diodore, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Nestorius until Chalcedon and Leo's *Tome***), as Theodosius assumes:"

"In these apostolic, patristic, divine, faultless doctrines, our holy brother, I and all churches that depend on the *evangelical see of Alexandria* extend to you the right hand of *communio*" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, pp. 56-57, quoting St. Theodosius Alex. *Ep. syn. ad Sever. Ant.*, and St. Severus's answer: *Ep. synod. ad Theodos. Al.* in *CSCO* 103).

III.C.9. THE SYRIAN THEODORE OF ALEXANDRIA:

Theodore of Alexandria, a Syrian anti-Chalcedonian theologian who lived in Egypt (for whose biography, see *ibid.*, pp. 71ff.), "adopts literally from Theodosius, however, the long catalogue of heretics, including the condemnation of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo" (*ibid.*, p. 74 & n. 81 quoting Theodore Al., *CSCO* 103, p. 214,9-24: 'Valentinus, Marcion, Mani, Arius, Macedonius, Eunomius, Apollinarius, Eutyches, Julian of Halicarnassus..., **Paul of Samosata, Diodore, Theodore, Nestorius, Theodoret, Andrew, Ibas, Eutherius, Alexander of Hierapolis, Irenaeus Bigamus, Cyrus, John of Aegea and all who dared to speak against the twelve chapters of our father Cyril and the Persian Barsauma with his shameful Canones**.' The only difference is that Julian of Halicarnassus is called by name, while Theodosius speaks only of 'those who...'). [This Persian Barsauma (Barsumas, *c.* 420- *c.* 490) is the pupil of Ibas and the Nestorian bishop of Nisibis from 457 (*ODCC*, ed. 2, pp. 136, 962; Sellers, p. 49)].

III.C.10. POPE DAMIAN OF ALEXANDRIA:

St. Damian, the thirty-fifth Pope of Alexandria (569 [or 578] – 605 A.D.), after his consecration as patriarch wrote a synodical letter in which he introduced himself to St. Jacob Baradai, the ecumenical metropolitan (*c.* 542-578), the bishops, priests, deacons, monks and people of the East. There he records his exposition of faith condemning Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo, and stressing the "out of two" and the *mia-physis* formula.

In his condemnation of heresies, St. Damian begins, in the same letter, with the **anathema over the wicked Council of Chalcedon and all who say Christ in two natures after the union**. He offers no list of heretics but goes into individual heresies by groups naming heretics in each group. Thus **against those who destroy the unity he anathematizes**

Diodorus, Theodorus, Nestorius, Theodoret, Ibas, Andrew, Irenaeus famous for being bigamus, and the malicious *tome* of Leo. And against the Phantasiasts he pronounces anathema against Marcion...Mani and Eutyches (cf. Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 75f. The reference is to St. Damian Al., *Epistula synodica ad Iacobum Baradaeum* (*CPG* 7240): Mich. Syr., *Chron.* X 14, Chabot II, pp. 325-334, cf. Ar. trans., vol. 2, pp. 214-220).

III.C.11. POPE BENJAMIN OF ALEXANDRIA:

St. Benjamin I, the thirty-eighth Pope of Alexandria (623-662 A.D.), gives a catalogue of heretics at the beginning of his *Sermon on the Wedding at Cana*: "**As new 'Judases' he designated** Arius, **Nestorius**, Macedonius, **Leo, Ibas, Theodore (of Mopsuestia), Theodoret, Leontius (of Byzantium)**, Julian (of Halicarnassus), George, Gregory (both rival bishops to Athanasius of Alexandria), **also Cyrus, the opponent of Benjamin, Victor of Fayyum and Melitios of Lykopolis**" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 84, quoting Müller, C.D.G., *Die Homilie über die Hochzeit zu Kana*, pp. 82-84).

III.C.12. THE ARMENIAN CHURCH:

The fifth-century Armenian historian **Lazar P'arpeci**, (*History*, p. 192), gave a list of names of the heretics whom the Church had anathematized and whom, therefore, he rejects. In this list of heretics he mentions **Nestorius** of Antioch and **Eutyches** of Constantinople. (See Sarkissian, pp. 156, 211).

In 506 at the first session of the Synod of Dowin, during the reign of Catholicos Babḡen of Othmus (490-516 or 493-519) and in the 18th year of Great King Kawad of Iran (488-531), **the teaching of Nestorians was refused and condemned** by the participants as follows: "The Byzantines and we the Armenians, Georgians and [Caucasian] Albanians, we do not accept this blasphemy, and we reject communion with them; we do not believe [in the teaching of Nestorius], but we anathematize those who confess and teach in this way" (*B.L.*, p. 46).

At the second session of the Synod of Dowin, probably in 508, on the demand of the Syrian Simēon of Beth Aršam, -- who together with his brethren and non-Chalcedonian community was persecuted by the Nestorians of Persia, -- once more the teaching of Nestorius was condemned by the Armenians as follows: **"And we flee renouncing the lie of Nestorius as in Chalcedon, and of others who maintain similar views"** (*B.L.*, pp. 48-49). The names of the heretics whom they anathematize are also listed in the letter. **These heretics are: Nestorius, Arius, Diodore, Theodore, Theodoret, Eutyches, Paul of Samosata, Ibas... and all those who are like these** (*ibid.*, quoted also in Sarkissian, pp. 203-204).

Moreover, "**Nersēs of Bagrevand** (548-557 A.D.) while answering an official letter addressed to him by the Syrian Christians in the Persian Empire tells them that their faith is in accord with the faith of the Church of Armenia, and that **his Church also anathematizes Nestorius, Diodore (of Tarsus), Theodore (of Mopsuestia), Barsauma, Theodoret (of Cyrus), the Council of Chalcedon, the *Tome* of Leo, Apollinarius, Eutyches**..... (See *Book of Letters*, p. 56, quoted by Sarkissian, pp. 214-215).

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IV. THE TITLE "*THEOTOKOS*" FOR THE HOLY VIRGIN MARY:

IV.A. The Title "*Theotokos*" as the Watchword of Orthodoxy Throughout the Nestorian Controversy:

IV.A.1. THE MEANING OF THE MARIAN TITLE "*THEOTOKOS*":

The watchword of the Nestorian controversy was "*Theotokos*" (Θεοτόκος, "God-bearer", Latin *deipara*). It had been long in use, and was the popular name of the Blessed Mother; and, as we have seen, the prohibition of its use by Nestorius roused the fiercest opposition. It can only mean "bearer of Him who is God", and not, as Nestorius supposed, "bearer of the Godhead". It enshrined the vitally important doctrine that the same He who was born of Mary was from all eternity God the Son, and not only one who was inseparably connected with Him. It ought to be added that θεοτόκος is not designed to honor Mary, but rather to explain the position of her Child (*ERE* IX, p. 328).

IV.A.2. THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA OBJECTS TO THE TITLE "*THEOTOKOS*":

"In fact Theodore of Mopsuestia was the first to object to it, so far as we know, writing as follows: 'Mary bare Jesus, not the Word, for the Word was and remained omnipresent, although from the beginning he dwelt in Jesus in a peculiar manner. Thus Mary is properly the Mother of Christ (*Christotocos*) but not the mother of God (*Theotocos*). Only figuratively, *per anaphoram*, can she be called *Theotocos* also, because God was in Christ in a remarkable manner. Properly, she bare a man, in whom the union with the Word was begun, but was still so little completed, that he was not yet called the Son of God.' And in another place he says: 'It is madness to say that God is born of the Virgin....Not God, but the temple in which God dwelt, is born of Mary" (Percival, p. 208; quoting Hefele *Hist. Counc.* vol. III, 9).

Although Theodore disliked the term Θεοτόκος, yet he allowed that it might be used in a certain sense. "Mary was both ἀνθρωποτόκος ('man-bearer') and θεοτόκος ('God-bearer'). She was mother of the man, but in that man, when she gave Him birth, there was already the indwelling of God" (*ERE* IX, p. 324).

IV.A.3. NESTORIUS PREACHES AGAINST THE USE OF THE TITLE "*THEOTOKOS*":

When Anastasius the chaplain preached against the use of the "*Theotokos*" as savouring of heresy (Apollinarianism), his bishop Nestorius gave him full support, delivering several discourses in maintenance of the same view. "These sermons are still extant in the works of Marius Mercator..." (*DCB*, vol. IV, 29; see Quasten, vol. III, p. 518).

"Nestorius, in his episcopal sermons, asserted that there are two persons in Christ, a divine person, the *Logos*, dwelling in a human person, the man Jesus, and that the Blessed

Virgin could not be called *Theotokos*, Mother of God" (Quasten III, p. 117), [Gk. Θεοτόκος, Lat. *Deipara* = literally 'God-bearer']. A violent controversy ensued round the propriety of this term which had long been used by St. Athanasius and other theologians of the highest orthodoxy.

IV.A.4. THE ANTIQUITY OF THE USE OF THE TITLE "*THEOTOKOS*":

The term "*Theotokos*" had been used in the third century by Origen in his *Commentary on Romans* (I. 1-5, where he gives an "ample-exposition of the term"; Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.* vii, 32); St. Gregory Thaumaturgus (in *Homily* I "On the Annunciation"); and by Archelaus of Kashkar (*Disputation with Manes*, 34); in the fourth century by St. Alexander bishop of Alexandria at the time of the Nicene Council (quoted by Theodoret, *Eccl. Hist.* I, 3); Eusebius (*Life of Constantine* III, 43); St. Athanasius (*Orat. contra Arian.* iii, 14, 29, 33; iv, 32); St. Basil (*Ep.* ccclx, "Of the Holy Trinity"); St. Gregory of Nazianzus (*Ep.* ci "ad Cledonium"); St. Gregory of Nyssa (*Ep.* 17); and St. Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cat.* x, 19). The Westerns used "*Mater Dei*", e.g., Tertullian (*De Patientia* iii); and St. Ambrose (*Hexaem.* V, 65).

In the title Θεοτόκος "Mother of God", Θεός "God" is a predicate. It means "she whose Son was God", and it was this that the Fathers were concerned to assert. The Virgin is *Theotokos* because the divine *Logos* became flesh and was made man. Therefore, this title enshrines the vitally important dogma of true incarnation and the full divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ who was born from her. As an example which shows this emphasis, we quote hereafter a paragraph from St. Gregory Nazianzus's letter (101) to Cledonius the priest in which he affirms saying:

"If anyone does not believe that Holy Mary is the Mother of God, he is severed from the Godhead. If anyone should assert that He passed through the Virgin as through a channel, and was not at once divinely and humanly formed in her (divinely, because without the intervention of a man; humanly, because in accordance with the laws of gestation), he is in like manner godless. If any assert that the Manhood was formed and afterward was clothed with the Godhead, he too is to be condemned. For this were not a Generation of God, but a shirking of generation. If any introduce the notion of Two Sons, one of God the Father, the other of the Mother, and discredits the Unity and Identity, may he lose his part in the adoption promised to those who believe aright" (St. Gregory Nazianzus, *Ep.* CI; in *NPNF*, second series, vol. VII, p. 439).

IV.A.5. ST. CYRIL'S ENCYCLICAL LETTER TO THE EGYPTIAN MONKS IN DEFENSE OF THE TITLE "*THEOTOKOS*":

A report of these discussions at Constantinople was speedily borne to Egypt, where it stirred up considerable debate among the monks, whereupon St. Cyril at Easter A.D. 429 addressed to them an elaborate exposition of the orthodox doctrine in twenty-seven chapters (Mansi iv. 587-618):

"I have heard", he says, "of discussions among you about *Theotokos*. I am astonished that the question should ever have been raised as to whether the Holy Virgin should be called the mother of God: for it really amounts to asking, Is her Son God, or is He not? It is true that the Apostles did not make use of this expression. But the Fathers and, in particular,

Athanasius employ it; nor was any one more loyal to Scripture than he. I shall be told, of course, that it does not occur in the Creed of Nicaea. But, in that Creed, it is not 'Jesus Christ' simply but 'Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God...of one substance with the Father' who is spoken of as having 'come down from heaven' and as 'Incarnate' (St. Cyril of Alex, *Ep.* I, 3-9). Then he proceeds to the further objection, Is not Mary then the mother of the Godhead?, and concludes with a lengthy argument from Scripture, e.g. from *Philippians* ii. 6, that it was the Son of God who humbled Himself to take upon Him the form of a servant" (*ibid.*, as summarized by Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 210).

A copy of this epistle was soon carried to Constantinople, and excited the wrath of Nestorius, who handed it over to Photius, one of his clergy, for refutation.

IV.A.6. ST. CYRIL'S FIRST LETTER TO NESTORIUS AND THE LATTER'S REPLY:

It was to reclaim Nestorius that Cyril now sent to Constantinople his First Letter to Nestorius, June 429, "pointing out that he had taken up no new position in special opposition to Nestorius when writing to the monks, but had simply reiterated views he had already enunciated in his work on the Trinity, published during the episcopate of Atticus, bishop of Constantinople. He also called the attention of Nestorius to the conclusions which some of the monks had already deduced from his teaching, refusing to style Christ God, and calling him merely the instrument of the divinity. Nestorius replied to the expostulation in a brief and scornful manner, whereupon a very embittered controversy began, wherein each party charged the other with the most extreme consequences he could deduce from his adversary's premises. Cyril charged Nestorius with denying the real divinity of Christ, like Paul of Samosata†, while Nestorius retorted by charging his opponent with attributing the temporal accidents of birth, suffering and death to the Divine Nature like the pagans" (*DCB* IV, p. 29).

IV.A.7. ST. CYRIL'S SECOND LETTER TO NESTORIUS AND THE LATTER'S REPLY:

In his Second Letter to Nestorius early in 430, St. Cyril says: "...Let me rather urge you to reform your doctrine by bringing it into harmony with the teaching of the Fathers, specially of Nicaea. That Council held that 'the only begotten Son' Himself, by nature 'begotten from God, even the Father...came down, was incarnate, and was made man'. What is this but to affirm that there are, in the same Christ, two generations; first, the eternal, by which He derives from the Father; and second, the temporal, by which He was born of His mother? When we say that He suffered and rose again, we do not mean that the Word suffered in His own nature, for Divinity is impassible; but, because the body, which He appropriated, suffered, we also say that He suffered. Similarly, we say that He died. The

† NB. Paul of Samosata is the heretical bishop of Antioch in the middle of the third century who "taught that our Lord was merely man, and 'was not before Mary, but received from her the origin of His being'; and that he pre-existed only in the foreknowledge of God" (*ERE* IX, p. 327). In Christology he was a precursor of Nestorius holding that from the Incarnation the Word rested upon the human Jesus as one person upon another, and that the Incarnate Christ differed only in degree from the Prophets (*ODCC* ed. 2, under 'Paul of Samosata'). As to the Trinity, "he taught a form of Dynamic Monarchianism, in which the Godhead was a closely knit Trinity of Father, Wisdom, and Word, and until creation formed a single *hypostasis*" (*ibid.*).

Divine word is immortal; but, because His own true body experienced death, we say that He himself died for us. Once again, when His flesh was raised, the resurrection is spoken of as His: not as if He fell into corruption—certainly not: but it was His body that was again raised..." (as quoted by Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 214). "And a further consequence of this Personal Union is that Mary is *Theotokos*, where, of course, we do not mean that the nature of the Word, or His Divinity, received its beginning of existence from her; but just this, that, inasmuch as His body to which the Word was personally united was born of her, He was born after the flesh. I beg you then to join us in so thinking and teaching; for then the unity of the episcopate will remain unbroken" (*ibid.*).

"The letter was unanswerable in its main contention that the Council of Nicaea was fatal by anticipation to Nestorianism, since its creed takes for granted the continuous personality of the Word who, 'in taking flesh remained', as Cyril puts it, 'what He was before'," (*ibid.*).

In a letter to his *Apocrisiarii* (*Responsales*) in Constantinople, St. Cyril observes that *Theodochos* ('receptacle of God') or *Christotokos* ('Christ-bearer') are just as open to the charge of not occurring in Scripture or Council as *Theotokos* ('God-bearer') (*ibid.*, p. 215).

Nestorius in his reply, in Lent, 430, artfully confounds his use of the word "God", with that of the word "Divinity"; and thus, by confusing the abstract with the concrete, is enabled to distort various passages of Scripture to his own meaning. He praises Cyril for disclaiming the notion that the Word, in his own Nature, was capable of suffering. The connexion of the Humanity with the Divinity, he admits, issued in 'One Person' – *prosopon* – called Christ. Mary therefore had better be entitled *Christotokos*; for *Theotokos* is pagan, and involved the notion that the Godhead was born of her (*ibid.*, quoting Nest. *ad Cyrillum* II; Loofs 173 sqq. = Cyril, *Ep.* V).

IV.A.8. THE ROMAN SYNOD OF AUGUST, 430 A.D.:

Pope Celestine of Rome received St. Cyril's Second Letter to Nestorius with a Latin translation, and was annoyed still further by Nestorius's reception of the Pelagians. Following advice given to him by his agents in the capital, he took St. Cyril's side. In August, 430 A.D., Pope Celestine held a Synod in Rome, with the result that Nestorius was condemned, and St. Cyril of Alexandria entrusted with carrying the sentence into execution. To this effect St. Celestine, in the name of the Council, wrote to St. Cyril commending his vigilance, professing himself in entire agreement with him. "We ought to do what we can to reclaim Nestorius; but if he will not yield, then you, Cyril 'the authority of our See having been combined with yours, will act authoritatively in our stead, and will carry out this sentence with due severity: that is, that unless within ten days after receiving our admonition, Nestorius anathematizes his heterodox doctrine in writing and positively declares that he holds that faith with regard to the Nativity of Christ our God, which both the Roman church and the church of your Holiness and all Christians in general hold, your Holiness is to provide for the church of Constantinople, and he is to understand that he is in every way separate from our body'. Cyril, in a word, is to act as his brother Patriarch's proxy: they hoped to settle the matter between them; and the project of a General Council was not yet afoot" (*ibid.*, p. 223, summarizing Celestine's *Tristitiae nostrae*).

Pope Celestine also wrote to Nestorius ordering him to retract his teaching publicly within ten days or be excommunicated (Celestine, Letter XIII. 11, *PL* 50. 484).

IV.A.9. THE LETTER OF JOHN OF ANTIOCH TO NESTORIUS AND THE LATTER'S REPLY:

St. Cyril in forwarding Pope Celestine's communication to John Bishop of Antioch, took the opportunity of adding a word as from himself (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 225).

"John, for all his friendship for Nestorius, rallied to the appeal of Celestine and Cyril at once. Enclosing both their letters, he wrote to Nestorius and begged him to read them dispassionately and to take advice. 'Ten days!' he said, 'An hour or two is enough! There is ample precedent for the term *Theotokos*. I am told on all sides that your sentiments are those of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church. Then why scruple the term?'..." (*ibid.*).

In his evasive reply to John of Antioch, Nestorius "said that he was no heretic, and that, so far from dividing the Church, it was with the very purpose of preserving its unity that he had expressed a distaste both for 'Mother of God' and 'Mother of man', and a preference for 'Mother of Christ' who was both God and man. Do not therefore disquiet yourself, my dear John. We shall meet shortly in a Council that, I hope, is to be convened and will straighten things out. The Egyptian then will find his level. It is evident that Nestorius had not been dislodged from the Imperial favour: while for the first time it is now clear that the General Council was being asked for from his side" (*ibid.*, p. 226).

IV.A.10. THE ALEXANDRIAN SYNOD, NOVEMBER, 430 A.D., AND ST. CYRIL'S THIRD LETTER TO NESTORIUS (THE SYNODICAL LETTER):

St. Cyril assembled a Synod at Alexandria in November 430 A.D., which ratified the sentence of the Roman Synod of August 430 A.D. Through the Egyptian Synodical Epistle, St. Cyril sent his third and last admonition to Nestorius.

"All other considerations", says the Synod, "must be put aside when Christ and his truth are in question. We have therefore to transmit to you, the letter of Celestine and the Roman Council and to inform you that if, within ten days from the receipt of this communication of ours, you do not renounce your errors, we can have no further communion with you, but only with those whom you have excommunicated. It will not be sufficient for you to confess the Nicene Faith in words, for you put a forced interpretation on it. You must declare in writing and on oath that you anathematize your impious tenets, and believe what we believe", and by "we" is meant "all bishops and doctors of East and West". The Synod, then quotes the Creed of Nicaea, and proceeds to a statement of the doctrine of the Incarnation as therein involved, viz. that the only-begotten Son of God, God of God, was made man, being really born of the Virgin, for He assumed flesh from her. This condescension or κένωσις, as Cyril habitually terms it, is not to be thought of as involving any abandonment of His Godhead: for throughout He remained after the Incarnation what He was before, i.e. very God; nor as involving any change of flesh into Godhead or of Godhead into flesh – where Cyril disclaims the Apollinarianism so freely attributed to him. He then goes on, to set aside terms and conceptions inadequate to express the Unity of Person. The Christ we worship is one, not man and God conjoined by a union of merit; nor a mere man indwelt by God, as were the Saints; nor, a mere man connected with the Word by a so-called union of dignity (which would be no real union), nor by juxtaposition, nor by such a participation as is contingent only or non-essential. Nay we deprecate that term 'connexion' (συνάφεια) altogether, as inadequate to express the union (ἕνωσις) whereby, the Word

Himself, being truly God, became for us truly man. We have not, in short, two Christs but one Christ: impassible in His own original or divine Nature (φύσις), but passible in that flesh which He took for His own. And this is clear from, the Unbloody Sacrifice of the Eucharist. Therein, we partake of the Flesh and Blood of Christ. But we look upon it not as ordinary flesh nor as the flesh of a holy man conjoined with, or inhabited by, the Word; but as the Flesh which belongs to God the Word and is therefore life-giving. It is life-giving just because He, being life as God, in becoming one with the flesh He assumed, rendered it life-giving; and it would not be life-giving unless it were thus really His. As to those sayings of His in the Gospels, which are cited against this unity of Person, they do but prove His real manhood; and we who acknowledge it find no difficulty in His having spoken as if it were real. He became our High Priest in His manhood, but this does not mean that he was a man who needed propitiation; for, He possessed and used and sent forth the Spirit as His own in virtue of His Godhead; and, united the manhood personally to Himself through a woman who is rightly called *Theotokos* because, though she could not be parent of the Word as the Word, she nevertheless gave birth to the flesh which He took and therein to Him who had made it His own."

"With this vindication of the test word in the controversy, the Synodical letter ends; but, in order to give precision to the things which Nestorius was to anathematize, its authors subjoined Twelve Anathemas to which he was to assent as well" (*ibid.*, pp. 226-228, summarizing *Ep.* 17).

These Twelve Anathemas summarize the Cyrilline Christology in uncompromising terms. The following is the first anathema which asserts that Mary is *Theotokos*. Thus it says: "If anyone will not confess that the Emmanuel is very God, and that therefore the Holy Virgin is the Mother of God (Θεοτόκος), inasmuch as in the flesh she bore the Word of God made flesh [as it is written, "The Word was made flesh"]: let him be anathema" (Percival, p. 206).

"On Sunday, 7 December 430, letter and anathematisms were delivered to Nestorius, after the celebration of the Liturgy. Four Egyptian bishops had brought them. They also presented the letter of Celestine. They also carried letters from Cyril to the clergy and people of Constantinople, and to its abbots and monasteries" (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, pp. 228-229).

IV.A.11. CONVOKING THE ECUMENICAL COUNCIL AT EPHESUS:

"The four (Egyptian) bishops did not arrive at Constantinople till Friday, 5 December 430; and then they found that, by the mandate of the Emperor, there had been summoned, a fortnight previously, a General Council to meet at Ephesus by Pentecost, 431. Both parties had urged it.... Nestorius hoped to be able to influence it by the support of the Court and his friends in 'The East', and so obtain from it a condemnation of Cyril on the charges made against him by the Egyptian refugees" (*ibid.*, p. 229).

"The letter summoning St. Cyril himself is still extant. It is dated November 19, 430, and directs him to repair to Ephesus by the feast of Pentecost ensuing" (*DCA*, vol. I, p. 615).

IV.A.12. EXAMPLES FROM THE NESTORIAN POLEMICAL WRITINGS BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF EPHESUS OF 431 A.D.:

At the request of John of Antioch, Theodoret bishop of Cyrus wrote at the beginning of 431 a sharp *Refutation of the Twelve Anathemas of Cyril of Alexandria against Nestorius*. Therein he

explains the Antiochene point of view, defends the orthodoxy of Nestorius and accuses Cyril of Monophysitism. Since the (Fifth General) Council of Constantinople in 553 condemned it, the original was lost, but the entire text seems to be preserved in St. Cyril's reply. Theodoret's work was according to the Nestorians translated into Syriac (Quasten III, p. 546).

The Twelve Counter-Anathemas:

"These 'Counter-Anathemas', by which Nestorius is supposed to have answered the twelve Anathemas of Cyril are preserved in a Latin translation" (Quasten III, p. 517). Though they have been ascribed for some time to Nestorius, "in reality they were not written by him but long after his death, as E. Schwartz proved in 1922; nor can the Latin version be attributed to Marius Mercator, since there is sufficient evidence to show that it originated much later (*ibid.*, see also *ODCC* ed.2, p. 962). But to show the mentality of that Nestorian writer, we quote hereafter his first Counter-Anathema against the Mother of God (i.e. *Theotokos*) in which he says:

"If anyone says that the Emmanuel is true God, and not rather *God with us*, that is, that he has united himself to a like nature with ours, which he assumed from the Virgin Mary, and dwelt in it; and if anyone calls Mary the mother of God the Word, and not rather mother of him who is Emmanuel; and if he maintains that God the Word has changed himself into the flesh, which he only assumed in order to make his Godhead visible, and to be found in form as a man, let him be anathema" (Percival, p. 206).

IV.A.13. EXAMPLES FROM ST. CYRIL'S WRITINGS AGAINST NESTORIUS BEFORE AND DURING THE TIME OF THE COUNCIL OF EPHESUS, 431 A.D.:

\+ *Adversus Nestorii blasphemias*:

"The first of the anti-Nestorian treatises is the *Five Tomes against Nestorius* composed in the spring of 430. They represent a critical examination of a collection of sermons published by Nestorius in the previous year. His name does not appear in Cyril's work, but many quotations from his homilies. Thus the first book refutes selected passages attacking the Marian title *Theotokos*, the four others, those defending a duality of persons in Christ" (Quasten III, p. 126).

\+ *De recta fide*:

"It was shortly after the beginning of the Nestorian controversy in 430 that Cyril submitted to the imperial court three memorials *On the True Faith* in order to counteract any Nestorian influence. The first of them was addressed to the Emperor Theodosius II, the two others *ad reginas* (ταῖς βασιλίσσαις) without mentioning any specific names. However, John of Caesarea at the beginning of the sixth century seems to be correct, when he states that the first of the two was addressed to the emperor's two younger sisters Arcadia and Marina, and the second to his elder sister Pulcheria and his wife Eudocia" (Quasten III, p. 126).

\+ *The Twelve Anathemas against Nestorius* which he subjoined to his Synodical Epistle of November 430. St. Cyril found it necessary to defend them in three apologies. In the first two he refutes two attacks which accused him of Apollinarianism and Monophysitism, one by Andrew of Samosata, the other by Theodoret of Cyrus.

Thus St. Cyril's "first apology *Against the Oriental Bishops* answers the charges of Andrew, who represented the Syrian bishops, and the second, the *Letter to Euoptius*, those of Theodoret. Both of these treatises must have been composed in the earlier half of 431 since there is no reference whatsoever to the Council of Ephesus. The third defense of the

Anathemas is found in the brief commentary *Explicatio duodecim capitum Ephesi pronuntiata* (i.e. *Explanation of the Twelve Chapters pronounced in Ephesus*), written while Cyril was in prison at Ephesus in August or September 431. The author is anxious to prove each one of the Anathemas by quotations from Scripture" (Quasten III, p. 127).

From St. Cyril's *Explanation of the Twelve Chapters*, we quote here the first anathematism and its explanation:

"*Anathematism I.*"

"4. If anyone does not confess the Emmanuel to be truly God, and hence the holy virgin to be Mother of God (for she gave birth in the flesh to the Word of God made flesh), let him be anathema."

"*Explanation I.*"

"5. The blessed Fathers who met of old in the city of Nicaea and set forth the definition of the orthodox and blameless faith, said that: They believed in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible, and in One Lord Jesus Christ, his Son, and in the Holy Spirit. They said then that he was the Word born of God, he through whom all things came to be, light from light, true God from true God, who was made flesh and was made man, who suffered and rose again. For the Only Begotten Word of the Father, since he was God by nature, took descent from Abraham as the blessed Paul says and shared in flesh and blood just like us. He was born of the holy virgin according to the flesh and became a man like us, though he did not set aside the fact that he was God (God forbid) but continues to be what he was and abides in the nature and glory of the Godhead. This is why we say that he became man, not that he underwent a change or alteration into something that he previously was not, for he is ever the same and does not admit to suffer the shadow of a change (cf. *James* 1:17). We declare that there was no mingling or confusion or blending of his essence with the flesh, but we say that the Word was ineffably united to flesh endowed with a rational soul in a manner which is beyond the mind's grasp, a manner such as he alone comprehends. So, he remained God even in the assumption of the flesh and he is the one Son of God the Father, Our Lord Jesus Christ. He is the same one who is before all ages and times in so far as he is understood as the Word, and the impress of God's very being (*Hebrews* 1:3), and it was he that in these last times became man in an economy for our sake."

"6. Certain people, however, have denied his birth according to the flesh, that birth which took place from the holy virgin for the salvation of all. It was not a birth that called him into a beginning of existence but one intended to deliver us from death and corruption when he became like us. This is why the first of our anathematisms cries out against their evil faith and then confesses what is the right faith, saying that Emmanuel is God in truth, and for this reason the holy virgin is the 'Mother of God'" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 283-284).

IV.A.14. THE ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF EPHESUS, 431 A.D.:

St. Cyril took with him fifty Egyptian bishops and reached Ephesus some four or five days before the feast of Pentecost (7 June, 431) the date appointed by the Emperor's mandate for the beginning of the Council. Wearied out with the delays of John of Antioch, suspecting that he was purposely prolonging his journey, St. Cyril and the greater part of the Prelates determined to open the Council on 22 June; and, on the preceding morning, they signified, by four Bishops, their resolution to Nestorius. Whatever was the reason for the delay of John

and the Antiochene bishops, "whether from a desire to oppose Cyril, or from a wish that Nestorius should not be condemned in their presence (for they were a small minority), or, as some say, for accidental causes, they delayed their arrival at Ephesus till 26th or 27th June... After waiting more than a fortnight after the day fixed for the Council, and after receiving a friendly letter from John of Antioch and then (as he himself declares) a message requesting him to proceed without him, Cyril held the first meeting of the Council on 22nd June... The letter of the Council to the emperors Theodosius and Valentinian (Mansi iv, 1235ff.) expressly says that John sent before him two bishops, Alexander of Apamea and Alexander of Hierapolis, to tell the Council to go on without him. Nestorius declined to be present at this meeting or to send any explanations of his teaching" (Maclean in *ERE* IX, p. 325).

After a second and a third citation had been served upon Nestorius on the same day and repudiated by him, the debate began (Kidd, *HC*, III, p. 242).

The *First Session*, 22 June, was one of the longest days. It had opened at an early hour, and night had shut in before its closure. In this session, Nestorius was deposed from his see of Constantinople and excommunicated, and the Creed of Nicaea reaffirmed. Cyril's Twelve Anathemas were confirmed, and the title *Theotokos* solemnly recognized.

Four days after the deposition of Nestorius in the first session, John of Antioch arrived at Ephesus with his bishops. He did not hesitate to hold a synod of his own with his bishops and the friends of Nestorius to the number of forty-three bishops, including Theodoret of Cyrus, at which Cyril and Memnon were excommunicated, together with all their adherents, unless and until they should repudiate the Twelve Anathematisms; and a report was sent to the Emperor (Kidd, *HC*, III, pp. 243-244).

It was St. Cyril's gathering, however, which the Roman Papal legates endorsed when they reached Ephesus on 10 July, and on the following day, they confirmed the Acts subscribing the sentence of deposition of Nestorius (Percival, pp. 223-224). St. Cyril heading the list of bishops present... About 160 were there when they commenced: 198 subscribed...(*DCA*, vol. I, p. 615; Kidd, *HC*, III, p. 243). One solitary deacon represented Africa (Kidd, *HC*, III, p. 241).

Synodal letters were sent to the Emperor and to the Clergy and People of Constantinople (*ibid.*, p. 245).

But when Theodosius heard of the proceedings from both sides, he thought of a master-stroke, and ordered the arrest of Nestorius, Cyril and Memnon alike. Eventually public opinion forced him to release Cyril and Memnon, and to banish Nestorius (*ERE* IX, p. 325). Thus Cyril arrived at Alexandria, on October 30, to be received in his see as a second Athanasius (Quasten III, p. 118). The Emperor also summoned several bishops of the Ephesine majority to arrange for the filling of the vacant see of Constantinople, and Maximian was consecrated instead of Nestorius, and was soon after succeeded by Proclus (*ERE* IX, p. 325).

This Ecumenical Council, 431 A.D., was a great victory for Orthodoxy, because Nestorius was never rehabilitated. After languishing at Antioch for some years, he was finally exiled to the Great Oasis (Khargah) in Egypt, on August, 435 A.D. Thence he was driven by the barbarians to Panopolis (Akhmîm) thence removed to Elephantine opposite Syene (Aswan), and thence again to Panopolis near Psinblje and died sometime after 451 A.D. (*Cop. E*, vol. 6, p. 1786-1787).

The more positive achievement of that Council was to canonize the Nicene Creed as enshrining the core of Christological Orthodoxy, and St. Cyril's Dogmatic Letter and the

Synodical Letter with its subjoined Twelve Anathemas as its authoritative interpretation (see Part Three, section III.D.3).

IV.A.15. THE *FORMULARY OF REUNION* OF 433 A.D.:

During the negotiations, Paul, bishop of Emesa was sent from Acacius and John of Antioch to St. Cyril of Alexandria, who after being able to convince St. Cyril of his own orthodoxy, was allowed by St. Cyril to join in the church service in Alexandria, "and even invited him to preach on Christmas Day, 432, in the great church (Mansi, v. 293). The bishop of Emesa began his sermon with the angelic hymn, proceeded to the prophecy of Emmanuel, and then said, 'Thus Mary, Mother of God, brings forth Emmanuel.' A characteristic outbreak of orthodox joy interrupted the discourse. The people cried out, 'This is the faith! 'Tis God's own gift, O orthodox Cyril! This is what we wanted to hear.' Paul then went on to say that a combination of two perfect natures, the Godhead and Manhood, constituted 'for us' the one Son, the one Christ, the one Lord. Again the cry arose, 'Welcome, orthodox bishop!'..." (*DCB* vol. I, p. 769).

After negotiations, an agreement was reached, the instrument of which (known as the "*Formulary of Reunion*") was contained in a letter sent by John to St. Cyril (= Cyril, *Ep.* 38), of which we quote here a paragraph declaring the following:

"We confess, therefore, our Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, perfect God and perfect man composed of a rational soul and a body, begotten before the ages from His Father in respect of His divinity, but likewise (τὸν αὐτόν) in these last days for us and our salvation from the Virgin Mary in respect of His manhood, consubstantial with the Father in respect of His divinity, and at the same time (τὸν αὐτόν) consubstantial with us in respect of His manhood. For a union (ἕνωσις) of two natures has been accomplished. Hence we confess one Christ, one Son, one Lord. In virtue of this conception of a union without confusion we confess the holy Virgin as *Theotokos* because the divine Word became flesh and was made man and from the very conception united to Himself the temple taken from her...." (Kelly, *Doctrines*, pp. 328-329).

St. Cyril greeted this *Formulary* with enthusiasm in his letter *Laetentur coeli* (= letter 39). In spite of the use of the Antiochene expression: "union of two natures", St. Cyril saw in the *Formulary* that the Antiochenes accepted the Council of 431 A.D. unconditionally, subscribed to the condemnation of Nestorius in clear terms, and affirmed that the Virgin was "*Theotokos*" ('God-bearer') without adding that she was also *anthropotokos* ('man-bearer') or *Christotokos* ('Christ-bearer'). Thus the bogy of "Nestorianism", with its doctrine of "two Sons", was no more. All talk of "conjunction", etc., had vanished, and the union was now described as ἕνωσις (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 329-330).

Therefore, St. Cyril in reply to John of Antioch (*Ep.* 39), quoted in parag. 5 the *Formulary of Reunion* written to him by John, after making a very important change, through the addition of the word **"the same"** to stress the unity of the Lord Jesus Christ. Thus parag. 5 in St. Cyril's letter 39 to John reads as follows:

"5. And so we confess that Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Only Begotten Son of God, is perfect God and perfect Man, of a rational soul and body. He is born of the Father before the ages according to the Godhead, and **the same one** in these last days for us and for our salvation was born of the virgin Mary according to the manhood. **The same one**

is consubstantial with the Father according to the Godhead, and consubstantial with us according to the manhood, for there was a union of the two natures, and this is why we confess One Christ, One Son, One Lord. According to this understanding of the unconfused union we confess that the holy virgin is the Mother of God, because God was made flesh and became man, and from the very moment of conception he united to himself the temple that was taken from her...." (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 344-345).

From parag. 8 of the same letter, we quote St. Cyril saying: ".... So when we say that Our Lord Jesus Christ is from heaven and from above, we do not mean that his holy flesh was brought down from above and from heaven;...he was born of the holy virgin according to the flesh, as I said before. God the Word came down from above and from heaven and emptied himself, taking the form of a slave (*Philippians* 2:7), and was called Son of Man while he remained what he was, that is God, (for he is changeless and unalterable by nature) and this is why he is said to have 'come down from heaven' and is understood now to be one with his own flesh and is called the 'man from heaven' (*1Corinthians* 15:47). **The same one** is perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood, and we understand him to be in one *prosopon*, for there is One Lord Jesus Christ (*1Corinthians* 8:6), even though we do indeed take cognizance of the difference of natures **out of which** we say the ineffable union was formed" (*ibid.*, pp. 346-347).

In fact, the title "*Theotokos*" was not a problem for some Antiochenes, like John Bishop of Antioch who even before the *Formulary* wrote to Nestorius exhorting him to accept the term (see Part One, section IV.A.9.).

Even Nestorius, after his deposition, in bitter regret called Mary *Theotokos* to let the disputing cease. But up to the end of his life again and again in *Heraclides*, he attacks the term *Theotokos* (see Part Three, section IV.D.).

[For more details see Part One, section V: The *Formulary of Reunion* of 433 A.D. and its Aftermath].

IV.A.16. OTHER DOGMATIC WRITINGS OF ST. CYRIL WRITTEN AFTER THE COUNCIL OF EPHESUS:

These are given in Quasten III, pp. 127-129, as follows:

1. *Apologeticus ad imperatorem*
2. *Scholia de incarnatione Unigeniti*
3. *Contra Diodorum et Theodorum*
4. *Quod unus sit Christus*
5. *Adversus nolentes confiteri sanctam Virginem esse Deiparam:*

"The Emperor Justinian I testifies in his *Tractatus contra Monophysitas* 13-14 (*PG.* 86, I, 1132) about the year 542 that the treatise *Against Those That Do Not Acknowledge Mary to be the Mother of God* is a genuine work of Cyril. The first to publish it was Cardinal Mai" (Quasten III, p. 128).

From the paragraphs dealing with the Marian title *Theotokos* in St. Cyril's *Scholia de incarnatione Unigeniti* (*Scholia* 26-32), we quote here for representation *Scholia* 26 & 27:

"26. How the holy Virgin is understood to be the Mother of God. The Word of God the Father was born in an incomprehensible manner, and this generation surpasses all human understanding, and befits the incorporeal nature. Nonetheless, that which is born is understood as the very own offspring of the Begetter, and of the same essence as Him. This is why he is called the Son, a name which indicates this true and authentic parentage. Since the

Father is eternally alive, it was necessary that he too should be eternally alive, for because of him God is a Father. And so: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God' (*John* 1:1), as the all-wise evangelist tells us. But in the consummation of times, for us men and for our salvation, he was made incarnate and made man. He did not lose what he was but kept his unchangeable nature, and was ever established in the highest dignity of godhead. Nonetheless, for our sake he economically underwent a self-emptying, and did not disdain that poverty which befits human nature, for: 'Though he was rich, he became poor, as it is written, that we might become rich through his poverty' (*2Corinthians* 8:9). This was how he was made man and is said to have undergone a birth from a woman. And so, because he assumed from the holy Virgin a body that was truly united to himself, we say that the holy Virgin is *Theotokos*, for she gave birth to it humanly, or in accordance with the flesh, even though he had his generation from the Father before all ages."

"But if some people think that the Word here had his beginning when he became man, this would be the height of wickedness and folly. The Saviour himself shows that such people are complete fools when he says: 'Amen I say to you, before Abraham was I am' (*John* 8:58). How then could he have been before Abraham if he was only born in the flesh so long afterwards? And I think the divine John also sufficiently refutes them when he says: 'This is he of whom I spoke. After me there comes a man who came before me, because he was before me' (*John* 1:30)."

"So let us leave any contention about such foolish matters and come instead to something which is profitable. Let no one be troubled when they hear that the holy Virgin is the Mother of God; let them not fill their mind with Jewish disbelief or, even worse, with pagan impiety. The Jews attacked Christ saying: 'We do not stone you for a good deed, but because you who are a man make yourself God' (*John* 10:23); and the sons of the pagans deride the doctrine of the church when they hear that God was born from a woman. They reap the harvest of their madness, however, when they hear our reply: 'The fool speaks like a fool, and his heart meditates on vanities' (*Isaiah* 32:6). The meaning of our mystery is a scandal to the Jews, and foolishness to the gentiles (cf. *1Corinthians* 1:23), but for us who know it, it is something truly admirable, and salvific, and worthy of belief. If there was anyone at all who dared to say that this earthly flesh had been the parent of the godhead itself, or that that nature which is above all was itself born from this creature, then it would be madness and insanity. The divine nature was not made from the earth, nor has the corruptible ever been a rootstock for incorruption, or mortality ever given birth to immortality, or the incorporeal ever been the fruit of a palpable body, or the uncreated ever born from the created, or that which has no beginning ever come from that which has a beginning."

"And yet, because we maintain that the Word of God became like us, and assumed a body like our bodies, and most truly united it to himself in a secret and ineffable manner, and thus was made man after being born in a fleshly way, then what is there foolish in this, or what is there that cannot be believed? As we have often said, when the soul of man is united with the body, it is born along with it, even though it is of a different nature, and no one should ever think that the body's nature supplied the origin of the soul's substance, rather God sends it inside the body in an incomprehensible manner. But when the soul is born along with the body, we maintain that there is one being from both of them, that is man. The Word who was God, therefore, also became man and was born in accordance

with the flesh, since this was necessary for humanity. So, since she gave birth to him, she is the Mother of God. On the other hand, if she did not give birth to God, then we should certainly not call the child she gave birth to 'God'. But the divine scriptures call him God, for she gave birth to God made man. He could not have been made man except through birth from a woman. And so, if she gave birth to him, how is it that she is not the Mother of God since we learn from the divine scripture that the one who is born from her is the true God?" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 321-322).

"27. Sayings about Christ."

"'Behold the virgin shall conceive, and shall give birth to a son, and you shall call him Emmanuel' (*Isaiah* 7:14; *Matthew* 1:23). So how is the child that is born of the holy Virgin called Emmanuel when, as I have said earlier, Emmanuel signifies that the Word (true God of true God) came in our nature on account of flesh? He became Emmanuel because 'He emptied himself out' (*Philippians* 2:7), and underwent a generation like our own, and had communion with us. And thus he was God in the flesh, and she who gave him a fleshly birth in accordance with the flesh was truly the Mother of God" (*ibid.*, p. 323).

IV.A.17. THE "*THEOTOKOS*" IN THE ANSWER OF SAHAK THE GREAT CATHOLICOS OF ARMENIA TO THE TOME OF PROCLUS:

Proclus Patriarch of Constantinople (434-446 or 447), is remembered for a famous sermon on the "*Theotokos*" which he delivered in the presence of Nestorius in 428 or 429 while he was a much-applauded preacher and bishop residing in Constantinople. After he became Patriarch of Constantinople and sent his famous *Tome* to the Armenians, he received a letter of response from Sahak the Great Catholicos of Armenia and St. Mesrop Maštoc in which they say:

"Concerning the Incarnation of the Son we believe as follows: He took upon himself to become perfect man from Mary the God-bearer (θεότοκος) by the Holy Spirit by assuming soul and body truly and not feignedly; it is in this way that he achieved the salvation of our humanity; he truly underwent the sufferings, not because he himself was indebted to the sufferings—for Godhead is exempt from sufferings—but [it was] for us [that] he took upon himself the sufferings, was crucified and buried and the third day rose and ascended into heaven and sat at the right [side] of the Father, and he shall come [again] to judge the quick and the dead" (*Book of the Letters*, p. 10, quoted in Sarkissian, p. 126).

IV.B. The Title "*Theotokos*" in Chalcedon and Later Pro-Chalcedonian and Anti-Chalcedonian Councils and Churches:

Since the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D., the Marian title "*Theotokos*" became regularly introduced and consistently used in the prayers of the Church in both East and West and is always mentioned in statements of Chalcedonian or anti-Chalcedonian Councils, as, e.g., in the Definition of the council of Chalcedon, 451 A.D. (Percival, p. 264), the *Encyclical* of Basiliscus, 475 A.D. (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, pp. 236-240), the *Henoticon*, 482 A.D. (Sellers, p. 276) and the Chalcedonian Second Council of Constantinople, 553 A.D. (The Sentence of the Council, Percival, p. 311 and Capitula II, VI, XIV, *ibid.*, pp. 312, 313, 315).

[For more details on the Title *"Theotokos"* see Part One, section I.D. and Part Three, section IV.D. of the present work.]

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V. THE *FORMULARY OF REUNION* OF 433 A.D. AND ITS AFTERMATH:

V.A. The *Formulary of Reunion* of 433 A.D.:

In the two years following the Council of Ephesus of 431, strenuous efforts were made to heal the schism between the Alexandrians and the Antiochenes. Finally, an accord was arrived at in the spring of 433. John patriarch of Antioch signed the document of St. Cyril, recognized the deposition of Nestorius and the condemnation of his doctrine in a letter sent to St. Cyril of Alexandria, in which he said: "Since this confession of faith has been accepted, it has pleased us, for the removal of all contention, and to direct the universal peace in the churches of God, and to remove the scandals which have grown up, to hold Nestorius, who formerly was the Bishop of Constantinople, as deposed. We anathematize his worthless and 'profane novelties' because the holy churches of God with us have kept the right and healing faith and guard it and hand it on to the people, just as your holiness does also. We join as well in approving the appointment of the most holy and God-loving Maximian as Bishop of the holy Church of God at Constantinople, and we are in communion with all the God-revering bishops throughout the world who hold and preach the true and blameless faith" (*FCNT*, vol. 76, p. 146 = St. Cyril, *Ep.* 38, parag. 3).

"The Syrian determination to make St. Cyril recant the Twelve Anathematisms was quietly dropped". When relations were thus formally restored, St. Cyril sent his famous letter 'Let the Heavens rejoice' (*Ep.* 39, To John of Antioch), which contains in parag. 5 the *Formulary of Reunion* sent to him written by John, after making a very important change, through the addition of the word **"the same"** to stress the unity of the Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before the ages in respect of his Godhead and **the same** born in the last days for us and for our salvation of Mary the Virgin in respect of his manhood, consubstantial with the Father in Godhead and consubstantial with us in manhood, acknowledging the holy Virgin to be Mother of God.

As for the terms used about the Lord in the Gospels and apostolic writings, the Antiochenes, said in the same *Formulary* "we recognize that theologians treat some as shared because they refer to one person, some they refer separately to two natures, traditionally teaching the application of the divine terms to Christ's Godhead, the lowly to his manhood" (Wickham, *Select Letters*, p. 222).

"As far as Cyril was concerned he accepted the orthodoxy of the Orientals' statements but, as his letter to Eulogius shows, did not think that they had expressed matters particularly well: 'the easterners are somewhat obscure in their terminology', and at no stage did he have any intention of adopting their methods of speaking and theologizing henceforth" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 115, n. 199).

V.B. St. Cyril's Interpretation of the Position of the Antiochenes and Their Expressions in the *Formulary of Reunion*:

In his *Letter 40 to Acacius Bishop of Melitene*, St. Cyril says (paragraphs 15-17): "[15].... **The Antiochene brethren, on the other hand, taking the recognized elements of Christ at the level only of mere ideas, have mentioned a difference of natures,** .....[16] **They maintain that it is only the terms applied to the Lord which are divided; they do not mean that some of these apply to a Son in isolation, the Word of God, some again to a different woman-born son, but instead that some apply to his Godhead some to his manhood (for the same Son is God and man); others too they assert, much as I do, are to be applied in some way jointly, those looking, so to say, to both aspects (Godhead and manhood, I mean).** The point is that some of the terms are specially appropriate to God, some are specially appropriate to man and some occupy an intermediate position, indicating the Son who is at one and the same time God and man. For when he says to Philip: *'Have I been with you so long, and yet you do not know me, Philip? Do you not believe that I am in the Father and the Father in me? He who has seen me has seen the Father. I and the Father are one'*—when he says this we maintain that the language applies most fittingly to God. When, though, he rebukes the crowds of Jews, saying *'If you were Abraham's children you would be doing the deeds of Abraham, but now you are seeking to kill me, a man who has told you the truth; this Abraham did not do'*—things like this we say are spoken humanly, nevertheless the divine and human words are the one Son's. For whilst being God he has become man, not ceasing to be God but rather becoming man by assumption of flesh and blood; since he is one Christ, Son and Lord both they and we declare his person also to be one. [17] The sort of terms we maintain to be intermediate occur when blessed Paul writes: *'Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, today, and for ever'*...." (Wickham, *Select Letters*, pp. 52-53).

Price, in his 3 volume work on the *Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, comments on parag. 25 of the Acts of the Second Session of Chalcedon when the Illyrian and Palestinian bishops raised objection on the words of Leo in his *Tome* "for each form performs what is proper to it...etc." and Aetius the archdeacon replied with a quotation from St. Cyril: "Some of the sayings are particularly fitting to God, some again are particularly fitting to man, while others occupy a middle position, revealing the Son of God as God and man simultaneously and at the same time" (Cyril, *Letter to Acacius*, 16). Price adds his comment on this saying: "Cyril is trying to justify his acceptance (under pressure) of the *Formula of Reunion* which distinguished the sayings in this way. **But his own favoured position was that the sayings should not be distributed between the two natures; see the Fourth Anathema in his *Third Letter to Nestorius*"** (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 26, n. 80).

In his *First Letter to Succensus*, Bishop of Diocaesarea, St. Cyril writes (*Letter 45*, paragraphs 6&9): "6. So we unite the Word from God the Father without merger, alteration or change to holy flesh owning mental life in a manner inexpressible and surpassing understanding, and confess one Son, Christ and Lord, the self-same God and man, not a diverse pair but one and the same, being and being seen to be both things. That is why as man in fulfillment of the divine plan he sometimes discourses humanly whilst at other times he utters words as God with the authority of Godhead. Our affirmation is this: if we carefully examine the mode of the scheme of incarnation, if we make a close survey of the mystery, we see that the

Word from God the Father became man and was incarnate and that he did not mould that sacred body from his own nature but took it from the Virgin, because how could he have become man unless he wears a human body?...."

"9.....If we have been subject to the evils following upon the sin in Adam the benefits in Christ must attend us also—I mean, incorruption and the doing to death of sin. That is why he has become man; he has not, as Nestorius thinks, assumed a man. It is for the very reason that he should be credited with having become man whilst yet remaining what he was (i.e. God by nature) that he is reported as having been hungry, tired with travelling and to have borne sleep, anxiety, pain and other innocent human experiences. Moreover, to assure those who saw him that he was true God along with being man, he worked divine miracles, curbing seas, raising dead, accomplishing further different marvels. He even endured the cross, so that he might, after suffering death not in the Godhead's nature but in the flesh, be made first-born of the dead, might open the way for man's nature to incorruption, might harrow Hell (τὸν ᾅδην "Hades") of the souls there held fast and take pity on them" (Wickham, *Select Letters*, pp. 74-75, 78-79).

See similar explanations in St. Cyril's *Letters* 40, 46 and 50 to his supporters who were disconcerted by his acceptance of the *Formulary of Reunion*, and he wrote a series of letters to reassure them, giving the *formulary* a heavily Alexandrian gloss (cf. *ACC*, vol. I, p. 184, n. 185).

V.C. The Aftermath of the *Formulary of Reunion*:

This is discussed in some detail in McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria* (pp. 114-121), from which we quote the following:

V.C.1. ON THE ANTIOCHENE SIDE:

"For his part John of Antioch announced the news to the Emperor, and sent an encyclical letter around his patriarchate informing his bishops that Cyril's orthodoxy had now been accepted. He published the letters that had been exchanged of late, to demonstrate that Cyril had sufficiently answered their demands for further explanation, and concluded by asking his bishops not to do anything that would upset the peace that had been so laboriously negotiated. He evidently sensed trouble ahead among his own party, and he was not mistaken."

"The coherence of the Antiochene party was, by this stage, somewhat dissipated. John of Antioch took the majority with him, and it was generally interpreted, in the Orient at least, that Cyril had been forced to climb down, and then had been accepted back into the fold by John once he had complied. For several of the leading lights of the conciliabulum, however, John's acceptance of communion with Cyril without an explicit rejection of the Chapters was no less than an out and out betrayal of fundamental principle, and this party continued to press for Nestorius' rehabilitation and Cyril's condemnation. This was a small and hardline group which included Alexander of Hierapolis and, needless to say, Nestorius himself, who far from lying low in his monastery had begun a pamphlet war, much to John's embarrassment. A third element regarded John as dilatory, and of being swayed more by political expediency than a desire for justice, and these turned more and more to Theodoret

of Cyr for intellectual guidance and for a representative who could be a proper spokesman for the Syrian tradition."

"Theodoret accepted the reconciliation with Cyril, though he interpreted it as a complete turn-about on Cyril's part,.....Theodoret refused to concur in any policy of abandoning Nestorius" (*ibid.*, pp. 115-116).

V.C.2. ON THE SIDE OF ST. CYRIL AND HIS SUPPORTERS AMONG THE SYRIANS:

"For the previous two years since 431 Acacius of Melitene and Rabulla of Edessa had been publicizing the terms of the council of Ephesus, as distinct from the conciliabulum, throughout the Syrian patriarchate. Like Cyril they had increasingly come to focus their opposition against the continuing influence of Theodore Mopsuestia's theology, refusing to allow that this could stand as the authentic representative of the whole Syrian tradition as such....Acacius continued to castigate the memory of Theodore openly, but it was as vehemently defended by others such as Ibas of Edessa who had succeeded in place of Rabulla, and held diametrically opposed theological opinions to those of his predecessor" (*ibid.*, pp. 118-119).

"In several letters Cyril expressed his unhappiness at the way the Orientals seemed to be ready to anathematize Nestorius yet carry on the substance of his doctrine by propagating Theodore's views as authoritative. He also complained about Theodoret's very public dissidence wondering why John of Antioch did nothing to bring him into line. But Theodoret was unrepentant" (*ibid.*, p. 119, referring to St. Cyril's *Letter 63 To John of Antioch*, against Theodoret, see *FCNT*, vol. 77, p. 51).

St. Cyril had been approached by a number of clergy and high-ranking laymen in Antioch who accused the Antiochene bishops of using Theodore of Mopsuestia's teachings as a cloak to spread Nestorianism. He, therefore, replied to John of Antioch and the synod assembled there attacking Theodore and the earlier Antiochene Diodore of Tarsus and stressing the need to root out Nestorianism from the Antiochene clergy (see *Ep.* 67 in *FCNT*, vol. 77, pp. 61-64). The representations from his friends in Syria also spurred St. Cyril into literary activity: supplied with a new florilegium of numerous excerpts both from Theodore of Mopsuestia and Diodore of Tarsus, he rapidly compiled three books *Against Diodore and Theodore* most probably around 438 A.D. (see Quasten, vol. III, p. 128). This work made its way to Syria, where Theodoret of Cyrrhus wrote a reply after 438, *In defence of Diodore and Theodore* (see *ibid.*, p. 549). [See also next section. And see quotations from St. Cyril's letters written against Diodore and Theodore to Emperor Theodosius II and to Bishop Succensus and to Bishop Acacius cited before in Part One under section II].

V.C.3. ON THE SIDE OF EMPEROR THEODOSIUS II AND PROCLUS ARCHBISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE (434-446 A.D.):

St. Cyril's personal standing had risen to an international level by this time. "It was acknowledged publicly when Theodosius asked him to accompany his increasingly estranged wife Eudoxia on her pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 438. When he was there, engaged in a grand tour..., where Eudoxia dispensed donations on ecclesiastical foundations and gathered relics

like a new Helena, Cyril was met by a group of Antiochene dissidents. These informed him of the considerable disagreements in the Orient over the status that ought to be afforded to the teachings of Theodore, and gave him clear evidence of Proclus' policy to avoid further confrontation by avoiding any direct and explicit condemnation of Theodore's memory."

"Cyril viewed the policy as misguided, and on his return to Alexandria later that same year he set to work in a new burst of literary efforts. The writings of this last period of his life turn more and more to attacking Theodore of Mopsuestia directly and openly in the harshest of terms, as a heretic. They include key works such as That The Christ is One, the Exposition of the Creed and the Three Books to the Monks. When the news got out that Cyril was now vehemently attacking the reputation of Theodore it fanned the flames of deep resentment among many of the Orientals who had only been lukewarm supporters of the union in the first place. Theodoret, for one, was barely able to contain his rage that Cyril should so presume to move against his own teacher and mentor" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria.*, pp. 119-120).

It was before, in 435 A.D., when St. Cyril's supporters in the East having turned their attention to the works of Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, whom they considered Nestorius's teachers, the Bishops in Armenia asked Proclus of Constantinople concerning his opinion on the matter. In his reply, *Tomus ad Armenios*, Proclus rebutted the more divisionistic aspects of Theodore's christology, and following St. Cyril of Alexandria, particularly stressed the unity of Christ in the formula "God the Word, one of the Trinity became incarnate".

Proclus was not content to send his letter only to the Armenians, but decided to circulate it among the bishops of the Orient asking for their signatures. He "claimed that John of Antioch and other bishops of the Antiochene tendency had subscribed the *Tomus* and condemned the adjoining series of extracts from the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia, whose name he concealed" (Simonetti, M., in Ber. *EEC*, p. 713).

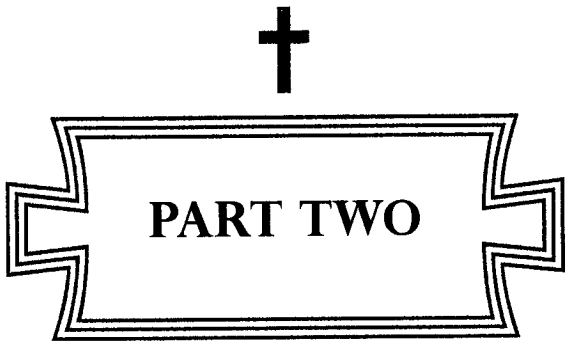
When the Oriental bishops realized that these extracts were from the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, they were thunderstruck and refused to sign the condemnation.

John of Antioch wrote on behalf of the bishops of the Orient that they had condemned Nestorius and accepted the faith of Nicaea, but that they would not condemn a man long dead. "The refusal of the Antiochenes to condemn the passages from the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia, who had died in peace with the church decades before, provoked a controversy in which Cyril also took part; but forced with the firm resistance of the Antiochenes, Proclus, Cyril and the emperor Theodosius abandoned their attempt to get the Theodorian extracts condemned, *c.* 437" (*ibid.*).

McGuckin (*St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 120-121) says: "Proclus appealed to Cyril not to jeopardize the fragile peace and begged him to allow matters to rest. John of Antioch too made it clear to him that he would not be accountable for all his Syrian bishops' reactions if Cyril continued to pursue his policy of attacking their 'Fathers'. And so, while he made it abundantly clear to everyone, including the Syrians, that he did not regard Diodore or Theodore in any sense as 'Fathers' of the church, Cyril decided to accept the advice of Proclus and John, even though it was much against his better judgment, and dropped his assault on the reputations of the Syrian teachers by name."

"He decided that perhaps it would be better after all to proceed quietly and condemn

the propositions while allowing the memories of Diodore and Theodore to remain venerable in their own churches, since his earlier policy would serve to 'rekindle the flame that has started to die down'. As Cyril knew, it was a policy that deferred the problem rather than solved it, as events over the next two centuries would more than bear out. Edward Schwartz has suggested there was an undisclosed pressure on Cyril from the imperial court to adopt this change of attitude, and he named Pulcheria as the active agent behind it. Given Cyril's obvious reluctance to leave off from the fray this is highly likely, and he continued to speak with evident scorn about the intellectual integrity of those (among the Syrians) who agreed to anathematize the teachings of Nestorius but would not anathematize the sources of those teachings which themselves even more blatantly suggested the double subjectivity of Christ".



PART TWO

EUTYCHIANISM

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I. EUTYCHES AND EUTYCHIANISM

Eutyches (*c.* 378-454 A.D.), having become a monk near Constantinople very early – in 448 he claimed to have led a monastic life for seventy years (*ACO* II, 2, 1, p. 34; II, 4, p. 144) – he was ordained priest and elected archimandrite of a great monastery (Ber. *EEC*, p. 304). He was the godfather of the eunuch Chrysaphius, the emperor Theodosius II's grand chamberlain, and had the support of the imperial court (cf. Ferguson *EEC*, p. 404). He was also a friend of St. Cyril of Alexandria and people connected with him (cf. Mansi 6, 628, 631, 713). Eutyches had been a member of a monastic delegation headed by St. Dalmatius that lobbied Theodosius II during the Nestorian controversy (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 285; cf. *ACC*, vol. I, p. 207 n. 229). For this Eutyches was highly esteemed and influential both in political and ecclesiastical circles (cf. Ber. *EEC*, p. 304). With the intention of combating the Nestorians, he fought against all the upholders of Nestorius's popular slogan "Christ in two natures". His keen opposition to Nestorianism led him to be accused in 448 A.D. by Eusebius of Dorylaeum of the opposite heresy of denying Christ's real humanity.

"Based on the Cyrillian formula, but – it would seem – not explained with Cyril's precision, was the teaching propagated at Constantinople in *c.* 445 by the old and influential monk Eutyches. This teaching was refuted, without naming names, in 447 by Theodoret of Cyrrhus in his *Eranistes*, as that which made Christ's humanity vain, and this charge was moved directly against Eutyches in 448 by Eusebius of Dorylaeum. On 22 Nov, Eutyches appeared before a small council of bishops then present at Constantinople, presided over by the local bishop Flavian: he denied invalidating Christ's humanity in the manner of Apollinaris and Valentinus (Docetism), but asserted that Christ is not *homoousios* (consubstantial) with us and that, from two natures before the union, there resulted a single nature after it. Eutyches's thought was more confused than erroneous, but **the council condemned him because he denied Christ's real humanity in the manner of Apollinaris and Valentinus**" (Ber. *EEC*, p. 569).

But the minutes of the Home Synod of Constantinople, 448, which were quoted and read in the first session of Chalcedon shows that Eutyches did not deny Christ's real humanity. His confession of faith which he pronounced orally in that Home Synod of Constantinople, 448, is recorded in parag. 505 as follows:

"*(Constantinople)*"

"505. Eutyches the presbyter said: 'This is what I believe: I worship the Father with the Son, the Son with the Father, and the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son; **I acknowledge that his coming in the flesh was from the flesh of the Holy Virgin, and that he became man perfectly for our salvation.** This I confess before the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and before your holiness'" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 220).

Therefore, the condemnation of Eutyches aroused violent reaction in Cyrillian circles, who saw in it the condemnation of St. Cyril's miaphysite Christology. As we shall see in the following sections that this sentence was later revoked when Eutyches submitted a detailed orthodox profession of faith to the Council of Ephesus of 449 under the presidency of St.

Dioscorus of Alexandria, and thus he was rehabilitated and his accusers condemned.

It is worth noting that the minutes of the Second Council of Ephesus, 449, which was read in the first session of the Council of Chalcedon, 451, include the plaint and profession of the Orthodox faith submitted by Eutyches to that Council of Ephesus, 449, and recorded in the Acts of the first session of Chalcedon in paragraphs 157, 164, 185. In parag. 164 we read Eutyches saying: **"I anathematize Mani, Valentinus, Apollinarius and Nestorius, and all the heretics since Simon Magus, including those who say that the flesh of our Lord and God Jesus Christ came down from heaven"** (Chalcedon I:164, in *ACC*, vol. 1 p. 158).

Later, at the first session of the Council of Chalcedon, October 8, 451, Pope Dioscorus of Alexandria condemned Eutyches conditionally, saying: "If Eutyches holds opinions contrary to the doctrines of the church, he deserves not only punishment but hell fire. For my concern is for the catholic and apostolic faith and not for any human being. My mind is fixed on the Godhead, and I do not look to any person nor care about anything except my soul and the true and pure faith" (Chalcedon, the first session, parag. 168, in *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 159). At the third session (parag. 98), the Council of Chalcedon condemned Eutyches (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 111). Then he was exiled and died in obscurity.

"It is difficult to be sure exactly what Eutyches taught, largely because he seems to have shifted his views under pressure. He was prepared to recognize the two natures of Christ before the incarnation but remained insistent that the incarnate Lord was one nature fashioned out of the two" (Ferguson *EEC*, p. 405).

Eutyches' followers were called Eutychians or Monophysites and the teaching ascribed to him and his followers as Eutychianism or Monophysitism (or Monophysism), from Greek μόνος "one" and φύσις "nature". Monophysism is the doctrine that in the Person of the Incarnate Christ there was but a single, and that a Divine, nature (cf. *ODCC*, ed. 2, 931).

The term monophysism, "coined very late, is vague because the assertion that Christ had only one nature was explained in various ways, compatible or incompatible with orthodoxy. The first monophysites, in the last decades of the 4th century, were Apollinaris of Laodicea and his disciples...." (M. Simonetti, in Ber. *EEC*, p. 569).

"In the second half of the 5th century, monophysism was not just widespread, but had even evolved doctrinally and split into various branches, which for convenience we may group into two main ones: real monophysism and verbal monophysism. Real monophysism maintained that the union, in Christ, of the two natures into one had come about by alteration of the component parts: some of these monophysites maintained that Christ's body had been apparent or of heavenly origin, others that his body had been absorbed by his divinity as a drop of honey dissolved in the sea, others that the divinity of the *Logos* had been annihilated in his humanity, yet others that humanity and divinity had mixed to form a composite, partly human and partly divine. All these forms of real monophysism have been labeled as Eutychianism, since **Eutyches was considered, more wrongly than rightly, as having admitted alteration of the human nature in the union**. For the same reason Eutyches was also condemned by the representatives of so-called verbal monophysism, also called Severian because its most important exponent was Severus" (*ibid.*). Others were Pope Timothy II (Aelurus), Mar Philoxenus of Mabbug and Pope Theodosius of Alexandria.

"In fact the Severians were monophysites in word, (better called

miaphysites†), in that, on the basis of the Cyrillian slogan 'one incarnate nature of God the Word', they understood Christ's nature resulting from the union as a concrete individual subsistent nature.....; on the other hand they asserted that in this nature... all the properties of humanity and divinity continued to subsist, without separation, but also without confusion and alteration, so that Christ was wholly man and wholly God in a single subject, hence consubstantial with the Father as God, and with us as man. Standing firm on the exclusive meaning that they attributed to 'nature', they admitted that Christ was derived from two natures, but not that he subsisted in two natures, as the Chalcedonians wished, since they considered this assertion as equivalent to that of two persons (*hypostases*), and therefore Nestorian. For this reason they rejected both Chalcedon and Leo's *Tome*" (*ibid.*).

I.A. The Condemnation of the Eutychian Heresy:

I.A.1. THE CONDEMNATION OF EUTYCHES AND HIS HERESY BY THE DYOPHYSITES:

I.A.1.a. At the Home Synod of Constantinople, 448 A.D.:

Eutyches was condemned for the first time at the Home Synod of Constantinople held under its bishop Flavian in 448 A.D.

This sentence, however, was revoked and Eutyches was vindicated at the Second Council of Ephesus 449 A.D. The reasons and legitimacy of his vindication at that synod will be discussed in more detail in the next two sections (under I.B. and I.C.).

I.A.1.b. At the Council of Chalcedon, 451 A.D.:

At the Council of Chalcedon, 451 A.D., Eutyches was condemned. At the third session of the council (October 10, 451), his condemnation was reaffirmed and he was exiled. He was still alive in 454 A.D. (Leo, *Letter* 134, *PL* 54:1095), and died in obscurity.

I.A.1.c. At the Later Chalcedonian Councils:

Eutyches' condemnation was repeatedly reaffirmed by the Chalcedonians in their later councils, as e.g., in the Second Council of Constantinople of 553 A.D. (Anathema XI, Percival, p. 314) and in the Third Council of Constantinople of 680-681 A.D. (in the Definition of Faith and the *Prosphoneticus* to the Emperor, Percival, pp. 344, 347).

† N.B. The appellation of "Miaphysites" is used throughout this book, as it is always used by the Oriental Orthodox Churches to express the orthodox formula of St. Cyril of Alexandria "One incarnate nature of the divine *Logos*" "μία φύσις τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένη". But in the quotations, the appellation "Monophysites" sometimes may appear to denote the "Miaphysites", hence, it should not be taken according to the misleading interpretation made intentionally or unintentionally so as to mean affirming only one of the two natures of which the union was composed, as if the so-called "Monophysites" are denying either the perfect humanity or the perfect divinity of Christ.

I.A.1.d. In the Anti-encyclical of Emperor Basiliscus (476 A.D.):

The final act of Basiliscus in the theological adventure was the Antencyclical in which he retracted his former Encyclical against Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo (see Part Two, section I.A.2.f.).

> [The Anti-encyclical was the work of Patriarch Acacius of Constantinople (472-489). "The military and political circumstances came to his aid. He himself had refused to subscribe the Encyclical. Vis-à-vis the Council of 451 itself, however, his heart was divided. As would soon become evident, he was ready to compromise on the doctrinal question. But to be able to maintain his claims to the patriarchate he did need the Council of 451. For it was against these claims that those additions were directed which the longer version of the Encyclical exhibits, namely the emphasis on the Canons of Nicaea (Canon 6 of Nicaea [325]) and various references to the long-established order which was threatened by Canon 28 of Chalcedon and by that Council in general. If and when the longer version of the Encyclical was seen by the Patriarch of Constantinople cannot be decided. In itself the original form of the Encyclical was sufficient to reveal to him its danger for his claims. In any case Acacius could realize from the proceedings in Ephesus what was in store for him. It is likely that he already knew Basiliscus' intention of making Theopompus patriarch in his stead. Theopompus was a member of the Alexandrian delegation and brother of the Emperor's personal physician, Theoctistus" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 243, referring to Zacharias Rh., *HE* V 1: Brooks 1: *CSCO* 87, 145, 22-24; Hamilton-Brooks 103-5; on the whole matter see W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* 169-174).
>
> When Zeno advanced against Constantinople with his army in 476, Basiliscus was frightened, "and shamefully published an *Anti-encyclical* formally cancelling the *Encyclical*" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 197)].

Acacius, the patriarch of Constantinople acted quickly. "Basiliscus capitulated: a new counter-encyclical, described in childishly emphatic terms as 'a sacred edict', reaffirmed the rights of the patriarch, **denounced Nestorius and Eutyches 'and every other heresy'**, repudiated the idea of a new council but made no reference to Chalcedon" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 173).

Grillmeier also writes: **In the Antencyclical "was expressed the condemnation of Nestorius and Eutyches and all their supporters, which met the wishes of the friends and foes of Chalcedon alike.** Furthermore, no new synod was to be summoned nor was any further investigation to be carried out. The plans of Timothy Aelurus for another council which were feared equally by Constantinople and Rome were thus rejected. The privileges of his see, which had not been exercised for very long, were guaranteed to Acacius; he understood these in the sense of Canon 3 of 381 and Canon 28 of 451, not that reference was made to these canons. The usurper explained that the *status quo* prior to the Encyclical was to be restored. Significantly, there is no talk of the doctrine of Chalcedon. What mattered to the Patriarch was the practical recognition of Canon 28" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 244).

[Allen (*Evagrius*, pp. 126-127) comments on the Antencyclical saying:

"**In fact, the decree contained no mention of Chalcedon at all; Nestorius and Eutyches were anathematized, and the supremacy of the Constantinopolitan see was reestablished, but no more.** In addition, its final sentence, preserved in the text of the Codex Vaticanus gr. 1431 but not in Evagrius' *HE*, **leaves doctrinal allegiance up to the individual. Schwartz suggests that the text of the Codex is the genuine one, on the grounds that Acacius, who was behind the publication of the Antencyclical, was no champion of Chalcedon, and this must be right**. Acacius was content with the restoration of power to his see. Furthermore, the *Henoticon*, also his brainchild, shows no interest in upholding the faith of 451. But if Zachariah understood the Antencyclical in a pro-Chalcedonian sense, then he was not alone. The same was certainly the impression of John Rufus, bishop of Maiuma, the port of Gaza, who, writing during the reign of Anastasius, saw the Antencyclical as the revitalization of the perverted faith of Chalcedon. The monophysite John of Nikiu in the seventh century paraphrased the Antencyclical: 'Suffer the Chalcedonians to abide in their faith, and show them due regard' (ch. 88. 34, p. 112)."

"The Antencyclical, then, as preserved in its true form in Schwartz' Codex, left the question of doctrinal allegiance open, yet the fact that it nullified the anathema on Chalcedon gave the monophysites to understand it as a pro-Chalcedonian document. Consequently Zachariah excluded the text of the edict from his *HE*. Evagrius' incomplete text, derived from a polemical Chalcedonian tradition, gives him a similar understanding of the Antencyclical. When and by whom the genuine text of the document was falsified, is, of course, impossible to determine. In the rabid controversy over the council of Chalcedon, in which written symbols, decrees, and documents played so important a part, forgery and textual tampering were not uncommon" (Allen, *Evagrius*, p. 127).]

Basiliscus trusted in the protection of the Church, but was handed over by the patriarch to Zeno after his return to the capital with his guards' connivance. Basiliscus was then "transferred, with his wife and son to Cappadocia, where he died of hunger in prison" (J. Irmscher in Ber. *EEC*, p. 113). His wife and children were imprisoned with him and left to face with him the same horrible death (Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* IX. 5, Ar. trans. vol. 2, p. 23).

I.A.1.e. During the Reign of Emperor Anastasius I Some Chalcedonians Considered Chalcedon Only as Anathema Against Nestorius and Eutyches:

Emperor Anastasius I (491-518) produced his *Typus* sometime between the Councils of Antioch (509) and Sidon (511), which was composed by the monk St. Severus on the instruction of the Emperor (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 275 & n. 140). The Emperor sent the zealous monk St. Severus "to the *magister militum*, Patricius, for the purpose of meeting there Bishop John of Claudiopolis in Isauria, as Severus himself reports in a letter (*to Bishop Constantine*: *SL* I.1, Brooks II, 4-5). "Apparently the *Typus*, 'the formula of satisfaction', had already been composed before this meeting. **The Isaurian bishop then tried to**

introduce a compromise proposal as a 'statement' into the *Typus*, but according to Severus this was equivalent to emptying the *Typus* of meaning. The proposal—made in the sense of Flavian of Antioch—was **to make a partial acceptance of Chalcedon possible, this being negative in character, viz. the rejection of Nestorius and Eutyches**; at the same time the terminological and conceptual innovation of the Council was to be bracketed and got around:"

"**'We receive the synod at Chalcedon, not as a definition of faith, but as a rejection of Nestorius and of Eutyches'**. Thus both those that are pleased with the Synod will not be angry, and you [Severus and his supporters] will receive contentment in that the doctrines which offend you are rejected" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 276, quoting St. Severus, *op. cit.*, 5.1-6...etc.).

"The attempt foundered on the resoluteness of Severus who discovered a **logical contradiction** in it:"

"If the Synod of Chalcedon introduced the doctrine of Nestorius into the churches... how can we say that it rejected the opinion of Nestorius? But, if the formula of satisfaction [= the *Typus*] in so many words rejects the doctrines of the Synod and the impious *Tome* of Leo, which are the life blood of the abomination of Nestorius, how can we honestly say that we accept this synod as against Nestorius?" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-277 & n. 149, quoting St. Severus: *SL* I.1. Brooks II:5, II:10-19, and adding: **"Even the condemnation of Eutyches rests on the Nestorianism of Chalcedon"**).

"In the eyes of Severus Chalcedon is essentially 'Nestorianism'. Thus there is no division in the acceptance or rejection of the Synod respectively. **Severus viewed the defenders of Chalcedon fundamentally as people who wanted to drive out the devil of Eutychianism with the Beelzebul of Nestorianism"** (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 277).

During the reign of Emperor Anastasius I the anti-Chalcedonian Orthodox Miaphysite bishops were occupying the main bishopric sees in the East, namely Pope John II at Alexandria (505-516), St. Severus at Antioch (512-518), Timothy I at Constantinople (511-518) who succeeded the Chalcedonian Macedonius II, and perhaps John III at Jerusalem (516-524) who succeeded the Chalcedonian Elias after the governor of Palestine ejected him from his see (516) [but John capitulated, see Part One under section III.B.3.]. "Indeed, at this time **the Chalcedonians** were so dismayed that **some of them were prepared to accept the Synod and the *Tome*, 'not as a definition of faith, nor as a symbol, nor as an interpretation, but only as an anathema against Nestorius and Eutyches'"** (Sellers, p. 282).

"**Thus a body of Chalcedonians** met (between 515 and 518) at Alexandretta in Cilicia Secunda and, **in a letter to the Emperor, expressed their readiness to regard Chalcedon only as anathematizing Nestorius and Eutyches**. See Philoxenus, *Ep. ad Maron.* (ed. Lebon, *op. cit.*, pp. 60, 66f.). The same attitude was adopted by certain bishops at Constantinople, according to the letter of Severus to Theotecnus the archiatros (Brooks, *Select Letters*, pp. 83f.). And in their letter to Alcison, the monks of Palestine tell how Flavian of Antioch had tried to satisfy Philoxenus with a similar confession (Evagrius, *HE* iii. 31)" (Sellers, n. 3 on pp. 282-283).

I.A.2. THE CONDEMNATION OF EUTYCHES AND HIS HERESY BY THE ANTI-CHALCEDONIAN ORTHODOX MIAPHYSITE FATHERS AND COUNCILS:

I.A.2.a. The Conditional Condemnation of Eutyches and His Heresy by St. Dioscorus Pope of Alexandria:

It is significant that at the first session of the Council of Chalcedon, St. Dioscorus Pope of Alexandria condemned Eutyches, though he did so conditionally, saying: "If Eutyches holds opinions contrary to the doctrine of the church, he deserves not only punishment but hell fire. For my concern is for the catholic and apostolic faith and not for any human being. My mind is fixed on the Godhead, and I do not look to any person nor care about anything except my soul and the true and pure faith" (Chalcedon, the first session, parag 168, in *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 159; see Sellers, p. 60, n. 1). V.C. Samuel, on the other hand, believes that "the words of Dioscorus cannot have been meant to offer a 'conditional anathema' against Eutyches, as Sellers observes (p. 60, n. 1), but to call in question the propriety of the procedure adopted by the council" (Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 51).

I.A.2.b. The Condemnation of Eutyches by Hieracus of Aphnaeum Speaking on Behalf of Thirteen Egyptian Bishops at the Council of Chalcedon:

Hieracus bishop of Aphnaeum in Augustamnica Prima (in the North-West of Sinai), "speaking for all the thirteen Egyptian bishops, after submitting their confession of faith to the Emperor which was read at Chalcedon, had replied: 'Whether it is Eutyches or any other, if anyone teaches contrary to what we have indicated, let him be anathema' (Mansi vii, p. 56)—though, it should be noted, theirs was only a conditional anathema—against the archimandrite, Eutyches. But they refused to accept either Leo's *Tome* or the deposition of Dioscorus" (Sellers, p. 114 & n. 5; see fourth session of Chalcedon, parag. 31 in *ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 149-150). But eventually they pronounced anathema against Eutyches, (parag. 42: "The most devout bishops of Egypt exclaimed: 'Anathema to Eutyches and to those who give credence to him'" (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 150), and insisted on not signing acceptance of either Leo's *Tome* or the deposition of St. Dioscorus (*ibid.*, pp. 150-153, session four, paragraphs 43-62).

I.A.2.c. St. Theodosius Archbishop of Jerusalem Condemned the Eutychian John the Rhetorician of Alexandria:

The traitor Juvenal was replaced as a bishop of Jerusalem by the monk St. Theodosius who was elected and consecrated patriarch of Jerusalem (451-457). "The new patriarch began installing his own bishops to replace the traitors returning from Chalcedon. Still, when Eutyches passed through Palestine on his way to an unknown place of exile, the bishops and monks had nothing to do with him. Their objections to Chalcedon were not centered on the condemnation of Eutyches but on the apparent failure of the Council to accept the full Cyrillian theological program" (Davis, *FSEC*, pp. 194-195).

At the time of Proterius the intruder Chalcedonian patriarch of Alexandria (451-457), John the Alexandrian Rhetor published under the name of St. Theodosius Archbishop

of Jerusalem and St. Peter the Iberian bishop of Maiuma books which "spread extreme teachings that meant a denial of the true incarnation through Mary. This is reported in Zacharias Rh., *HE* III 10: *CSCO* 83, pp. 163,1-164,19; 87, pp. 112,5-113,4; Ahrens-Krüger, pp. 17-18. Cf. L. Perrone, *La chiesa di Palestina*, 115-16. He refers to Severus of Antioch, *SL* V 6, p. 315, who repeats in intensified form the teachings of John the Rhetor: '...John the Rhetor, who said that it was in His essence that the Word of God endured the saving cross and took upon Himself the passion on our behalf, and would not consent to call the one Lord and our God and Saviour Jesus Christ of one essence with us in the flesh'....." (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 18, n. 52).

Thus St. Theodosius of Jerusalem (*c.* 454) "attacked John the Rhetorician for introducing into the monasteries of Syria and Palestine tracts containing the Eutychian doctrine" (*The Syriac Chronicle*, iii, 9, 10; Sellers, p. 271, note 1).

I.A.2.d. St. Peter the Iberian Bishop of Maiuma Condemns the Eutychian Theories of John the Rhetor:

> [St. Peter the Iberian (*c.* 413-491), a native of Georgia (Iberia), son of King Bosmyrios, was taken at age twelve to become a political hostage at the court of emperor Theodosius II (*c.* 425). After several years he adopted an ascetic life style, fled to Jerusalem and was ordained priest and founded the first Georgian monastery at Jerusalem. He was consecrated bishop of Maiuma near Gaza by St. Theodosius, the anti-Chalcedonian Archbishop of Jerusalem (*c.* 452), and was exiled to Egypt in 453, where he later helped to consecrate St. Timothy II (Aeol.) archbishop of Alexandria in 457 (Ferguson, *EEC*, p. 907; Ber. *EEC*, p. 679.]

St. Peter the Iberian was an ardent anti-Chalcedonian and equally anti-Eutychian, and anathematized John the Rhetorician of Alexandria, who wrote his Eutychian theories in works under St. Peter's name (*The Syriac Chronicle*, Bk. 3, chap. 10; Torrance, p. 24, n. 69; Ber. *EEC*, p. 679).

I.A.2.e. St. Timothy II, Pope of Alexandria Condemns the Eutychians:

The successor of St. Dioscorus, Pope Timothy II (457-477 A.D.), whose enemies called Aelurus (Gk. Αἴλουρος 'cat' or 'weasel'), rejected the *second Tome* of Pope Leo of Rome which was written in 458 and forwarded to him by Emperor Leo I (457-474). Pope Timothy of Alexandria was ready to condemn Eutychianism "but in company also with the *Tome* and Chalcedon ('The Fathers had never spoken of persons, properties or natures in the Incarnate Christ')..... At the end of 459 (Pope) Timothy was arrested and taken by slow progress which sometimes resembled a triumph through Syria and Asia to Dioscorus' place of exile at Gangra on the Black Sea. Even then negotiations with him were not dropped" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 163).

St. Timothy emphasizes in one of his letters "how the emperor had specially summoned him from exile 'to offer advice on the tumultuous problems of the church'..." (Davis, *ECP*, p. 90 quoting in n. 26 on p. 219 St. Timothy Ael., *Letter to Claudianus the Priest*; fol. 36b; ed.

& trans. R.Y. Ebied and L.R. Wickham, "A Collection of Unpublished Syriac Letters" (*JTS* 21 (1970), 346 [text] and 369 [trans.]).

"Rumours of Timothy's arrival in the capital for more negotiations early in 460 alarmed Leo: *Ep.* 170. E. Schwartz [Codex Vaticanus graecus 1431, ...] believes that the Emperor did grant him a final interview before committing him to exile at Gangra" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 163, n. 4).

Pope Timothy stood firm "and four years later was removed further off, to Cherson in the Crimea. In Alexandria...Timothy surnamed Salofaciolus or White Turban, or more probably 'Wobble-cap', was consecrated patriarch (spring of 460). He was a conciliatory character. Dioscorus' name was restored to the diptychs despite Pope Leo's protest, but for all his efforts the mass of the Egyptian Christians regarded the other Timothy as their bishop..... Pope Leo died on 10 November 461, his objectives unfulfilled" (*ibid.*, pp. 163-164).

St. Timothy II Pope of Alexandria "insisted on the doctrine of the double consubstantiality, and from his exile he had written not only against the Chalcedonians, but also against the Eutychians. But even this he did with toleration and restraint: he waited four years before exposing by name the Eutychian Isaiah of Hermopolis and Theophilus of Alexandria" (*The Syriac Chronicle*, Bk. 4, chap. 12; Torrance p. 9).

This happened as follows: "From Gangra, the first place of Timothy's exile, he wrote a letter to Constantinople, where two Egyptians – Isaiah, bishop of Hermopolis....., and the presbyter Theophilus (of an unknown Theophilus church in Alexandria) – were spreading their errors and misusing Timothy's name for their own purposes" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 18 & n. 52 referring to St. Timothy Ael., *Ep. ad Constantinopolitanos* [*CPG* 5476]: Ebied-Wickham, 351-57 [trans.]: "The Letter written to the city of Constantinople... against the heretics who do not confess that God the Word who is consubstantial in his Godhead with the Father, is consubstantial in flesh with us, and against those who talk of 'two natures'"....).

"Isaiah and Theophilus travelled to Constantinople, apparently in order to make contact with the Eutychian group. This can be assumed from the title of the named letter in Zacharias the Rhetor (*HE* IV 12). This writing is also directed against the 'Eutychians'. The testimonies of many fathers are included in order to explain the true doctrine of the incarnation:"

"I have written this upon hearing that certain persons are opposed to obeying the tradition of the holy fathers who taught Christ's fleshly consubstantiality with us. Such persons the fathers also anathematized. For we believe, in accordance with the tradition of the fathers, that our Lord Jesus Christ was consubstantial in flesh with us...and one with his own flesh" (Timothy Ael., *Ep. ad Constantinopolitanos*, [*CPG* 5476]: Ebied-Wickham, p. 352, as quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 19). This letter was sent around 460 A.D. (Sellers, p. 271, n. 1).

"The concern about the continued existence of Eutychianism is also the main tenor of the second letter, which went from Gangra to Alexandria. The excommunication of Isaiah and Theophilus was due. The two had even threatened the bearer of Timothy's first letter in Constantinople and stirred up the people with the assertion that it was a forgery. A letter (not extant) tried to move the two stubborn men to repentance:"

"I promised that if they refrained from heterodoxy and confessed that our Lord was consubstantial in flesh with us and that he was not of a different nature, I would maintain them in their former honour [position] and would grasp them with the same love [as before]" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 19 quoting in n. 56. Timothy Ael., *Ep. ad Alexandrinos* [*CPG* 5477]: Ebied-Wickham, p. 358. For four years Timothy waited with the excommunication, although his second [lost] letter bore no fruit either).

Now St. Timothy II (Ael.) sent from his exile to the Church of Alexandria the declaration of excommunication of the two:

"...to inform everyone, naming the above mentioned Isaiah and Theophilus as persons who, by asserting that our Lord and God Jesus Christ is of an alien nature from us and that he was not consubstantial in flesh with men and that he was not really human, have alienated themselves from communion with the holy fathers and with me and give warning that no man henceforth should hold communion with them" (*ibid.*: Ebied-Wickham, p. 359, as quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 20).

"The noticeable concern about the spread of Eutychianism also moves Timothy in letters V and VI. Letter V is still written from Gangra and goes to Palestine. It expands the picture of the spread of Eutychian or even Manichaean views. Previously Constantinople and Alexandria were more prominent as the centres of these heresies:"

"Inasmuch as I have heard that Palestine is full of schisms arising out of the teaching of many roving antichrists, who confess neither that our Lord was truly made man while remaining also God, nor that the unchangeable God the Word was consubstantial with us and of the same fleshly stock as us, by divine providence, and inasmuch as I have heard, while in exile for Christ's sake, of their dreadful blasphemies, which I did not even venture to commit to writing, I exhort you, dear friends, to be diligent, in so far as you are able, in saving those who are seduced" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 & 21, quoting Timothy Ael., *Ep. ad Faustin. diac.* (*CPG* 5480): Ebied-Wickham, p. 365. Cf. also p. 331).

"Letter VI is supposed to have been written from the Chersonese, if we may believe the heading, but this is not otherwise confirmed in the letter. Again, it is against the Eutychians. Where they are to be found cannot be determined,... But at work around them are dogs and 'enemies of the cross of Christ' (*Philippians* 1:27-30), who harm the flock of Christ no less than the Diphysites. The Antichrist is at work in them."

"These antichrists neither acknowledge that Jesus Christ has come into the world in human flesh, nor believe that God the Word became man while remaining God unchanged. Their heresy is an ancient and many-headed monster, which gained confidence from the wicked Synod of the Nestorians at Chalcedon. Some of them say that our Lord's incarnation was illusion, imagination and unreal" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 21, quoting Timothy Ael., *Ep. ad Claudian. presb.* [*CPG* 5481]: Ebied-Wickham, p. 367 [fol. 36^{a}]).

"Thus this is a question of Docetic groups... From these 'Docetists' he distinguishes yet another group which he censures as worldly and uneducated; nevertheless, they think themselves wiser than the holy fathers and thus have become true fools:"

"For they are now preaching the evil doctrines of the Phantasiasts' heresy (things which the followers of the blessed Athanasius, Julius, the older Gregory and Cyril anathematized) by saying that the body of our Lord and God Jesus Christ is uncreated, that body which was constituted of created manhood. They are asserting that God the Word was not ineffably

incarnate from the Virgin, Mother of God, sharing blood and flesh in our likeness – so as to be made wholly like us, sin excepted [cf. *Hebrews* 2:17 and 4:15], and so that in becoming truly man, he could be seen by earthly men revealed in human flesh for our salvation, and so that 'he should also suffer in the flesh for our sake', according to the divine Scriptures [*1Peter* 4:1]..."

"[Timothy's opponents say: Christ's body is uncreated, not really human and not consubstantial with Mary and with us, his brothers. But Timothy says:] Was he not consubstantial with the holy Virgin and with us by the providence of God, while remaining immutable God and consubstantial with the Father, not to be divided or separated into two natures, essences, *hypostases*, or persons?... Whoever refuses to confess that our Lord's flesh is created, and that it was of created manhood must needs blaspheme with the Arians..." (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22, quoting St. Timothy Ael., *Ep. ad Claud. presb.*: Ebied-Wickham, pp. 367-368 [fol. 36ª]).

I.A.2.f. The Encyclical of Basiliscus Anathematizes Teachings Similar to Those Attributed to the Eutychians:

Emperor Basiliscus (January 475-August 476), on his accession to the throne published his *Encyclical*, which was drafted by St. Timothy II Pope of Alexandria and St. Peter the Fuller Patriarch of Antioch, in which he declared that "the *Tome* of Leo and all the things said and done at Chalcedon in innovation of the holy Symbol of the Three Hundred and Eighteen holy Fathers" should everywhere be anathematized (see Sellers, p. 275 & n. 1). It anathematizes also the heresy of those who do not confess that the only begotten Son of God was truly incarnate and made man. This anathema does not mention Eutyches or the Eutychians by name, since it covers in its details a wider range of heretical groups among whom the Eutychians are surely intended. The anathema is pronounced "against any who taught that the Lord's body was according to that strange conceit, either from heaven or in mere phantasy and seeming' (Evagrius *HE* iii, 4) – though such crude Docetism could hardly have been upheld by these Eutychianists" (Sellers, p. 283, note 4).

The short text of the Encyclical of Basiliscus as quoted by Evagrius (*HE* iii:4) was published in an English translation by Kidd (*Documents*, vol. II, pp. 327-330), from which we quote the following paragraphs:

"...But the proceedings which have disturbed the unity and order of the holy churches of God and the peace of the whole world, that is to say, the so-called *Tome* of Leo, and all things said and done at Chalcedon in innovation upon the before-mentioned holy symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers, whether by way of definition of faith, or setting forth of symbols, or of interpretation, or instruction, or discourse; we ordain that these shall be anathematized both here and everywhere by the most holy bishops in every church, and shall be committed to the flames whenever they shall be found, inasmuch as it was so enjoined respecting all heretical doctrines by our predecessors, of pious and blessed memory, Constantine and Theodosius the younger..."

"....**no one, in short, either of the priesthood or of the laity, shall be allowed to deviate from that most sacred constitution of the holy symbol; and that together with all the innovations upon the sacred symbol which**

were enacted at Chalcedon there be also anathematized the heresy of those who do not confess that the only begotten Son of God was truly incarnate, and made man of the Holy Spirit, and of the holy and every-virgin Mary, Mother of God, but, according to their strange conceit, either from heaven or in mere phantasy and seeming; and, in short, every heresy, and whatever other innovation,....."

"We ordain that the most holy bishops in every place shall subscribe to this our Sacred Circular Epistle when exhibited to them, as a distinct declaration that they are indeed ruled by the sacred symbol of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers alone—which the hundred and fifty holy Fathers confirmed; as it was also defined by the most holy Fathers who subsequently assembled in the Metropolitan city of the Ephesians, that the sacred symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers ought to be the only rule—while they anathematize every stumbling block erected at Chalcedon to the faith of the orthodox people and utterly eject them from the churches, as an impediment to the general happiness and our own..." (Kidd, *Documents*, vol. II, pp. 328-329).

"The encyclical based itself on the theology of Cyril and Dioscorus while castigating Nestorianism and Eutychianism impartially. In the text preserved by Zacharias the teaching of 'the chief priests Celestine, Cyril and Dioscorus' was praised, and thus it was not directed against the see of Peter as such. On the other hand, the encyclical was ambiguous about the rights of the capital. The doctrinal canons of Constantinople were indeed confirmed, and explicitly that relating to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, but the disciplinary canon (canon 3) regulating the position of New Rome as a see was passed over in silence" (Frend, *RMM*, pp. 170-171).

It is understandable, according to the pro-Chalcedonian sources, that **500 bishops** subscribed the imperial Encyclical (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 242 & n. 16, referring to Evagrius, *HE* III.5: Bidez-Parmentier 104, 29: **'about 500'**). It seems that many more bishopric subscriptions came later, since the anti-Chalcedonian sources put the number of bishops at **seven hundred** (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 242, n. 16 referring to F. Nau, 'Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Eglise Nestorienne', *PO* 13, 166, where a text from BM Add. 12.155, f. 108^{rv} with an indication of the supporters of the Encyclical is given: '...with Timothy, Peter of Antioch, Paul of Ephesus, Anastasius of Jerusalem and all the bishops of their regions who, as the report has it, were **700**, united in the true faith which was in the Encyclical'. The same names with the same number are found in Zacharias Rh., *HE* V 2: Hamilton-Brooks 107; see further Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* IX 5: Chabot II, 145-146).

"The anti-Chalcedonian movement, with Paul of Ephesus and the bishops who subscribed, had conquered such a wide area that it could already credit itself with the majority of the sees in the East. This happened within the framework of the imperial Church system, even indeed with its help" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 242).

"...the patriarchates of Alexandria, Jerusalem and Antioch were in anti-Chalcedonian hands. The encyclical also commanded wide popular support" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 173, adding in n. 4: In a 'trial by ordeal' held in Pamphylia between rival groups of monks, John Rufus

reports how the *Tome* of Leo and the Chalcedonian Definition were burnt up while the encyclical emerged from the fire undamaged. It was regarded as 'divine'. John Rufus, *Plerophoria* 46 [ed. Nau, p. 98]).

I.A.2.g. St. Timothy II of Alexandria Stands Firm in His Debate and Struggle Against the Eutychian Monks at Constantinople:

"After seventeen years in exile Timothy the Cat (Aelurus) was recalled from Cherson and Peter the Fuller was allowed out of his monastery to proceed to Antioch once more. Alexandrian seamen paraded their leader through the streets of Constantinople riding in triumph towards the 'Great church' (later Sancta Sophia) on an ass, as though he was the Lord himself. Basiliscus went out to greet him, and so did the populace of the capital" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 170, quoting in n. 3: Zacharias Rhetor, *HE* V. 1; Theophanes, *Chron.* A.M. 5967 [ed. Classen, I, 187]; Theodore Lector, *HE* I.30...).

"Basiliscus was now committed to supporting both Timothy the Cat and Peter the Fuller. His patriarch, Acacius, was in two minds. On the one hand, as a presbyter of Anatolius he disliked the teaching of the *Tome* and Chalcedon and sympathized with the outlook of Timothy the Cat. On the other hand, he was as determined as his predecessors had been to uphold the rights of his see against all comers" (*ibid.*), "as the anti-Chalcedonians said, he cared more for the preservation of the honours granted to his see than for the establishment of the true belief" (Sellers, p. 275).

It was "on 9 April 475" that Basiliscus published his "important encyclical addressed 'to all cities and people throughout the empire', though in the first instance to Timothy, in which he outlined his religious policy.... Bishops were called upon to sign and dissident clergy were threatened with banishment" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 170).

"Acacius refused to sign the encyclical, and after accepting Timothy as a guest in his city closed the churches to him, while pro-Chalcedonian monks barred his entry to the 'Great Church'. On the other hand, Timothy disappointed the Eutychian element among the monks, stating his view that the humanity of Christ was in all respects similar to our own'" (*ibid.*, p. 171, quoting in n. 3 Zacharias Rhetor, *HE* V:4. And adding: "Clearly the Eutychians had been moving to the position of holding that the divine nature of Christ had wholly absorbed the human and that Christ's flesh was entirely 'heavenly'. Timothy reproached them for failing to accept that 'Emmanuel is, by the flesh, consubstantial with the Blessed Virgin, *Theotokus*, who has born Emmanuel' [Lebon, 'Timothée', p. 686]."...).

Grillmeier gives more details from "Zacharias Rh., *HE* V 4: Hamilton-Brooks, p. 109: 'When the purport of the king's Encyclical letters became generally known, certain monks holding opinions similar to those of Eutyches, who happened to be in the Royal City, came in a body to Timothy, supposing him to be of their way of thinking, and disputed with him about the terms of the Encyclical; because it anathematized everyone who affirmed that Christ was incarnate in semblance. But when he said to them, "What then is your opinion respecting the Incarnation?" then they brought up to him the illustration of the signet-ring which, after the impression, leaves no part of its substance upon the wax or the clay.' Where these monks came from is not said; in any case, from the continuation we can gather that it was not from Alexandria (p. 110): "Then

Timothy, having learned by the whole tenor of the conversation of those who came to him what their mind was, made a written statement, declaring that Christ was like unto us in everything belonging to humanity. Whereupon the monks of the place separated themselves from him, saying, 'We will have no communion with the Alexandrians.' But the others, having discovered that he had no tendency to the Eutychian doctrine, attached themselves to him." The disappointed group of Eutychians then sought through Zenonis, the wife of Basiliscus, to have Timothy again deposed and banished'" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, n. 53 on pp. 18-19). "Zenonis also disapproved his sentiments and amid growing disenchantment Timothy left for Ephesus, where further triumph awaited him. He was determined to put the clock back a quarter of a century. **The synod, allegedly of 600 bishops, which he held there repudiated Chalcedon 'as having turned the world upside down', and restored Ephesus to patriarchal dignity**" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 171 referring to Evagrius, *HE* iii.5; Zacharias Rhetor, *HE* V.3).

I.A.2.h. The Third Council of Ephesus, 476 A.D., Thankfully Requested the Emperor Basiliscus to Stand Firm in His Condemnation of the *Tome* of Leo, the Council of Chalcedon and the Heresy of Those Who Do Not Confess that the Son of God was Truly Incarnate and Became Man (Including the Eutychianists):

It was St. Cyril Pope of Alexandria who presided over the Ecumenical first Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D., and his successor St. Dioscorus Pope of Alexandria who presided over the Second Council of Ephesus, 449 A.D., and now their successor St. Timothy II, like his predecessors, proceeds to preside over the Third Council of Ephesus, 476 A.D. **"The host of 700 bishops gathered around Timothy in Ephesus"** (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 20 n. 60, referring to Zacharias Rh., *HE* V:3, *CSCO* 87, pp. 148-149; Hamilton-Brooks, p. 107). **The Encyclical was already signed before by 700 bishops.**

Having reached Ephesus, St. Timothy II of Alexandria and St. Peter the Fuller of Antioch assembled a large number of bishops of Asia and other places, to the total of **around six hundred bishops** (see Zacharias Rhetor, *HE*, V:3; Evagrius, *HE*, III:5, and Frend, *RMM*, p. 171 & n. 4; see also Michael the Syrian IX, 5: Chabot II, 145-146, Ar. trans. vol. II, p. 23).

The Council repudiated Chalcedon "as having turned the world upside down" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 171). "Chalcedon, it was declared, had caused deaths and slaughters and the blood of the orthodox, and should remain condemned" (Evagrius *Historia ecclesiastica* 3.5, as quoted by Frend in *Cop. E*, vol. 3, p. 962).

In their petition, the Fathers of the Third Council of Ephesus (476) expressed their gratitude to Emperor Basiliscus, requesting him "to stand firm in his condemnation of the *Tome* of Pope Leo the Great and the Council of Chalcedon as set out in the encyclical published the previous year" (Frend in *Cop. E*, vol. 3, p. 962).

That Encyclical of Basiliscus, which was signed by 700 bishops, anathematizes also "the heresy of those who do not confess that the only begotten Son of God was truly incarnate, and made man of the Holy Spirit, and of the holy and ever-virgin Mary, Mother of God, but, according to their

strange conceit, either from heaven or in mere phantasy and seeming; and, in short, every heresy, and whatever other innovation" (Kidd, *Documents*, vol. II, p. 329). This anathema covers a wider range of heretical groups among whom the Eutychians are surely intended.

Again in their petition to the Emperor (see the text in Evagrius, *HE*, iii:5), the bishops "say: 'We have anathematized and do anathematize the *Tome* of Leo and the decrees of Chalcedon, which have been the cause of much blood-shedding and confusion, and tumult, and division and strifes in all the world. For we are satisfied with the doctrine and faith of the Apostles and the holy Fathers, the Three Hundred and Eighteen; to which also the illustrious Council of the One Hundred and Fifty in the royal city, and the two other holy Synods at Ephesus adhered, and which they confirmed.' Such was the Emperor's zeal for the Nicene faith, they declared, that he [i.e. Basiliscus] made the Three Hundred and Nineteenth!" (Sellers, p. 275, n. 1).

Moreover, the Council "excommunicated Acacius and (against Canon xxviii of Chalcedon) solemnly recognized the autonomy of Ephesus, restoring to Bishop Paul the former rights of the see" (Sellers, p. 275, n. 1). It restored Ephesus to patriarchal dignity, meaning the right to consecrate the bishops of the province of Asia (Frend, *RMM*, p. 171 & *Cop. E*, vol. 3, p. 962).

[Ephesus was one of the most important episcopal sees of the East. One of the best-known "Pauline cities" (cf. *Acts* 18 and 19), held to be the home of the aged St. John. "Traditionally, Ephesus 'led the bishops of Asia' (Eusebius, *HE* V.24.1) and Bishop Polycrates (*ibid.* V.24.4) claimed that John the beloved disciple was buried there" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 7, n. 2). "(A church was erected on the supposed site of his tomb in the time of Justinian), it was one of the 'seven churches' of the Apocalypse..... With the creation by Diocletian – of the diocesse of Asia, of which it was capital, it exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the diocese's 11 provinces, a jurisdiction recognized by the councils of Nicaea (can. 6) and Constantinople (can. 2)" (Ber. *EEC*, p. 275), "and with the growing authority of Constantinople, its claims to special prerogatives were increasingly challenged. In 400 John Chrysostom seems to have regarded Ephesus as having some rights over churches throughout Asia Minor, but he accepted an appeal by the church at Ephesus itself to settle a disputed episcopal election, and previously he had deposed six bishops from Asia for various offences, with the agreement of an insipient Home Synod assembled in the capital (Palladius, *Dial.* chs. 13 and 14). Nestorius' intervention in the affairs of Ephesus provoked great resentment" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 7, n. 2).

"Ephesus had claimed primatial status over the churches in the provinces of Asia Minor. This had contributed to the hostility of its bishop towards the patriarchs of Constantinople in the two previous councils held there in 431 and 449, but at the twelfth session of the Council of Chalcedon the bishops were confronted with the spectacle of rival bishops of Ephesus." (For details see *ibid.*, pp. 7, 8 & notes).

At the end, the Council of Chalcedon in its 28th canon "assigned to the patriarch of Constantinople not only the right of consecrating the metropolitans of Asia (which included Ephesus), Pontus, Thrace and 'bishops in lands held by barbarians', but also

'primacy of honour after the bishop of Rome because that Constantinople is new Rome'" (*ibid.*, p. 8).

Against Chalcedon's decision in its 28th canon, the Fathers of the Third Council of Ephesus (476 A.D.), solemnly recognized the autonomy of Ephesus defining its rights as "τὸν πατριαρχικὸν δίκαιον" (*ibid.*, p. 7, n. 2, referring to Evagrius, *HE* III.6, ed. Bidez and Parmentier, p. 106).]

In the petition submitted to the Emperor "The council also asked Basiliscus to confirm its deposition of Acacius, the patriarch of Constantinople (471-489), and, in addition, to emphasize its opposition to the policy of the see of Constantinople" (Frend in *Cop. E*, vol. 3, p. 962).

"...We may note, too, that 'by the King's command', the bones of Dioscorus were now brought back from Gangra; and he was 'buried in the place of the bishops, and honoured as a confessor'... See esp. Evagrius, *HE*, II. 17, iii. 1-6; *Chron. Z.M.* v. 1-4" (Sellers, p. 275, n. 1).

"The vision of the unity of the Empire on an anti-Chalcedonian basis seemed to be within attainable reach—at least for the greater part of the East, for Asia, Syria and Palestine, but particularly for Egypt. The West was only brought into play when this became necessary for the interests of Acacius. The utmost joy at the new situation prevailed in Palestine and Egypt. A new synod was to be summoned in Jerusalem" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 245).

John Rufus the biographer of St. Peter the Iberian describes the feelings during this period "as 'a feast of gladness and spiritual joy possessed the souls of the God-fearing', and that in Palestine and Egypt there was a feeling of relief" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 173, quoting John Rufus, *Vita Petri Iberi* [ed. Raabe], pp. 76-77).

"... On the summoning of a new council in Jerusalem: according to the *Chronicle* of John of Nikiu, 88, 33 (translation Charles 112; Zotenberg (French) 478) Basiliscus himself had promised Timothy Aelurus to summon a council in Jerusalem, but did not keep this promise. Zacharias Rh., *HE* V 5: Brooks I: *CSCO* 87, 151, 28-31: Acacius learnt that the Synod of Jerusalem was directed against him. Cf. Michael Syr., *Chron.*: Chabot II 146" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 245, n. 28).

"The final act in the theological adventure was the Antencyclical, in which Basiliscus retracted the Encyclical. In this was expressed **the condemnation of Nestorius and Eutyches and all their supporters**, which met the wishes of the friends and foes of Chalcedon alike. Furthermore, no new synod was to be summoned nor was any further investigation to be carried out. The plans of Timothy Aelurus for another council which were feared equally by Constantinople and Rome were thus rejected. The privileges of his see, which had not been exercised for very long, were guaranteed to Acacius" (*ibid.*, p. 244).

St. Timothy (Aelurus) "had entered Alexandria to tumultuous scenes of triumph. 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord' (*Matthew* 21:9), the crowds had chanted. His rival, Timothy Wobble-Cap, had been sent back to his monastery with a pension of one denarius a day – enough for a monk, it was thought" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 173, quoting Zacharias Rhetor, *HE* V.4 ed. Brooks, *CSCO* III.5, p. 150).

Whatever else might happen, St. Timothy was immovable in the hearts of the people of Alexandria. Basiliscus' recantation did him no good (*ibid.*).

"By the end of August 476 Zeno was back in his capital. On 17 December an edict abrogated the usurper's acts and restored the ecclesiastical *status quo*" (*ibid.*, p. 174). St. Peter the Fuller and Paul of Ephesus were exiled. By this time St. Timothy was already in Alexandria where he died under renewed threat of exile on 31 July 477 (*ibid.*; *Cop. E*, vol. 3, 962).

I.A.2.i. The *Henotikon* of Emperor Zeno (482 A.D.) Anathematizes Both Nestorius and Eutyches and Their Followers:

In the *Henotikon*, the theological formula put forward in 482 to secure union between the Chalcedonians and the non-Chalcedonians and sponsored by the Emperor Zeno, which was apparently the work chiefly of Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople and Peter Mongus, Patriarch of Alexandria, **there is a clear condemnation of both Nestorius, as the representative of a divisive, two-nature Christology that endangered the unity of the Person of Christ, and Eutyches, as the representative of a restrictive one-nature Christology that threatened the real existence of the humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ**. The formula, however, never discusses in explicit terms the problems involved in the language of "nature" one or two (Ferguson, *EEC*, p. 519; *ODCC* ed. 2, p. 632).

"This clever compromise formula confirmed the validity of the Nicene Creed, confirmed at Constantinople (381) and Ephesus (431), and of Cyril's 12 anathemata, so invidious to the Antiochenes; avoiding the term 'nature', it asserted that Christ was consubstantial with the Father according to his divinity and with us according to his humanity, whose integrity and reality is stressed. **It condemned Nestorius and Eutyches and any who defended the authority of Chalcedon.** The christology proposed by the document was orthodox, and took account both of the fact that many monophysites did not share the radical positions attributed to Eutyches and that their target had become the council of Chalcedon. The *Henoticon* was subscribed by the Eastern bishops, including Peter Mongus at Alexandria, Peter the Fuller at Antioch and Martyrius at Jerusalem; but it was opposed by all the dyophysites, who considered the decisions of Chalcedon irrenunciable, and for the same reason it was condemned at Rome by Felix III (484), thus originating the Acacian schism" (M. Simonetti in Ber. *EEC*, p. 569).

[For the full text of the *Henoticon* in English translation see Kidd, *Documents*, vol. II, pp. 330-332.]

After the paragraph which confirms the validity of the Nicene Creed confirmed at Constantinople (381), the *Henoticon* states:

"...for we are confident that this symbol alone is, as we said, the preserver of our sovereignty, and on their reception of this alone are all the people baptized when desirous of the saving illumination: which symbol **all the holy Fathers assembled at Ephesus** also followed, who **further passed sentence of deposition on the impious Nestorius and those who subsequently held his sentiments: which Nestorius we also anathematize, together with Eutyches and all who entertain opinions contrary to those above-mentioned, receiving at the same time the twelve chapters of Cyril**, of holy memory, formerly Archbishop of the holy Catholic church of the Alexandrians..... And these things we write not as setting forth a new form of faith,

but for your assurance; and **every one who has held or holds any other opinion, either at the present or another time, whether at Chalcedon or in any synod whatever, we anathematize; and specially the before-mentioned Nestorius and Eutyches, and those who maintain their doctrines...**" (Kidd, *Documents*, vol. II, pp. 331-332).

I.A.2.j. Pope Peter Mongus of Alexandria Condemns Eutyches and Endorses the *Henoticon* Which Condemns Both Nestorius and Eutyches, Interpreting it as Condemning also Chalcedon and Leo's *Tome*:

St. Peter III Pope of Alexandria (477-489 A.D.) called Mongus (Gk. Μογγός, "hoarse") condemned Eutyches.

"Tradition records an address of Peter Mongus that he delivered to the people in order to win them over to **the *Henoticon***. In it he says that Zeno wanted to destroy what was introduced in Chalcedon as innovations and additions. He says that in this writing Zeno confesses the true faith, the twelve *capita* of Cyril, **condemns Nestorius and Eutyches**, proclaims that the incarnate God-*Logos* was one nature in suffering and miracles, and rejects the opinion of the Diphysites, since their teaching and the *Tome* were opposed to this; and that Dioscorus and Timothy fought against them as martyrs. Thus Peter asserted before the people that the *Henoticon* rejected (*respuit*) Chalcedon" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 39 & n. 27 quoting St. Peter Mongus, *Allocutio* (*CPG* 5497): Zacharias Rh., *HE* V 7: Brooks, *CSCO* 87, pp. 156-57; Hamilton-Brooks, pp. 119-21).

"In the last extant written witness, the response to the *synodica* of the newly elected patriarch Fravitta of Constantinople (489-490), he finally interprets the *Henoticon* clearly as a condemnation of Chalcedon and of Leo's *Tome*" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 40 & n. 32 referring to St. Peter Mongus, *Epistula ad Fravitam* (*CPG* 5496): Zacharias Rh., *HE* VI 6: Brooks, *CSCO* 88, pp. 7-9; Hamilton-Brooks, 142-145).

In that letter, **"he also expresses himself clearly against Eutyches, as he had already done earlier"** (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 40 & n. 33 referring to Zacharias Rh., *HE* VI 6 and V 7: Brooks, *CSCO* 88, p. 8 and *CSCO* 87, pp. 156-57; Hamilton-Brooks, pp. 143-44).

I.A.2.k. St. Severus of Antioch Condemns Eutyches and the Eutychianists:

St. Severus, the leading figure among the monks around Maiuma near Gaza, responded to the *apologia* of the Alexandrian monk Nephalius who had been born in Nubia, was a monk in Egypt, and was then converted to Chalcedonianism. Nephalius was leading a campaign of violent agitation in Palestine against the Severian monks (cf. Ber. *EEC*, p. 593). We possess – sadly, not completely – St. Severus's two addresses to Nephalius, written around 508 A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 773).

We have a beautiful text from St. Severus's first address to Nephalius in which he condemns both Nestorius and Eutyches and all the *phantasiasts*. There he writes:

"If anyone says that the flesh of the Lord descended from heaven or passed through the Virgin as through a channel, and describes it not rather as from her in accordance with the law of conception, even if formed without

man, he is condemned. Neither the conception nor the birth from Mary, nor the dealings with human beings, nor cross, tomb, resurrection from the dead, ascension into heaven happen according to appearance, but all according to truth: for we needed real healing, because we had really sinned. Thus we await in truth the coming Christ in exactly the body in which he bore the suffering of the cross which brought salvation; thus namely will he be seen by those who have pierced him (*John* 19:37). We hold in our mind not the so-called theopaschism – far be it – but we say that the Lord of glory, as stands written, suffered in the flesh (cf. *1Peter* 4:1; *1Corinthians* 2:8). Although it is namely proper to the body to suffer, so the impassible Word was united to one capable of suffering; and because the body is proper to him, thus too the suffering is stated of him. But according to our faith the incarnation of the Lord is neither without soul nor without spirit, rather ensouled, endowed with spirit and understanding. **We impose the ban on the appearance doctrine (*phantasia*) of Eutyches and Valentinus and the ungodliness of the Manichaeans and the foolishness of Apollinarius and the dreadful division of the *oikonomia* by Nestorius"** (St. Severus Ant., *Or* 1: *CSCO* 120, pp. 6,28-7,17, as quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 52, see also pp. 23-24 for Nephalius' biography).

In the eyes of St. Severus Chalcedon teaches "Nestorianism". Thus he writes: "If the Synod of Chalcedon introduced the doctrine of Nestorius into the churches...how can we say that it rejected the opinion of Nestorius? But, if the formula of satisfaction [= the *Typus*] in so many words rejects the doctrines of the Synod and the impious *Tome* of Leo, which are the life blood of the abomination of Nestorius, how can we honestly say that we accept this synod as against Nestorius?" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, pp. 276-277 & n. 149, quoting St. Severus: *SL* I.1. Brooks II: 5, II: 10-19, and adding: **"Even the condemnation of Eutyches rests on the Nestorianism of Chalcedon"**).

"In the eyes of Severus Chalcedon is essentially 'Nestorianism'. Thus there is no division in the acceptance or rejection of the Synod respectively. **Severus viewed the defenders of Chalcedon fundamentally as people who wanted to drive out the devil of Eutychianism with the Beelzebul of Nestorianism"** (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 277).

St. Severus's election to the see of Antioch took place early in November 512, followed by the ceremony of consecration in the Great Church on 16 November, at which twelve bishops, including Philoxenus, assisted. During the ceremony, Severus delivered the first of his 125 Cathedral Homilies, so-called because they were delivered from the cathedra or Episcopal throne in his role as bishop. This homily survives in Syriac fragments and in a complete Coptic version. In it St. Severus anathematizes all heretics, **"especially Nestorius and Eutyches, Chalcedon, Leo's *Tome* and all supporters of the 'two natures after the union', and every distribution of activities and properties in the one incarnate *Logos* to 'two' (natures), which meant for Severus the profession of two persons. Chalcedon had stirred up an even more furious storm than Nestorius had** (Coptic §10, p. 258). **At this Council the new Jews assembled** (Coptic §14, pp. 260-261)" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-282).

St. Severus made it clear that he could have no possible connection with the Eutychianists, "holding that theirs is the doctrine of Manichees, (and) is ready to excommunicate one of his bishops, **Marinus of Berytus**, on account of his leanings towards it (E. W. Brooks, *The*

Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus, ii. pp. 316, 419). In this connection, too, we should note the correspondence between Severus and **Sergius, the Grammarian**, who was holding Eutychianist views" (Sellers, p. 271 n. 1; Torrance published an English translation from Syriac and a theological introduction to the Letters between Severus and Sergius, see bibliography under: Torrance).

At the accession of the Chalcedonian Emperor Justin to the throne, in 518 A.D., St. Severus of Antioch was forced to seek refuge in Egypt, where he continued the anti-Chalcedonian struggle with every means at his disposal, especially by his writings. **Julian the bishop of Halicarnassus** was also found as fugitive in Egypt, sojourning in the vicinity of Alexandria in the monastery of Henaton. Although Julian was fundamentally on the anti-Chalcedonian side, yet he held and preached heretical views which he recorded in a *Tomus*. St. Severus had to respond for this offense.

"From his *Critique of the Tomus* onward St. Severus let it be known that **he saw Julian** with his teaching of *aphtharsia*, that is, with his view of the uncorruptedness of the body of Christ, **in the nets of Eutyches and Manes**" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, pp. 80-81 & n. 191 on p. 81, quoting St. Severus Ant., *Crit. Tom.*: *CSCO* 245, pp. 125,31-126,12. **By falsely interpreting miracles, especially the virgin conception of Christ, Julian is claimed to have denied the passible and mortal quality of the body of Christ and the authenticity of the passion. Thus he fell into the nets of the Eutychians and godless Manichaeans**).

"Even if here the banned Patriarch was still somewhat reserved in his judgment, his supporters, like the Chalcedonians too, allowed nothing good in **the Bishop of Halicarnassus. Everywhere he was taken to be a docetist, that is, as supporting the teaching that Christ's body was a semblance, or a Eutychian, who denied the oneness in essence with us and taught the transformation of the human nature of Jesus into the godhead. Suffering, death, and resurrection are thus void**; God's whole economy of salvation disintegrates into nothing. **Julian entered the catalogue of heretics of the various parties** in the list of the chief heretics. Severus acquired his negative impression of his opponent also in discussions with Julianists who took umbrage at his teaching that Christ had a flesh that was the same as ours in essence (*homoousios*). **From this he concluded that the disciples of Julian would profess 'a kind of uncreated flesh' or even (in addition) that the uncreated *Logos* condensed (*condensé*) himself in the incarnation to flesh 'as water solidifies to ice'"** (*ibid.*, p. 81 & n. 193: Cf. Severus Ant., *C. Addit. Iul.*, ch. 24: *CSCO* 296, pp. 63,7-64,2).

[For more details concerning the response of Julian and the Julianists see *ibid.*, nn. 191, 193, and the controversy between St. Severus and Julian on pp. 81ff.].

It is worth noting that only Julian of Halicarnassus had some sympathy for Eutyches, though even he did not seek his rehabilitation (*Cop. E*, vol. 4, p. 1075; see Sellers, p. 309 and n. 6).

I.A.2.1. St. Philoxenus Bishop of Mabbug Condemns Eutyches and the Eutychians:

St. Philoxenus (*c.* 440-523) was consecrated bishop of Mabbug (Hierapolis) in 485 by St. Peter the Fuller Patriarch of Antioch. Along with his contemporary St. Severus, he

was one of the leading thinkers and writers of the anti-Chalcedonian Miaphysite Orthodox Church. He made it clear that he could have no possible connection with the Eutychianists, refuting them in his *Tractatus* (ed. Vaschalde, especially pp. 131, 151-153).

St. Philoxenus argues "against both the Eutycheans and the Nestorians. He felt that neither group conceived of the union in such a way that there was a real union between the humanity and divinity in Christ. To him, the Nestorian union was at best a loose 'indwelling' of God in a man, and the Eutychean union in its own way was just as bad: the Word simply used Mary as a receptacle, forming his own flesh within her, but taking nothing from her, neither flesh nor blood.....the Eutycheans 'were not able to understand the power of the union, and to know that God is able to do everything, and that as he is one in nature with the Father, it is possible for him to be one in *hypostasis* also with his flesh', *Tres tract.*, p. 205" (Chesnut, p. 66, n. 2).

In his list of heretics, St. Philoxenus begins by mentioning that: **"Mâni, and Marcion, and Eutyches** deny the Incarnation of the Word God of the holy Virgin Mary, and they consider the mysteries of Divine dispensation to be vain imaginations and idle fancies, and they say that the Word passed through the Virgin as through a tube taking nothing at all from her. Lantinôs (?Valentinus) and Bar-daisân say that the Word brought down a body from heaven, and that the Incarnation of the Word did not take place of Mary" (Budge, *Philoxenus*, vol. II, p. xlv [English trans.], pp. cxxxvi f. [Syriac text]).

After the turn of events of 518-519, St. Philoxenus, in a letter written in 521 from Philippopolis where he lived in exile looked back at the long development of the theme "God suffered" and determined the place of the *Henoticon* as the decisive condemnation of Chalcedon and all the heretical preparation for it. The letter is addressed to the monks of Senoun, from which we quote the following (*CSCO* 232, p. 38, 25-39, 9.): "There [then] is what blessed Cyril also wrote who follows in everything the path of the holy Fathers, his precursors, without wandering either to the left or to the right from the royal highway along which they advanced..... And [it is] because **Nestorius** departed from this way [in order to] show another one, new and strange, already trodden before him by the feet of heretics, I mean Diodore, Theodore [of Mopsuestia] and those of their persuasion, [that] he **was anathematized with [his] doctrine, first by the holy Council held at Ephesus, then by all the bishops and archbishops who subscribed the unifying Edict [*Henoticon*]. These anathematized, apart from Nestorius, the erring Eutyches and his own heresy which is Manichaean. And they condemned also those who had assembled at Chalcedon,....**" (quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 285).

I.A.2.m. St. Jacob of Sarug Anathematizes Nestorius, Eutyches, Chalcedon, and Leo's *Tome*:

St. Jacob of Sarug (*c.* 451-521), one of the greatest Syrian doctors, is known as "the flute of the Holy Spirit and the harp of the Orthodox Church" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 242). St. Severus Patriarch of Antioch consecrated him Bishop of Batanae, the chief town of Sarug in 519 A.D., towards the end of his life (*ibid.*, n. 6).

St. Jacob's "***Ep.* XIV anathematizes Nestorius and Eutyches, but Chalcedon is also intended by this (*CSCO* 110, p. 61, 14 ff.) without its being mentioned.**

Ep.* XVI: anathemas against Nestorius, Eutyches, Chalcedon and Leo's *Tome" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, n. 180 in pp. 286-287).

I.A.2.n. The Anti-Chalcedonian Syrian Bishops in the *Collatio* of 532 A.D. Condemn Eutyches:

The *collatio* of 532 was thought of as a doctrinal dialogue on the theological level. The banned anti-Chalcedonian Severan bishops, during their stay at Constantinople for theological discussions (around 532 and early 533 A.D.), submitted to emperor Justinian, after the suppression of the Nika riot, a written confession of their faith (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 233, n. 22).

In their detailed written confession they declared that ".... The Word of God was incarnate...and became man without changing from being God. And since he is consubstantial with the Father according to Godhead, we confess that he is consubstantial with us according to manhood. Therefore, the *Logos*, the Son of the Perfect became a perfect man without any change happening to him nor diminution in anything during the process of our salvation.....and **he is not a phantasy (*phantasia*, i.e. appearance) as the hypocrite Mani and the erring Eutyches believe**..... The Word of God truly became incarnate in reality and not in phantasy accepting blameless voluntary passions....." (Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* IX.22, Ar. trans. vol. 2, p. 82; and Zacharias Rhetor cont., *HE* IX.15).

In the first day of the doctrinal dialogue the problem of Eutyches was discussed. The Chalcedonian "Hypatius attempted to put the Syrians in the wrong with the statement that in the *plerophoria* they attacked Chalcedon, which was, however, directed against Eutyches. Apropos of this he had the catchcry, rather the question: **What do you Syrians think of Eutyches** (I 10: *ACO* IV, 2, 170)? **They bluntly anathematized the Archimandrite..... Agreement prevailed between both parties with regard to the condemnation of Eutyches, for whom, in fact, not one of the great leaders of the anti-Chalcedonians even interceded**...." (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 235).

I.A.2.o. St. Theodosius I, the Thirty-Third Pope of Alexandria, Condemns Eutyches and the Eutychians:

St. Theodosius I, the thirty-third Pope of Alexandria (535-566 A.D.), on his accession to the throne of St. Mark, sent from Alexandria a synodical letter to St. Severus in the summer of 535 which includes a *confession-like* ('confiteor') exposition of his faith and a catalogue of heretics condemned by him and his Church.

Thus St. Severus "could declare himself in complete agreement with **the list of heretics** that condemned all opponents of *una persona et una hypostasis Verbi Dei incarnata* on the left (**Apollinarian, Eutychian, Gaianite**) and on the right (**Diodore, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Nestorius until Chalcedon and Leo's *Tome***), as Theodosius assumes:"

"In these apostolic, patristic, divine, faultless doctrines, our holy brother, I and all churches that depend on the *evangelical see of Alexandria* extend to you the right hand of *communio*" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, pp. 56-57, quoting St. Theodosius Alex., *Ep.*

syn. ad Sever. Ant., *CSCO* 103).

The Gaianites condemned here are also called Julianists. They are followers of Gaianus whom Julianus of Halicarnassus consecrated illegally for the see of St. Mark and was able to maintain his post for 103 days as rival to St. Theodosius (see Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 45ff.). The Orthodox followers of St. Theodosius considered the Gaianites as "Phantasiasts and Manichaeans" (*ibid.*, p. 45, n. 67). Directed especially against the Gaianites in this *Ep. syn. ad Sever. Ant.*, *CSCO* 103 is p. 4,25-31, St. Theodosius writes: "'Because he was capable of suffering, he endured the natural, voluntary and blameless passions, and even death on the cross. Only through the God-befitting miracle of the resurrection did he make this flesh impassible, immortal and in every way incorruptible.' Cf. pp. 4,36-5,4" (as quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 56, n. 17).

Theodore of Alexandria, a Syrian anti-Chalcedonian theologian who lived in Egypt (for whose biography, see *ibid.*, pp. 71ff.), "adopts literally from Theodosius, however, the long catalogue of heretics, including the condemnation of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo" (*ibid.*, p. 74 & n. 81 quoting Theodore Al., *CSCO* 103, p. 214,9-24: 'Valentinus, Marcion, Mani, Arius, Macedonius, Eunomius, Apollinarius, **Eutyches, Julian of Halicarnassus**..., Paul of Samosata, Diodore, Theodore, Nestorius, Theodoret, Andrew, Ibas, Eutherius, Alexander of Hierapolis, Irenaeus Bigamus, Cyrus, John of Aegea and all who dared to speak against the twelve chapters of our father Cyril and the Persian Barsauma with his shameful Canones.' **The only difference is that Julian of Halicarnassus is called by name, while Theodosius speaks only of 'those who...'**). [This Persian Barsauma (Barsumas, *c.* 420-490) is the pupil of Ibas and the Nestorian bishop of Nisibis after him from 457 (*ODCC*, ed. 2, pp. 136, 962; Sellers, p. 49)].

I.A.2.p. The Alexandrian Presbyter Ammonius Condemns Eutyches and the Eutychians:

Ammonius the Alexandrian presbyter is a prominent representative of the Alexandrian Christology and theology in the period of the fifth and sixth centures. [His commentary on the *Gospel of St. John* is especially important. He is an anti-Chalcedonian theologian of Alexandria. He also cites St. Severus of Antioch, though with a non-Christological passage as attested by fragment 630 on *John* 20:22-23 (Reuss, p. 353).]

According to Ammonius, Eutyches is correctly condemned; he gives his own substantiation: because of the errors of his followers after Ephesus II (449) (thus frag. 111 on *John* 4:3; Reuss, p. 225, as quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 103).

I.A.2.q. St. Damian the Thirty-Fifth Pope of Alexandria Condemns Eutyches and the Eutychians:

St. Damian, the thirty-fifth Pope of Alexandria (569 [or 578] – 605 A.D.), after his consecration as patriarch wrote a synodical letter in which he introduced himself to St. Jacob Baradai, the ecumenical metropolitan (*c.* 542-578), the bishops, priests, deacons, monks and people of the East. There he records his exposition of faith condemning Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo, and stressing the "out of two" and the *mia-physis* formula.

In his condemnation of heresies, St. Damian begins, in the same letter, with the anathema over the wicked Council of Chalcedon and all who say Christ in two natures

after the union. He offers no list of heretics but goes into individual heresies by groups naming heretics in each group. Thus against those who destroy the unity he anathematizes Diodorus, Theodorus, Nestorius, Theodoret, Ibas, Andrew, Irenaeus famous for being bigamus, and the malicious *Tome* of Leo. And **against the Phantasiasts he pronounces anathema against Marcion,...Mani, and Eutyches**. "He also clearly points out the capacity of Jesus to suffer and (against Julian without expressly naming him) the *corruptibilitas* of Jesus' flesh before the resurrection, as well as emphasizing the voluntariness with which Jesus accepted suffering. At the end he turns against the Agnoetes: whoever asserts Christ's ignorance fails to appreciate that through the union the flesh of Christ was enriched by the divinity – an argument that follows Theodosius!" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 76. The reference is to St. Damian Al., *Epistula synodica ad Iacobum Baradaeum* (*CPG* 7240): Mich. Syr., *Chron.* X 14, Chabot II pp. 325-334, cf. Ar. trans., vol. 2, pp. 214-220).

In the same letter, **he reaffirms the condemnation of Eutyches** by mentioning his name once more together with Arius, Eunomius and Sabellius.

In his letter of consolation to the Syrian Church on the occasion of the death of St. Jacob Baradai (July 30th, 578), **St. Damian urges them to flee, ridicule and anathematize all heresies** which appeared in the past or is appearing now, especially the impure Council of Chalcedon, the *Tome* of Leo and all who say two natures after the unutterable union, dividing the great mystery of righteousness. **And also Julian of Halicarnassus (here he mentions him by name), who was implicated in *phantasia*** considering the passion of the incarnate *Logos* as phantasy, unreal and not voluntary, and considering also his incarnation as phantasy, **trying to revive the opinions of the hypocrite Mani through deceit**... (St. Damian Al., *Ep. consolatoria* (*CPG* 7241): Mich. Syr., *Chron.* X 16: Chabot, pp. 339-342; Ar. trans. vol. 2, pp. 225-228).

I.A.2.r. St. Jacob the Fiftieth Pope of Alexandria Condemns the Council of Chalcedon and the Phantasiasts:

Pope James (Jacob), the fiftieth Patriarch of Alexandria (819-830 A.D.), "...when he was enthroned, he delivered an admonitory discourse, in which **he anathematized all the banished heresies, and the impure Council of Chalcedon, and the Phantasiasts, that is the Gaianites**, who deny the life-giving Passion of God the Word, which he accepted in the flesh" (Sawirus Ash., *HP, PO*, T. X, Fascicule 5, pp. 447-448). The Gaianites were also called Julianists [see before under Part Two, I.A.2.o.].

I.A.2.s. The Condemnation of Eutyches by the Armenian Church:

As regards the Armenians' condemnation of Eutyches, the fifth-century Armenian historian, Lazar P'arpeci (*History*, p. 192) **"mentions the names of heretics whom the Church had anathematized and whom, therefore, he rejects. They are: Arius of Alexandria, Apollinarius of Laodicea, Nestorius of Antioch, Eutyches of Constantinople and "Kowmbrikos" (= Cubricus) the slave, who later changed his name into Mani and those who followed his teaching and were called after him Manichaeans"** (Sarkissian, p. 156, see p. 211).

Also in the second Letter from the Armenians to the Orthodox in Persia, which expressed their doctrinal position in the Council of Dowin (506/8), Catholicos Babgēn and his bishops condemned the teaching of Nestorius and the Council of Chalcedon, saying: "We flee from and deny the false teaching (lit. "the lies") of Nestorius and of others like him [which teaching was confirmed] in Chalcedon; we know these people as having departed [only] feignedly from both the Gentile and Jewish errors, for they confess the same Gentile and Jewish doctrines and seduce into error the minds of the innocents, that is to say, of the ignorant; they make the blind deviate from the road;..." **Then they gave a list of the heretics whom the holy Fathers anathematized.** The heretics are "Nestorius, Arius, Diodore, Theodoret (Theodore?), **Eutyches**, Paul of Samosata, and all those who are like these, [for] these taught Christ's becoming man as being a confusion or that [he was] solely man and not perfect God in perfect flesh" (*Book of Letters*, pp. 48-49, quoted by Sarkissian, p. 203, see also Sarkissian, p. 204).

Moreover, "Nersēs of Bagrevand (548-557 A.D.) while answering an official letter addressed to him by the Syrian Christians in the Persian Empire tells them that their faith is in accord with the faith of the Church of Armenia, and that **his Church also anathematizes** Nestorius, Diodore (of Tarsus), Theodore (of Mopsuestia), Barsauma, Theodoret (of Cyrus), the Council of Chalcedon, the *Tome* of Leo, Apollinarius, **Eutyches** ... (See *Book of Letters*, p. 56, quoted by Sarkissian, pp. 214-215).

I.B. To What Extent was Eutyches a Eutychian Heretic?

Eutyches (*c.* 378-454) was archimandrite of a large monastery at Constantinople. His keen opposition to Nestorianism led him to be accused in 448 by Eusebius of Dorylaeum of the opposite heresy of confounding the divinity and humanity of Christ. He was condemned as a heretic by Flavian, Archbishop of Constantinople at a home synod held in the capital in 448 A.D. This sentence was later revoked at the Second Council of Ephesus, held under the presidency of Pope Dioscorus of Alexandria, in 449 A.D.

This conflicting situation forces us to try to explore the real belief of Eutyches, at least at that period, from his admissions at his trials so that we might be able to reach to a proper evaluation of the extent to which he was involved in the heresy related to his name.

Davis (*FSEC*, p. 171) summarizes the Christological position of Eutyches saying:

"Devoted to Cyril's theology,...Eutyches began to teach that before the Incarnation Christ was of two natures, but after it there was one Christ, one Son, one Lord in one *hypostasis* and one *prosopon*..... 'I worship', he insisted, 'one nature, that of God made flesh and become man'. Yet he conceded that Christ was born from the Virgin who was consubstantial with us and was perfect God and perfect man. However, the flesh of Christ was not in his view consubstantial with ordinary human flesh. Yet he acknowledged that Christ's humanity was a full humanity, not lacking a rational soul, as it was for the Apollinarians. Nor was Christ's humanity a mere appearance as it was for the Docetists. Nor were the Word and the flesh fused into a mixed nature. Still he obstinately repeated that Christ is of two natures before the Incarnation, of only one afterwards. He feared to say that Christ's flesh was consubstantial with ours because he thought this really meant the Word assumed an individual subsistent man. He hated the idea of two natures in Christ

after the Incarnation because he understood nature to mean concrete existence. To affirm two natures was for him to affirm two concrete existences, two *hypostases*, two persons in Christ".

Price also writes: "The charge of denying Christ's true humanity has been made against Eutyches ever since Leo's *Tome* of 449, but the evidence does not support it. See Draguet [1931]" (*Chalcedon in Context*, p. 71, n. 5).

In the first session of the Council of Chalcedon the Acts of the Home Synod of Constantinople 448 was read. The Acts of Chalcedon are our sole source for this synod and therefore for the theology of Eutyches himself. [References to this synod will be given through mentioning the paragraphs by their numbers in the Acts of the first session of Chalcedon.]

Price, who published the *Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, comments on Eutyches' rejection of the dual consubstantiality at the Home Synod saying (*ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 115-116): "His rejection of two natures after the union was shared by the whole Alexandrian school; it meant not that he doubted the presence in Christ of two sets of attributes, one divine and one human, but that he refused to call them 'two natures', which, in the language of the time, implied that they were two distinct entities. **The demand by the synod that Eutyches should affirm two natures after the union breached the terms of the accord of 433, since the *Formula of Reunion* was ambiguous on this point: it stated, 'There has occurred a union of two natures', which left it ambiguous whether after the union there are two natures or one. Flavian of Constantinople chose to accuse Eutyches, however, first of asserting one nature after the union, not in the sense in which Cyril had used the phrase but in a way that implied the formation of a new compound in which the characteristics of the two natures are not simply united but assimilated to each other, and secondly of holding that the Lord's body is not of human essence and is consubstantial neither with Mary nor with us. Pope Leo likewise, when he read the Acts, misunderstood Eutyches to deny the humanity of Christ; the whole of his famous *Tome* is vitiated by this mistake. There is no excuse for parroting Flavian's misrepresentation and Leo's misunderstanding today. One may agree with Henry Chadwick, writing on Eutyches' vindication at Ephesus II: 'Eutyches was declared orthodox. That verdict, when Cyril's Anathemas and his Eucharistic doctrine were adopted as [the] criterion was justifiable—much more so than later estimates of Eutyches were to allow'"** (Chadwick 2001. 561. See also Draguet 1931). Price adds (*ibid*, n. 8): "Note, however, that already at the first session of Chalcedon (parag. 168) Dioscorus insisted that his concern was not to defend Eutyches but the faith; and from his exile in Gangra after the council, according to Timothy Aelurus, he anathematized those Eutychians who held that the Lord's body was in any way different from our body (Ebied and Wickham 1970, 360). Even if Eutyches' rejection of the dual consubstantiality was capable of an orthodox interpretation, it was still a mistake".

Price also refers to the complaint from Eutyches that the minutes of the Home Synod of 448 had been falsified saying (*ibid.*, p. 116): "A minute investigation revealed that the envoys sent by the synod had attributed to Eutyches some statements of uncertain

authenticity". Price also concedes saying (*ibid.*, pp. 116-117): "...some distortion in the record did indeed emerge. In the published account of the dramatic confrontation when Eutyches finally appeared at the synod (paragraphs 511-545) Archbishop Flavian demanded of Eutyches no stronger dyophysite (two-nature) formula than acknowledgement that Christ is 'from two natures' (parag. 513), a formula taken from Cyril of Alexandria. But, according to a number of witnesses at the hearing of 449 (paragraphs 773, 788, 791, 804, 811), Flavian had in fact pressed Eutyches to accept the stronger dyophysite formula, rejected by Cyril, of two natures after the union. The absence of this from the official minutes shows that they were doctored to protect Flavian (unavailingly as it turned out) from accusations of Nestorianism. Equally revealing is the evidence (paragraphs 754, 791, 798) that at the synod Bishop Basil of Seleucia had tried to help Eutyches by suggesting a sound miaphysite (one-nature) formula and that this had led to an angry exchange with Eutyches' accuser, Eusebius of Dorylaeum, an uncompromising dyophysite. None of this appears in the minutes, which represent the synod fathers as united in their support of Flavian and Eusebius. The tendency for minutes to gloss over disagreements by omitting 'incidental' remarks (for which see a notary's admission at parag. 792) is not surprising but needs to be constantly remembered."

"Further damage to Flavian's reputation as an impartial judge emerged at a hearing a fortnight later on 27 April, when an imperial official revealed that in the course of the synod Flavian had discouraged the attendance of the patrician Florentius on the grounds that Eutyches' condemnation was already signed and sealed, and this even before the luckless defendant had appeared in court" (paragraphs 838, 842).

Price speaks of the deceitful act of Flavian saying: "Flavian put on an act of impartial chairmanship and pastoral solicitude, saying of the absent Eutyches at one point, 'Let him come here: he will come to fathers and brothers, to people who are not ignorant of him and who even now persevere in friendship' (Acts I.417). But once Eutyches appeared at the hearing, Flavian took off the mask, harassing the unfortunate archimandrite and pressing him to profess two natures after the union, the deed of condemnation already drawn up and in his pocket" (*Chalcedon in Context*, p. 71 & n. 6: "All this was disguised in the minutes of the synod but revealed at an investigation in the following year").

"A second Ecumenical Council of Ephesus was convened in August 449 to repair the scandal" (*ibid.*).

In his evaluation Price says (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 118): "In view, however, of the injustice of Eutyches' condemnation at the Home Synod of 448, one may concede some propriety in Ephesus' condemnation of Eutyches' chief accuser, Eusebius of Dorylaeum, for vexatious prosecution, and of Archbishop Flavian of Constantinople, the chairman at the synod, whose bias against the defendant had been exposed in the hearings of April 449..... Ephesus II looked at first like a decisive victory for Dioscorus, but the unrelenting hostility of Rome caused a schism in the church that could not be tolerated indefinitely. When Theodosius II died suddenly in the summer of 450, the court of Constantinople immediately reversed its ecclesiastical policy. Eutyches was subject to restraint, and the bishops were pressed to sign Leo's *Tome*, as the only way to restore ecclesiastical communion with the west. A new council was summoned to Chalcedon in the autumn of 451...".

Kelly (*Early Christian Doctrines*, pp. 332-333) explains the situation this way saying: "The traditional picture of Eutyches, it is clear, has been formed by picking out certain of his statements and pressing them to their logical conclusion. From his rejection of 'consubstantial with us' it has been inferred that Christ's humanity was in his eyes mere appearance; hence he must have been a Docetist. From his affirmation of two natures before and only one after the union the conclusion has been drawn that either the two must have been fused into a *tertium quid* or the humanity must have been swallowed up by the divinity. In fact he seems to have been a confused and unskilled thinker (*multum imprudens et nimis imperitus*, said Leo), blindly rushing forward to defend the unity of Christ against all attempts to divide Him. **He was no Docetist or Apollinarian; nothing could have been more explicit than his affirmation of the reality and completeness of the manhood. His hesitations about 'consubstantial with us' were due to his exaggerated suspicion that it might be twisted to imply the Nestorian conception of the humanity as being an individual man whom the Godhead assumed.** If he had a horror of 'two natures', it sprang from the fact that, like so many of the Alexandrian way of thinking, he took *phusis*, or 'nature', to mean a concrete existence. Even more than Cyril himself, whose depth of insight and grasp of essentials he lacked, ...he was devoted to Cyril's formula 'one nature', although he omitted to add his saving qualification 'made flesh'. If his condemnation is to be justified, it must be in the light of more far-reaching considerations. The Church at this epoch was feeling its way towards a balanced Christology. The type of thought which Eutyches represented was one-sided to a degree. While possibly susceptible, if strained in that direction, of an orthodox interpretation, it upset the required balance; without the emphasis on the other side".

According to the traditional picture of Eutyches as the founder of a Docetic form of monophysitism, teaching that the Lord's humanity was totally absorbed by His divinity, a famous statement is commonly attributed to him as saying that the Lord's human nature is absorbed by His divinity like a drop of vinegar mingled with the sea. But, in fact, neither was he the first to say so, nor did he deny the reality of the Lord's manhood (as we have already mentioned in the previous paragraph and as we will show in the next section I.C.).

Indeed, it was St. Gregory of Nyssa who likened the Lord's human nature to a drop of vinegar mingled with the sea, expressing at the same time its reality and passibility contemplating the respective properties of the flesh and of the Godhead as remaining free from confusion. Thus he writes (*Against Eunomius* V:5) saying:

"The perishable nature, being, by its commixture with the Divine, made anew in conformity with that which overwhelms it [κατὰ τὸ ἐπικρατοῦν], participates in the power of the Godhead, as if one were to say that mixture makes a drop of vinegar mingled in the deep to be sea, by reason that the natural quality [ἡ κατὰ φύσιν ποιότης] of this liquid does not continue in the infinity of that which overwhelms it".

In a previous paragraph of the same book and chapter, St. Gregory of Nyssa expressly says: "The Divine Nature is always one and the same, and with the same mode of existence, while the flesh in itself is that which reason and sense apprehend concerning it, but when

mixed with the Divine no longer remains in its own limitations and properties, but is taken up to that which is overwhelming and transcendent. Our contemplation, however, of the respective properties of the flesh and of the Godhead remains free from confusion, so long as each of these is contemplated by itself" (*NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 5, pp. 180-181; *Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 77).

I.C. The Condemnation of Eutyches by Flavian at the Synod of Constantinople, 448 A.D., and the Legitimacy of His Vindication by St. Dioscorus at the Second Council of Ephesus, 449 A.D.:

I.C.1. THE HOME SYNOD OF FLAVIAN, 448 A.D.:

I.C.1.a. The Reception of the Indictment of Eusebius Against Eutyches and the Sessions of the Synod for His Trial:

"Eusebius, bishop of Dorylaeum...formally denounced Eutyches before the patriarch Flavian and the Home Synod, a semi-permanent council of bishops at Constantinople. With considerable foreboding and hesitation, Flavian at last ordered Eutyches to appear before the Synod. While the Synod remained in session for two weeks, Eutyches repeatedly pleaded that his vow of seclusion and his ill health did not permit his coming before it. Finally, after the rumor spread that he was organizing the monks against the patriarch, he came in self-defense before the Synod..." (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 173).

The case of Eutyches occupied the Home Synod in seven different sessions spread out over two weeks [citations in brackets are to Chalcedon's first session which preserves the minutes of the Home Synod]. In the first session, 8 November, 448, Eusebius of Dorylaeum presented and read the formal indictment and the emissaries were sent to deliver the first summons to Eutyches [I. 223-235]. In the second session 12 November, the bishops – about thirty in number – held a discussion [I. 238-239] to clarify the nature of the faith which should be assumed as a basis for deciding the case of Eutyches. St. Cyril's Second letter to Nestorius (*obloquuntur*) was read [I. 240] together with part of the discussions in the first session of the First Council of Ephesus, 431 [I. 241-245], and the letter to John of Antioch (*Laetentur coeli*) which contained the *Formulary of Reunion* of 433 was also read [I. 246]. The synod at the seventh session of the trial (22 November) read these two letters again, Eutyches himself being present [see I. 458-476]. Then Eutyches himself was interrogated and condemned [see I. 477-550]. The formal sentence was read [I. 551] and the signatures of the bishops and archimandrites were appended [I. 552]. [The whole Acts of Constantinople 448, under Flavian for the trial of Eutyches [I. 223-552], are recorded in *ACC*, vol. I, pp. 168-229).

"It should be observed that the synod made no mention of the council of Constantinople in 381. Equally noteworthy is the fact that no reference is made of the Cyrilline anathemas. At the same time, the Council of Ephesus and Cyril of Alexandria are owned in clear terms. In other words, the synod did not go beyond the Antiochene interpretation of the reunion of 433" (Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 17, n. 44).

I.C.1.b. The Admissions of Eutyches in the Seventh Session of Constantinople, 448:

Eutyches tried to submit his confession of faith in writing, but it was not received from him. As his confession was not accepted, Eutyches made an oral statement. "Thus I believe", he said. "I worship the Father with the Son, and the Son with the Father, and the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son. **Concerning his coming in the flesh, I confess that it happened from the flesh of the Virgin, and that he became man perfectly for our salvation. Thus I confess in the presence of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and of your holiness**" (*ACO* II, p. 141:505 = *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 220, parag. 505).

"The question of Eusebius contained two parts, namely whether the old monk confessed 'two natures after the union', and whether he affirmed that Christ was consubstantial with us. The second part of the question was now pressed (*ACO* II, p. 142:511)" (as quoted in Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 20).

"The Admissions of Eutyches"

"Conc. Const. Sessio vii. (Mansi, vi. 744)"

"Flavian (Archbp. Of Const.): Do you acknowledge Christ to be of two natures?"

"Eutyches: I have never yet presumed to speculate about the nature of my God, the Lord of heaven and earth; I admit that I have never said that he is consubstantial with us. ... I confess that the holy Virgin is consubstantial with us, and that of her our God was incarnate...."

"Florentius: Since the mother is consubstantial with us, then surely the Son is also?"

"Eutyches: Please observe that I have not said that the body of a man became the body of God, but the body was human, and the Lord was incarnate of the Virgin. If you wish me to add that his body is consubstantial with ours, I will do so; but I take the word consubstantial in such a way as not to deny that he is the Son of God. Hitherto I have altogether avoided the phrase 'consubstantial after the flesh'. But I will use it now, since your Holiness demands it...."

"Florentius: Do you or do you not admit that our Lord who is of the Virgin is consubstantial [with us] and of two natures after the incarnation?"

"Eutyches: ...I admit that our Lord was of two natures before the union, but after the union one nature....I follow the doctrine of the blessed Cyril and the holy fathers and the holy Athanasius. They speak of two natures before the union, but after the union and incarnation they speak of one nature not two" (Bettenson, *Documents*, pp. 48-49).

Samuel points out that: "The discussion around the phrase 'consubstantial with us' shows that Eutyches was reluctant to use it, not because he denied the reality and perfection of Christ's manhood, nor because he refused to admit his real birth from Mary, but because Christ for him was God incarnate. The manhood which God the Son assumed in the incarnation was not the manhood of a man, but of God the Son who accepted on himself an incarnate state. In other words, Eutyches was trying in his own way to exclude a doctrine of two Sons, which he feared was implicit in the phrase. Even though as an old monk with inadequate theological training in theology, he was not able to spell out this idea properly, he may well have been groping to give expression to it" (Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, pp. 21-22).

Similarly, Price also writes (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 115):

"It is manifest from the minutes of the synod that he rejected the dual consubstantiality, which even Cyril had accepted, not because he doubted the reality of Christ's human nature

but because he feared that the expression undermined Christ's uniqueness as the Son of God (522). His rejection of two natures after the union was shared by the whole Alexandrian school; it meant not that he doubted the presence in Christ of two sets of attributes, one divine and one human, but that he refused to call them 'two natures', which, in the language of the time, implied that they were two distinct entities. **The demand by the synod that Eutyches should affirm two natures after the union breached the terms of the accord of 433, since the *Formula of Reunion* was ambiguous on this point: it stated, 'There has occurred a union of two natures', which left it ambiguous whether after the union there are two natures or one."**

"Yet, if we are to understand Eutyches aright", says Sellers (p. 59), "we must not think of him as the instructed theologian, prepared to discuss the doctrine of the Incarnation. Rather does he appear as the simple monk who, having renounced the world, had also renounced all theological enquiry, and considered that it behoved him obediently to follow what had been said by the orthodox Fathers, since these were the experts in matters concerning the faith. Moreover, he was the clever defendant who could afford to play with a handful of bishops met together at what was only a local synod. For, as he realized, could he not take advantage of both the authority of those in high places and the veneration in which he was held by the monks? And, in answer to a charge of false teaching, could he not claim that his was the faith of Nicaea and Ephesus, and that he was the faithful follower of the blessed Cyril? Besides, in his craftiness, he was aware that he could appeal to the occupants of the great sees—and these could hardly condemn a solemn avowal that he most assuredly accepted what had been determined at General Councils."

I.C.1.c. The Sentence of Condemnation of Eutyches:

In the seventh and final session of the trial of Eutyches, 22 November 448, "the synod demanded that he 'ought to confess clearly the dogmas now read and to anathematize all who hold contrary views'. 'But I have not found them clearly in the scriptures', said the old monk, 'nor have the fathers said all these things. So, if I anathematize, woe unto me that I condemn my fathers'. 'Let him be anathema', cried the synod. Flavian, however, hesitated and Eutyches made it clear that he would not pronounce any anathema. At this juncture Florentius insisted that Eutyches should affirm 'two natures' and 'consubstantial with us'. Now the monk answered: 'I have read the blessed Cyril, the holy fathers and the holy Athanasius. They speak of "from two natures" as referring to the before of the union. As for after the union and the Incarnation, they no longer affirm two natures but one'. Basil of Seleucia said that if he did not admit two natures, he would be maintaining confusion and mixtures; and Florentius gave his ruling that he who did not affirm 'from two natures' and 'two natures' did not have the orthodox faith. The synod now stood up and said: 'That which comes from persuasion is not faith. Many years to the emperors! To the orthodox emperors, many years! This faith of yours will triumph forever. He who does not conform, why should he be persuaded?' **As president of the synod, Flavian gave the verdict that Eutyches was a follower of Valentinus and Apollinarius.** Thirty bishops and twenty-three archimandrites gave their signatures to the decree" (Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 22, quoting *ACO* II, i, pp. 143:534-147:552).

["Valentinus (or at least some Valentinians) denied Christ a physical body, while

Apollinarius denied him a human mind. Flavian uses their names loosely to categorize Eutyches as a heretic whose doctrine of the manhood of Christ was radically defective" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 225, n. 248).]

It was "an unusual move that the abbots of Constantinople who had refused to support Eutyches were invited to append their signatures after those of the bishops" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 28). "Eutyches later complained, in his appeal presented to the Council of Ephesus (*ibid.*, pp. 162-164, parag. I. 185) that in an 'unprecedented' manner the condemnation had been circulated among the monasteries and signatures demanded from the other monks" (*ibid.*, p. 28, n. 98). [For the sentence against Eutyches and the signatures of the thirty bishops and twenty-three archimandrites, see *ibid.*, paragraphs I. 551, 552 on pp. 225-229].

I.C.1.d. The Penalty of Excommunication of the Monks of Eutyches Who Follow His Teaching:

Again in the same sentence of deposition pronounced against Eutyches by the Council of Constantinople, 448, Flavian pronounced the verdict of removing him from the headship of his monastery and the excommunication of the monks who follow his opinions, saying: "therefore, bewailing his perverseness, the Synod had determined that he should be removed from their fellowship and deprived of the headship of his monastery, and that those who consorted with him should know that they also were liable to the penalty of excommunication" (Sellers, p. 68 & n. 3 referring to Mansi, vi, 748 & adding: "Flavian carried out the verdict without delay. He demanded that the three hundred monks of the monastery presided over by Eutyches should hold no further communion with their head, and that their house should be dissolved and its property given to the poor. Because of their refusal to comply, he forbade them to hold their services (*ibid.*, 816ff). Thirty-five of them retaliated by bringing their case before the Second Ephesine Synod, which ordered that they should be reinstated (*ibid.*, 864ff)".

I.C.1.e. More Scholarly Comments on the Home Synod of Flavian, 448:

From the introduction written by M. Gaddis to *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon* (vol. 1, pp. 27-28) where the citations in brackets are to paragraphs of Chalcedon's first session, concerning what happened to Eutyches in the Home Synod of Constantinople 448, we quote the following:

"When the bishops demanded a statement from him of his own beliefs, Eutyches demurred, claiming that it was enough to profess faith in the creed of Nicaea and in the teachings of Cyril and Ephesus I. The aged monk sought to present himself as a simple and unlearned man of faith with little knowledge of or patience for the theological sophistries employed by interrogators who sought to trap him in heresy. Appearing to defer to his questioners – 'Before I did not say this...but now, since Your Sacredness has said it, I say it' – he was in fact laying a trap of his own, allowing the bishops to go on record with statements that would later be turned against them at Ephesus" (*ibid.*, & n. 96 on p. 28: "Thus I. 535, apparently in response to Flavian's demand (I. 788, somehow not recorded in the official minutes) that he concede two natures after the incarnation: 'Since Your Sacredness teaches it, I say it...but I have not found it clearly stated in the scriptures, nor did all the fathers say

it. If I anathematize...I anathematize my fathers'").

"His repeated insistence on Nicaea as the only acceptable basis for faith – and his concomitant horror of 'innovation' – was a conviction that would be shared by Dioscorus and his colleagues at the imminent general council, and would also underlie much of the later opposition to Chalcedon. For his refusal to concede that Christ existed in two natures after the incarnation, and for his audacious defiance of episcopal authority, the bishops of the Home Synod pronounced judgement against him" (*ibid.* & n. 97: **"The actual sentence against Eutyches, pronounced by Flavian and read into the minutes at I. 551, is vague as to the exact nature of his heresy. It refers only to 'heresies of Valentinus and Apollinarius', fairly generic accusations, and makes no clear reference to anything actually said by Eutyches at the synod – so it could indeed, as later alleged (I. 838) have been written up in advance of the trial"**).

At any rate, **Eutyches himself in his plaint** submitted later to the Second Council of Ephesus, 449, and read once more in the first session of Chalcedon, parag. 164, stated the following:

"I anathematize Mani, Valentinus, Apollinarius and Nestorius, and all the heretics since Simon Magus, including those who say that the flesh of our Lord and God Jesus Christ came down from heaven" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 158).

Moreover, it is clear that the Home Synod of Flavian, 448, in adopting its decision concerning Eutyches, had accepted only the Antiochene view of the reunion of 433 A.D. While the synod noted many times the Council of Ephesus, 431, and Cyril of Alexandria, the Second Letter of the latter to Nestorius as well as the *Formulary of Reunion* alone were read. No mention was made of the Letter with the anathemas nor of the anathemas themselves. This shows that, in spite of the repeated reference to the Council of Ephesus and to the teaching of St. Cyril, the synod accepted only the Antiochene view of the reunion of 433 A.D. (Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 23).

Trevor Gervasse Jalland expressed his conviction that the condemnation of Eutyches by the synod of 448 was a hasty action. Samuel writes: "Referring to the condemnation of Eutyches on the ground that he did not accept the formula of 'two natures', Jalland observes that 'Flavian had exceeded his authority in demanding subscription to a formula for which as yet no ecumenical sanction could be claimed', and that therefore Flavian 'was guilty of undue haste'" (see Jalland, T., *The Life and Times of (St.) Leo the Great*, S.P.C.K., London, 1941, pp. 216-7; quoted in Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. xviii & n. 13).

In his comment about this council, Samuel says: "To add to this was the demand of the synod that Eutyches should affirm 'two natures after the union'. This phrase had not so far been sanctioned by the Church. However, Eutyches was asked to accept the phrase and to condemn all who would not endorse it. In other words, the standpoint adopted by the synod was that the Antiochene interpretation of the reunion should be accepted by all. This may in all probability have been the basis on which Eutyches agreed to subscribe to the phrase provided the bishops of Rome and Alexandria would require him to do it. Eutyches, as we have seen, hesitated about the affirmation of Christ's consubstantiality with us. This idea was there in the *Formulary of Reunion*, so that in expressing reservation about it the monk may well have shown his unwillingness to endorse the document. The Home Synod, on the other hand, regarded the *Formulary of Reunion* as a document of great authority. The

theological basis of the Home Synod, then, was the position worked out by the Antiochene side following the reunion of 433".

But, "from the Alexandrian point of view, the *Formulary of Reunion* was not a document of faith to be placed along with synodical decisions. It was rather a statement between Cyril of Alexandria and John of Antioch expressing their reunion on the basis of the latter's acceptance of the council of Ephesus. It is this standpoint which Eutyches apparently represented" (Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 23 and n. 85).

Again as we have mentioned before (in Part Two, section I.B.), Price (*ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 115-116) comments saying: "...**The demand by the synod that Eutyches should affirm two natures after the union breached the terms of the accord of 433, since the *Formula of Reunion* was ambiguous on this point: it stated, 'There has occurred a union of two natures', which left it ambiguous whether after the union there are two natures or one. Flavian of Constantinople chose to accuse Eutyches, however, first of asserting one nature after the union, not in the sense in which Cyril had used the phrase but in a way that implied the formation of a new compound in which the characteristics of the two natures are not simply united but assimilated to each other, and secondly of holding that the Lord's body is not of human essence and is consubstantial neither with Mary nor with us. Pope Leo likewise, when he read the Acts, misunderstood Eutyches to deny the humanity of Christ; the whole of his famous *Tome* is vitiated by this mistake. There is no excuse for parroting Flavian's misrepresentation and Leo's misunderstanding today. One may agree with Henry Chadwick, writing on Eutyches' vindication at Ephesus II: 'Eutyches was declared orthodox. That verdict, when Cyril's Anathemas and his Eucharistic doctrine were adopted as [the] criterion was justifiable—much more so than later estimates of Eutyches were to allow'** (Chadwick 2001. 561. See also Draguet 1931)".

I.C.2. THE EXONERATION OF EUTYCHES IN THE SECOND COUNCIL OF EPHESUS, 449 A.D.:

I.C.2.a. Aftermath of the Home Synod of Flavian, 448:

Immediately after his deposition at the Home Synod of 448 A.D., Eutyches appealed to what he called the councils of Rome, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Thessalonica, and Ravenna (the imperial residence). He received the support of Alexandria, whose patriarch, Dioscorus I, was already engaged in a growing controversy with Domnus, patriarch of Antioch (441-449), and Flavian on the issue of the persistence of "Nestorianism" in the East. It was within the Roman Empire at Edessa that a strong school of Nestorian theology developed under Ibas who had supported Nestorius at Ephesus, and became bishop of Edessa from 435 (*ODCC* ed. 2, p. 962).

It is worth noting, as Amann suggests, that St. Cyril himself had already changed his position. His former rather mild attitude towards the *Formulary of Reunion* had already gone. He soon became anti-Diodorian and anti-Theodorian (see Amann, "Trois Chapitres", in

Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique, Paris 1903-1970, t. xv, col. 1872-3; quoted in Sarkissian, p. 38, n. 1).

Professor Romanides (1993), from his own perspective as a Chalcedonian Byzantine scholar, comments on the spread of Nestorianism in the East during that period, saying (p. 3):

"It was understood that John of Antioch's reconciliation with Cyril of Alexandria and his acceptance of the Third Ecumenical Council with the Twelve Chapters was done on behalf of all bishops of the Patriarchate of Antioch. However, after the death of John in (441 or) 442, his successor Domnus allowed Theodoret to lead a revolt against the Third Ecumenical Council especially after the death of St. Cyril in 444. Thus it fell to his successor Dioscorus to lead the defense of Orthodox doctrine against Theodoret and his Nestorian companions. Pope Celestine had died right after the Third Ecumenical Council in 432, succeeded by Sixtus III, who was in turn succeeded by Leo I in 440. Leo rejected the condemnations by Ephesus 449 of not only Flavian of Constantinople and Eusebius of Dorylaeum, but also of the Nestorian Theodoret of Cyrus. Failing to distinguish between the two Orthodox bishops and the Nestorian Theodoret, Leo seems to have used the occasion to assert the authority of his see. But by doing this, he reduced doctrine to a lesser level than the papal authority of Rome" (Romanides [1993], p. 3).

St. Dioscorus "was determined, so far as he could, to enforce the acceptance of the Twelve Anathematisms; for it was evidence of their trickery that the Orientals had never recognized the instrument which guaranteed the complete expulsion of the Nestorian heresy. Cf. the warning uttered by Theodoret in his letter to Domnus (written soon after 30 March, 449, when Theodosius summoned the bishops to the Synod of Ephesus): 'Those who belong to other dioceses do not understand the poison lying in the Twelve Chapters, but, mindful of the celebrity of the writer, suspect no ulterior motive; and I consider that his successor in the see is doing everything to have them confirmed at a second synod' (*Ep.* cxii)" (Sellers, p. 33 and n. 3).

Eutyches was also finding support from the emperor, who had once upheld Nestorius but now feared Nestorianism, as though it were a reversion to paganism. In February 448, Theodosius II responded by reiterating a harsh condemnation of "Nestorianism", deposing Irenaeus, Nestorius's old friend and now bishop of Tyre, and ordering the burning of Nestorius's writings (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 25, quoting *ACO* I.1.4, pp. 66-67) along with those of the anti-Christian Neoplatonist philosopher Porphyry (*Codex Justinianus* 1.1.3).

Events in the spring of 449 favored Eutyches. Dioscorus received him into his communion. The emperor expressed dissatisfaction with the manner in which Flavian had conducted the proceedings against Eutyches and demanded a confession of faith from Flavian. There were violent anti-Nestorian outbreaks in the city of Edessa, which alarmed the emperor further. On 30 March, Theodosius published a decree ordering a council of bishops to meet at Ephesus. It was to be a judicial council designed to try the single issue of the rightness or wrongness of Eutyches' condemnation.

I.C.2.b. The Rehabilitation of Eutyches in the Second Council of Ephesus, 449:

On the 8th of August, 449 A.D., about 135 bishops assembled in a council at Ephesus, presided over by Dioscorus, Archbishop of Alexandria, assisted by Juvenal of Jerusalem.

Transcripts first of the 448 Home Synod and then of the April 449 inquiry were read back, punctuated by frequent interruptions denouncing Flavian and Eusebius of Dorylaeum as Nestorians and heretics for their documented insistence on two natures... (*ACC*, vol. I, p. 32).

Eutyches presented "to the most holy and God-beloved ecumenical council assembled at the metropolis of Ephesus" a thoroughly unblameable confession of faith" (*ibid.*, pp. 156ff). [It is an Orthodox profession of faith which was later read again from the Acts of the Council of Ephesus 449 in the first session of Chalcedon and preserved for us in the Acts of that session (Chalcedon I, paragraphs 157, 164 & 185 with interruptions in between, *ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 156-158, 162-164)].

At the end of the proceedings, Pope Dioscorus requested each bishop to state his opinion concerning the orthodoxy of Eutyches (parag. 883), and beginning with Juvenal of Jerusalem and Domnus of Antioch, one hundred and twelve bishops, together with the archimandrite Barsauma, accepted his confession of faith and agreed that he should be reinstated. Finally St. Dioscorus of Alexandria, being the president, pronounced confirmation of all the sentences of **this holy and ecumenical council** regarding the archimandrite Eutyches, adding his judgement that Eutyches should hold presbyterial rank and govern his monastery as before (*ACC*, vol. I, pp. 273-292, parag. 884:1-114).

It is interesting to note that **Juvenal of Jerusalem gave his judgement on this occasion that Eutyches was "most orthodox in his statements"** (*ibid.*, p. 273, parag. 884:1).

After quashing Eutyches' condemnation (parag. 884:1-114) the Council received sympathetically an appeal (parag. 887) from the monks of his monastery, who shared his excommunication. The bishops then affirmed their loyalty to the Nicene Creed and their disapproval of any alterations to it, and proceeded to condemn Flavian and Eusebius of Dorylaeum for contravening, or at least adding to, the creed in the doctrinal affirmations they had demanded of Eutyches (paragraphs 962-1067 in *ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 343-363).

I.C.2.c. The Justifiability of the Second Council of Ephesus' Decision of Exonerating Eutyches as Viewed by St. Severus and the Miaphysites†:

Although St. Severus of Antioch considered Eutyches a heretic, he defended his exoneration by the council of 449 since his confession of faith presented to the council was thoroughly unblameable. St. Severus even refers to two sentences in the confession which Eutyches submitted in writing to the Home Council of Constantinople and requested that it be read. But the document was neither received nor read (*ACO* II, i, p. 141:499-503). Thus "they are missing in his writings as it has come down to us.... Since the two sentences contained an orthodox answer to the charge of Eusebius, they were deliberately left out at

† N.B. The appellation of "Miaphysites" is used throughout this book, as it is always used by the Oriental Orthodox Churches to express the orthodox formula of St. Cyril of Alexandria "One incarnate nature of the divine *Logos*" "μία φύσις του Θεοῦ Λόγοῦ σεσαρκωμένη". But in the quotations, the appellation "Monophysites" sometimes may appear to denote the "Miaphysites", hence, it should not be taken according to the misleading interpretation made intentionally or unintentionally so as to mean affirming only one of the two natures of which the union was composed, as if the so-called "Monophysites" are denying either the perfect humanity or the perfect divinity of Christ.

a council which, from the beginning, had proceeded on the assumption that Eutyches was a real heretic. The two sentences were:"

"For he who is the Word of God came down from heaven without flesh and was made flesh from the very flesh of the Virgin unchangeably and inconvertibly, in a way he himself knew and willed. And he who is always perfect God before the ages was also made perfect man in the end of days for us and for our salvation" (Severus' letter to Sergius and letter to the Orthodox Brothers in Tyre, see *PO* vol. XII, pp. 264-65 and 266-67; quoted in Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 31 & n. 129. For the admissions of Eutyches in the Synod of 448 at Constantinople see Mansi VI, p. 744, quoted in Bettenson, *Documents*, pp. 48-49 and quoted here before in the previous section I.C.1.b.).

Therefore, the exoneration of Eutyches by St. Dioscorus and the one hundred and twelve bishops and the archimandrite Barsauma at Ephesus 449 is justifiable.

"It is noteworthy that in post-Chalcedonian days the supporters of Chalcedon charged the Monophysites with accepting as one of their great champions a man who had been the 'advocate' of a renowned heretic (cf. Evagrius, *Hist. eccl.* iii, 31). Their reply was that at Ephesus (449) Dioscorus had received Eutyches into his communion, because it had seemed to him – for God alone could look on the heart – that, through presenting an orthodox confession of faith, the archimandrite had repented of his error; at Chalcedon, however, when he saw that the unhappy man had 'returned to his vomit', the Patriarch had anathematized him" (Sellers, p. 81, n. 2; referring to *PG* lxxxvi. ii. 1885 B, and, for letters of Severus of Antioch on the subject see Brooks, E.W., *A Collection of Letters of Severus of Antioch*, *PO*, t. xii. fasc. 2, pp. 266 ff.). [For Eutyches' conditional condemnation by St. Dioscorus and the Egyptian bishops, see before under Part Two, sections I.A.2.a. & b.].

It should be remembered that at the fifth session of the Council of Chalcedon "Patriarch Anatolius of Constantinople had emphasized at the council (V:14) that Dioscorus was not condemned because of faith, that is, on account of heresy, and this is also confirmed by the tenor of the indictment and the condemnation. That a clear distancing from Eutyches and all Docetic and Manichaean inclinations was already achieved with the deposed patriarch and with Timothy became obvious only with the Eastern sources. It is true, the main reproach of the fathers of Chalcedon against Dioscorus was exactly that he rehabilitated Eutyches at Ephesus in 449. Likewise, however, later followers (after the changing of his sentence) had to defend him against the suspicion of a change of mind or even a betrayal of Eutyches. The sources show that Dioscorus had models among the holy fathers, who at first accepted certain teachers but afterwards condemned them because they had concealed their true opinion and only later revealed their heresy. Thus also, they say, Eutyches relapsed after he had corrected himself" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 17, and note 50: "Cf. J. Lebon, in *Mus* 59 (1946), 518-19 according to Br. L. Add. 12155, fol. 162rB-163rA. Lebon, *ibid.*, pp. 525-28, edits and translates **a letter of Severus of Antioch to the orthodox in Tyre**, in which Dioscorus is defended in the indicated sense. **It states that Eutyches confessed before Flavian the right faith and therefore was unjustly condemned and likewise correctly restored by Dioscorus.** For Eutyches had confessed before Flavian 'que le Seigneur est consubstantiel à nous et s'est fait homme de la Vierge...mais, dans la suite, ayant vu qu'il demeurait dans l'impiété, il [= Dioscore] dit que cet homme

était digne du feu et non pas seulement de l'anathème, comme le font connaître les (*actes*) de l'action [*tenue*] à Chalcédoine...' Br. L. Add. 12155 contains **a similar text of Philoxenus of Mabbug**. Cf. J. Lebon, *ibid.*, p. 519 and his article, 'Textes inédits de Philoxène de Mabboug', *Mus* 43 [1930], 57 [T] and 83-84 [V]; see further idem, *Mus* 59 [1946], 520, n. 15; E.W. Brooks, 'A Collection of Letters of Severus of Antioch', *PO* 12 [1915], 264-69. Cf. R. Draguet, 'La christologie d'Eutychès d'après les actes du Synode de Flavien [448]', *Byz* 6 [1931], 441-57; at the end an indication of a changed attitude of the Monophysites towards Eutyches").

I.C.2.d. The Justifiability of the Second Council of Ephesus' Decision of Exonerating Eutyches as Viewed by the Chalcedonian Byzantine Scholar Romanides:

The Chalcedonian Byzantine scholar Prof. Romanides (1993) writes enthusiastically endorsing the justifiability and legitimacy of Eutyches' vindication by Pope Dioscorus of Alexandria at the Council of Ephesus, 449 A.D., saying (pp. 5-6):

"....Dioscorus supported Eutyches on the basis of his confession of faith that 'Christ is consubstantial with his mother'. Whether this confession is genuine or not, or in reality an act of penance, the fact remains that Dioscoros defended a Eutyches confessing a Christology which was not exactly that for which he was condemned. This writer brought this confession to light in his paper at Aarhus in 1964. This corrected or perhaps falsified confession of faith was the basis on which Dioscorus accepted to defend Eutyches against false accusers. In any case this means that Chalcedon did not condemn the faith of Dioscorus. He was condemned only because he excommunicated Leo and refused to appear before the Council to defend himself. It is within this context that Anatolius of New Rome Constantinople opposed the effort of the imperial commissioners to have Dioscorus condemned for heresy. Anatolius clearly declared that, 'Dioscorus was not deposed because of the faith, but because he excommunicated Lord Leo the Archbishop and although he was summoned to the Council three times and did not come.'..." (cf. Chalcedon, fifth session, parag. 14, *ACC*, vol. 2, p. 198).

Romanides goes on saying: "It has been pointed out that what Anatolius is perhaps only saying here is that Dioscorus' faith had not been examined and for this reason he had not been condemned for his faith. But it seems that Dioscorus' faith was possibly proven by the confession of faith by which he restored Eutyches to communion. Eutyches had been condemned as denying that Christ is consubstantial with us. Flavian two times confesses to the emperor that Christ is consubstantial with his mother. Now it is supposedly proven that Eutyches is in agreement with Flavian who had him condemned."

[N.B.: Flavian's statement that Christ is consubstantial with his mother was read from the Acts of Constantinople, 448, in the first session of Chalcedon, parag. 271, *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 186.]

Romanides (1993) continues saying: "After his condemnation by the Home Synod of 448 Eutyches appealed to the emperor, Rome, Alexandria, Antioch and Thessaloniki. He argued among other things that the acts had been falsified. By order of the emperor the Review Council of 449 was convened to examine Eutyches' contentions. There we find among other things the following in the minutes: The Presbyter and Advocate John told the Patrician and examining magistrate Florentius that when in 448 he was sent to summon

Eutyches to the Synod in order to testify, Eutyches told him that 'Christ is consubstantial with his mother even though not with us'. Florentius said that 'this is not to be found neither in your memorandum nor in your report'. John answered, 'This he told me while speaking only with me, that he does not have a consubstantial flesh with us, but with his mother'. Then the Patrician said, 'Did you forget what you heard, and for this reason this is not to be found in the memorandum which you composed'. John answered, 'Because the most reverend deacons with me did not hear what was told to me in private. For this reason I did not put it in the memorandum.'..." (cf. I:658-663, *ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 245-246).

Then Romanides (1993) concludes saying: "On the face of these remarks it could be argued that Eutyches agreed with Flavian. But this Patriarch is not recorded as ever denying that Christ is not consubstantial with us, although there could be the possibility that he believed this. But Eutyches had confessed that, although Christ is not consubstantial with us, his mother is. In the case of Eutyches we end up with a contradiction. Since Christ is consubstantial with His mother and His mother is consubstantial with us, it would stand to normal reason that Christ should be consubstantial with us also. It seems that behind such contradictions are either a forgery or an unbalanced personality."

"The backbone of the Orthodox tradition is the fact that the *Logos* became consubstantial with us. There can be no doubt that Dioscorus agrees with this fact and so could never be accused of being a monophysite along with Eutyches."

"It seems that Eutyches was trying to follow the fathers in his own way, but was not doing a good job. Then some like Dioscorus undertook to guide him, but to no avail. But neither Dioscorus himself nor any other of the Oriental Orthodox Fathers ever followed Eutyches the way Leo followed Theodoret like a pet on a leash."

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II. A DETAILED STUDY OF THE SECOND COUNCIL OF EPHESUS, 449 A.D.

II.A. Background to the Second Council of Ephesus:

II.A.1. THE APPEAL OF EUTYCHES TO ROME AND THE MAJOR EPISCOPAL SEES:

After the cosmopolitan Home Synod of Flavian gave its verdict in the seventh and final session, 22 November 448 A.D., Eutyches did not accept its sentence of his deposition and appealed directly to the Councils of Rome, Jerusalem, Alexandria and also sent a copy of his appeal to the bishops of Thessalonica and Ravenna (*ACO* II.3.1. p. 6), and matters moved steadily towards their climax.

The letter of Eutyches ranks as Leo, *Ep.* 21, in which he appealed to the Pope appending to it the *libellus* of his accuser and that which he himself had prepared in defense; his profession of faith, and a list of some passages from the Fathers in support of it (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, pp. 298-299). "Chrysaphius took care that the case of Eutyches thus presented to Leo should be seconded by a letter to the Pope from Theodosius himself" (*ibid.*, p. 299).

"Eutyches also took the precaution of soliciting the aid of Peter Chrysologus, archbishop of Ravenna, 433-†49, the city of Valentinian III and the Western Court. Early in 449 the Western prelates sent off their replies to these entreaties. The archbishop of Ravenna advised Eutyches obediently to await the letters of Leo;..." (*ibid.*, referring to Leo, *Ep.* 25).

[Ironically, Eutyches had been the first to appeal to the pope, even before his trial writing to ask Leo's support in condemning 'Nestorian' heretics. Cf. Leo's cursory response at *Ep.* 20, in which he thanks Eutyches for his information about the revival of Nestorianism and commends his zeal. Eutyches appealed again (Leo, *Ep.* 21) to protest his condemnation by Flavian.]

II.A.2. THE COMMUNICATION BETWEEN FLAVIAN OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND LEO OF ROME CONCERNING EUTYCHES:

Flavian had sent an immediate report to Pope Leo regarding the condemnation of Eutyches, but Leo somehow did not receive it until months later. It ranks as Leo, *Ep.* 22. Flavian, indeed, acquainted the Patriarch Domnus of Antioch, with the sentence (Mansi, vi. 836A); but did not write to Rome till winter of 448-9.

"Then, on 18 February, were dispatched letters of the Pope, to Flavian and to the Emperor. In *Cum Christianissimus* (*Ep.* 23) to his brother of Constantinople, he expresses his surprise that Flavian had not been the first to let him know of what had happened: so far as he could judge from the statement of Eutyches, an injustice had been done: he would therefore be glad of full information; and in *Quantum praesidii* (*Ep.* 24) he gave Theodosius

to understand that he was displeased with the silence of Flavian and expected a full report. The report arrived, shortly after Leo had sent off these two epistles, in the shape of Flavian's first letter to the Pope (*Ep.* 22). He gave him an account of the trial of Eutyches, accusing him, incorrectly, of renewing the errors of Valentinus and Apollinaris (*ibid.*, parag. 3); and he ended by begging Leo to inform the bishops of the West that Eutyches had been duly deprived and excommunicated. This letter Leo merely acknowledged by *Pervenisse ad nos* (*Ep.* 27) of 21 May, in which he foreshadows the coming *Tome*. It was already in preparation, and was sent off to Flavian, as *Lectis dilectionis tuae* (*Ep.* 28) of 13 June" (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 299). In his lengthy letter – the famous *Tome* of Leo, *Ep.* 28 – "the Pope agreed with Flavian, condemned the doctrines of Eutyches, and laid down a firmly two-nature understanding of Christology. Leo intended the *Tome* as a definitive pronouncement on faith, and instructed his envoys to present it at the imminent council at Ephesus" (*ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 29-30).

"Scarcely had the post which took it left, than a second letter from Flavian (*Ep.* 26) arrived in Rome, complaining that Eutyches was placarding his wrongs all over Constantinople and petitioning the Emperor; let Leo therefore confirm in writing the condemnation pronounced against him, and so, by letting the Emperor see that West and East were at one, do his part to prevent the Council. The rumour of it has already got abroad. It is certain to disturb all the churches of the earth. The Pope had already pronounced on the merits of the question by the *Tome*; and the appeal to declare a Council unnecessary came home to willing ears. He replied, 20 June, that, in his view, there was no need of a synod to handle the matter further (*Ep.* 36). But it was too late. Neither Flavian nor Leo could prevent it. For Eutyches had made interest again at Court; and, by *Cunctis constitit* of 30 March, Theodosius had summoned a Council to meet at Ephesus, 1 August 449 (Mansi vi, 587-590)" (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 300).

II.A.3. THE REACTION OF THE IMPERIAL COURT AND POPE DIOSCORUS OF ALEXANDRIA TO THE CONDEMNATION OF EUTYCHES BY THE HOME SYNOD OF FLAVIAN, 448:

Emperor Theodosius, angered by what he regarded as an unseemly squabble between Flavian and Eutyches, began to lose confidence in Flavian, putting the blame for the trouble squarely on his shoulders.

For his part the emperor Theodosius feared that Nestorianism was the work of demons set on undermining the stability of the empire.

It was early in 448, long before the Home Synod of Constantinople met in November 448, that the complaints of Theodoret against Eutyches backfired, due to Theodosius II's respect for the monk and mistrust of the 'Nestorian' tendencies of Antiochene teachings (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 25). In February of 448 the emperor responded by reiterating a harsh condemnation of 'Nestorians', deposing Irenaeus, Nestorius' old friend and now bishop of Tyre, and ordering the burning of Nestorius' writings (*ibid.* referring to *ACO* I.1.4., pp. 66-67) along with those of the anti-Christian Neoplatonist philosopher Porphyry (*Codex Justinianus* I.1.3.) (cf. Frend, *RC*, pp. 765, 782, n. 132).

After Eutyches' condemnation in November 448, he petitioned the emperor, demanding a scrutiny of the minutes of the Home Synod at Constantinople on the ground that they had

been falsified (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 301, referring to Mansi, vi. 763-766). So Eutyches avenged himself by petitions (*ibid.*, p. 302).

"But, meanwhile, Chrysaphius had done his part. He promised his aid to Dioscorus, if he would undertake the defense of his godfather, and attack Flavian. He also prevailed on the Empress Eudocia to act on the same side, if only to spite her sister-in-law, Pulcheria. Eutyches also entreated Dioscorus to take his part. The archbishop of Alexandria...responded at once to these appeals. He admitted the excommicated Eutyches to his communion (Mansi, vi. 1045C-1099A); he wrote to the Emperor that the only remedy lay in a General Council; and his admonition, supported, so soon as it arrived, by the concerted approval of the Empress and Chrysaphius, took speedy effect in the letter of summons already mentioned. It was addressed to Dioscorus, under date 30 March 449" (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 302).

II.A.4. FLAVIAN'S CHRISTOLOGICAL STATEMENTS OF FAITH:

II.A.4.a. The Oral Christological Statement of Flavian in the Home Synod of Constantinople, 12 November, 448:

The published oral christological statement of faith of Flavian in his Home Synod of Constantinople 448 [as it reached us in the form which was read, from the minutes of that Council, in the Second Council of Ephesus, 449, and later read again in the first session of the Council of Chalcedon 451], reads as follows:

"271.....we hold and have always held, that our Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten son of God, is perfect God and perfect man made up of a rational soul and body, begotten from the Father without beginning before the ages in respect of the Godhead, and the same at the end and in the last times for us and for our salvation born from Mary the Virgin in respect of the manhood, **consubstantial with the Father in respect of the Godhead and consubstantial with his mother in respect of the manhood**. For we confess that **Christ is from two natures** after the incarnation, as we confess in one *hypostasis* and one person one Christ, one Son, one Lord..." (*ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 186f., parag. 271).

But in fact, "at the Home Synod Flavian had insisted on a 'two nature' formula" (*ibid.*, n. 188, referring to *ibid.*, p. 116):

"In April 449, a series of hearings was held at Constantinople to investigate claims by Eutyches that the Acts of the synod misrepresented him and that Flavian had treated him unjustly; their minutes were read out, in whole or in part, at the first session of Ephesus II and consequently at Chalcedon as well (I. 555-849)..... **In the published account** of the dramatic confrontation when Eutyches finally appeared at the synod (511-45) **Archbishop Flavian demanded of Eutyches no stronger dyophysite (two-nature) formula than acknowledgement that Christ is 'from two natures' (513), a formula taken from Cyril of Alexandria. But, according to a number of witnesses at the hearing of 449 (773, 788, 791, 804, 811), Flavian had in fact pressed Eutyches to accept the stronger dyophysite formula, rejected by Cyril, of two natures after the union. The absence of this from the official minutes shows that they were doctored to protect Flavian (unavailingly as it turned out) from accusations of Nestorianism**" (*ibid.*, p. 116).

II.A.4.b. The Christological Statement of Flavian in His Letter to Emperor Theodosius II of December, 448:

Although Flavian at the Home Synod on 22 November 448 had insisted on a "two nature" formula, yet by December of the same year he was trying to retract and mend fences with the Miaphysites (cf. *ibid.*, p. 186, n. 188). Thus in his letter to Emperor Theodosius II of December 448, Flavian used a christological formula which the Alexandrians would admit as orthodox. "If the confession of faith which he submitted to the emperor represented his real position, no Alexandrine theologian would have any quarrel with him. For he maintains there not only the 'from two natures' and the 'one *hypostasis*' of the Alexandrines, but also their 'one incarnate nature of God the Word'" (Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 15 & n. 36). For this confession, see *ACO* II.i. p. 35, from which Samuel (*ibid.*, n. 36) quoted the following:

"We proclaim Jesus Christ our Lord, born of God the Father without a beginning....., who for us and for our salvation was born of Mary the Virgin....., taking a rational soul and body; perfect God and perfect man; the same being consubstantial with the Father as to Godhead, and.....consubstantial with us as to manhood. **Confessing then Christ to be from two natures after the incarnation ....., we affirm that he is one Christ, one Son, one Lord, in one *hypostasis* and one *prosopon*. We do not therefore refuse to maintain that he is one nature of God the Word incarnate and made man, because he is one from both, the same being our Lord Jesus Christ**".

Samuel also comments (*ibid.*, n. 36): "Non-Chalcedonian writers take this letter of Flavian as evidence of the man's duplicity on the one hand, and of the fact that 'two natures after the union' was opposed to established orthodoxy. See Michael the Syrian, *Chronique De Michael Le Syrien*, ed. Chabot, J.B., Paris, 1910, vol. IV (Syriac), p. 184".

But Price (*ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 185-186 & n. 188) comments on what was said by Eustathius of Berytus at the first session of Chacledon (parag. 267): "the blessed Flavian took precisely these words and sent them to the most pious emperor" saying (n. 188):

"188. The reference is to the Letter of Flavian to Theodosius II of December 448 (*ACO* 2.1 p. 35), in which the Christological formula he had used at the Home Synod of 448 (parag. 271) was supplemented by the statement, 'We do not refuse to affirm one nature of God the Word, enfleshed and incarnate, since from both is one and the same our Lord Jesus Christ' (lines 20-22)". I.e., instead of using the formula 'consubstantial with us' in the letter to the emperor, he used the formula 'consubstantial with his mother', which has a similar meaning as what Eutyches stated during his trial on 22 November: "Concerning his coming in the flesh, I confess that it happened from the flesh of the Virgin, and that he became man perfectly for our salvation..." (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 220, parag. 505; *ACO* II, p. 141, parag 505).

During the reading at the first session of Chalcedon, it was noted there about Longinus bishop of Chersones that at the synod of 448 he had insisted on "from two natures after the union". Longinus said that in agreement with Nicaea and Ephesus as well as with Flavian and other bishops, he confessed that "after the incarnation, the divinity of the Only Son of God, our Saviour Jesus Christ, should be worshipped as **from two natures**" (Chalcedon I, parag. 331, in *ACO* II.i. p. 120 & in *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 194). St. Dioscorus responded signifying his agreement and said: **"I accept 'from two [natures]'; I do not accept 'two'..."**

(Chalcedon I, parag. 332, in *ibid.*). Again, when Julian of Cios remarked that no one should violate the faith of Nicaea and Ephesus, but all should confess the one Son, our Lord Jesus Christ as two natures in one *prosopon*, **Dioscorus clarified his position by saying that in his view Jesus Christ was not two natures after the union** (Chalcedon I, paragraphs 340-341 in *ACO* II.i., p. 121 & in *ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 195-196). The foregoing story shows that **St. Dioscorus** made his position clear. **He was opposed to "two natures after the union", but he had no objection to "from two natures after the union".**

Therefore, the question before the Second Council of Ephesus, 449, "was not what Flavian had written to the emperor in his diplomatic letter, but what the basis of the synod of 448 in condemning Eutyches was. In Flavian's letter to Theodosius II he held to a position which the Alexandrine side would admit as orthodox, but not the emphasis of the home synod of 448 which had asserted 'two natures after the union'" (Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 54, n. 47).

II.A.4.c. The Christological Confession of Flavian, Written in Obedience to the Emperor's Order of 27 April, 449:

During the hearings of April, 449, "another petition procured from the Emperor an order of 27 April that Flavian should produce a written statement of his faith.... Flavian made no objection on that score. 'Nothing is so befitting a bishop', he replied, 'as to be ready to give to every one that asketh a reason of the faith that is in us': and then follows a doctrinal statement which closely resembles his oral creed of 12 November 448" (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 301, referring to Mansi vi. 540-542; Liberatus *Brev.* XI [*PL* lxviii.1001]).

Kidd (*ibid.*) goes on to describe the statement as it reached us and then gives his opinion concerning the probability of a later alteration in the text to make it in harmony with the Chalcedonian formula "in two natures". Thus Kidd writes:

"In this statement he (Flavian) declares his adhesion to the faith of Nicaea, Constantinople, and Ephesus, thus intimating his belief that the second of these had something to do with a recension of the Nicene Creed, and disclaiming all sympathy with Nestorianism. He acknowledges Christ after the Incarnation as **'in two natures'**, but also as 'in one Person'; and he does not refuse to speak of 'one nature of God the Word' provided that 'incarnate and made man' be added" (Kidd, *op. cit.*, quoting Mansi vi. 541B). Then Kidd comments: "It is a confession which (a) is indebted to the *Formulary of Reunion*, and (b) is a contribution to the Chalcedonian Definition. But whereas the former spoke of the Lord as 'consubstantial with us', **Flavian only confesses Him as 'consubstantial with His Mother'**; and **it is extremely probable that**, as at the Home Synod, **what he acknowledged on this occasion was 'of two natures', and that the text has since been altered to accord with the more precise and Chalcedonian formula 'in two natures'**. So Eutyches avenged himself by petitions" (Kidd, *op. cit.*, pp. 301-302).

II.A.5. THE APRIL 449 SCRUTINY OF THE MINUTES OF THE HOME SYNOD OF CONSTANTINOPLE 448:

Eutyches' appeal did not go unheard. Within four months, the emperor himself would give orders for the convocation of a general council. It was ordered on 30 March 449 to

convene at Ephesus that August.

"The November 448 synod was itself put on trial in a hearing held the following April at the behest of Eutyches' supporters. That inquiry was characterized by intense examination and contestation of the documentary record, a process largely responsible for the complicated and confusing nature of the *acta* later read into the record at the first session of Chalcedon. **Eutyches' supporters charged Flavian's notaries with falsification and corruption**, alleging that they had altered the record in order to manufacture incriminating statements that Eutyches now denied having made. To back up their claims, the Eutychians produced their own transcripts of the synodal proceedings and demanded that these be compared with the official versions taken by Flavian's notaries. Their attack upon the *acta* of Flavian's synod earned them a new hearing, which took place in accordance with the emperor's orders on 13 April 449" (*ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 28-29 & n. 102: "The transcripts of this inquiry were in turn read back at Ephesus, and again finally at Chalcedon: I.555-828. An earlier session on 8 April, presided over by Thalassius of Caesarea, is referred to at I.558-9 but not recorded in our *acta*").

At this meeting which was held on 13 April and directed by the patrician Florentius, "the transcripts from the Home Synod were read back, line by line, and frequently challenged by Eutyches' representatives. The notaries were summoned, interrogated, and threatened, and they indignantly defended themselves while at the same time offering excuses as to why the transcription of spoken words was something less than an exact science" (*ibid.*, p. 29 & n. 103: I.576-614, 644, 721-5, 767, 778-82).

"A minute investigation revealed that the envoys sent by the synod had attributed to Eutyches some statements of uncertain authenticity,.....**some distortion in the record did indeed emerge**. In the published account of the dramatic confrontation when Eutyches finally appeared at the synod (511-45) Archbishop Flavian demanded of Eutyches no stronger dyophysite (two-nature) formula than acknowledgement that Christ is 'from two natures' (513), a formula taken from Cyril of Alexandria. But, **according to a number of witnesses at the hearing of 449 (773, 788, 791, 804, 811), Flavian had in fact pressed Eutyches to accept the stronger dyophysite formula, rejected by Cyril, of two natures after the union. The absence of this from the official minutes shows that they were doctored to protect Flavian (unavailingly as it turned out) from accusations of Nestorianism**. Equally revealing is the evidence (754, 791, 798) that at the synod Bishop Basil of Seleucia had tried to help Eutyches by suggesting a sound miaphysite (one-nature) formula and that this had led to an angry exchange with Eutyches' accuser, Eusebius of Dorylaeum, an uncompromising dyophysite. None of this appears in the minutes, which represent the synod fathers as united in their support of Flavian and Eusebius. The tendency for minutes to gloss over disagreements by omitting 'incidental' remarks (for which see a notary's admission at 792) is not surprising but needs to be constantly remembered" (*ibid.*, pp. 116-117).

"Further damage to Flavian's reputation as an impartial judge emerged at a hearing a fortnight later on 27 April, when an imperial official revealed that in the course of the synod Flavian had discouraged the attendance of the patrician Florentius on the grounds that Eutyches' condemnation was already signed and sealed, and this even before the luckless defendant had appeared

in court (838, 842)" (*ibid.*, p. 117). Thus he could have had no hope of a fair hearing (*ibid.*, p. 29 & n. 104: On 27 April: I.829-49, esp. 838). The testimony was given by the silentiary Magnus that the Archbishop Flavian had presented to him a paper containing the condemnation and that the paper was shown to him before the synod had begun its proceedings. Martial ordered that this evidence should be entered in the minutes (Mansi vi. 825, as referred to in Sellers, n. 5 on pp. 71f.).

Although the appeal did not produce a definitive result – it was decided to defer the matter to the new council scheduled to meet at Ephesus later that year – it succeeded in causing considerable doubt upon the substantive and procedural legitimacy of Flavian's synod.

Flavian's resignation was rejected, but he was called upon to submit a profession of faith to the emperor (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 174). [For that profession of faith see the preceding section II.A.4.c.].

II.A.6. THE POSITION OF DOMNUS AND HIS ANTIOCHENE BISHOPS:

Domnus, lightweight nephew of John of Antioch, succeeded his uncle in 441 (or 442), but by all accounts did not match his leadership. It appears that John was attempting to found a patriarchal dynasty at Antioch through bringing his nephew from the monastery of Euthymius in Palestine and appointing him as his successor. Hence opponents could testify later in the Second Council of Ephesus, 449, that Domnus had been made bishop without any election and that there had been "neither any assembly for [Divine] Service nor Communion in the Mysteries" (Perry, pp. 314ff., Sellers, p. 34, n. 3). Domnus was accused of various blasphemies and of teaching his candidates for baptism the doctrine of Nestorius. He was also accused of performing irregular ordinations of known heretics (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 36).

Before the accusation and trial of Eutyches at the Home Synod of Constantinople 448, "the Syrian-speaking archimandrite Barsumas, from his mountainside convent near the Armenian border was busily drawing up indictments against **Domnus of Antioch and his theological advisor Theodoret of Cyrus**" (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 170). "Domnus of Antioch supported his suffragan Theodoret and wrote to the emperor accusing Eutyches of embracing Apollinarianism, of teaching one nature in Christ, of mingling the divine and the human and of attributing to God the sufferings of Christ. The court responded in 448 with a rescript once again condemning the writings of Nestorius and of all those not in conformity with the faith of Ephesus and of Cyril of pious memory. Nestorius' adherents, if clerics, were to be deposed; if laymen, excommunicated" (*ibid.*, pp. 172-173).

The ardent Nestorian Count **Irenaeus** was consecrated by Domnus for the metropolitan see of Tyre despite his earlier condemnation and his double marriage. When this had been brought to the emperor's attention, he had ordered, in an edict of 17 February 448, Irenaeus deposed and reduced to lay status (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 35; Ber. *EEC*, p. 416). And Domnus was accused of not ejecting from his communion Irenaeus after he had been deposed at the emperor's command. "From Alexandria Dioscorus wrote to Domnus of Antioch demanding an explanation of Theodoret's teaching and the immediate consecration of Irenaeus' successor at Tyre" (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 173). Eventually, "on 9 September 448, Domnus had to consecrate Photius to be bishop of Tyre 448-451" (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 289).

Since the late 440s, groups of enthusiastic orthodox monks and clerics were in more or less open revolt against several Antiochene bishops.

Ibas the anti-Cyrillian and partisan of Nestorius was certainly not in good terms with the orthodox Cyrillian bishop Rabbula of Edessa, as is confirmed by the Christological letter by Ibas to bishop Mari (or Maris) of Rewardasir. In that letter, written *c.* 434, Ibas attacked the Council of Ephesus, 431, the Twelve Anathematisms of St. Cyril and the title *Theotokos* for St. Mary, and defended Nestorius and his heresy, labeling St. Cyril as a heretic. When in 435, Rabbula died, Ibas replaced him in the see of Edessa (from 435 to 449 and from 451 to 457). Ibas was charged with maladministration, calling Cyril a heretic and saying, "I do not envy Christ that He became God, for as far as He became this, I also have become the same" (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 173; Ber. *EEC*, p. 403).

In April 449, the count Flavius Chaereas was sent to investigate the situation in Edessa. He was met by crowds chanting slogans against Ibas. Chaereas duly documented and forwarded to the emperor transcripts of the...acclamations and slogans of assembled crowds, petitions filed by prominent laypersons and clergy, and proceedings of hearings held in Edessa, all of which convey the impression of a population united in hatred of their bishop (see *ACC*, vol. I, pp. 30, 34 & n. 109 on p. 30: Chaereas' reports were read at the second session of Ephesus II and are recorded in the Syriac Acts: *Syriac Acts*, ed. Flemming, 14-61).

"During these hearings, reference was made back to prior investigations of Ibas held at Hierapolis, Antioch, Berytus and Tyre. The complainants claimed that they had been trying for years to present their case but that Domnus conspired to block the investigations and protect his colleague. The allegations covered a range of misdeeds, from embezzling church funds to ordaining adulterers, thieves and paedophiles as priests. Many witnesses testified to Ibas' doctrinally dubious statement – which he later tried to deny – that 'I do not envy Christ becoming God, for inasmuch as he became God so also have I'..." (*ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 34-35, referring to *Syriac Acts*, ed. Flemming 42-49 & Chalcedon X.81).

[From the statements of Ibas, submitted to the April 449 hearings as proof of his "Nestorianism", the following quotations illustrate Ibas's determination to "separate the natures" against the notion that in Jesus Christ there is *una substantia*: "Is not the former [text] (*John* 1:1) one thing and the latter (*Matthew* 1:1) quite another?" (Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 104); "It is today that Christ became immortal" (from his sermon on Easter Day: *ibid.*); "We must discreetly make a distinction between God and man, and make a separation between him who was assumed by grace, and him who assumed him by grace" (*ibid.*, p. 105); "It was one Person who died, and Another who was in heaven—one Person without beginning, and Another subject to a beginning—one Person of the Father, Another of the Virgin" (*ibid.*, pp. 105f); "The Jews could not boast that they crucified God; they did not crucify God" (*ibid.*, p. 107); "As a King is treated with insult through his people, so did God the Word receive ignominy through his body" (*ibid.*, p. 108). (Sellers, p. 56, n. 1)]. These reports which alarmed the Emperor at that time showed how the Count was received there by a crowd of monks and their partisans, who clamoured for the condemnation of Ibas and his gang of 'Nestorians', and at the same time he was overwhelmed by loyal demonstrations in favor of the Emperor and the empire. But Chaereas did not move quickly enough, and for three or four days uproar ensued

(Perry, pp. 67ff.). The cry of the monks was: "Another bishop for the metropolis—no man accepts Ibas—none accepts a Nestorian—perish the race of the Nestorians. Let what belongs to the Church be restored to the Church—the Church ought not to suffer violence. There is but one God—Christ the Victor...Nobody wants a second Nestorius. Nobody wants a man who wars against Christ...No man receives a Judas for a bishop. An orthodox bishop for the metropolis—let him depart who is taking his departure" (*ibid.*, p. 47; quoted in Sellers, p. 55, n.1 and p. 83; cf. Frend, *RC*, p. 766). By 21 July 449 he had been already deposed and replaced (Frend, *RC*, pp. 766, 783, n. 140).

There were two exchanges of letters between Dioscorus and Domnus that had taken place a year previously (*Syriac Acts*, ed. Flemming, 133-147). "The letters were carried back and forth by the monk Theodosius, an ally of Dioscorus who reported to him on activities in Antioch and who would later lead a rebellion against Juvenal of Jerusalem" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 36 & n. 133). "Dioscorus complained about reports he had heard from Antioch that Domnus was tolerating the expression of 'Nestorian' opinions. Domnus reciprocated by expressing similar concern at hearing that some in Alexandria were uttering extreme theopaschite statements such as 'God died'. The Antiochene bishop then sought to defuse tension by appealing to the *Formula of Reunion* agreed by Cyril and John in 433. He reminded Dioscorus that Cyril had chosen not to press his Twelve Anathemas, and said that the teachings contained therein would never be accepted in the churches of Syria and ought not be forced upon the Antiochenes" (*ibid.*, pp. 36-37).

At the urging of Dioscorus, the imperial court confined Theodoret of Cyrus (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 173). The edict of 30 March 449 (later read at Chalcedon I:24) states the following: "But as for Theodoret bishop of the city of Cyrrhus, whom we have already ordered to attend exclusively to the affairs of his own church, we decree that he is not to come to the holy council, unless the entire holy council, after it has assembled, should decide that he should attend and participate in the same holy council; if there should arise any dissension over him, we order the holy council to assemble without him and deal with the agenda we have laid down" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 133).

II.B. The Imperial Letters of Invitation to the Second Council of Ephesus, 449 A.D.:

The role of Emperor Theodosius II was decisive. On March, the 30th, he published a decree ordering "a representative council with judicial powers to meet at Ephesus, on 1 August, 449 A.D., to decide between Flavian and Eutyches. It bade each patriarch or exarch to bring ten metropolitans and ten other bishops with him. "The presidency was given to Dioscorus, with the counts Eulogius and Helpidius on hand to maintain order. Dioscorus's instructions were 'to settle the controversies that had suddenly arisen' and 'to root out error with zeal'" (Frend, *RC*, p. 766, referring to Flemming, pp. 3-5). "The latter fitted his ideal perfectly. All was going his way. By 21 July Ibas had been deposed and replaced. Theodoret of Cyrrhus was banned from participating at Ephesus at the emperor's instruction. The council was to be Dioscorus's, as its predecessor had been Cyril's" (*ibid.*).

"Pope Leo received his summons to Ephesus on 13 May. Still he procrastinated. Not until one month later—13 June—did he send his reply to Flavian's letter that he accepted

the invitation to be present. The *Tome* of Leo, whatever its intention, arrived too late to help Flavian" (Frend, *RC*, p. 766-767).

> [On 13 June, Leo wrote to Emperor Theodosius (*Ep.* 29) notifying the appointment of Julius the Bishop, Renatus the presbyter and Hilary the deacon to act as his representatives at the Council of Ephesus. On the same day he wrote also to the emperor's sister Pulcheria giving reasons for excusing himself from attending the Council in person (*Ep.* 31, chap. 4). One week later he wrote once more to the Emperor (*Ep.* 37, dated 21st of June) saying: "...Wherefore although every consideration prevents my attendance on the day which your piety has fixed for the councils of bishops; for there are no precedents for such a thing, and the needs of the times do not allow me to leave the city, especially as the point of Faith at issue is so clear, that it would have been more reasonable to abstain from proclaiming a synod: yet as far as the Lord vouchsafes to help me, I have bestowed my zeal upon obeying your clemecy's commands, by appointing my brethren who are competent to act as the case requires in removing offences, and who can represent me: because no question has arisen on which there can or ought to be any doubt".]

Emperor Theodosius's "next step was, by a stretch of prerogative peculiarly Byzantine, to write, 14 May, to a very zealous anti-Nestorian abbot Barsumas [Bar-Saumâ], and command him to repair to Ephesus and take his seat—the first abbot to do so—in a General Council as representative of the abbots of 'the East': or rather—for this is the inner meaning of the order—as representative of a body of opinion, monastic and lay, in revolt against the 'Nestorianism' of the 'Oriental' bishops. Next, 15 May, Theodosius wrote to Dioscorus to inform him that the archimandrite Barsumas was thus to sit and vote (Mansi vi. 593A.B.)" (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, pp. 302, 303).

[Theodosius's letter of invitation to Barsauma is recorded in the Acts of the first session of Chalcedon, parag. 48; cf. parag. 47, *ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 136-137. At the end of the session, Barsaumas pronounced sentence and signed along with the bishops, in last place: *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 292].

> [N.B. The archimandrite Barsauma, the father of the Syrian monks, is considered by the Oriental Orthodox Churchs, a great saint and defender of the the Orthodox faith for his great fight against Nestorianism and the Council of Chalcedon. See the Acts of the fourth session of Chalcedon (paragraphs 66-95, *ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 154-159) for his dramatic intervention at the Council of Chalcedon. After refusing to accept the decrees of the council, he returned to Syria where he campaigned against them until his death in 458 (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 136, n. 71). He is venerated as a saint in the Synaxarion of the Coptic Church and his feast day is on 9 Amshir (3 February, Julian calendar).]

"Again, on 6 August, two days before the Synod opened its proceedings, the Emperor assigned to Dioscorus the presidency 'not only over Theodoret, but also over all other bishops admitted to the holy Synod now assembled' (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 140 & n. 78) —Theodosius being confident that if any of the 'Nestorians' should attempt to secure the admission of

the opponent of the blessed Cyril, the Bishop of Alexandria would be supported by 'the God-loving Archbishop of Jerusalem, Juvenal, the God-loving Archbishop Thalassius (of Caesarea in Cappadocia I) and all who have a similar love for the orthodox faith'. Further, the fact that in this ordinance it was laid down that no liberty of speech should be granted to those who were attempting to affirm anything in addition to, or in subtraction from, what had been determined at Nicaea and confirmed at Ephesus, shows how completely Dioscorus had been able to win over the chief officers of state. Moreover, it is indicative of the power which the Patriarch could wield that the Emperor, after informing the Synod that his attempts to persuade Flavian to be satisfied with the faith of Nicaea and Ephesus had been in vain, charged the bishops once for all to expel the error of Nestorius, and that in his orders to the imperial commissioners—Elpidius, Eulogius, and the pro-consul of Asia, Proclus—Theodosius reminded them that it was on account of this error that the former Synod at Ephesus had been summoned, and that, since disputes had again arisen against the divine faith, it was their bounden duty to make sure that there could be no further recurrence of the evil" (Sellers, p. 77, quoting Mansi vi. 596ff.). [These letters were quoted later and read in the first session of Chalcedon paragraphs 49-52, *ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 137-140]. "The purpose of the new council, according to Theodosius, was to reiterate, confirm and strengthen the faith of Nicaea and the teachings of Cyril as articulated at the prior council of Ephesus. Its mandate was not to consider doctrinal questions or write new definitions but simply to 'root out' the remnants of Nestorian heresy" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 31).

II.C. The Two Sessions of the Second Council of Ephesus, 449:

The Council met in two sessions, 8 and 22 August, 449 A.D., in Ephesus, in the same church of St. Mary (*Theotokos*) in which the First Council of Ephesus was held in 431 A.D. (*DCA*, vol. I, pp. 615-616).

II.C.1. THE FIRST SESSION OF EPHESUS II (8 August, 449):

II.C.1.a. The Ceremonial Opening of the Council:

The first session commenced on 8 August, 449, (15 Mesra Egyptian calendar) with 135 bishops present in that church (cf. *ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 32, 142, & the list of 135 pariticpants, pp. 143-146, paragraphs 68-78). Bishop Julius, the papal legate, sat next to the President, St. Dioscorus, "and after them in order of seniority, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Domnus of Antioch, Flavian of Constantinople, and the other bishops. After these came Barsumas, and last of all the deacon Hilary (from Rome). Consequently the Pope's delegates could not act in concert (Sellers, p. 78). Moreover, they were already handicapped by the necessity of speaking and listening through translators (cf. *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 32). [The third Roman delegate, the presbyter Renatus, had died on the island of Delos, when on his way to the East (cf. Mansi, vii. 1061)] (Sellers, p. 78, n. 5).

[As regards the question raised later by the Oriental bishops at the first session of Chalcedon (parag. 71), after reading the arrangement of the seating in Ephesus

II (recorded in Chalcedon I, paragraphs 68-70): "Why was Flavian not seated in his proper place? Why was the bishop of Constantinople put in fifth place?", Price records his answer in a footnote (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 144, n. 90), saying: "It was only at the Council of Constantinople of 381 that the see of Constantinople was accorded primacy in the east. But the status of this council was not clarified until Chalcedon itself, where for the first time (at I. 1072 and in the later sessions) it was treated as an ecumenical council". See also more details in the present work under Part Four, section I.C.].

"First the imperial letter convening the Council was read. Then Hilary told how he had been given charge of a papal letter to the assembled bishops. This was received by Dioscorus, but not read, the secretary John, announcing that he had before him a communication from the Emperor, and at the request of Juvenal this was read. The bishops then began to consider the doctrinal question" (Sellers, p. 78; see *ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 147-148, 150-152, for the records in Chalcedon I, paragraphs 81-86, 108-118).

[At Chalcedon, when this section of the Acts of the Synod of Ephesus was under discussion, Dioscorus affirmed that he had twice said that Leo's communication should be read—though Eusebius of Dorylaeum intervened with, "It is a lie"—and requested that Juvenal and Thalassius should be asked to give their evidence. While the latter stated that in his insignificance he had had nothing to do with the matter, Juvenal explained that John the presbyter and chief of the notaries, instead of reading the papal letter, had taken up the Emperor's communication which he had read at his (Juvenal's) request (Mansi, vi. 616f). What the Bishop of Alexandria said at Ephesus was this: " Ὑποδεχθήτω (υ. *l.* ὑποδειχθήτω) τὰ γραφέντα πρὸς τὴν ἁγίαν ταύτην καὶ οἰκουμενικὴν σύνοδον παρὰ τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ συνεπισκόπου Λέοντος (*ibid.* 616 A; Schwartz, *ACO*, II. i. I, p. 83)". It would seem, then, that it was primarily due to the precipitate action of Juvenal that the *Tome* was not read on this occasion] (Sellers, n. 7 on p. 78f.).

Frend (*RC*, p. 768) comments saying that Dioscorus "opened the session properly enough by having the imperial letters of summons read. These were strongly critical of any two-natures Christology, but then, without refusing to read Leo's *Tome*, Dioscorus moved straight to the conflict between Eutyches and Flavian. In a sense, it was a logical decision for this was the council's business outlined in the emperor's instructions, whereas Leo's *Tome* was merely a letter to Flavian. Eutyches had an unexpectedly strong case". I.e. "Dioscorus did not rule out Leo's *Tome* on principle, but he accepted Juvenal's view that other business took precedence" (*ibid.*, p. 783 & n. 146).

II.C.1.b. The Reading of the Acts of the Home Synod of Constantinople 448:

The Acts of Constantinople, 448, under Flavian were read at Ephesus 449 and preserved and read later at the first session of Chalcedon 451.

In the first session of Constantinople, 8 November 448, the indictment of Eusebius of Dorylaeum against Eutyches was received and read with preliminary discussion (paragraphs 223-225, 230-235, *ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 168-171).

In the second session of Constantinople, 12 November 448, St. Cyril's *Obloquuntur* (i.e. Second Letter to Nestorius) was read together with part of the Acts of the First Council

of Ephesus, 431 (paragraphs 240-245, *ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 173-178) and *Laetentur coeli* (i.e. the *Formulary* of 433, parag. 246, *ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 178-183). When these letters recorded in the Acts of the Home Synod of 448 were read in the Second Council of Ephesus, 449, Bishop Eustathius of Berytus pointed out to the assembly that the Letter of John of Antioch needed to be interpreted in the light of the letters St. Cyril had written subsequently to his supporters. The holy Father had expressed himself more clearly in his letters to Acacius of Melitene, Valerian of Iconium, and Succensus of Diocaesarea, wherein he had sided rather with the belief in 'one incarnate nature of the divine *Logos*' than with that in 'two natures' (*ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 184-185, parag. 261; cf. Mansi, vi. 675, 676; quoted in Sellers, p. 54, n. 4 and p. 79).

II.C.1.c. The Annulment of the Decisions of Constantinople, 448, Against Eutyches and His Monks and His Exoneration by the Council of Ephesus, 449:

After hearing the Acts of Constantinople, 448, and the unjust condemnation of Eutyches there (see before under Part Two, section I.C.1.), the fathers of the Second Council of Ephesus, 449, discussed the case of Eutyches, (see before under Part Two, section I.C.2.b.). And to bring these proceedings to a close, St. Dioscorus then requested each bishop to state his opinion concerning the orthodoxy of Eutyches, and, beginning with Juvenal of Jerusalem and Domnus of Antioch, one hundred and twelve bishops, together with the archimandrite Barsauma, accepted his profession of faith and agreed that he should be reinstated. Finally the president of the Council, St. Dioscorus of Alexandria, said: **"Confirming all the sentences of this holy and ecumenical council regarding the most devout archimandrite Eutyches, I add my judgement that he should hold presbyteral rank and govern his monastery as before"** (*ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 273-292, parag. 884:1-114). Notice that the Second Council of Ephesus, 449, in the above-quoted paragraph, pronounced its judgement in the capacity of being a **holy and ecumenical council**.

Therefore, the Oriental Orthodox Churches if they are to count ecumenical councils after the first three (Nicaea 325, Constantinople 381, and I Ephesus 431), the fourth is this Second Council of Ephesus, 449, and the fifth would be the Third Council of Ephesus, 476, studied before in Part Two under section I.A.2.h. (q.v.).

It is worth noting that Olympius bishop of Augaza (= Theodosiopolis in Asia), the 88th bishop who signed the exoneration of Eutyches in the Second Council of Ephesus calls **this council "ecumenical"**, and the **"most holy father Dioscorus, ecumenical archbishop of the great city of Alexandria"**. The following is his statement in full:

"(88) Olympius bishop of Augaza said: 'From the reading of the minutes written in his own hand, the document that was presented, and the statements he has made in the presence of **the ecumenical council**, whose chairman and leader is **our most holy father Dioscorus, ecumenical archbishop of the great city of Alexandria**, I recognize that the most devout archimandrite Eutyches is orthodox and is of the same mind and opinion as the 318 fathers who met at Nicaea as regards the true and orthodox faith which was expounded by them and which was confirmed not long ago at the council of Ephesus. Therefore I too, in accord with the sentence pronounced by the holy fathers, judge it right that the most devout Eutyches should keep his old priesthood and preside over the most devout brethren who have been under his authority for a long time" (*ACC*, vol. 1, pp.

287-288 = Mansi vi. 855B).

Price (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 287) comments in footnote 330 on the title **"ecumenical archbishop"** given to Pope Dioscorus saying: "330. The Latin word is *universalis*. Rusticus comments *ad loc.* that **this implies recognition of Dioscorus as 'archbishop of the whole world'. Dioscorus certainly claimed, and Rome agreed, that Alexandria was the primatial see in the east**. Cf. the later adoption by the archbishop of Constantinople of the title 'ecumenical patriarch'".

Meyendorff (*IUCD*, p. 114) also says: "The Alexandria archbishops gladly accepted the title of 'ecumenical archbishop' (οἰκουμενικὸς ἀρχιεπίσκοπος) used by their supporters".

It is worth noting also that among the liturgical titles of the Pope of Alexandria used in the Coptic Church is that he is **"the judge of the ecumene"** (ⲕⲣⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲓⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏⲥ).

Then a plaint which was sent from the clerics and monks of the monastery of Eutyches was received and read. Those clerics and monks had been excommunicated and expelled by Flavian (see before under Part Two, section I.C.1.d.). Their plaint was addressed: **"To the holy and God-beloved ecumenical council meeting in the metropolis of Ephesus"** and signed by thirty-five members (*ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 292-295, paragraphs 887-888). After a discussion with their representatives, they were now allowed to return and to hold their services – though only after St. Dioscorus and the bishops had made sure that they believed as the blessed Athanasius, the blessed Cyril, the blessed Gregory [the theologian] and all the orthodox bishops (parag. 891). (See *ibid.*, pp. 295-296, paragraphs 889-904).

Thus the first part of the Council's project was accomplished. It only remained to carry through the second and deal with the accusers of Eutyches.

II.C.1.d. The Deposition of Flavian of Constantinople and Eusebius of Dorylaeum:

Before discussing and determining the fate of Flavian of Constantinople and Eusebius of Dorylaeum, the accusers of Eutyches, St. Dioscorus ordered to be read in sequence, first, the Acts of the opening session of the Council of Ephesus (431), at which the Creed of Nicaea had been established against Nestorius as the norm of orthodoxy, and next, the Acts of the sixth session of the same Council, 22 July 431, at which the Ephesine Decree had been set up (Sellers, p. 81, abridging Mansi, vi. 872ff., 887ff., 893). He then asked each bishop to signify in writing whether anything should be added to, or taken from, the Nicene faith. General agreement was forthcoming, and the papal legates themselves 'signified their assent' (*ibid.*, quoting Mansi, vi. 905; cf. *ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 340-343, paragraphs 943a-961).

Then St. Dioscorus said, "The holy Synod had heard the reading of the Decree, but it was also aware that Flavian and Eusebius of Dorylaeum had changed almost everything—that is, of course, through their support of the doctrine of 'two natures', and their attempt to force Eutyches to accept the *Formulary of Reunion*—and had seriously troubled the holy Churches and the orthodox laity everywhere; thus had these offenders become subject to the penalties synodically determined by the Fathers, and, since the Bishops had already confirmed what had been laid down in the Decree, it behooved them to judge Flavian and Eusebius as alien from the priestly and Episcopal office" (Sellers, pp. 81-82, quoting Mansi, vi. 908 = *ACC*, vol. 1, parag. 962 on pp. 343-344).

Having given them this lead, he proceeded to call on each bishop to state his opinion. The protests of Flavian and Hilary, the Roman deacon, were in vain (Sellers, p. 82; *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 344, paragraphs 963, 964). "In all a hundred and thirty episcopal signatures for the sentences of deposition were secured, that of the unhappy Domnus appearing between those willingly given by Juvenal and Thalassius. The abbot Barsumas also readily subscribed" (Mansi vi. 927-936, where appears the list of signatures = *ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 344-363, paragraphs 966-1066 and the list of signatures in parag. 1067. The list contains 140 signatories but with several doublets, see *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 358, n. 508).

Then the Synod wrote to the emperor informing him that Eutyches had been found orthodox, and that Flavian and Eusebius had been deprived "because they went beyond what was formerly established at Ephesus". The letter of the Synod to Theodosius II appears, not in the Greek Acts, but in the Syriac Codex (Brit. Mus., Add. Ms. 12156)... The letter, with other relevant documents, has been translated by Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 431ff. (Sellers, p. 83 & n. 1).

The historian Patriarch Michael the Syrian notes that the Council of Ephesus, 449, "did not read the *Tome* of Leo, in order to spare its author from a sentence of condemnation" (Michael Syr., *Chron.* viii:6, Ar. trans. vol. 1, p. 282).

In his comment on this first session of the Second Council of Ephesus, Frend (*RC*, p. 768, 783, n. 148) quotes the cries recorded in the *Acta* of the Council read at Chalcedon (*ACO* II .1.1.p. 140, parag. 491) when the Council was entranced. "Two natures before the union, one afterwards. Is this not what we all believe?" asked Dioscorus. At once the mood of the assembled bishops changed. Anger exploded against Eutyches' accusers. "Eusebius, to the flames..... Cut in pieces the man who divides Christ". "Anathema to him who says two natures after the incarnation" (see *ACC*, vol.1, p. 219, paragraphs 491-495).

Frend (*op. cit.*) then **expresses his view that "it was good that Leo's *Tome* was not read, for in that atmosphere its author and his representatives would have been excommunicated then and there"**. This is true, because, as Frend himself noticed (*ibid.*, p. 767): "The *Tome* could be reconciled with the *Formula of Reunion*, but not with Cyril's twelve Anathemas. Even at Chalcedon, where the tide was flowing strongly against Dioscorus, these statements and the thought behind them were challenged. From his exile far away in an Egyptian oasis, the aged Nestorius welcomed the *Tome* as 'an orthodox and irreproachable confession of faith'" (*ibid.*, quoting Nestorius, *Liber Heraclidus*, ed. Nau, p. 298). [It seems that Leo had no idea about the orthodoxy of the Formula "one nature out of two" expressed in the letters of St. Cyril to Succensus, thus in his *Tome*, Leo rebukes Flavian for the theological obtuseness, because he had not been severe enough on Eutyches' absurd statements about "one nature after the union"].

Samuel also comments on the rehabilitation of Eutyches and the condemnation of Flavian and Eusebius in the Council of 449, saying: "...we have to raise the question of the basis on which it was adopted by the council. In fact, as we shall see, at Chalcedon the bishop of Dorylaeum asserted that the second council of Ephesus had assumed the heresy of Eutyches as orthodoxy, and condemned him and Flavian. The view expressed by Eusebius has been repeatedly maintained by many in Christian history. However, the fact, as we can see clearly in this story, is that the council of 449 ratified the theological position which the council of 431 had adopted as its basis for condemning Nestorius, and in its light decided to

acquit Eutyches on the one hand and to excommunicate Flavian and Eusebius on the other. In other words, the council of 449 asserted the Alexandrine view of the reunion of 433 as against the Antiochene interpretation which the synod of 448 had owned" (*Chalcedon Re-examined*, pp. 33-34).

Moreover, **Price** (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 118) comments on the condemnation of Eusebius and Flavian in the Second Council of Ephesus, saying: **"In view, however, of the injustice of Eutyches' condemnation at the Home Synod of 448, one may concede some propriety in Ephesus' condemnation of Eutyches' chief accuser, Eusebius of Dorylaeum, for vexatious prosecution, and of Archbishop Flavian of Constantinople, the chairman at the synod, whose bias against the defendant had been exposed in the hearings of April 449".**

John bishop of Hephaestus (in Augustamnica I) in his apt remark concerning the injustice done to Eutyches by Eusebius of Dorylaeum and Flavian of Constantinople in the home synod of 448, added his verdict of exoneration and rehabilitation of Eutyches in the Second Council of Ephesus, 449, as recorded and later presumably read in the first session of Chalcedon, parag. 884:92, which we quote here in full: "(92) **John bishop of the city of Hephaestus said: 'The most religious presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches was overcome neither by the threats of his most hostile judge nor by the deviousness of his accuser but in the midst of such a storm of plotting kept his soul unshaken and resisted the tumultuous surge of those who sought to attack and overturn him, as has been proved by the recent reading of the illegal proceedings against his person. Let him therefore enjoy presbyteral dignity and presidency over the most devout monks in his charge, since he displays his pious and inflexible guardianship of the orthodox and unimpeachable faith, which has been his shield in a time of fierce combat, as he has been assailed from all sides by the darts of enmity and impiety'**" (*ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 288-289).

Again, in his condemnation of Eusebius and Flavian, Bishop John of Hephaestus gave the following verdict, at the end of the first session of Ephesus II (8 August, 449) which was recorded and later included among the documents to be read at the first session of Chalcedon:

(I:1045) John bishop of the city of Hephaestus said: "If a divine sentence from the Saviour declared that he who causes one of the little ones to fall incurs a most grievous penalty (cf. *Matthew* 18:6), what worthy of their impiety should be suffered by those who at this time have thrown almost the whole world into confusion and given confidence, as far as they could, to those who follow the wicked doctrines of Nestorius? In addition they have given pagans and Jews the opportunity to deride and denigrate the Christian faith, as if our orthodox and unimpeachable faith were unknown until today, when in fact this faith was defined by the holy fathers at Nicaea through the Holy Spirit, and was sealed a short time ago in this metropolis also..." (Then he refers to the hostilities against Eutyches and concludes:) "Therefore Flavian and Eusebius duly incur the sentence of our holy fathers, and have been expelled from the priesthood by this holy council, for attempting to alter the faith and foolishly follow the doctrines of Nestorius, so that in future no innovation may be perpetrated against the pious and orthodox religion" (*ACC*, vol. I, pp. 354-355).

The number of the signatories to the condemnation of Eusebius and Flavian which

appear in the Latin edition is 140 bishops (*ibid.*, pp. 358-363). With the exclusion of six or seven doublets (cf. *ibid.*, p. 358, n. 508), the real number of signatories is 134 or 133 bishops including the chairman, St. Dioscorus, who signed first.

But before signing the condemnation, a majority of bishops pronounced their verdicts which were recorded and preserved in the documents which were published – and presumably read – in the first session of Chalcedon (I:96-1066), from which we have quoted before the verdict of John of Hephaestus. We select here a few more examples (*ibid.*, pp. 354, 356, 345, 347, 357):

(I:1043) Theopemptus bishop of Cabasa said: "War is serious when waged by open enemies, but it is still more grievous when waged by false friends and deceivers, for they cause harm by pretence, drawing the most simple away from piety and distancing them from the doctrines of the church. The most devout Flavian, formerly bishop of the great city of Constantinople, who wished to confirm the doctrines of the wicked Nestorius, has been shown by many proofs to be a heretic, while Eusebius, formerly a wrong appointment as bishop of the city of Dorylaeum, has been caught holding the same views as Flavian. So because they did not abide by the doctrines of the holy fathers, this holy and great council has pronounced against them a just sentence of condemnation. I too concur with all the verdicts of the holy council regarding them, that it should be plain that they are excluded from episcopal dignity and all priestly ministry".

(I:1057) Theodulus bishop of the city of Tesila said: "It would have been better for the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius if they had not been born, but to have millstones hung round their necks and be thrown into the sea, because they have caused simple souls to fall (cf. *Matthew* 26:24, 18:6). Therefore I concur with their condemnation for transgressing the decrees of the holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea and formerly at Ephesus".

Few bishops, while recognizing the danger of heretical teachings and the importance of defending the faith, they articulated their condemnation of Eusebius and Flavian, which they really deserve, using a mild tone with pity and sadness. For examples:

(I:969) Eusebius bishop of Ancyra in Galatia said: "I have always loved mercy; but since it is the cause of religion that has spurred the sacred fathers to issue in a just sentence a decision against Flavian and Eusebius, I give my assent".

(I:981) Julian bishop of the city of Tavium said: "It is with profound regret that I make this sad pronouncement, for such is the rule of the wise; but because, in defense of piety, the leaders of this great ecumenical council have subjected Flavian and Eusebius to the verdict of the fathers, I assent to what has been done in accordance with the law".

One bishop from Egypt, Zeno of Rhinocolura in Augustamnica I, adopted this line:

(I:1060) Zeno bishop of the city of Rhinocolura said: "Although this holy and great council has pronounced against former bishops a sentence that is severe, full of great sadness, and worthy of the most bitter tears, yet because of the great wickedness and impiety of the impious Eusebius and of Flavian, who was led astray by his insanity and blindness, as the reading of the minutes has shown, we ourselves, who follow the rules of compassion and brotherly love, assent while lamenting to the just judgement promulgated against them".

Once condemned, Flavian and Eusebius were treated as prisoners, and the former was so maltreated that, he died in or soon after August, 449 A.D., or as commonly said, he died four days after he was brutally manhandled (cf. Sellers, p. 82).

Frend (*RC*, pp. 768, 783, n. 150), **however, quotes Chadwick's survey of the evidence "Exile and Death of Flavian", showing that Flavian died in exile, perhaps in February, 450 A.D., i.e., he did not die soon after his deposition in 8 August, 449 A.D.** (See Chadwick 1955). [See also Part Two, section II.F.3. of the present work.]

Eusebius having been deposed was imprisoned but he managed to escape to Rome (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 194, n. 210).

II.C.2. THE SECOND SESSION OF EPHESUS II (22 August, 449):

II.C.2.a. The *Syriac Acts* of the Second Session of Ephesus II:

"The acts of the second session on 22 August were not read back at Chalcedon and do not survive in their Greek original. They are known to us from a sixth-century Syriac translation preserved in a monastery of the miaphysite church that regarded Chalcedon as the 'false' council and Dioscorus as a martyr" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 33 & n. 122 referring to the *Acts of the Second Council of Ephesus*, second session: Syriac text with facing German translation in *Syriac Acts*, ed. Flemming; English trans. in Perry 1881. In *ACC*, *op. cit.*, n. 121: The scribe, in his postscript to the Syriac manuscript, names himself as John, living in the monastery of Mar Eusebius at Kafra D'Bartha (near Apamea), and gives a date of 535: *Syriac Acts*, ed. Flemming, 156-9).

II.C.2.b. The Opening of the Second Session:

The second session began a fortnight later, on Monday 22 August. The attendance had fallen off somewhat. The list of bishops present at the second session is recorded in the *Syriac Acts*, ed. Flemming, 6-9. The monk Barsaumas' name is appended to the end of the list, for a total of 113 present... (*ACC*, *op. cit.*, & n. 123). The council first heard from messengers who reported that the papal envoys were nowhere to be found. They apparently went into hiding in and around Ephesus after the Synod had condemned Flavian [for details see Sellers, p. 83, n. 4].

"Domnus of Antioch had excused himself under the pretext of illness: in a vain effort to save his own skin, he communicated his approval of the deposition of Flavian and Eusebius. Dioscorus and his colleagues then turned to the unfinished business of condemning and deposing other 'Nestorian' bishops and wiping out the Antiochene faction once and for all" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 33), for the Synod had been charged, not only to put an end to the dispute that had arisen between Flavian and Eutyches, but also to eject from the Church all who favoured the error of Nestorius. (See the Letter of Emperor Theodosius II to the Second Council of Ephesus in *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 139, parag. 51).

II.C.2.c. The Action Against Ibas Bishop of Edessa:

"First came the case of Ibas, who, like Theodoret, had not been summoned to the Synod. The letter of Theodosius to Barsumas was read, and the abbot and eleven 'distinguished archimandrites' were received by Dioscorus. The latter then called on Photius, Eustathius

and Uranius to give their evidence. These requested that the reports of the enquiry held by Chaereas, the petition against the Bishop which had been signed by representatives of the people of Edessa, and the minutes of the hearing of the case at Berytus-Tyre (which included the *ad Marim*) should all be read" (Sellers, p. 83, quoting Perry, pp. 100ff.).

"The action against Ibas occupies nearly as much space as all the rest combined, incorporating the lengthy official reports of the count Flavius Chaereas, sent to investigate the situation in Edessa three months previously. Chaereas duly documented and forwarded to the emperor transcripts of the....acclamations and slogans of assembled crowds, petitions filed by prominent laypersons and clergy, and proceedings of hearings held in Edessa, all of which convey the impression of a population united in hatred of their bishop" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 34 & n. 125 referring to Chaereas' report, as read at the second session of Ephesus: *Syriac Acts*, ed. Flemming, 14-61).

During these hearings, reference was made back to prior investigations of Ibas:

First: At Hierapolis in 445, before Domnus;

Second: At Antioch in Eastertide 448, again before Domnus; it is clear that the main charge related to Ibas' Nestorianism, but financial improprieties were also alleged, particularly at Antioch where the plaintiffs were warned that if they brought charges relating to doctrine the case would simply be dismissed (Perry, 128-131). Failing to get satisfaction at Antioch, they appealed to Theodosius II and to Flavian of Constantinople.

Third: At Tyre and Berytus in early 449. The emperor had issued a mandate on 26 October 448 ordering that the case against Ibas (and also against his associates Bishops Daniel of Carrhae and John of Theodosiopolis) be heard in the province of Phoenice by a commission made up of three bishops – Uranius bishop of the city of Hemerium, Photius of Tyre, and Eustathius of Berytus. Hearings followed in February 449 that began at Tyre and soon moved to Berytus. The Acts of Chalcedon's tenth session reproduce a substantial part of the minutes (28-138).

"The complainants claimed that they had been trying for years to present their case but that Domnus conspired to block the investigations and protect his colleague. The allegations covered a range of misdeeds, from embezzling church funds to ordaining adulterers, thieves and paedophiles as priests. Many witnesses testified to Ibas' doctrinally dubious statement – which he later tried to deny – that 'I do not envy Christ becoming God, for inasmuch as he became God, so also have I'" (*ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 34-35, referring to *Syriac Acts*, ed. Flemming, 42-49, cf. Chalcedon X.81). "The remark is given in a slightly different form in the testimonial from Ibas' clergy (Chalcedon X.141) 'I don't envy Christ having become God, since I too, if I want, can become like him'. A fuller form of the remark appears in the *Syriac Acts* (trans. Perry, 97-103): 'I do not envy Christ becoming God; for in so far as he has become [God] I have become so, for he is of the same nature as myself'. These Acts (in their record of the hearing in April 449 before the governor of Osrhoene) preserve other choice plums of Ibas' alleged preaching, such as 'The Jews should not boast, for they only crucified a mere man', and 'If God were dead, who [was] there to raise him to life?' (Perry, 105-8)" (*ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 266f., n. 6).

"Ibas' letter of 433 to Mari the Persian, in which he had sharply criticized Cyril, was read before the synod to the outraged shouts of the bishops, who promptly condemned him" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 35).

The reading of these records "polluted the ears" of the bishops who cried out: "Let Ibas be burnt..."; "even demons are more modest than Ibas, for these did acknowledge Christ to be Son of God"; "Nestorius and Ibas should be burnt together! Exile to them is nothing! Satan and his son to the fire, both together!" (Sellers, pp. 83-84, citing Perry, pp. 124f.).....

"Then Eulogius, the presbyter of Edessa, entered, and recited the charges against his Bishop which he had attempted to bring before Domnus at Antioch.... Once again Dioscorus took the lead: Ibas, by his blasphemous statements had brought upon himself condemnation both in this world and the world to come; and on this account the canonical sentence of deposition was obligatory. When twenty bishops, beginning with Juvenal and Thalassius, and including Basil and Seleucus, had each given their judgement, the President asked the rest to speak with one voice, and all denounced Ibas as a contender with God" (*ibid.*, p. 84, citing Perry, p. 134). Dioscorus, and the bishops, also determined that Ibas should restore all the Church's property which he had wrongfully appropriated" (*ibid.*, n. 4).

II.C.2.d. The Action Against Daniel of Carrhae (Ḥarran):

"Next on the list was Daniel, Ibas' dissolute nephew and bishop of Carrhae (Ḥarran), who had plundered church property to purchase gifts for his mistress. In this instance, as with Ibas, the accusers claimed that Domnus had stonewalled previous attempts at investigation. Perhaps recognizing that some characters were beyond rehabilitation, Chalcedon did not reopen his case" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 35).

The *Syriac Acts* reveal that the judges...declined to condemn Daniel of Carrhae on the grounds that the conviction of a bishop on charges relating to morality would scandalize the pagans (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 267, n. 8, citing Perry, 156-159). "Eustathius of Berytus testified at Ephesus II that he and the other judges had acquitted Daniel purely in order to hush up the scandal and that Daniel promptly sent in his resignation (*Syriac Acts*, trans. Perry, 156-9)" (cf. *ACC*, vol. 2, p. 266, n. 5).

II.C.2.e. The Action Against Irenaeus:

The Council of Ephesus then turned its attention to Irenaeus, the twice-married former count, who had aided and abetted Nestorius, and in 435, together with Nestorius, was exiled to Petra, after confiscation of goods. Between 443 and 446, after long exile, he was consecrated by Domnus to the bishopric of Tyre, despite his earlier condemnation and his double marriage. He "proved himself a tyrannous wolf of the people of Tyre" (Perry, pp. 171ff.). When this had been brought to the emperor's attention, he had ordered, in an edict of 17 February 448, Irenaeus deposed and reduced to lay status (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 35; Ber. *EEC*, p. 416). "On 9 September 448, Domnus had to consecrate Photius to be bishop of Tyre 448-451" (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 289).

The Council of Ephesus, 449, now condemned Irenaeus as an associate of Nestorius and confirmed his deposition (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 35).

II.C.2.f. The Action Against Aquilinus of Byblus and Sophronius of Constantia:

"Next came Aquilinus of Byblus, deposed for Nestorian heresy and association with other heretics. His main crime, apparently, was that he had been ordained by Irenaeus (Perry,

pp. 182ff.). The bishops then heard a complaint against Sophronius of Constantia (Tella), a suffragan of Edessa and another illustrious nephew of Ibas. Several clerics presented a long and fascinating indictment (*libellus*) charging him with engaging in sorcerous divination rituals, studying astrology, and consorting with Jews. The council reached no decision on his case, preferring to leave the issue for the new metropolitan bishop of Edessa (Perry, pp. 189ff.)". [See *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 35 & n. 128: "Nonnus, soon appointed to replace Ibas, would represent Edessa at the sessions of Chalcedon prior to Ibas' reinstatement. Sophronius remained in office, since he was seated at Chalcedon with no apparent objections. But at the eighth session, he was one of several bishops (including Theodoret) who were pressured to pronounce an unambiguous anathema upon Nestorius: VIII. 26-7"].

II.C.2.g. The Judgement Against Theodoret of Cyrrhus:

Next came the judgement against Theodoret – a man who had been trained from childhood to old age in the Nestorian blasphemies (Perry, p. 253). "First the *libellus* (*ibid.*, pp. 207ff.) presented by Pelagius the presbyter of Antioch, was read. In it, after recounting the evils which, out of their love for impiety, the Bishops of Cyrus and Antioch had caused him to suffer, the presbyter made his frenzied appeal to an assembly which 'had been convoked by God to be a battalion of the Holy Spirit'..." (Sellers, pp. 84-85, quoting in n. 1 from Perry, pp. 214f.: "Let them uphold the faith of the Fathers, Pelagius pleaded, and not allow anything new, or contrary to it, to be introduced; let them be armed with the armour of God and transfix manfully with the sword of the Spirit the two false shepherds who were corrupting their flocks; and remembering how Elijah, though alone, contended against the many priests of Baal and was crowned victorious by the sentence of fire from heaven, let them burn with the fiery tongues of the Holy Spirit those who were daring to introduce the error of Nestorius").

"With his *libellus*, Pelagius also presented a copy of the letter which Theodoret had written to the monks of the Orient 'against the God-fearing Bishop Cyril and against the holy and oecumenical Synod of Ephesus' (*ibid.*, p. 85, referring to Perry, pp. 218ff. = Theodoret, *Ep.* cli), together with fifteen extracts from the apology on behalf of Diodore and Theodore which the Bishop of Cyrus had drawn up after the Alexandrian had written against them (Perry, pp. 241ff.). After these had been read, and the Synod had heard the final 'blasphemy' namely, Theodoret's condemnation of the 'one nature' as 'the evil peculiarly his' (Cyril's) (*ibid*, pp. 248f.), Dioscorus announced that he who had never desisted from his impiety, and had brought trouble in all the Churches of the Orient through daring to write what was contrary to the principles set up by 'our blessed Cyril', should be removed from his office, and that all in communion with him would be liable to punishment for setting at nought the decrees of 'this holy and oecumenical Synod' (*ibid.*, pp. 251f.). To this judgement all consented, and Eustathius of Berytus assured the assembly that, with the rooting out of Theodoret, the flocks of Christ in the Orient would now be taught the true religion (*ibid.*, p. 257)" (Sellers, p. 85).

II.C.2.h. The Judgement Against Domnus of Antioch:

Finally, the case against Domnus was reviewed. "The sequence of the agenda was no

accident. With Irenaeus deposed, Domnus could then be blamed for having ordained him. Only after Ibas and Theodoret had been condemned could Domnus be held culpable for his association with them" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 36).

"On account of 'great bodily debility', Domnus was unable to attend the session at which Theodoret and the others were condemned. By the order of Dioscorus, notaries were sent who read to him the minutes, and asked for his opinion. These reported that the Bishop assented to 'all those transactions that have been apostolically conducted and accomplished (Perry, pp. 253, 273ff.). Liberatus supports this testimony (*Brev.* 12)" (Sellers, p. 85, n. 7).

"The first indictment presented against Domnus charged him with nothing more than nodding approvingly while Theodoret made blasphemous remarks, uttered the potentially treasonous statement 'no one believes by imperial edict' and cast a copy of the decrees of Ephesus I into a fire. Domnus himself was then accused of various blasphemies and of treating roughly those who disagreed with him. It was alleged that Domnus performed irregular ordinations of known heretics, and even that his own election had been uncanonical" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 36, referring to Flemming, pp. 122-129). "It appears that John...was attempting to found a patriarchal dynasty at Antioch through appointing his nephew as his successor. Hence opponents—Heliodorus the deacon, and the monks Simon, Abraham and Gerontius—could testify at the Ephesine Synod that Domnus had been made bishop without any election, and that there had been 'neither any assembly for [Divine] Service nor Communion in the Mysteries' (Perry, pp. 314ff.)" (Sellers, p. 34, n. 3 & p. 86, n. 6).

Charges against Domnus were brought forward by Cyriacus, the presbyter. "In a *libellus* (Perry, pp. 288ff.) he accused the Bishop of 'manifesting the fruit of his partiality for Theodoret, of not ejecting from his communion Irenaeus of Tyre, after the latter had been deposed at the Emperor's command, and of seeking the help of the 'aider and abetter', Flavian of Constantinople. He then presented his accusation in summary form (Perry, pp. 294ff.). Domnus, he stated, had maltreated Pelagius, the Antiochene presbyter, taught his candidates for Baptism the doctrine of Nestorius, encouraged the *Copiatae*, *Lecticarii* and other Nestorians to oppose the Edict of the gracious Emperors against the prevailing impiety, and had even dared to say that, when Stephen prayed for his enemies, he was 'make like unto our Lord Christ; for although the persons were different, yet the grace was the same'; a statement which was greeted with cries of 'Anathema to the blasphemer! Anathema to Domnus! Ibas never said that' (*ibid.*, p. 297). Lastly, Cyriacus requested that the Patriarch's letter to Flavian should be read, and when the bishops heard the references to him who was trampling underfoot the holy canons and turning the throne of St. Mark upside down (*ibid.*, pp. 298ff.)—they were even more vociferous: 'He who calumniates thee (Dioscorus) is a calumniator of Cyril, and a blasphemer of God', they cried (*ibid.*, p. 307). Then the offended Pelagius came forward with a copy of the confession which Domnus and Theodoret had compelled him to sign, and the Synod heard how under threats he had accepted the 'two natures' (*ibid.*, p. 319). At the same time, he brought forward the petition of the aged Marcellus and his monks, who claimed that, through consecrating bishops of the same sentiments as himself, the Bishop of Antioch was the cause of the ruin in the East (*ibid.*, pp. 308ff.). Thus Domnus was already doomed. But here was the chief enemy, enthroned in the citadel of the doctrine of 'two natures', and Dioscorus was determined to bring about

its complete downfall. The Alexandrian Patriarch called on John, presbyter and *primicerius notariorum*, to read the remaining document. This contained the extracts from Theodoret's homilies and exclamations which Theodosius the monk had carried to Alexandria (*ibid.*, pp. 324ff.), and—damning evidence against the Antiochene—the correspondence between Dioscorus and Domnus. What it was that the latter had thought it wise not to make public (*ibid.*, pp. 327-356) was now laid bare: the Synod heard how in his zeal for the true faith the Bishop of Alexandria had urged Domnus to show that his Church was not preaching 'two Sons' by accepting the Twelve Anathematisms, and how, in reply, Domnus had pleaded that to do this would provoke a major conflict in the Orient. Then came the President's brutal question: 'Who was rejecting the Twelve Chapters of the blessed Cyril? Let the bishops declare their mind'. To this they replied, 'Let him who does not receive them be anathematized'; and, each giving his judgement in turn, all were agreed that the Bishop of Antioch was infected with the impiety of Nestorius, that he opposed the decrees laid down by the Fathers at Nicaea and Ephesus, that 'he had blamed Cyril's Twelve Chapters, long since received by the Synod which by the grace of God had assembled at Ephesus', and that in consequence he should be removed from the episcopate (*ibid.*, pp. 356ff.)" (Sellers, pp. 85-87 & n. 1 on p. 87: "So Basil of Seleucia [Perry, p. 362]. See also the letter of Theodoret to John of Germanicia, in which he complains that at Ephesus the Anathematisms were sanctioned, and that Domnus had been deposed because he would not accept them [*Ep.* cxlvii]").

II.D. The Adjournment of the Second Council of Ephesus and Its Encyclical:

"The council adjourned and reported its decisions to the emperor. Theodosius praised the work of the synod, and issued a law barring 'Nestorians' from the priesthood and ordering the burning of Theodoret's works" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 37, referring to *ACO* 2.3.2., pp. 347-348, n. 106). At the emperor's direction, Pope Dioscorus circulated an encyclical letter that all bishops were to sign (*ibid.*), "demanding that the writings of Nestorius – lest they should be circulated under the names of orthodox teachers – should be burnt, and that only the treatises of the holy Fathers, and those of others whose teaching was in harmony with the faith established at Nicaea and Ephesus, should be in use, and that for ever" (Sellers, p. 87, referring to Perry, pp. 373ff.). The encyclical "contained no doctrinal statement, but simply demanded that they accept the decrees of both Ephesian councils and that they approve the condemnations directed against the 'Nestorians' (*Syriac Acts*, ed. Flemming, 151-155). The bishops of Ephesus II declined to adopt a formal creed or definition of faith, since their purpose, as they saw it, was simply to affirm Nicaea and Ephesus I and condemn innovations upon them" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 37, n. 137: "A sentiment probably shared by the greater part of the bishops at Chalcedon, who even after they had condemned Dioscorus and Ephesus II showed great reluctance to compose a new definition – doing so only after heavy pressure from both imperial authorities and papal representatives: see Sessions II and V").

II.E. The Imperial Edict in Support of the Second Council of Ephesus:

The emperor Theodosius II "wanted such a decree and, on receiving the council's report, he took steps to implement its provisions by requiring all bishops to sign them.

In this connection he wrote also to pope Leo asking him to accept the decisions, and published an edict in support of the council" (Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 40). It was an imperial *lex* (Mansi, vii 495ff.) published through the help of Chrysaphius "in which these decisions, as well as those made concerning the fate of Domnus, Theodoret and Flavian, were confirmed. Further, that for all time there might be a *perfectissima solutio* of the whole doctrinal question, it was laid down that the bishops through their metropolitans should subscribe what had been determined at Nicaea and confirmed at Ephesus, and that none should be ordained whose views were those of Nestorius and Flavian and men of the same mind. The Bishop of Alexandria had every reason to be satisified with the results of his attack against the doctrine of the school of Antioch" (Sellers, p. 87).

II.F. The Events that Followed the Second Council of Ephesus:

II.F.1. THE REACTION OF POPE LEO OF ROME:

Pope Leo of Rome, though safe in Italy, was left marginalized. "Although Leo protested against the proceedings of the Second Council of Ephesus, 449 A.D., and afterwards stigmatized it as *Latrocinium* (brigandage), yet it had been accepted throughout the East" (Frend, *RC*, p. 769; see Leo, *Ep.* 95 to Pulcheria dated 20 July 451).

"In rejecting the council in this way, Leo may not have had in mind any iniquity which critics in later times spoke concerning it and which pro-Chalcedonian writers delighted in perpetuating. It is a fact that almost any defect that has been leveled against the council of 449 by its critics has been spoken against the council of Chalcedon by those who opposed it. Furthermore, if emperor Theodosius II had permitted Leo of Rome to hold a council in Italy as he had demanded soon after the council of 449, it would on no account have been above reproach. The real grievance of pope Leo, as the term which he employed clearly indicates, was that the council did not honour his *Tome*. He may well have seen in this an act of ignoring his papal authority and even robbing his see of the divine right which he was claiming for it. An assembly which dared to pay no attention to his papal mandate was for Leo a meeting of robbers, and not a council of the Church" (Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 38 & n. 175: "The fact has to be noted that any gathering is likely to be denounced by its opponents").

By the middle of September, both Julius and Hilary the Roman legates arrived in Rome and submitted their report to Leo, and to a synod in Rome which was then in session. This Synod "was celebrating the anniversary, 29 September 449, of the Pope's consecration when these appeals arrived. They discussed the situation; and, in their name or in his own, 13-15 October, Leo dispatched seven letters in all to protest against the recent proceedings of the Council of Ephesus. The first two were addressed to the Sovereigns of the East: to Theodosius, of whom he requests that all may remain *in statu quo ante*, until its doings are revised by a General Council in Italy; and to Pulcheria, whom he begs to support this request to her brother. In the third, he addresses himself to his Vicar, Anastasius, bishop of Thessalonica (435-†51),.... Then followed the fourth, to Julian, bishop of Cos; the fifth, to Flavian; the sixth, to the clergy and people of Constantinople; and the seventh, to its monks. The purport of all was the same: 'Stand fast'. But nothing came of these endeavours

that autumn" (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 309).

Leo could count also on collaboration in the east. While leaving Ephesus, Hilary had taken with him an appeal from Flavian. "This *Appellatio Flaviani* is printed as No. LXX of the Church Historical Society's pamphlets (S.P.C.K. 1903), ed. T.A. Lacey. 'It was addressed to the Apostolic See and its synod (ib. 50), not to Leo as supreme judge of the faithful, having *iure divino* supreme power of jurisdiction over the whole Church', Denny, *Papalism*, §728" (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 308, n. 6).

Similar appeals were lodged by Eusebius and Theodoret. Eusebius of Dorylaeum was imprisoned after his deposition, but he managed to escape to Rome (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 194, n. 210). Thus "The bishop of Dorylaeum and possibly also Theodoret himself made their personal appearance before the pope. In this way a powerful coalition was organized against the council of 449 with Rome as its centre of operation" (Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, pp. 40-41 & n. 183: "As Rome was not directly under the political control of Theodosius II, Leo could exercise freedom in such matters"). Samuel comments (*ibid.*, p. 40, n. 183) saying: "Zacharia Rhetor preserves the story that Theodoret went up to Rome on this occasion and made common cause with pope Leo. See *Ecclesiastical History*, Syriac, book I, p. 147. The story is certainly not improbable. Even if we disregard it, the fact should be admitted that a special alliance was formed between Leo and Theodoret, and that the latter had not yet endorsed the condemnation of Nestorius".

II.F.2. THE CONSECRATION OF ANATOLIUS FOR CONSTANTINOPLE (449-458) AND MAXIMUS FOR ANTIOCH (449-455):

In November, 449 A.D., Anatolius, Dioscorus's delegate (*apocrisiarius*) at Constantinople was consecrated patriarch of Constantinople (449-458), in Flavian's stead (Frend, *RC*, p. 769). Anatolius was born in Alexandria, ordained deacon by St. Cyril and sent as *apocrisiarius* to Constantinople, a post which he retained when St. Cyril was succeeded by St. Dioscorus, with whose support Anatolius was elected patriarch (Ber. *EEC*, p. 37).

Anatolius then consecrated Maximus to the see of Antioch instead of Domnus who was deposed at the Second Council of Ephesus 449. Maximus's background is uncertain. He may or may not have been the same Maximus who as a deacon of Antioch in the 430s criticized bishop John of Antioch for being insufficiently anti-Nestorian and to whom St. Cyril of Alexandria wrote his *Epistles* 57 and 58 (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 38 & n. 139; cf. Ber. *EEC*, p. 548). "But their Alexandrian connections notwithstanding, once in office these two men would show no hesitation in advancing the interests of their new sees and turning against Dioscorus when it became politically expedient" (Gaddis in *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 38).

In the words of Richard Price: "Archbishop Anatolius, Flavian's successor at Constantinople, and Bishop Maximus, Domnus' successor at Antioch, had both been agents of Dioscorus, but now, like weathercocks, followed the change of the wind; both pressed the bishops in their areas of authority to sign Leo's *Tome*, a letter written to Archbishop Flavian in June 449, condemning Eutyches with more eloquence than truth" (*Chalcedon in Context*, p. 72). [See also Leo, *Ep.* 88, in *ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 101-103, and Part Five of the present work under section IV.'I.: "The inaccuracy of Leo's *Tome* in stating the heresy of Eutychius"].

II.F.3. THE DEATH OF FLAVIAN OF CONSTANTINOPLE:

"Following the then prevailing custom, Flavian was taken into custody by the state soon after the verdict of deposition against him and he died subsequently. This incident came to be interpreted in later time by the opponents of the council of 449 as having been caused by physical injuries inflicted on him at the council, though no such story was told at Chalcedon in 451" (Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 41 & n. 181: "In agreement with H. Chadwick, Grillmeier maintains that Flavian may have died in February 450 and not in August 449, and that 'it would be quite possible that Anatolius had some hand in Flavian's death' (*Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. I, p. 469, n. 1). From the point of view of this study, when exactly Flavian died is not important. What we should note is the question whether there is any basis for the allegation that Flavian was ill-treated at the council of 449, and that he died of injuries thus inflicted. It is a fact that the split in the Church following the council of Chalcedon drained so much of passion on both sides that the denunciation of either side by the other should be taken with much caution. As to the council of 449, it is only fair that no adverse comment which is not clearly established by the minutes of the council of Chalcedon should be deemed deserving any attention by impartial scholarship").

Frend also says (*RMM*, p. 42, n. 3): "It would appear that Flavian was still in good enough health to pen his desperate but dignified appeal to Leo. His *natalis* was kept on 17 or 18 February, and the possibility exists that he died in exile on that day in 450". He refers also (*ibid.*) to Chadwick's survey of the evidence (see Chadwick 1955, which shows that Flavian died in exile, perhaps in February 450; see also Frend, *RC*, pp. 768, 783, n. 150).

II.F.4. ENLISTING THE WESTERN COURT BY POPE LEO OF ROME:

"Early in 450 the Western Court paid a visit to Rome, to take part in the feast of the Chair of St. Peter, 22 February; and Leo contrived to turn the incident to account. At his suggestion, the Emperor Valentinian III, his mother Galla Placidia, and his wife Eudoxia, each wrote to their eastern kinsfolk. All in vain. Theodosius had but just issued a rescript, confirming everything that was done at Ephesus. He sent frigid replies to the Pope (not extant) and to the Emperor and the princesses of Ravenna (Leo, *Epp.* lxii-lxiv); assuring them that all had passed off well at the Council and that, since the removal of Flavian, peace had reigned in the East without injury to the Faith. There was nothing to be done: though Leo kept open an avenue for further action, whenever possible, by correspondence, 17 March, with Pulcheria (*Ep.* lx), and by offering, 16-17 July, to recognize Anatolius (*Epp.* lxix-lxxi) on condition of his accepting Cyril's second letter to Nestorius [*Obloquuntur*] and his own *Tome* to Flavian. There was no response" (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, pp. 309-310).

II.F.5. THE STAND OF ST. DIOSCORUS OF ALEXANDRIA:

"No one questioned Dioscorus's orthodoxy, and two years later at Chalcedon he was condemned for disciplinary offenses, not for heresy. The meeting of 'this great and holy synod', as it was called by its participants, had been in fact a fully representative assembly of bishops from Theodosius II's dominions. Its findings were held 'to agree with Nicaea'. They agreed too with public opinion in the East. The emperor himself was satisfied. He accepted Flavian's deposition and reassured his anguished relations in the West that everything had

happened in the best possible way. On the other hand the influence of Pulcheria, Leo's ally at Constantinople, if considerable, was still limited" (Frend, *RC*, p. 769).

II.F.6. THE DEATH OF EMPEROR THEODOSIUS II AND THE ACCESSION OF PULCHERIA AND MARCIAN:

"On 26 July 450, the Emperor Theodosius II was thrown from his horse while hunting and died soon after (two days). His sister Pulcheria assumed effective power, and within the space of a few months executed the eunuch Chrysaphius, announced her marriage to the... Thracian general Marcian and arranged his acclamation as the new emperor" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 38). Marcian was born 396 A.D., and through his marriage to Pulcheria at the age of 54, was coronated emperor, 450. Anatolius, the new archbishop of Constantinople had taken part in the coronation ceremony, if not actually crowning Marcian as emperor (450-457). [See Frend, *RMM*, p. 46; Frend, *RC*, p. 769 and n. 158 on p. 784; *ODCC*, ed. 2, p. 870; Ber. *EEC*, pp. 522-523].

Pulcheria, who was born 19 January 399, took a vow of virginity with her younger sisters Arcadia and Marina. After her brother's death on 28 July 450, she ascended the throne at the age of 52, disregarded her vow and chose as her consort Marcian (Ber. *EEC*, pp. 725, 829). She invested him with the Imperial insignia, 24 August, 450 (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 311), and died in July 453, two years after Chalcedon.

Although the Chalcedonians proclaimed her a saint considering her relation with Marcian to be a marriage in name only (cf. Ber. *EEC*, p. 725), yet McGuckin adds concerning the relation between her and Marcian, saying: "the alliance was (probably) the occasion for the exiled Nestorius' bitter accusations against her as an adulteress" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 233, n. 10). Also some anti-Chalcedonian sources claimed that "Pulcheria and Marcian had had an adulterous affair prior to Theodosius' death: cf. Burgess 1993-4" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 38, n. 141). "Both John of Nikiu and Michael the Syrian maintain that Marcian's accession was unlawful, and that he began to rule without the approval of the western emperor. Pulcheria was accused by the monophysites of having abandoned her vow of virginity, and living in debauchery with Marcian" (Allen, *Evagrius*, p. 97 & n. 7 referring to Michael Syr., *Chron.* VIII, 9, Chabot II, p. 36 [Ar. trans., vol. 1, pp. 291, 294]; John of Nikiu, ch. 87, 36; *Histoire du saint divin Mar Dioscore*, pp. 111-115 (ed. F. Nau in *Journal Asiatique* 10 [1903], pp. 1-108; 241-310).

The grand chamberlain Chrysaphius was executed, and Eutyches was again exiled (see Frend, *RMM*, pp. 45-46). "Immediately on his accession Marcian degraded and detained Eutyches, who was inevitably ruined by the fall and execution of his patron Chrysaphius, quite apart from the need to mend fences with Rome. Marcian could not wait for a formal reversal of the decree of Ephesus II in Eutyches' favour" (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 161, n. 70). In October Flavian's body was brought to rest in Constantinople and his name restored to the diptychs, that is, to be recorded at the Eucharist among those to be remembered with honor (see Leo, *Ep.* 77, from Pulcheria to Leo, written on 22 November 450, *ACC*, vol. 3, p. 161). The bishops deposed at Ephesus returned from exile (*ibid.*). The imperial couple, Pulcheria and Marcian, protested their loyalty to the pope. Through the winter and spring of 450-451 negotiations went on to arrive at some agreement between Rome and Constantinople. Patriarch Anatolius's position was relatively strong. He had crowned Marcian emperor, and

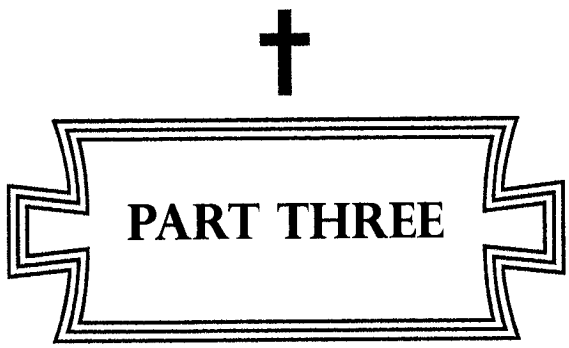
Ephesus II had been accepted throughout the East. However, the *Tome* of Leo had escaped condemnation, and Anatolius was prepared to agree with Leo that orthodoxy could be based on Cyril's second letter to Nestorius (see Frend, *RMM*, p. 46). The crux as always was the relationship between the two sees. Anatolius wanted Leo to accept canon 3 of the Council of Constantinople in 381 with its statement of the prerogatives of his own see. Leo wavered (Frend, *RC*, p. 769). [See also, "The reasons for the Coptic Alexandrian Church's repudiation of canon three of the Council of Constantinople, 381 A.D.", in Part Four of the present work, under section I.C.]

"On 13 April 451, Leo wrote to Anatolius, asking him to delete the names of Dioscorus, Juvenal and Eustathius of Berytus from the diptychs, thereby excommunicating them on his own authority. Leo demanded also that the case of other men who had taken part in the council of 449 be left for his decision. In this way he was able to take full control of the situation, and even work out the theory that Dioscorus and a few ignorant men had been solely responsible for the decisions of 449, thereby hoping to bring the entire Church under his supreme authority without any council or proper consultation with his episcopal colleagues, particularly in the east. But everything did not work precisely as Leo had planned. His effort to dissuade the emperor from convening a council proved unsuccessful" (Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 43).

[See more details in Part Four of the present work under sections III.A.4. & 5.]

II.F.7. THE INVITATION FOR CONVENING A NEW COUNCIL:

On 23 May 451, Marcian sent letters summoning bishops to a council that would meet in September in the city of Nicaea. But practical reality forced the already assembled bishops at Nicaea to relocate to Chalcedon, a city on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus opposite Constantinople. This imposed a few weeks' delay, and it was not until Monday 8 October 451 that the council could finally begin its work. [See details in Part Four of the present work, under section III.A.6., "The imperial summoning of a council at Nicaea, and its relocation at Chalcedon".]



IMPORTANT CHRISTOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES RELATED TO THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, 451 A.D., AND LATER COUNCILS

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I. THE DOUBLE CONSUBSTANTIALITY OF THE INCARNATE *LOGOS*

I.A. The Double Consubstantiality in the Early Tradition:

I.A.1. IN THE HOLY BIBLE AND THE NICENO-CONSTANTINOPOLITAN CREED:

The consubstantiality of our Lord Jesus Christ with the Father is stated in the Nicene Creed and the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed and is biblically founded (compare *Philippians* 2:6; *Colossians* 2:9; *John* 10:30).

His consubstantiality with us is biblically attested (*Romans* 1:3,4; *Galatians* 4:4; *Philippians* 2:7; *Hebrews* 2:14,17, 4:15); but He is without sin (*John* 8:46; *II Corinthians* 5:21; *Hebrews* 4:15; *I Peter* 2:22).

I.A.2. IN THE WRITINGS OF ST. ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA:

In his treatise *On the Incarnation of the Word*, St. Athanasius writes (8:1-4): "... the incorporeal and incorruptible and immaterial Word of God comes to our realm, howbeit he was not far from us before. For no part of Creation is left void of Him: He has filled all things everywhere, remaining present with His own Father. But He comes in condescension to shew loving-kindness upon us, and to visit us..... He takes unto Himself a body, and that of no different sort from ours. For He did not simply will to become embodied, or will merely to appear. For if He willed merely to appear, He was able to effect His divine appearance by some other and higher means as well. But He takes a body of our kind, and not merely so, but from a spotless and stainless virgin, knowing not a man, a body clean and in very truth pure from intercourse of men. For being Himself mighty, and Artificer of everything, He prepares the body in the Virgin as a temple unto Himself, and makes it His very own as an instrument, in it manifested, and in it dwelling. And thus taking from our bodies one of like nature, because all were under penalty of the corruption of death He gave it over to death in the stead of all, and offered it to the Father—doing this, moreover, of His loving-kindness, to the end..." (*NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. IV, p. 40).

In his *Epistle to Epictetus*, bishop of Corinth, he denounces the Docetic views shared by the Arian and Apollinaristic groups, refuting their heretical ideas in great detail. The following is only an example (from parag. 2):

"...What lower region has vomited the statement that the Body born of Mary is coessential with the Godhead of the Word? or that the Word has been changed into flesh, bones, hair, and the whole body, and altered from its own nature? Or who ever heard in a Church, or even from Christians, that the Lord wore a body putatively, not in nature; or who ever went so far in impiety as to say and hold, that this Godhead, which is coessential with the Father, was circumcised and became imperfect instead of perfect;.....Or whence

again have certain vomited an impiety as great as those already mentioned, saying namely, that the body is not newer than the Godhead of the Word, but was coeternal with it always, since it was compounded of the Essence of Wisdom? Or how did men called Christians venture even to doubt whether the Lord, Who proceeded from Mary, while Son of God by Essence and Nature, is of the seed of David according to the flesh, and of the flesh of Saint Mary?..." (Quasten III, p. 59, quoting *NPNF*, second series, vol. IV, pp. 570-574).

I.A.3. IN THE *FORMULARY OF REUNION* OF 433 A.D.:

St. Cyril in reply to John of Antioch (*Ep.* 39), quoted in parag. 5 the *Formulary of Reunion* written to him by John, after making a very important change through the addition of the word **"the same"** to stress the unity of the Lord Jesus Christ and his double consubstantiality. Thus parag. 5 in St. Cyril's *letter* 39 to John reads as follows:

"5. And so we confess that Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Only Begotten Son of God, is perfect God and perfect Man, of a rational soul and body. He is born of the Father before the ages according to the Godhead, and **the same one** in these last days for us and for our salvation was born of the virgin Mary according to the manhood. **The same one is consubstantial with the Father according to the Godhead, and consubstantial with us according to the manhood**..." (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 344).

In the same letter to John of Antioch, St. Cyril speaks of our Lord Jesus Christ saying: "The same one is perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood", Gk. "τέλιος ὢν ἐν θεότητι καὶ τέλιος ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι ὁ αὐτός..." (*PG* lxxvii. 180B). "At the same time, lest it should be thought that he uses the expression only as he is influenced by the teaching of the Antiochenes, it should be noted that the same expression appears in his *ad Theodos. Imp.*, ed. Pusey VII, pt. i. p. 74. See also *Scholia* ix, *ibid.*, VI. p. 514" (Sellers, p. 212 & n. 3 on p. 212f.). He also speaks of Jesus Christ as "*homoousios* with us, while remaining *homoousios* with the Father" (*adv. Nestor.* iii.3; ed. Pusey VI, p. 157, cf. Sellers, pp. 212-213).

I.A.4. IN OTHER WRITINGS OF ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA:

In his Second Letter to Nestorius, St. Cyril says: "7.....the Word 'becoming flesh' means nothing else than that **'he shared in flesh and blood like us' (*Hebrews* 2:14), and made his very own a body which was ours, and that he came forth as man from a woman, although he did not cast aside the fact that he is God, born of God the Father, but remained what he was even in the assumption of the flesh. Everywhere the exposition of the orthodox faith promotes this doctrine.** We shall also find that the holy Fathers thought like this, and this is why they called the holy virgin 'Mother of God'. This does not mean that the nature of the Word or his divinity took the beginning of its existence from the holy virgin, rather that he is said to have been born according to the flesh in so far as the Word was *hypostatically* united to that holy body which was born from her, endowed with a rational soul" (St. Cyril's *Letter* 4, parag. 7, trans. McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 265).

Likewise, in his letter to Acacius of Melitene, St. Cyril explains: "...who was begotten before ages from the Father according to divinity and 'in recent days' for us and for our salvation was begotten of Mary, the Holy Virgin, according to his humanity, that **the**

same one is consubstantial with the Father according to his divinity and consubstantial with us according to his humanity.....he is the same before ages and 'in recent days', and clearly that he is from God the Father as God, and from a woman according to the flesh as man. For how might he be thought to be consubstantial with us according to his humanity and yet begotten of the Father according to his divinity, I say, unless the same one is thought to be and said to be God and man as well?" (St. Cyril's *letter 40*, parag. 10, 11, *FCNT* vol. 76, p. 159. See also *letter 45* to Succensus, parag. 6, in *FCNT* vol. 76, p. 193 and *letter 46* to the same Succensus, in Wickham, *Select Letters* pp. 88-89).

In his book *Quod Unus Sit Christus*, (*Christ is One*), St. Cyril reaffirms the double consubstantiality, saying: "Jesus is God, the one and only true Son of God, the Word of God the Father born of God before all ages and times, nonetheless the same one, in these last times of the present age, has been born of a woman according to the flesh, for the form of a slave belongs to no other, but was his very own" (McGuckin, *On the Unity of Christ*, p. 75). He also speaks about the self-emptying of God the Word, "who though he was in the form and equality of the Father chose to assume the form of a slave for our sake, and came in likeness to us, and shared in flesh and blood and graced everything under heaven with the economy of the incarnation" (*ibid.*, p. 132).

He also says: "This is why we believe that there is only one Son of God the Father. This is why we must understand Our Lord Jesus Christ in one person. As the Word he is born divinely before all ages and times, but in these last times of this age the same one was born of a woman according to the flesh. To the same one we attribute both the divine and human characteristics, and we also say that to the same one belongs the birth and the suffering on the cross since he appropriated everything that belonged to his own flesh, while ever remaining impassible in the nature of the Godhead. This is why 'every knee shall bend before him, and every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father' (*Philippians* 2:10-11) – Amen" (*ibid.*, p. 133).

[For an older English translation of the above-mentioned three quotations, see Pusey, *Five Tomes, etc.*, pp. 261, 317, 318-319.]

See two more quotations from St. Cyril as cited by St. Timothy II, given hereafter (under Part Three, section I.B.2.).

I.A.5. IN THE ADMISSIONS OF EUTYCHES:

Although the Eutychian heresy denies the consubstantiality of our Lord Jesus Christ with us, yet as we have shown before (under Part Two, sections I.B. and I.C.) that Eutyches himself admitted – though reluctantly – the consubstantiality of our Lord Jesus Christ with us (q.v.).

I.A.6. IN THE *TOME* OF PROCLUS TO THE ARMENIANS:

Proclus Patriarch of Constantinople (434-446 or 447 A.D.) wrote a *Tome* addressed to the Armenians in which he says:

"For it is all too evident that in the beginning Christ was not a man but only God. When he became man he took our nature in its complete form. And it is because of this that 'as he is of the one substance of the Father according to the divinity, he is also of the same

generation of the Virgin according to the flesh'. Then they must accept that Christ is not a man as different from God the Word, but 'the same God the Word who created the world, gave the Law, inspired the Prophets and, in the end, took flesh and chose the Apostles for the salvation of the Gentiles and the peoples'" (Sarkissian, p. 123).

I.B. The Double Consubstantiality in the Teachings of the Anti-Chalcedonian Fathers:

I.B.1. IN THE TEACHINGS OF ST. DIOSCORUS OF ALEXANDRIA:

St. Dioscorus of Alexandria (444-454 A.D.) writes to the monks of the Henaton, a monastery situated nine miles from Alexandria, saying: "God the *Logos*, consubstantial with the Father, at the end of the ages for our redemption became consubstantial with man in the flesh, remaining what he was before" (Perry, *op. cit.* p. 393; quoted in Sellers, p. 31 n. 1).

Also in his letter to Secundinus, St. Dioscorus says: "Omitting many urgent matters, this I declare: that no man shall say that the holy flesh which our Lord took from the Virgin Mary by the operation of the Holy Spirit, in a manner which he himself knows, was different from and foreign to our body.... For Paul has said...'It was right that in everything he should be made like unto his brethren' (*Hebrews* 2. 16, 17), and that word, 'in everything', does not suffer the subtraction of any part of our nature;... the flesh which was born of Mary was compacted with the soul of the Redeemer, that reasonable and intelligent soul, without the seed of man.... For he was like us, for us, and with us, not in phantasy, not in mere semblance, according to the heresy of the Manichaeans, but rather in actual reality from Mary the '*Theotokos*'. To comfort the desolate, and to repair the vessel that had been broken, he came to us new.... He became by the dispensation like us, that we by his tender mercy might be like him. He became man...that we by grace might become the sons of God. This I think and believe; and if any man does not think this, he is a stranger to the faith of the apostles" (quoted in *The Syriac Chronicle* iii. I, trans. Hamilton and Brooks, pp. 45f; quoted also in Sellers, p. 31; and Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 185).

[Grillmeier (*CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 30 & n. 92) gives a shorter quotation from St. Dioscorus of Alexandria, *Ep. ad Secundinum*, cited by Timothy Aelurus, *Ep. II ad Alexand.*: Ebied-Wickham, 360. A more lengthy excerpt from the letter of Patriarch Dioscorus to Secundinus is found in Timothy Aelurus in his writing *Against Chalcedon*: Ebied-Wickham, *OLA* 18, pp. 159-60 (according to Br. L. Add. 12156, fol. 49v-50r).]

From the two letters of St. Dioscorus Pope of Alexandria, his successor St. Timothy II quotes him in few lines which represent the true faith. Thus St. Dioscorus writes: "My declaration is that no man shall assert that the flesh, which our Lord took from holy Mary, through the Holy Spirit, in a manner known only to himself, is different from or alien to our body" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 26 & n. 84, quoting St. Timothy's 27th answer to the *Tome*, vv. 174-85: *OLA* 18, p. 160).

I.B.2. IN THE TEACHINGS OF ST. TIMOTHY II (AELURUS) OF ALEXANDRIA:

St. Dioscorus's successor, Pope Timothy II (Aelurus) of Alexandria (457-477 A.D.),

writes in his second letter affirming that in the incarnation our Lord Jesus Christ was consubstantial with us.

"'Therefore' he insists, 'let no one, thinking to honour God, insult his mercy by refusing to abide by the teaching of our holy fathers, who have confessed that our Lord Jesus Christ became consubstantial with us in the flesh'" (Zacharia, *op. cit*, p. 188).

"Like Dioscorus, Timothy then goes on to affirm, on the strength of the epistle to the *Hebrews*, 'Since children partake of flesh and blood, he also did participate in them, in order that he might, by his death, abrogate the power of death, which is satan'.....he did not receive the nature from the angels, but from the seed of Abraham. It was necessary that he should identify himself with his brethren in everything in order that he might be merciful.....Since he endured suffering and temptation, he is able to succour those who are being tempted. By the words 'That he identified himself in everything', Timothy comments, the Scripture 'teaches all those who wish to be meet for the blessings of heaven and to be saved that they should confess the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ that it was from Mary.....; he who is of the same nature with the Father as to Godhead, the same became of the same nature with her and with us in the body'" (*ibid.*, as quoted in Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 203).

"From Gangra, the first place of Timothy's exile, he wrote a letter to Constantinople, where two Egyptians – Isaiah, bishop of Hermopolis....., and the presbyter Theophilus (of an unknown Theophilus church in Alexandria) – were spreading their errors and misusing Timothy's name for their own purposes" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 18 & n. 52 referring to St. Timothy Ael., *Ep. ad Constantinopolitanos* [*CPG* 5476]: Ebied-Wickham, 351-57[trans.]: "The Letter written to the city of Constantinople...against the heretics who do not confess that God the Word who is consubstantial in his Godhead with the Father, is consubstantial in flesh with us, and against those who talk of 'two natures'"....).

"Isaiah and Theophilus travelled to Constantinople, apparently in order to make contact with the Eutychian group. This can be assumed from the title of the named letter in Zacharias the Rhetor (*HE* IV 12). This writing is also directed against the 'Eutychians'. The testimonies of many fathers are included in order to explain the true doctrine of the incarnation:"

"I have written this upon hearing that certain persons are opposed to obeying the tradition of the holy fathers who taught Christ's fleshly consubstantiality with us. Such persons the fathers also anathematized. For we believe, in accordance with the tradition of the fathers, that our Lord Jesus Christ was consubstantial in flesh with us...and one with his own flesh" (Timothy Ael., *Ep. ad Constantinopolitanos*, [*CPG* 5476]: Ebied-Wickham, p. 352, as quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 19).

"The concern about the continued existence of Eutychianism is also the main tenor of the second letter, which went from Gangra to Alexandria. The excommunication of Isaiah and Theophilus was due. The two had even threatened the bearer of Timothy's first letter in Constantinople and stirred up the people with the assertion that it was a forgery. A letter (not extant) tried to move the two stubborn men to repentance:"

"I promised that if they refrained from heterodoxy and confessed that our Lord was consubstantial in flesh with us and that he was not of a different nature, I would maintain them in their former honour [position] and would grasp them with the same love [as before]"

(Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 19 quoting in n. 56. Timothy Ael., *Ep. ad Alexandrinos* [*CPG* 5477]: Ebied-Wickham, p. 358. For four years Timothy waited with the excommunication, although his second [lost] letter bore no fruit either).

Now St. Timothy II (Ael.) sent from his exile to the Church of Alexandria the declaration of excommunication of the two:

"...to inform everyone, naming the above mentioned Isaiah and Theophilus as persons who, by asserting that our Lord and God Jesus Christ is of an alien nature from us and that he was not consubstantial in flesh with men and that he was not really human, have alienated themselves from communion with the holy fathers and with me and give warning that no man henceforth should hold communion with them" (*Ep. ad Alexandrinos*: Ebied-Wickham, p. 359, as quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 20).

The letter of Timothy excommunicating Isaiah and Theophilus is included by Zacharia, *ibid.*, pp. 202-205. In this letter, Timothy fixed the time of penance for those who return from heresy at one year, following the injunction of Cyril and Dioscorus before him (Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 203, n. 9).

In 475, when Emperor Basiliscus recalled St. Timothy from exile to visit Constantinople and the Emperor issued his *Encyclical* which condemned not only the council of Chalcedon, but also those who maintained the notion that the incarnation was only a semblance, some people in Constantinople took offence at this emphasis, and they approached Timothy to make common cause with him, in the hope that he would also oppose the idea. But contrary to their expectation, Timothy turned the tables against them by telling them that "the scriptures teach us of Christ that he identified himself with us in everything, and that he became perfectly of the same nature with us, but for the impulse of sin. He was born supernaturally apart from conjugal union. But he became perfect man, having been conceived in Mary the Virgin, and from her born by the Holy Spirit, and he himself continued to remain God incarnate without any change" (Zachariah, *op. cit*, pp. 215-216; Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 204). [See more details in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 18 & n. 53 on pp. 18 & 19].

"The noticeable concern about the spread of Eutychianism also moves Timothy in letters V and VI. Letter V is still written from Gangra and goes to Palestine. It expands the picture of the spread of Eutychian or even Manichaean views. Previously Constantinople and Alexandria were more prominent as the centres of these heresies:"

"Inasmuch as I have heard that Palestine is full of schisms arising out of the teaching of many roving antichrists, who confess neither that our Lord was truly made man while remaining also God, nor that the unchangeable God the Word was consubstantial with us and of the same fleshly stock as us, by divine providence, and inasmuch as I have heard, while in exile for Christ's sake, of their dreadful blasphemies, which I did not even venture to commit to writing, I exhort you, dear friends, to be diligent, in so far as you are able, in saving those who are seduced" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 & 21, quoting Timothy Ael., *Ep. ad Faustin. diac.* [*CPG* 5480]: Ebied-Wickham, p. 365. Cf. also p. 331).

"Letter VI is supposed to have been written from the Chersonese, if we may believe the heading, but this is not otherwise confirmed in the letter. Again, it is against the Eutychians. Where they are to be found cannot be determined,... But at work around them are dogs and 'enemies of the cross of Christ' (*Philippians* 1:27-30), who harm the flock of Christ no less

than the Diphysites. The Antichrist is at work in them."

"These antichrists neither acknowledge that Jesus Christ has come into the world in human flesh, nor believe that God the Word became man while remaining God unchanged. Their heresy is an ancient and many-headed monster, which gained confidence from the wicked Synod of the Nestorians at Chalcedon. Some of them say that our Lord's incarnation was illusion, imagination and unreal" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 21, quoting Timothy Ael., *Ep. ad Claudian. presb.* [*CPG* 5481]: Ebied-Wickham, p. 367 [fol. 36ª]).

[St. Timothy's opponents say: Christ's body is uncreated, not really human and not consubstantial with Mary and with us, his brothers. But St. Timothy says:] "Was he not consubstantial with the holy Virgin and with us by the providence of God, while remaining immutable God and consubstantial with the Father, not to be divided or separated into two natures, essences, *hypostases*, or persons?... Whoever refuses to confess that our Lord's flesh is created, and that it was of created manhood must needs blaspheme with the Arians..." (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 22, quoting St. Timothy Ael., *Ep. ad Claud. presb.*: Ebied-Wickham, pp. 367-68, fol. 36ª).

St. Cyril of Alexandria, the chief witness of St. Timothy II, "also stresses the double consubstantiality of Christ with God and with us, and, regarding the humanity of Christ, Cyril in his later works often expressly emphasizes its totality (body and soul). The text quoted in the first letter brings this to expression: 'For thus you worship one Son who is both consubstantial in Godhead with the Father and consubstantial with us in his humanity'" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 29, giving a reference to this quotation in St. Cyril of Alexandria, *Fragmenta ex libro II contra Theodorum*, *CPG* 5229 (2): ed. Pusey, III, Oxford 1872, 525,14-16; Ebied-Wickham, *JTS* 21 (1970), 356).

"Another Cyril text from the second letter to Succensus would be clearer vis-à-vis the Eutychians:"

"But even if the body, which is joined to the Word springing from God the Father and in which is a rational soul, is not consubstantial with the Word, even if intellectual consideration perceives that the united [i.e., divinity and humanity] are of different natures, we still confess one Son and Christ and Lord, since the Word became flesh; but when we speak of flesh, we mean 'human being'" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, giving a reference to St. Timothy's quotation in St. Cyril of Alexandria, *Ep. 46 ad Succens.* II: *ACO* I 4, 2, p. 237,21-25 [Lat.]. Greek in I 6, no. 172, p. 158,21-25; *PG* 77, 240BC).

Grillmeier notes that none other than Timothy Aelurus used the special theme of Christ's double consubstantiality to combat the radical Eutychians. It was Timothy who compiled a florilegium of the fathers dealing specifically with this problem of Christ's double consubstantiality in his first Letter to the city of Constantinople (*FVC*, pp. 105, 112, quoting Syriac and English in R.Y. Ebied-L.R. Wickham, "A Collection of Unpublished Syriac letters of Timothy Aelurus" in *JTS*, N.S. 21 [1970] 321-69. Letter to the people of Constantinople, pp. 351-357). In the words of Grillmeier, "Timothy lays even greater emphasis on this (double) consubstantiality of Christ with man than does Leo I" (*FVC*, p. 105).

I.B.3. IN THE *HENOTIKON* (482 A.D.):

In the *Henotikon* of Emperor Zeno, drawn up as an instrument of concord in 482 A.D., we read the following: "We confess that the only-begotten Son of God, himself God, who

truly became man, our Lord Jesus Christ, who, *homoousios* with the Father according to Godhead and the Same *homoousios* with us according to manhood, came down and was incarnate of the Holy Spirit and of Mary the Virgin and '*Theotokos*', is one and not two (...ἕνα τυγχάνειν καὶ οὐ δύο); for we affirm that both the miracles and the sufferings which he voluntarily endured in the flesh (σαρκί) are those of one Person (Ἑνὸς γαρ εἶναί φαμεν...). We altogether reject those who divide or confuse or introduce a phantom, since this true incarnation which was without sin of the '*Theotokos*' did not bring about an addition of a Son; for the Trinity remained a Trinity even when One of the Trinity, the divine *Logos*, became incarnate (...καὶ σαρκωθέντος τοῦ ἑνὸς τῆς Τριάδος Θεοῦ Λόγου)" (Sellers, pp. 276-277).

I.B.4. IN THE TEACHINGS OF ST. PHILOXENOS OF MABBOGH:

Incarnation means for St. Philoxenos, that the same person is at once God and man. "He who is consubstantial with the Father", maintains St. Philoxenos, "the same became consubstantial with us through the incarnation" (Philoxenus, *Tractatus...op. cit.*, p. 131).

St. Philoxenus says: "Jesus is 'from the nature' of Mary" (Chesnut, p. 67, quoting *Tres tract.*, p. 140), "and at the same time from the nature of God, while he himself is only one being, and not two" (*ibid.*).

St. Philoxenus uses several expressions: "Jesus was '*homoousios*' with us or our humanity: '*homoousios*' in Syriac is expressed as *bar kyānâ*, 'member of the nature'; e.g. *Tres tract.*, pp. 251, 267. Christ inhabited or took upon himself our 'common nature', *kyānâ dhgawâ*, *Tres tract.*, pp. 168, 170-1, 182. Jesus is a man 'by nature', *bakhyānâ*, *Tres tract.*, p. 49. God became man 'from human nature', *men kyānâ 'nāshāyâ*, *Tres tract.*, p. 42. He is 'from our nature', *Tres tract.*, p. 97 etc." (Chesnut, p. 67, n. 1).

"When Philoxenus talks about Jesus coming from 'the nature' of Mary, he means two things: first, the collective human nature we all come from and in which we all participate" (*Tres tract.*, pp. 168, 170, 171, 182), "and second, the actual physical body of Mary. Mary's 'nature' – what she contributed to the formation of Jesus" (*ibid.*, p. 140, as quoted in Chesnut, p. 67).

Our Lord Jesus's human body "is said either to be 'in the common nature' (*bakhyānâ dhgawâ*), or to be 'from our nature', or 'from the nature of Mary' or *bar kyanan*, a term which generally renders the expression '*homoousios* to us'". "'In the common nature', *Tres tract.*, p. 168. He is 'from our own nature', *bar kyānâ dhîlan*, *Tres tract.*, p. 55, see also p. 251. Jesus is related to the Virgin 'by nature', and *bar kyānâ*, *homoousios* to her, *Tres tract.*, pp. 260, 262, 267; he is 'from the nature of the Virgin', p. 140. He was made man 'from us', p. 50" (Chesnut, p. 83 & n. 4).

St. Philoxenos is also very decisive in his renunciation of Eutychianism which he exposes in his writings, saying: "Eutychians admit only that God assumed the human form and likeness, while refusing to affirm that he took anything from Mary while assuming the body. They think that to grant this would lead to saying that the incarnation brought about an addition to the Trinity" (Philoxenos, *op. cit.*, p. 154; quoted in Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 204, n. 15). "If the Eutychians," insists Philoxenos, "believe as we do that everything made, particularly the nature of man, is God's creation, let them not speak like the Manichaeans that the body of God is not from us.....God's creation is good, so that

the Creator became man from it. If they hesitate to admit this, let them say clearly that the nature of man is from the evil one and show themselves to be not only phantasiasts, but also Manichaeans" (*ibid.*, pp. 42-43, quoted in Samuel, *op. cit.*, p. 205, n. 16).

St. Philoxenos also sees similarity between Nestorianism and Eutychianism. Thus he says: "The Nestorian and the Eutychian positions seem to oppose each other, but in reality they hold the same view, in that both deny that God was born of Mary. If God assumed only the likeness of the flesh, and not this our body taken in truth from the Virgin, the fact that *Theotokos* gave birth is not real" (*ibid.*, p. 141; quoted in Samuel, *op. cit.*, see also Chesnut, p. 66, n. 2).

About the Nestorianism, he writes saying: "Nestorianism does not admit that the Word became flesh, but only that flesh came into being and was assumed by the Word. Mary is not therefore *Theotokos*; she is only the bearer of flesh, namely the man in whom God dwells" (Philoxenos, *op. cit.*, as quoted in Samuel, *op. cit.*).

I.B.5. IN THE TEACHINGS OF ST. SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH:

St. Severus stresses the one nature and *hypostasis* of Christ and his double consubstantiality, saying: "Since the one Christ is one nature and *hypostasis* of God the Word incarnate from Godhead and manhood, it necessarily follows that the same is known at once as consubstantial with the Father as to Godhead and consubstantial with us as to manhood. The same is the Son of God and the Son of man. He is not, therefore, two sons, but he is one and the same Son" (Samuel, *op. cit.*, p. 246, quoting St. Severus, *Contra Grammaticum I*, p. 227).

Again St. Severus says: "...from her (i.e. the Virgin), by the Holy Spirit, he united to himself by the concurrence of a natural union flesh possessing soul and mind, which is consubstantial with us. So we speak of the union as *hypostatic*, for it was in the very union with the Word who is before the ages that the flesh was formed and came to be and in concurrence with him the flesh received concreteness into the union..." (Samuel, *op. cit.*, p. 245, quoting St. Severus, *Contra Grammaticum II*, pp. 239-240).

Again St. Severus affirms saying: "Christ is consubstantial with the Father according to Godhead and the same is consubstantial with us men according to manhood. This is because he is unchangeably and indivisibly one from both the Godhead of the Word and from one human flesh assumed from Mary, flesh animated with a rational soul and mind" (Samuel, *op. cit.*, p. 260, quoting St. Severus, *Contra Grammaticum I*, p. 253).

In the second part of the first of his three anathematisms pronounced in his baptismal catechetical homily 109 (*PO* 25, 770-771), St. Severus says: "And if he does not confess that the Son of God, who was without flesh and blood before the ages, has assumed flesh which is of the same essence as we are, from the Holy Spirit and the holy mother of God, the Virgin Mary, in a *hypostatic* union...let him be far from the grace of the true and divine incarnation" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 143).

I.B.6. IN THE LETTER OF THE ANTI-CHALCEDONIAN BISHOPS TO EMPEROR JUSTINIAN:

The anti-Chalcedonian bishops, during their stay at Constantinople for theological discussions (around 532 and early 533 A.D.), submitted to emperor Justinian a written

confession of their faith in which they declared that "The Word of God was incarnate... and became man without changing from being God. And since he is consubstantial with the Father according to Godhead, we confess that he is consubstantial with us according to manhood. Therefore, the *Logos*, the Son of the Perfect became a perfect man without any change happening to him nor diminution in anything during the process of our salvation..." (Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* IX, 22, Ar. tr., vol. II, p. 82).

I.B.7. IN THE TEACHING OF THE PRESBYTER AMMONIUS OF ALEXANDRIA

"We stand on relatively solid ground with the presbyter Ammonius and his writings, even if his person cannot be clearly identified. For us, his *commentary on John* is especially important, because in it his position on Chalcedon is clearly expressed and his Christology is well developed.... The passage in question is the scholium on *John* 3,6, which contains the sentences: 'Now, Christ is consubstantial (*homoousios*) with the Father as to divinity and consubstantial (*homoousios*) with the mother as to the flesh, even if Christ is one from both, unchanged and unmixed" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, pp. 101-102).

This is one of the various current forms of this double assertion as was predominant in Western tradition, which "speaks of being 'consubstantial with the *mother* (*consubstantialis matri*)' (thus Leo M.), while the latter, with the Eastern tradition (Symbol of Antioch, Union of 433, Chalcedon), speaks of being 'consubstantial with *us*'. Ammonius further interprets his words of frag. 75 in frag. 76.... We also learn this from the text of Emperor Zeno's *Henoticon* adopted at Alexandria. In it, on the one hand, the Eastern form of the double *homoousios* is cited, but, on the other hand, an express rejection of Chalcedon is added with regard to the two natures. Thus acceptance of the double *homoousios* in essence and rejection of the express two-natures formula – this is the position of Ammonius as derived from frag. 266 of the John commentary. He equates this formula with confession of two sons in Christ and calls this blasphemy. Thus *physis* here amounts to 'a concrete subject'. In substance there is agreement between Ammonius and the *Henoticon*" (*ibid.*, p. 102).

Presbyter Ammonius is one of the anti-Chalcedonian theologians of Alexandria. He cites St. Severus of Antioch, "though with a non-christological passage, as attested by frag. 630 on *John* 20,22-23 (Reuss, p. 353). According to Ammonius, Eutyches is correctly condemned; he gives his own substantiation: because of the errors of his followers after Ephesus II (449) (thus frag. 111 on *John* 4,3;...)" (*ibid.*, p. 103).

I.B.8. IN THE DOGMATIC LETTER OF PATRIARCH ATHANASIUS OF ANTIOCH TO EMPEROR HERACLIUS:

Mar Athanasius, the anti-Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch (known as the "Camel driver" 595-631 A.D.), in his letter sent to emperor Heraclius (610-641 A.D.), concerning the divine dogmas declares that "...We say that Christ the Son is one Lord, equal to the Father and the Holy Spirit in essence and Godhead, and equal to us in essence and manhood. He is impassible and immortal according to Godhead and passible and mortal according to flesh...." (Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* XI, 2, Ar. tr., vol. II, p. 296).

I.B.9. IN THE COPTIC BOOK OF PSALMODY:

I.B.9.a. In the Sunday Theotokion:

Ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲉⲛ ⲃ̄ ⲑⲙⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩ† ⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩⲃϩⲟⲩⲧ ⲉⲥⲟⲓ ⲛⲁⲧⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲛⲟⲙⲟⲟⲩⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ.

(He is) one out of two: a pure divinity:
which is incorruptible: consubstantial with the Father.

Ⲙⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲭⲱⲣⲓⲥ ⲥⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲟⲙⲟⲟⲩⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ †ⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ.

And a holy humanity: without sexual coupling:
consubstantial with us: according to the economy.

Ⲑⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲃⲓⲧⲥ ⲛϩⲏ† ⲱ †ⲁⲑⲉⲱⲗⲉⲃ ⲉⲁϥϩⲱⲧⲡ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩϩⲩⲡⲟⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ.

That which he assumed in you: O the immaculate one:
and became united with it: *hypostatically*.

I.B.9.b. In the Tuesday Theotokion:

Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏ† ⲁϥⲃⲓⲥⲁⲣϫ ⲛϩⲏ† ϩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧⲱⲓⲃ† ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲁⲣϫ ⲛⲗⲟⲅⲓⲕⲏ.

And likewise also: he took flesh in you:
without change: a rational flesh.

Ⲛⲟⲙⲟⲟⲩⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛ ⲉⲥϫⲏⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲁⲥ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲛⲟⲏⲣⲁ.

Consubstantial with us: complete:
and which has: an intellectual soul.

Ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲥ ⲉϥⲟⲓ ⲛⲛⲟⲩ† ϩⲉⲛ ϥⲏⲉ ⲁϥϥⲁⲛⲧⲟⲓ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ.

He remained God: in what he was:
and became a complete man.

I.B.9.c. In the Thursday Theotokion:

Ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲙⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧϥ ⲛⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲫⲟϥ ϩⲁϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲉⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ †ⲙⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩ† ⲁⲃⲛⲉ ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ.

The one only *Logos*: Who was born before all the ages:
according to the divinity without body: from the one Father.

Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϥⲁⲓ ⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧϥ ⲁⲩϫⲫⲟϥ ⲥⲱⲙⲁⲧⲓⲕⲱⲥ ϩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧⲱⲓⲃ† ⲙⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧϣⲱⲛⲍ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲉⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧⲥ.

And this also Himself: was bodily born:
without change and without alteration: from his mother alone.

I.C. The Double Consubstantiality in the Definition of Chalcedon and Later Chalcedonian Councils and Imperial Edicts:

It is stated in the Definition of Faith of the Council of Chalcedon, 451 A.D., that, "Following the holy Fathers we teach with one voice that the Son [of God] and our Lord Jesus Christ is to be confessed as one and the same [Person], that he is perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood, very God and very man, of a reasonable soul and [human] body consisting, consubstantial with the Father as touching his Godhead, and consubstantial with us as touching his manhood; made in all things like unto us, sin only excepted; begotten of his Father before the worlds according to his Godhead; but in these last days for us men and for our salvation born [into the world] of the Virgin Mary, the Mother of God according to his manhood" (Percival, p. 264).

So, the Chalcedonian formula and decision, in quoting this authentic article of our common faith, add no clarification or new basis. Double consubstantiality of the union belongs to the authentic tradition, with or without Chalcedon.

Similar statements are also to be found in later Chalcedonian councils.

Ex. Canon VIII of the Second Council of Constantinople of 553 A.D. has the following statement: "...Wherefore there is one Christ, both God and man, consubstantial with the Father as touching his Godhead, and consubstantial with us as touching his manhood" (Percival, pp. 313-314).

From the imperial religious edicts, we discuss the two "edicts" of Emperor Justin II (565-578 A.D.):

Through Patriarch Michael the Syrian "there are transmitted to us two 'edicts' from Justinian's successor, by means of which the Emperor attempted to reach agreement with the Severans; however, this was done in a completely contradictory manner. Whereas the first 'edict' is a testimony to an extreme concession *vis-à-vis* the 'Monophysites', almost amounting to the renunciation of Chalcedon, the second can be understood as an endorsement of Chalcedonian christology" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 484, referring to Michael Syr., *Chron.* X, II: Chabot II, 289a-290a; and X, IV-V: 295-299. the second is also in Greek in Evagrius Schol., *HE* V, 4: Bidez-Parmentier, pp. 197,28-201,11).

"First of all we shall turn to the content of the first *edictum* and cite its text verbatim."

"We accept only one unique definition of faith: the one that was promulgated by the three hundred and eighteen Fathers, which was confirmed by the Fathers assembled in Constantinople and Ephesus. We do not know of another definition than: we believe in one God, the Father...and the rest of the definition. **We accept the two births of the God-*Logos*, that from the Father before time and that at the end of the ages from the virgin Mary.** And we confess that he is truly the only (begotten) *Logos*, that he remained unchanged in his divinity, that he suffered in his flesh and as God worked miracles. (We do not confess) one and another, nor that Christ is one and God another; but (we do confess) one and the same (composed) of two natures, divine and human (natures); one *hypostasis* and one person, not two *hypostases* nor two persons, nor two sons; but one incarnate *hypostasis* of the God-*Logos*. We anathematize all heresies, above all Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Nestorius, who was deposed and anathematized by the Fathers, Celestine and Cyril. In the same way we anathematize Theodore, the letter of Ibas, the writings of Theodoret, and all those who think like them and resemble them in impiety. We accept the holy Patriarch

Severus and annul the anathema imposed upon him in iniquity and without reason. We annul the anathemas which have been imposed from Cyril's time to the present" (as quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*).

"In this we have the acknowledgement of only the first three councils, whereby Constantinople and Ephesus are understood as an explication of Nicaea. Chalcedon itself is not named. In addition there is the anathema on the Three Chapters and, surprisingly, the recognition of Severus and the annulment of all anathemas that were imposed upon him. The expressions 'from two natures' and the 'one incarnate *hypostasis* of the God-*Logos*' occur, but the *mia-physis* formula is explicitly missing. Nevertheless this proposal failed because of the resistance of the anti-Chalcedonians, for whom the formulations did not go far enough" (*ibid.*, p. 485).

In his second religious edict, published probably 571 A.D. (see Allen, *Evagrius*, p. 212), Emperor Justin II declares that "...the Lord Jesus Christ, he is one of the Trinity who is glorified with the Father and the Holy Spirit. And he did not add (through his incarnation) a fourth to the Trinity, because the one who became incarnate is he himself the Lord Jesus Christ who is consubstantial with the Father according to Godhead and consubstantial with us according to manhood, suffering in flesh and impassible in Godhead..." (Michael the Syrian, *Chron.*, X, IV-V, Chabot II, 295-299, quoted here from the Arabic trans., vol. II, pp. 184-185).

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II. "THE ONE COMPOSITE NATURE" AND "THE ONE COMPOSITE *HYPOSTASIS*" OF GOD THE *LOGOS* INCARNATE

II.A. An Introductory Note About the Alexandrine Doctrine of the "One Composite Nature" of God the *Logos* Incarnate:

The importance of the Alexandrine doctrine of "one composite nature" of God the *Logos* Incarnate lies in the reality that the "one" in the phrase "one nature" of God the *Logos* Incarnate is not a simple one; it is the "one" which includes the fullness of Godhead and manhood. Hence, the phrase "one nature" is not to be used with reference to Christ without the word "incarnate". Our Lord Jesus Christ is "one composite nature".

The "one composite nature" of Christ is a Cyrilline dogma which shows that the "one nature" expression, as it is conserved in the Alexandrine tradition, is not a single nature "monophysis". Therefore, the Oriental Orthodox Churches as the heirs and protectors of that great Orthodox tradition are not monophysites, since they do not deny neither the full humanity nor the full divinity of Christ. They should be properly called "Miaphysites", after the famous Cyrilline formula "*mia physis tou Theou Logou sesarkomene*" ("one incarnate nature of the Divine *Logos*").

The Chalcedonians do not accept the term "composite nature", since they take the term "nature" in an abstract sense, and not as a concrete reality. But the question is: How can the manhood of Christ as an abstract reality enter the world of time and space unless it inheres in a visible and tangible person?

Therefore, by "composite *hypostasis*" or "composite nature", the non-Chalcedonian theologians affirm the concurrence of Godhead and manhood in the one Christ. The union of Godhead and manhood in our Lord Jesus Christ was not a union of two natures understood as abstract realities, but God the *Logos* with the manhood which became individuated in the union. Though the manhood was not an independent *hypostasis* over against God the *Logos*, it is *hypostatic* in the union (see Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 251).

II.B. The Doctrine of "One Composite Nature" and "One Composite *Hypostasis*" of God the *Logos* Incarnate, in the Teachings of St. Cyril of Alexandria and the Earlier and Later Alexandrines:

II.B.1. IN THE TEACHINGS OF ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA:

The idea of "one composite nature" is stated in unmistakable terms in St. Cyril, whom St. Severus quotes again and again. As an example, he quotes him saying: "It is not merely with reference to those that are simple by nature that the word 'one' is employed, but it is

used also with reference to those that have come into being in **composition**, for which man is a good example" (Severus, *Contra Gr.* I, p. 91; Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 243; see St. Cyril's *Second Letter to Succensus*, *Ep.* 46, parag. 3, quoted below).

In his *First Letter (45) to Succensus*, St. Cyril explains the one *physis* of the Word of God made flesh, through the help of the example of the soul-body composition of man, saying: "...Our affirmation is this: if we carefully examine the mode of the scheme of incarnation, if we make a close survey of the mystery, we see that the Word from God the Father became man and was incarnate and that he did not mould that sacred body from his own nature but took it from the Virgin, because how could he have become man unless he wears a human body? So if we consider, as I said, the mode of his becoming man we see that two natures have met without merger and without alteration in unbreakable mutual union—the point being that flesh is flesh and not Godhead even though it has become God's flesh and equally the Word is God and not flesh even though in fulfilment of God's plan he made the flesh his own. Whenever we take this point into consideration, therefore, we do not damage the concurrence into unity by declaring it was effected **out of two natures**; however, after the union we do not divide the natures from each other and do not sever the one and indivisible into two sons but say 'one Son' and, as the fathers have put it, 'one incarnate nature of the Word'. So far, then, as the question of the manner of the Only-begotten's becoming man appears **for purely mental consideration by the mind's eye**, our view is that there are two united natures but one Christ, Son and Lord, the Word of God become man and incarnate. May we illustrate the case from **the composition** which renders us human beings? We are **composed** out of soul and body and observe two different natures, the body's and the soul's; yet the pair yields a single united human being, and **composition out of two natures** does not turn the one man into two men but, as I said, produces a single man, **a composite** of soul and body. If we repudiate the fact that the one and unique Christ is from two different natures, existing, as he does, indivisible after the union, opponents of orthodoxy will ask how he could have been made man or appropriated any flesh if the entirety is a single nature" (St. Cyril's *First Letter (45) to Succensus*, parag. 6-7, Wickham, *Select Letters*, pp. 74-77).

Again, in his *Second Letter (46) to Succensus*, St. Cyril stresses the composite condition of the one nature of the incarnate Word in parag. 3, where he gives an answer to his opponents who say: "3. If there is one incarnate nature of the Word, there must have been a sort of merger and mixture, with the human nature in him being diminished by its removal."

His reply is as follows: "Again they twist the facts, failing to recognize that the reality is one incarnate nature of the Word. If the Word who was begotten mysteriously of God the Father and who afterwards issued as man from woman by assumption of flesh (not lifeless flesh but flesh endowed with life and reason) is truly and actually one Son, he cannot be divided into two persons or sons but remains one, though not discarnate or incorporeal but possessing his very own body in inseparable union. To say this could not possibly mean or entail mingling, merger or anything of that kind, how could it? If we call the Only-begotten Son of God become incarnate and made man 'one', that does not mean he has been 'mingled', as they suppose; the Word's nature has not transferred to the nature of the flesh or that of the flesh to that of the Word—no, while each element was seen to persist in its particular natural character for the reason just given, mysteriously and inexpressibly

unified he displayed to us one nature (but as I said, *incarnate* nature) of the Son. 'One' is a term applied properly not only to basic single elements but to such **composite entities** as man compounded of soul and body. Soul and body are different kinds of thing and are not mutually consubstantial; yet united they constitute man's single nature despite the fact that the difference in nature of the elements brought into unity is present in the **composite condition**. It is therefore idle for them to claim that if there is **one incarnate nature of the Word** it follows there must have been a mingling and merger, with the human nature being diminished by its removal. It has neither got smaller nor is it being removed (to use their terminology); for to state that he is incarnate gives completely adequate expression to the fact that he has become man..." (St. Cyril's *Second Letter (46) to Succensus*, parag. 3, Wickham, *Select Letters*, pp. 86-89).

II.B.2. IN THE TEACHINGS OF THE EARLIER ALEXANDRINES:

We may note that Origen, in his teaching on our Lord's Person, said that "Jesus Christ is '**one composite being**' (ἕν σύνθετον) (*Contra Celsum* ii:9): the Incarnate is ὁ σύνθετος, and σύνθετόν τι χρῆμα (*ibid.* i:66)" (*Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 22; Sellers, p. 140, n. 3).

The term "**composition**" (σύνθεσις) of the *Logos* and His body, was used also by one of Origen's followers, namely, Malchion the Sophist, in his debate with Paulus of Samosata (see Loofs, *Paulus von Samosata*, p. 337, Fragment 5b; cf. also p. 336, Fragment 4). He also explains this "**composition**" as a "concurrence" (συνδρομή) of the divine *Logos* and what is of the Virgin, a "weaving together" (συμπλοκή) of God and man, so that He, like ourselves who consist of body and what is in the body, is a "**composite Being**" (σύνθετον ζῶον), and the *Logos* Himself is "part of the whole" (μέρος τοῦ ὅλου) (*ibid.*, p. 335, Fragments 2c and 2a; quoted in *Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 29, see Sellers, p. 140, n. 3).

Apollinarius of Laodicea (whose father was from Alexandria) often uses the term, a "**composition**" (σύνθεσις) (*Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 52). "It is noteworthy that Polemon, one of the leading disciples of Apollinarius uses the expression μία φύσις σύνθετος" (*ibid.*, p. 56; Sellers, p. 140, n. 6).

II.B.3. IN THE TEACHINGS OF LATER ALEXANDRINES:

St. Theodosius of Alexandria expresses the composition of Emmanuel's nature or *hypostasis* to Paul the Black of Antioch, saying: "We confess that God the Word...in the latter days became incarnate... In him there was no change or confusion; neither did the flesh which he united to himself *hypostatically* undergo confusion or mixture after the ineffable and indissoluble union. The *hypostatic* union did not affect the difference and otherness of the natures which came together into the union, nor were the natures divided or separated from each other. But from two Emmanuel was formed for us indivisibly, and his nature, namely *hypostasis*, is one, which has been formed in **composition**" (*CSCO*, vol. 17, p. 121; quoted by Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, pp. 243-244).

Grillmeier (*CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 57) gives part of the above-mentioned quotation with an addition which reads: "....from two the one and indivisible Emmanuel; one is his nature or **composite *hypostasis***; this means the same as when we say: the nature of the God-*Logos* himself and his *hypostasis* has become flesh and perfectly human being..." (Theodos. Alex.,

Ep. Synod. ad Paul. Patr., *CPG* 7142: *CSCO* 103, pp. 84,35-85,4). [See more in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 58 & notes 26&29].

It is noteworthy that St. Theodosius and the non-Chalcedonian leaders add the words "or *hypostasis*" immediately after the word "nature" in the phrase, indicating that they consider nature in the phrase as referring to a concrete particular.

Similarly also **Pope Damian**, the thirty-fifth partriarch of Alexandria (569 or 578-605 A.D.), who was of Syrian origin, in his dogmatic letter to Jacob Baradaeus together with the clergy and people of Antioch, which is inscribed in Coptic on the walls of the monastery of St. Epiphanius at Thebes, and has been preserved in a Syriac version (Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* X, 14, Ar. tr. vol. II, pp. 214-220 = Chabot II, 325-334), speaks in detail about the one nature of the incarnate *Logos* stating that "...we do not say two Christs, nor two sons nor two natures nor two operations, but (we say) one Son, one nature of the incarnate *Logos*, one *hypostasis*, one *prosopon* and one operation. He who was and who is, was born and took the form of a slave, and accepted to be like us and for us. He who is above all the creation became flesh without changing into the nature of flesh, but he remained in his nature and took a nature which was not his. One out of two perfect, for he is **composed** from the Godhead which was before the ages, which brought into existence all what did not exist, and from the manhood which in the *Logos* Himself and through Him it (was formed and) got its beginning" (see also Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 76, quoting Chabot II, p. 327b).

II.C. The Same Doctrine in the Teachings of SS. Philoxenos of Mabbogh, Severus of Antioch and Athanasius of Antioch:

Central to the teachings of SS. Philoxenos and Severus is the fundamental truth that the divine *Logos* is one and the same Person, both before and after the incarnation, for it is the same *natura* (= 'person') which, existing *simplex*, is now, through the *hypostatic* union, a *natura incarnata*, *incorporata*, or ***composita*** (Sellers, p. 270).

II.C.1. IN THE TEACHINGS OF ST. PHILOXENOS OF MABBOGH:

St. Philoxenos maintains that before the incarnation, the Word was incorporeal, simple, invisible and beyond all sensory perception: but in the incarnation he is corporeal, **composite** and united with flesh (Philoxenos, *Tractatus...op.cit.*, p. 52), and flesh means for St. Philoxenos "perfect man". "For it is written", writes St. Philoxenos, "that the Word became flesh, which means perfect man" (*ibid.*, p. 39; quoted in Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, pp. 190-191 & n. 13).

Sellers (p. 270, n. 2) records that "*incorporata*" often appears in Philoxenos who knew no Greek.

St. Philoxenus speaks of the two births of the single *hypostasis* of the Word: the natural birth of the Word from the Father, and the miraculous birth from St. Mary of the humanity which is his own. "When he talks about the two births, he stresses first, that the coming into being of the humanity of Christ was *not* basically like the coming into being of ordinary

men, and second, that although he talks in terms of the simplicity of the Word, even in the Incarnation, he wishes to make a firm distinction between what belongs to Jesus by virtue of his humanity, and what belongs to him by virtue of his divinity" (Chesnut, pp. 62-63). Often St. Philoxenus indicates that "the Word remains 'simple' (*pshîṭâ*) even within the Incarnation (cf. *Tres tract.*, pp. 190, 192). At other times, however, he will say that the Word '**took all our composition upon him**' (*nsabh 'alaw(hî) koleh rûkhābhan*) or '**became composite**' (*Tres tract.*, p. 183; *Monks of Senoun*, p. 65). After explaining that one recognizes a single Father both in the acts of begetting and creation, Philoxenus goes on to say that, 'Just as the Father is one in his simplicity, thus one confesses that the Son is one with respect to the fact that he was **composite** (*'ethrakebh*) with the flesh', *Monks of Senoun*, p. 65. The answer to the problem of the apparent contradiction appears to be this: The concept of simplicity implies primarily unity or oneness; sometimes, in the case of the Father, it also implies freedom from physical 'composition', but it does not need to. The Father's nature is simple, says Philoxenus in one place, even though he has many different activities: *Tres tract.*, p. 31. The Incarnate Word is simple, in so far as there is only one identity, one subject, but he is **composite** in the same way that we are composite: *Tres tract.*, pp. 41, 255. As simplicity is a prerequisite of knowledge of God, and is an aspect of faith, it is a quality of mind.....which looks directly at the spiritual realm without being torn by doubts: a simple mind is one basically motivated toward one thing. Philoxenus devotes two of the *Thirteen Homilies* to this subject, IV and V. In *Hom.* IV, p. 81, he says: 'That name, which is suitable to God, simplicity has received, for we also call God simple... for there are no composites or parts of the body in him. Thus in our ordinary speech, a man who is not cunning in wickedness is called simple by us, because he does not have the anxious trepidations of evil things'..... To say that the Word remains 'simple' within the Incarnation is not to make a statement about the 'radical transcendence of God', nor does it say anything about the materiality or lack of materiality in the union; the Word remains 'simple' because there is only one 'being' in the Incarnation, though within the Incarnation, that being is **composite**" (Chesnut, n. 2 on pp. 62f.).

II.C.2. IN THE TEACHINGS OF ST. SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH:

St. Severus of Antioch writes to Nephalius, saying: "The flesh remained flesh and Godhead remained Godhead. Neither of them was converted to the nature of the other. But their union and coming together brought into being in **composition** the one incarnate nature of the Son" (*Ad Nephalium*, *op. cit.*, p. 24; quoted in Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 249).

He also writes a reply to John the Grammarian of Caesarea saying: "It is not that two *hypostases* were formed and then they came together as one *hypostasis*. This is objectionable and not even possible; for those which have been formed separately and exclusively remain two. Therefore, he was formed unchangeably in **composition** from those that are different which are not consubstantial with each other" (*Contra Gr.* I, p. 185; quoted in Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 244).

Again he says: "The natures and the *hypostases*, of which he has been **composed** are perceived irreducibly and unchangeably in the union. But it is not possible to recognize a *prosopon* for each of them, because they did not come into being dividedly either in specific

concretion or in duality. For he is one *hypostasis* from both, and one *prosopon* conjointly, and one nature of God the Word incarnate" (*Contra Gr.* I, p. 187; quoted in Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 252).

In *Letter 25 to the Emesans* (*PO* 12,222-248), St. Severus "describes the incarnation as a '***synthesis from*** two elements', which in the Emmanuel are present unmingled" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 460).

Thus, the use of the words *synthesis*, *synthetos* as alternatives to *henosis* in the writings of St. Severus and the followers of his sound teachings among the anti-Chalcedonians did not bring about a new creation but only carried on an old tradition and marked out boundaries for the understanding of it. The Patriarch spoke of "the one *composite* and incarnate nature". He chose the word *synthesis* "on the basis of the knowledge that in the 'Emmanuel' or 'Christ' it is not a matter of simple nature (*natura simplex*), as this is present in the divine *Logos*. *Synthesis* is intended to bring into view the distinction in the unity" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 159, adding *ibid.*, n. 383: "On these designations of the 'one composite and incarnate nature', see Lebon, *Chalkedon* I, 483-91. A *synthesis* comes to expression in the following formulas: (a) '*physis*' of the incarnate Word'; (b) '*physis* of Christ'; (c) '*physis* of the Emmanuel', and above all in (d) '*mia physis synthetos*' and in σύνθετος πρὸς τὴν σάρκα...").

With reference to St. Cyril, St. Severus maintained that St. Cyril "does not speak of a mixing, but of a **composition**, and this in harmony with Gregory of Nazianzen, who used this expression *synthesis* and not 'mixing' to explain the union of the *Logos* with a flesh endowed with reason" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 126 & n. 328: St. Greg. Naz. according to Severus Ant., *Ep. II ad Serg.*: Lebon, *CSCO* 120. 84-86). (See the citation from St. Gregory in Torrance, *Christology*, p. 178).

"Already here *synthesis* is a synonym of *henosis* and not of *mixis*, so that hence in effect a third entity in the manner of mixing is excluded." Because there must not occur any mixing the *synthesis* expresses "on a new level a new status of substantial unity without the transformation of the components. This level is that of 'existence'; divinity and humanity in Christ 'exist only in the status of the *synthesis*' (ἐν συνθέσει ὑφεστώτων)..... With decisiveness Severus thus removed the concept of *synthesis* from the order of essences into that of existence. It becomes a parallel expression to '*henosis* according to the *hypostasis*' which is always to be regarded as *henosis* 'from two' in the mental distinction. Hence it comes then to the strong formula 'one composed nature' (μία φύσις σύνθετος), which is gladly used by the anti-Chalcedonians. In this way the formulas '*henosis* according to the *synthesis*' and '*henosis* according to the *hypostasis*' have the same meaning. Consequently 'the one composed nature' becomes the characterization of the end result of that process which Severus sees expressed in his favourite formula: 'the one incarnate nature'."

"In spite of this, as J. Lebon stresses, this formula is found only seldom in the monophysite Christological writers. Severus is the sole witness for *mia physis (kai hypostasis) synthetos*" (i.e. 'one composite nature and *hypostasis*') (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-127, 460, referring to J. Lebon, *Le monophysisme sévérien*, 319, with reference in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 127, n. 330 to St. Severus Ant., *Ep. ad Ioann. ducem* (*CPG* 7071 [31]), Frag. in *DP*, Ch. 41, XXIV-XXV: Diekamp, 309-310).

In his refutation of the Council of Chalcedon, St. Severus says: "See how they [the Fathers of Chalcedon] characterize the formula 'out of two' as heretical but define as

orthodox the formula 'two united [natures]', whereby they have prepared the ground for Christ's being called two natures after the union" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 49 & n. 80, quoting St. Severus Ant., *Or. 2 ad Nephalius*: *CSCO* 120, p. 9,27-30 & adding "It is said that with the 'out of two' the following were also rejected by the Fathers: '**one through *synthesis***' and above all the 'one nature of the incarnate Word'. Were the Fathers of Chalcedon to have acknowledged the two formulas as really having the same meaning, they would not have condemned Dioscorus,..... (Severus, *ibid.*, pp. 9,30-10,3)".

II.C.3. IN THE TEACHING OF MAR ATHANASIUS OF ANTIOCH:

Mar Athanasius the anti-Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch (known as the "Camel driver", 595-631 A.D.), in his dogmatic letter sent to emperor Heraclius says: "In view of the fact that our God and Saviour Jesus Christ is one, then his nature also is one; and we confess that his *hypostasis* is **composed** from the Godhead and the manhood, i.e. from perfect natures and *hypostases*, as expressed by the fathers. This excludes (any thought) that the Godhead has been changed into what was not before. Also, any change never occurred to the manhood, but each retained its own distinctive character. And we believe together in a unity which is inexplicable, since it manifested to us one nature for one, but he is incarnate and became man. He is neither divided in any manner into two natures, nor is he existing in two natures, two *hypostases*, two persons, two sons, or two christs after the ineffable union which was *hypostatic* and natural..." (Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* XI, 2, Ar. tr. vol. II, pp. 295-296).

II.D. "The One Composite *Hypostasis*" in the Teachings of the Chalcedonians:

II.D.1. IN THE TEACHING OF EPHRAIM OF ANTIOCH (527-*c.* 544):

Ephraim, the Chalcedonian bishop of Antioch, teaches, like the neo-Alexandrians, that "there is a 'composition' of Godhead and manhood in the one Person of Jesus Christ: the Lord's *hypostasis* is 'composite' (σύνθετος ἡ ὑπόστασις) though no one save 'Apollinarius' would dare to affirm that he is composite according to *ousia*" (*PG.* ciii, 992 AB; quoted in Sellers, p. 323).

II.D.2. IN THE ANATHEMAS OF THE SCYTHIAN MONKS:

The monks of Scythopolis in their *Contra Nestorianos Capitula*, (*PG* lxxxvi.i. 87 Af.), a concise expression of their doctrine in form of eleven anathemas, "they anathematize, not only those who reject their formula, but also those who deny that the Virgin should be called '*Theotokos*', that her child was God who created all things, that two births can be attributed to the one Son of God, that God can be said to have suffered in the flesh, and that Christ was *compositus post incarnationem*—expressions which we have met with again and again in our study of the Christology of the Alexandrians. See Anathemas ii, iv, v, vi, viii, ix," (*ibid.*, Sellers, p. 308 and n. 1).

II.D.3. IN THE TEACHING OF EMPEROR JUSTINIAN I (527-565):

Emperor Justinian I was the first emperor to take a personal interest in theology. In his *Confessio rectae fidei* (*PG.* lxxxvi.i. 997A, 997C, 1001A), Justinian declares that in harmony with the doctrine of the union "according to composition or according to *hypostasis*" was that of the "one composite Christ (εἷς Χριστὸς σύνθετος)" (Sellers, p. 332 and n. 1).

II.D.4. IN THE TEACHING OF LEONTIUS OF BYZANTIUM:

Leontius of Byzantium (died *c.* 543 A.D., see Ber. *EEC*, pp. 480f.) has expressed even more clearly the doctrine of union "according to composition, or according to *hypostasis*" in his teaching on the *enhypostasia* which had been upheld by Christologians of the Alexandrian school of thought from the days of Malchion the Sophist who had been inspired by Origen (Sellers, p. 332 and n. 2). [See before under section II.B.2.].

II.D.5. IN THE TEACHINGS OF THE CHALCEDONIAN SECOND COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE, 553 A.D.:

The Second Council of Constantinople of 553 A.D., which adopted the Alexandrine terminology, and is counted by the Chalcedonians as the Fifth Ecumenical Council, pronounced an anathema in Canon IV on those who do not accept the dogma of "union according to composition (synthesis) or *hypostasis*", saying: ".....if anyone shall not acknowledge as the Holy Fathers teach, that the union of God the Word is made with the flesh animated by a reasonable and living soul, and that such union is made synthetically and *hypostatically*, and that therefore there is only one Person, to wit: our Lord Jesus Christ, one of the Holy Trinity: let him be anathema....the Holy Church of God...recognises the union of God the Word with the flesh synthetically, that is to say, *hypostatically*. For in the mystery of Christ the synthetical union not only preserves unconfusedly the natures which are united, but also allows no separation" (Percival, p. 312).

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III. THE *HYPOSTATIC* UNION

III.A. Introduction to the Doctrine of the *Hypostatic* Union:

III.A.1. THE HISTORY OF THE TERM *HYPOSTASIS*:

III.A.1.a. Its Old Meaning in the Early Centuries:

Before the Trinitarian debates of the late fourth century and the Council of Constantinople of 381 A.D., the term *hypostasis* had been used as a straight synonym for *physis*.

Even St. Athanasius "when explaining his doctrinal terms after the Synod of Alexandria in 362, had set out for his listeners that, '*hypostasis* means *ousia* (essence), nothing more'. The term had actually begun life in this way. Etymologically it consisted of the prefix *hypo-* meaning 'underneath', and *stasis* – meaning 'standing', and it was thus a direct parallel of the Latin word *Sub-stantia* (substance/*ousia*)" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 141).

III.A.1.b. The Later Development of Its Meaning and Usage in the Trinitarian Debates:

"In the Trinitarian debates of the late fourth century a great deal of theological effort, on the part of the Cappadocian Fathers among others, had succeeded in forging new technical senses for the word *hypostasis*. The trinity doctrine had thus defined that God was one *ousia* expressed in three *hypostases*. In this more modern sense, *hypostasis* was already well along the road to signifying individual concretization, or subjectivisation, rather than connoting (as it had done once) the simple nature of a thing" (*ibid.*).

Although etymologically *hypostasis* was equivalent to *substantia*, yet now with the development of its meaning in the theological application, *hypostasis* is not equivalent to *substantia*. In the Trinitarian theological application, the West used *substantia* (substance) where the Greeks applied *ousia* (essence), and the Greeks applied *hypostasis* where the Latins used *persona*. Thus, the Trinity doctrine as defined by the Latins is that God is one *substantia* (substance) expressed in three *personae* (Persons), while the Greeks defined it as one *ousia* expressed in three *hypostases*.

In only one homily, St. Severus of Antioch explained what was to be understood more precisely by "essence" and *hypostasis*, and this more explicitly in a Trinitarian context:

"'We say that essence and *hypostasis* are concepts which indicate the existence of existing things. 'Essence' (*ousia*) discloses that the subject (is and) exists and *hypostasis* says that it subsists' (*Hom* 125: *PO* 29, 235). With regard to the Trinity, the essence is the godhead: Father, Son and Spirit are God without diminution or gradation. With regard to the *hypostases*, in each case a particularity is expressed of the godness of the Father, Son and Spirit. Thus for the Father the non-begotten applies (*agenetos* in the twofold meaning of 'unbecome' and 'unbegotten'); at the same time, however, the begetting is in reference to the Son; for the Son the being begotten of the Father, independently of time, and for

the Spirit the proceeding from the Father. 'The particularities (*propriétés*) remain fixed and unalterable; they characterize without mingling each of the *hypostases* and do not divide the common essence.' (*ibid.*, 239)" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 146).

III.A.1.c. St. Cyril's Usage of the Term *Hypostasis* with Its "New Sense" in Christology:

Closely related to St. Cyril's concept of the *Mia Physis* signifying the single subjectivity of the incarnate Lord, was his use of the term *hypostasis*. St. Cyril "primarily uses *hypostasis* to connote individual reality. To speak of the one *hypostasis* of the Word was thus a simple way of connoting the single divine subjectivity that constituted the incarnation. In other words, the *Logos* was the direct and single personal subject of the incarnation and every incarnate act" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 212).

Nestorius, on the other hand, refused to allow the validity of a new technical use of the word *hypostasis* in St. Cyril's works, insisting on reading him in the antique sense of the vocabulary as a synonym for *ousia*, signifying "real being".

St. Cyril, however, had justification in claiming that "this 'new sense' of *hypostasis* to connote differentiated subject was already well established by the Council of Constantinople 381 as the fundamental structure of the church's trinitarian orthodoxy" (*ibid.*, p. 149). "(In the way that the Cappadocian tradition had formulated the Trinity doctrine in the late fourth century—God as one identical *ousia* differentiated in three individual *hypostases*)" (*ibid.*). "For Nestorius to regard it as a novelty of Cyril's own invention was thus hardly acceptable. Ironically Nestorius' dislike of the term *hypostasis* in theological discourse was an aversion that earlier had been shared by Rome. A generation previously when the Cappadocian Fathers had first tried to systematize the use of the word to signify the 'threeness' of God while using *ousia* to connote the essential oneness of God, Rome was at first dismayed by the doctrine. It had misheard the teaching of three *hypostases* and one *ousia* as the equivalent of three substances in God—hence three Gods, and (at first) it regarded the whole Neo-Nicene movement as at best an incomprehensible use of theological terms. Nestorius still seems to be pursuing that line fifty years later" (*ibid.*).

"What was in dispute now, between Cyril and Nestorius, was much the same issue—whether or not *hypostasis* should be imported into yet another theological arena to stand service as a key christological cipher. Nestorius was arguing that such an importation was indefensible and confusing. Cyril, on the other hand, was implying that the Trinitarian use of *hypostasis* had already defined it as indicative of the subjectivity of God, and in the case of the incarnation to speak about the *hypostasis* of God in the flesh meant precisely the Word of God. Thus, the doctrine of *hypostatic* union was, for Cyril, one of the strongest ways he could think of to argue that the personal subject of the incarnation was none other than the divine Word. His application of the Trinitarian *hypostatic* language is, therefore, entirely apposite. What Nestorius objected to was not really the terminology, but the doctrine he sensed behind that terminology, and thought to be alien to orthodoxy. For him, to make the divine Word the direct subject of the incarnate acts was not admissible" (*ibid.*, pp. 149-150).

III.A.2. THE IMPERSONALITY OF OUR LORD'S MANHOOD:

"This has been the usual way of expressing the single personality. The personality is said to reside in our Lord's Godhead as pre-existent, and therefore the humanity is said to be impersonal in itself, but personal in Him only (Bethune-Baker, p. 98)" (*ERE* IX, p. 330). This does not mean that the humanity of Christ is in any way imperfect. It is perhaps more accurate to put it, as Bethune-Baker suggests, that our Lord's humanity 'is never impersonal, because it has His personality from the first'; which is another way of stating the same truth. "But it would be pure Nestorianism to say that our Lord's manhood had a personality other than that of His Godhead" (*ibid.*).

St. Cyril in fact "would not allow that the humanity was a distinct and individual reality in the same way as the deity: it was not personalized independently, there was no human individual subject apart from the Word" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 150, n. 39). This was the natural result of St. Cyril's theology of *hypostatic* union – Christ's humanity did not have a *hypostasis* other than the *hypostasis* of the Word. It was thus not a separate human entity (the man Jesus), but simply the flesh of the incarnate divine Word; and the Word *hypostatized* it.

III.B. The Doctrine of *Hypostatic* Union:

St. Cyril applied the term *hypostasis* to denote the manner of the Christological union: it was a *hypostatic* union. "He had to account for the integrity of the deity and the humanity while demonstrating their integral communion, and the results of it. He settled on the key term of 'Union' (*Henosis*). From deity and humanity a union has taken place; not an overlap, or a co-habitation, or a relationship, or a displacement, or an association. None of the things his opponents had proposed" (McGuckin's Introduction to *St. Cyril of Alexandria, On the Unity of Christ*, p. 40). "He argued for a union in the strict sense of the word, yet a union that was of the type that did not destroy its constituent elements. It was thus in the manner of the soul-body union in humans, a union that effected new conditions and capacities for both constituents while preserving their basic elements intact, and not, for example, in the manner of a union of sand and sugar (one that did nothing to either element and did not really combine either part for any positive end)" (*ibid.*), or a union of fire and straw "(one which only worked by destroying the basis of the elements so united)" (*ibid.*).

"In the case of Christ, Cyril speaks of this union of deity and humanity as a '*Hypostatic* Union'. The person of the *Logos* is the sole personal subject of all the conditions of his existence, divine or human. The *Logos* is, needless to say, the sole personal subject of all his own acts as eternal Lord (the creation, the inspiration of the ancient prophets, and so on), but after the incarnation the same one is also the personal subject directing all his actions performed within this time and this space, embodied acts which form the context of the human life of Christ in Palestine. The phrase 'the selfsame' recurs time and again in his writings as a way of insisting on this doctrine of single-subjectivity as the keystone of the entire Christology debate" (*ibid.*, pp. 40-41).

Together with the celebrated formula that our Lord Jesus Christ is "one incarnate nature of God the *Logos*", St. Cyril's own contribution, "it seems, lay in his definition of the

union of the *Logos* with flesh as a '*hypostatic*' and 'natural' union; and it is abundantly clear that he introduced it to enforce the truth,.....that Jesus Christ is one Person, the *Logos* in his incarnate state, and that any 'dividing' of this one Person is altogether impossible" (Sellers, p. 141).

The *hypostatic* union (*henosis kath' hypostasin*) means that, for St. Cyril, "the union of two distinct levels of reality, Godhead and manhood, takes place dynamically because there is only one individual subject presiding over both, the one person of the incarnate deity. He was well aware, however, that *hypostasis* had another technical meaning (as we saw earlier) connoting 'concretely realized existence' or simply 'real'. He delights in running the two associations together in his use of '*hypostatic* union'; that is (a) the union is effected because there is only one personal subject of the divine and human actions, the same one being at once God and Man, and (b) the union is a real and concrete event, or as we might say 'a substantive reality' not a cosmetic exercise" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 212).

In his *Third Letter to Nestorius* (parag. 4), St. Cyril "talks of the *hypostatic* union as a 'natural union', by which he means a radically concrete union 'such as the soul of man has with its own body'" (*ibid.*, n. 66).

In his *Second Letter to Nestorius* (paragraphs 4&6), St. Cyril proposed the doctrine of *hypostatic* union to summarize his central objections to Nestorius's theories:

"Because the Word *hypostatically* united human reality to himself 'for us and for our salvation', and came forth from a woman, this is why he is said to have been begotten in a fleshly manner.....but if we reject this *hypostatic* union as either impossible or unfitting, then we fall into saying that there are two sons".

The *hypostatic* union epitomizes St. Cyril's key point about the Lord Christ being one. It demands a clear affirmation that the *Logos* was the sole direct subject of all the incarnate acts, and this was something Nestorius was loathe to admit so simply. Again, in his third letter, St. Cyril used the phrase to push him towards such a view: "We reject the term conjunction (*synapheia*) as being insufficient to signify the union..... As we have already said, the Word of God, *hypostatically* united to the flesh, is God of all and master of all" (parag. 5; cf. Anathemas 2&3, hereafter under Part Three, section III.D.2.).

In fact, the doctrine of "*hypostatic* union" aims to conserve at least two ideas. "In the first place, it affirms that God the Son, an eternal *hypostasis*, united to himself manhood. Although the manhood was not in itself a *hypostasis* over against God the Son, it became individuated, thereby receiving its *hypostatic* status, in union with God the Son. Secondly, the phrase signifies the emphasis that the union of the natures was inward and real. This point can be made clear by referring to the meaning of terms. As we have shown, *hypostasis* is the entire *ousia* which has come into concrete existence: and *prosopon* signifies the external aspect of the object or person, whereby one *hypostasis* of a class is distinguished from another. Taking this meaning seriously, we can say that by the *hypostatic* union of Godhead and manhood there was in Jesus Christ a coming together of the Godhead of the Son and manhood. This did not, however, cause any change either in God the Son or in the manhood which he assumed" (Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 249).

III.C. St. Cyril's Response to the Criticisms of the Doctrine of *Hypostatic* Union Made By Nestorius, Theodoret and other Antiochenes:

III.C.1. NESTORIUS AND THE ANTIOCHENES' CLAIM FOR THE NECESSITY OF ANOTHER *HYPOSTASIS* OF THE HUMANITY OF CHRIST BESIDES HIS DIVINE *HYPOSTASIS*, AND ST. CYRIL'S REPLY:

Nestorius believed that any *ousia* without a *hypostasis* of its own would not be a real existent. This was a significant attack on St. Cyril who had argued that Christ's humanity did not have a corresponding human *hypostasis* of its own (and thus Christ was not an individual man, rather God the Word enfleshed). St. Cyril saw this argument as crucial in defending the single subjectivity of the incarnate Lord.

"For Nestorius the meaning of *hypostasis* should be restricted to connoting the concretization of a thing, and *physis* to signify the stuff of which it was made. He studiously avoided using the form *hypostasis* to describe the christological union, in direct criticism of Cyril's preferred language" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 143).

"Theodoret's problem was that if a *physis* was not *hypostatized*, it was simply a notion, not a reality. As in .... semantic discussions in regard to Nestorian doctrine, we could argue about a unicorn's *physis* without ever having to believe that unicorns 'really' existed. The notional unicorn was fantastic because it was not *hypostatized*" (*ibid.*, p. 214).

Unfortunately, the Antiochenes in St. Cyril's time applied the term *hypostasis* "to signify 'concrete realities', and it was, thus, for them almost a synonym for *physis* understood in the sense of natural properties constituting a genus. Just as they insisted on two natures (God and Man) so they insisted that there had to be two *hypostases* in Christ. They were applying *hypostasis* in its technical philosophical sense of that which made real a *physis* and presented it to observation as a concrete entity" (*ibid.*, p. 213).

As St. Cyril understood *hypostasis* as largely to signify individuation, it is easy to see how he heard Nestorius's doctrine of two *hypostases* to be teaching two sons rather than One Christ.

It is most significant that St. Cyril, was convinced that Nestorius was teaching that the manhood of Christ is "that of another beside the *Logos*". Therefore, he devoted five of his Twelve Anathematisms (namely, Anathematisms iv, vii, viii, x and xi) for condemning this notion.

Since the "*hypostatic* and natural union" is a "personal union" which has its center in the *Logos* himself; for as he explicitly states, "the 'nature' or the '*hypostasis*' of the *Logos* is the *Logos* Himself" (*Apol. adv. Theod.* ii, ed. Pusey, VI, p. 404), "thus is rendered an utter impossibility the Nestorian idea of two parallel existences. Indeed, Cyril sees in his '*hypostatic* union' a real safeguard against such an idea: 'If we reject the "*hypostatic* union" as being either impossible or unseemly', he says in the *Epistola dogmatica*, 'we fall into predicating two Sons'" (*Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 87).

"It is to enforce this cardinal truth that the Alexandrine fights on behalf of '*Theotokos*'. The Virgin, he says, must be given this title, not because the *Logos* in His divine nature owed the beginning of His existence to her, but because the *Logos* as He was united to the flesh was born of her. The titles suggested by the Antiochenes—'*Theodochos*' ('one who receives

God'), '*Christotokos*' and '*Anthropotokos*'—he affirms, simply miss the point" (*ibid.*, pp. 87-88, quoting *Apol. adv. Theod.* i, *adv. Nestor.* ii. 2, ed. Pusey, VI, pp. 398, 101).

The Antiochene side had, however, consistently rejected the *hypostatic* union. St. Severus quotes a passage from Theodoret of Cyrus in which he expresses this view very vigorously, saying: "But the *hypostatic* union we do not at all admit, as it is opposed to the divine Scriptures and to the Fathers who have interpreted them" (*Contra Grammarian II*, p. 9).

III.C.2. NESTORIUS AND THE ANTIOCHENES' PREFERENCE FOR THE TERM *SYNAPHEIA* ("CONJUNCTION") AGAINST ST. CYRIL'S USE OF THE TERM *HENOSIS* ("UNION"):

In fact, Nestorius and the Antiochenes hated not only the doctrine of *hypostatic* union, but also the use of the term "union" (ἑνῶσις = *henosis*) itself and preferred instead the term *synapheia* (συνάφεια) i.e. "conjunction" and maintained that God the Word assumed a man.

Thus, St. Cyril in his work *On the Unity of Christ* writes (pp. 73-75):

"A. Then why do they abandon the term 'union', even though it is the word in customary use among us, and indeed has come down to us from the holy Fathers, preferring to call it a conjunction? The term union in no way causes the confusion of the things it refers to, but rather signifies the concurrence in one reality of those things which are understood to be united. Surely it is not only those things which are simple and homogeneous which hold a monopoly over the term 'unity'? for it can also apply to things compounded out of two, or several, or different kinds of things. This is the considered opinion of the experts in such matters. How wicked they are, then, when they divide in two the one true and natural Son incarnated and made man, and when they reject the union and call it a conjunction, something that any other man could have with God, being bonded to him as it were in terms of virtue and holiness..... A disciple can also be said to 'attach' himself to a teacher in terms of a love of study, and we too can attach ourselves to one another not in one fashion only but in many. In short, when someone assists another in a task, should we not consider that he has been conjoined by will to the one who receives his assistance? It seems to us that this is exactly what these innovators mean by conjunction. **You must have heard how they stupidly maintain that God the Word assumed a man, as if he were a different son to himself, and then proposed him as a kind of assistant to his designs so that he underwent the trial of death, came to life again, rose up to heaven, and even sat upon the throne of the ineffable Godhead? With arguments such as these have they not completely and utterly proven that this man is altogether different from the true and natural son?"**

"B. I would say so."

"A. But once they have slipped down to this level of stupidity, as to think and say that the Only Begotten Word of God did not himself become as we are, but rather assumed a man, then in what way do they want us to understand the terms of such an assumption? Would it be as if he had foreordained that someone should accomplish a desired task, in the way that one of the prophets talks about: 'I was no prophet, or son of a prophet. I was a goatherd and dresser of sycamores, and the Lord took me from among the flock, and the

Lord said to me: Go prophesy to my people Israel' (*Amos* 7:14-15). From being a goatherd, God made him into a prophet and appointed him as an assistant in his own designs."

III.C.3. NESTORIUS AND THE ANTIOCHENES' THEORY OF TWO *HYPOSTASES* IN CHRIST AS PROPOSED AGAINST ST. CYRIL'S DOCTRINE OF *HYPOSTATIC* UNION:

Nestorius and the Antiochenes' way of thinking was that every *ousia* has its natural properties (*physis*) and remains an abstract idea which cannot become a reality unless it is *hypostatized*. They argued that every *ousia* had to be *hypostatized* separately (and was thus meaning *hypostasis* to bear the sense of the physical grounding of a genus). So Christ for them had two natures and two *hypostases* with their respective *prosopa* together with what they called the *prosopon* of union.

St. Cyril saw that there could only be one *hypostatic* reality in Christ, if indeed Christ was to be one (though he meant *hypostasis* to bear the weight of subject-centre).

Although St. Cyril would agree that all natures must be *hypostatized* he did not agree that this meant Christ must therefore have two *hypostases*. For him the whole point of argument was that from the first moment of incarnation, Christ's humanity was never an independent reality nor found separate from his divinity. It was realized only by the one *hypostasis* of the divine *Logos* who took it through his birth from the Holy Virgin, uniting it to himself in an ineffable and inconceivable manner flesh animated with a rational soul which had no other *hypostasis* but his. The flesh is therefore, as St. Cyril is constantly saying, 'the own' (ἰδία) of the *Logos*.

St. Cyril uses the term *hypostasis* largely in the newer sense to describe the manner of union in Christ. "He says frequently, for example, that the union took place '*Kath Hypostasin*': *hypostatically*, or on the basis of a *hypostatic* level. What he means by this is to stress that the union of God and man in Christ is properly understood to have been effected precisely because it was a single individual subject (the *hypostasis*: God the Word) who realized the union of two different realities (divinity and humanity) by standing as the sole personal subject of both. This for him is the '*hypostatic* union' which is the only proper way of securing an incarnational theology. Nestorius, on the other hand, consistently read *hypostasis* in the antique sense of meaning something closely allied to *physis* or *ousia*; either a synonym of the preceding terms, or the term that signified their concrete grounding in a precise 'nature'..." (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 142).

Nestorius, therefore, did not consider the term *hypostasis* as a particularly good term to speak of the distinct reality of a thing – its individualness – because of the term's close semantic associations with the words for overall generic nature (*ousia*, *physis*). "He found it made much more sense to apply a different word altogether to signify the distinct individualness of a thing, and this was to be *prosopon*" (*ibid.*, p. 143).

McGuckin (*ibid.*, n. 30) comments saying: "If the matter had only been a case of differences in terminology, Cyril would have let the argument rest. In his own writings he eventually uses *prosopon* as a synonym for *hypostasis*: both signifying individual reality. The argument could not rest, however, because at this critical juncture Nestorius began to speak of *Prosopon* in a way that gave Cyril grounds to think he did not mean a single

unique *prosopon*".

Maclean stresses the importance of understanding the "*hypostatic* union" correctly, pointing out an instance for a possible misinterpretation of the term. Thus he writes: "The *hypostatic* union is a valuable one when properly understood". But, "it is doubtless capable of a wrong meaning", e.g. it might mean, "the uniting of two persons so as to make them one person". Hence he comments saying, "In fact this is a good instance of a technical term being a good servant but a bad master. We have here also to 'get behind words'" (*ERE* IX, p. 330).

Any how, the Nestorians never took the term "*hypostatic* union" as including among its possible meanings "the uniting of two persons", and hence they never tolerated the term. They never took that term in such a meaning which expresses their belief in the union of two persons.

Accordingly, St. Severus argues that the Nestorian school had objected to the *hypostatic* union, because in their view the union was of *hypostases*, who had already come into concrete existence separately, and on the ground that for them the word "nature" meant a concrete individual (see Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 248).

That is why St. Severus says: "It is not that two *hypostases* were formed and then they came together as one *hypostasis*. This is objectionable and not even possible; for those which have been formed separately and exclusively remain two. Therefore, he was formed unchangeably in composition from those that are different which are not consubstantial with each other" (*Contra Gr. I*, p. 185; quoted in Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 244).

It is a repeated emphasis of St. Severus that, **"After the thought of union, it is not correct to affirm two natures, because the natures have not come into concrete existence separately, but from them both it is the one *hypostasis* and one nature of the Word incarnate that had been completed"** (*Contra Gr. I*, p. 119) (Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 247, note 34).

Theodoret of Cyrus objected to St. Cyril's insistence on the single divine *hypostasis* of Christ. "If there was only one divine *hypostasis* in Christ, Theodoret argued, then Cyril's Christ was certainly God, but he could not be a real man because his human *physis* had not been made real by having a corresponding human *hypostasis*. Cyril meets that objection in two ways. In the first instance a human *physis* humanly *hypostatized* must be a distinct human being. Like a generic unicorn that does not really exist, once it has been *hypostatized* it is a real unicorn. More precisely, it now has a name and an identity. So, Cyril argues, if Christ's humanity was defined as humanly *hypostatized* then Christ would be a human person, the man Jesus. But in that case the christological union would necessitate the destruction or abolition of the divine person (for a human person cannot be a divine person and vice versa) which is offensive to Christianity, or alternatively necessitate the acquiescence in having two personal centres in Christ. If this is the case, Cyril demands that the Antiochenes should openly admit that they teach Two Sons, and admit accordingly that in no sense can Christ be called one. If this were to happen, however, then the incarnation does not represent a dynamic interaction between God and Man at all, it is reduced to yet another prophetic epiphany, where God associates himself with a human being in a discontinuous parallel relationship—the inspiring God to the inspired man" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 214).

"Theodoret, of course, did not want to accept these christological implications, but Cyril pressed him to admit that his own logic of double *hypostasis* demanded it. In his later writings, notably the *Eranistes*, Theodoret took the point and used Cyril's terminology of the single *hypostasis*" (*ibid.*).

III.C.4. NESTORIUS AND THEODORET'S CLAIM THAT THE *HYPOSTATIC* UNION INVOLVES MINGLING AND CONFUSION OF CHRIST'S GODHEAD AND MANHOOD:

"Nestorius regarded such conceptions of the christological union favoured by Cyril, such as 'natural union' (*henosis kata physin*) or '*hypostatic* union' (*henosis kath' hypostasin*) as fundamentally compromising the abiding separateness of the natures in Christ. In consequence he rejected any formula of Christology which envisaged a union taking place on the level of the 'natures' (a union of the natures) in so far as it implied that the separateness was not continued in the life of Christ, and that some kind of third new nature must have been produced as a result of this form of symbiosis (a new kind of mutant nature which he doubted could be regarded either divine or human)" (*ibid.*, p. 135).

In a fragment from Nestorius's work *Theopaschites*, preserved by St. Severus of Antioch in his *Contra Gramm.* 2:32 (trans. Lebon, *CSCO* 112, p. 192), Nestorius expressed his objections as follows:

"For you confess that Christ was constituted one nature (*Mia Physis*) from the incorporeal and the body, and was a single-natural-*hypostasis* of the divine enfleshment (*Theosarkoseos*). But to say this is a confusion of the two natures, a confusion which deprives the natures of their own respective *hypostases* by confounding them with one another" (quoted in McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 150 & n. 42).

"Throughout the *Book of Heraclides* Nestorius returns time and again to criticize Cyril's notion of a christological union based on *physis* or *hypostasis* (*henosis physike*, *henosis kath' hypostasin*) as involving a necessary composition of elements devoid of any freedom of choice like a biological product or a chemical reaction or a mechanical union of incomplete parts to make up the new whole of a *tertium quid*" (*ibid.*). "In other words Cyril's position was attacked as maintaining that from the union of divine nature and human nature there results divine nature in the flesh. One plus one equals one, and the last one can only be a synthetic composite on these grounds. Cyril in fact would not allow that the humanity was a distinct and individual reality in the same way as the deity: it was not personalized independently, there was no human individual subject apart from the Word" (*ibid.*, n. 39).

Nestorius also "confesses at several points in his writings that he cannot understand what the term '*hypostatic* union' can mean in Cyril, except to posit the union on the basis of the most mechanical way possible. In short he heard '*hypostatic* union' to be a synonym of 'material union' a concept which Cyril abhorred, for the same reasons as Nestorius, because it would be a mythological notion involving the creation of a new kind of nature: neither divine nor human but divino-human, and thus neither one nor the other in any authentic sense. This latter position would indeed be Apollinarist. Nestorius believed Cyril was teaching this largely because he had misread the term's significance in Cyril's writings. Its use, however, alongside Cyril's other preferred phrase of the *Mia Physis* (One *Physis* of

God the Word made flesh) served to convince him as well as the other Antiochene theorists that this was indeed what Cyril meant: that his terms *hypostasis* and *physis* could only have such a material meaning, not the connotations of individualization Cyril wanted them to have, and indeed felt he had a right to expect the terms to bear given their prior use within the tradition of his own church" (*ibid.*, p. 142).

Theodoret also, having his mind warped through prejudice, went out misinterpreting doctrinal statements like the *hypostatic* union.

At the request of John of Antioch, Theodoret wrote at the beginning of 431 a sharp *Refutation of the Twelve Anathemas of Cyril of Alexandria against Nestorius*, from November 430. Therein he explains the Antiochene point of view, defends the orthodoxy of Nestorius and accuses Cyril of Monophysitism, saying, for example, that Cyril's use of the phrase, a union "according to *hypostasis*" in the Second Anathematism was with the intention of teaching a "substantial" union, i.e. not a "union", but a "mixture" and a "confusion" of Christ's Godhead and manhood. Theodoret must have been well aware that the term *hypostasis* could be used (as indeed it was used in Trinitarian discussion) in the sense of "person", and it will be agreed that the Bishop of Alexandria was justified in complaining that his critic was "feigning ignorance" (*Apol. adv. Theod.* ii; ed. Pusey, VI. p. 406).

Since the Chalcedonian Second Council of Constantinople (553 A.D.) condemned Theodoret's *Refutation of the Twelve Anathemas of Cyril of Alexandria against Nestorius*, the original was lost, but the entire text seems to be preserved in Cyril's answer *Epistola ad Euoptium adversus impugnationem duodecim capitum a Theodoreto editam* (Quasten, vol. III, p.546).

In his *Refutation of the Twelve Anathemas of Cyril*, Theodoret, for instance, writes against Cyril's Second Anathematism in this way: "We are wholly ignorant of the *hypostatic* union as being strange and foreign to the divine Scriptures and to the Fathers who have interpreted them. If the author of these statements means by the '*hypostatic*' union that there was a mingling of Godhead and flesh, we shall oppose his statement with all our might, and shall confute his blasphemy, for the mixture is of necessity followed by the confusion; and the admission of confusion destroys the individuality of each nature" (*Reprehen. xii Capp.* ii, ed. Schulze, v. pt. i. p. 10; quoted in *Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 217).

III.C.5. NESTORIUS AND THEODORET'S ATTACK ON THE *HYPOSTATIC* AND NATURAL UNION AND THE *MIA PHYSIS* AS MEANING "UNION UNDER COMPULSION OF NECESSITY", AND NOT "BY PURPOSE AND WILL", AND ST. CYRIL'S REPLY:

Nestorius and the Antiochenes hated St. Cyril's use of expressions of the unity of Christ, such as the term "union" (ἑνῶσις), the "*hypostatic* union" (ἑνῶσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν), the "natural union" (ἑνῶσις φυσική) and the "one incarnate nature of God the *Logos*" (μία φύσις τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένη) considering them as indicating "union of the Divinity and the humanity in Christ under compulsion of necessity" and not "by purpose and will".

Thus Nestorius writes: "Since 'those who are composed of [one] nature support of necessity the nature's own proper qualities which are naturally and not voluntarily theirs', a 'natural' union means a union deprived of its voluntary character" (*Two Ancient Christologies*,

p. 216, quoting *Bazaar*, pp. 85, 179). "It means, too, that, since the Godhead has been compounded into the *hypostasis* of another nature, God Himself is made to suffer, and that the manhood can no longer function in accordance with its own nature" (*ibid.*, quoting *Bazaar*, pp. 84, 92f.).

"Throughout the *Book of Heraclides* Nestorius returns time and again to criticize Cyril's notion of a christological union based on *physis* or *hypostasis* (*henosis physike*, *henosis kath' hypostasin*) as involving a necessary composition of elements devoid of any freedom of choice like a biological product or a chemical reaction or a mechanical union of incomplete parts to make up the new whole of a *tertium quid*. For Nestorius, any such intellectual model of the christological union provided neither for the abiding completeness of the respective natures in Christ, nor for the perfectly voluntarist character of the incarnation which hinged not on any form of physical necessity, but solely on the graceful free choice of God to reveal himself in human form" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 150). "In the *Book of Heraclides* he returns often to the same theme, that if the christological union is posited as an ontological or 'natural' one by such terms as *ousia*, *physis*, or *hypostasis*, then it would be tantamount to saying the divine *Logos* was compelled by the tyranny of nature to suffer all that his body suffered...." (*ibid.*, p. 151 referring to the *Book of Heraclides*, 55-57. Nau pp. 35-36).

Theodoret also opposes the "natural union", pretending that St. Cyril understands nature in the sense of *substantia*. Thus, replying to Cyril's Third Anathematism, Theodoret says: "nature has a compulsory force and is involuntary: we do not feel hunger or thirst, neither do we sleep or breathe, of our own free will, but of necessity. A 'natural' union, then, must mean that the *Logos* has been united to the form of a servant 'under compulsion of necessity', and not 'by purpose and will'. Let it be understood that the union is of this order, he argues, and it will be seen that there is no need to add this word 'natural'" (*Reprehen. xii Capp.* iii, ed. Schulze, v. pt. i. p. 15; quoted in *Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 216).

Professor John S. Romanides, in his paper submitted to the Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Consultation, Geneva, November 1993, pointed out the key to Theodoret's heresy, for which he was condemned by St. Dioscorus in the Council of Ephesus (449 A.D.), saying (pp. 6-7): "Dioscorus came to the conclusion that Theodoret was escaping from a just condemnation for his real heresy by hiding it behind the possibility of not only saying two natures, but of thinking of two separately acting natures which he had been also doing. However, the key to Theodoret's heresy was not this, but the fact that for him, for Nestorius, for Theodore of Mopsuestia, for Arius, for Lucian, and for Paul of Samosata (the philosophical great-grandfather and grandfather of all the former) God is united to the creature only by will and energy and never by nature. For all of those just mentioned that which is related or united by nature does so by necessity and not by the freedom of will".

That is why St. Cyril in his Second Letter to Nestorius says (parag. 4): "Thus, although he had existence before the ages and was begotten of the Father, he is said to have been begotten also from a woman according to the flesh. This does not mean that his divine nature received the beginning of its existence in the holy Virgin or that it necessarily needed a second generation for its own sake after its generation from the Father. It is completely foolish and stupid to say that He who exists before all the ages and is coeternal with the Father stood in need of a second beginning of existence. Nonetheless, because the Word *hypostatically* united human reality to himself (ἑνώσας ἑαυτῷ καθ' ὑπόστασιν τὸ

ἀνθρώπινον = united humanity to himself *hypostatically*), 'for us and for our salvation', and came forth of a woman, this is why he is said to have been begotten in a fleshly manner...." (cf. McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 263-264. But the Greek sentence from Wickham, *Select Letters*, p. 6).

St. Cyril preferred to defend an intuited principle of single subjectivity of Christ. He "always felt that the mysterious nature of the faith truly reflected the reality that discourse about the incarnation of God was not something that could be neatly packaged and wrapped up in a scholastic fashion; for his opponents this 'mystical' attitude in his theologizing was frequently dismissed as obscurantism" (McGuckin, *op. cit.*, p. 143).

"If, however, one accepted the overriding principle that there was only one *hypostasis* in Christ, and that a divine one, did Theodoret's criticism, that this implied a merely notional or abstract humanity, have a real force? Cyril argued, no."

"To assume that a *hypostasis* had to correspond with its own generic type was a generally applicable principle..... All created things must obey the limits their nature sets upon them. In the case of the divine *hypostasis*, however, his nature sets no limit upon him whatsoever; as God he is untrammelled in power and actually expresses that power to create all kinds of natures and their corresponding *hypostases*. It is thus nothing extraordinary (except for its extraordinary particularity) that God the Word should create a human *physis* for himself. This he does, outside the normal generic processes, in the particular act of the direct fashioning of a human form in the womb of the virgin. He did not displace a human foetus that had a human *hypostatic* reality of its own, because there was never an instant when this human foetus existed independently of his personal creative act. It was a human foetus within Mary because it was created in the perfect attributes applicable to the human genus, and within a human womb, but it was unique in that it was the direct and personal presence of the *Logos* on which it depended for the inception of its existence,.... This was why Cyril maintained that the baby born from Mary after nine months of gestation was a fully formed member of the human genus,.... a human baby indeed, but not simply any human baby, or merely a human baby. For Cyril, this baby was God in the flesh, who also possessed, as his direct personal attributes, all the characteristics of the deity."

"In short, this human baby was personally *hypostatized*, directly and immediately, by the Word of God. He was human in so far as this meant he lived and moved within the attributes and conditions of the human genus, but he was also divine in so far as he lived and moved in the power of the Godhead which was 'his own nature'. The divine *hypostasis* of Christ moved and lived within human form, in the incarnate life, realizing an individual human and historical existence; but some important facts demanded notice, and chiefly that this living out of a human life was an exercise of divine power. The Word initiated the incarnation and sustained an incarnate life as an act of his own omnipotence. To this extent we have the paradox of a human (thus limited and fragile) life lived out as a direct expression of God's power (so, the limited humanity walks on the sea and rises from its own death). What this amounts to is that Cyril's doctrine of the single divine *hypostasis* insists that although Christ is entirely human, he is not a man, rather he is God made man, God enfleshed, God assuming humanity, or however else one cares to express it so as to bring out the centrally important notion that it was none other than the eternal Word of God who was the sole active subject of the human life of Jesus of Nazareth" (*ibid.*, pp. 214-216).

In conclusion McGuckin (*ibid.*, p. 216) says: "Cyril's doctrine has been attacked on the basis of two critiques related to this *mono-hypostatic* theory. The first, developing from Theodoret, is that Cyril's idea of the humanity without a human *hypostasis*..... meant that he saw Christ's manhood as abstract and notional, and to this extent defective. The second is that if Christ is God made man, but not particularly and precisely 'an individual man', then Cyril is again guilty of diminishing the concept of Christ's real humanness to the point of Docetism: he is merely an apparent man."

"Neither criticism strictly applies to Cyril's theology. Despite many avowals by later critics, Cyril did not believe that Christ's humanity was non-*hypostatic* or merely generic simply because it did not possess an independent human *hypostasis* of its own. For him the whole point of the incarnation was that Christ's humanity was individual, and concrete, and real in the fullest possible sense, precisely because it was *hypostatized* by the *Logos* himself. This was no defect of humanity but rather an assumption of the whole range of human experience (including the proper limitations of humanity such as ..... mortality) by a person who at once lived within them, and yet lived beyond them because of his nature as God."

III.C.6. THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON IGNORES "THE ONE INCARNATE NATURE OF THE DIVINE *LOGOS*", "THE *HYPOSTATIC* UNION", "THE NATURAL UNION", AND THE "UNION FROM OUT OF TWO", AND ADOPTS THE SLOGAN OF NESTORIUS: "CHRIST IN TWO NATURES":

McGuckin writes (*ibid.*, pp. 135-136): "Since Cyril's party favoured a conception of the Christological union based on the level of 'natural union', and had propagated the catch phrase: 'union from out of two natures' (*henosis ek dyo physeon*) to sum it up for the populace, Nestorius in turn coined the radically different formula: 'Christ in two natures' (*en dyo physesin*). In this latter aspect of his Christology Chalcedon would partially follow him at the cost of alienating the...Cyrilline party of the mid fifth century and causing the monophysite (i.e. miaphysite) rift".

It is worth noting that the Council of Chalcedon did not only adopt Nestorius and the Antiochenes' slogan "Christ in two natures", but also ignored completely in its definition all St. Cyril's formulae expressing real internal union such as: "the one incarnate nature of the divine *Logos*", "the *hypostatic* union", "the natural union", and "the union from out of two natures". [See hereafter Part Five, sections I and III].

III.C.7. A NOTE ON THE MEANING AND USE OF THE PHRASE "*MIA PHYSIS*" ALONGSIDE THE TERM "*HYPOSTATIC* UNION":

St. Cyril used the term "*hypostatic* union" alongside his other preferred phrase: *Mia Physis tou Theou Logou Sesarkomene* ("One Incarnate Nature of God the *Logos*", i.e. "One Nature of the God the Word made flesh").

What St. Cyril meant with this key phrase "*Mia Physis*" was to insist that the single individual reality of the Word of God, and no other, was the one who had now been incarnate; in other words that the sole personal subject of the incarnation was the eternal Word, and that there was no human personal subject alongside God in the incarnate Lord. He was entitled to use the term *physis* to signify an individual existent in so far as that was

the ancient tradition of the Church as expressed by his great Alexandrian predecessors.

Later, however, the Chalcedonians ignored his teaching and followed the Antiochenes in restricting the significance of the term *physis* to the connotation of physical constituents, i.e. the natural properties in an abstract sense. But for St. Cyril and all his Orthodox Miaphysite followers the word *physis* has not only the abstract sense but also the sense of making a generic thing specific, and the *hypostasis* became the generally preferred term for "individual specification" with an emphasis on realizing an abstract reality into a personal existent.

III.D. The *Hypostatic* Union in St. Cyril's Dogmatic and Canonical Counciliar Documents and Other Writings:

III.D.1. IN THE DOGMATIC LETTER OF ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA:

In his Second Letter to Nestorius known as "the Dogmatic Letter," St. Cyril explains the incarnation and the *hypostatic* union as follows: "3..... We do not say that the nature of the Word was changed and became flesh, nor that he was transformed into a perfect man of soul and body. **We say, rather, that the Word, in an ineffable and incomprehensible manner, ineffably united to himself flesh animated with a rational soul, and thus became man and was called the Son of Man.** This was not effected only as a matter of will, or favour, or by the assumption of a single *prosopon*. While the natures that were brought together into this true unity were different, nonetheless there is One Christ and Son from out of both. This did not involve the negation of the difference of natures, rather that the Godhead and manhood by their ineffable and indescribable consilience into unity achieved One Lord and Christ and Son for us."

"4. For this reason, even though he existed and was begotten of the Father from before all ages, he is also said to have been begotten from a woman according to the flesh. This does not mean that his divine nature received the beginning of its existence in the holy virgin or that it necessarily needed a second generation for its own sake after its generation from the Father. It is completely foolish and stupid to say that He who exists before all ages and is coeternal with the Father stood in need of a second beginning of existence. Nonetheless, because **the Word *hypostatically* united human reality to himself (ἑνώσας ἑαυτῷ καθ' ὑπόστασιν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον = united humanity to himself *hypostatically*)**, 'for us and for our salvation', and came forth of a woman, this is why he is said to have been begotten in a fleshly manner. The Word did not subsequently descend upon an ordinary man previously born of the holy virgin, but he is made one from his mother's womb, and thus is said to have undergone a fleshly birth in so far as he appropriated to himself the birth of his own flesh."

"5. So it is we say that he both suffered and rose again; not meaning that the Word of God suffered in his own nature either the scourging, or the piercing of the nails, or the other wounds, for the divinity is impassible because it is incorporeal. But in so far as that which had become his own body suffered, then he himself is said to suffer these things for our sake, because the Impassible One was in the suffering body. We understand his death in the same manner. By nature the Word of God is immortal and incorruptible, and Life, and

Life-giver, and yet since his own body 'tasted death by the grace of God on behalf of all', as Paul says (*Hebrews* 2:9) then he himself is said to have suffered death for our sake. This does not mean he underwent the experience of death in terms of his [own] nature for it would be madness to say or think such a thing; rather, as I have said, it means that his flesh tasted death. Similarly when his flesh was raised up, once again we say that the resurrection is his. This does not mean that he fell into corruption, certainly not, but again that his own body was raised."

"6. And so we confess One Christ and Lord. This does not mean we worship a man alongside the Word, in case the shadow of a division might creep in through using the words 'along with'; rather that we worship one and the same because the body of the Word, with which he shares the Father's throne, was not alien to him. Again this does not mean two sons were sharing the throne, but one, because of the union with the flesh. **But if we reject this *hypostatic* union as either impossible or unfitting, then we fall into saying there are two sons**, and in that case we will be compelled to make a distinction and say that one of them was really a man, honoured with the title of Son, while the other was the Word of God who enjoyed the name and reality of Sonship by nature."

"7. And so, we must not divide the One Lord Jesus Christ into two sons. To hold this in no way benefits the correct exposition of the faith, even if certain people do declare a unity of *personas*; for the scripture did not say that he united the *persona* (*prosopon*) of a man to himself, but that he became flesh (*John* 1:14). Yet the Word 'becoming flesh' means nothing else than that 'he shared in flesh and blood like us' (*Hebrews* 2:14), and made his very own a body which was ours, and that he came forth as man from a woman, although he did not cast aside the fact that he is God, born of God the Father, but remained what he was even in the assumption of the flesh. Everywhere the exposition of the orthodox faith promotes this doctrine. We shall also find that the holy Fathers thought like this, and this is why they called the holy virgin 'Mother of God'. This does not mean that the nature of the Word or his divinity took the beginning of its existence from the holy virgin, rather that he is said to have been born according to the flesh in so far as **the Word was *hypostatically* united to that holy body which was born from her, endowed with a rational soul"** (St. Cyril's *Letter* 4 = 'The Second Letter to Nestorius', paragraphs 3-7, trans. McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 263-265. But the Greek sentence is from Wickham, *Select Letters*, p. 6).

This Dogmatic Second Letter of St. Cyril to Nestorius quoted above, was solemnly approved by the Ecumenical Council held at Ephesus (431 A.D.), as maintaining the teaching of Nicaea. The Chalcedonian Council of Constantinople in 553 did the same. The Council of Chalcedon in 451 did receive it, but at the same time used in its definition Nestorius's slogan "Christ in two natures", instead of St. Cyril's "union from out of two natures", and avoided completely the use of all the rest of St. Cyril's expressions of real union, as we have already mentioned before under Part Three, section III.C.6.

III.D.2. IN THE SYNODICAL LETTER OF ST. CYRIL AND HIS TWELVE ANATHEMATISMS:

The doctrine of *hypostatic* union was also stressed in St. Cyril's letter 17 which is the Third Letter to Nestorius, written by St. Cyril in the name of the synod which he held at Alexandria in late 430 A.D., and has twelve anathemas subjoined to it. It is stated in that

Synodical Letter about the incarnation of the Word from the Virgin that "he substantially (καθ' ὑπόστασιν = *hypostatically*) united humanity with himself, and underwent fleshly birth from her womb. He had no need of temporal birth, in the last days of the world, for his own nature. No, he meant to bless the very origin of our existence" (Wickham, *Select Letters*, p. 29).

We quote hereinbelow paragraphs 4, 5, and 11 of this synodical letter of St. Cyril:

"4. **So we confess the Word to have been united *hypostatically* with flesh, and we worship One Son and Lord Jesus Christ.** We do not separate or hold apart man and God as if they were connected to one another by a unity of dignity or sovereignty (for this is babbling and nothing else); nor do we designate specifically a Christ who is the Word of God and then specify another Christ, the one who is born of a woman. No, we know only One Christ, the Word of God the Father with his own flesh. He was anointed alongside us in a human manner, even though he himself gives the Spirit to those who are worthy to receive it, and gives it without measure as the blessed evangelist John says (*John* 3:34). We do not say that the Word of God has dwelt in him who was born of the holy virgin, as if in an ordinary man, for this might imply that Christ was a God-bearing man. Even though it is said that: 'The Word dwelt among us' (*John* 1:14) and 'all the fullness of the Godhead dwelt bodily' in Christ (*Colossians* 2:9), nonetheless we understand that in terms of his becoming flesh we must not define the indwelling in his case as if it were just the same as the way he is said to dwell in the saints; for **he was naturally united to, but not changed into, flesh, in that kind of indwelling which the soul of man can be said to have with its own body.**"

"5. There is, therefore, One Christ and Son and Lord, not as though a man simply had a conjunction with God as though in a unity of honour or sovereignty, for equality of honour does not unite natures. Indeed Peter and John have equality of honour with one another since they are both apostles and holy disciples, but these two are not one. **We do not conceive the manner of the conjunction in terms of juxtaposition (for this is not enough for a natural union), nor indeed in terms of a relational participation in the way that 'being joined to the Lord we are one spirit with him'** as it is written (*1Corinthians* 6:17). **In fact, we reject the term 'conjunction' as being insufficient to signify the union.** We do not call the Word of God the Father the 'God' or the 'Master' of Christ, and again this is so that we might not openly divide the One Christ and Son and Lord into two, and then fall under the charge of blasphemy for making him his own God and Master. As we have already said, **the Word of God, *hypostatically* united to the flesh, is God of all and is Master of all**, and he is neither his own slave nor his own master. To hold and say this would be foolishness, or rather blasphemy. He did say that the Father is his God (cf. *John* 20:17) even though he himself is God by nature and from his essence but we do not overlook the fact that as well as being God he also became man and as such was subject to God according to the law....".

"11. **Since the holy virgin gave birth in the flesh to God *hypostatically* united to flesh, for this reason we say that she is the 'Mother of God'.** This does not mean that the Word's nature took the beginning of its existence from the flesh, for he 'was in the beginning' and 'the Word was God, and the Word was with God' (*John* 1:1) and he is the maker of the ages, coeternal with the Father and maker of all things. As we have said

before, it means rather that **he *hypostatically* united the human condition to himself and underwent a fleshly birth from her womb. He had no natural need, or external necessity, of a temporal birth in these last times of this age, but he did this so that he might bless the very beginning of our own coming into being, and that since a woman had given birth to him as united to the flesh, from that point onwards the curse upon our whole race should cease that drives our earthly bodies to death.** He did it to annul that sentence: 'In sorrow shall you bring forth children' (*Genesis* 3:16), and also to demonstrate the truth of the prophet's words: 'Death swallowed us up in its power, but God wiped every tear from every face' (*Isaiah* 25:8 *LXX*). This is why we say that in the economy he himself blessed marriage, and being invited went to Cana of Galilee with the holy apostles (*John* 2:1f.)" (as translated in McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 268-269 & 273).

The second of the twelve anathemas subjoined to this letter declares that the Word is united '*hypostatically*' (καθ' ὑπόστασιν) to the flesh, saying: "If anyone shall not confess that the Word of God the Father is united *hypostatically* to flesh, and that with that flesh of his own, he is one only Christ both God and man at the same time: let him be anathema" (Percival, p. 210).

The third anathema rejects any separation of the two subsistences (*hypostases*) after the union or any attempt to link them by a mere association based on dignity, authority or power; they are brought together in "a natural union" (ἕνωσιν φυσικήν). For this reason there is no possibility of separating the two subsistences after the union. Thus it states: "If any one in the one Christ divides the subsistences (*hypostases*) after the union, connecting them only by a conjunction of dignity or authority or rule, and not rather by a combination in terms of natural union (καθ' ἕνωσιν φυσικήν = natural union), be he anathema" (see McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 285; Quasten, vol. III, p. 138; Wickham, *Select Letters*, pp. 28-29).

This Third Letter to Nestorius together with the twelve anathemas of St. Cyril was received, read in the Ecumenical Council held at Ephesus in 431 A.D. and counted among its documents. Thus it was also received and approved by the Councils of Chalcedon (451 A.D.) and Constantinople (553 A.D.). [See the following section].

III.D.3. A NOTE ON THE ECUMENICAL CANONICITY OF ST. CYRIL'S DOGMATIC LETTER AND HIS ALEXANDRIAN SYNODICAL LETTER WITH THE TWELVE ANATHEMATISMS AS PART OF THE FAITH OF THE ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF EPHESUS, 431 A.D.:

St. Cyril's Second and Third Letters to Nestorius, known as the Dogmatic Letter and the Synodical Letter respectively, together with the Twelve Anathematisms appended to the latter were both received, read and sanctioned in the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D., and were treasured in the acts of that Council as expressing the Orthodox faith defended by that Council.

Therefore, at the end of the first session of Chalcedon, 8 October 451, the lay officials mentioned among the earlier documents of faith "the two canonical letters of St. Cyril which were approved and published at the First Council of Ephesus..." (I:1072), which means

the Dogmatic Letter and the Synodical Letter with its appended Twelve Anathematisms, because these are the only two letters approved and published at the First Council of Ephesus which was held in A.D. 431. The letter of St. Cyril to John of Antioch, after the latter's condemnation of Nestorius, was written in 433 and, therefore, was not part of the canonical documents which were read, approved, and published by the holy two hundred fathers of the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus of 431. [For a detailed discussion of the *Formulary of Reunion* of 433, see Part One of the present work under section V].

But since Chalcedon accepted the *Tome* of Leo, which is irreconcilable with St. Cyril's Anathematisms (see Part Five of the present work under section IV.H.), the attitude in the later sessions of Chalcedon towards St. Cyril's uncompromising Third Letter to Nestorius and the Twelve Chapters (Anathematisms) was ambiguous. This letter is not identified in the Chalcedonian Definition. When Bishop Atticus of Nicopolis proposed that it be read in the second session, arguing that the *Tome* of Leo needed to be compared to the Twelve Anathematisms (Acts II:29), his proposal was ignored without formal rejection, leaving the status of the Third Letter and the Anathematisms open for later debate. In a subsequent informal meeting of the bishops, the Roman delegates had to satisfy their eastern colleagues by playing down the dyophysite emphasis in the *Tome* (IV:9, after §98), but nothing more was heard of St. Cyril's Anathematisms in the Council (see *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 68).

About the canonicity of the twelve anathemas of St. Cyril as part of the faith of the Council of Ephesus, Percival quotes Hefele (*Hist. of Councils*, vol. III, p. 48, note 2), who wrote the following: "We were formerly of opinion that these anathematisms were read at Ephesus, but not expressly confirmed, as there is hardly anything on the subject in the Acts. But in the Fifth Ecumenical Council (collatio vj.) it is said: 'The holy Council at Chalcedon approved this teaching of Cyril of blessed memory, and received his Synodical letters, to one of which are appended the xij. anathemas' (Mansi, t. ix., p. 341; Hardouin, t. iij., p. 167). If, however, the anathematisms of Cyril were expressly confirmed at Chalcedon, there was even more reason for doing so at Ephesus. **And Ibas, in his well-known letter to Maris, says expressly that the Synod of Ephesus confirmed the anathematisms of Cyril, and the same was asserted even by the bishops of Antioch at Ephesus in a letter to the Emperor**".

Percival then comments saying: "From all these considerations it would seem that Tillemont's conclusion (*Mémoires*. Tom. XIV., p. 405) is well founded that **the Synod certainly discussed the anathemas of Cyril in detail, but that here, as in many other places, there are parts of the Acts lacking**".

Then after adding more evidences from Petavius, Percival concludes saying: "From this it is evident that the prevailing opinion, then as now, was that the Twelve Anathemas were defined as part of the faith by the Council of Ephesus. Perhaps I may close this treatment of the subject in **the words of Denziger, being the caption he gives the xij. Anathematisms in his *Enchiridion*, under 'Decrees of the Third Ecumenical Council, that of Ephesus'. 'The Third Synod received these anathematisms; the Fourth Synod placed them in its Acts and styled the Epistles of Cyril "Canonical"; the Fifth Synod defended them' "** (*NPNF*, second series, vol. XIV, pp. 200-201).

The topic of the reading of the Twelve Chapters (i.e. Anathematisms) of St. Cyril during the first session of the Council of Ephesus, 431, was discussed by McGuckin, who

gave his evidence saying:

"Already the legal case against Nestorius was piling up in weight, and immediately after the reading of the Roman synodical judgement, that of the Egyptian synod was read out. At this instance in the Acts, the notary signified the reading aloud of the Third Letter of Cyril to Nestorius (which conveyed the judgement of the Egyptian synod), as he had that of Celestine earlier, by the same stenographical device of citing the opening line and then adding *kai ta loipa*...the Greek form of 'etc.' There is, therefore, no way of telling whether the Twelve Chapters were read out at this stage of the proceedings at Ephesus or not..... On the other hand, **it seems far more likely that the Chapters would have been read out at this stage, not only as part of the original text of the letter, synodically validated, but also because Cyril could ensure no better defense of the Chapters than to have them endorsed by the council Fathers ahead of any negative critique which might still materialize on the arrival of the Syrians.** There is no evidence to suggest that Cyril did suppress the Chapters at this juncture, and indeed the Manuscript heading of his subsequent 'Explanation of the Twelve Chapters' suggests that Cyril composed the latter work after the bishops gathered in Ephesus had asked him for a clearer elaboration of his meaning. This cannot mean during the First Session, but probably reflects the reality that after the arrival of the Syrians there was some misgiving about the Chapters they had earlier endorsed, when the orientals insisted they were heretical, and many bishops asked Cyril for an explanation—which he seems able to have given them later in the time of his house arrest. This would suggest that **the Twelve Chapters actually did form part of the reading of the Third Letter during the first session of the council"** (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 83-84).

Two additional evidences are noteworthy here. **In the Acts of the Second Council of Ephesus, 449 A.D.**, when the correspondence between St. Dioscorus of Alexandria and Domnus of Antioch was read in that Council, **the bishops realized that Domnus was infected with the impiety of Nestorius, and that he opposed the decrees laid down by the Fathers at Nicaea and Ephesus, so that 'he had blamed Cyril's Twelve Chapters, long since received by the Synod which by the grace of God had assembled at Ephesus', (431 A.D.). So said Basil of Seleucia** (Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 362). **See also the Letter of Theodoret to John of Germanicia, in which he complains that at Ephesus, 431 A.D., the Anathematisms were sanctioned, and that Domnus had been deposed because he would not accept them** (*Ep.* cxlvii) (see Sellers, p. 87 and n. 1). [See also Part Two of the present work, under section II.C.2.h.].

III.D.4. IN OTHER WRITINGS OF ST. CYRIL:

From *the Explanation of the Twelve Chapters* which St. Cyril wrote when he was under house-arrest at Ephesus in late summer 431, we quote here his Explanation of the second anathematism:

"*Anathematism 2.*"

"7. If anyone does not confess that the Word of God the Father was *hypostatically* united to the flesh so as to be One Christ with his own flesh, that is the same one at once God and man, let him be anathema."

"*Explanation 2.*"

"8. The godly Paul, priest of the divine mysteries, writes: 'In truth the mystery of piety is a great thing. God manifested in flesh, justified in the spirit, seen by angels, preached to the gentiles, believed in by the world, taken up in glory' (*1Timothy* 3:16). What then does 'manifested in flesh' mean? It means that the Word of God the Father became flesh not in the sense that his own nature was transformed into flesh through change or conversion, as we have already said, but rather that he makes that flesh taken from the holy virgin into his very own. One and the same is called Son: before the incarnation while he is without flesh he is the Word, and after the incarnation he is the self-same in the body. This is why we say that the same one is at once God and man, but do not split our conception of him into a man separate and distinct, and the Word of God equally distinct, in case we should conceive of two sons. No, we confess that there is one and the same who is Christ, and Son, and Lord."

"9. As for those who think that this is not the case, or rather choose not to believe it, those who divide the One Son, and tear realities that have truly been made one apart from one another, maintaining that there was only a conjunction of man with God in terms of dignity, or authority, then we maintain that such people are alien to the orthodox and blameless faith. Even if he is called an 'apostle' or is said to have been anointed, or is designated the Son of God, still we are not ashamed of the economy. We say that he is the Word of God the Father, but when he became a man like us he was also called apostle, and anointed along with us according to the human condition. When he became like us, even though he always remained what he was, he did not deprecate our condition. No, for the sake of the economy he accepted, along with the limitations of the manhood, all those things which pertain to the human condition and he regarded nothing therein as unworthy of his personal glory or nature; for yet, and even so, he is God and Lord of all" (as translated in McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 284-285).

After 431, St. Cyril composed his *Scholia de incarnatione Unigeniti*, in which he defines the *hypostatic* union as opposed to a mixture or external association only. He refers to the combination of body and soul in man as the closest comparison in the created world (Quasten, vol. III, p. 128). [See the quotation from this text: Scholion 8 under Part Three, section VII.C.6.].

III.E. The *Hypostatic* Union in the Teachings of Other Alexandrine Fathers:

III.E.1. IN THE TEACHINGS OF ST. ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA:

Lefort has edited Coptic fragments of an *Epistle to the Virgins* (amounting to 65 pages) that was used by St. Ambrose and St. Shenouda. "The latter quotes a long passage from it and states explicitly that he takes it from 'the letters' of archbishop Athanasius. Unfortunately, Lefort's Coptic text is mutilated at the beginning and the author's name and the title of the work are lacking. Ephraem of Antioch (d. ca. 544), however, mentions an *Epistle to the Virgins* by St. Athanasius (Photius: MG 103, 993). Thus Lefort is of the opinion that Athanasius is the real author. The Epistle contains an excellent exposition of the christological doctrine of the *hypostatic* union" (Quasten III, pp. 45-46).

III.E.2. IN THE TEACHINGS OF ST. THEODOSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA:

St. Theodosius of Alexandria writes to Paul the Black of Antioch saying: "We confess that God the Word.....in the latter days became incarnate.....In him there was no change or confusion; neither did the flesh which he united to himself *hypostatically* undergo confusion or mixture after the ineffable and indissoluble union. The *hypostatic* union did not affect the difference and otherness of the natures which came together into the union, nor were the natures divided or separated from each other. But from two Emmanuel was formed for us indivisibly, and his nature, namely *hypostasis*, is one, which has been formed in composition" (*CSCO*, vol. 17. p.121, quoted by Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, pp. 243-244).

Grillmeier (*CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 57) gives his translation of the last part of the above-mentioned quotation with few more lines: "The *hypostatic* union did not falsify the distinction of natures that marks the united and also left no place for division and separation; rather, for us it created from two the one and indivisible Emmanuel; one is his nature or composite *hypostasis*; this means the same as when we say: the nature of the God-*Logos* himself and his *hypostasis* has become flesh (cf. *John* 1:14) and perfectly human being..." (Theodos. Al., *Ep. synod. ad Paul. Patr. CPG* 7142: *CSCO* 103, pp. 84,35-85,4).

Of course, St. Theodosius, and the non-Chalcedonian leaders since the time of Severus, add the words "or *hypostasis*" immediately after the word "nature" in the phrase, indicating that they consider nature in the phrase as referring to a concrete particular.

"What is new vis-à-vis the old Severus is indeed the formula, 'One out of the Trinity, the *hypostatic* Word of God the Father'" (Theodos. Al., *Ep. synod. ad Sever. CPG* 7134: *CSCO* 103, p. 4,20-21. The whole section p. 4,20-25 is powerfully formulated, as quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit.* & n. 22).

"Even Severus seems to have adopted it, as his synodical letter to Patriarch Theodosius in 535 shows" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.* & n. 24 referring to St. Severus Ant., *Ep. synod. ad Theodos. Al. CPG* 7070 [8], *CSCO* 103, p. 17,27-28).

III.F. The *Hypostatic* Union in the Teachings of St. Severus of Antioch:

III.F.1. ST. SEVERUS'S INTERPRETATION OF THE *HYPOSTATIC* UNION:

Grillmeier writes: "Key passages of Severan Christology are found also in remarks about the correct understanding of the *hypostatic* union. Severus assimilates the union of divine and human natures to the moment that the *Logos* dwelt in the Virgin and thus the body animated by a rational soul too began to exist. The arguments which had once been formed against early Christian adoptionism and Nestorianism were now applied to supporters of the two-natures teaching" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 144).

Grillmeier then quotes St. Severus saying: "Show us one instant in which, while they exist, the body, or better still the human nature with which he united himself, did not partake of the *Logos*, and I must say that there are two natures! But because they exist in an inseparable manner, I do not have the courage to destroy through duality the *hypostatic* union, which cannot be ripped asunder."

"It must also be explained why we, when we speak of two natures, add with regard to them: 'which in their particular aspect (*notion particulière*) are intact'. [Severus shows

this with the body-soul comparison.] The spiritual soul is as soul something intact and perfect. For the soul receives the body not as a complement to its existence. For it exists also as separated from this in its separatedness (*isolément*) through itself... Nevertheless the soul, which is whole in its singularity and whole under its regard, proceeds to be a part of the human being when it is united to the body. Equally the body as body is something whole, which according to the definition of the body and under its particular aspect (*notion particulière*) lacks nothing. Nevertheless it is in the totality of the living being only part."

"Hence we say also with regard to the Emmanuel that in this way the union took place, that is, from the divinity and from the humanity which under this particular aspect are entire. For these elements, which in the union have the function (*taxis*) to be parts, in order to form a single *hypostasis*, do not lose the integrity proper to them, because they are joined together without mingling and diminution" (*Hom.* 70: *PO* 12, 38-40; quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*).

Grillmeier continues to comment: "The Antiochenes, earlier so sensitive to the denouncing of their teachers and heretics, must now hear from the pulpit of their own cathedral that men like Theodoret and Nestorius do not accept a real *hypostatic* union, but only a unity of love, 'which is founded on a connection of mercy and love...it comprises not the birth of God who has become flesh, but rather excludes the birth and denies it and does not assent to the fact that the Virgin became the mother of God (*theotokos*)' (*Hom.* 58: *PO* 8, 224). From the pulpit Severus certainly attributes to the Council of Chalcedon the intention of meaning one person with its 'one *hypostasis* in two natures'. All the same, he did not succeed in discovering in it the true dogma of the Incarnation". Thus he preaches saying: "But if there is in reality one single *hypostasis*, there will also be one single incarnate nature of the God-*Logos*. Or, if there are two natures, there will also necessarily be two *hypostases* and two persons and the Trinity will be devised as a quaternity. But, so say these godless ones, we hold on to two natures and a single person (*prosopon*) and unite these two natures through the appellation as Christ, Son and Lord, and through the power [hence only through a moral bond]... We say... that this distinction is insidious and deceitful and has for its goal to let us assent to what is not, and vice versa to declare as false what is real" (*ibid.*, 225, as quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*).

St. Severus explains the *hypostatic* union and employs the body-soul analogy in man, saying: "He was co-eternal with the Father and the Holy Spirit. But when he willed to become man for us, while remaining unchangeably what he was, he dwelt, as it is written, in the Virgin *Theotokos* inexplicably. From her, by the Holy Spirit, he united to himself by the concurrence of a natural union flesh possessing soul and mind, which is consubstantial with us. So we speak of the union as *hypostatic*, for it was in the very union with the Word who is before the ages that the flesh was formed and came to be and in concurrence with him the flesh received concreteness into the union. In this way, from two, namely from Godhead and manhood, Christ is known indivisibly to be one Emmanuel. He was conceived and born in the flesh, like soul in every man which is born with the body. The former is of a different substance from the latter. Yet man is completed into one nature and one *hypostasis* from both. In the same way, God the Word, as it is written, partook of flesh and blood, and received our likeness in everything except sin" (*Contra Gr.* II, pp. 239-240, quoted by Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, pp. 244-245).

Just as the Godhead came into the union through God the Word, the manhood came into the union in an individuated state. This point is repeated again and again by St. Severus, who writes saying: "God the Word is one *hypostasis*. He united to himself *hypostatically* one particular flesh, which was endowed with a rational and intelligent soul, and which was assumed from Mary *Theotokos*" (*Contra Gr.* I, p. 148; as quoted by Samuel, *op. cit.*, p. 246). "The child, for instance, was not formed by itself, as heretics teach. But God the Word.....from the very beginning namely from the first moment when the flesh animated with soul and mind was formed in the womb, was united with it. Therefore, there was no time gap between the coming into being of the flesh and its union with God the Word" (*Contra Gr.* I, p. 184; as quoted by Samuel, *op. cit.*).

III.F.2. ST. SEVERUS'S INTERPRETATION OF THE RELATION OF THE *HYPOSTATIC* UNION TO THE "FROM OUT OF TWO" FORMULA:

St. Severus uses the "from two (ἐκ δύο)" formula which is the final simplification of formulas such as "from two natures one nature" or "from two natures one incarnate *hypostasis*" or "one Christ from two", to which he gladly resorts to give expression to his aversion to any duality. Thus he writes: "Everything really depends on the formula 'from two'; from them both the *hypostatic* union is effected as well as (the fact) that there is only one incarnate nature of the *Logos*, and also this, that one ought understand those two (realities) from which the union happens, as distinct and of a different kind only in thought, and that one ought no longer speak of two after thinking of the one" (St. Severus Ant., *Contra imp. Gram.*, *Or.* III, chap. 10: *CSCO* 94, p. 141, 20-25).

Because the "from two" formula moves towards the "one nature", it comes to be on a par with the "*mia physis*" formula which is proper to the *hypostatic* union. Thus he writes in his *Contra imp. Gram.* (*Or.* III, chap. 12: *CSCO* 94, p. 158,29-34), saying: "..... this 'from two' is proper to the *hypostatic* union: the end (*terminus*), however, of this union is the one incarnate nature of the God-*Logos*" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 161 & n. 393).

III.F.3. ST. SEVERUS'S INTERPRETATION OF THE *HYPOSTATIC* UNION AS EXCLUDING DIVISION, MINGLING AND CHANGE:

With all St. Severus's stressing of the historicity of the salvific event, he insists again and again that the notion of an alteration of the divine nature or of its mixing with the flesh ought not to creep into the picture of incarnation. Naturally it holds that one Lord Jesus Christ "is one without division and without mingling of the divinity and humanity" (*Hom.* 14: *PO* 38,410). This fundamental Christological formula should not be missing in preaching any more than the *mia-physis* formula itself. Thus he writes: "For it is impossible that the uncreated and immutable nature should change into a creature or that something from what is created should be transformed and pass over into the uncreated being. Rather he remained what he was and has united himself *hypostatically* with a body which possesses a rational soul in such a way that *out of two natures*, out of the uncreated divinity and the created humanity, he has appeared to us as a single Christ, a single Lord, and a single person (*prosopon*), a single *hypostasis*, a single incarnate nature of the *Logos*" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 133, quoting St. Severus Ant., *Hom.* 38: *PO* 8,216-217).

In one of his anti-Chalcedonian baptismal catechetical homilies, St. Severus formulates his theological preoccupation in a particularly trenchant way in three anathematisms which he uttered against the exponents of the most important counterpositions (*Hom.* 109: *PO* 25, 770-771).

The first part of the first anathematism is against those who say that the Word of God brought the flesh from heaven or that it is from another matter or that it has transformed itself into flesh or that it has thickened...or that it appears like a phantom or ghost or dream image. Then he goes on in the second part of the first anathematism saying:

"And if he does not confess that the Son of God, who was without flesh and blood before the ages, has assumed flesh which is of the same essence as we are, from the Holy Spirit and the holy mother of God, the Virgin Mary, in a *hypostatic* union...let him be far from the grace of the true and divine incarnation."

The second anathematism is directed against those who hold views like that of Apollinarius imagining the flesh of our Lord without soul and reason causing the perfection of the incarnation to disintegrate.

In the third anathematism he says:

"(3) If anyone does not confess that the Word of God, who became flesh and a human being without alteration – although he names him as sole Son, sole Lord, sole Christ, sole person, sole *hypostasis*, sole incarnate nature of the Word – but not that he [the Word] is impassible, insofar as he is God and that he, in accordance with the holy books, suffered in the flesh, and if anyone says the flesh was altered or mingled with the divine being, let him be anathema and delivered over to terrible and unending sufferings" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-144).

III.F.4. ST. SEVERUS'S INTERPRETATION OF THE ROLE OF THE *HYPOSTATIC* UNION IN EXPLAINING CHRIST'S PASSION, CRUCIFIXION AND DEATH:

St. Severus's depiction of the passion and crucifixion comprises a fundamental discussion with basic contemporary christological positions, in the center of which stood the problem of suffering of our Lord Jesus Christ. "The style and content of his argumentation are shaped by his endeavor on the one side to entangle the two-natures formula in contradictions, and on the other side to show that in his understanding of the *hypostatic* union such problems do not even arise." Thus St. Severus preaches: "Perhaps some of those, who after the inexpressible union divide our single Lord and God Jesus Christ into the duality of natures, will ask themselves...: 'Who is it that cries out on the cross: My God, My God, why have you forsaken me (*Matthew* 27:46 par)?' For us it is the God-*Logos*, who without alteration has become flesh, who has cried that out, who has voluntarily become poor for us and who, insofar as he has become a human being, has called his God Father. For he was nailed on the cross, insofar as that body was nailed on it with which he is united in a *hypostatic* manner. For he has remained impassible, insofar as he is God, but he is not a stranger to suffering: the body which has suffered belongs to him and to no one else; hence it occurs rightfully if one believes that the suffering indeed belongs to him. You, however, when you say that there is a difficulty here, in your stupidity take away from his flesh that which is united with it (*Hom* 22: *PO* 37,88)" (as quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 139).

St. Severus avoids a logical contradiction and the heresy of theopaschism (that is, that

the God-*Logos* suffered in his divinity) "by being able to express under two different aspects two different, mutually exclusive characteristics of Jesus Christ: with regard to his divinity he remained impassible; with regard to the flesh he suffered (cf. *Hom* 109: *PO* 25,767-768)". Thus he says: "If Peter...had not known the incarnate *Logos*, who also suffered for us, as the single Christ, he would not have said of him in his letter (*1Peter* 4:1): 'Christ suffered for us in the flesh', but he would have spoken of the two *christoi*... If he had not known that the same, insofar as he is God, is impassible, but, insofar as he is a human being, is passible, he would not have added 'in the flesh'. For this unity of the God-*Logos* with his flesh is sublime and inseparable. It draws this special character to itself, that is, the addition of the *differentia specifica*: in the flesh. (*Hom* 22: *PO* 37,88)" (as quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 140).

As regards the question, to what extent the death of our Lord Jesus Christ is to be conceived as a separation of body and soul, if the *hypostatic* union is to be understood as an insoluble union of the *Logos* with his body animated by a rational soul. With our Lord's last words on the cross (especially *Luke* 23:46: "Father, into your hands I commend my spirit"), he wanted "to sanctify the departure of our soul; for us, when we depart this life, he gives over into the hands of the heavenly Father our spirit, which shall no longer be caught in the clutches of death and in the fetters of sin (*Hom* 22: *PO* 37,104, as quoted in Grillmeier, *ibid.*).

In the same homily St. Severus says: "On the one hand the soul is separated from the body by the will of him who governs all things, and on the other hand the God-*Logos* – for he is the one who governs them – unites each of the elements in a *hypostatic* manner in such an unsurpassable unity... On the basis of this union he destroys – with respect to the body – corruption and gives life back to those who are in the grave... With respect to his soul...the God-*Logos*, because he unites *hypostatically* to himself a soul, does not leave the body empty nor robbed of the unity which is proper to it" (*Hom* 22: *PO* 37,105, quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 141).

III.F.5. ST. SEVERUS'S CRITICISM OF THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO FOR IGNORING THE *HYPOSTATIC* UNION:

St. Severus was constantly beseeching "the adversary" to tell him where in the *Definitio* of Chalcedon the formula "one incarnate *Logos*" appears (Sellers, p. 257 & n. 2: See, for instance, Severus, *contra Grammaticum*, III. i. *cc.* 4, 5, 8, 9, 13 [ed. J. Lebon, *C.S.C.O. Script. Syr., ser.* iv, *t.* v (*vers. Lat.*) pp. 27, 31, 41, 113, 123, 161], and *Philalethes*, ed. A. Sanda, *Severi Philalethes* (part edition), pp. 31, 41, 50, 67, 75, 87, 95, 111, 143, etc.).

For St. Severus we should notice the three expressions – "one incarnate nature", "*hypostatic* union" and "out of two" – are joined together and constitute the hallmarks of orthodoxy (Sellers, n. 5 on pp. 257-258, quoting St. Severus, *Contra Gram.* III. i. c. 10; ed. Lebon, p. 135).

St. Severus again and again points to the omission of the *hypostatic* union – the very weapon which St. Cyril had forged for himself and his fellow-combatants in the war against Nestorius. Thus St. Severus tells the impious Grammarian: "If you can show us where in the Chalcedonian statement of belief you find the phrase '*hypostatic* union', we shall be ready to think that the Synod did not divide the one Christ into two. But because it had deliberately rejected this true expression of the doctrine of the unity of the Person of the *Logos* incarnate – an expression which leads to the 'one incarnate nature' – the only possible conclusion

was that in their ignorance those who were claiming to be teachers of the Church were maintaining the very doctrine which they had set out to overthrow" (Sellers, pp. 257f.).

Again, on the basis of the *hypostatic* union and the one activity (*mia energeia*) the Severan picture of Christ becomes clear in an utterly special way, and indeed as a counterpoint to Leo's *agit enim utraque forma*. Thus St. Severus says: "If he [Leo] in spirit were to hold and confess the *hypostatic* union, he could not say that each of the two natures keeps its propriety (*proprietatem*) without detraction, but he would say, like Cyril, that the *Logos* now and then permitted the flesh to suffer what is proper to it and to operate according to the laws of its nature. Thus the *Logos* would bear that as its own which is of the flesh, and still not relinquish what he has according to his essence (*ousia*), also not the superiority to suffering and his highest nobility" (St. Severus Ant., *C. imp. Gram., Or.* III, ch. 29: *CSCO* 102, p. 79,18-25, as quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 162).

Grillmeier (*ibid.*, p. 163) comments saying: "*Hypostatic* union signifies for Severus first and foremost a clear *Logos*-hegemony in Christ. The subordinate part is the *sarx* of Christ: 'It is evident that it has not retained its propriety without diminution' (*evidens est eam [carnem] non tenuisse sine defectu suam proprietatem*). At the same time this diminution of what is proper to it is an enrichment through the divinity. Severus refers to the transfiguration or the miraculous pouring forth 'of the source of life, of the blood and water of forgiveness after the piercing of the divine side' of Jesus (*CSCO* 102, p. 79,4-9)".

III.G. The *Hypostatic* Union in the Teachings of Other Syrian Fathers:

III.G.1. THE *HYPOSTATIC* UNION IN THE TEACHING OF ST. PHILOXENOS OF MABBOGH:

St. Philoxenus comments on the second birth of the *Logos* through the incarnation, saying: Even in his coming into existence in the realm of time, the Word did not go from one state to its opposite, for even before he came into being he existed, and even when he died he continued to be immortal as God. Thus St. Philoxenus writes: "He did not go from one state to its opposite: *Tres tract.*, pp. 62, 63, 66, 200, 201, 217, etc. He continued to be immortal in death: 'The immortality of God does not prevent us from believing in his death, nor does his death oblige us to deny his immortality. God was tried by death... [But] as spirits cannot die, he did not die spiritually; besides, his nature is immortal. But, since the body is subject to the power of death, he was tried by death corporally... He was dissolved as a man', '*Letter to Zeno*', pp. 170-1" (Chesnut, p. 64, n. 1).

The Word was born of the mother only with respect to his humanity (*ibid.*, p. 65, referring to *Tres tract.*, pp. 253-5; '*Letter to Zeno*', pp. 168-9). He also adds: "We say that the Word was 'born' because the humanity actually belonged to him as the flesh of an ordinary man belongs to him. But we do not say that the Word went from a state of nothing to something: only the humanity did this. In the same way we can say that the Immortal one died, or the impassible one suffered" (*ibid.* & n. 2, quoting St. Philoxenus, *Letter to the Monks of Senoun*, p. 64: "'It is written that the Word became flesh, because the flesh which he became belonged to the Word himself, and it was not that of another man.' See also p. 5 etc. Even though the flesh belonged to him as his own and was taken into the *hypostasis* of the

Word, the flesh was not changed into the divinity, any more than the divinity was changed into humanity: 'Just as his own nature was not changed into flesh when it came into being, the flesh was not [changed] into the nature of the divinity when it was divinized. If his flesh had been changed into the nature of his divinity, it would have been intangible and invisible; and on the other hand, if his divinity had been converted into the nature of the flesh, it would not have been able to exercise the power which belonged to God, nor spoken or acted as belongs to God', *Monks of Senoun*, p. 52. See also *Tres tract.*, p. 203").

III.G.2. THE *HYPOSTATIC* UNION IN THE TEACHING OF ST. JACOB OF SARUG:

Chesnut (p. 119) quotes St. Jacob of Sarug saying: Jesus is "one Son, one number, one *hypostasis*, one nature, one God who was enfleshed from the holy virgin, one of the Trinity who was seen in the flesh..." (*Letter* 3, p. 19).

In Jesus there is one nature and *hypostasis*, without division. Thus St. Jacob says: "[I anathematize those] who, after the union, divide (*mphalgîn*) and name and count in the one Christ natures and their proprieties, and their individualities, and their operations', *Letter* 16, p. 70. For the prohibition against 'dividing' see also *Letters*, 16, pp. 65, 72; 33, pp. 247, 248; 14, pp. 60, 61; 6, p. 31. The root in all these cases is *plg*." (Chesnut, p. 119 & n. 2). He also says: Jesus is not a union of a complete man and God. He is God who without change has become man. "This theme of the divine 'coming into being without change' to de Halleux characterizes Philoxenus' theology. See *Philoxène*, pp. 319ff. For this idea in Jacob, see e.g. *Letter* 6, p. 32: 'One is the true son in whom are neither *hypostases* nor numbers arranged... Not that the Word destroyed his nature, nor was he changed from the properness of his being... But while remaining in that first condition which he naturally possessed, he descended to the extremity *hypostatically* and willingly, while he did not destroy that first state, for he was God and became a man, but he remained in what he was, [namely], God'; *Letters* 13, p. 56; 36, p. 264" (Chesnut, p. 119 & n. 4).

"Jesus is one nature and one *hypostasis*. Jacob uses the word 'nature' to refer to a concrete being, an entity which can be counted". "In a christological context, Jacob also customarily calls the divine element in Christ, which did not die at the crucifixion, his 'nature'..." (Chesnut, p. 120, referring in n. 3 to *Letter* 13, p. 56, and adding a quotation from St. Jacob saying: "Christ is 'one of the Trinity who was enfleshed...the pitier of the dead, who became one of the dead, while the life of his nature was preserved in him'; *Letters* 21, p. 141; 36, p. 264").

"One nature and *hypostasis*, then, means 'one being', 'one actual identity'. Jacob explicitly rejects the 'two nature' christology of those whom he considers to be Nestorians because two natures has to mean two basic 'beings' in Christ, the man Jesus and the Word; and along with these two basic beings, two 'numbers' and two 'ranks', not to mention two operations" (Chesnut, pp. 120-121 & n. 1 on p. 121, referring to examples from St. Jacob's *Letters* 14, p. 61; 27, pp. 137, 139; 33, p. 249). "To confess two natures means to assign the 'small things' to the man and the great things to God. To confess two natures means to hold to such a view of the union that one must say that the Word assumed the man who is worshipped with him, as a king assumes the purple which is worshipped with him" (*ibid.*, p. 121, referring to St. Jacob's *Letter* 19, pp. 123-127).

"Within this context, Jacob affirms the doctrine of the *hypostatic* union – that the body

of the Word came to him through his second birth, the birth from the virgin. It was his body, belonging to him as any man's body belongs to him" (*ibid.* & n. 4, referring to St. Jacob's *Letter* 19, p. 118, adding, "The humanity and divinity both belonged to his *hypostasis*: 'His body is not known outside him in number, and his divinity is not foreign to his embodiment...because *hypostatically*, he took the image of the servant, and not as a possession'...").

His humanity "did not belong to him as the purple belongs to the king (*Letter* 19, pp. 123-127). The Word did not assume a man; he became a man. 'The humanity of our Lord did not come into being, but it was our Lord who became a man' *Letter* 6, p. 31" (Chesnut, *op. cit.* & n. 6).

"While the Word made flesh is one, and not two, Jacob insists that he is complete in his humanity and in his divinity" (*ibid.* & n. 7: For the statement that he is complete both in his humanity and in his divinity see St. Jacob's *Letters* 13, p. 56; 17, p. 86, etc.).

III.G.3. THE *HYPOSTATIC* UNION IN THE TEACHING OF MAR ATHANASIUS AL-GAMMÂL PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH:

Mar Athanasius the anti-Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch (known as al-Gammâl, i.e. the "Camel driver", 595-631 A.D.), in his dogmatic letter sent to emperor Heraclius, says: "In view of the fact that our God and Saviour Jesus Christ is one, then his nature also is one; and we confess that his *hypostasis* is composed from the Godhead and the manhood, i.e. from perfect natures and *hypostases*, as expressed by the fathers. This excludes (any thought) that the Godhead has been changed into what was not before. Also, any change never occurred to the manhood, but each retained its own distinctive character. And we believe together in a unity which is inexplicable, since it manifested to us one nature for one, but he is incarnate and became man. He is neither divided in any manner into two natures, nor is he existing in two natures, two *hypostases*, two persons, two sons, or two christs after the ineffable union which was *hypostatic* and natural, with the exclusion of phantasy, alteration, confusion, division and duality, because duality is an outright dissolution of union...." (Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* XI, 2, Ar. tr. vol. II, pp. 295-296).

III.H. The *Hypostatic* Union in the Teachings of the Neo-Chalcedonian Defenders of Chalcedon and the Chalcedonian Second Council of Constantinople, 553 A.D.:

III.H.1. THE REPROACHES HEAPED UPON THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, 451 A.D., FOR THE OMISSION IN ITS *DEFINITIO* OF THE *HYPOSTATIC* UNION AND OTHER ANTI-NESTORIAN EXPRESSIONS, AND ITS ADOPTION OF NESTORIUS'S SLOGAN "CHRIST IN TWO NATURES":

As we have mentioned before concerning this point (under Part Three section III.C.6.), the Council of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo adopted Nestorius's slogan "Christ in Two Natures" and ignored in its Definition of faith the three anti-Nestorian expressions, namely, the "out of two" with the "one incarnate nature" and the "*hypostatic* union". Thus St. Severus, e.g., asks: "Where in the *Definitio* (or in the *Tome*) were these cardinal expressions to be found?"

III.H.2. THE RESPONSE OF THE NEO-CHALCEDONIAN DEFENDERS OF CHALCEDON IN THE SIXTH CENTURY:

The defenders of Chalcedon in the following century responded to these charges, trying to explain that, "What Chalcedon did was to exclude any false interpretation of the Alexandrian formulas, but not the formulas themselves, provided these were rightly understood. After all, the Council could hardly have condemned the use of the 'one incarnate nature', seeing that, as was then believed, it had been handed down by Athanasius himself. And in regard to the '*hypostatic* union', this clearly was received; for it occurs three times in Cyril's Second Letter to Nestorius, which was one of the documents accepted as *de fide*" (Sellers, p. 213).

Still, however, the objection raised by their opponents that Chalcedon favoured Nestorius was a charge which needed an effort to rectify this defect in the definition of the historical Chalcedon and its interpretation by the earlier Nestorianizing Antiochene supporters. "Prepared by the 'Christology from on high' which insisted on Christ's eternal pre-existence, and in particular by the doctrine of *communicatio idiomatum* in the strict sense (God born and died, *Theotokos*, etc.), defended especially by the Alexandrians and sanctioned by the council of Ephesus (431), the concept of *hypostatic* union was elaborated by those Byzantine theologians, the so-called neo-chalcedonians, who sought to harmonize the belief of Chalcedon with the 'monophysite' (more precisely = 'miaphysite') formulae of St. Cyril of Alexandria and his followers. Their explanation of the incarnation of the Word was dogmatized by the Second Council of Constantinople (553 A.D.) (DS 426)" (Ber. *EEC*, vol. I, p. 402).

III.H.3. ST. SEVERUS'S RESPONSE TO THE *FLORILEGIA* OF CYRILLIAN PASSAGES COLLECTED BY THE CHALCEDONIANS:

The Chalcedonians began to collect quotations from the Fathers in support of their position. At the time when St. Severus drew up his *Philalethes*, around the second decade of the sixth century, the Chalcedonians possessed a collection of two hundred and forty-four *capita* from St. Cyril alone, trying to say that he had taught and said the same as those at Chalcedon. Anyhow, this collection shows that these Chalcedonians, like their opponents, regard St. Cyril as their master, and that they themselves do not reject either the "*hypostatic* union" or the "natural union", or the "out of two", or the "one incarnate nature of the divine *Logos*" – provided that here "one nature" is not taken in the sense of *una substantia* (i.e. made by a mixture).

St. Severus, in his *Philalethes* (*'The Truth-lover'*) comments on these quotations from St. Cyril, criticizing the Chalcedonians, asking how they can accept these expressions of St. Cyril and at the same time receive a Council which rejected them. Thus, e.g. from this collection of Cyrillian passages, we may infer that the Chalcedonians accepted the "*hypostatic* union" (Cap. 58) and the "natural union" (Cap. 113), St. Severus again urging his opponents to confess "one incarnate nature", and taunting them with the rejection of the "*hypostatic* union" by the Council of Chalcedon (Sellers, pp. 285 & 286, n. 2).

III.H.4. ST. SEVERUS'S RESPONSE TO THE CHALCEDONIAN TRACTATE:

The Tractate is a document drawn up by the Chalcedonians for the purpose of defending the *Definitio* of Chalcedon. It was in circulation at the time of St. Severus who criticized it in his *Philalethes* (*'Truth-lover'*). This Tractate, in which the formal Chalcedonian confession of faith contained in the *Definitio*, was divided into seven sections, and – again presumably without comment – over against each was set what was regarded as a parallel statement in St. Cyril. Sellers (pp. 288ff.) gives an outline of the document, which, together with St. Severus's criticisms, appears in the *Philalethes* of St. Severus (ed. Sanda, pp. 29-46). Here are some examples from St. Severus's criticisms for their misuse of quotations from St. Cyril in defense of the *Definitio* of Chalcedon.

a. The *Definitio*, "*Cap. I.* One and the same Christ Jesus our Lord, the Only-begotten, who is made known in two natures [which exist] without confusion, change, division or separation."

The parallel quotation from St. Cyril's *Ep. i ad Succensus*: "Reflecting on the manner of the Incarnation, we see (ὁρῶμεν) that two natures have come together with each other into an ineffable union, without confusion or change. The flesh is flesh and not Godhead, though it has become the flesh of God; likewise, the *Logos* is also God and not flesh, though in the economy he has made the flesh his own".

St. Severus's criticism: "*Philalethes*: It will be observed that the author of the Tractate pays no attention to what is said by Cyril both before and after his quotation; for there the great Doctor speaks of 'out of two natures', and, while allowing that one may 'see' two natures in the one Christ, asserts that 'after the union' it is impossible to 'divide' him into two, since 'after the union' there is 'one incarnate nature of the divine *Logos*'. No one, then, should be deceived: the author – *omnia in suam opinionem mutando* – never refers to those passages in Cyril's writings in which the 'out of two', or the '*hypostatic* union', or the 'one incarnate nature' appear. Those who met at Chalcedon divide the one Person, even if they allude to him as 'One and the same', since, sick with the error of Nestorius, they teach 'two natures after the union' and proclaim a union which is not a union" (ed. Sanda, pp. 30-33).

b. The *Definitio*, "*Cap. II.* The difference of the natures having been in no wise taken away by reason of the union".

The parallel quotation from St. Cyril's *Ep. ii ad Nestorius*: "not as though the difference of the natures was taken away by reason of the union".

St. Severus' criticism: "*Philalethes*: Here again the full quotation is not forthcoming since Cyril's statements concerning the 'out of two', and the '*hypostatic* union' are omitted. He (Severus) accepts the doctrine of the difference of the natures, but does not arrive at it through 'dividing' the one Christ 'after the union'. And though parts of the full quotation appear in the *testimonia* (capp. 1, 2; ed. Sanda, pp. 48, 49), these are not introduced in the Tractate, lest it should be discovered what it was that the Council had deliberately omitted" (ed. Sanda, pp. 33-45).

c. The *Definitio*, "*Cap. III.* But rather the properties of each being preserved".

The parallel quotation from St. Cyril's *Ep. ii ad Succensus*: "Though we say that the only-begotten Son of God, incarnate and made man, is one, he has not for this reason been mixed, as it seems to them; for the nature of the *Logos* has not been changed into the nature of the flesh; nor has that of the flesh been changed into that of the *Logos*; but each remains

and is perceived in its natural property, after the manner in which we now speak".

St. Severus' criticism: "*Philalethes*: The author should have gone on to quote what Cyril says after this – namely, that while each nature remains with its properties, the ineffable union reveals to us 'one nature of the Son, though, as I said, one incarnate [nature]'. The man's infamy is self-evident; he would alter the teaching of the divinely inspired Cyril, who did not say, 'after the union, two natures', but, 'after the union, one incarnate nature'" (ed. Sanda, pp. 35f.).

III.H.5. THE *HYPOSTATIC* UNION IN THE TEACHING OF THE CHALCEDONIAN JOHN THE GRAMMARIAN:

John Grammaticus (the Grammarian), "like other representatives of the neo-Alexandrian school of thought, he stands as a Chalcedonian, brought up in the Alexandrian way of belief. In his Christology, he makes the doctrine of the '*hypostatic* union' his starting-point, and accepts the formulas of the 'one incarnate nature' and the 'out of two'. For him, as for those whom he represented, the Council of Chalcedon had in no wise rejected the use of these formulas, even if no mention had been made of them in the *Definitio*" (Sellers, p. 298).

III.H.6. THE *HYPOSTATIC* UNION IN THE TEACHING OF THE CHALCEDONIAN MONKS FROM SCYTHOPOLIS:

The Chalcedonian monks from Scythopolis, who are to be regarded as representatives of the neo-Alexandrian school of thought, in the second of their eleven anathemas "they anathematize those who do not confess 'the *hypostatic*' or 'the natural union', according to which the divine *Logos*, while remaining in his own nature, was united to our nature, and condemn the use of the phrase 'a personal union' if this is taken as meaning a union according to example or good-will or affection" (Sellers, p. 307, quoting *Contra Nestorianos Capitula*, Anath. ii, *PG* lxxxvi.i.87A f.).

III.H.7. THE *HYPOSTATIC* UNION AS EMPHATICALLY EXPRESSED BY THE CHALCEDONIAN SECOND COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE, 553 A.D.:

In fact, it is the Chalcedonian Second Council of Constantinople, 553 A.D., which took very strong anti-Nestorian measures by adopting Alexandrian Christological ideas using a terminology derived almost entirely from St. Cyril of Alexandria, including the doctrine of *hypostatic* union. This doctrine is expressed emphatically and repeatedly in Anathemas iv, vii, viii, and xiii.

Thus the Fourth Anathematism of that council pronounces the following: ".....if anyone shall not acknowledge as the Holy Fathers teach, that the union of God the Word is made with the flesh animated by a reasonable and living soul, and that such union is made synthetically and *hypostatically,* and that therefore there is only one Person, to wit: our Lord Jesus Christ, one of the Holy Trinity: let him be anathema. As a matter of fact the word 'union' (τῆς ἑνώσεως) has many meanings, and the partisans of Apollinarius and Eutyches have affirmed that these natures are confounded *inter se*, and have asserted a union produced

by the mixture of both. On the other hand the followers of Theodorus and of Nestorius rejoicing in the division of the natures, have taught only a relative union. Meanwhile the Holy Church of God, condemning equally the impiety of both sorts of heresies, recognizes the union of God the Word with the flesh synthetically, that is to say, *hypostatically*. For in the mystery of Christ the synthetical union not only preserves unconfusedly the natures which are united, but also allows no separation" (Percival, p. 312).

Again Anathema vii says: "If anyone using the expression, 'in two natures', does not confess that our one Lord Jesus Christ has been revealed in the divinity and in the humanity, so as to designate by that expression a difference of the natures of which an ineffable union is unconfusedly made, [a union] in which neither the nature of the Word was changed into that of the flesh, nor that of the flesh into that of the Word, for each remained that it was by nature, the union being *hypostatic*; but shall take the expression with regard to the mystery of Christ in a sense so as to divide the parties, or recognising the two natures in the only Lord Jesus, God the Word made man, does not content himself with taking in a theoretical manner the difference of the natures which compose him, which difference is not destroyed by the union between them, for one is composed of the two and the two are in one, but shall make use of the number [two] to divide the natures or to make of them Persons properly so called: let him be anathema" (*ibid.*, p. 313).

Also, Anathama viii reads as follows: "If anyone uses the expression, 'of two natures', confessing that a union was made of the Godhead and of the humanity, or the expression 'the one nature made flesh of God the Word', and shall not so understand those expressions as the holy Fathers have taught, to wit: that of the divine and human nature there was made an *hypostatic* union, whereof is one Christ; but from these expressions shall try to introduce one nature or substance [made by a mixture] of the Godhead and manhood of Christ: let him be anathema. For in teaching that the only-begotten Word was united *hypostatically* [to humanity] we do not mean to say that there was made a mutual confusion of natures, but rather each [nature] remaining what it was, we understand that the Word was united to the flesh. Wherefore there is one Christ, both God and man, consubstantial with the Father as touching his Godhead, and consubstantial with us as touching his manhood..." (*ibid.*, pp. 313-314).

Again Anathema xiii pronounces against the writings of Theodoret, Theodore and Nestorius and all who wrote against the doctors of the Church who profess the *hypostatic* union of God the Word (Percival, p. 315).

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IV. THE NATURAL UNION

IV.A. The "Natural Union" in the Teachings of St. Cyril of Alexandria, His Synod of Alexandria, 430 A.D., and the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D.:

IV.A.1. INTRODUCTION:

St. Cyril defined the union of the *Logos* with the flesh as "*hypostatic*" and "natural". It is a "concurrence (σύνοδον) into unity" of the *Logos* with the flesh animated with a reasonable soul, which he took in the womb of the holy Virgin Mary at the very moment of conception, making it his own "by true Union, i.e. by Nature" (cf. St. Cyril, *Five Tomes against Nestorius*, book ii, chap. 1, ed. Pusey, p. 45).

It is clear that the Orthodox doctrines of the "*hypostatic*" and "natural" union, taught by St. Cyril, were introduced to enforce the truth that our Lord Jesus Christ is one Person and one nature of the *Logos* in his incarnate state, and that any "dividing" of this one Person is altogether impossible.

These doctrines were ratified and taught by St. Cyril's Alexandrian synod of 430 A.D., as stated in their Synodical Letter together with the second and third of the Twelve Anathematisms subjoined to it pronouncing against those who do not accept and confess these doctrines. Again the Fathers of the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D., received and ratified these doctrines as expressed in St. Cyril's Synodical Letter with the Twelve Anathematisms as a part of the faith of their Ecumenical Council to be binding dogmas and Orthodox expressions of the faith of the Universal Church.

IV.A.2. THE "*HYPOSTATIC*" AND "NATURAL" UNION IN THE SECOND AGREED STATEMENT AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE [TWO ORTHODOX FAMILIES OF] CHURCHES (CHAMBÉSY, 1990 A.D.):

The theologians who were delegated to represent their churches in the Joint Commission of the Theological Dialogue between the (Byzantine) Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches were aware of the importance of the doctrines of "*hypostatic*" and "natural" union and their canonically binding character as part of the faith of the church expressed by the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D. Thus they issued their Second Agreed Statement and Recommendation to the Churches (Chambésy, Switzerland, September 23-28, 1990 A.D.), declaring in the fourth of the Articles of Common Faith their confession of the doctrines of **the "*hypostatic*" and "natural" union**, but articulated in a Neo-Chalcedonian formulation, which reads as follows:

"4. Both families agree that the natures with their proper energies and wills are **united *hypostatically* and naturally** without confusion, without change, without division and without separation, and that they are distinguished in thought alone (τή θεωρία μόνη)."

Although the theologians representing the (Byzantine) Orthodox and the Oriental Orthodox Churches stated in their First Agreed Statement (June, 1989) their conviction that their common Father is St. Cyril, yet it is clear that a large majority of the Byzantine Churches could not follow his lead. More than twenty years have passed since the representatives submitted these two Agreed Statements and Recommendations to their Churches for their consideration and action. A few number of Churches from both sides ratified the Agreements by their synods, but the rest did not. One of the great obstacles for the majority of the Byzantine Churches and synods for accepting and ratifying the Agreed Statements was the confession of the "natural union", in article 4 of the Second Agreed Statement, in spite of the fact that this Orthodox dogma was taught by St. Cyril and his Alexandrian Synod of 430, as a part of the Orthodox faith, stated in their Synodical Letter (*Ep.* 17 of St. Cyril), discussed, received, ratified and taught by the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D., and confessed lately in 1990 in the Agreed Statement signed by their own representatives.

This rejectionist attitude at present reminds us of the past, when Nestorius and the Antiochenes fought against the doctrine of "natural union" taught by St. Cyril, his Alexandrian Synod, 430, and the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, 431.

IV.A.3. THE DOCTRINE OF "NATURAL UNION" OPPOSED BY NESTORIUS AND THE ANTIOCHENES AND IGNORED BY THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON:

Nestorius's friend, Theodoret of Cyrrhus opposed the "natural union", pretending that St. Cyril understands nature in the sense of *substantia*. Thus, replying to Cyril's Third Anathematism, Theodoret says: "nature has a compulsory force and is involuntary: we do not feel hunger or thirst, neither do we sleep or breathe, of our own free will, but of necessity. A 'natural' union, then, must mean that the *Logos* has been united to the form of a servant 'under compulsion of necessity', and not 'by purpose and will'. Let it be understood that the union is of this order, he argues, and it will be seen that there is no need to add this word 'natural'" (*Reprehen. xii Capp.* iii, ed. Schulze, v. pt. i. p. 15; quoted in *Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 216).

Nestorius also attacked the same doctrine saying: "Since those who are composed of [one] nature support of necessity the nature's own proper qualities which are naturally and not voluntarily theirs, a natural union means a union deprived of its voluntary character" (cf. *Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 216, quoting *Bazaar*, pp. 85, 179).

Moreover, "Nestorius regarded such conceptions of the christological union favoured by Cyril, such as **'natural union'** (*henosis kata physin*) or ***'hypostatic* union'** (*henosis kath' hypostasin*) as fundamentally compromising the abiding separateness of the natures in Christ. In consequence he rejected any formula of christology which envisaged a union taking place on the level of the 'natures' (a union of the natures) in so far as it implied that the separateness was not continued in the life of Christ, and that some kind of third new nature must have been produced as a result of this form of symbiosis (a new kind of mutant nature which he doubted could be regarded either divine or human)" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 135).

"Since Cyril's party favoured a conception of the christological union based on the level of **'natural union'**, and had propagated the catch-phrase: 'union from out of two

natures' (*henosis ek dyo physeon*) to sum it up for the populace Nestorius in turn coined the radically different formula: 'Christ in two natures' (*en dyo physesin*). In this latter aspect of his christology Chalcedon would partially follow him, at the cost of alienating the ... Cyrilline party of the mid fifth century and causing the monophysite rift" (*ibid.*, pp. 135-136).

Thus – so argued St. Severus later – even now the 'out of two natures' cannot be made to coincide with the Chalcedonian 'in two natures', even if the state of being united is expressly emphasized: "See how they [the Fathers of Chalcedon] characterize the formula 'out of two' as heretical but define as orthodox the formula 'two united [natures]', whereby they have prepared the ground for Christ's being called two natures after the union" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 49, quoting St. Severus Ant., *Or. 2 ad Nephalius*: *CSCO* 120, p. 9,27-30).

Thus for St. Severus not even 'in two united natures' is sufficient to achieve in efficacy his preferred 'out of two': "If you consider all this so you will cease to say: 'the two natures and the two forms are one Christ after you have professed the union'. That that does not suffice is apparent with Theodoret and Andrew of Samosata, who also speak of the union of natures and yet split up the mystery of the *oikonomia*" (St. Severus Ant., *Or. 2 ad Neph.*: *CSCO* 120, p. 45,28-34). Hence according to St. Severus even the 'two united natures' cannot compete with the expressiveness of the *mia-physis* formula (*ibid.*, p. 46,10-12. Cf. also p. 49,21-34).

"It sounds like the judgement after a judicial process when he says: 'Should we thus declare as innocent those [i.e. the 'Antiochenes' Theodoret and Andrew of Samosata and naturally Chalcedon] because they call the union undivided (*individuam*) and (characterize) it at the same time as highest and indissoluble and eternal, or should we not turn our face away from them (as from the convicted) who speak of two natures also after the union and contradict their own utterances and sway towards both sides?" (*ibid.*, p. 47,6-10, as quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit..*, p. 50).

IV.A.4. THE "NATURAL UNION" IN THE TEACHINGS OF ST. CYRIL AND HIS SYNOD OF ALEXANDRIA, 430 A.D.:

IV.A.4.a. The Role of St. Cyril in Defining the Union as "*Hypostatic*" and "Natural":

The most celebrated christological formula of St. Cyril is the *Mia Physis* "One Nature", from which the faithful followers of the true Cyrillian Orthodoxy derive their name Miaphysites. It is a confession that our Lord Jesus Christ is "one incarnate nature of God the *Logos*" (Gk. μία φύσις τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένη). The *Mia Physis* formula, therefore, means "One *Physis* of God the Word made flesh".

It seems, however, that St. Cyril's own contribution, lay in "his definition of the union of the *Logos* with flesh as a **'*hypostatic*' and 'natural' union**; and it is abundantly clear that he introduced it to enforce the truth....., that Jesus Christ is one Person, the *Logos* in his incarnate state, and that any 'dividing' of this one Person is altogether impossible..... the flesh is therefore, as Cyril is constantly saying, 'the own' (ἰδία) of the *Logos*, and cannot be so separated from him that one can think of it as 'that of another existing individually beside him'. And to give added emphasis to his main contention, he proclaims the **'natural**

union' (ἕνωσις φυσική). It is a **'natural' union**, because in Jesus Christ there has been a 'real' unification of Godhead and manhood" (Sellers, p. 141).

It is a "concurrence into unity" (συνδρομὴ εἰς ἕν τι) or "a receiving to himself on the part of the divine *Logos* of the properties of the manhood 'into a complete union' (εἰς ἄκρον ἕνωσιν)" (Sellers, pp. 141f., referring for examples of Cyril's use of the phrase, see *Apol. adv. Orient iv, xi*, ed. Pusey, VI. pp. 304, 358). Hence he can argue against the upholders of the 'two natures' that it is impossible to 'divide the indivisible' and posit 'two Sons'...(*Apol. adv. Orient.* ix; *ibid.*, p. 332): the truth of the ἕν τι altogether rules out the notion that the union is no more than the linking-together of the *Logos* and the man assumed by him in a moral relationship (*Apol. adv. Theod. iii*; *ibid.*, p. 414) (Sellers, p. 142 & notes 2&3).

"It should be noted that Cyril expressly rejects the possible inference that a 'natural' union means the confusion of the elements of which it consists: see esp. *Apol. adv. Theod. iii*; *ibid.*, pp. 414, 418)" (Sellers, p. 142, n. 1).

IV.A.4.b. The "Natural Union" in the Synodical Letter of St. Cyril:

In St. Cyril's letter 17, which is the Third Letter to Nestorius, written on behalf of the Synod which he held in Alexandria in late 430 A.D., the "natural union" (ἕνωσις φυσική) is expressed in the following words:

"4..... We do not say that the Word of God has dwelt in him who was born of the holy virgin, as if in an ordinary man, for this might imply that Christ was a God-bearing man. Even though it is said that: 'The Word dwelt among us' (*John* 1:14) and 'all the fullness of the Godhead dwelt bodily' in Christ (*Colossians* 2:9), nonetheless we understand that in terms of his becoming flesh we must not define the indwelling in his case as if it were just the same as the way he is said to dwell in the saints; for he was **naturally united** (ἑνωθεὶς κατὰ φύσιν) to, but not changed into, flesh, in that kind of indwelling which the soul of man can be said to have with its own body."

"5. There is, therefore, One Christ and Son and Lord, not as though a man simply had a conjunction with God as though in a unity of honour or sovereignty, for equality of honour does not unite natures. Indeed Peter and John have equality of honour with one another since they are both apostles and holy disciples, but these two are not one. We do not conceive the manner of the conjunction in terms of juxtaposition (for this is not enough for a **natural union** (ἕνωσις φυσική)), nor indeed in terms of a relational participation (ἕνωσις σχετική) in the way that 'being joined to the Lord we are one spirit with him' as it is written (*1Corinthians* 6:17). In fact we reject the term 'conjunction' (συνάφεια) as being insufficient to signify the union (τὴν ἕνωσιν)" (*Ep.* 17:4-5, quoted as trans. by McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 269; cf. Quasten III, p. 139; Wickham, *Select Letters*, pp. 18-21).

The Third of the Twelve Anathematisms of St. Cyril and his synod, subjoined to the above-quoted letter 17 rejects any separation of the two subsistences (*hypostases*) after the union, since they are brought together in **"a natural union"** (ἕνωσιν φυσικήν). Thus it states: "If anyone shall after the [*hypostatic*] union divide the *hypostases* in the one Christ, joining them by that connexion alone, which happens according to worthiness, or even authority and power, and not rather by a coming together (συνόδῳ), which is made by **natural union** (ἕνωσιν φυσικήν): let him be anathema" (Percival, p. 211).

IV.A.4.c. St. Cyril's Explanation of His Third Anathematism:

St. Cyril wrote his *Explanation of the Twelve Chapters* when he was under house-arrest at Ephesus in late summer, 431. The following is his third anathematism and its explanation:

"*Anathematism 3.*"

"10. If anyone divides the *hypostases* of the One Christ after the union, connecting them only by a conjunction in terms of honour or dignity or sovereignty, and not rather by a combination in terms of **natural union**, let him be anathema."

"*Explanation 3.*"

"11. Having made a careful enquiry into the mystery of the economy with flesh of the Only Begotten, we say that the Word of God the Father was united in a wonderful and ineffable manner to a holy body endowed with a rational soul and this is how we understand that there is One Son; although of course even in our own case it is legitimate to observe that the soul and the body are of different natures, or rather that both are composited in one living being. Certain people, however, do not think that this is the case. They divide out for us a man separate and distinct; they say that he was conjoined to the Word born of God the Father only in terms of dignity or authority but not in terms of a **natural union** (that is a true union) which is what we believe. In this sense the divine scripture says somewhere: 'And by nature we were the children of wrath, like all the rest' (*Ephesians* 2:6). And here we understand the words 'by nature' to mean 'truly'. So, those who divide the *hypostases* after the union and set each one aside separately, that is man and God, and those who regard them as having been conjoined only in terms of dignity are unquestionably setting up two sons, even though the God-inspired scripture says there is One Son and Lord. After the ineffable union, therefore, even if you should call the Emmanuel God, we understand him as the Word of God the Father made flesh and made man; and even if you call him man we recognize him as no less than this even though he has economically descended into the limitations of the manhood. And we maintain that he who is untouchable has become tangible, and that the invisible has become visible; for his own body which he united to himself was not an alien thing, and this is what we say was tangible and visible. As for those who do not believe in this way, and as I said divide the *hypostases* after the union and understand them merely to have been conjoined in terms of only dignity or authority, then this preceding anathematism shows them to be alien to those who think correctly" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 285-286).

IV.A.4.d. The "Natural Union" in the Second of His *Five Tomes Against Nestorius*:

In the spring of 430, St. Cyril wrote his *Five Tomes Against Nestorius*. From chap. 1 of the second of these *Tomes* we quote here St. Cyril refuting Nestorius, saying:

"....for we say that a true concurrence (σύνοδον) had place, the Word uniting to Himself the Body, yet abiding what He was. But this man taking nought of these things to mind, hath blasphemed in no mean degree, parting Him into two persons and *hypostases* (πρόσωπά τε καὶ ὑποστάσεις) wholly severed one from the other, and attributing to either separately the words to it belonging: and again he says One Lord Jesus Christ, as though man were connected with God by rank only, not **by true Union, i.e., by Nature**. How then is He One Christ and Son and Lord, if to both severally will belong, as

thou sayest, the being thus called and so being in truth, by reason of the *hypostases* coming together in no wise by union one with another, but being united in respect of rank only or sway or authority?..." (Pusey, *Five Tomes, etc.*, p. 45).

IV.A.4.e. St. Cyril's Explanation of the Union in His *Scholia on the Incarnation*:

In *Scholion* 8 entitled "How we understand the Union", St. Cyril writes: "8..... I should say (although the description altogether falls short of the truth) that it is fitting to understand the union of Emmanuel to be such as the soul of a man might be thought to have with its own body. For the soul appropriates the things of the body even though in its proper nature it is apart from the body's natural passions, as well as those which impinge on it from without. For the body is moved to physical desires, and the soul which is within it feels these things too, because of the union, but in no way does it participate in these things, except in so far as it takes the fulfillment of desire as its own gratification. If the body was struck by a sword, or tortured on an iron grid, then the soul would share in its grief, because it is its own body which is suffering. But in its own nature the soul does not suffer anything of these things."

"This indeed is how we attribute the union to Emmanuel. For it was necessary that the soul united to it should share in the grief of its own body, so that rising above these sufferings it could submit itself as obedient to God. But it is foolish to say that God the Word shared in feeling the sufferings. For the Godhead is impassible and is not in our condition. Yet [the Word] was united to the flesh endowed with a rational soul, and when the flesh suffered, even though he was impassible, he was aware of what was happening within it, and thus as God, even though he did away with the weakness of the flesh, still he appropriated those weaknesses of his own body. This is how he is said to have hungered, and to have been tired, and to have suffered for our sake."

"Accordingly, the union of the Word with humanity can reasonably be compared with our condition. Just as the body is of a different nature to the soul, still from both we say that one man results, so too from the perfect *hypostasis* of God the Word and from a humanity perfect in its own right there is one Christ, and the selfsame is at once God and man. As I said earlier, the Word appropriated the affairs of his own flesh because it is his body, no one else's. And he communicates, as to his own flesh, the operation of his own divine powers. This was how he was able to give life to the dead, and to heal the sick" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 300-301).

Then follows, in *Scholion* 9, his use of the simile of the 'live coal'. [See hereafter under Part Three, section IV.E.].

IV.A.5. THE "NATURAL UNION" IN THE TEACHINGS OF THE ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF EPHESUS, 431 A.D.:

This Third Letter of St. Cyril to Nestorius quoted above with the Twelve Anathematisms written in the name of the Alexandrian Synod of 430 A.D. is canonically a part of the faith of the Third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D., as we have already shown before under Part III, sections III.D.2. & 3. [Therefore, the doctrine of "natural union" stated in that letter and in the Third Anathematism of St. Cyril, and accepted as a part of the faith

of the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, is a binding dogma and Orthodox expression of the faith of the Universal Church.]

IV.B. The "Natural Union" in the Teachings of the Anti-Chalcedonian Fathers:

IV.B.1. THE "NATURAL UNION" IN THE TEACHINGS OF ST. SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH:

St. Severus explains the "*hypostatic*" and "natural" union in the mystery of incarnation, saying: "He was co-eternal with the Father and the Holy Spirit. But when he willed to become man for us, while remaining unchangeably what he was, he dwelt, as it is written, in the Virgin *Theotokos* inexplicably. From her, by the Holy Spirit, he united to himself by the concurrence of a **natural union** flesh possessing soul and mind, which is consubstantial with us. So we speak of the union as *hypostatic*, for it was in the very union with the Word who is before the ages that the flesh was formed and came to be and in concurrence with him the flesh received concreteness into the union. In this way, from two, namely from Godhead and manhood, Christ is known indivisibly to be one Emmanuel...." (*Contra Gram.* II, pp. 239f., quoted by Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, pp. 244f.).

We can see how important it was to St. Severus to distinguish the concept of particularity which pointed to the integrity of identity of a thing from the concept which implied a thing's independent existence. In St. Severus's *Philalethes* ('*Truth-lover*'), we frequently find a rejection of the humanity's having any independent status, which in St. Severus's view led directly to Nestorianism. "42. For example, cf. *Philalethes*, *op. cit.*, p. 323.2-3, where Severus quotes Nestorius, to show that Nestorius understood that the natures in their independence were retained; pp. 326-328, where Severus tries to show the divisive implications of granting an independence to the humanity, and diagnoses this error in the *Tome* of Leo, and the Chalcedonian definition" (Torrance, *Christology*, p. 89 & n. 42 on p. 106).

Another example is from the *apologia* of St. Severus to no. 42 of the Cyrillian florilegium which he substantiates with two further texts from St. Cyril representing his application of the body-soul analogy to "Emmanuel" (Severus Ant., *Philalethes*, no. 42: *CSCO* 134 [V], 213f.). Although in these particular texts, St. Cyril himself did not employ the *mia-physis* formula, but spoke only of the one Christ, Son and Lord, the Word become flesh, St. Severus comes expressly to this formula and speaks of the natural union and as a result intensifies the text of St. Cyril. Thus St. Severus records his own apology saying:

"For it is only because we examine in precise reflection the elements of which Emmanuel is constituted that we say that there are two natures that have been unified; by entertaining in our mind the idea of union we conclude that the one single nature of the Word incarnate has been formed. For the *hypostatic* union means these two things: that there has been a union of two or more realities to become one and the same thing, and that this from this time on no longer breaks up into them [the elements] which have naturally united, for they have united to become a single being. For in fact these elements which have naturally united no longer subsist in the isolation of their own subsistence,

but are obviously in a single nature and a single *hypostasis*; they allow only the starting-point to appear from which the single being is constituted, because they have been united without mingling and thus escape division into two or more" (*ibid.*, p. 213,15-31).

Were we to take these texts together, then St. Cyril and St. Severus appear to see in the application of the body-soul comparison to "Emmanuel", in both cases **the same result is arrived at: a substantial unity, a ἕνωσις φυσική (i.e. a natural union), which at the same time remains an "unmingled unity", a ἕνωσις ἀσύγχυτος** (see Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, pp. 34-35).

Behind this, of course, lies St. Cyril with his refusal to divide Christ into a man by himself, and the Word by himself. "For example, cf. St. Cyril *Scholia* XXXVII. Pusey ed. vol. 6, p. 574 ff.; *Adv. Nest. Lib. V*, *PG* 76.224 C-D = Pusey edn. Vol. 6, p. 220.28-221.3; *Quod unus sit Christus*, *PG* 75.1289C = Pusey edn. Vol. 7, p. 364,2-5" (Torrance, *Christology*, n. 43 on p. 106).

Though the constituents in the union are not independent, St. Severus wants to deny that they are deficient in any way. This was successfully clarified in his letter to Thomas, where, following from a quotation of St. Cyril, he writes, "...the peculiarity of the **natural union** is that the *hypostases* are in composition and are perfect without diminution, but refuse to continue an individual existence so as to be numbered as two, and to have its own person impressed upon each of them, which a conjunction in honour cannot possibly do" (Torrance, *Christology*, p. 89 & n. 45 on p. 106, quoting St. Severus *Collected Letters*, p. 210,8-12).

IV.B.2. THE "NATURAL UNION" IN THE TEACHINGS OF ST. PHILOXENUS OF MABBUG:

St. Philoxenus "believed that the two-nature theologians used the term 'indwelling' to describe the Incarnation in such a way that it necessarily implied only a *prosopic* union" (Chesnut, p. 82 & n. 1: "See e.g. *Tres tract.*, p. 140. The union of humanity and divinity in Christ was not like that of 'Paul and Peter who were two in number and one in the will of faith', nor were the humanity and divinity united by honour and authority; instead, **the union is 'natural'**, p. 196. Philoxenus also rejects the notion that Christ put on the humanity as a man puts on a piece of clothing: 'The Word did not weave himself a garment and put it on, nor build himself a palace and live in it, nor did he make a house and dwell in it...', p. 46. See also 'Against Nestorius', p. cxxv.").

IV.B.3. THE "NATURAL UNION" IN THE TEACHING OF MAR ATHANASIUS AL-GAMMÂL PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH:

In his dogmatic letter sent to emperor Heraclius, Mar Athanasius al-Gammâl, i.e. 'the camel-driver', Patriarch of Antioch (595-631 A.D.) says: "In view of the fact that our God and Saviour Jesus Christ is one, then his nature also is one; and we confess that his *hypostasis* is composed from the Godhead and the manhood, i.e. from perfect natures and *hypostases*, as expressed by the fathers. This excludes (any thought) that the Godhead has been changed into what was not before. Also, any change never occurred to the manhood, but each retained its own distinctive character. And we believe together in a unity which

is inexplicable, since it manifested to us one nature for one, but he is incarnate and became man. He is neither divided in any manner into two natures, nor is he existing in two natures, two *hypostases*, two persons, two sons, or two christs after the ineffable **union which was *hypostatic* and natural**, with the exclusion of phantasy, alteration, confusion, division and duality, because duality is an outright dissolution of union...." (Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* XI, 2, Ar. tr. vol. II, pp. 295-296).

IV.C. The "Natural Union" in the Teaching of the Chalcedonians:

IV.C.1. THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON IGNORES THE "*HYPOSTATIC* UNION" AND THE "NATURAL UNION":

This is related by McGuckin who writes: "Since Cyril's party favoured a conception of the Christological union based on the level of **'natural union'**, and had propagated the catchphrase: 'union from out of two natures' (*henosis ek dyo physeon*) to sum it up for the populace, Nestorius in turn coined the radically different formula: 'Christ in two natures' (*en dyo physesin*). In this latter aspect of his Christology Chalcedon would partially follow him at the cost of alienating the ... Cyrilline party of the mid fifth century and causing the monophysite (i.e. miaphysite) rift" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 135-136).

It is worth noting that the Council of Chalcedon did not only adopt Nestorius and the Antiochenes' slogan "Christ in two natures", but also ignored completely in its definition all of St. Cyril's formulae expressing real internal union such as: "the one incarnate nature of the divine *Logos*", "the *hypostatic* union", "the natural union", and "the union from out of two natures".

IV.C.2. SOME CHALCEDONIANS OF THE SIXTH CENTURY ACCEPTED THE "NATURAL UNION":

Those Chalcedonians, who have come to be called Neo-Chalcedonians began to collect quotations from the Fathers in support of their position. Around the second decade of the sixth century, the time when St. Severus drew up his *Philalethes* (*The Truth-Lover*), the Chalcedonians' collection of florilegia reached by that time two hundred and forty-four *capita* from St. Cyril alone. This collection shows that those Chalcedonians regard St. Cyril as their master and that they themselves do not deny either the "*hypostatic* union", or the **"natural union"**, or the other Cyrillian formulae which he used in expressing the Christology (Sellers, p. 286). Thus, from the Cyrilline passages gathered by those Chalcedonians, we can infer that they accepted the "*hypostatic* union" (*Caput* 58), and the **"natural union"** (*Caput* 113) (see Sellers, p. 286, n. 2).

The Chalcedonian monks of Scythopolis, in their *Contra Nestorianos Capitula* (*PG* lxxxvi.i.87f.), wrote a concise expression of their faith in the form of eleven anathematisms. In their second anathema, "they anathematize those who do not confess **'the *hypostatic*'** or **'the natural union'**, according to which the divine *Logos*, while remaining in his own nature, was united to our nature" (Sellers, p. 307).

As we have mentioned before (under Part Three, section IV.A.2.), the representatives of

the Chalcedonian Byzantine family of churches in the Joint Commission of the Theological Dialogue with the Oriental Orthodox family of churches recorded their confession of the **"Natural Union"** in Article 4 of the Second Agreed Statement (1990 A.D.), which was signed by all of them, but was not ratified by the synods of the majority of their churches.

We should note that, in contrast to the teaching of St. Cyril of Alexandria who spoke of the "*hypostatic* union" (*henosis kath' hypostasin*) and the "natural union" (i.e. "union according to the nature" *henosis kata physin*) and used them both together or interchangeably, the Chalcedonian Council of Constantinople, 553, spoke only of the "*hypostatic* union" in Canons (also called anathemas) iv, vii, viii and xiii [see Part Three, section III.H.7. of the present work].

Contrary to St. Cyril's Third Anathematism, just quoted before (section IV.A.4.c.) and his other writings (sections IV.A.4.a., b., d., & e.), that Council of Constantinople of 553, following Justinian's edict of 551, refused to speak of "natural union", because Nestorius and the Antiochenes had taken umbrage to it, claiming that such a "nature unity" would have expressed the necessity of the incarnation, although this was a free action of God's grace (see "Explanation of Canon iv" of that council in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, pp. 447-448). [NB. Nestorius, Theodoret, and the Antiochenes rejected both the "*hypostatic* union" and the "natural union", claiming that both mean "union under Compulsion of Necessity" and not "By Purpose and Will". (See their criticism and St. Cyril's reply in Part Three of the present work, under section III.C.5. and for a reply to their criticism from St. Severus see before under section IV.B.1.)].

Moreover, the Eighth Anathema of that Council of Constantinople, 553, in particular, "while permitting the expression 'out of two natures' and confessing their '*hypostatic* union', condemned the belief that this now resulted in 'one nature'" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 282, referring to text in Hefele/Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles*, III. I, 118-20). [See also Part Three of the present work under section VI.C.4.].

IV.D. The Real Union ("*Hypostatic*" and "Natural") Justifies the Marian Title "*Theotokos*" and the *Communicatio Idiomatum*:

As we have seen in our study (under Part One, sections IV. and I.D.) , the Marian title "*Theotokos*" ('God-bearer') had been long in use, and was the popular name of the Blessed Virgin Mother, and, as we have seen, the prohibition of its use by Nestorius roused the fiercest opposition. It can only mean "bearer of Him who is God" and not, as Nestorius supposed, "bearer of the Godhead". In virtue of the conception of a real **"*hypostatic*"** and **"natural union"** without confusion, the holy Virgin is *Theotokos*, because the divine Word became flesh and was made man, and from the very moment of conception united to himself the flesh taken from her. Therefore, this term enshrined the vitally important dogma that the same He who was born of Mary was from all eternity God the Son, and not only one who was inseparably connected with Him. It ought to be emphasized that this title is not designed to honor St. Mary but rather to explain the position of her Child.

It is the real union of God the Word with the flesh which He took from the Virgin Mary which permits us to exploit the *communicatio idiomatum* to the full, and to speak, for example, of the birth of God from the Virgin and of "God crucified" as well as to insist on

the propriety of calling the Virgin Mary "the mother of God (*Theotokos*)".

Origen formulated the principle of *communicatio idiomatum*: by virtue of the union the characteristics of the divinity can be predicated of the man, and the characteristics of humanity can be predicated of God: "in fact we say that the Son of God died by virtue of that nature which could taste death" (Origen, *De Principiis*, II,6,3., as quoted in Ber., *EEC*, p. 164).

Maclean (*ERE* vol. IX, pp. 327-328) has the following comment on this topic: "There can be little doubt that, though Nestorius did not deny that our Lord was God, yet much confusion was produced by his not being able to distinguish the abstract from the concrete... Hence to Nestorius phrases like 'God died' or 'God was born', which meant that 'He who is God died' or 'He who is God was born', implied that the Godhead died and was born. In fact he often imputed to his opponents the very doctrine which many of them imputed to him, that our Lord owed His origin to His mother. Nestorius had a horror of the method of speech which goes back to the earliest Christian ages...and is called by the Latins *communicatio idiomatum* and by the Greeks ἀντίδοσις"; by which, because of the unity of our Lord's person, the properties of His Divinity are referred to when a title appropriate to His Humanity is being used, and vice versa. "When, e.g. Ignatius talks of the 'blood of God', he means that He who is God shed His blood in His manhood. And so the phrases 'God died', and 'God was born',...were common before Nestorius, as expressing the fact that He who was born of the Virgin Mary and died upon the Cross was truly God. But it would be false to substitute the abstract for the concrete in these phrases, and say that 'the Godhead died' or 'was born'. The fact that Apollinarius delighted in expressions such as the above was doubtless one element in setting Nestorius against them" (*ibid.*).

"Some instances of the *communicatio idiomatum* in very early times may be mentioned. In *Acts* 3:15 ('ye killed the Prince of life') we have such an instance: 'the Prince of life' is a title of our Lord's Godhead, but St. Luke is speaking of His death. A striking instance would be *Acts* 20:28 ('the church of God which he purchased with his own blood'), but we are not quite certain of the text; 'God' is a better supported reading than 'the Lord'... Other early examples are: *Barnabas*, 7 ('the Son of God...suffered'); Clement of Rome, *Cor.* 2 ('His sufferings'; 'God' having preceded, according to Lightfoot and Harnack), Ignatius *Eph.* 1 ('blood of God'), *Rom.* 6 ('suffering of my God'); Tatian, *Address to the Greeks*, 13 ('suffering God'); Tertullian, *ad Uxor* ii.3 ('blood of God')" (*ERE*, IX, p. 328).

"In the *Book of Heraclides*, Nestorius speaks directly of an exchange of *prosopa* in Christ, in the sense that one of the two natures uses the *prosopon* of the other as if it were its own, which suggests a late acceptance by him of the *communicatio idiomatum* (= exchange of the predicates of humanity and divinity in Christ by virtue of the union), rejected years before in his reply to Cyril's second letter" (Simonetti in Ber. *EEC*, II, p. 594).

As mentioned before (in Part One, section IV.A.4.) the Marian title "*Theotokos*" had been used in the third century by Origen, St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, and Archelaus of Kashkar; in the fourth century by St. Alexander of Alexandria, Eusebius, St. Athanasius, St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Gregory of Nyssa, and St. Cyril of Jerusalem.

The Antiochenes, earlier so sensitive to the denouncing of their teachers and heretics that men like Theodoret and Nestorius do not accept a real *hypostatic* union, but only a unity of love, "which is founded on a connection of mercy and love". But their heretical views,

says St. Severus, "comprises not the birth of God who has become flesh, but rather excludes the birth and denies it and does not assent to the fact that the Virgin became the mother of God (*Theotokos*)" (St. Severus Ant., *Hom.* 58: *PO* 8,224: see Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 144).

The title *Theotokos*, however, was no real difficulty to some other Antiochenes, like John Bishop of Antioch who even before the *Formulary of Reunion* recognized its antiquity and its meaning, and wrote to Nestorius exhorting him to accept the term (see Part One, sections IV.A.9. and 15.).

Even Nestorius, when all went against him, "in bitter regret he called Mary *Theotokos* and cried out: 'Let Mary be called *Theotokos*, if you will, and let all disputing cease'. But although he made this recantation, no notice was taken of it; for his deposition was not revoked" (Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.* vii, 34).

"In a Greek fragment quoted by Loofs (*Nestoriana*, p. 353) he is willing to tolerate the term 'as long as the Virgin is not made a goddess'; in a sermon (Loofs, *Nestoriana*, p. 276) he suggests θεοδόχος ('one who receives God') rather than θεοτόκος. He wished, like Theodore (of Mopsuestia) to introduce the term ἀνθρωποτόκος ('man-bearer') as a complement to θεοτόκος, but he preferred χριστοτόκος ('Christ-bearer'). Yet up to the end of his life, as we see again and again in *Heraclides*, he attacked the term θεοτόκος. (For two elaborate notes on this term see Pearson, *Expos. of the Creed*, art. iii, p. 318, notes 36, 37)" (*ERE*, IX, p. 328).

[For more details on the title *Theotokos* see also Part One, section I.D. and section IV.]

IV.E. The Similes of the "Red-Hot Iron Bar" and the "Live Coal" Explain the Real Union Without Confusion and the *Communicatio Idiomatum*:

The famous simile of the red-hot iron bar, commonly ascribed to St. Cyril, and used by later Fathers of the Church to explain the reality of the Union of the Godhead and manhood in Christ without confusion and to elucidate at the same time the "communion of idioms" between His divinity and humanity in the fullest sense, was used earlier by Origen, then quoted by Apollinarius and his disciples.

Origen's conception of the "unification" of the *Logos* to the soul and body, with the consequence that Jesus Christ is "one composite Being" (see Part Three, section II.B.2.), and his statements about the deification of the soul and body of Christ and also his teaching about the glorified Christ (see Part Three, section V.C.5.) are all aiming at emphasizing "the thought of closeness and indivisibility of the union of the two elements in the Person of the *Logos*: the human soul, which is perpetually in God and inseparable from Him, and, indeed, 'is God in all that it does, feels, and understands', is like iron placed in the fire – the iron is in the fire, and the fire in the iron, the properties of the one becoming those of the other, but they still remain iron and fire".

It would be interesting to cite here the words of Origen himself in detail from his *De Principiis* (II. vi. 6; in *ANF* vol. IV, p. 283), saying: "To explain the matter more fully, it will not appear absurd to make use of an illustration, although on a subject of so much difficulty it is not easy to obtain suitable illustrations. However, if we may speak without offence, the metal iron is capable of cold and heat. If, then, a mass of iron be kept constantly in the

fire, receiving the heat through all its pores and veins, and the fire being continuous and the iron never removed from it, it become wholly converted into the latter; could we at all say of this, which is by nature a mass of iron, that when placed in the fire, and incessantly burning, it was at any time capable of admitting cold? On the contrary, because it is more consistent with truth, do we not rather say, what we often see happening in furnaces, that it has become wholly fire, seeing nothing but fire is visible in it? And if any one were to attempt to touch or handle it, he would experience the action not of iron, but of fire. In this way, then, that soul which, like an iron in the fire, has been perpetually placed in the Word, and perpetually in the Wisdom, and perpetually in God, is God in all that it does, feels, and understands, and therefore can be called neither convertible nor mutable, inasmuch as, being incessantly heated, it possessed immutability from its union with the Word of God".

Then he adds saying: "To all the saints, finally, some warmth from the Word of God must be supposed to have passed; and in this soul the divine fire itself must be believed to have rested, from which some warmth may have passed to others. Lastly, the expression, 'God, thy God, anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows', shows that that soul is anointed in one way with the oil of gladness, i.e., with the word of God and wisdom; and his fellows, i.e., the holy prophets and apostles, in another. For they are said to have 'run in the odour of his ointments'; and that soul was the vessel which contained that very ointment of whose fragrance all the worthy prophets and apostles were made partakers. As, then, the substance of an ointment is one thing and its odour another, so also Christ is one thing and His fellows another" (*ibid.*).

Similarly Apollinarius "uses 'composition' when speaking of the union of Godhead and flesh in Christ, but he explicitly denies that the elements have been changed as a result of the union...he insists that the *Logos* does not change into flesh; similarly, he holds, the body assumed by the *Logos* still remains in its human nature. Not for a moment—though his enemies accused him of holding this doctrine—does he think that the *Logos* brought His body with Him from heaven: indeed, he deliberately condemns those who would accept such an idea. The body may share in the properties of the *Logos*, so that it can be called a 'divine body', and the *Logos* may share in the properties of the body, but they remain, according to nature, body and *Logos*" (*Two Ancient Christologies*, pp. 57-58).

Apollinarius uses Origen's simile of the iron heated in the fire in his *Contra Diodorum* (ed. Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, Fragment 128), saying: "If the blending of iron with fire, which makes the iron itself appear as fire and brings it about that it performs the works of fire, does not change its nature, so, too, the union of God with the body implies no change of body, although the body extends its divine energy to those who can touch it" (quoted in *Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 58, n. 3).

St. Cyril of Alexandria also uses the same simile of the red-hot iron bar saying: "... He suffers in his own flesh, and not in the nature of the Godhead. The method of these things is altogether ineffable, and there is no mind that can attain to such subtle and transcendent ideas.... The force of any comparison falters here and falls short of the truth, although I can bring to mind a feeble image of this reality which might lead us from something tangible, as it were, to the very heights and to what is beyond all speech. It is like iron, or other such material, when it is put in contact with a raging fire. It receives the fire into itself, and when it is in the very heart of the fire, if someone should beat it, then the material itself takes

the battering but the nature of the fire is in no way injured by the one who strikes. This is how you should understand the way in which the Son is said both to suffer in the flesh and not to suffer in the Godhead. Although, as I said, the force of any comparison is feeble, this brings us somewhere near the truth if we have not deliberately chosen to disbelieve the holy scriptures."

"..... On the other hand if it is true that the Word became flesh, in accordance with the scriptures, and 'appeared on the earth and had converse with men' (*Baruch* 3:37), taking the form of a slave as his very own, then he can also be called the Son of Man; and if certain people feel ashamed of this, they thereby expose themselves to the charge of stupidity. There was no other way for the flesh to become life-giving, even though by its own nature it was subject to the necessity of corruption, except that it became the very flesh of the Word who gives life to all things. This is exactly how it accomplishes his own ends, working by his own life-giving power. There is nothing astonishing here, for if it is true that fire has converse with materials which in their own natures are not hot, and yet renders them hot since it so abundantly introduces to them the inherent energy of its own power, then surely in an even greater degree the Word who is God can introduce the life-giving power and energy of his own self into his very own flesh. We can see that this is his very own flesh since he is united to it unconfusedly and unchangeably and in a manner he alone knows" (St. Cyril of Alexandria, *On the Unity of Christ*, pp. 130-133; see another trans., *Christ is One* in Pusey, *Five Tomes*, pp. 316 & 318).

Likewise, in his *Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke*, written around the end of the year 430 onward (cf. Quasten III, p. 124), St. Cyril uses the simile of the red-hot iron to explain how the life-giving Word of God, having united Himself to His own flesh, endowed it with the power of giving life, and cites the *Gospel of St. John* (chap. 6), to show that what we receive and eat in the Holy Eucharist is not common bread, but the holy life-giving flesh of Christ Himself. Thus, he says (*homily* 142):

"When you put a piece of bread into wine or oil, or any other liquid, you find that it becomes charged with the quality of that particular thing. When iron is brought into contact with fire, it becomes full of its activity, and, though it is by nature iron, it exerts the power of fire. And so the life-giving Word of God, having united Himself to His own flesh in a way known to Himself, endowed it with the power of giving life. And he Himself assures us of this, saying: 'Truly, I say to you, he who believes in me has everlasting life. I am the bread of life' (*John* 6:47-48), and again: 'I am the living bread which came down from heaven. If a man eats of this bread, he shall live forever. And the bread which I shall give is my flesh for the life of the world. Truly, I say to you, that if you do not eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, you have no life in you. Whoever eats my flesh, and drinks my blood, has eternal life, and I will raise him up on the last day. For my flesh is true food, and my blood is true drink. He who eats my flesh, and drinks my bood, abides in me, and I in him. As the living Father sent me, and I live because of the Father, so He who eats me shall also live because of me" (*John* 6:51, 53-57). When, therefore, we eat the holy flesh of Christ, the Saviour of us all, and drink His precious blood, we have life in us, being made, as it were, one with Him, and abiding in Him and possessing Him also in us" (quoted in Sheerin, *The Eucharist*, p. 233).

It goes without saying that St. Cyril exploited the "communion of idioms" in the fullest

sense, stating (in Anathema 12) that it was correct to say that "the Word of God suffered in flesh, and became first-begotten from the dead". Indeed, so close and real was the union that St. Cyril conceived of the Word and his flesh as both participating in the properties of each other. "We must therefore confess that the Word has imparted the glory of the divine operation to His own flesh, while at the same time taking to Himself what belongs to the flesh". Thus the humanity was infused with the life-giving energy of the Word, and itself became life-giving. Yet there were limits to this principle. As he explained, the Word did not actually suffer in His own nature; He suffered as incarnate (cf. ἦν γὰρ ὁ ἀπαθὴς ἐν τῷ πάσχοντι σώματι), i.e. in respect of the flesh which was truly His, while remaining Himself as immune as the fire into which a red-hot bar which is being hammered is plunged" (see Kelly, *Doctrines*, p. 322, quoting *de Incarn. Unig. PG* 75. 1241: cf. *Schol. de incarn.* 9).

Certainly as his "types" of the union reveal, he holds that the human properties became those of the *Logos*, and the properties of the *Logos* those of the flesh, but he would not deprive the manhood of its qualities.

Thus taking the "live-coal" of Isaiah's vision as a "type" of the union he says: "...our Lord Jesus Christ is the spiritual coal laid on the altar whereon by us it gives forth the sweet savour of incense to God the Father: for through Him have we had access and are acceptable, offering the spiritual worship. This Divine Coal therefore, when it touches the lips of him who approaches thereto, will straightway exhibit him pure and wholly imparticipate in any sin..... And He is compared to a Coal, because conceived of as from two unlike things, yet by a true concurrence they are all but knit together unto union. For the fire entering into the wood, will transelement it somehow into its own glory and might albeit it hath retained what it was" (*Against Nestorius*, Book ii., in Pusey, *Five Tomes*, p. 42).

Again, in his *Scholion* 9, St. Cyril says: "If it is necessary to demonstrate the manner of the union even from the inspired Scriptures by applying examples from typology, then we shall do so. The blessed Isaiah said: 'One of the Seraphim was sent to me holding a coal in its hand ... And it came to me and touched my lips ...' We say that the coal supplies a type and image for us of the incarnation of the Word. For if He touches our lips, that is when we confess our faith in Him, then He renders us purged of all our sins, and free of our ancient transgressions."

"Yet we can see in this image of the coal the Word of God as united with the manhood, and not as having cast aside what He is, but rather as having transformed what He assumed into His own glory and power. It is like fire that gains a hold on wood, penetrates, and consumes it. Although the wood does not cease to be wood, yet it is changed into the appearance and vigor of fire, and is itself reckoned as one with it. This is how you should consider it was in the case of Christ. We say that God was united to manhood in an ineffable way but preserved the manhood as it was. And He Himself remained what He was; but being united once and for all He is reckoned as one with the manhood and He appropriates all that belongs to it while introducing to it the power of His own nature" (*Scholia de incarnatione*, 9, McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 301-302. See another tr. in Pusey, *Five Tomes*, p. 194).

It is worth noting that St. Dioscorus of Alexandria quotes his spiritual father and predecessor St. Cyril in his use of the simile of the red-hot iron bar as an illustration for the indivisible unity (Amélineau, *Monuments*, IV, p. 138).

Likewise, Pope Benjamin I, the 38th Patriarch of Alexandria (623-662 A.D.), in his

sixteenth Easter festal letter (end of 643/beginning of 644), offers the image of the iron in the fire (= divinity): a hammer can strike the iron, of course, but it does not hit the fire. "The parable of the iron in the fire is repeatedly used to show that only the flesh of Christ suffered. But during the suffering his divinity did not separate from his humanity" (C.D.G. Müller, *Die Homilie über die Hochzeit zu Kana*, p. 338; as quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 86).

IV.F. The Importance of "the *Hypostatic* and Natural Union" Soteriologically and Eucharistically:

The "*hypostatic* and natural union" is of utmost importance soteriologically and eucharistically. This is because, through this "real" unification of Godhead and manhood, our Lord Jesus Christ is really God Incarnate. His body is in truth the body of God and by sacrificing it upon the holy wood of the cross of his own will for us all, God Himself has indeed become our salvation. Thus the prophecy is fulfilled, which says: "Behold, God is my salvation...for Yah the Lord is my strength and song. He also has become my salvation" (*Isaiah* 12:2; see also *Psalm* 118:14 & *Exodus* 15:2), and the Scripture which says: "...the church of God which He purchased with His own blood" (*Acts* 20:28).

St. Cyril is constantly using the expressions "God suffered", "God died"—not that he would have it thought that he teaches that the God-*Logos* in His divine being suffered and died. For, like his predecessors, Cyril appeals to the Scriptures (*Hebrews* 2:9; *1 Peter* 4:1), which say that He suffered "in the flesh". See, e.g., St. Cyril's explanation of his twelfth anathematism:

"*Anathematism 12.*"

"30. If anyone does not confess that the Word of God suffered in the flesh, was crucified in the flesh, and tasted death in the flesh, becoming the first-born from the dead, although as God he is life and life-giving, let him be anathema."

"*Explanation 12.*"

"31. The Word of God the Father is impassible and immortal, for the divine and ineffable nature is above all suffering, and this it is which gives life to all things and is greater than corruption or anything else that can normally cause us grief. Yet even though the Word of God the Father is so by his own being, he made his own the flesh which is capable of death so that by means of this which is accustomed to suffer he could assume sufferings for us and because of us, and so liberate us all from death and corruption by making his own body alive, as God, and by becoming the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep, and the first born from the dead (*1Corinthians* 15:20). He who endured the noble cross for our sake and tasted of death was no ordinary man conceived of as separate and distinct from the Word of God the Father but it was the Lord of Glory himself who suffered in the flesh, according to the scriptures (*1Peter* 4:1). Because those who are trying to introduce stupid and profane teachings into the orthodox and blameless faith are saying that an ordinary man endured the cross for our sake, then this anathematism became necessary to expose the magnitude of the wickedness prevalent among them" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 292-293).

St. Cyril distinguishes between the *Logos* in His eternal being and the *Logos* "in the flesh", affirms that while the *Logos* suffered in His own flesh, He in Himself was extraneous

to suffering, that He was in death, yet superior to death (*Ep. ad Acac.*, *PG.* 77:213A.), and he sums up this thought in one phrase "He suffered impassibly" (ἔπαθεν ἀπαθῶς) (*Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 88 and n. 8, quoting *Quod unus sit Christus*, ed. Pusey, VII, pt. i. pp. 402, 407, and *de Recta Fide ad Reg.* (ii), ed. Pusey, VII. pt. i. p. 310). Thus St. Cyril writes: "The death which we proclaim is not that of a mere man, but that of God made man, who while he suffered on our behalf in the flesh, as it is written, lives as God, remaining impassible in his own nature" (*Apologeticus*; ed. Pusey VI. p. 433, as quoted in Sellers, p. 143, n. 2; similarly, *Ep. ad. Acac.*; *PG* lxxvii. 213A).

St. Cyril "definitely lays down that it must be said that 'God' suffered: otherwise, if it was not the *Logos*, as He had become man through making His own a passible flesh, who suffered, a Man, 'another beside the *Logos*', must have suffered—and no mere man can be the Saviour of the world" (*Two Ancient Christologies*, pp. 88-89, quoting *Quod unus sit Christus*, ed. Pusey, VII. pt. i. p. 356).

In his treatise *de Recta Fide ad Reg.* (V:2) St. Cyril urged that "if the Word were not personally incarnate, i.e. if the human Teacher and Sufferer were not really one with the eternal Son of God, the faith of Christian men would be made void, the work of their salvation would be annihilated, and the cross would lose its virtue. For the very principle of Christian redemption lay in this, that it was one and the same 'Ego' who, possessing, by virtue of His incarnation, at once a divine and a human sphere of existence, could be at once the God of mankind and the Saviour who died for them. In chapter 21 he dwells, in pursuance of this idea, on the death of Christ as being a full satisfaction (δῶρον ἀληθῶς ἀντάξιον)" (*DCB*, vol. I, p. 765).

In the first of two treatises addressed to the Emperor's sisters (Arcadia and Marina), St. Cyril "argued at length from Scripture for the oneness and Divinity of Christ, for His position as the true object of faith, and for His office as life-giver and atoner: and among the texts which he urged were *Hebrews* 1:3,6, 13:8; *Titus* 2:13; *1Corinthians* 2:8; *2Corinthians* 8:9; *Ephesians* 3:17; *Galatians* 1:1; *Philippians* 2:6; *Matthew* 11:28, 16:16, 20; *John* 1:14, 17:3; *1John* 5:5 (without the words about the 'heavenly witnesses'). He laid great stress on the vastness of the claim advanced by and for Christ in Scripture, and on the unreasonableness of demanding so absolute an obedience towards one who was not personally Divine. He asked how the death of a mere man could be of such importance for the race? Many a saint had lived and died, but not one by dying had become the saviour of his fellows. He quoted nine passages from earlier writers in support of the term *Theotocos*, or of the doctrine which it guarded" (*DCB*, vol. I, p. 766).

In his long letter to Euoptius, St. Cyril adheres to the point really involved—"the question was, he felt, whether Jesus were a human individual (to be viewed ἰδικῶς, as he repeatedly says) or whether He were the Divine Son Himself appearing in human form and occupying, without prejudice to His inalienable and pre-existent majesty, a human sphere of existence. In the former case, the Son of Mary must be regarded simply as a very highly-favoured saint; in the latter case, as a Divine Redeemer. In the former case, Christianity appeared, to Cyril's mind, to lose its distinctive power and preciousness: in the latter case it shone forth in its Divine reality, as a Gospel worthy of the name. To quote from the last section of the long letter to Euoptius: 'Let us all acknowledge as Saviour the Word of God, who remained impassible in the nature of the Godhead, but suffered, as Peter said, in the

flesh. For, by a true union, that body which tasted death was His very own. Else, how was "Christ from the Jews according to the flesh," and "God over all, and blessed for ever, amen?" and into whose death we have been baptized, and by confessing whose resurrection are we justified?....The death of a mere man,' &c. 'or do we, as is indeed the case, proclaim the death of God who became man and suffered for us in flesh, and confessing His resurrection, put away the burden of sin?'" (*DCB*, vol. I, p. 767).

In the letter to Bishop Valerian which is remarkable among other things for the emphasis with which the Divinity of Christ is exhibited as bearing on His Atonement, St. Cyril says: "He, being by nature God, became flesh, that is, perfect man....As man He was partaker of our nature". This language agrees with that of his 17th Paschal Homily (*DCB*, vol. I, p. 771).

The later Miaphysite theologians also maintain the same cardinal principles. "Central to the doctrine of Timothy, Philoxenus and Severus—to mention no others—is the fundamental truth that without change or alteration in respect of his divine being, the eternal *Logos*, *homoousios* with the Father, has truly become man in the Person of Jesus Christ....He, the divine *Logos*, is one and the same Person both before and after the incarnation, for it is the same *natura* (= 'person') which, existing *simplex*, is now, through the *hypostatic* union, a *natura incarnata*, *incorporata*, or *composita*. Thus....they set at the forefront of their teaching the Christological confession that for man's salvation—and, as their writings show, theirs is a background of Alexandrian soteriological ideas—the divine *Logos*, the Second Person of the Trinity, has in Jesus Christ united to himself a flesh which is *homoousios* with ours, and which, like ours, consists of a body and a human rational soul: the word *incarnata* in the 'Athanasian' formula points to such a real manhood, they declare, and man could not have been saved had not the Saviour been made in all things, sin alone excepted, like unto his brethren. This is their starting-point, as upholding the *una natura incarnata* and the *unio hypostatica*, they wage incessant warfare against the Nestorian dividing of this One into two—the *Logos*, and 'another beside him'. But they do not stop here. Like the earlier Christologians of the Alexandrian school, ...they are as determined as Cyril himself to resist the notion of 'confusion'" (Sellers, p. 270).

The doctrine of **"*hypostatic* and natural union"** lies also at the heart of our orthodox Eucharistic belief and spiritual understanding.

Because of this **real *hypostatic* and natural union**, the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, of which we partake in the Holy Eucharist, is indeed the life-giving body and blood of God. It is not of a mere man, for mere body is no source of life for those who receive it.

Indeed it is the body of God which is distributed in the Eucharist, and the blood of God in the drink. Therefore, it is productive of eternal life, as St. Theophilus of Alexandria said (see Part Three, section V.C.3.). Although it is divided on the altar and distributed in every church everywhere and at all times, yet it is not diminished and is given for us for the atonement of our transgressions and for participation in the immortality that is in Him.

[For more details on "the Life-Giving Flesh" in the teachings of St. Cyril of Alexandria, his Egyptian Synod and in his predecessor St. Theophilus's Sermon on the Mystical Supper, see Part Three sections V.C.2. and 3.]

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V. THE FOUR ADVERBS AND THE LIFE-GIVING FLESH

V.A. The Four Adverbs in the Early Tradition:

V.A.1. IN THE TEACHINGS OF ST. DIOSCORUS AND THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON:

At the Council of Chalcedon, 451 A.D., it was **St. Dioscorus of Alexandria** who for the first time made a statement implying the four famous adverbs of the Chalcedonian Definition. For on October 8th he said: **"We speak of neither confusion nor division nor change. Anathema to whoever speaks of confusion or change or mixture"** (*ACC*, vol. I, session I, parag. 263). Hence **the Chalcedonian Definition** read in the fifth session and signed at the sixth session, October 25th, states: "...acknowledged in two natures **without confusion, change, division or separation**" (*ibid.*, vol. 2, session V, parag. 34).

This statement by St. Dioscorus came as a reply to the accusation against him that he accepted the restoration of Eutyches and the deposition of Flavian of Constantinople in Ephesus II (449 A.D.) in spite of comments from members of the Council of Chalcedon that Flavian had accepted the language of St. Cyril of Alexandria "one incarnate nature of the Word". However, it is clear that not all of the minutes of Ephesus II or those of Flavian had been read. Shortly after this statement, St. Dioscorus said: "Let the rest of his [Flavian] words be read, and then I will answer. He will be found in what follows to contradict himself and speak of two natures after the union" (*ACC*, vol. I, p. 188, session I, parag. 281). This request was never entertained. [For further details concerning Flavian's christology, please refer to Part Two, section II.A.4.-5.]

This contradiction of language was apparent amongst those supporting the Antiochene two-nature christology prior to the Council of Chalcedon. Based on a sermon given early in his papacy on the Feast of the Nativity, Pope Leo I not only had spoken of *personae* in Christ, but he actually states that there was mingling of the two natures. He says, "For this wondrous child-bearing of the holy Virgin produced in her offspring one person which was truly human and truly Divine, because **neither substance so retained their properties** that there could be any division of persons in them; nor was the creature taken into partnership with its Creator in such a way that the One was the in-dweller, and the other the dwelling; but so that the **one nature was blended with the other**" (*NPNF*, second series, vol. 12, Sermon XXIII, p. 132).

Grillmeier comments on this saying: "Before the outbreak of the dispute with Eutyches, the Pope was sometimes quite unconcerned in his language. He even used the language of a Christology which **confused the natures**.... Leo ... speaks here of a **mingling of the two natures**" (*CCT*, vol. I, p. 537).

This apparently was not the only sermon in which Pope Leo had spoken of the "mixing" or "mingling" of the natures. Frend states that: "**From the depths of his exile, Nestorius could appreciate that there were no essential differences between his theology and that contained in Leo's *Tome*.** Leo's utterances, though sometimes penetrating, as in his *Sermo* XXVII.I, often contained unclear ideas about the **'mixture' or 'mingling' of the natures** which would have been condemned by both Alexandria and Antioch. Leo, *Sermo* XXXIV.4: *'dei filius naturae carnis inmixtus'*. Compare XXIII.I, *'naturae alteri altera miscebatur'*" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 134 and n. 3).

V.A.2. IN THE TEACHINGS OF ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA:

Both St. Cyril and his disciple and successor, St. Dioscorus, were unjustly accused of Apollinarianism as introducing mixture or confusion through their teaching of one incarnate nature of God the Word, an accusation which both of them vehemently repudiated.

V.A.2.a. In St. Cyril's Letter to John of Antioch:

Thus St. Cyril in his *letter 39* written to John of Antioch says: "8.....for there is One Lord Jesus Christ (*1Corinthians* 8:6), even though we do indeed take cognizance of the difference of natures **out of which** we say the ineffable union was formed."

"9. Those who say that there was a **mixture** or **confusion** or **blending** of God the Word with the flesh, let your Holiness think fit to stop their mouths, for such people are probably spreading such rumours about me, as though I had thought or said this. But I am so far from thinking anything of the kind that I consider that anyone who thinks there could ever be the shadow of a change (*James* 1:17) in the divine nature of the Word must be completely mad. For he ever remains what he is and does not change or undergo alteration. Moreover, **all of us confess that the divine Word is impassible**, even if in his all-wise economy of the mystery he is seen to attribute to himself the sufferings that befall his own flesh. What is more, the all-wise Peter says: 'And so **Christ has suffered for us in the flesh', and not in the nature of the ineffable deity** (*1Peter* 4:1). He bears the suffering of his own flesh in an economic appropriation to himself, as I have said, so that we may believe him to be the Saviour of all,..." (St. Cyril, *letter 39*, parag(s). 8-9, in McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 346-347).

V.A.2.b. In St. Cyril's Letter to Acacius of Melitene:

Similarly he writes to Acacius bishop of Melitene (*letter 40*, parag. 12): "when we have the idea of the elements of the one and unique Son and Lord Jesus Christ, we speak of two natures being united; but after the union, the duality has been abolished and we believe the Son's nature to be one, since he is one Son, yet become man and incarnate. Though we affirm that the Word is God on becoming incarnate and made man, **any suspicion of change is to be repudiated entirely because he remained what he was, and we are to acknowledge the union as totally free from merger**."

Again in parag. 20 of the same letter he says: "I have never entertained the views of Arius and Apollinarius, nor do I assert that God's Word was converted into flesh, or again, that the flesh changed its nature into the nature of deity, because **God's Word is immutable**

and unchangeable;..." (St. Cyril's *letter 40*, paragraphs 12&20, Wickham, *Select Letters*, pp. 49&57).

V.A.2.c. In the Fourth of St. Cyril's *Five Tomes Against Nestorius*:

It was in the spring of 430 that St. Cyril wrote his *Five Tomes against Nestorius*. In chapter 7 of the Fourth of these *Tomes*, St. Cyril refutes anyone who may think that the Word of God had been transformed into the nature of the body, saying: "But let us come to this: for if there be any who should dare to say the Word out of God had been transformed into the nature of the body, one might very reasonably object to him, that He on giving His Body did not rather say, Take eat this is My Godhead which is being broken for you, and this is not My Blood but rather My Godhead which is being poured forth for you. But since the Word being God made His own the Body born of a woman, **without undergoing any alteration or turning**, how must not He who saith no untruth say, Take eat this is My Body? for being Life as God, He rendered it Life and Life-giving" (Pusey, *Five tomes, etc.*, p. 154).

V.A.2.d. A Statistical Memorandum of Phrases Expressing Union of the *Logos* with His Flesh "Without Change" in St. Cyril's Writings:

The Incarnation, St. Cyril maintains, "has not involved any change in respect of the divine being of the *Logos*. **The *Logos***, he constantly affirms, **'remains what He was'**. The expression is to be found: at least 16 times in *adv. Nestor.*, 7 in *Apol. adv. Orient.*, 15 in *de Recta Fide ad Reg.* (i, ii), 9 in *Quod unus sit Christus*, and 10 in the *Scholia*. The corresponding expression **'without ceasing to be God'** occurs with even greater frequency" (*Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 84 and n. 4).

V.A.2.e. In St. Cyril's Letter to Eulogius:

In his *letter 44*, St. Cyril writes to Eulogius, priest of Alexandria (*c.* 433-435 A.D.), saying: "But since every one of the Orientals imagines that we orthodox follow the opinions of Apollinaris and thinks that we teach a mixture or confusion (for they have used such terms, as if the Word of God has been changed into the nature of the flesh, or the flesh has turned into the nature of the Godhead) this is why we gave way to them: not to divide the one Son into two, God forbid, but only in so far as to confess that **there occurred neither confusion nor mixing**, but that the flesh was flesh assumed from a woman, whereas the Word was Word begotten from the Father, or rather that since the Word has become flesh, as John tells us, there is One Christ and Son and Lord. Try and get them all to read carefully the letter of the blessed pope Athanasius. Since in his day certain people were looking for an argument and saying that God the Word made a figurative body for himself out of his own nature, he argues throughout that the body was not consubstantial with the Word. And if it was not consubstantial then there must be two different natures **out of which** is understood the one and only Son" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 349-350).

V.A.2.f. In St. Cyril's First Letter to Succensus:

In his first letter to Succensus, bishop of Diocaesarea in Isuria, St. Cyril writes (*letter*

45, paragraphs 6&10): "6. And so, we unite the Word of God the Father to the holy flesh endowed with a rational soul, in an ineffable way that transcends understanding, **without confusion, without change, and without alteration**, and we thereby confess One Son, and Christ, and Lord; the same one God and man, not someone alongside someone different, but one and the same who is and is known to be both things. For this reason he sometimes speaks economically as man, in human fashion; and at other times, as God, he makes statements with divine authority. It is our contention that if we carefully examine the manner of the economy in the flesh and attentively investigate the mystery, we shall see that the Word of God the Father was made man and made flesh but did not fashion that sacred body from his own divine nature, but rather took it from the virgin. How else could he become man except by putting on the human body? As I have said, if we understand the manner of the incarnation we shall see that two natures come together with one another, **without confusion or change, in an indivisible union**. The flesh is flesh and not Godhead, even though it became the flesh of God; and similarly the Word is God and not flesh even if he made the flesh his very own in the economy. Given that we understand this, **we do no harm to that concurrence into union when we say that it took place out of two natures**. After the union has occurred, however, **we do not divide** the natures from one another, nor do we sever the one and indivisible into two sons, but we say that there is One Son, and as the holy Fathers have stated: **One Incarnate Nature of The Word**."

"10. Even after the resurrection the same body which had suffered continued to exist, although it no longer contained any human weakness. We maintain that it was no longer susceptible to hunger or weariness or anything like this, but was thereafter incorruptible, and not only that but life-giving as well since it is the body of Life, that is the body of the Only Begotten. Now it is radiant with divine glory and is seen to be the body of God. So, even if someone should call it 'divine' just as one might call a man's body 'human', such a fitting thought would not be mistaken. In my opinion this is what the most-wise Paul said: 'Even if we have known Christ according to the flesh, nonetheless we know him so no longer' (*2Corinthians* 5:16). As I have said, because it was God's own body it transcended all human things, yet **the earthly body itself did not undergo a transformation into the nature of Godhead, for this is impossible**, otherwise we would be accusing the Godhead of being created and of receiving into itself something which was not part of its own nature. **It would be just as foolish an idea to talk of the body being transformed into the nature of Godhead as it would to say the Word was transformed into the nature of flesh. For just as the latter is impossible (for he is unchangeable and unalterable) so too is the former.** It is not possible that any creature could be converted into the essence or nature of Godhead, and the flesh is a created thing. We maintain, therefore, that Christ's body is divine in so far as it is the body of God, adorned with unspeakable glory, incorruptible, holy, and life-giving; but none of the holy Fathers has ever thought or said that it was transformed into the nature of Godhead, and we have no intention of doing so either" (St. Cyril's *Ep. 45*, paragraphs 6&10, in McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 354-355, 357).

McGuckin (*ibid.*, p. 354) has two notes (4&5) on the above quoted parag. 6 of St. Cyril's *Ep. 45*. In note 4 on St. Cyril's phrase **"without confusion, without change and**

without alteration", McGuckin expresses his view that Chalcedon's usage of Cyrilline terminology is more than what Western commentators describe. Thus he says: "Note the relationship with this and the Chalcedonian settlement of 451 (see Bindley, 1950 p. 235) Cyril can be seen to supply **three quarters** of the final settlement making the case all the more pressing that a genuinely objective reassessment of Chalcedon ought to view it more and more as taking a thoroughly Cyrilline line, rather than seeking an active 'compromise' (as has often been suggested) between Alexandrian and Antiochene traditions. In the light of the former interpretation the separation between the christological policies of The Council of Chalcedon and the Council of Constantinople II (553) is by no means as great as many western commentators have described it."

In note 5 on St. Cyril's phrase "**the same one** God and man", McGuckin writes: "The recurring stress on the subject referent 'the same one' is again taken up into the Chalcedonian symbol."

[N.B. The Chalcedonian John McGuckin might be justified in stating, in his notes quoted before, that St. Cyril can be seen to supply three quarters of the final Chalcedonian settlement of the Council of 451 A.D. and of Constantinople II (553 A.D.). But the fourth quarter which was not supplied from St. Cyril makes the real difference through adding other statements contradictory to the spirit and terminology of St. Cyril. The "in two natures" formula was Nestorius's popular slogan which was never sanctioned by St. Cyril. Its adoption in Chalcedon, Leo's *Tome* and the later Chalcedonian councils, and the insistence on its use beside some Cyrillian terms can pervert the authentic meaning of the terms and concepts borrowed from St. Cyril. Moreover, the other Cyrillian terms and concepts which were not borrowed, but ignored or even rejected or contradicted by these councils are of utmost importance. These deficiencies intensify the doubts that what was borrowed from St. Cyril's terminology in these councils was for cosmetic use, in an effort to hide the irreconcilability of the teaching of both Chalcedon and Constantinople of 553 with the authentic teaching of St. Cyril. For more details see Part Three under section VI.C.1-4.]

V.A.2.g. In St. Cyril's Second Letter to Succensus:

Again, Bishop Succensus reported to St. Cyril the debating points made by Cilician 'diphysites', i.e. of the school of Theodore, and St. Cyril replied in his Second Letter to Succensus (*Ep. 46*). Those diphysites claimed that, (3) "If there is one incarnate nature of the Word, there must have been a sort of merger and mixture, with the human nature in him being diminished by its removal".

And St. Cyril replied: "Again they twist the facts, failing to recognize that the reality is one incarnate nature of the Word. If the Word who was begotten mysteriously of God the Father and who afterwards issued as man from woman by assumption of flesh (not lifeless flesh but flesh endowed with life and reason) is truly and actually one Son, he **cannot be divided** into two persons or sons but remains one, though not discarnate or incorporeal but possessing his very own body in **inseparable union**. To say this could not possibly mean or entail mingling, merger or anything of that kind, how could it? If we call the Only-begotten Son of God become incarnate and made man 'one', that does not mean he has been 'mingled', as they suppose; the Word's nature has not transferred to the nature of the flesh or that of the flesh to that of the Word—no, while each element was seen to persist in its

particular natural character for the reason just given, **mysteriously and inexpressibly unified he displayed to us one nature (but as I said, incarnate nature) of the Son. 'One' is a term applied properly not only to basic single elements but to such composite entities as man compounded of soul and body.** Soul and body are different kinds of thing and are not mutually consubstantial; yet united they constitute man's single nature despite the fact that the difference in nature of the elements brought into unity is present in the composite condition. It is therefore idle for them to claim that if there is one incarnate nature of the Word it follows there must have been a mingling and merger, with the human nature being diminished by its removal. **It has neither got smaller nor is it being removed** (to use their terminology); for to state that he is incarnate gives completely adequate expression to the fact that he has become man. Had we kept silence on that point, their captious criticism might have had some ground; as it is, seeing that the fact that he is incarnate has of course been added, how can there be any suggestion of diminution or illicit removal?" (Wickham, *Select Letters*, pp. 86-89).

V.A.2.h. In St. Cyril's Letter to Valerian:

Again in *letter 50*, addressed to Bishop Valerian, St. Cyril writes the following: "We say that **the only begotten Word of God, being spirit as God**, according to the Scriptures, for the salvation of men **was made flesh and became man, not by transmuting a body for himself from his own nature, nor by being deprived of being what he was, nor by having sustained a change or alteration, but by taking his undefiled body from the Holy Virgin, a body animated rationally.** Thus **he proved that body to be his own in an incomprehensible, unconfused and entirely ineffable union**, not as the body of someone else but known as his very own" (St. Cyril's *letter 50*, in *FCNT*, vol. 76, p. 213).

V.A.2.i. In St. Cyril's Exposition of the Creed:

St. Cyril also wrote an Exposition of the Creed (*letter 55*) in which he says: "14. There is therefore one Lord Jesus Christ, personally the only-begotten Word of God, become man without departure from being what he was; for even in manhood he has remained God, even in slave's form master, even in human self-emptying possessor of full deity, even in fleshly weakness Lord of spiritual powers and even within the compass of manhood owner of transcendence over the whole creation. What he was before Incarnation (he was God, true only-begotten Son, light, life and power) he maintains without loss; what he was not, he is seen to have assumed for the sake of the divine plan. He made the properties of the flesh his own, for the flesh united in expressibly mysterious fashion with him was his and no other's. This is what wise John means when he says 'the Word was made flesh': **he has become flesh not by changing into the nature of flesh by way of transference, variation or alteration, nor by undergoing mingling, mixture or the 'consubstantiation' some people prate about (an impossibility, seeing that he exists unvarying and unalterable!)** but, as I said, by taking flesh endowed with mental life from a spotless virginal body and making it his own. Now it is on occasions the practice of divinely-inspired Scripture to use simply 'flesh' to mean the entire man. It says: 'I will pour out my spirit

upon all flesh'. God was not promising to infuse the grace of the Spirit into flesh devoid of animation by intelligent souls but into human beings consisting of soul and body. 15. **So the Word has become man without ceasing to be what he was; he has remained God when manifest in our shape. Moreover, Christ is not to be thought of as a man who later proceeded to become God; the Word who is God has become man, so that we recognize him as being at once God and man**" (St. Cyril's *letter 55, 'On the Creed'*, parag. 14 & 15: in Wickham, *Select Letters*, pp. 108-111).

V.A.2.j. In St. Cyril's Answers to Tiberius:

Likewise, the Answers of St. Cyril to the Questions of Tiberius touched on the same issue. Thus he says: "...It is impossible for that ineffable and supra-natural substance which is viewed as beyond all understanding and speech to be able to acquire any addition and especially not the addition of another nature from outside. **It is utterly complete in its attributes and undergoes no diminution because it is ever unchangeable and unalterable, nor, as I said, does it need any addition**.... We assert that **the only-begotten Word of God himself became man, not by changing his own nature into flesh but by taking it from the holy Virgin**,..." (St. Cyril's Answer to the Sixth Question in the letter written to Tiberius the Deacon, in Wickham, *Select Letters*, pp. 156-159).

Again, in his Answer to the Ninth Question of Tiberius, St. Cyril says: "God's only-begotten Word on being made man often uses his flesh to act by, because he possesses it as his own, **without merger or mingling**" (*ibid.*, p. 163).

V.A.2.k. In St. Cyril's *Quod unus sit Christus*:

This dialogue *On the Unity of Christ* represents a thorough refutation of the false doctrine that the Word of God was not made flesh but was united only to a man, with the result that there is the true and natural Son of God and 'another one', an adopted son of God who does not share the dignity and honour of the First. This dialogue seems to be one of St. Cyril's last anti-Nestorian writings.

Here are some quotations dealing with the topic of the Four Adverbs in this dialogue. [The letter A represents St. Cyril's response to the heretical opinions of his opponents marked by the letter B]:

"A. .... I say that we must call him God made man, and that both the one and the other are this same reality, for **he did not cease to be God when he became man**, nor did he regard the economy as unacceptable by disdaining the limitations involved in the self-emptying."

"B. They would argue that if this were the case then his body must be consubstantial with the Word. For only in this way, and no other, could he be regarded as one single Son."

"A. What nonsense that is. Surely it is the clearest proof of a delirious brain. How could one posit an identity of essence in things which are so disparate in the rationale of their respective natures? Godhead is one thing, manhood quite another. So, what are these things which we say have come into unification? **One cannot speak of things 'united' when there is only one thing to start with; there must be two or more.**"

"B. This is why they argue that these things we name are separate realities."

"A. But they are **not separated**, as I have already said, in terms of individual distinctnesses, so that they exist apart and distant from one another. On the contrary **they are brought together into an indissoluble union, for, as John says: 'The Word became flesh'** (*John* 1:14)."

"B. In that case both natures must have been confused, and have become one."

"A. **But who would be so misguided and stupid as to think that the divine nature of the Word had changed into something which formerly it was not? or that the flesh was changed by some kind of transformation into the nature of the Word himself? This is impossible. We say that there is one Son, and that he has one nature even when he is considered as having assumed flesh endowed with a rational soul.** As I have already said, he has made the human element his own. And this is the way, not otherwise, that we must consider that **the same one is at once God and man.**"

"B. Then he does not have two natures? that of God, and that of man?"

"A. Well, Godhead is one thing, and manhood is another thing, considered in the perspective of their respective and intrinsic beings, but **in the case of Christ they came together in a mysterious and incomprehensible union without confusion or change**. The manner of this union is entirely beyond conception."

"B. But how from these two things, that is Godhead and manhood, can we envisage a single Christ?"

"A. I think in no other way than as things which come together with each other in an **indivisible union** beyond all conception, as I have already said."

"B. Such as what?"

"A. Well, do we not say that **a human being like ourselves is one, and has a single nature**, even though he is not homogeneous **but really composed of two things, I mean soul and body?**"

"B. We do."

"A. And if someone takes the flesh on its own, separating its unity with its own soul, and divides what was one into two, have they not destroyed the proper conception of a man?"

"B. And yet the all-wise Paul writes: 'For if **our outer man** is being destroyed, nevertheless **the inner man** is being renewed day by day' (*2Corinthians* 4:16)."

"A. You speak rightly for he knew, and knew perfectly well, what were the constituents of the one man, and **he makes a distinction between them as only theoretically conceivable. He calls the soul the inner man, and the flesh the outer man. I am reminded of the holy scriptures where we sometimes find the whole living being signified in terms of a part, as when God says: 'I will pour out my Spirit on all flesh'** (*Joel* 2:28), and again when Moses addresses the Isralites: 'As seventy five souls did your fathers go down into Egypt' (*Deuteronomy* 10:22). We will find that **the same thing has happened with regard to Emmanuel himself**. After the union (I mean with the flesh) even if anyone calls him Only Begotten, or God from God, this does not mean he is thought of as being separated from the flesh or indeed the manhood. Similarly if one calls him a man, this is not to take away the fact that he is God and Lord."

"B. But if we say that the Son (even considering him as incarnate) has a single nature, surely it is completely inevitable that we must admit a confusion and a mixture here, as if he had hidden away a human nature in himself. For what would the nature of man be in the face of the pre-eminence of the godhead?"

"A. My friend, **if anyone says that when we speak of the single nature of God the Word incarnate and made man we imply that a confusion or mixture has occurred, then they are talking utter rubbish.** No one could convict us of saying this by the force of proper arguments. But if they intend to impose their own preferences on us, like a law, then 'they have devised a plan which they cannot secure' (*Psalm* 21:11) for we must pay heed to the God-inspired scripture rather than to them. If they think that because the nature of man is as nothing before the divine pre-eminence, then this means that it must be 'hidden away' and overwhelmed, as they keep saying, then once more we reply: 'You are mistaken, for you know neither the scriptures nor the power of God' (*Matthew* 22:29). It was not impossible to God, in his loving-kindness, to make himself capable of bearing the limitations of the manhood. **And he foretold this to us in enigmas when he initiated Moses, depicting the manner of the incarnation in types. For he came down in the form of fire onto the bush in the desert, and the fire played upon the shrub but did not consume it.** When he saw this Moses was amazed. Why was there no compatibility here between the wood and the fire? How did this inflammable substance endure the assaults of the flame? Well, as I have already said, **this event was a type of a mystery, of how the divine nature of the Word supported the limitations of the manhood; because he chose to. Absolutely nothing is impossible to him** (*Mark* 10:27)" (St. Cyril of Alexandria, *On the Unity of Christ*, trans. McGuckin, pp. 76-79).

"A. ..... There was no other way for the flesh to become life-giving, even though by its own nature it was subject to the necessity of corruption, except that it became the very flesh of the Word who gives life to all things. This is exactly how it accomplishes his own ends, working by his own life-giving power. There is nothing astonishing here, for if it is true that fire has converse with materials which in their own natures are not hot, and yet renders them hot since it so abundantly introduces to them the inherent energy of its own power, then surely in an even greater degree **the Word who is God can introduce the life-giving power and energy of his own self into his very own flesh. We can see that this is his very own flesh since he is united to it unconfusedly and unchangeably and in a manner he alone knows**" (*ibid.*, pp. 132-133).

V.A.3. IN THE *HENOTIKON*:

The *Henoticon* (482 A.D.) says: "**We altogether reject those who divide or confuse or introduce a phantom**, since **this true incarnation** which was without sin of the '*Theotokos*' **did not bring about an addition of a Son, for the Trinity remained a Trinity** even when One of the Trinity, the divine *Logos*, became incarnate" (Sellers, pp. 276-277).

V.A.4. IN THE TEACHINGS OF ST. SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH:

St. Severus's exposition of the mystery of incarnation stresses the unity of the subject

in our Lord Jesus Christ, which is the eternal *Logos* who has become flesh, without his having been transformed into flesh (cf. *Hom.* 23: *PO* 37,117-126). With all his stressing of the historicity of the salvific event, St. Severus insists again and again that **our Lord Jesus Christ "is one without division and without mingling of his divinity and his humanity"** (cf. *Hom.* 14: *PO* 38,410).

"**For it is impossible that the uncreated and immutable nature should change into a creature or that something from what is created should be transformed and pass over into the uncreated being.** Rather **he remained what he was** and has united himself *hypostatically* with a body which possesses a rational soul in such a way that out of two natures, out of the uncreated divinity and the created humanity, he has appeared to us as a single Christ, a single Lord, and a single person (*prosopon*), a single *hypostasis*, a single incarnate nature of the *Logos* (*Hom* 38: *PO* 8,216-217)."

"According to Severus there is no New Testament witness that can be adduced for dividing up Christ into two natures after the union. Each episode of his earthly life substantiates the opposite: from the outset the Magi, who learned of the birth of Jesus through the observation of the stars, testify to the fact that he is 'God and king in one' (cf. *Hom* 36: *PO* 36,466)."

St. Severus uses the body-soul analogy, acknowledging that it is too feeble to explain the mystery. Thus he says: "...we know that the soul is united to the body by nature without our being able to say how and in what way, for this surpasses our power of understanding. Thus we also know in reference to the Emmanuel that the *Logos* participated in blood and flesh as we do by nature and at the same time in a supernatural way. If one wants to say 'how', this surpasses every word and every thought (*Hom* 58: *PO* 8,219)."

"Again in *Hom* 44: *PO* 36,96-98: 'We say that the human being, ours, which is composed from a soul and a body and which is in a single *hypostasis*, is a mortal, rational animal; still on the one side it is mortal through the body, on the other side rational through the soul; nevertheless it is still the whole animal which is called mortal and which as whole is characterized as rational; and the elements from which it is composed in a natural way are not mingled and it is not at all divided into two. It is also this way with the **Emmanuel**, because **he is one from two natures, and one single *hypostasis* and one single incarnate nature of the *Logos*, without in any way the elements having to be mingled, from which the inexpressible unity comes to pass, and also, while one remains, without furnishing access to the duality from which the division arises. For he, who is really one, will never be two; and if he proceeds to become two, he has necessarily ceased to be one**'."

In the third of the three anathemas pronounced by St. Severus in his baptismal catechetical *homily 109* (*PO* 25,770-771), he says: "(3) If anyone does not confess that the Word of God, who became flesh and a human being **without alteration** – although he names him as sole Son, sole Lord, sole Christ, sole person, sole *hypostasis*, sole incarnate nature of the Word – but not that he [the Word] is impassible, insofar as he is God and that he, in accordance with the holy books, suffered in the flesh, and **if anyone says the flesh was altered or mingled with the divine being, let him be anathema and delivered over to terrible and unending sufferings.**"

"The arguments which had once been formed against early Christian adoptionism and

Nestorianism were now applied to supporters of the two-natures teaching." Thus he says in *homily 70*: "Show us one instant in which, while they exist, the body, or better still the human nature with which he united himself, did not partake of the *Logos*, and I must say that there are two natures! But because they **exist in an inseparable manner**, I do not have the courage to destroy through duality the *hypostatic* union, which cannot be ripped asunder."

[After elucidating the body-soul analogy, St. Severus goes on saying:] "Hence we say also with regard to the Emmanuel that in this way the union took place, that is, from the divinity and from the humanity which under this particular aspect are entire. **For these elements, which in the union have the function (*taxis*) to be parts, in order to form a single *hypostasis*, do not lose the integrity proper to them, because they are joined together without mingling and diminution** (*Hom* 70: *PO* 12,38-40)."

[All the preceding quotations from the homilies of St. Severus are cited here from Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, pp. 132-134 & 143-144].

The manuscript of the "Great Euchologion" of the White Monastery of St. Shenouda in Upper Egypt, from the time of the tenth and eleventh centuries, offers two fragments from an anaphora of Patriarch Severus of Antioch, which bring us into direct contact with the post-Chalcedonian controversy. The prayer for the church in this anaphora "contains a clear reference to the 'heresy' that came into the church through Chalcedon" (see quotation and references in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, pp. 249-250). "**In the fraction prayer of Severus** we also find what is otherwise rare in the anaphoras, the christological primary formula with more discriminating terms:"

"**God assumed flesh (σάρξ) without change** by the Holy Spirit (πνεῦμα) in the holy *theotokos* Mary, this virgin who bore God; he was born by her; **he became human without any modification or change or transformation; he became one with us according to the incorruptible, unknowable and immutable *hypostasis*** (ὑπόστασις); it is this [the divine *hypostasis*] that was conceived in the – in every respect – holy womb of this holy (ἁγία) Mary" (*ibid.*, p. 250, quoting *PO* 28, p. 371,17-27).

V.A.5. IN THE MONDAY THEOTOKION OF THE COPTIC CHURCH:

The sixth part of the Coptic Monday Theotokion reads as follows:

ⲫⲏⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲫⲏⲉⲛⲁⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ
ⲫⲏⲉⲧⲁⲓ ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲟⲛ ⲓⲛⲏⲟⲩ.

He Who is: Who was:
Who has come: and is to come (= is coming) again.

ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ ⲡⲗⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲃⲓⲥⲁⲣⲝ
ϩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧⲱⲓⲃ† ⲁⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ.

Jeus Christ the *Logos*: Who took (on) flesh:
without change: became a complete man (= a complete human being).

Ⲩⲡⲉⲥϫⲱⲱ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲑⲱϩ ⲟⲩⲁⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲫⲱⲣϫ
ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ϩⲗⲓ ⲛⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ †ⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲓ.

He did not pour himself out, did not become mixed:
nor did He become divided:
in any way whatsoever: after the union.
Ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲟⲩⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲟⲩⲥⲩⲡⲟⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲥⲱⲡⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫⲛⲟⲩ̀ⲧ Ⲡⲓⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ.
But (He is) one single nature: one single *hypostasis*:
one single *prosopon*: of God the *Logos*.
Ⲁⲫⲱⲁⲓ ⲥⲱⲙⲁⲧⲓⲕⲱⲥ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗϩⲓⲛ ⲧ̀ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲃⲛⲉ ⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲉϥⲥⲱⲧ̀ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ.
He appeared (= shined) bodily: from the Virgin:
without human seed (= sperm): so that he might redeem (= save) us.

V.A.6. IN THE LATER CHALCEDONIAN COUNCILS:

The Chalcedonian Second Council of Constantinople, 553 A.D., has the same emphasis on the Four Adverbs, in Anathemas VII & VIII (see Percival, pp. 313-314). See also the Letter of Pope Agatho and his Roman Synod sent to the Chalcedonian Third Council of Constantinople (680-681 A.D.) (*ibid.*, p. 340) and the letter of the same Roman Pope Agatho to the Emperor before the Chalcedonian Third Council of Constantinople (*ibid.*, p. 330), and the Definition of the Chalcedonian Third Council of Constantinople (680-681 A.D.) for the same emphasis on the Four Adverbs (*ibid.*, p. 345).

V.B. Introduction of the Four Adverbs into the Coptic Eucharistic Last Confession Before Communion:

Yusâb, Bishop of Fuwwah, in his *History of the Patriarchs*, says that Pope Gabriel II ibn Turayk, the seventieth Patriarch of Alexandria (1131-1145 A.D.) added to the confession of faith before communion the words: "He made It (i.e. Flesh) one with His Divinity," and after discussions with the monks of Dayr Anba Makar he agreed to add the safe-guarding phrase: "in unmixedness, and unconfusedness and immutableness". [See also Sawirus Ash. *H.P.*, continuation, vol. 3, part 1, pp. 42-43, trans. A. Khater & O.H.E. Khus-Burmester, ed. by Société d'Archéologie Copte. Cairo, 1968. See also *Cop. E*, vol. 4, p. 1128.]

Since then, the four adverbs are always included in the profession of faith which the celebrant priest declares loudly, while raising the paten with the Holy Body, at the end of each Coptic liturgy just before communion. Thus he confesses saying: "Amen. Amen. Amen. I believe. I believe. I believe and confess to the last breath, that this is the life-giving Flesh that Thine Only-begotten Son, our Lord, God and Saviour Jesus Christ, took from our Lady, the Lady of us all, the holy *Theotokos* Saint Mary. He made It one with His Divinity **without mixture, without confusion and without alteration** [Coptic literally = in unmixedness, and unconfusedness and immutableness]... Truly I believe that **His Divinity parted not from His Humanity for a single moment nor a twinkling of an eye**...etc."

Then the deacon replies: "Amen. Amen. Amen. I believe. I believe. I believe that this is so in truth. Amen....etc." for which the people answer: "Glory to Thee, O Lord, glory to Thee".

V.C. A Study on "the Life-Giving Flesh" in the Coptic Eucharistic Confession and in the Teachings of the Early Fathers:

V.C.1. "THE LIFE-GIVING FLESH" IN THE COPTIC EUCHARISTIC LAST CONFESSION:

It is noteworthy to remember that, in the same confession, quoted above (V.B.), which is said by the priest before the communion, the Coptic Church speaks of "the life-giving Flesh" of our Lord, of which we partake at the Eucharist.

V.C.2. "THE LIFE-GIVING FLESH" IN THE TEACHINGS OF ST. CYRIL POPE OF ALEXANDRIA (412-444 A.D.):

V.C.2.a. In St. Cyril's First Letter to Succensus:

This dogma is explained by St. Cyril of Alexandria in his first letter to Succensus (*Ep.* 45), where he says: "10. After the resurrection there existed the very body which had experienced suffering, no longer though containing in itself human infirmities. For we declare it capable no more of hunger, weariness or anything of that kind, but declare it to be incorruptible—and not only that, but **life-giving** as well. It is, indeed, Life's (that is, the Only-begotten's) body; it has been made resplendent with divinest glory and is conceived of as God's body. That is why anyone calling it 'divine' in the same sense as, for example, he calls a man's body 'human', will be perfectly correct to do so. It is for this reason, I think, that wise Paul said: 'Even if we have known Christ in flesh, nevertheless we now know him no more' (*2Corinthians* 5:16). Being, as I have said, God's own body, it transcended all things human, yet earthly body cannot undergo change into the Godhead's nature—it is impossible, since we should be accusing the Godhead of being created and of acquiring in itself something which does not naturally belong to it. Indeed talk of the body's being changed into Godhead's nature is equally as absurd as talk of the Word's being changed into the nature of the flesh. Just as the latter is impossible (for the Word is unchanging and unalterable) so is the former—that a creature could transfer to Godhead's substance or nature does not come within the realm of possibilities, and the flesh is a created thing. Hence we affirm Christ's body to be divine, seeing that it is God's body, adorned with ineffable glory, incorruptible, holy and **life-giving**; but that it was changed into Godhead's nature none of the holy fathers has said or thought and we have no intention of doing so either" (St. Cyril's first letter to Succensus, in Wickham, *Select Letters*, p. 81, see McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 357).

V.C.2.b. In St. Cyril's *De recta fide*:

In a treatise (*De recta fide*, written in 430 A.D.) addressed to Emperor Theodosius II, St. Cyril reasoned from the Eucharist to the Incarnate Person. "Christ gives us life", he says, "as God, not only by imparting to us the Holy Ghost, but by giving us His flesh to eat". How then, can it be **life-giving**, if it be not the flesh of the Incarnate Word? (Kidd *HC*, vol. III, p. 216, quoting *De recta fide ad Theod. Imp.*, §38). This shows that St. Cyril, in his zeal for

orthodoxy, has never lost sight of the interests of personal religion, i.e. of the needs of the soul.

V.C.2.c. In the Fourth *Tome* of St. Cyril's *Five Tomes Against Nestorius:*

St. Cyril declares that Nestorius had deprived the eucharist of life-giving force and reduced it to cannibalism, since on his premises only the body of a man lay on the altar and the flesh consumed by the faithful was not truly vivified by the *Logos*. This topic was treated in detail by St. Cyril in the Fourth of the *Fives Tomes against Nestorius* (chapters 4-7), written in the spring of 430 A.D.

As a demonstration, we cite here several paragraphs from chapter 5 of the *Fourth Tome against Nestorius*:

"And how is the thing not plain cannibalism, and in what way is the Mystery yet lofty, unless we say that the Word out of God the Father has been sent, and confess that the mode of that sending was the Incarnation? For then, then we shall see clearly, that the Flesh which was united to Him and not another's flesh, **avails to give Life**, yet 'because it has been made the very own of Him who is mighty to quicken all things'. For if this visible fire infuses the force of its natural inherent power into those substances with which it comes in contact, and changes water itself though cold by nature into that which is contrary to its nature and makes it hot; what wonder or how can one disbelieve that the Word out of God the Father being the Life by Nature rendered the Flesh which is united to Him, **Life-giving**? for it is His very own and not that of another conceived of as apart from Him and of one of us. But if thou remove the Life-giving Word of God from the Mystical and true Union with His Body and sever them utterly, how canst thou shew that it is still Life-giving? And Who was it who said (*John* 6:56), He that eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood, abideth in Me and I in him? If then it be a man by himself and the Word of God have not rather been made as we, the deed were cannibalism and wholly unprofitable the participation".

Against St. Cyril's interpretation of St. *John* 6:57 that the One who was sent by the Father is God the Word, Nestorius considers the one sent is the flesh, citing the same verse as a proof for his opinion saying: "... 'As the Living Father sent Me, for I live because of the Father, and he that eateth Me he too shall live' (*John* 6:57): which do we eat, the Godhead or the flesh?".

St. Cyril replied: "Perceivest thou not therefore at length how thy mind is gone? for the Word of God saying that He is sent, says, he also that eateth Me, he too shall live. But we eat, not consuming the Godhead (away with the folly) but the Very Flesh of the Word Which has been made **Life-giving**, because it has been made His Who liveth because of the Father.....we maintain that He is Life by Nature, for He has been begotten out of the Father who is Life".

"And as the Body of the Word Himself is **Life-giving**, He having made it His own by a true union passing understanding and language; so we too who partake of His holy Flesh and Blood, are quickened in all respects and wholly, the Word dwelling in us Divinely through the Holy Ghost, humanly again through His Holy Flesh and Precious Blood..... For having partaken of the Holy Ghost, we are made one both with Christ Himself the Saviour of all and with one another: we are of the same body in this way, that we being

many are one bread one body, for we all are partakers of the One Bread (*1Corinthians* 10:17). For the Body of Christ which is in us binds us together into unity and is in no way divided. But that through the Body of Christ we have been brought together into unity with Him and with one another, the blessed Paul will confirm, writing, (here St. Cyril cites *Ephesians* 3:1-6)".

"**The Mystery is Divine and the participation Life-giving** and the might of this unbloody Sacrifice far better than the worship under the Law,...".

"... For since they of the blood of Israel had marveled at Moses for the largess of manna sent down to those of that time in the desert, which fills up a type of the Mystic Eucharist (for the Law is a shadow), therefore with exceeding skill doth our Lord Jesus Christ minish the type, driving them [from it] unto the truth. For not that (He says) was the Bread of Life, but rather, I Who am out of Heaven and Who quicken all things and infuse Myself into them that eat Me, through My Flesh too that is united to Me. Which indeed He made clearer saying, Verily I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His Blood, ye have not Life in you: he that eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood hath eternal Life and I will raise him up at the last day, for My Flesh is true meat and My Blood is true drink; he that eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood abideth in Me and I in him. As the Living Father sent Me and I live because of the Father, he also that eateth Me, he too shall live (St. *John* 6:53-57). Consider thou how He abideth in us and maketh us superior to corruption, infusing Himself into our bodies, as I said, through His own Flesh too, which is true meat,..."

"For we believe that to the body born through the holy Virgin, having a reasonable soul, the Word out of God the Father having united Himself (unspeakable is the union, and wholly a Mystery!) rendered it **Life-giving**, being as God Life by Nature, that making us partakers of Himself spiritually alike and bodily, He might both make us superior to decay and might through Himself bring to nought the law of sin" (Pusey, *Five Tomes, etc.*, pp. 141-148).

In chapter 7 of the *Fourth Tome against Nestorius*, St. Cyril refutes anyone who may think that the Word of God had been transformed into the nature of the body, saying: "But let us come to this: for if there be any who should dare to say the Word out of God had been transformed into the nature of the body, one might very reasonably object to him, that He on giving His Body did not rather say, Take eat this is My Godhead which is being broken for you, and, this is not My Blood but rather My Godhead which is being poured forth for you. But since the Word being God made His own the Body born of a woman, without undergoing any alteration or turning, how must not He who saith no untruth say, Take eat this is My Body? for being Life as God, He rendered it Life and **Life-giving**" (Pusey, *ibid.*, p. 154).

V.C.2.d. In St. Cyril's Third Letter to Nestorius (The Synodical Letter):

Similarly, in the Third Letter to Nestorius (*Ep.* 17), St. Cyril together with his Alexandrian Synod, 430 A.D., state the following:

"7. This too we must add. We proclaim the fleshly death of God's only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ, we confess his return to life from the dead and his ascension into heaven when we perform in church the unbloody service, when we approach the sacramental gifts and

are hallowed participants in the holy flesh and precious blood of Christ, saviour of us all, by receivng not mere flesh (God forbid!) or flesh of a man hallowed by connection with the Word in some unity of dignity or possessing some divine indwelling, but **the personal, truly vitalizing flesh of God the Word himself. As God he is by nature Life and because he has become one with his own flesh he rendered it vitalizing**; and so, though he tells us 'verily I say unto you, unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood' (*John* 6:53), we must not suppose it belongs to one of us men (how could man's flesh be vitalizing by its own nature?) but that it was made the truly personal possession of him who for us has become and was called 'Son of Man'...." (St. Cyril Alex., *Letter 17*, parag. 7, Wickham, *Select Letters*, p. 23).

V.C.2.e. In St. Cyril's Eleventh Anathematism:

In the eleventh anathema of St. Cyril subjoined to the letter of his Alexandrian Synod quoted above, the Fathers of the Synod under his presidency state the following: "Whosoever shall not confess that **the flesh of the Lord giveth life** and that it pertains to the Word of God the Father as his very own, but shall pretend that it belongs to another person who is united to him [*i.e.*, the Word] only according to honour, and who has served as a dwelling for the divinity; and shall not rather confess, as we say, that **that flesh giveth life because it is that of the Word who giveth life to all**: let him be anathema" (Percival, p. 217).

V.C.2.f. In St. Cyril's Explanation of the Eleventh Anathematism:

In the *Declaratio undecima*, i.e. the explanation of the eleventh anathema from the set of explanations which St. Cyril wrote during his brief period of house arrest during the Council of Ephesus in 431 A.D., he says: "We perform in the churches **the holy, life-giving, and unbloody sacrifice; the body, as also the precious blood**, which is exhibited we believe not to be that of a common man and of any one like unto us, but receiving it rather as his own body and as the blood of the Word which gives all things life. For common flesh cannot give life. And this our Saviour himself testified when he said: 'The flesh profiteth nothing, it is the Spirit that giveth life' (*John* 6:63). For since the flesh became the very own of the Word, therefore we understand that it is **life-giving**, as the Saviour himself said: 'As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father; so he that eateth me shall live by me' (*John* 6:57). Since therefore Nestorius and those who think with him rashly dissolve the power of this mystery; therefore it was convenient that this anathematism should be put forth" (Percival, p. 217).

V.C.2.g. In St. Cyril's *Letter 55*, "On the Creed":

From St. Cyril's Exposition of the Nicene Creed we quote here parag. 28 of his *Letter 55* "On the Creed": "28. Do we believe, then, in two sons? Shall we by-pass the Word shone forth from God the Father and annex the glory of lordship, the acknowledgement of the faith and heavenly baptism to a son different from him, a son who suffered? To think or talk like this must surely be stupidity—no, more, indisputable blasphemy? What are we to say then? There really is one Lord, one faith and one baptism. He is one son and Lord – not, as some fools have asserted in writing, as being the Word who assumed man by way

of conjunction, made him a partner in his dignities and shared his sonship and lordship with him, but as being the Word personally, God of God, light of light, who was made man and incarnate. Into his death we have been baptized, his who suffered humanly in his own flesh yet has remained divinely impassible and always alive, because he is Life from God the Father's Life. This is the way Death has been vanquished, which had made bold to attack the body of Life; this is the way corruption in us too is being annihilated and Death's power enfeebled. Hence Christ declared: 'Verily I say to you, unless you eat the flesh of the son of man nad drink his blood you have no life in yourselves' (*John* 6:53). **Surely then Christ's holy body and blood are life-giving.** For the body, as I said, does not belong to some human participant in Life but is personally owned by Life himself, that is the Only-begotten" (Wickham, *Select Letters*, pp. 126-129).

V.C.2.h. In St. Cyril's *Quod unus sit Christus*:

In this dialogue "*On the Unity of Christ*", St. Cyril also says: "A. If the flesh that is united to him, ineffably and in a way that transcends thought or speech, did not become the very flesh of the Word, directly, then how could it be understood as **life-giving**? He himself says: '**I am the living bread** which has come down from heaven and **gives life** to the world. If anyone should eat of this bread he shall live forever, and the bread which I shall give is my flesh for the life of the world' (*John* 6:51, 33). But if it is the flesh of a different son than him, someone appropriated by him in a conjunction of relationship, called to an equality of honor as a grace, then how can he call this his own flesh if he is ignorant of all deceit? And how could the flesh of anyone else ever give life to the world if it has not become the very flesh of Life, that is of him who is the Word of God the Father? The divine said of him: 'And we know that the Son of God has come and has given us understanding that we might know him, and we are in his true Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God, and life everlasting' (*1John* 5:20)".

"There was no other way for the flesh to become life-giving, even though by its own nature it was subject to the necessity of corruption, except that **it became the very flesh of the Word who gives life to all things**. This is exactly how it accomplishes his own ends, working by his own life-giving power. There is nothing astonishing here, for if it is true that fire has converse with materials which in their own natures are not hot, and yet renders them hot since it so abundantly introduces to them the inherent energy of its own power, then surely in an even greater degree **the Word who is God can introduce the life-giving power and energy of his own self into his very own flesh**. We can see that this is his very own flesh since he is united to it unconfusedly and unchangeably and in a manner he alone knows" (St. Cyril of Alexandria, *On the Unity of Christ*, pp. 131-133).

V.C.2.i. In St. Cyril's *Commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew*:

St. Cyril's *commentary on St. Matthew*, written sometime after 428, survives only in the fragments preserved in the *catenae* (chains), continuous commentaries on scripture composed of selections from the earlier works of the fathers. Fragment 289 of this commentary speaks of the reality of the life-giving flesh of Christ from which we partake in the Holy Eucharist:

"He said quite plainly THIS IS MY BODY, and THIS IS MY BLOOD, so that you may not suppose that the things you see are a type; rather, in some ineffable way **they are changed by God, who is able to do all things, into the body and blood of Christ truly offered. Partaking of them, we take into us the life-giving and sanctifying power of Christ**. For it was needful that He, through the Holy Spirit in us, in a manner proper to God, be mixed, as it were, with our bodies by means of His holy flesh and precious blood. **These are ours for a life-giving blessing in the bread and wine, so that we may not be appalled seeing flesh and blood offered on the holy tables of the churches. For God puts the power of life into the offerings, bringing Himself down to our weakness, and He changes them into the energy of His own life.** And so that you may have no doubt that this is true, He said clearly THIS IS MY BODY" (quoted in Sheerin, *The Eucharist*, p. 225).

V.C.2.j. In St. Cyril's *Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke*:

This commentary is a series of *Homilies on St. Luke* which St. Cyril of Alexandria wrote in a period from 430 A.D. onward. In *Homily* 142 on St. *Luke* 22:19, we have an elaborate elucidation of the dogma of the life-giving flesh of Christ, from which we quote in detail:

"... The Word, therefore, by having united to Himself that flesh which was subject to death, as being God and Life drove corruption away from it, and made it also to be the source of life, for such must the body of Life be."

"And do not disbelieve what I have said, but rather accept the word in faith, having gathered proofs of it from a few examples. When you put a piece of bread into wine or oil, or any other liquid, you find that it becomes charged with the quality of that particular thing. When iron is brought into contact with fire, it becomes full of its activity, and, though it is by nature iron, it exerts the power of fire. And so **the life-giving Word of God, having united Himself to His own flesh in a way known to Himself, endowed it with the power of giving life**. And He Himself assures us of this, saying: 'Truly, I say to you, he who believes in me has everlasting life. I am the bread of life' (*John* 6:47-48), and again: 'I am the living bread which came down from heaven. If a man eats of this bread, he shall live forever. **And the bread which I shall give is my flesh for the life of the world.** Truly, I say to you, that if you do not eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, you have no life in you. **Whoever eats my flesh, and drinks my blood, has eternal life**, and I will raise him up on the last day. For my flesh is true food, and my blood is true drink. He who eats my flesh, and drinks my blood, abides in me, and I in him. As the living Father sent me, and I live because of the Father, so he who eats me shall also live because of me' (*John* 6:51, 53-57). When, therefore, we eat the holy flesh of Christ, the Saviour of us all, and drink His precious blood, we have life in us, being made, as it were, one with Him, and abiding in Him, and possessing Him also in us."

"And let none of those whose habit it is to disbelieve say: 'Since, therefore, the Word of God, being by nature Life, dwells in us also, is the body of each one of us too endowed with the power of giving life?' Rather, let him know that it is a perfectly different thing for the Son to be in us by a relative participation, and for Himself to become flesh, that is, to make that body which was taken from the blessed Virgin His own. For He is not said to become incarnate and

to be made flesh by being in us; but rather this happened once for all when He became man without ceasing to be God. The body, therefore, of the Word was that assumed by Him from the holy Virgin, and made one with Him; but how, or in what manner this was done, we cannot tell, for it is incapable of explanation, and altogether beyond the powers of the mind, and to Himself alone is the manner of the union known."

"It was fitting, therefore, for Him to be in us divinely by the Holy Spirit, and also, so to speak, **to be mingled with our bodies by His holy flesh and precious blood, which things also we possess as a life-giving blessing, in the form of bread and wine. For lest we should be terrified by seeing flesh and blood placed upon the holy tables of our churches, God, humbling Himself to our infirmities, infuses into the things set before us the power of life, and transforms them into the efficacy of His flesh, that we may have them for a life-giving participation, and that the body of Life may be found in us as a life-producing seed.** And do not doubt that this is true, since He Himself plainly says THIS IS MY BODY, THIS IS MY BLOOD, but, rather, receive in faith the Saviour's word, for He, being Truth, cannot lie. And thus you will honor Him, for, as the very wise John says, 'He who receives His witness has set his seal that God is true, for He whom God sent speaks the words of God' (*John* 3:33-34). For the words of God are of course true, and in no way whatsoever can they be false, for even though we do not understand how God works acts such as these, yet He Himself knows the way of His works" (quoted in Sheerin, *The Eucharist*, pp. 232-234).

V.C.2.k. In St. Cyril's *Commentary on the Gospel of St. John*:

The Commentary on the Gospel of St. John which St. Cyril of Alexandria wrote before 429 A.D. is full of dogmatic excursus and polemic argument. Consideration of space limits us to extract only a few paragraphs from his commentary on the eucharistic discourse on *John* 6, wherein he elaborates a favorite theme, the life-giving character of the flesh of Christ, saying: "Therefore, Christ gave His own body for the life of all, and through His body He makes life to dwell in us again. And how this is, I will say, according to my ability. **Inasmuch as the life-giving Word dwelt in flesh, He refashioned that flesh into the good which is peculiar to Him, that is, life; and joined to it, according to the ineffable manner of the union, He rendered it life-giving, as He Himself is by nature. For this reason the body of Christ gives life to those who partake of it.** For it expels death whenever it comes into mortals, and it displaces corruption, for it contains the Word, who destroys corruption, perfectly in itself."

"Then let those who, because of their folly have never accepted faith in Christ, listen to this: UNLESS YOU EAT THE FLESH OF THE SON OF MAN, AND DRINK HIS BLOOD, YOU DO NOT HAVE ETERNAL LIFE IN YOU. For completely without a share, indeed, without a taste in the life in holiness and blessedness do they remain who have not received Jesus through the mystic blessing. For He is Life by nature, according as He was begotten by the Living Father (*John* 6:57). Moreover, His holy body is no less life-giving, for it was, in a way, gathered to, and, in an indescribable manner, united to the Word who engenders life in all things. Therefore, the body is considered to be His,

and is thought of as one with Him. For after the Incarnation it is inseparable, except to the degree that one may know that the Word who has come from the Father, and the temple from the Virgin are not the same by nature, for not of the same essence as the Word from God is the body, and yet they are one by the coming together and the unimaginable concurrence. **And since the flesh of the Saviour has become life-giving, as being united to that which is by nature Life, that is, the Word from the Father, whenever we taste of it, then we have life in us, and we are united to His flesh, as it is to the indwelling Word.** And therefore, when He raised the dead, the Saviour is found to be acting not by word or by divine commands alone, but He placed a special emphasis on the fact that He was taking His holy flesh as a kind of collaborator in this, to show that it has the power to give life, and that it was already one with Him, for it was really His own body, and not another's. And, indeed, when He raised the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue, saying 'Child, get up', He took her hand, as it is written' (*Luke* 8:54). **Giving life, as God, by His all-accomplishing command, but also giving life by the touch of His holy flesh as well, he manifested a single, associated power through both.** But also when he approached a city called Nain, and 'a corpse was being carried out, his mother's only son', again, 'He touched the bier, saying, "Young man, I say to you, Arise"' (*Luke* 7:12,14). And not only to His word does He give power to bring the dead back to life, but, **to show that His body is life-giving**, as I have already said, **He touches the dead, through His body also putting life in those who were already decayed**. And if by the touch alone of His holy flesh He gives life to what has become corrupted, **how shall we not benefit even more abundantly from the life-giving blessing, whenever we taste it?** For it assuredly transforms those who partake of it into its own proper good, that is, immortality" (quoted in Sheerin, *The Eucharist*, pp. 228-229).

V.C.3. "THE LIFE-GIVING FLESH" IN A HOMILY ON THE MYSTICAL SUPPER BY ST. THEOPHILUS OF ALEXANDRIA:

St. Theophilus Pope of Alexandria (385-412) gave a *Sermon on the Mystical Supper*, which was long attributed to his nephew and successor St. Cyril (*PG* 77:1016-1029), but Marcel Richard discovered it, by proving that it is really a discourse of St. Theophilus directed against the Origenist monks and can be dated to the Great Thursday (29 March) in the year 400 (M. Richard, *Une homélie de Théophile d'Alexandrie sur l'institution de l'Eucharistie: Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique*, 33 (1937), 46-56, see Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. III, p. 104). From the English translation of that sermon, published in Sheerin, *The Eucharist*, pp. 148-157, we quote here the concluding paragraphs in full (pp. 156-157):

"But flee divisions, avoid discords, reject all profane and foolish utterances (*1Timothy* 6:20), but especially those which the vain-speaking and deceiving deacons of Satan have contrived. I mean those who are clad in the sleeveless garment of a new wisdom, the garment of the desert, but not of the true monk. The Lord commanded us to beware of them very much, off-guard as we are, because of the skin of their garb (*Matthew* 7:15). They have disturbed our spiritual, peace-loving brotherhood, and have caused considerable disorder in your God-protected city. He who with a word silenced the sea (*Mark* 4:39) will shatter their godless barking, because they have thought ill of Christ,

our true God, and have undertaken with mouths profane to destroy utterly the hope of our salvation which we have in Christ – I mean the Resurrection. Where are they now, these God-deniers and monastic wolves who have clad themselves with piety and deny its power, these pseudo-christians who reject the consubstantiality of Christ with the almighty Father because of the Incarnation? Let them tell us, then, these praters, most unreasonable of all: Whose body do the nurslings of the church consume, or at what streams do Truth's children refresh themselves? For if it is the body of God which is distributed, then true God is Christ the Lord, and not mere man or an angel, as they say, a servant and one of the bodiless ones. And if the blood of God is the drink, then again no naked God is that One of the adorable Trinity, the Son of God, but God the Word made man. But if the body of Christ is the food and the blood of Christ the drink, and, as they say, He is mere man, then how is He proclaimed to those who approach the sacred table to be productive of eternal life? And how is it that he is divided here, and everywhere, and yet is not diminished? For mere body is no source of life for those who receive it. Or do they denounce us as false witnesses to God who loves the truth because we proclaim the truth openly and teach the mysteries given by God? But may God's grace excuse me for mentioning these adversaries in this most holy feast."

"Let us, then, receive the body of Life Himself who for our sake dwelt in our body as the divinely inspired John says: 'Life was made visible' (*1John* 1:2), and again, 'And the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us' (*John* 1:14). This Word is Christ, the Son of the Living God (*Matthew* 16:16), who is One of the Holy Trinity. **And let us drink His holy blood for the atonement of our transgressions, and for participation in the immortality that is in Him**, all the while believing that **He remains Priest and Victim, He the One offering and the One offered, the One receiving and the One distributed**, not dividing into two persons the divine and inseparable and, indeed, unconfused unity of One of the all-honorable Trinity. To Him be glory and adoration, along with the Father and the Holy Spirit unto the ages of ages. Amen".

V.C.4. THE EUCHARISTIC DOCTRINE OF THE CONVERSION OF THE SACRAMENTAL BREAD AND WINE INTO THE REAL BODY AND BLOOD OF CHRIST:

V.C.4.a. In the Teachings of St. Cyril of Alexandria and the Antiochenes:

The belief in the conversion or transformation of the sacramental bread and wine through the priest's prayer into the real body and blood of Christ was taken for granted by both Alexandrians and Antiochenes alike.

According to St. Cyril of Alexandria (On St. *Matthew* 26:26-27, in fragment 289), Christ at the last supper: "He said quite plainly THIS IS MY BODY, and THIS IS MY BLOOD, so that you may not suppose that the things you see are a type; rather, in some ineffable way **they are changed (μεταποιεῖσθαι, transformed) by God, who is able to do all things, into the body and blood of Christ truly offered..... These are ours for a life-giving blessing in the bread and wine, so that we may not be appalled seeing flesh and blood offered on the holy tables of the churches. For God puts**

the power of life into the offerings, bringing Himself down to our weakness, and **He changes them into the energy of His own life**. And so that you may have no doubt that this is true, He said clearly THIS IS MY BODY" (quoted in Sheerin, *The Eucharist*, p. 225; cf. Kelly, *Doctrines*, p. 444).

Likewise, in *Homily* 142, On St. *Luke* 22:19, St. Cyril says: "It was fitting, therefore, for Him to be in us divinely by the Holy Spirit, and also, so to speak, to be mingled with our bodies by His holy flesh and precious blood, which things also we possess as a life-giving blessing, in the form of bread and wine. **For lest we should be terrified by seeing flesh and blood placed upon the holy tables of our churches, God, humbling Himself to our infirmities, infuses into the things set before us the power of life, and transforms them (μεθίστησιν αὐτά, transmutes them) into the efficacy of His flesh**, that we may have them for a life-giving participation, and that the body of Life may be found in us as a life-producing seed. And do not doubt that this is true, since He Himself plainly says THIS IS MY BODY, THIS IS MY BLOOD, but, rather, receive in faith the Saviour's word, for He, being Truth, cannot lie. And thus you will honor Him, ... For the words of God are of course true, and in no way whatsoever can they be false, for even though we do not understand how God works acts such as these, yet He Himself knows the way of His works" (quoted in Sheerin, *The Eucharist*, p. 234; cf. Kelly, *Doctrines*, p. 444).

Even "**Theodore of Mopsuestia** (In *Matthew* 26:26, *PG* 66:713:cf. *cat.* 6), argued very similarly that 'He did not say, "This is the symbol of my body", and, "This is the symbol of my blood", but, **"This is my body and my blood", thereby instructing us not to look to the nature of the oblations, for that has been changed, by the eucharistic prayer, into flesh and blood'**."

"**Nestorius**, too, contended (in *Heraclides* 39, tr. Nau), that what we receive in the eucharist is Christ's body and blood, which are of one substance with our own."

"Both Nestorius and Cyril were thus agreed that there is a real conversion; what divided them,.....was the latter's insistence that on Nestorius's principles the eucharistic flesh could not be life-giving, suffused with the energy of the Word, but could only be the flesh of an individual man" (Kelly, *Doctrines*, p. 444). St. Cyril, therefore, as we have shown before, declares that Nestorius has deprived the eucharist of the life-giving force and reduced it to cannibalism (*Against Nestorius* 4:5 & 4:6).

It was **Theodoret of Cyrus**, however, who **denied the real conversion** of the elements in the eucharist into the body of Christ. Thus, in *Eranistes* or *Dialogues* (2 = *PG* 83, 168; *NPNF*, second series, vol. III, p. 201), Theodoret led a reaction against the belief in a real change in the elements into a different substance after the epiclesis. "It is not the case, he urged, that after the consecration the oblations lose their proper nature: 'they remain in their former substance, appearance and form, visible and tangible as before'. Since he admitted, however, that the bread was now called body and habitually used realistic language of the sacrament, he was faced with the problem of explaining what the consecration effected. **His explanation**", (Kelly, *Doctrines*, p. 445, quoting *Eranistes* 1 = *PG* 83:53-6), "was that, while a change (μεταβολή) certainly took place, it did not consist in the transformation of the substance of bread and wine into that of Christ's body and blood, but rather in their **being made the vehicles of divine grace. As he puts it, in designating them His**

body and blood Christ did not change their nature, but added grace to their nature. This was in effect a dyophysite theory of the eucharist parallel to his Christological theory, since the bread and wine were thought of both as remaining in their own nature and as being able to mediate the nature of the Lord's body and blood" (*ibid.*).

V.C.4.b. In the Teachings of St. Ignatius and St. Justin Martyr:

St. Ignatius of Antioch (*c.* 35 – *c.* 107), in his *Epistle to the Ephesians*, xx, speaks of Christians as **"breaking one and the same bread, which is the medicine of immortality, and the antidote to prevent us from dying, but [which causes] that we should live for ever in Jesus Christ"** (*ANF*, vol. 1, p. 58). This is perhaps the earliest expression of the belief that the resurrection of the body is secured by **the communion of the Body of Christ** in the Eucharist. (Cf. *NPNF*, second series, vol. 7, p. xxxvii).

In his *Epistle to the Romans* (chap. 7), St. Ignatius of Antioch says: "I have no delight in corruptible food, nor in the pleasures of this life. **I desire the bread of God, the heavenly bread, the bread of life, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, the Son of God,** who became afterwards of the seed of David and Abraham; **and I desire the drink of God, namely His blood,** which is incorruptible love and eternal life" (*ANF*, vol. 1, p. 77).

Again, in his *Epistle to the Smyrnaeans* (chap. 7), **St. Ignatius warns them from the deceit of the heretics, [namely the Docetics] saying: "They abstain from the Eucharist and from prayer, because they confess not the Eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins,** and which the Father, of His goodness, raised up again. Those, therefore, who speak against this gift of God, incur death in the midst of their disputes. But it were better for them to treat it with respect, that they also might rise again. **It is fitting, therefore, that ye should keep aloof from such persons,....**" (*ANF*, vol. 1, p. 89).

St. Justin Martyr (*c.* 100 – *c.* 165), in his *First Apology*, §66, describes the manner in which this communion is effected, saying: "66. We call this food the 'Eucharist'. No one is allowed to partake of it except him who believes that our teachings are true and has been cleansed in the bath for the forgiveness of his sins and for his regeneration, and who lives as Christ commanded. Not as common bread or as common drink do we receive these, but just as through the word of God, Jesus Christ, our Saviour, became incarnate and took on flesh and blood for our salvation, so, **we have been taught, the food over which thanks has been given by the prayer of His word, and which nourishes our flesh and blood by assimilation, is both the flesh and blood of that incarnate Jesus"** (quoted in Sheerin, *The Eucharist*, p. 34).

V.C.4.c. In the Teachings of St. Cyril of Jerusalem:

It is in his Eucharistic doctrine that St. Cyril of Jerusalem (*c.* 315 – 386) expresses himself more clearly regarding the Real Presence in his Catechetical Lecture XXII which is "*the Fourth Lecture On the Mysteries*" (*NPNF*, second series, vol. 7, pp. 151-152). From this

lecture "On the Body and Blood of Christ" we quote here the following paragraphs as translated in Quasten III, p. 375. After quoting *1Corinthians* 11:23-25, St. Cyril of Jerusalem adds:

"**Since then He Himself has declared and said of the bread, 'This is My Body', who shall dare to doubt any longer? And since He has affirmed and said, 'This is My Blood', who shall ever hesitate, saying, that is not His blood?** (*Cat. myst.* 4, 1)".

"Therefore with fullest assurance let us partake as of the Body and Blood of Christ: for in the figure of bread is given to thee His Body, and in the figure of wine His Blood; that thou by partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ, mayest become of one body and one blood with Him (σύσσωμος καὶ σύναιμος αὐτοῦ). For thus we shall become Christ-bearers (χριστοφόροι) because **His Body and Blood are diffused through our members**; thus it is that, according to St. Peter (*2Peter* 1:4) 'we become partakers of divine nature' (*ibid.* 4, 3)."

"**That what seems bread is not bread, though bread by taste, but the Body of Christ; and that what seems wine is not wine, though the taste will have it so, but the Blood of Christ** (*ibid.* 4, 9)."

"Contemplate therefore the bread and wine not as bare elements, for they are, according to the Lord's declaration, the Body and Blood of Christ; for though sense suggests this to thee, let faith establish thee. **Judge not the matter from taste, but from faith be fully assured without misgiving, that thou hast been vouchsafed the Body and Blood of Christ** (*ibid.* 4, 6)."

According to St. Cyril this Real Presence is brought about by a changing of the substances of the elements (μεταβάλλεσθαι) and thus he interprets this transformation in the sense of transsubstantiation. He illustrates it from the change of water into wine at Cana: "**He once turned water into wine (μεταβέβληκεν), at Cana in Galilee, at His own will, and shall not we believe Him when He changes (μεταβαλών) wine into blood?** (*ibid.* 4, 2)"

St. Cyril "regards the calling down of the Holy Spirit upon the oblation by the epiclesis as that which effects the change of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ. He states clearly that **'The bread and wine of the eucharist before the holy invocation (ἐπικλήσεως) of the Adorable Trinity was simply bread and wine, while after the invocation (ἐπικλήσεως) the bread becomes the Body of Christ, and the wine the Blood of Christ'** (*Cat. myst.* 1, 7)" (Quasten III, pp. 375-376).

St. Cyril testifies to the basic form of the epiclesis, which is typical for the Oriental Liturgies. Thus in his *Catechetical Lecture XXIII* (*the Fifth On the Mysteries*, chap. 7), he says: "**We call upon the merciful God to send forth His Holy Spirit upon the gifts lying before Him; that He may make the bread the Body of Christ, and the wine the Blood of Christ; for whatsoever the Holy Ghost has touched, is sanctified and changed** (μεταβέβληται, *Cat. myst.* 5, 7)" (*NPNF*, second series, vol. 7, p. 154; Quasten III, p. 376).

V.C.4.d. In the Teachings of St. Ephraem Syrus and St. Gregory of Nyssa:

St. Ephraem the Syrian (*c.* 306 – *c.* 373) has left us a set of eight sermons for Great

(Holy) Week, in the form called *memra*, a sermon in verse. In the *Memra for the Fifth day of Great Week* (Holy Thursday), St. Ephraem says: "**Our Lord Jesus took bread (*Matthew* 26:26) in His hands, plain bread at the beginning, and blessed it**, made the sign of the Cross over it and sanctified it in the name of the Father and in the name of the Spirit, and He broke and distributed it in morsels to His disciples in His kindness. **He called the bread His living body, and He filled it with Himself and with His Spirit.** He stretched forth His hand and gave them the bread which His right hand had sanctified: 'Take, eat, all of you (*Matthew* 26:26) of this bread which my word has sanctified. **Do not regard as bread what I have given you now +...+ eat it, and do not +disdain+ its crumbs. For this bread +which I have sanctified+ is my body. Its least crumb sanctifies thousands of thousands, and it is capable of giving life to all who eat it. Take, eat in faith, doubting not at all that this is my body.** And he who eats it in faith eats in it fire and the Spirit (*Matthew* 3:11)....." (quoted in Sheerin, *The Eucharist*, p. 139, see the reference in p. 137: ed. *CSCO* 412,27-33, trans. of E. Beck's German version in *CSCO* 413,51-61, revised in English by Edward Mathews).

St. Gregory of Nyssa (*c.* 330 – *c.* 395 A.D.) elucidated the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist in chapter 37 of his *Great Catechism*. Although the whole chapter needs to be read, we prefer to begin with the last part of this chapter in which he says:

"Since, then, that God-containing flesh partook for its substance and support of this particular nourishment also, and since the God who was manifested infused Himself into perishable humanity for this purpose, viz. that **by this communion with Deity mankind might at the same time be deified, for this end it is that, by dispensation of His grace, He disseminates Himself in every believer through that flesh, whose substance comes from bread and wine, blending Himself with the bodies of believers, to secure that, by this union with the immortal, man, too, may be a sharer in incorruption**. He gives these gifts by virtue of the benediction through which **He transelements** the natural quality of these visible things to that immortal thing" (*NPNF*, second series, vol. 5, p. 506).

It would be useful to add here an introductory summary with more representative quotations from the same chapter. St. Gregory begins by saying that "the Eucharist unites the body, as Baptism the soul, to God. Our bodies, having received poison, need an Antidote, and only by eating and drinking can it enter. One Body, the receptacle of Deity, is this Antidote, thus received" (*ibid.*, p. 473). Then he says:

"...**the immortal Body, by being within that which receives it, changes the whole to its own nature. Yet in no other way can anything enter within the body but by being transfused through the vitals by eating and drinking.** It is, therefore, incumbent on the body to admit this life-producing power in the one way that its constitution makes possible. **And since that Body only which was the receptacle of the Deity received this grace of immortality, and since it has been shown that in no other way was it possible for our body to become immortal, but by participating in incorruption through its fellowship with that immortal Body**, it will be necessary to consider how it was possible that **that one Body, being for ever portioned to so many myriads of the faithful throughout**

the whole world, enters, through that portion, whole into each individual, and yet remains whole in itself..... The question was, **how can that one Body of Christ vivify the whole of mankind, all, that is, in whomsoever there is Faith, and yet, though divided amongst all, be itself not diminished?** Perhaps, then, we are now not far from the probable explanation..... For that which is peculiar to all flesh is acknowledged also in the case of that flesh, namely, that **that Body too was maintained by bread; which Body also by the indwelling of God the Word was transmuted to the dignity of Godhead**. Rightly, then, do we believe that now also **the bread which is consecrated by the Word of God is changed into the Body of God the Word. For that Body was once, by implication, bread, but has been consecrated by the inhabitation of the Word that tabernacled in the flesh. Therefore, from the same cause as that by which the bread that was transformed in that Body was changed to a Divine potency, a similar result takes place now**. For as in that case, too, the grace of the Word used to make holy the Body, the substance of which came of the bread, and in a manner was itself bread, so also in this case the bread, as says the Apostle, 'is sanctified by the Word of God and prayer'; not that it advances by the process of eating to the stage of passing into the body of the Word, but it is at once changed into the body by means of the Word, as the Word...said, 'This is My Body'...." (*ibid.*, pp. 505-506).

V.C.5. "THE DEIFICATION OF THE HUMANITY OF THE LORD" IN THE WRITINGS OF EARLIER TEACHERS:

Origen's conception of the incarnation is that Jesus Christ is "one composite Being" (*Contra Celsum* ii.9 & i.66). His statement that the soul and body "after sharing in the divinity of the *Logos*, were changed into God" (*Ibid.* iii.41), "may seem to indicate that Origen teaches the absorption of the human into the divine element in Christ, but, as we shall see when we consider the way in which he develops the principle that Jesus Christ is 'man', this is evidently not the case—though his teaching on the glorified Christ is another matter" (*Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 22).

What Origen would emphasize, as we have shown before (under Part Three, section IV.E.), is "the thought of the closeness and indivisibility of the union of the two elements in the Person of the *Logos*: the human soul, which is perpetually in God and inseparable from Him, and, indeed, 'is God in all that it does, feels, and understands', is like iron placed in the fire—the iron is in the fire, and the fire in the iron, the properties of the one becoming those of the other, but they still remain iron and fire" (*De Principiis* II. vi. 6).

We have shown also (under Part Three, section IV.E.), that the same thought and the terms which he employs in order to express it, together with his famous simile, are to be found in Apollinarius and his disciples and in St. Cyril of Alexandria himself (q.v.).

Apollinarius spoke of Christ's flesh as being glorified as a result of its fusion with the Word. "It has become 'divine flesh', or 'the flesh of God'. Christ Himself can be properly described as 'the heavenly man' because of the union in Him of flesh with heavenly spirit. Doctrines like these caused Apollinarius to be accused of teaching that the Lord's flesh was heavenly in origin and pre-existent. His authentic doctrine, however, is that the body was derived from the Blessed Virgin; if it is a divine body, that is because it has never existed

apart from the Word. So he remarks, 'It is plain from all we have written that we do not say that the Saviour's flesh has come down from heaven, nor that His flesh is consubstantial with God, inasmuch as it is flesh and not God; but it is God in so far as it is united with the Godhead so as to form one Person'..." (Fragment 164: cf. *ad Iov.* 3, in Lietzmann, pp. 262; 253; as quoted in Kelly, *Doctrines*, p. 294). Moreover, "Apollinarius draws the inference that the divine nature is imparted to the faithful when they consume the Lord's body at the eucharist. 'The holy flesh', he remarks, 'is one nature (συμφυής) with the Godhead, and infuses divinity into those who partake of it' (Fragment 155, Leitzmann, p. 249); and as a result 'we are saved by partaking of it as food' (Fragment 116, Leitzmann, p. 235). In other words, the believer is deified by assimilating the deified flesh of the Redeemer" (Kelly, *Doctrines*, p. 295).

Although Apollinarius (= Apollinaris) was condemned later for heresy, yet not all his teachings are heretical. We quote him in what he is in agreement with the Orthodox Fathers of the Church. In this context, St. Cyril of Alexandria himself writes to Eulogius the priest of Alexandria resident in Constantinople: "...it must be said that there is no obligation to shun and reject everything heretics say – they affirm many of the points we too affirm..." (Wickham, *Select Letters*, p. 63).

> [It is to be noted that Apollinarius (*c.* 310 – *c.* 390) was a vigorous advocate of orthodoxy against the Arians. He became bishop of Laodicea *c.* 360 and was a close friend of St. Athanasius (whom he had received on his return from his second exile in 346). He asserted that in man there coexist body, soul and spirit. In Christ, however, were to be found the human body and soul, but no human spirit, the spirit being replaced by the Divine *Logos*. Thus, while He possessed perfect Godhead, he lacked complete manhood. The fundamental objection for Apollinarius's teaching, for which he was condemned at the Council of Constantinople of 381, is that if there is no complete manhood in Christ, He is not a perfect example for us, nor did He redeem the whole human nature.]

St. Gregory of Nazianzus, in his Oration *On the Theophany or Birthday of Christ* (Oration xxxviii.13), speaks of the flesh which the Word of God has assumed from the Virgin by the intervention of an intellectual soul, mediating between the Deity and the corporeity of the flesh, affirming boldly the "deification" of the human element by the divine (*NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 7, p. 349). But he also refutes the notion of "confusion" or "dissolution" of the body of Christ. Thus, he says in his letter to Cledonius (*Ep.* 101): "And (if I am to speak concisely) the Saviour is made of elements which are distinct from one another (for the invisible is not the same with the visible, nor the timeless with that which is subject to time), yet He is not two Persons. God forbid! For both natures are one by the combination, the Deity being made Man, and the Manhood deified or however one should express it. And I say different Elements, because it is the reverse of what is the case in the Trinity; for There we acknowledge different Persons so as not to confound the persons; but not different Elements, for the Three are One and the same in Godhead ..... If any assert that He has now put off His holy flesh, and that His Godhead is stripped of the body, and deny that He is now with His body and will come again with it, let him not

see the glory of His Coming. For where is His body now, if not with Him Who assumed it? For it is not laid by in the sun, according to the babble of the Manichaeans, ...nor was it poured forth into the air and dissolved, as is the nature of a voice or the flow of an odour, or the course of a lightning flash that never stands. Where in that case were His being handled after the Resurrection, or His being seen hereafter by them that pierced Him, for Godhead is in its nature invisible. Nay; He will come with His body—so I have learnt—such as He was seen by His Disciples in the Mount, or as he shewed Himself for a moment, when his Godhead overpowered the carnality. And as we say this to disarm suspicion, so we write the other to correct the novel teaching. If anyone assert that His flesh came down from heaven, and is not from hence, nor of us though above us, let him be anathema. For the words, The Second Man is the Lord from Heaven (*1Corinthians* 15:47); and, As is the Heavenly, such are they that are Heavenly; and, No man hath ascended up into Heaven save He which came down from Heaven, even the Son of Man which is in Heaven (*John* 3:13); and the like, are to be understood as said on account of the Union with the heavenly...." (*NPNF*, second series, vol. 7, pp. 439-440).

St. Athanasius of Alexandria also speaks of the "deification" of the humanity of the Lord. Thus, commenting on *Luke* 2:52 ("Jesus advanced in wisdom and stature and in grace"), St. Athanasius refutes the Arians saying: "...wilfully the Jews, both the ancient and these modern, shut fast their eyes, lest they see that to advance in wisdom is not the advance of Wisdom Itself, but rather the manhood's advance in It. For 'Jesus advanced in wisdom and grace'; and, if we may speak what is explanatory as well as true, He advanced in Himself; for 'Wisdom builded herself an house', and in herself she gave the house advancement..... For thus, the body increasing in stature, there developed in it the manifestation of the Godhead also, and to all was it displayed that the body was God's Temple, and that God was in the body. And if they urge, that 'The Word become flesh' is called Jesus, and refer to Him the term 'advanced', they must be told that neither does this impair the Father's Light, which is the Son, but that it still shews that the Word has become man, and bore true flesh. And as we said that He suffered in the flesh, and hungered in the flesh, and was fatigued in the flesh, so also reasonably may He be said to have advanced in the flesh; for neither did the advance, such as we have described it, take place with the Word external to the flesh, for in Him was the flesh which advanced and His is it called, and that as before, that man's advance might abide and fail not, because of the Word which is with it. Neither then was the advance the Word's, nor was the flesh Wisdom, but the flesh became the body of Wisdom. Therefore, as we have already said, not Wisdom, as Wisdom, advanced in respect of Itself; but the manhood advanced in Wisdom, transcending by degrees human nature, and being deified, and becoming and appearing to all as the organ of Wisdom for the operation and the shining forth of the Godhead..." (St. Athanasius, *Against the Arians* III: 52-53, in *NPNF*, second series, vol. IV, p. 422).

The fact that Christ's unique body, which is distributed daily to thousands and perhaps millions of the faithful, can be received in its entirety by each communicant in every church everywhere at all generations while remaining entire in itself, leads us to assert that, after the resurrection, the very body which had experienced suffering no longer remains in its own limitations and properties. Thus, with St. Cyril (*letter* 45, parag. 10), "we declare it capable no more of hunger, weariness or anything of that kind,

but declare it to be incorruptible—and not only that, but life-giving as well. It is, indeed, Life's (that is, the Only-begotten's) body; it has been made resplendent with divinest glory and is conceived of as God's body".

St. Cyril also shows the limitation of our deification by stressing the difference between the Body of Christ, which is life-giving, and our bodies, which through our partaking of His Holy Body and Precious Blood we receive life. But our bodies do not thereby become life-giving. Thus, St. Cyril says:

"**And let none of those whose habit it is to disbelieve say: 'Since, therefore, the Word of God, being by nature Life, dwells in us also, is the body of each one of us too endowed with the power of giving life?'** Rather, let him know that **it is a perfectly different thing for the Son to be in us by a relative participation, and for Himself to become flesh, that is, to make that body which was taken from the blessed Virgin His own. For He is not said to become incarnate and to be made flesh by being in us; but rather this happened once for all when He became man without ceasing to be God. The body, therefore, of the Word was that assumed by Him from the holy Virgin, and made one with Him**; but how, or in what manner this was done, we cannot tell, for it is incapable of explanation, and altogether beyond the powers of the mind, and to Himself alone is the manner of the union known" (St. Cyril's *Homily* 142, on St. *Luke* 22:19, quoted in Sheerin, *The Eucharist*, pp. 233-234).

St. Gregory of Nyssa, in his *Great Catechism* (chap. 37, *NPNF*, second series, vol. 5, pp. 504-506), says: "...And since that Body only which was the receptacle of the Deity received this grace of immortality, and since it has been shown that in no other way was it possible for our body to become immortal, but by participating in incorruption through its fellowship with that immortal Body, it will be necessary to consider how it was possible that that one Body, being for ever portioned to so many myriads of the faithful throughout the whole world, enters, through that portion, whole into each individual, and yet remains whole in itself...". His elucidation is to the effect that, when the Word incarnate nourished Himself with bread and wine, He assimilated them to His flesh and blood. Thus they were transformed into the nature of His body. What happens now in the eucharist is analogous, although with a characteristic difference. Whereas in the days of Christ's earthly sojourning bread and wine were transformed by the digestive process, now they are metamorphosed instantaneously into the body of the Word.

St. Gregory of Nyssa also says: "We on our part assert that even the body in which He underwent His Passion, by being mingled with the Divine Nature, was made by that commixture to be that which the assuming Nature is. So far are we from entertaining any low idea concerning the Only-begotten God, that if anything belonging to our lowly nature was assumed in His dispensation of love for man, we believe that even this was transformed to what is Divine and incorruptible" (*Against Eunomius*, V.3, *NPNF*, second series, vol. 5, p. 176). [St. Gregory's use of the term "mingling" will be explained after the next paragraph.]

In view of what we have just said concerning the holy eucharist and the unlimitedness of the flesh of the exalted Christ, we might be able to understand the phraseology of St. Gregory of Nyssa, (which came later to be popularly attributed to Eutyches), when he

likens the perishable nature to a drop of vinegar mingled with the sea. Thus, in his fifth book *Against Eunomius*, St. Gregory of Nyssa says: "The Godhead 'empties' Itself that It may come within the capacity of the Human Nature, and the Human Nature is renewed by becoming Divine through its commixture with the Divine..... He Who, because He is the Lord of glory, despised that which is shame among men, having concealed, as it were, the flame of His life in His bodily Nature, by the dispensation of His death, kindled and inflamed it once more by the power of His own Godhead, fostering into life that which had been brought to death, having infused with the infinity of His Divine power that humble firstfruits of our nature, made it also to be that which He Himself was—making the servile form to be Lord, and the Man born of Mary to be Christ, and Him Who was crucified through weakness to be Life and power, and making all that is piously conceived to be in God the Word to be also in that which the Word assumed, so that these attributes no longer seem to be in either Nature by way of division, but that the perishable Nature being, by its commixture with the Divine, made anew in conformity with the Nature that overwhelms it, participates in the power of the Godhead, as if one were to say that mixture makes a drop of vinegar mingled in the deep to be sea, by reason that the natural quality of this liquid does not continue in the infinity of that which overwhelms it" (*Against Eunomius*, V.5, *NPNF*, second series, vol. 5, p. 181).

It may be noted, too, that when St. Gregory of Nyssa uses such terms as "mingling", he like those Fathers who had used it before him, and even St. Cyril afterwards (*Dialogues*, 6), would not introduce the idea of "confusion", but would merely lay stress on the closeness of the union of the two elements in Christ. Moreover, he affirms that the properties of the natures are distinct in the union. But he, at the same time, exploits the *communicatio idiomatum* to the full, declaring that the proper attritubutes of each element belong to both. Thus, in a previous paragraph in the same book and chapter, St. Gregory of Nyssa expressly says: "...the Divine Nature is always one and the same, and with the same mode of existence, while the flesh in itself is that which reason and sense apprehend concerning it, but when mixed with the Divine no longer remains in its own limitations and properties, but is taken up to that which is overwhelming and transcendent. Our contemplation, however, of the respective properties of the flesh and of the Godhead remains free from confusion, so long as each of these is contemplated by itself, as, for example, 'the Word was before the ages, but the flesh came into being in the last times': but one could not reverse this statement, and say that the latter is pretemporal, or that the Word has come into being in the last times. The flesh is of a passible, the Word of an operative nature: and neither is the flesh capable of making the things that are, nor is the power possessed by the Godhead capable of suffering..... neither was the Human Nature from everlasting, nor the Divine Nature mortal: and all the rest of the attributes are contemplated in the same way. It is not the Human Nature that raises up Lazarus, nor is it the power that cannot suffer that weeps for him when he lies in the grave: the tear proceeds from the Man, the life from the true Life. It is not the Human Nature that feeds the thousands, nor is it omnipotent might that hastens to the fig tree. Who is it that is weary with the journey, and Who is it that by His word made all the world subsist? What is the brightness of the glory, and what is that that was pierced with the nails? What form is it that is buffeted in the Passion, and what form is it that is glorified from everlasting? So

much as this is clear, ...so that by reason of contact and the union of Natures the proper attributes of each belong to both, as the Lord receives the stripes of the servant, while the servant is glorified with the honour of the Lord; for this is why the Cross is said to be the Cross of the Lord of glory (*1Corinthians* 2:8), and why every tongue confesses that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father (*Philippians* 2:11)".

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VI. THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE TWO NATURES "ONLY IN CONTEMPLATION"

VI.A. In the Teachings of St. Cyril of Alexandria:

The teaching of the distinction between the two natures **"in contemplation alone"** is deeply rooted in the teaching of St. Cyril of Alexandria who says that one can "contemplate" the Godhead and the manhood which have come together in a real union (*Apol. adv. Theod.* iii, ed. Pusey, VI, p. 418), and "peer into the power of the mystery with the eyes of the understanding" (*Apol. adv. Orient.* iii, ed. Pusey, VI, p. 286), so as to "recognize the difference" but without dividing the one Person of the Lord Jesus Christ.

St. Cyril, in his oration *de Recta Fide*, addressed to the Emperor Theodosius (ed. Pusey, VII, p. i, p. 76), **"condemns the dividing of Jesus Christ into a man and the divine *Logos*, each having an individual existence, since this is to make Emmanuel 'an image with two faces' (διπρόσωπος).** He then goes on to say that one should not in any way, and especially so that 'two' appear, divide (the natures) after the union, and consider each by itself; **one should know that, while the human mind contemplates a certain difference of the natures, it also admits (the conception of) the concurrence of both into a unity"** (*Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 98).

It is not difficult to cite many places in St. Cyril in which the distinction between the two natures is expressed. This led some Chalcedonians to assume wrongfully that, according to St. Cyril, the *Logos* made flesh in the incarnation "has two natures" or "is in two natures". But an explicit statement in St. Cyril in this direction is never found (see Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 29 & n. 25, also p. 156 & n. 375 with reference to St. Cyril's *De recta fide ad reginas or.* 2: *ACO* I.1.5, p. 36).

"After the union", says St. Cyril, **"the duality has been abolished and we believe the Son's nature to be one, since he is one Son, yet become man and incarnate"** (see St. Cyril's *Ep. 40* to Acacius, parag. 12, quoted here after few lines).

We set here a few passages from St. Cyril's letters to Acacius, Bishop of Melitene, Succensus, Bishop of Diocaesarea, and Eulogius, the Priest of Alexandria resident in Constantinople.

Thus in his letter to Acacius of Melitene, St. Cyril writes (*Ep. 40*, paragraphs 12-14): "12..... when we have the idea of the elements of the one and unique Son and Lord Jesus Christ, **we speak of two natures being united; but after the union, the duality has been abolished and we believe the Son's nature to be one, since he is one Son, yet become man and incarnate.** Though we affirm that the Word is God on becoming incarnate and made man, any suspicion of change is to be repudiated entirely because he remained what he was, and we are to acknowledge the union as totally free from merger."

"13..... we have written in the Chapters: 'Whoever allocates the terms to two persons or subjects and attaches some to the man considered separately from the Word of God,

some as divine to the Word of God the Father alone, shall be anathema.' **By no manner of means have we abolished the difference between the terms though we have caused their separate division to a Son, the Word of the Father, and to a man thought of as a separate woman-born son, to be discarded. The nature of the Word is, by general consent, one but we recognize that he is incarnate and became man, as I have already stated.**"

"14... Accordingly **when the mode of the incarnation is the object of curiosity the human mind is bound to observe two things joined together in union with each other mysteriously and without merger, yet it in no way divides what are united but believes and firmly accepts that the product of both elements is one God, Son, Christ and Lord**" (Wickham, *Select Letters*, pp. 49, 51).

So no distinction was possible in reality as such. Only a purely rational distinction can be made.

Again St. Cyril says in his First Letter to Succensus (*Ep. 45*, paragraphs 6&7): "6..... It is our contention that if we carefully examine the manner of the economy in the flesh and attentively investigate the mystery, we shall see that the Word of God the Father was made man and made flesh but did not fashion that sacred body from his own divine nature, but rather took it from the virgin. How else could he become man except by putting on the human body? As I have said, if we understand the manner of the incarnation we shall see that two natures come together with one another, without confusion or change, in an indivisible union. The flesh is flesh and not Godhead, even though it became the flesh of God; and similarly the Word is God and not flesh even if he made the flesh his very own in the economy. Given that we understand this, we do no harm to that concurrence into union when we say that it took place **out of[6] two natures**. After the union has occurred, however, we do not divide the natures from one another, nor do we sever the one and indivisible into two sons, but we say that there is One Son, and **as the holy Fathers have stated: One Incarnate Nature of The Word.**"

"7. **As to the manner of the incarnation of the Only Begotten, then theoretically speaking (but only in so far as it appears to the eyes of the soul) we would admit that there are two united natures but only One Christ and Son and Lord, the Word of God made man and made flesh.** If you like **we can take as our example that very composition which makes us men**. For we are composed of body and soul and we perceive two natures; there is one nature of the body, and a different nature of the soul, and yet one man from both of them in terms of the union. This composition from two natures does not turn the one man into two, but as I have said there is one man by the composition of body and soul. If we deny that there is one single Christ **from two** different natures, being indivisible after the union, then the enemies of orthodoxy will ask: 'If the entirety amounts to one nature then how was he incarnated or what kind of flesh did he make his own?'" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 354-356).

McGuckin (*ibid.*, p. 355, n. 6) comments on St. Cyril's phrase "**out of two** natures" in parag. 6 of the First Letter to Succensus quoted herein before. Although we do not agree with some phrases in McGuckin's comment, yet it is as a whole valuable. Because even though he is a Chalcedonian raised in Chalcedonian tradition, yet he is trying as much as he can to be faithful to the Orthodox teaching of St. Cyril. Hence he (i.e. McGuckin) was able

to recognize some of the weaknesses of the Council of Chalcedon. By approaching the mind of St. Cyril as exhibited in his writings, **McGuckin was able to predict the position of St. Cyril and his disavowal of the Council of Chalcedon had he lived till that time**. The following is McGuckin's comment:

"[6] The point here marks a crucial difference with the line that Chalcedon subsequently takes, for Cyril is happy to accept the notion of 'two natures' but feels that this needs qualification if it is to avoid a tendency towards the kind of separatism that has been advocated by Nestorius. **He wishes to speak of a concurrence to unity 'from two natures' but does not posit a union that abides 'in two natures'. For Cyril, to abide in two natures means to abide in an 'un-united' condition that can only be theoretically applied before the incarnation takes place; the incarnation itself is the resolution to union of the two natures. He is genuinely puzzled why anyone should continue to insist on the phrase 'in two natures'.** The qualification applied by Chalcedon 'abiding **inseparably** in two natures' secures Cyril's essential point—although many Cyrillines after 451 found the 'two natures' language unacceptable (or unnecessarily paradoxical) which caused the Monophysite schism. The following paragraph in the text demonstrates Cyril's intent quite clearly and marks him off from later 'monophysite' thought, for he is clearly thinking of the notion of composition to unity from disparates (such as the analogy of the single man composed of body and soul). In the second Letter to Succensus he says, quite explicitly that only the term 'inseparably' makes two natures language orthodox—but that he suspects his opponents of not using the word honestly. The concept of two natures as a primary vehicle for language about the incarnation, therefore, strikes him as too static and too weak to carry the sense of the dynamic economy which for him constitutes the incarnation. Even in Chalcedon the primary stress of the incarnational scheme is not supplied by the two natures language" (*ibid.*, p. 355, n. 6).

Again, in his Second Letter to Succensus (*Ep. 46*, chap. 5), St. Cyril gives his reaction to those who say that the two natures endured after the union and that the Scripture's saying that Christ suffered in the flesh (*1Peter* 4:1) is not different from saying: "Christ having suffered for us in our nature". His reply was as follows:

"**This objection is yet another attack on those who say that there is one incarnate nature of the Son.** They want to show that the idea is foolish and so they keep on arguing at every turn that two natures endured. They have forgotten, however, that it is only those things that are usually distinguished at more than **a merely theoretical level** which split apart from one another in differentiated separateness and radical distinction. **Let us once more take the example of an ordinary man.** We recognize two natures in him; for there is one nature of the soul and another of the body, but **we divide them only at a theoretical level, and by subtle speculation, or rather we accept the distinction only in our mental intuitions**, and we do not set the natures apart nor do we grant that they have a radical separateness, but we understand them to belong to one man. This is why **the two are no longer two, but through both of them the one living creature is rendered complete. And so, even if one attributes the nature of manhood and Godhead to the Emmanuel, still the manhood has become the personal property of the Word and we understand there is One Son together**

with it. The God-inspired scripture tells us that he suffered in the flesh (*1Peter* 4:1) and it would be better for us to speak in this way rather than [say he suffered] in the nature of the manhood,....." (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 362-363; see Wickham, *Select Letters*, p. 93; also Wiles & Santer, *Documents*, pp. 70-71, from which the full text will be quoted later here in Part Three under section VI.D.).

In his *letter 44* addressed to Eulogius, priest of Alexandria residing in Constantinople, St. Cyril stresses the distinction of the natures through contemplation, referring to the example of the human soul and body. Thus, he says:

".... we must not feel obliged to flee from and contradict every single thing that the heretics might say. For there are many things which they confess which we do too. For example, when the Arians say that the Father is the Lord and Maker of all, we surely do not flee from such an admission on that account? It is the same in the case of Nestorius, even if he does speak of two natures to signify the difference between the flesh and God the Word. For the nature of the Word is one thing, and that of the flesh quite another. But Nestorius does not confess the union along with us. We unite these realities and confess that the self-same is one Christ, One Son, and One Lord, and **we confess moreover that there is one incarnate nature of the Son, just as one might say in regard to an ordinary man who results from different natures, that is body and soul. Our intellect and deductive ability recognizes the difference, but we unite them and then recognize the single nature of man. This is why to acknowledge the difference of the natures is not to divide the one Christ into two.**"

"..... there occurred neither confusion nor mixing, but that the flesh was flesh assumed from a woman, whereas the Word was Word begotten from the Father, or rather that since the Word has become flesh, as John tells us, there is One Christ and Son and Lord. Try and get them all to read carefully the letter of the blessed pope Athanasius. Since in his day certain people were looking for an argument and saying that God the Word made a figurative body for himself out of his own nature, he argues throughout that the body was not consubstantial with the Word. And if it was not consubstantial then there must be two different natures **out of which** is understood the one and only Son."

"Let them take account of this. **When one speaks of a union one does not signify the concurrence of a single factor, but surely of two or more which are different from one another in nature. So, if we talk of a union, we confess it to be between flesh endowed with a rational soul, and the Word,** and those who speak of 'two natures' understand it in this way. **However, once we have confessed the union, the things that have been united are no longer separated from one another but are thereafter one Son; AND ONE IS HIS NATURE SINCE THE WORD HAS BEEN MADE FLESH.** The Orientals confessed these things even if they were somewhat obscure in their terminology....." (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 349-350; see Wickham, *Select Letters*, pp. 62-65).

VI.B. In the Teachings of St. Severus of Antioch:

Using St. Cyril's expressions, St. Severus of Antioch holds that **"solely in mental perception"**, **"through careful contemplation"**, or **"with the mind"**, one can see

a coming together of two natures or *hypostases* (Sellers, p. 271).

St. Severus not only makes use of the Cyrilline theory but also develops it. "He can say that in contemplation the mind can see 'two imaginary *prosopa*, or natures, or *hypostases*'—that is, one can so contemplate the two natures that each appears as an individual existence, the one beside the other; as we have said, the idea is implicit in Cyril's '"two" in contemplation'. Moreover, **like Cyril, Severus holds that 'after the union' one sees only the one incarnate nature of the divine *Logos*, since now all idea of 'two' must vanish as unreal"** (quoted in *Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 100 and n. 1, from Eustathius Monachus, *Ep. de duabus naturis*, *PG* lxxxvi. 921B, 908A).

"To reproduce one passage: **When we meditate** on the realities of which the one Christ is composed, **we shall see in our minds the two natures which have converged into the indivisible union. After the thought of union, it is not correct to affirm two natures, because the natures have not come into concrete existence separately, but from them both it is the one *hypostasis* and one nature of the Word incarnate that had been completed"** (Severus, *Contra Grammaticum* I, p. 119; Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 247 note 34).

According to St. "Severus **one can speak of two natures** in Christ **only intellectually, or in the mental image of the spirit, in thought, but never as realities**. Cf. J. Lebon, *Chalkedon* I, 499-509" (quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 156, n. 375).

Thus, St. Severus writes in his *apologia* to no. 42 of the Cyrillian florilegium, saying:

"For it is only because we examine in precise reflection the elements of which Emmanuel is constituted that we say that there are two natures that have been unified; by entertaining in our mind the idea of union we conclude that the one single nature of the Word incarnate has been formed. For the ***hypostatic* union** means these two things: that **there has been a union of two or more realities to become one and the same thing, and that this from this time on no longer breaks up into them [the elements] which have naturally united,** for they have united to become a single being. **For in fact these elements which have naturally united no longer subsist in the isolation of their own subsistence, but are obviously in a single nature and a single *hypostasis***; they allow only the starting-point to appear from which the single being is constituted, because they have been united without mingling and thus escape division into two or more" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 35, quoting St. Severus Ant., *Philalethes*, no. 42, *Apologia*: *CSCO* 134 [V], p. 213,15-31).

V.V. Bolotov comments on this point in the Christology of St. Severus saying: "We may agree with (Joseph) Lebon that **Severus introduced the limitation** θεωρία μόνη **in order to show that 'two natures in Christ' or, better to say, 'duplicity', meant by** δύο φύσεις **does not express the existing order of reality but is allowed only in a subtle speculative construction, in abstraction from a real unity, in order to see the continuity of difference essentially (*in esse*) between the *Logos* and the flesh**, in order to confirm non-confluence and unalterability of Divinity and humanity in one Christ" (see J. Lebon, *Chalkedon* I, p. 504).

St. Severus also called upon "his **'from two'**, from which just *one* **has become,**

in which two abstract essences (*ousiai*), but not two concrete natures (*physeis*), **can be distinguished only through a 'most subtle operation of the intellect'** (*subtilissima pro posse intelligentia*)", "385. Honestly admitting to being anxious, in *C. imp. Gram.*, *Or.* III, ch. 16: *CSCO* 94, p. 195,7-17, **Severus attemps to describe the *synthesis* in such a way that the Chalcedonians would not be given the slightest chance to deduce a duality from it**. He will not accept the suggestion of John the Grammarian, which is that Christ is to be characterized as 'two united natures' (*duae naturae unitae*) (*op. cit.*, ch. 8: *CSCO* 94, p. 110,11-13). **Only *unum ex duobus*, never an explicit expression of abiding 'duality', is acceptable to him"**, (as given in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 160 & n. 385).

"For concretely the result of this *synthesis* is just this, 'that from both one nature and *hypostasis* is formed and subsists (as such)' (*loc. cit.*). Hence this *synthesis* means nothing other than what the favourite word of Cyril and Severus, *henosis*, says" (*ibid.*, p. 160 & n. 386: "Cf. Severus Ant., *C. imp. Gram.*, *Or.* II, ch. 17: *CSCO* 112, pp. 115,17-116,24, especially p. 115,23-24; *ibid.*, p. 116,4-7; *idem*, *Philal.*, no. 112, Frag. A: *CSCO* 134, p. 268: (There is a *unio hypostatica* in Christ, because he is constituted) 'à partir de deux... en une unique personne et en unique nature et hypostase du Verbe incarnée. Car c'est cela l'union hypostatique.'..").

Thus, in his *contra Grammaticum* (written soon after he had been expelled from Antioch in the year 518), **St. Severus** attacks John the Grammarian who, with other supporters of Chalcedon, "was upholding the formula that Jesus Christ is 'in two natures after the union'. Naturally, John was intent upon defending the faith against the notion that in Christ there is but one, and that a divine, nature. **But the Monophysite (i.e. Miaphysite), who stands for the old ways of Cyril and not for the ways of those 'Nestorianizers' who had betrayed the faith at Chalcedon, will not accept such an expression. As the blessed Cyril said, he asserts, so will he say: 'After the union, one nature'....**" (*Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 100).

VI.C. In Justinian's Edict of 551 A.D., the Chalcedonian Council of Constantinople, 553 A.D., and the Letter of Pope Agatho and His Synod at Rome, 680 A.D., to the Chalcedonian Council of Constantinople, 680 A.D.:

VI.C.1. THE CONCEPT OF NEO-CHALCEDONIANISM:

J. Lebon created this expression and applied it to a particular group of Chalcedonian theologians who had recourse to St. Cyril of Alexandria to validate the Council of Chalcedon. J. Lebon's student, C. Moeller, took up this suggestion and expanded on it. (For details, see Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, pp. 429ff. & n. 460 on p. 430).

J. Lebon spoke of the "neo-Chalcedonianism" of two opponents of St. Severus of Antioch, "... the monk of Majuma, namely the monk Nephalius, and the grammarian John of Caesarea, (who) believed that they could restore unity by proposing a simultaneous usage of both the Alexandrian *mia-physis* formula and the Chalcedonian *dyo-physeis* formula – one to ward off Nestorianism, the other to exclude Eutychianism" (*ibid.*, p. 431).

Those who think in this way are called neo-Chalcedonians, because, like their

anti-Chalcedonian opponents, they regard St. Cyril as their master. "They do not reject either the '*hypostatic* union' or the 'natural union' or the 'out of two' or the 'one incarnate nature of the divine *Logos*' – provided that here 'one nature' is not taken in the sense of *una substantia*" (Sellers, p. 286).

The so-called neo-Chalcedonians, however, were divided into two rival schools of thought.

From Grillmeier's characterization of those two groups we quote the following: "We now want to characterize as **'neo-Chalcedonians in the extreme or integral sense'** those theologians who demand for the correct presentation of faith in Jesus Christ, the incarnate Son of God, the simultaneous use of two systems of formulas: the *mia-physis* formula against Nestorianism, understood as the teaching of two *hypostases*; the two-natures formula against Eutyches, as representing a christology of mingling. They want to remain Chalcedonians, but overlook the incompatibility of the two conceptual systems. **'Moderate neo-Chalcedonianism'** we shall call that christological position which remains on the basis of Chalcedon (with the distinction of *physis* and *hypostasis* and the formula of the one *hypostasis* in two natures), but seeks to *supplement* the language of Chalcedon by the additional incorporation of Cyrillian terms and formulas, especially from the twelve anathemas, without demanding, however, the simultaneous use of the *mia-physis* formula or allowing it (this occurring, at the most, under definite conditions)."

"With respect to his theology of union and his tendency towards divinization Leontius of Jerusalem can be reckoned among the moderate neo-Chalcedonians, insofar as some of his theological emphases indicate a convergence towards Cyril which goes beyond the Cyrillianism of Chalcedon" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 434). But "Leontius of Jerusalem differs from him in important points. Leontius of Jerusalem makes a clear distinction between a nature union and a *hypostatic* union. For him *synthesis* is the central point, not *henosis*..... Instead of Cyril's hegemony of the *Logos*, Leontius of Jerusalem clearly recognizes the endowment of Christ's humanity with grace by the Spirit..." (*ibid.*, p. 434, n. 480).

VI.C.2. THE NEO-CHALCEDONIANISM OF EMPEROR JUSTINIAN'S EDICT OF 551 A.D.:

"(i) The decree of 551 does not demand the simultaneous use of the *mia-physis* formula and the two-natures language, and thus is not an instance of extreme neo-Chalcedonianism. For *Kephalaion* 9 cannot be interpreted in this sense. The Emperor indeed admits that the *mia-physis* formula can be correctly understood, namely in the sense of the twofold consubstantiality of the one Christ with the Father according to the divinity, and with us according to the humanity; but according to Justinian there is also a fundamentally false understanding of this formula in the sense of Apollinarius and Eutyches, which is anathematized. From this viewpoint Justinian cannot bring himself to allow the *mia-physis* formula the function of a necessary corrective to the Chalcedonian formula."

"(ii) Nevertheless we can discover in the decree of 551 traces of a moderate neo-Chalcedonianism, in the sense of supplementing the strict-Chalcedonian terminology with elements of the language determined by Cyril's twelve anathemas" (*ibid.*, pp. 434-435).

For example, Justinian uses St. Cyril's formula "from two natures" besides Chalcedon's "in two natures". "This synthesis, rejected at Chalcedon, as everybody knows, is now undisputed" (*ibid.*, p. 435). This is because, contrary to St. Cyril's teaching that "after the union the duality has been abolished and we believe the Son's nature to be one, since he is one Son, yet become man and incarnate" (St. Cyril's *Ep. 40*, parag. 12), "Justinian has no dread of Chalcedon's two natures nor of the number 'two'..." (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 435). Justinian even says: "whoever refuses to speak of the number of the natures in Christ attempts to introduce mingling" (see *ibid.*).

Indeed, Justinian here is expressing what was understood in the mid-fifth century by the formula "acknowledged in two natures". This can be clearly shown by studying what had happened in the fifth session of the Council of Chalcedon as demonstrated by R. Price in the English translation of *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon* concerning the changes forced by Emperor Marcian and the Roman delegation on the original draft of the Definition. Thus Price writes:

"The revision of the draft"

"**Although the great majority of the bishops greeted the draft definition enthusiastically**, the minutes inform us that there were two small but significant groups of dissentients – 'the Romans and some of the Orientals' (V:6). The latter group, consisting of Theodoret of Cyrrhus and his allies, the heirs of the Antiochene school (which by this date had limited support even in Syria itself), had as its spokesman at this session **Bishop John of Germanicia**, who made two recorded interventions, demanding amendments to the draft (V:4, 12; details of the amendments demanded are not given). **His intervention served simply to anger the majority party, which responded by demanding the expulsion of the 'Nestorians'. Far more serious was the opposition of the Roman delegates, who demanded that the draft be brought into line with the *Tome* of Leo and threatened to return home immediately if this was not granted (V:9). The lay chairman took up their objection: both Flavian of Constantinople and Leo of Rome had insisted that there are two natures in Christ, yet the formula used in the draft – 'from two natures' – was not only ambiguous: it had in addition been approved by the now disgraced Dioscorus. It was fatal for the draft that Dioscorus had said at the first session, 'I accept "from two [natures]"; I do not accept "two"' (I. 332)**".

"Anatolius and his committee had held a meeting of bishops on the previous day at which the draft had been approved (V:7, 12)..... **Despite the unanimity with which the bishops had solemnly approved the *Tome* of Leo in the fourth session, they were now in no mood to let an appeal to the *Tome* force on them a Christological formula that could be seen as a victory for the 'Nestorians'.** The lay chairman Anatolius decided to resolve the impasse by an appeal to the emperor. After the interval required for the secretary of the imperial consistory to cross the Bosporus and back to elicit the imperial will, **the emperor's response duly arrived (V:22): he threatened the bishops that if they did not give way to the officials and the Roman delegates he would transfer the council to the west (i.e., to Rome), where it would of course be dominated by Pope Leo.** Nothing is more amazing in the drama of this session than the fact that the bishops refused at first to yield to what was in effect an imperial

command. **But finally, and inevitably, the emperor's will prevailed.** The imperial representatives set up a new committee, consisting of themselves, the Roman delegates, Archbishop Anatolius, and 17 eastern bishops, who withdrew into a side-chapel (V:29) and after what cannot have been a long discussion returned to the nave to present their revision of the draft (V:30-34)" (*ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 187-188).

"**The amending committee was obliged to assert a continuing duality in Christ**, but the formula it used to do so – 'acknowledged in two natures' (replacing the 'from two natures' of the draft) – had been coined apparently by Basil of Seleucia (I:169, 176, 301) on the basis of the assertion that Christ is 'perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood' in Cyril's Letter to John of Antioch. If the duality of natures in Christ had to be asserted, this was done by using, as far as possible, Cyrillian expressions..." (*ibid.*, p. 189).

Price then comments on the Chalcedonian formula "acknowledged in two natures" saying (*ibid.*, n. 15):

"**15. The formula came later to be understood as equivalent to Cyril's formula that Christ is two 'in contemplation alone', in other words that the duality arises in the mind that analyses Christ, while the reality is of a perfect unity of being:... But it is clear from I:170, 176, 303 that the formula was understood in the mid-fifth century to assert the distinction between the natures as not merely a mental construct but an objective fact** (see de Halleux 1994, in *Revue théologique de Louvain* 25, pp. 464-466). **This is why the formula satisfied the demand by the Roman delegates and the imperial representatives that the Definition had to define unambiguously that there are two natures in Christ, even if the exact meaning of 'nature' is not defined...**".

VI.C.3. "DISTINGUISHING ACCORDING TO THE *THEORIA*" IN JUSTINIAN'S EDICT OF 551 A.D.:

In *Kephalaion* 8 of the Edict of 551 A.D., the Emperor states: "If anyone confesses number [=duality] of the natures in our Lord Jesus Christ, that is, in the incarnate *Logos*, and thereby takes their [the natures'] distinction (*diaphora*), from which he is composed, as not only according to *theoria*, in which it [the distinction] is not annulled on account of the union, but uses the number for division (*dihairesis*), let him be anathema" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 435).

As we have seen before (under section VI.A.), "Distinction according to vision or *theoria* is a typically Cyrilline point of view with which the Alexandrian Father reconciles the "unmingled" with the "undivided" of the two elements **out of which** is understood the one and only Son.

While St. Cyril states clearly that the distinction is "theoretical" and "in contemplation alone", and "after the union, the duality has been abolished", Justinian uses the concept of "distinction according to vision or *theoria*" differently. His introduction of this concept of *theoria* signifies no change to the Chalcedonian two-natures teaching.

VI.C.4. "DISTINGUISHING ACCORDING TO THE *THEORIA*" IN THE TEACHING OF THE CHALCEDONIAN SECOND COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE OF 553 A.D.:

The **seventh** of the fourteen Canons of that Council reads as follows (according to Percival, p. 313): "If anyone using the expression, 'in two natures', does not confess that our one Lord Jesus Christ has been revealed in the divinity and in the humanity, so as to designate by that expression a difference of the natures of which an ineffable union is unconfusedly made,....., but shall take the expression with regard to the mystery of Christ in a sense so as to divide the parties, or recognising the two natures in the only Lord Jesus, God the Word made man, does not content himself with taking in a theoretical manner [i.e. 'as an abstraction (τή θεωρία μόνη)], the difference of the natures which compose him, which difference is not destroyed by the union between them, for one is composed of the two and the two are in one, but shall make use of the number [two] to divide the natures or to make of them Persons properly so called: let him be anathema".

Again we quote here the same parts of that canon according to the translation given in Grillmeier together with his comment on the canon:

"Canon VII:"

"If anyone, when saying 'in two natures', does not confess a belief in our one Lord Jesus Christ, understood in both his divinity and his humanity, so as by this to signify a difference of natures of which an ineffable union has been made, without confusion,....and if anyone understands the two natures in the mystery of Christ in the sense of a division into parts, or if he expresses his belief in the plural natures in the same Lord Jesus Christ, God the Word made flesh, but does not consider the difference of those natures, of which he is composed, to be only in the onlooker's mind, a difference which is not compromised by the union (for he is one from both and the two exist through the one [*di'henos*]) but uses the number to suggest that the natures are separated and have a subsistence of their own: let him be anathema."

"Explanation:"

"**Through this canon the Council wants to maintain the confession of the two natures in the sense of Chalcedon**, but from the Cyrillian stock of ideas formulates the conditions for **the application of the number two to the two natures, which is not used by Cyril and is detested by Severus.** We must note this framework: 'Confession of the number [two] of the natures'. **In the Second Letter to Succensus, in contrast, it is a question of defending the *mia-physis* formula against the attacks of those who confess two natures** (cf. *PG* 77, 245A). To explain the relationship of the two natures which results in only one Christ, **Cyril used the analogy of body and soul**, and thus placed his explanation on the level of a *unio in natura et secundum naturam* (cf. *PG* 77, 245AB). **Justinian's edict and Canon VII of 553 omitted this analogy**, introducing in contrast the expression *synthesis*,...." (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, pp. 449-450).

It would be useful to quote here the first part of Canon VIII of that Council and Grillmeier's comment on it. This is to show how and why that council borrowed from the Cyrillian terminology using it for cosmetic reasons with the aim of attempting to hide the irreconcilability of the teaching of both Chalcedon and Leo with the real teaching of St. Cyril.

"Canon VIII:"

"If anyone confesses a belief that a union has been made **out of two natures**, divinity and humanity, or speaks about **the one nature of God the Word made flesh**, but does not understand these things according to what the Fathers have taught, namely that from the divine and human natures a union was made **according to subsistence** (= καθ' ὑπόστασιν), and that one Christ was formed, and from these expressions tries to introduce one nature or substance made of the deity and human flesh of Christ: let him be anathema...."

"Explanation:"

"If the *mia-physis* ('one-nature') formula is introduced here, this is not meant to grant it equal rights with the fundamental Chalcedonian formula or to put it forward as the latter's necessary dialectical correction. It is probably with respect to Cyril and his followers that its orthodoxy is attested on one important condition, viz., that the duality of the natures remains inviolate" (*ibid.*, pp. 450-451).

Of course, the "from two natures" formula, which was previously rejected at Chalcedon, was acknowledged in that canon of 553 since it was claimed not to have created any problem because it goes together with the "in two natures" (cf. *ibid.*, n. 536 on p. 450).

Moreover, canon v of Constantinople 553 (and similarly also canons iv, vii, viii, xiii), used the formula of the "*hypostatic* union" (*henosis kath' hypostasin*), but did not use St. Cyril's formula of "natural union" (*henosis kata physin*, "union according to the nature"). Grillmeier has a comment on this point concerning the formula *henosis kath' hypostasin*: "Through the adoption of this formula the agreement between Chalcedon and Ephesus was stressed. While Cyril, however, was able to replace *henosis kath' hypostasin* by the equivalent *henosis kata physin* (καθ' ἕνωσιν φυσικήν)..., Constantinople (553) still said only *henosis kath' hypostasin* (and rejected a *henosis kata physin*)" (*ibid.*, pp. 457-458). And in n. 555 (on p. 458) he adds: "555. Or more exactly: *henosis...kata synthesin* or *kath' hypostasin*. Cf. canon IV: *ACO* IV, 1, 241."

Under the title: the **"neo-Chalcedonianism" of 553**, Grillmeier discusses among the texts of St. Cyril and the canons of 553 the concepts of θεωρία ("speculation, contemplation, theory") and ἔννοια ("thought") as pertaining to the most important notions which were adopted from St. Cyril to interpret Chalcedon's teaching of two natures. Thus he writes under the subtitle **"Only in intellectual vision"**: **"As we have seen (cf. the explanation of Canon VII), Justinian's edict (*Keph.* 8) and Canon VIII of 553 adopted these concepts, but with limitations which Cyril had not yet applied.** According to Canon VII the use of the formula 'in two natures' was positively acknowledged as right confession (with the almost verbatim citation of the Chalcedonian text) (*ACO* IV, 1, p. 242,1-2; *DEC* 117; *117). The 'only according to *theoria* or thought' was intended to exclude the real separation or *idiohypostasis* of Christ's humanity" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 458).

Then Grillmeier goes on to say that: as *Keph.* 9 of the edict and Canon VIII of the Council show..... **"The command to take the 'duality' only 'according to *theoria*' was related above all to the *hypostasis*** (*ACO* IV, 1, p. 242,17-19). The *henosis kath' hypostasin* no longer fell under the suspicion of *synchysis*, because *mia hypostasis* was

placed in opposition to the *mia physis* and the *mia ousia* (*ibid.*, 15-16). Hence we should **not relate the 'pure *theoria*' to a nature unity** and in this way succumb to a false neo-Chalcedonian mysticism. It is only a new way of rejecting the teaching of two *hypostases*" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 458).

Of course this is a very clear deviation from the authentic orthodox teaching of St. Cyril.

Any how, Grillmeier's evaluation of the neo-Chalcedonianism of the edict of 551 and the Council of 553, as he puts it in "Summary" as follows: "Just like Justinian's edict of 551, the Christology represented in the canons of the Council of 553 proves to be moderate neo-Chalcedonianism (in the sense delineated above)" (*ibid.*, p. 461).

VI.C.5. "DISCERNMENT BY CONTEMPLATION ALONE" IN THE LETTER OF POPE AGATHO AND HIS SYNOD AT ROME, 680 A.D.:

The Letter of Agatho and of his synod of 125 bishops gathered at Rome in 680 A.D., which was to serve as an instruction to the legates sent to attend the Chalcedonian Council of Constantinople of A.D. 680-681, contains a phrase in which they say: "We discern by contemplation alone the distinction between the natures united in him..." (Percival, p. 341).

VI.D. Objections to the Theory of Contemplating "Two Natures" in Christ:

The ardent anti-Nestorian friends of St. Cyril were convinced that the Antiochenes, who had put forward their *Formulary of Reunion* with its mention of the "two natures", were still Nestorians at heart. They held, too, that their leader, St. Cyril, "in accepting the *Formulary* was to be blamed for having "tolerated and even praised the 'two natures'" (*Ep. ad Eulogium*, *PG* 77:225A, as quoted in *Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 101).

BUT IT IS WORTH STRESSING THAT ST. CYRIL NEVER SAID "TWO NATURES AFTER THE UNION".

As to the expression "two natures" in the *Formulary of Reunion*, St. Cyril says that the natures **out of which** the one Christ is composed are two, and that in the union there was no absorption, confusion or mixture. However, the phrase does not imply separation, as Nestorius is understood to affirm. **And yet, writes St. Cyril, he did not use the expression, it was used by John of Antioch (*PG* lxxvii, 200C).**

Later when John the Grammarian tried to defend the Chalcedonian formula "in two natures", pleading that it is derived from the *Formulary of Reunion* which was accepted by St. Cyril, he received **a reply from St. Severus of Antioch clarifying St. Cyril's action.** His reply is to this effect: the Grammarian and those with him "should enquire more closely into the *Laetentur coeli*, and then they would find that **the wise Alexandrian was exercising the physician's art when dealing with 'those sickly Orientals'; for, while accepting 'a union of two natures', he skillfully administered the medicine which removed the taint of the doctrine of 'two Sons' through introducing his 'out of which' (ἐξ ὧν); therefore, since the Chalcedonian Synod had substituted its 'in two natures' for the 'out of two natures' of the champion against Nestorius, its formulary contained the same evil taint"** (Severus, *Contra Gr.* III. i, Sellers, p. 258).

Sellers (p. 258, n.3) notes that "Severus is constantly pointing to the introduction of the phrase **'out of which'** by Cyril in the *Laetentur coeli* (ed. Lebon, pp. 112, 129, 132, etc.). **It was 'a bright beam cast upon what was ambiguous'** (*ibid.*, p. 122), **since the Orientals had but to add 'according to dignity, homonymity, good pleasure and love' to their formula, 'a union of two natures', and they would have been altogether in line with Theodore of Mopsuestia** (ed. Lebon, p. 141). Consequently **the Patriarch likens Cyril to the godly Elisha, who cast wholesome salt into the unwholesome water of the well at Jericho** (*II Kings* 3: 19ff), and speaks of him as the wise and spiritually minded warrior, and the dispenser of the mysteries of God, who at the same time is a minister of clemency (ed. Lebon, p. 112)".

Anyhow, it is clear from St. Cyril's letters written to his friends after the reunion of 433 A.D., that many of his ardent anti-Nestorian supporters were unhappy about St. Cyril's toleration of John of Antioch's expression "two natures" in the *Formulary of Reunion*.

"To allay their fears, and at the same time to justify his action in entering into communion with those who had opposed him at Ephesus, Cyril, in these letters, points out, first, that one can say 'two natures' without being heterodox, for the phrase points to the difference of the elements **out of which** the one Christ is constituted (and Nestorius himself, he says, is right in speaking of 'two natures', thus demonstrating the difference between the flesh and the divine *Logos*: where he errs is in 'not confessing the union with us'), and, secondly, that it is possible to speak of 'two' in respect of Christ, though **only in contemplation**—which way of thinking, he says, belongs to 'the brethren in Antioch' who, 'accepting simply, as though in imagination only', the diversity of the natures, 'in no wise divide the things which have been united'. But the theory of contemplating 'two' was not welcomed by **the ardent anti-Nestorians**; indeed, as we gather from **Theodotus of Ancyra** († before 446), these **urged that it should be dropped since the 'Nestorians' were speaking of a 'separation which is in thought'**—there was no point in giving them a handle which they could use to prove their orthodoxy. So it seems that no more would have been heard of '"two"—but only in contemplation', had not Severus, defending the formula 'One, after the union', brought it to light some eighty or ninety years later" (*Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 101).

It seems that **even Nestorius himself spoke of "a distinction in the mind"**. Thus, in a fragment of Nestorius's *Against the Theopaschitans* (Loofs, *Nestoriana*, p. 210 n.), which is quoted by Severus of Antioch who regards the saying as coming from Nestorius himself (*Contra Gr.* III.i.20), we have: "The natures of the Son, in accordance with the identity of the *ousia* of the Father and of ours, are divided by a distinction in the mind" (Loofs, *Nestoriana*, p. 210, quoted in *Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 198).

The Miaphysite Theologians, while they certainly uphold the difference of the *Logos* and the flesh in the one Christ, yet they make little use of the principle of "recognizing" this difference. This is possibly because of the objections raised by this influential Cyrillian writer, Theodotus of Ancyra who "had pleaded that the 'Nestorians were saying, ἐπινοίᾳ μόνῃ χωρίζω, and that, since they were using this as a pretext for introducing the doctrine of 'two Sons', it was essential to insist that, as the great Apostle said, 'Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, to-day and forever' (*Hebrews* 13:8)" (Sellers, p. 271, n. 3). "Severus, using the principle, is aware of all this, but argues that Theodotus is attacking that *absolutam*

separationem, according to which the one Christ is divided into the Man and the *Logos*, each existing individually and apart. This, he declares, is far removed from the position of those who hold the '*hypostatic* union', the 'out of two', and the 'one incarnate nature', and then proceed to 'recognize the difference' (*c. Gramm.* III. i. *c.* 20; ed. Lebon, pp. 226f)" (Sellers, p. 271, n.3).

It is worth noting, however, as Amann suggests, that **St. Cyril himself had already changed his position**. His former rather mild attitude towards the *Formulary of Reunion* had already gone. He soon became anti-Diodorian and anti-Theodorian (see Amann, E., "Trois Chapitres", in *DTC*, Paris 1903-1970, t. XV, col. 1872-3; quoted in Sarkissian, p. 38, n.1).

"**In several letters Cyril expressed his unhappiness** at the way the Orientals seemed to be ready to anathematize Nestorius yet carry on the substance of his doctrine by propagating Theodore's views as authoritative. He also complained about Theodoret's very public dissidence wondering why John of Antioch did nothing to bring him into line. But Theodoret was unrepentant" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 119, referring to St. Cyril's *Letter 63* to John of Antioch, against Theodoret. See *FCNT*, vol. 77, p. 51). [For more details concerning the *Formulary of Reunion* and its Aftermath, see Part One, section V].

Again, it is of utmost importance to remember that **St. Cyril never used the phrase "two natures after the union"**. His teaching is that 'before the union' there was only the Person of the *Logos* (ἡ φύσις τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου), not yet incarnate (σεσαρκωμένη); and when, in connection with the process of 'recognizing the difference' of the two elements in Christ, he uses the expression **'after the union one nature'—which, as he is careful to say, is an 'incarnate' nature**—his point is that after embarking on this process and 'seeing' the two elements in their reality, one must return to the cardinal truth of the unity of the Person, the *Logos* incarnate, into whom Godhead and manhood concur (Sellers, p. 155). Therefore, **"after the union the duality has been abolished and we believe the Son's nature to be one, since he is one Son, yet became man and incarnate"** (St. Cyril's *letter 40*, parag. 12, in Wickham, *Select Letters*, p. 49).

In his Second Letter to Succensus, St. Cyril has shown that **the Nestorianizers' preference for their expression that the Lord suffered "in human nature", instead of the Biblical expression: suffered "in flesh"**, is not simply to avoid a possible misinterpretation through excluding reason and free will from the passion. **Their real target, he declares, was to ridicule the orthodox expression "one nature of the Son incarnate", and to affirm their confession that "after the union, two natures exist inseparably"**. Furthermore, **he uncovers their deceitful usage of the word "inseparably"** in a different understanding which does not contradict their tendency to separate the natures.

Thus St. Cyril begins by recording the opinion of his opponents of which he was informed through Bishop Succensus: "I gather that there is one further point at issue. If one asserts that the Lord suffered in flesh alone, one is excluding reason and free will from the passion. If, on the other hand, in order to make the passion a matter of free will, one asserts that he suffered with a rational soul, there can be no objection to saying that he suffered in human nature. And if that be true, are we not bound to concede that after the union two natures exist inseparably? Thus, the words 'Christ therefore suffered for us in flesh' [*1Peter* 4:1], mean exactly the same as 'Christ suffered for us in our nature'."

Then St. Cyril proceeds to give his detailed reply saying: "**The target of this objection is once again those who assert that there is one nature of the Son incarnate.** It is their desire to make this proposition look silly that makes them so keen to demonstrate the existence in all circumstances of two natures. But what these people fail to recognize is that it is only in the case of entities where the distinction to be drawn between them is not a matter of **mental apprehension alone** that there can be a complete separation of the one from the other into individual compartments on their own. Once again **let us take an ordinary man as an example.** In this case also we perceive two natures, one being that of the soul, the other that of the body. But although **we do distinguish them in bare thought, and by careful consideration or by the use of the imagination recognize their difference**, nevertheless we do not put the natures apart by themselves or let them be totally sundered from each other. We perceive that they belong to one man, so that **the two natures are no longer two, but between them produce the one living being**. Thus though they may speak of divine and human natures **in the case of Emmanuel**, nevertheless **the humanity belongs to the Word; and one Son is perceived, including the humanity.**"

"Since **inspired Scripture says that he suffered 'in the flesh', it is better for us to say the same rather than 'in human nature'**—even though, as long as no one uses the expression perversely, it can do no possible harm to the pattern of the divine mystery. After all, what is human nature but flesh rationally animated? And what we say is that the Lord suffered in flesh. **Their saying that he suffered in human nature is therefore utterly superfluous.** It tends to separate the humanity from the Word and to set it apart on its own, giving rise to the notion that the Word of God the Father, incarnate and made man, is no longer one but two."

"The additional word 'inseparable' has with us an orthodox enough meaning. But that is not how they understand it. They take the word 'inseparable' in a different way, in accordance with the empty notions of Nestorius. What they say is that it is in equality of honour, in identity of will and in power, that the man is inseparable from the Word who dwelt in him. So they are producing these expressions not in simplicity of heart, but with a measure of craft and deceit" (St. Cyril's *Second Letter to Succensus* [*letter 46*, chap. 5], Wiles and Santer, *Documents*, pp. 70-71).

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VII. THE ONE ACTIVITY OF THE INCARNATE GOD THE *LOGOS*

VII.A. Christ's One Activity in the Teachings of St. Athanasius of Alexandria:

VII.A.1. INTRODUCTION:

Pope St. Athanasius I, the Apostolic, the twentieth patriarch of Alexandria (328-373 A.D.) stressed the teaching on the unity of Christ's Person. He expressed the true faith that our Lord "Jesus Christ is God Himself living an incarnate life, and it is to Him – to the incarnate *Logos* – that all that appertains to that life must be ascribed. All the actions and sayings of Jesus Christ which are recorded in Scripture, he teaches, are those of the *Logos* made man. It was He who performed the mighty works, and it was He, the same Person (ὁ αὐτός), who, having taken a passible body, wept and was hungry; it was 'the *Logos* in the flesh' who uttered the prayer in Gethsemane and the bitter cry on Golgotha;... Let us be certain of this: Athanasius would not say that the *Logos* who has become man does or says this as God and that as man. What he maintains is that whatever was done or said was done or said by one Person – the *Logos* in His incarnate state" (*Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 38).

Because the *Logos* has made His own the things of the flesh, St. Athanasius affirms, it must be said that "God suffered". But he carefully distinguishes between what must be said of the *Logos* in His divine and eternal being, and what must be said of Him in His incarnate state. He would not have it thought that he attributes passibility to the Divine: in His divine being, the *Logos* remains what He was. So, explaining how the expression "God suffered" should be interpreted, he appeals to "that trustworthy witness, the blessed Peter" who has declared that Christ suffered for us "in the flesh" (*1Peter* 4:1) – hence it is only to the *Logos* "in the flesh" that passibility can be ascribed.

VII.A.2. CHRIST'S ONE ACTIVITY IN ST. ATHANASIUS'S THIRD DISCOURSE AGAINST THE ARIANS:

In his *Contra Arianos*, *Or.* III, parag. 55, St. Athanasius says concerning Christ's passion: "55. But these affections were not proper to the nature of the Word, as far as He was Word; but in the flesh which was thus affected was the Word, O Christ's enemies and unthankful Jews! For He said not all this prior to the flesh; but when the 'Word became flesh', and has become man, then is it written that He said this, that is, humanly. Surely He of whom this is written was He who raised Lazarus from the dead, and made the water wine, and vouchsafed sight to the man born blind, and said, 'I and My Father are one' (*John* 10:30). If then they make His human attributes a ground for low thoughts concerning the Son of God, nay consider Him altogether man from the earth, and not from heaven, wherefore not from His divine works recognize the Word who is in the Father, and henceforward renounce their self-willed irreligion? For they are given to see, how He who did the works is the same as He who shewed that His body was passible by His permitting it to weep and hunger,

and to shew other properties of a body. For while by means of such He made it known that, though God impassible, He had taken a passible flesh; yet from the works He shewed Himself the Word of God, who had afterwards become man, saying, 'Though ye believe not Me, beholding Me clad in a human body, yet believe the works, that ye may know that "I am in the Father, and the Father in Me"' (*John* 10:38; 14:10).... 'I and the Father are one' (*John* 10:30)" (*NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. IV, p. 423).

St. Athanasius also says (*ibid.*, p. 411; *Contra Arianos*, *Or.* III, parag. 32): "32. Whence it was that, when the flesh suffered, the Word was not external to it; and therefore is the passion said to be His: and when He did divinely His Father's works, the flesh was not external to Him, but in the body itself did the Lord do them. Hence, when made man, He said, 'If I do not the works of the Father, believe Me not; but if I do, though ye believe not Me, believe the works, that ye may know that the Father is in Me and I in Him' (*John* 10:37-38). And thus when there was need to raise Peter's wife's mother, who was sick of a fever, He stretched forth His hand humanly, but He stopped the illness divinely. And in the case of the man blind from the birth, human was the spittle which He gave forth from the flesh, but divinely did He open the eyes through the clay. And in the case of Lazarus, He gave forth a human voice, as man; but divinely, as God, did He raise Lazarus from the dead. These things were so done, were so manifested, because He had a body, not in appearance, but in truth; and it became the Lord, in putting on human flesh, to put it on whole with the affections proper to it; that, as we say that the body was His own, so also we may say that the affections of the body were proper to Him alone, though they did not touch Him according to His Godhead. If then the body had been another's, to him too had been the affections attributed; but if the flesh is the Word's (for 'the Word became flesh'), of necessity then the affections also of the flesh are ascribed to Him, whose the flesh is. And to whom the affections are ascribed, such namely as to be condemned, to be scourged, to thirst, and the cross, and death, and the other infirmities of the body, of Him too is the triumph and the grace. For this cause then, consistently and fittingly such affections are ascribed not to another, but to the Lord; that the grace also may be from Him, and that we may become, not worshippers of any other, but truly devout towards God, because we invoke no originate thing, no ordinary man, but the natural and true Son from God, who has become man, yet is not the less Lord and God and Saviour."

VII.A.3. CHRIST'S HUMANITY AS AN INSTRUMENT (*ORGANON*) IN THE TEACHINGS OF ST. ATHANASIUS:

The singularity of the activity in all the sayings and deeds of Christ lies established in the *hypostatic* union, through which God the Word uses His own rationally animated flesh as an **instrument** (*organon*).

This teaching of the *organon* is found frequently in the writings of St. Athanasius. For example: In his *Contra Arianos*, Discourse III, St. Athanasius says in paragraph 31: "...for our sakes He became man, and 'bodily', as the Apostle says (*Colossians* 2:9), the Godhead dwelt in the flesh; as much as to say, 'Being God, He had His own body, and using this as an **instrument**, He became man for our sakes'. And on account of this, the properties of the flesh are said to be His, since He was in it, such as to hunger, to thirst, to suffer, to weary, and the like, of which the flesh is capable; while on the other hand the works proper

to the Word Himself, such as to raise the dead, to restore sight to the blind, and to cure the woman with an issue of blood, He did through His own body. And the Word bore the infirmities of the flesh, as His own, for His was the flesh; and the flesh ministered to the works of the Godhead, because the Godhead was in it, for the body was God's."

And in paragraph 35, he says: "...when we see Him doing or saying aught divinely through the **instrument** of His own body, we may know that He so works, being God, and also, if we see Him speaking or suffering humanly, we may not be ignorant that He bore flesh and became man, and hence He so acts and so speaks. For if we recognize what is proper to each, and see and understand that both these things and those are done by One, we are right in our faith, and shall never stray".

Again in paragraph 53, he says: "...Therefore, as we have already said, not Wisdom, as Wisdom, advanced in respect of Itself; but the manhood advanced in Wisdom, transcending by degrees human nature, and being deified, and becoming and appearing to all as the **organ** of Wisdom for the operation and the shining forth of the Godhead. Wherefore neither said he, 'The Word advanced', but Jesus, by which Name the Lord was called when He became man;...".

The same teaching is present in St. Athanasius's treatise *On the Incarnation* (*De incarnatione*), which he wrote early in his life about 318 A.D. before Arius's doctrine became widely known (Quasten III, p. 25). The following are some examples: "...For being Himself mighty, and Artificer of everything, He prepares the body in the Virgin as a temple unto Himself (cf. *John* 2:21), and makes it His very own as an **instrument**, in it manifested, and in it dwelling..." (*On the Incarnation* 8:3).

"For being over all, the Word of God naturally by offering His own temple and corporeal **instrument** for the life of all satisfied the debt by His death. And thus He, the incorruptible Son of God, being conjoined with all by a like nature, naturally clothed all with incorruption, by the promise of the resurrection" (*ibid.* 9:2). [See more examples, *ibid.* 41:7; 43:4, 6; 44:2-3].

VII.A.4. CHRIST'S ONE ACTIVITY IN ST. ATHANASIUS'S TREATISE *ON THE INCARNATION*:

This treatise which St. Athanasius wrote in his youth around 10 years before his patriarchate deals with this topic in chapter 18 which we quote in full:

"18. *How the Word and Power of God works in His human actions: by casting out devils, by Miracles, by His Birth of the Virgin.*"

"Accordingly, when inspired writers on this matter speak of Him as eating and being born, understand that the body, as body, was born, and sustained with food corresponding to its nature, while God, the Word Himself, Who was united with the body, while ordering all things, also by the works He did in the body shewed Himself to be not man, but God the Word. But these things are said of Him, because the actual body which ate, was born, and suffered, belonged to none other but to the Lord: and because, having become man, it was proper for these things to be predicated of Him as man, to shew Him to have a body in truth, and not in seeming. But just as from these things He was known to be bodily present, so from the works He did in the body He made Himself known to be Son of God. Whence also He cried to the unbelieving Jews; 'If I do not the works of My Father, believe Me

not. But if I do them, though ye believe not Me, believe My works; that ye may know and understand that the Father is in Me, and I in the Father' (*John* 10:37-38). For just as, though invisible, He is known through the works of creation; so, having become man, and being in the body unseen, it may be known from His works that He Who can do these is not man, but the Power and Word of God. For His charging evil spirits, and their being driven forth, this deed is not of man, but of God. Or who that saw Him healing the diseases to which the human race is subject, can still think Him man and not God? For He cleansed lepers, made lame men to walk, opened the hearing of deaf men, made blind men to see again, and in a word drove away from men all diseases and infirmities: from which acts it was possible even for the most ordinary observer to see His Godhead. For who that saw Him give back what was deficient to men born lacking, and open the eyes of the man blind from his birth, would have failed to perceive that the nature of men was subject to Him, and that He was its Artificer and Maker? For He that gave back that which the man from his birth had not, must be, it is surely evident, the Lord also of men's natural birth. Therefore, even to begin with, when He was descending to us, He fashioned His body for Himself from a Virgin, thus to afford to all no small proof of His Godhead, in that He Who formed this is also Maker of everything else as well. For who, seeing a body proceeding forth from a Virgin alone without man, can fail to infer that He Who appears in it is Maker and Lord of other bodies also? Or who, seeing the substance of water changed and transformed into wine, fails to perceive that He Who did this is Lord and Creator of the substance of all waters? For to this end He went upon the sea also as its Master, and walked as on dry land, to afford evidence to them that saw it of His lordship over all things. And in feeding so vast a multitude on little, and of His own self yielding abundance where none was, so that from five loaves five thousand had enough, and left so much again over, did He shew Himself to be any other than the very Lord Whose Providence is over all things?" (*NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 4, pp. 45-46).

VII.A.5. CHRIST'S ONE ACTIVITY IN ST. ATHANASIUS'S LETTER TO MAXENTIUS:

This letter which St. Athanasius wrote in the last years of his life (about 371 A.D.) deals with this topic in the following paragraphs (2-4):

"2. But if they are in doubt whether He is God at all, let them reverence Thomas, who handled the Crucified and pronounced Him Lord and God (*John* 20:28). Or let them fear the Lord Himself, who said, after washing the feet of the disciples: 'Ye call Me Lord and Master, and ye say well, for so I am' (*John* 13:13). But in the same body in which He was when He washed their feet, He also carried up our sins to the Tree (*1Peter* 2:24). And He was witnessed to as Master of Creation, in that the Sun withdrew his beams and the earth trembled and the rocks were rent, and the executioners recognized that the Crucified was truly Son of God. For the Body they beheld was not that of some man, but of God, being in which, even when being crucified, He raised the dead....."

"3.....For what He endured by means of the Body, He magnified as God. And while He hungered in the flesh, as God He fed the hungry. And if anyone is offended by reason of the bodily conditions, let him believe by reason of what God works. For humanly He enquires where Lazarus is laid, but raises him up divinely. Let none then laugh, calling Him a child, and citing His age, His growth, His eating, drinking and suffering, lest while denying what

is proper for the body, he deny utterly also His sojourn among us. And just as He has not become Man in consequence of His nature, in like manner it was consistent that when He had taken a body He should exhibit what was proper to it, lest the imaginary theory of Manichaeus should prevail. Again it was consistent that when He went about in the body, He should not hide what belonged to the Godhead, lest he (i.e. Paul) of Samosata should find an excuse to call Him man, as distinct in person from God the Word."

"4. Let then the unbelievers perceive this, and learn that while as a Babe He lay in a manger, He subjected the Magi and was worshipped by them; and while as a Child He came down to Egypt, He brought to nought the hand-made objects of its idolatry: and crucified in the flesh, He raised the dead long since turned to corruption. And it has been made plain to all that not for His own sake but for ours He underwent all things, that we by His sufferings might put on freedom from suffering and incorruption (*1Corinthians* 15:53), and abide unto life eternal" (*NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 4, pp. 578-579).

VII.B. Christ's One Activity in the Teachings of St. Gregory of Nazianzus:

It has to be observed that the Cappadocian Fathers hold that all the acts and sayings recorded of our Lord Jesus Christ in the Scriptures are to be attributed to this one Person – the *Logos* who has assumed flesh.

St. Gregory of Nazianzus especially is emphatic on this point. Thus in *Oration* 29, which is the third of his *Five Theological Orations*, he says (paragraphs 19&20):

"XIX....He was laid in a manger – but He was glorified by Angels, and proclaimed by a star, and worshipped by the Magi..... He was driven into exile into Egypt—but He drove away the Egyptian idols....".

"XX. He was baptized as Man—but He remitted sins as God (*Matthew* 3:13; 9:6) – not because He needed purificatory rites Himself, but that He might sanctify the element of water. He was tempted as Man, but He conquered as God; yea, He bids us be of good cheer, for He has overcome the world (*John* 16:33). He hungered—but He fed thousands (*John* 6:10); yea, He is the Bread that giveth life, and That is of heaven. He thirsted—but He cried, If any man thirst, let him come unto Me and drink (*John* 7:37). Yea, He promised that fountains should flow from them that believe. He was wearied, but He is the Rest of them that are weary and heavy laden (*Matthew* 11:28). He was heavy with sleep, but He walked lightly over the sea (*Matthew* 8:24; 14:25).....He prays, but He hears prayer. He weeps, but He causes tears to cease. He asks where Lazarus was laid, for He was Man; but He raises Lazarus, for He was God (*John* 11:43). He is sold, and very cheap, for it is only for thirty pieces of silver (*Matthew* 26:15); but He redeems the world, and that at a great price, for the Price was His own blood (*1Peter* 1:19). As a sheep He is led to the slaughter (*Isaiah* 53:7), but He is the Shepherd of Israel, and now of the whole world also. As a Lamb He is silent, yet He is the Word, and is proclaimed by the Voice of one crying in the wilderness (*John* 1:23). He is bruised and wounded, but He healeth every disease and every infirmity (*Isaiah* 53:4-5; *Matthew* 8:17). He is lifted up and nailed to the Tree, but by the Tree of Life He restoreth us; yea, He saveth even the Robber crucified with Him (*Luke* 23:43); yea, He wrapped the visible world in darkness. He is given vinegar to drink mingled with gall. Who? He who turned the water into wine (*John* 2:1-11), who is the destroyer of the bitter

taste, who is Sweetness and altogether desire (*Song of Songs* 5:16). He lays down His life, but He has power to take it again (*John* 10:18); and the veil is rent, for the mysterious doors of Heaven are opened; the rocks are cleft, the dead arise (*Matthew* 27:51-52). He dies, but He gives life, and by His death destroys death. He is buried, but He rises again; He goes down into Hell, but He brings up the souls; He ascends to Heaven, and shall come again to judge the quick and the dead...." (*NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 7, pp. 308-309).

So, St. Gregory's meaning is clear: because in our Lord Jesus Christ the divine *Logos* has assumed flesh, the actions and sayings are those of God Himself – indeed, if one is to believe aright, it is essential that they should be regarded as such. But he does not mean that the *Logos* is passible in His divine being. Therefore, he makes a distinction between what belongs to the *Logos* in His eternal being, and what belongs to Him as He has become flesh – to Him, that is, who is "the Second Adam, and God made capable of suffering to strive against sin" (*Oration* 30 = *Theological Oration* IV [parag. 1]).

Thus he says (*Or.* 29:18 = *Theological Or.* III:18): "……To give you the explanation in one sentence. What is lofty you are to apply to the Godhead, and to that Nature in Him which is superior to sufferings and incorporeal; but all that is lowly to the composite condition of Him who for your sakes made Himself of no reputation and was Incarnate--..." (*NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 7, pp. 307-308).

In this way, St. Gregory points out references to "God the Word (= *Logos*)", to "Him who was in the beginning", to "the Only-begotten Son", to "the Way, the Truth and the Life", to "the Light of the World", to "Wisdom and Power", to "Effulgence", "Image", "Seal", "Lord" and "King", "Which is and was and is to come, the Almighty" – all these clearly point to the Godhead of the Son. On the other hand, references to "Servant", "Obedient", "Gave", "Learnt", "was commanded", "was sent", and further those to subjection, prayer, asking, increasing, being made perfect, and (to come to more humble things) those references to sleeping, hungering, being in agony and fearing – all these have to do with the Son's economy. (Cf. *ibid.*, p. 307 = *Or.* 29, parag. 17f.).

In all this St. Gregory the Theologian of Nazianzus is but emphasizing the Orthodox doctrinal principle which has an important place in the Christology of the Alexandrine Fathers. Those great Fathers, in contrast with Leo of Rome, do not teach that the Incarnate acts and speaks now in His divinity and now in His humanity: everything whether divine or human, they hold, is performed by the one Person, the God made man, and His acts and sayings are those of God – though not of God as He is eternally (for in His divine nature God is impassible), but of God who, while remaining what He was, has entered into a novel state through the Incarnation, having become θεὸς παθητός (passible God) for us men and for our salvation. (Cf. *Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 75).

VII.C. Christ's One Activity in the Teachings of St. Cyril of Alexandria:

VII.C.1. INTRODUCTION:

Pope St. Cyril I (the twenty-fourth patriarch of Alexandria 412-444 A.D.) envisaged the Incarnate as the divine *Logos* living on earth as very man. Here lay the strength of St. Cyril's position from the religious and soteriological standpoints; the Lord Jesus of history was God

Himself in human flesh. In Christ, therefore, there was only one personal subject and one personal reality and that was the divine *Logos* who had chosen to enter fully into human life. Understandable, then, is St. Cyril's horror of Nestorius's rejection of the title *Theotokos* for St. Mary. The *Logos* was Son of God by nature, but he was also naturally St. Mary's son too, because the humanity conceived in her womb was exclusively and inalienably His.

VII.C.2. CHRIST'S HUMANITY AS AN INSTRUMENT (*ORGANON*) IN THE TEACHINGS OF ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA:

In his *Scholia on the Incarnation*, St. Cyril writes in *Scholion* 25: "We do not say that the Word became flesh, that is perfect man, as if constricted in the limits of the body, for that would indeed be the height of stupidity. No we believe that he still continued to fill the heaven and earth and the underworld, for in God all things are fulfilled and to him all things are small. It is difficult to comprehend or express how he could be in the particular and in the universal, indeed it is impossible to do so. But I think that he had this capacity because he is incorporeal and indivisible; and even though we say that the body of the Word was his own proprium,....the body was made his very own through a true union and thus served the function of an **instrument**, in order to fulfil those things which it customarily does, sin alone excepted" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 320).

For the humanity of Christ as an instrument ὄργανον, There is another example from St. Cyril's writings in which there is talk not only of the flesh as an instrument and a ransom but also of the spiritual soul as an instrument and a ransom. Thus he writes:

"... For he has not left unconsidered the better in us, the soul, and not only devoted the efforts of his coming to the flesh. For he has used both his own flesh as **instrument (*organon*)** for the works of the flesh and for the natural weaknesses which have nothing to do with sin, and also the soul (to *experience*) the human, blameless infirmities. Indeed after a long walk he hungered and he endured fear, sadness, dread of death, and death on the cross. No one forced him to do this; of his own accord he surrendered his own life for us, in order to reign over the living and the dead; **the flesh as ransom for the flesh of all**, truly a worthy gift; the **soul for the souls of all as ransom (*antilytron*) for all**..." (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 383 & n. 274: "Cyril Alex., *Or. ad Theodos. imp. de recta fide* [*CPG* 5218], 21: *PG* 76, 1164AB; *ACO* I, 1, 1, p. 55,14-24).

VII.C.3. THE ENHANCEMENT OF CHRIST'S FLESH THROUGH ITS *HYPOSTATIC* UNION WITH GOD THE *LOGOS* IN THE TEACHINGS OF ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA:

VII.C.3.a. St. Cyril's Use of the Doctrine of the "Communion of Idioms":

St. Cyril uses the doctrine of "communion of idioms" to the fullest sense, declaring that it was correct to say that "the Word of God suffered in flesh, and became first-begotten from the dead". Thus he states in his Twelfth Anathematism: "12. Whoever does not acknowledge God's Word as having suffered in flesh, been crucified in flesh, tasted death in flesh and been made first-born from the dead because as God he is Life and life-giving, shall

be anathema" (Wickham, *Select Letters*, pp. 32-33).

Indeed, so complete and real was the union that the flesh, while remaining flesh, shares in the properties of the Word, and the Word, while remaining Word and God, shares in those of the flesh. The Incarnate Word, therefore, suffered in His flesh, and His flesh was infused with life-giving energy of the Word, and itself became life-giving. In this respect St. Cyril writes: "We must therefore confess that the Word has imparted the glory of the divine operation to His own flesh, while at the same time taking to Himself what belongs to the flesh" (*De incarn. unigen.*: *PG* 75:1241, quoted in Kelly, *Doctrines*, p. 322).

Christ's flesh, therefore, is uniquely powerful, health-giving and life-giving, while remaining essentially human flesh.

VII.C.3.b. St. Cyril's Use of the Similes of the Glowing Coal and the Red-Hot Iron Bar:

In his *Commentary on the Book of Isaiah* (written before 429), St. Cyril of Alexandria uses the analogy of the fire penetrating wood to convey the union, *henosis*, of divinity and humanity in Jesus, saying (on *Isaiah* 6:1f.):

"He is compared to a coal, the reason for which we must explain. It is customary with the divine Scripture to compare the divine nature to fire; this is the way he appeared to blessed Israel on Mount Sinai, or Horeb, on the day of assembly (*Exodus* 19:18); this is the way he once appeared and spoke to blessed Moses as a shepherd in the wilderness in the form of fire in the bush (*Exodus* 3:2). Just as the coal is by nature wood, therefore, but is completely filled with fire and has its force and effect, this is also the way in my view that our Lord Jesus Christ would be correctly understood; Scripture says, 'The Word became flesh, and dwelt amongst us' (*John* 1:14). If through the Incarnation he was also found to be a human being like us, however, the fullness of divinity still dwelt completely in him—that is, in the manner of union. Consequently, he is also found to have the operation proper to God in his own flesh; for instance, he touched the bier and raised the widow's dead son, he restored sight to the blind by spitting and anointing the eyes with mud (*Luke* 7:14; *John* 9:6). A comparison with coal can therefore properly be made to Emmanuel; if he is on our lips, he will completely and utterly remove our sins and expunge our iniquities" (Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on Isaiah*, translated by R.C. Hill, vol. I, pp. 151-152).

Likewise, in the second of his *Five Tomes Against Nestorius*, St. Cyril gives an illustration from the live coal of Isaiah's vision (6:6-7) saying: "And the God-inspired Scripture confirms us hereto by ten thousand words and acts: using similitudes whereby one may (and that without labour) clearly advance so as we may behold the Mystery of Christ. The blessed Prophet Isaiah said therefore, 'And there was sent to me one of the Seraphim and in his hand a live coal which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar and he touched my mouth and said, Lo this hath touched thy lips and shall take away thine iniquities and purge thy sins'. And searching according to our power into the depth of the vision, we say that none other save our Lord Jesus Christ is the spiritual coal laid on the altar whereon by us it gives forth the sweet savour of incense to God the Father: 'for through Him have we had access' and are acceptable, offering the spiritual worship. This Divine Coal therefore, when it touches the lips of him who approaches thereto, will straightway exhibit him pure and wholly imparticipate in any sin.... And He is compared to a Coal, because conceived of as from two unlike things, yet by a true concurrence they are all but knit together unto

union. For the fire entering into the wood, will transelement it somehow into its own glory and might albeit it hath retained what it was" (Pusey, *Five Tomes, etc.*, pp. 41-42).

Again St. Cyril returns to the same simile in *Scholion* 9, saying:

"9. About the Coal."

"If it is necessary to demonstrate the manner of the union even from the inspired scriptures, by applying examples from typology, then we shall do so. The blessed Isaiah said: 'One of the Seraphim was sent to me holding a coal in its hand which it had taken in a pair of tongs from the altar. And it came to me and touched my lips and said: Behold this has touched your lips and taken away your transgressions, and purged your sins' (*Isaiah* 6:6-7). We say that the coal supplies a type and image for us of the incarnation of the Word. For if he touches our lips, that is when we confess our faith in him, then he renders us purged of all our sins, and free of our ancient transgressions."

"Yet we can see in this image of the coal, the Word of God as united with the manhood, and not as having cast aside what he is, but rather as having transformed what he assumed into his own glory and power. It is like fire that gains a hold on wood, penetrates, and consumes it. Although the wood does not cease to be wood, yet it is changed into the appearance and vigour of fire, and is itself reckoned as one with it. This is how you should consider it was in the case of Christ. We say that God was united to manhood in an ineffable way but preserved the manhood as it was. And he himself remained what he was; but being united once and for all he is reckoned as one with the manhood and he appropriates all that belongs to it while introducing to it the power of his own nature" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 301-302).

In his *Quod Unus Sit Christus*, St. Cyril also uses the simile of the red-hot iron bar saying: "...He suffers in his own flesh, and not in the nature of the Godhead. The method of these things is altogether ineffable, and there is no mind that can attain to such subtle and transcendent ideas.... The force of any comparison falters here and falls short of the truth, although I can bring to mind a feeble image of this reality which might lead us from something tangible, as it were, to the very heights and to what is beyond all speech. It is like iron, or other such material, when it is put in contact with a raging fire. It receives the fire into itself, and when it is in the very heart of the fire, if someone should beat it, then the material itself takes the battering but the nature of the fire is in no way injured by the one who strikes. This is how you should understand the way in which the Son is said both to suffer in the flesh and not to suffer in the Godhead. Although, as I said, the force of any comparison is feeble, this brings us somewhere near the truth if we have not deliberately chosen to disbelieve the holy scriptures."

".....On the other hand if it is true that the Word became flesh, in accordance with the scriptures, and 'appeared on the earth and had converse with men' (*Baruch* 3:37), taking the form of a slave as his very own, then he can also be called the Son of Man; and if certain people feel ashamed of this, they thereby expose themselves to the charge of stupidity. There was no other way for the flesh to become life-giving, even though by its own nature it was subject to the necessity of corruption, except that it became the very flesh of the Word who gives life to all things. This is exactly how it accomplishes his own ends, working by his own life-giving power. There is nothing astonishing here, for if it is true that fire has converse with materials which in their own natures are not hot, and yet renders them hot

since it so abundantly introduces to them the inherent energy of its own power, then surely in an even greater degree the Word who is God can introduce the life-giving power and energy of his own self into his very own flesh. We can see that this is his very own flesh since he is united to it unconfusedly and unchangeably and in a manner he alone knows" (St. Cyril of Alexandria, *On the Unity of Christ*, pp. 130-133; see another trans., *Christ is One* in Pusey, *Five Tomes*, pp. 316 and 318).

VII.C.3.c. Christ's Life-Giving Flesh in the Teachings of St. Cyril:

The fact that Christ's touch conferred healing was explained by St. Cyril on the basis that it was the human finger of none other than God, and therefore human flesh, but by no means ordinary human flesh – rather the Life-giving flesh of God.

Speaking of the raising of Jairus's daughter, St. Cyril says that the Lord, "giving life as God by His all-powerful command, and again giving life through the touch of His holy flesh, shows through both one kindred operation" (μίαν τε καὶ συγγενῆ δι' ἀμφοῖν ἐπιδείκνυσι τὴν ἐνέργειαν)" (St. Cyril Alex., *Commentary in the Gospel of John*, vi:53, ed. Pusey, III, p. 530, as quoted in *Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 95, n. 2).

St. Cyril's Eucharistic arguments are very important in this respect. In his Third Letter to Nestorius, St. Cyril writes (*Ep.* 17:7): "7. This too we must add. We proclaim the fleshly death of God's only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ, we confess his return to life from the dead and his ascension into heaven when we perform in church the unbloody service, when we approach the sacramental gifts and are hallowed participants in the holy flesh and precious blood of Christ, saviour of us all, by receiving not mere flesh (God forbid!) or flesh of a man hallowed by connection with the Word in some unity of dignity or possessing some divine indwelling, but the personal, truly vitalizing flesh of God the Word himself. As God he is by nature Life and because he has become one with his own flesh he rendered it vitalizing; and so, though he tells us 'verily I say unto you, unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood', we must not suppose it belongs to one of us men (how could man's flesh be vitalizing by its own nature?) but that it was made the truly personal possession of him who for us has become and was called 'Son of Man'" (Wickham, *Select Letters*, pp. 22-23).

Again in the Eleventh of the "Twelve Anathematisms" appended to the same letter, St. Cyril says: "11. Whoever does not acknowledge the Lord's flesh to be vitalizing and to belong to the very Word of God the Father but says it belongs to somebody different joined to him by way of rank or merely possessing divine indwelling instead of being vitalizing, as we said, because it has come to belong to the Word who has power to vivify everything, shall be anathema" (*ibid.*, pp. 32-33).

From the "Explanation of the Twelve Anathematisms" which was written by St. Cyril when he was under house-arrest at Ephesus in late summer 431, we quote here his Explanation 11 of Anathematism 11:

"Explanation 11."

"29. We do not offer the holy life-giving and bloodless sacrifice in the churches as if we believed that what we offered was the body of an ordinary man like us, and the same is true with the precious blood. On the contrary, we receive it as something that has become the very own body and blood of the Word who gives life to all. For ordinary flesh cannot give

life, and the Saviour himself testifies to this when he says: 'Flesh profits nothing; it is the spirit which gives life' (*John* 6:63). His body is understood to be, and actually is, life-giving in so far as it has become the very own [flesh and blood] of the Word. It is just as the saviour himself said; 'As the living Father sent me, and I live through the Father, so whoever eats me shall live through me' (*John* 6:57). Since Nestorius and those who think the same as him have foolishly dissolved the power of the mystery, this is why this anathematism has rightly been composed" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 292).

Indeed, "The argument from the eucharist is regular in Cyril's anti-Nestorian polemic, cf. *Contra Nestorium* iv, 4ff. It is perhaps the most revelatory of the religious feelings he appealed to; cf. H. Chadwick, 'Eucharist and Christology in the Nestorian controversy', *JTS* 2 (1951), esp. 153ff." (Wickham, *Select Letters*, p. 23, n. 14). [For more details on "the Life-Giving Flesh" in the teachings of St. Cyril of Alexandria, see Part Three of the present work under section V.C.2.].

VII.C.4. GOD THE WORD EFFECTS MIRACLES BY MEANS OF HIS FLESH:

St. Cyril dealt with this topic in the fifth and the ninth of his "Answers to Tiberius".

In the fifth of these answers, St. Cyril responds: "To those who say that the Word effects the miracles on his own whilst his holy flesh contributes nothing", giving the following *Answer*: "As for those who assert that we ought not to regard the Only-begotten's flesh as sharing with his Godhead, or his Godhead with his flesh, in the performance of miracles, or that it was God the Word, and not the man, who raised Lazarus from the tomb and that it was not God who was weary in his journeying but the assumed man and he it was who was hungry and thirsty, who was crucified and who died—these we say utterly miss the truth and ignore the mystery of the incarnate dispensation. For we declare not that there are two Sons or two Christs, but that there is one Christ and Son, the only-begotten God, his personally existing Word, who was begotten of God the Father before any world and time and that this very one was born in flesh of a woman in the final period of the world's history. So they must not waver and divide or fetch us in two Sons, but must acknowledge one and the same as God's Word made man and confess that to him all belongs both of words and actions. For since the same is both God and man, he speaks both in human and divine terms and effects human and divine things alike...." (Wickham, *Select Letters*, pp. 154-155).

In the ninth of his "Answers to Tiberius" St. Cyril states: "That the Word who is God effects miracles by means of His flesh", giving his answer from which we quote the following: "....When, therefore, he effects miracles, you are not to separate the Word of God from his sacred flesh and attribute the power involved in their accomplishment to the Word on his own, but are to see, rather, with true religion that God's only-begotten Word on being made man often uses his flesh to act by, because he possesses it as his own, without merger or mingling. One can observe in the case of a carpenter, say, or a smith, that the soul performs the acts with the aid of its body, and no one would say that the acts belong just to the soul even though it moves the body into action but would say that they belong to the complex of both; that is how you are to look at Christ. Before his being made man the Word existed pure and effected his divine acts by himself; but after being made man he performed them, as I said, by means of his flesh. That is why he touched the blind and raised the widow's son by stretching out his hand and touching the bier; that is why he

spat, made clay and applied it to the eyes of the man blind from birth...." (*ibid.*, pp. 162-163). [Similarly also the quotation concerning the raising of the daughter of Jairus, from St. Cyril's *Commentary on the Gospel of John* vi:53, where he says that: the Lord, "giving life as God by His all-powerful command, and again giving life through the touch of His holy flesh, shows through both one kindred operation"].

VII.C.5. GOD THE WORD SUFFERS IN HIS OWN FLESH FOR OUR SAKES:

In the second of his *Five Tomes Against Nestorius*, St. Cyril is astonished: "how is it not obvious to all that the Only-Begotten being God by Nature has been made man, not by connection simply (as *he* says) considered as external or accidental, but by true union, ineffable and passing understanding. And thus He is conceived of as One and Only, and every thing said befits Him and all will be said of One Person. For the Incarnate Nature of the Word Himself is after the Union now conceived of as One, just as will reasonably be conceived in regard to ourselves too, for man is really One, compounded of unlike things, soul I mean and body. But it is necessary now too to notify that we say that the Body united to God the Word is ensouled with a reasonable Soul" (Pusey, *Five Tomes*, etc., pp. 40-41).

But the Word did not actually suffer in His own nature; He suffered as incarnate, i.e. in respect of the flesh which was truly His, while remaining Himself impassible. Thus St. Cyril writes: "it is pious to conceive rather that the Word will surely and entirely make His own the sufferings that have befallen His own Flesh, but abode Impassible as God yet not external to His suffering body" (*ibid.*, p. 174 = Book V:4 *Against Nestorius*).

He also says (*ibid.*, p. 171 = Book V:3): "The God-inspired Scriptures therefore proclaim to the world One Christ and Son and Lord and say that He is the Lord of Glory and that He of His own Will bare for our sakes the contumelies of the Jews, and economically endured Death upon the wood, not in order with us to remain dead, but that having undone the might of death which none might withstand, He might bring again to immortality the nature of man: for He was God in Flesh".

He also says (*ibid.*, p. 170): "Consider therefore how He though Himself letting go nought, nor yet suffering weakness in His own Nature, permitted His Flesh to go after its own laws, and this thing is said to be His, because His Body is His own. Hence the being weak according to the Flesh proved to us that He was Man, the not enduring death and scaring away decay from His own Body that He is God Who knows not to be weak: for He is the Life and Might of the Father".

When the monks of Egypt first heard of the heretical teaching of Nestorius (*c.* 428) and approached St. Cyril for guidance, he sent them his reply, the famous *Letter I*, from which we quote the following: "How therefore is Life said to die? by suffering death in Its own flesh, in order that It may be shewn to be life by quickening it again. For come if in regard even to our own selves the mode of death be searched into, no one who deems aright would say that souls perish along with the bodies that are of earth. I suppose that no living person would hesitate as to this. Yet is what happens called the death of man. Thus you will conceive of as to Emmanuel too. For the Word was in him that is of a woman as in His own Body, and He gave it to death in due time, Himself suffering nought in His proper Nature" (i.e. His divinity), (Pusey, *Five Tomes, etc.*, p. 174 n.; cf. *FCNT*, vol. 76, *Letter I*, paragraphs 35-36, p. 31).

In his Second Letter to Nestorius, St. Cyril explained how the Word suffered (*Letter* 4:5): "5. This is what we mean when we say he suffered and rose again; not that God the Word suffered blows, nail-piercings or other wounds in his own nature (the divine is impassible because it is incorporeal) but what is said is that since his own created body suffered these things he himself 'suffered' for our sake, the point being that within the suffering body was the Impassible. We interpret his dying along exactly comparable lines. The Word of God is by nature immortal and incorruptible, is Life and life-giving, but since, again, his own body 'tasted death for every man', as Paul says, 'by the grace of God', he himself suffered death for our sake, not as though he had experience of death with respect to his nature (to assert or imagine that is lunacy) but because his flesh, as I have just said, tasted death. This again too is what is meant by his resurrection with the raising up of his flesh: not (God forbid!) that he succumbed to corruption but that it is his body which was raised" (Wickham, *Select Letters*, pp. 6-9).

Again, in the Third Letter to Nestorius, St. Cyril writes in the name of the Alexandrian Holy Synod, trying to turn him from the error of his teaching, and showing him the Orthodox dogma concerning the suffering of the One incarnate God the Word, saying (*Letter* 17:6): "6. We refuse to say of Christ 'I venerate the possessed because of the possessor; I revere the one visible because of the invisible'. It is a horrible thing to add to this, 'the assumed is called God along with the assumer'. To say this is once more to divide him into two Christs and to posit man separately on his own and to do the same with God. It is expressly to deny the union by virtue of which the one is not somehow worshipped or called 'God' along with another but recognition is given to one Christ Jesus, Only-begotten Son, venerated with his flesh in a single worship. We confess that the very Son begotten of God the Father, the Only-begotten God, impassible though he is in his own nature, has (as the Bible says) suffered in flesh for our sake and that he was in the crucified body claiming the sufferings of his flesh as his own impassibly. By nature Life and personally the Resurrection though he exists and is, 'by God's grace he tasted death for every man' in surrendering his body to it. With unspeakable power he trampled on death to become in his own flesh first the 'first-born of the dead' and 'first fruits of those asleep' in order that he might blaze the trail for human nature's return to incorruptibility; 'by God's grace' (as we have just said) he tasted death for every man, harrowed Hell and came back to life the third day. The result is that though the resurrection of the dead is asserted to have been brought about 'through man' we nonetheless interpret the phrase as meaning the Word of God made man and death's power as having been broken through him. He shall come in due time, one Son and Lord in his Father's glory to judge 'the world in righteousness', as the Bible says" (Wickham, *Select Letters*, pp. 20-23).

Again in the Twelfth Anathematism appended to the same letter, St. Cyril insists on the fact that the Word really suffered, was crucified, and died in His flesh, saying: "12. Whoever does not acknowledge God's Word as having suffered in flesh, been crucified in flesh, tasted death in flesh and been made first-born from the dead because as God he is Life and life-giving, shall be anathema" (*ibid.*, pp. 32-33).

In the twelfth of the "Explanations of the Twelve Anathematisms", written in Ephesus (late summer 431), St. Cyril says:

"Explanation 12."

"31. The Word of God the Father is impassible and immortal, for the divine and ineffable nature is above all suffering, and this it is which gives life to all things and is greater than corruption or anything else that can normally cause us grief. Yet even though the Word of God the Father is so by his own being, he made his own the flesh which is capable of death so that by means of this which is accustomed to suffer he could assume sufferings for us and because of us, and so liberate us all from death and corruption by making his own body alive, as God, and by becoming the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep, and the first born from the dead (*1Corinthians* 15:20). He who endured the noble cross for our sake and tasted of death was no ordinary man conceived of as separate and distinct from the Word of God the Father but it was the Lord of Glory himself who suffered in the flesh, according to the scriptures (*1Peter* 4:1). Because those who are trying to introduce stupid and profane teachings into the orthodox and blameless faith are saying that an ordinary man endured the cross for our sake, then this anathematism became necessary to expose the magnitude of the wickedness prevalent among them" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 292-293).

VII.C.6. THE ANALOGY OF THE UNION OF SOUL AND BODY IN HUMANS:

St. Cyril's favorite analogy is the union of soul and body which is perfectly reliable to show how two distinct realities unite together to constitute a single human being. It throws some light on the impassibility of God, for there is a sense in which the soul is impassible because it is the immaterial agent. This is explained by St. Cyril in *Scholion* 8 under the title: "8. How we understand the Union", from which we quote the following:

"....I should say (although the description altogether falls short of the truth) that it is fitting to understand the union of Emmanuel to be such as the soul of a man might be thought to have with its own body. For the soul appropriates the things of the body even though in its proper nature it is apart from the body's natural passions, as well as those which impinge on it from without. For the body is moved to physical desires, and the soul which is within it feels these things too, because of the union, but in no way does it participate in these things, except in so far as it takes the fulfillment of desire as its own gratification. If the body was struck by a sword, or tortured on an iron grid, then the soul would share in its grief, because it is its own body which is suffering. But in its own nature the soul does not suffer anything of these things."

"This indeed is how we attribute the union to Emmanuel. For it was necessary that the soul united to it should share in the grief of its own body, so that rising above these sufferings it could submit itself as obedient to God. But it is foolish to say that God the Word shared in feeling the sufferings. For the Godhead is impassible and is not in our condition. Yet [the Word] was united to the flesh endowed with a rational soul, and when the flesh suffered, even though he was impassible, he was aware of what was happening within it, and thus as God, even though he did away with the weakness of the flesh, still he appropriated those weaknesses to his own body. This is how he is said to have hungered, and to have been tired, and to have suffered for our sake."

"Accordingly, the union of the Word with humanity can reasonably be compared with our condition. Just as the body is of a different nature to the soul, still from both we say that one man results, so too from the perfect *hypostasis* of God the Word and from a humanity perfect in its own right there is one Christ, and the selfsame is at once God and man. As I

said earlier, the Word appropriated the affairs of his own flesh because it is his body, no one else's. And he communicates, as to his own flesh, the operation of his own divine powers. This was how he was able to give life to the dead, and to heal the sick" (*ibid.*, pp. 300-301).

VII.C.7. ST. CYRIL'S TEACHINGS CONCERNING THE SINGLE *HYPOSTASIS* OF GOD THE WORD INCARNATE AS THE ONLY SUBJECT OF ALL CHRIST'S SAYINGS AND ACTIONS:

VII.C.7.a. In St. Cyril's Third Letter to Nestorius and His Third and Fourth Anathematisms:

St. Cyril teaches that all Biblical statements concerning Christ's sayings, characteristics (ἰδιώματα) and actions must be attributed to a single person, the one incarnate *hypostasis* of God the Word.

Thus he says in the third of his "Twelve Anathematisms":

"*Anathematism 3.*":

"If anyone divides the *hypostases* of the One Christ after the union, connecting them only by a conjunction in terms of honour or dignity or sovereignty, and not rather by a combination in terms of natural union (καθ' ἕνωσιν φυσικήν), let him be anathema" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 285; Wickham, *Select Letters*, pp. 28-29).

In the Third (Synodical) Letter to Nestorius, to which the "Twelve Anathematisms" are appended, St. Cyril writes (*Ep.* 17:8): "8. As for our Saviour's statements in the Gospels, we do not divide them out to two subjects or persons. The one, unique Christ has no duality though he is seen as compounded in inseparable unity **out of two** differing elements in the way that a human being, for example, is seen to have no duality but to be one, consisting of the pair of elements, body and soul. We must take the right view and maintain that human as well as divine expressions are from one speaker. When he talks of himself in terms appropriate to God: 'He who has seen me has seen the Father' and 'The Father and I are one', we understand his divine and inexpressible nature in virtue of which he is one with his Father by identity of substance, is image, stamp and effulgence of his Father's glory. When on the other hand he respects the limitations of humanity and tells the Jews: 'Now you are seeking to kill me, a man who has told you the truth', the limitations of his humanity do not make us any less conscious of him as God the Word in equality and parity with the Father. For if it is essential to believe that whilst being God by nature he has become flesh, that is to say man endowed with life and reason, what ground is there for anybody to be ashamed of sayings on his part if they are expressed in terms appropriate to man? If he had refused the conditions appropriate to man, could anyone have forced him to be made man like us? Why should one who condescends to voluntary abasement for us refuse the conditions appropriate to that abasement? Accordingly all the sayings contained in the Gospels must be referred to a single person, to the one incarnate subject of the Word. For according to the Bible there is one Lord, Jesus Christ" (Wickham, *Select Letters*, pp. 22-25).

Therefore, it is not permissible to separate the sayings, ἰδιώματα, which the Scriptures contain about Christ, some of which seem to apply to Him as man, some as *Logos*. Thus St. Cyril states in the fourth of his "Twelve Anathematisms":

"*Anathematism 4.*":

"If any one distributes to two Persons or Subsistences (προσώποις ἤγουν ὑποστάσεσι) the expressions used both in the Gospels and in the Epistles, or used of Christ by the Saints, or by Him of Himself, attributing some to a man, conceived of separately, apart from the Word which is of God, and attributing others, as befitting God, exclusively to the Word which is of God the Father, be he anathema" (*Ep.* 17, anath. 4, quoted in Quasten vol. III, p. 139).

"To one Person, therefore, must be attributed all the expressions used in the Gospels, the one incarnate *hypostasis* of God the Word (μία ὑπόστασις τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη, *Ep.* 17, 8)" (Quasten, *op. cit.*).

In the Explanation of his fourth Anathematism, St. Cyril writes:

"*Explanation 4.*":

"13. The Word of God is in the form of God the Father and equal to him, but did not consider that equality with God was something to be grasped, as it is written (*Philippians* 2:6f.), but rather humbled himself to a voluntary self-emptying, and freely chose to lower himself into our condition, not losing what he is but remaining so as God while not despising the limitations of the manhood. So all things pertain to him: those befitting God, and those of man. Why would he empty himself out if the limitations of the manhood made him ashamed? Or if he was going to shun human characteristics who was it that compelled him by force or necessity to become as we are?"

"14. For this reason we apply all the sayings in the Gospels, the human ones as well as those befitting God, to one Person. We believe that Jesus Christ, that is the Word of God made man and made flesh, is but One Son. And so, even if he should speak in a human fashion, we relate these human things to the limitations of his manhood because, once again, that very human condition is his own. Yet, if he should discourse as God, believing him to be God made man, once again we attribute these sayings which are beyond the nature of man to one Christ and Son. But those who divide the *prosopa* into two, must of absolute necessity posit two sons. For just as it is not right to divide any ordinary man into two *prosopa*, even if he can be thought of as composed of soul and body, because he is one and the same man, it is just so in the case of the Emmanuel. Since the Word of God enfleshed and made man is One Son and Lord he has absolutely only one *prosopon* and we attribute to him all the human characteristics on account of his economy in the flesh, and all the divine characteristics on account of his ineffable birth from God the Father. But those who wish to make distinctions and divisions of a man set apart on one side who is a different son to the Word of God, and a God on the other side who is another different son, then they are speaking of two sons, and they rightly fall under the force of the preceding anathematism" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 286-287).

VII.C.7.b. In the *Formulary of Reunion* of 433 A.D.:

[See Part One, section V.A.]

VII.C.7.c. St. Cyril's Interpretation of the Position of the Antiochenes and their Expressions in the *Formulary of Reunion*:

[See Part One, section V.B.]

VII.C.7.d. The Aftermath of the *Formulary of Reunion*:

[See Part One, section V.C.1-3.]

VII.C.8. CHRIST'S ONE ACTIVITY IN QUOTATIONS FROM ST. CYRIL'S TREATISE *ON THE UNITY OF CHRIST*:

This dialogue on the unity of the person of Christ has the Latin title: *Quod Unus sit Christus* (i.e. *That Christ is One*). It was composed by St. Cyril in his final years (*c.* 438), when he was able to look back on the course of the whole Nestorian controversy. It represents a thorough refutation of the false doctrine that the Word of God was not made flesh but was united only to a man, with the result that there is the true and natural Son of God and "another one", an adopted son of God who does not share the dignity and honour of the first. The author sets out a comprehensive theological exposition of why the Antiochene tradition of "Two Sons" is pernicious and cannot be accepted as an authentic tradition of the Church. He refers to his earlier polemic against the Nestorian heresy and takes time for several sideswipes against the continuing high regard in which the Antiochenes held Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia. This dialogue is highly praised in antiquity and seems to be one of St. Cyril's last anti-Nestorian writings.

Here are some selections from this dialogue by way of dispute with Hermias represented by the letter "B" and St. Cyril's reply represented by the letter "A":

"B. So in the case of the evangelical and apostolic preaching, one must not divide the words or the acts in this way?"

"A. Certainly not, at least not as referring to two persons or two *hypostases* divided from one another and completely diverging into distinct and separate spheres. For there is only one Son, the Word who was made man for our sake. I would say that everything refers to him, words and deeds, both those that befit the deity, as well as those which are human."

"B. So even if he is said to have been wearied by the journey (*John* 4:6), to have hungered (*Matthew* 4:2), and to have fallen asleep (*Matthew* 8:24), would it be proper, tell me, to attribute these things which are petty and demeaning to God the Word?"

"A. Such things would not be at all fitting to the Word, if we considered him nakedly, as it were, not yet made flesh, or before he had descended into the self-emptying. Your thoughts are right on this. But once he is made man and emptied out, what harm can this inflict on him? Just as we say that the flesh became his very own, in the same way the weakness of that flesh became his very own in an economic appropriation according to the terms of the unification. So, he is 'made like his brethren in all things except sin alone' (*Hebrews* 2:17). Do not be astonished if we say that he has made the weakness of the flesh his own along with the flesh itself. He even attributed to himself those external outrages that came upon him from the roughness of the Jews, saying through the voice of the Psalmist: 'They divided my garments among them, and cast lots for my clothes' (*Psalm* 22:18), and again: 'All those who saw me sneered at me, they wagged their tongues, they shook their heads' (*Psalm* 22:7)."

"B. Even if perhaps he should say: 'Whoever has seen me, has seen the Father. I and the Father are one' (*John* 14:9; *John* 10:3), and then says to the Jews: 'Why do you seek to kill me, a man who has spoken to you the truth which I heard from God' (*John* 8:40) then are

we to apply both sets of sayings to one and the same subject?"

"A. Indeed so, for the Christ is in no way divided, but is believed by all those who worship him to be the one and only and true Son. 'The image of the unseen God, the brightness of the glory of the Father's *hypostasis*, the impress of his being' (*Colossians* 1:15) 'assumed the form of a slave' (*Philippians* 2:6), not as if he joined a man to himself, as they would say, but rather that he himself came in that form, while even so remaining in likeness to God the Father....." (*On the Unity of Christ*, translated & ed. McGuckin, J.A., pp. 107-108).

"A....Since he is God by nature, he is conceived of as beyond suffering, and then he chose to suffer so that he might save those under corruption, and so became like those on earth in all respects, and underwent birth from a woman according to the flesh. As I have said, He made his very own a body capable of tasting death and capable of coming back to life again, so that he himself might remain impassible and yet be said to suffer in his own flesh. In this way he saved what was lost (*Matthew* 18:11) and openly said: 'I am the Good Shepherd. The Good Shepherd lays down his own life for the sake of the sheep'. And again: 'No one takes my life from me; I lay it down of my own accord. I have the authority both to lay it down and to take it up' (*John* 10:11, 18). It does not pertain to any one of us, nor to any common man, to have the authority to lay down his life and take it up again. Yet the Only-Begotten and True Son has laid it down and taken it up again, thereby pulling us out of the snares of death" (*ibid.*, pp. 127f.).

"....So, even if he is said to suffer in the flesh, even so he retains his impassibility insofar as he is understood as God. The divine Peter also says: 'Christ died for us once and for all, on behalf of our sins, the righteous for the unrighteous, that he might lead us to God. Put to death in the flesh, he was made alive in the spirit' (*1Peter* 3:18). I suppose someone might ask why did the spirit-bearer not say simply and straightforwardly here that he suffered, but added on the words 'in the flesh'? He knew, you see, he knew that he was speaking about God, and so he attributed impassibility to him insofar as he is understood as God, adding on, most skillfully, 'in the flesh', which is, of course, where the suffering occurs" (*ibid.*, p. 117).

VII.D. Christ's One Activity in the Teachings of St. Dioscorus of Alexandria:

Pope St. Dioscorus, the twenty-fifth Patriarch of Alexandria (444-454 A.D.), states how Christ Emmanuel is not divided in all his works. Thus he says: "I know full well, having been brought up in the faith, that he has been begotten of the Father as God, and that the Same has been begotten of Mary as man. See him walking on the sea as man, and Creator of the heavenly hosts as God; see him sleeping in the boat as man, and walking on the seas as God; see him hungry as man, and bestowing nourishment as God; see him thirsty as man, and giving drink as God; see him stoned by the Jews as man, and worshipped by angels as God; see him tempted as man, and driving away the demons as God; and similarly of many instances" (Sellers, p. 32, quoting *Chron. Zacharias of Mitylene* iii, I, trans. Hamilton and Brooks, pp. 45f.; Perry, S.G.F., *The Second Synod of Ephesus*, p. 392).

"The 'valiant Dioscorus', proclaiming to all hearers the oneness of the incarnate nature of Christ with the homely and obvious example drawn from Christ at the Cana marriage-feast,

became the type of the embattled ascetic leader proof against the intellectual pitfalls laid by his adversaries" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 141; quoting the following, *ibid.*, n. 4, pp. 141-142: "Makarius of Tkou relates how at Chalcedon Dioscorus put the argument to his accusers. 'When our Saviour Jesus Christ was invited to the marriage feast at Cana, was it in his quality as God or in his quality as man?' 'In his quality as man', they replied. 'Very well', said Dioscorus, 'And when he changed the water into wine, did he do that as God or as man?' 'Obviously as God', replied the assembly again. 'Well you see', concluded Dioscorus, 'that his divinity was never separated from his humanity and thus the separation proclaimed in the *Tome* of Leo was anathema'! See E. Amélineau, 'Le Christianisme chez les anciens Coptes', *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 14, 1886, pp. 308-45 at p. 324").

Again St. Dioscorus stresses that the Lord Jesus Christ has never been divided in all his works. Thus, in the confession of faith which St. Dioscorus is said to have made at Chalcedon he declares: "The Lord Jesus, Emmanuel, our God, has never been divided in all his works; but [he is] one only Lord, one only nature; he has only one will; and Godhead has been united with manhood, as the soul is united with the body. This is my declaration and confession—I, the least, Dioscorus, the poor". [This confession is found in a fragment of a lost work of St. Dioscorus in the Bohairic dialect of Coptic: ed. and trans., W.H.P. Hatch, *Harvard Theological Review* (1926) xix. 377-384]. Sellers, (p. 32, n. 3) quoted this confession of St. Dioscorus with a comment saying: "if it is not his, it undoubtedly sums up his point of view".

St. Dioscorus also is "supposed to have written to Juvenal of Jerusalem, still at Chalcedon:"

"Cursed be anyone who assumes two natures in the Messiah after the indivisible unity...! Cursed be anyone who assumes in the Messiah two properties and two activities" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 34, quoting from Nau, F., in *Journal Asiatique* X, 1, p. 278, with Syriac text, p. 64).

Again, St. Dioscorus is supposed to have written to Emperor Marcian: "How can the rebellious Leo have dared to open his mouth and blaspheme the Most High by saying: we must confess in the Messiah two natures and two characteristics and [two] activities, since the holy church confesses one nature of the incarnate God without mixing or change; [even in death] the divinity of my master was not separated from his humanity, not even for a moment;...." (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, quoting Nau, *op. cit.*, p. 254, with Syriac text on p. 36).

VII.E. Christ's One Activity in the Teaching of St. Timothy II Patriarch of Alexandria:

Pope St. Timothy II is the twenty-sixth Patriarch of Alexandria (457-477 A.D.) whose enemies called him "Aelurus", i.e. "the cat" or "the weasel" (cf. Sellers, p. 255, n. 5). He wants to hold exclusively to the Nicene schema, in which for him the entire doctrine of the incarnation is expressed. He "reserves the term *nature* solely for the God *Logos*, the μία φύσις τοῦ λόγου, and expresses the humanity only with the word σεσαρκουμένη (incarnate)". "We will summarize his teaching again with a section of the petition that he sent to Emperor Leo:"

"But I believe that God has put it into the mind of your Serenity to set right the

statements in this letter, which are a cause of stumbling to the believers; for these statements are in accord, and agreement, and conjunction with the doctrine of Nestorius, who was condemned for cleaving asunder and dividing the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, in respect of natures, and persons, and properties, and names, and operations; who also interpreted the words of Scripture to mean two, which are not contained in the Confession of Faith of the 318. For they declared that the only-begotten Son of God, Who is of the same Nature [*homoousios*] with the Father, came down, and became incarnate, and was made man; and suffered, and rose again, and ascended to Heaven; and shall come to judge the quick and the dead. And natures, and persons, and properties were not mentioned by them, nor did they divide them. But they confessed the divine and the human properties to be of One by the dispensation."

"Accordingly, I do not agree with the transactions of Chalcedon, because I find in them divisions and cleavage of the dispensation" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34, quoting Zacharias Rh., *HE* IV 6: Brooks, *CSCO* 87, p. 123,2-15; [here according to] Hamilton-Brooks, p. 72; Land, *Anecdota Syriaca* III, p. 141, fol. 81va, lin. 14-15; cf. Michael Syr., *Chron.* IX 1: Chabot II, 120B).

"Thus the number 'two' cannot be applied at all to Christ as long as the assertion concerns Christ himself. One cannot speak of two natures or persons or characteristics or names or activities" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 34).

VII.F. Christ's One Activity in the *Henotikon* of Zeno (482 A.D.):

The Christological formula put forward in 482 A.D. in Emperor Zeno's Letter of Unity known as the *Henotikon* (Gk. ἑνωτικόν) and sent to the Egyptian Church states the following: "We confess that the only-begotten Son of God, himself God, who truly became man, our Lord Jesus Christ, who, *homoousios* with the Father according to Godhead and the Same *homoousios* with us according to manhood, came down and was incarnate of the Holy Spirit and of Mary the Virgin and '*Theotokos*', is one and not two (...ἕνα τυγχάνειν καὶ οὐ δύο); for we affirm that both the miracles and the sufferings which he voluntarily endured in the flesh (σαρκί) are those of one Person (Ἑνὸς γαρ εἶναί φαμεν...)....." (Sellers, p. 276).

VII.G. Christ's One Activity in the *Typus* of Emperor Anastasius:

Emperor Anastasius I (491-518 A.D.) published in 511 A.D. a text, which is referred to as a *typus*, probably drafted by St. Severus on the instruction of the Emperor, against all schismatics, which reads: "We, as we have received from the holy Fathers, do not say two natures, but we confess the Word of God as one nature become flesh, and we anathematize the Synod of Chalcedon and with it also Leo and his *Tome* and those who say Christ is two sons, one before the ages and the other at the end of the ages. But those who say, after professing the unity, [that there are] two natures, and two persons and two forms and two properties, and [that] the distinguishing characteristics also are the work of each of the two natures, we reject and anathematize, because [this] is found to be contrary to the twelve chapters of the blessed Cyril" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 275).

VII.H. Christ's One Activity in the Teachings of St. Severus of Antioch:

[St. Severus (*c.* 465-538 A.D.) was consecrated Patriarch of Antioch in 512 A.D.].

He has much to say concerning the One Activity of the Incarnate God the *Logos*.

Both Christ and his activity are single. The activity is one because it belongs to the single Christ. The results of the activity, however, are diverse.

VII.H.1. THE ONE ACTIVITY IN THE MODEL OF MAN:

In order to illustrate how Christ acted, St. Severus used the model of man. He said that there are intellectual and corporeal human works that can be clearly distinguished. Each sort of work corresponds either to the body or to the soul, but the activity is still one. There is only one process of activity because the human being itself is a nature unity. It is always, for example, St. Peter (cf. *Matthew* 14:28-29) who posits and executes the act of will, although the walking on the water is a matter for the body.

VII.H.2. THE ONE ACTIVITY IN EMMANUEL:

This co-ordination of a nature unity from spirit and body St. Severus sees to be present also in the Emmanuel. Thus he writes: "One can see the same in the case of Emmanuel. For there is one who acts (ἐνεργήσας), that is the Word of God incarnate; and there is one active movement which is activity (ἐνέργεια), but the things which are done (ἐνεργηθέντα) are diverse, that is, (the things) accomplished by activity...And it is not the case that, because these things which were done were of different kinds, we say that conceptually there were two natures which were effecting those things, for as we have said, a single God the Word incarnate performed both of them" (St. Severus Ant., *Ep. I ad Sergium*: *CSCO* 120, pp. 60,33-61,9: quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 165). He repeats the same idea (in *Contra imp. Gram.*, *Or.* III, chap. 38: *CSCO* 102, p. 175,6-7) saying: "There is only one single activity, only one single operative motion, as there is only one speaking of the Incarnate *Logos*, be it that the actions and the words have been different".

VII.H.3. THE CONDEMNATION OF LEO'S TEACHING OF TWO ACTIVE NATURE PRINCIPLES EXISTING IN CHRIST WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE ACTIVITIES:

St. Severus writes and preaches against the two active nature principles of the *Tome* of Leo with their two activities which he justly sees also as two bearing subjects, that is two persons (cf. *Ep. I ad Sergium*, *CSCO* 120, p. 62,13-21). In preaching he says:

"Therefore godless are those, who with regard to Christ teach two natures which act; for it is necessary that each nature has an action which is proper to it and different, that is, an acting movement/motion. If we confess Christ as one from two..., and as one person, one *hypostasis* and one single incarnate nature of the *Logos*, consequently it will be one who acts and one movement which bears him in action, although the works are different, that is, the completely performed deeds which come from the action. For some fit God, others the human being; but they are performed by one and the same, by God who without alteration has become flesh and a human being. And this is not surprising, (but) similar to the works

of a human being, of which some are intellectual, the others visible and corporeal...It is, however, a single human being, composed of a body and a soul, who does this and that, and there is only one single working movement. Hence, when Christ is concerned, we recognize a change of words. Some suit God, others the human being...But on this account we do not say that there they belong to that nature and here to this nature. For they were expressed undistinguished of the one and the same Christ."

"But some conduct themselves in an ungodly way, at the same time they suffer from a final ignorance with regard to the alteration [change] of deeds and words; they have set up two that act and speak, when very significantly they have named the persons 'natures' and have concealed two sons and two Christs under the lion's skin" (*Hom* 109: *PO* 25, 758-760, as quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, pp. 145-146).

St. Severus is justified in stating that the Dyophysites, following the Antiochenes and the *Tome* of Leo, "have set up two that act and speak when they have named the persons 'natures' and have concealed two sons and two Christs under the lion's skin". This is because in two or three passages in the *Tome* "Leo so separates, and personalizes, what is divine and what is human in Christ that the *hypostatic* union is dissolved, and its place taken by a mere conjunction of the divine *Logos* and man..."

As regards the "one Person" in Leo's *Tome* e.g. when he says in parag. 4: "For although in the Lord Jesus Christ God and man are one Person...etc.", the Byzantine writer Meyendorff (*IUCD*, p. 173) has to concede saying, "It is true, however, that the normal Greek translation of *persona* being *prosopon*, his conception of Christ's personal unity could be understood to be only '*prosopic*' (as in Antioch), and not '*hypostatic*', or 'natural' (as in Cyril)".

One has to take into consideration that the Greek *prosopon* (which translates the Latin *persona*) means "face, countenance" and "mask", which, therefore, came to mean "person", because the countenance expresses the individual features.

The one *persona* of Leo's *Tome*, with its two natures acting and speaking "by turns" (*invicem*, "alternately") is no more than a "*prosopic*, that is external, union", reminiscent of Nestorius "who distinguished two natural *prosopa* from the *prosopon* of union" (cf. Ber., *EEC*, p. 716).

Price, in his *Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, documents the objections raised in session 2 by the Illyrian and Palestinian bishops to the words read from the *Tome* of Leo: "For each form performs what is proper to it...etc." (*ACC*, vol. 2, parag. 25, p. 25). Then Price comments on the objection raised at that session saying: "The fact remains that Leo's understanding of the operations in Christ differed from Cyril's: for Cyril the duality of the operations exists *outside* Christ (that is, in the contrasting effects, some divine and some human, of the one 'theandric' [divine-human] activity), while for Leo it also exists *in* Christ, in whom each nature has its own striving towards the term of its activity" (*ibid.*, n. 79).

Therefore, the true Orthodox dogma as expressed by St. Cyril of Alexandria and St. Severus of Antioch is that: God the *Logos* in his incarnate state has one incarnate nature, one *hypostasis*, one *energeia*, (i.e. one activity) – duality only in the effects lying outside Christ. There is a 'two' only in the effect of Christ's activity, never in himself, be it in relation to his nature, the powers of knowing and willing, and whatever else is within Christ.

St. Severus "stresses that it is indeed only one and the same speaking and acting, and then formulates incisively: 'There is only one single activity (*energeia*), only one single

operative motion (*motus operativus*), as there is also only one single speaking of the incarnate *Logos*, be it that the actions and the words have been different" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 163, quoting St. Severus Ant., *Contra imp. Gram.*, *Or.* III, ch. 38: *CSCO* 102, p. 175,6-7).

It is no wonder, therefore, that St. Severus condemned Pope Leo of Rome who linked the *energeiai* to the natures in the formula of his *Tome* which reads: "each of the two forms act (*agit enim utraque forma*)". Thus St. Severus writes: "If he [Leo] in spirit were to hold and confess the *hypostatic* union, he could not say that each of the two natures keeps its propriety (*proprietatem*) without detraction, but he would say, like Cyril, that the *Logos* now and then permitted the flesh to suffer what is proper to it and to operate according to the laws of its nature. Thus the *Logos* would bear that as its own which of the flesh, and still not relinquish what he has according to his essence (*ousia*), also not the superiority to suffering and his highest nobility" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 162, quoting St. Severus Ant., *C. imp. Gram.*, *Or.* III, ch. 29: *CSCO* 102, p. 79,18-25).

By ascribing the *energeiai* to two natures, Pope Leo, for St. Severus, was introducing two subjects of activity and thus splitting Christ. One *energeia* was for him, therefore, an inevitable condition of the unity of Christ.

VII.H.4. EVERY ACTIVITY IN CHRIST FLOWS FROM THE *LOGOS*:

Concerning the single *energeia* of Christ, it is not only its subject which is divine, but the *energeia* itself is mostly divine as well. As Grillmeier (*op. cit.*, p. 165) remarks:

"The *Logos* is always conceived by Severus as *agens*, as ἐνεργήσας, always involved in the works mentioned. He is not only the final, bearing subject, to which according to the law of the communication of *idiomata* even purely human acts are ascribed", but he is also the ability (*facultas*) which releases them from itself. According to St. Severus, "in every activity of the Emmanuel, that is, the incarnate *Logos*, the divinity participates as *facultas*, as nature principle, and not only as final, bearing subject" (*ibid.*). "Every activity flows from above" (*ibid.*, p. 163).

VII.H.5. THE ANALOGY OF THE GLOWING COAL:

St. Severus uses the standard patristic analogy of the union between fire and wood. Thus he quotes the words of St. Cyril of Alexandria, *Scholia*, following Hespel, *Le Florilège Cyrillien*, 154f., in which he explains how the ember (*Isaiah* 6:6-7) is an appropriate symbol of Christ, saying: "Now we say that the coal represents for us the symbol and the image of the incarnate *Logos*...One can see in the coal, as in an image, the *Logos* who has proceeded from the Father and has been united to the humanity; but he has not ceased to be that which he was; rather he has transformed into his *doxa* and power (εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δόξαν τε καὶ ἐνέργειαν) what had been assumed, i.e. united to him. Just as the fire informs the wood and expands itself in it as it takes possession of it, without at all causing the wood to cease being wood, rather allowing it to blend into the appearance and power of the fire, as this [viz. the fire] effects in it [viz. the wood] what is proper to the former and thus appears to be completely one with it, so, also, represent to yourself the things with Christ! For God has..., in an ineffable way united with humanity, retained what this was but also retained what he was; once truly united, it [the humanity] is one with him. For he has made his own

what is its [humanity's] and now pours out into it the power of his own nature (ἐμποιήσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτῇ τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως τὴν ἐνέργειαν)" (quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 82).

St. Severus had endeavoured to outline particularly clearly the direction adopted by St. Cyril to emphasize the unity of Christ. This was directed against the Council of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo. Thus St. Severus writes: "If...the things which clearly belong to the flesh have come to belong to the Word, how shall we allow that each one of the forms performs its own acts?" (*Ep. to Oecumenius*, *Collected Letters*, p. 181.6,8-9). Christ is then one subject, one agent, who performs *his* actions with what he has made his own (Torrance, *Christology*, pp. 97, 108).

Again, in his *Philalethes*, St. Severus writes: "In fact when the God-*Logos* in his august union with humanity...allowed this to change, even transformed this, not indeed into his own nature – for this remained what it was – but into his glory (δόξα) and into his own power (ἐνέργεια), how then can you refer to the teaching of the Synod of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo..., which have distributed (the *operationes*, the activity of the ἐνέργεια) to the *Logos* and the human being in Christ?" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 83, quoting St. Severus Ant., *Philalethes*, *apologia* to no 101: *CSCO* 134, pp. 266,28-267:1, to which is to be added *CSCO* 319, pp. 33,34-34,10, also *Ep. ad Oecumenius*: *PO* 12, p. 184,4-7).

"Notwithstanding all the lack of mingling in Christ, Severus sees his unity guaranteed by the fact that there is a continuous influencing control from the side of the godhead on the humanity which is proper to him. Its effect is the transformation of the united humanity into the *doxa* of the *Logos* and a flowing over of the divine *energeia* to the human powers in Jesus" (*ibid.*). Thus St. Severus adds the following statements: "For in many cases it is apparent that the *Logos* did not permit the flesh to move according to the law of the nature of flesh [reference to Jesus walking on the water or the miraculous course of events on the occasion of his death on Calvary, at the resurrection and in the appearances before his disciples]...How does (all this) belong to the flesh if it was not endowed with the power (*energeia*) of the *Logos*, an entitlement of the godhead, if it was not to be regarded as one with him, corresponding to the holy word of the holy Cyril?...This all the more so as this (flesh) was indeed material and touchable with the hand, thus did not cease to be flesh, whereby it *stood above corruptibility...*" (*ibid.*, quoting *CSCO* 134, p. 267,11-24).

Against the Chalcedonian collector of the Florilegia of St. Cyril who looked at the emphasis of the two elements being unmingled in the analogy of the glowing coal (quoted before) and wanted to conclude from that the preservation of the two natures in Christ, St. Severus, like St. Cyril before him, was primarily interested in stressing the unity. "In contrast to the excerptors who were interested in the distinction of the two natures, Severus had emphasized in the appearance of Christ the predominance of the divine nature and the instrumentality of the human potencies dependent on it. At the same time it seemed to him that the pre-eminent means of binding divinity and humanity was the precedence given to the divine power (*energeia*). The predominance represented for him the normal state in the divine-human appearance of Christ. The more the humanity of Christ appeared as vibrating with divine powers, the more the substantial unity in Christ was shown" (*ibid.*, p. 84).

This teaching which St. Severus expands explicitly in his polemical works is found also in his sermons. He refers to the unity of Christ in the picture of the burning bush (*Exodus*

3:2-4), in *Homily* 109 (*PO* 25,752-755). In two of his homilies he explains how the ember which purified the lips of Isaiah (*Isaiah* 6) is an appropriate symbol of Christ (*Homily* 48: *PO* 35,316-318; *Homily* 90: *PO* 23,153-154).

In *Homily* 48, St. Severus said: "Because just as wood, interwoven with fire, burns with intensity and receives the flame in its depths, becomes, one thinks, entirely fire, and without ceasing to be wood, does not reject [this] from its own nature, but one thinks is inseparably one, named ember—the thing and the name being indivisible—doing what is proper to fire, namely, to shine and burn—in the same way, when the Word of God had been united to the flesh from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary, possessing an intelligent soul, [to] which he had been united, not in a simple manner, but by the *hypostatic* union, in such a way that he himself should be comprised to be truly incarnated and made man, on the one hand he conserved the flesh...without having changed it into his own nature, nor being changed himself into its nature, and on the other, being united at the same time indivisibly, he is one, it seems, with the flesh, and he operates there and disposes everything that is proper to it, in such a way that it heals, it creates, it gives life, because in truth it has become the body itself of the creating and life-giving Word, a divine and intellectual ember" (quoted in Chesnut, p. 33).

These words of St. Severus were digested by Chesnut (*ibid.*, pp. 33-34) as follows: "The important things in the analogy and his comments on it are: first, the wood 'becomes, one thinks, entirely fire' when united to the fire; second, the wood does not cease to be wood; third, the fire and the wood become inseparably one—an ember; fourth, the ember *performs the operation* of the fire: it shines and burns. The Word, then, 'changed the [manhood]... into his glory and operation', just as the wood 'becomes, one thinks, entirely fire'. But the Word 'conserved the flesh' as it was... Thus, through the *hypostatic* union, manhood and divinity became inseparably one, as the wood and the fire are one in the ember. Finally, the Word 'operates there and disposes everything proper to it, in such a way that it heals, it creates, it gives life, because in truth it has become the body itself...of the Word, a divine and intellectual ember'...".

VII.H.6. THE HUMANITY OF CHRIST AS AN INSTRUMENT (*ORGANON*) THROUGH WHICH THE *LOGOS* ACTS:

St. Severus stresses that the *Logos* uses his body not as a lifeless inanimate instrument. There is certainly a human soul in Christ, but there is only one *agens* and because of this also only one *actio* and *operatio*, which proceeds from the spontaneity and freedom of the one *agens*, namely the *Logos*. Through the *hypostatic* union, the rational animated flesh is subjected to the *Logos* as an instrument (*organon*). Thus St. Severus writes: "The incarnate Word has done and said this for it is united *hypostatically* to the body and through adhering together (συμφυῖα) it had this as an **organ** for the deeds, as the soul too, which is peculiar to each one of us, has chosen its own body as organ; the *Logos* does not act through an extrinsically (united) God-bearing human being, as the ravings of Nestorius would have, not in the way in which an artisan uses a tool and thus completes the work and (not) like the way a cithara player strikes the cithara" (*Contra imp. Gram.*, *Or.* III, chap. 33: *CSCO* 102, p. 135,2-10, Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 168). See other examples (*ibid.*: *CSCO* 102, p. 136,17-20 & *Ep. I ad Sergium*: *CSCO* 120, p. 62,8-21).

[The teaching of the *organon* is found in the Alexandrian Fathers St. Athanasius and St. Cyril. See examples given before under sections VII.A.3. and VII.C.2., respectively].

VII.H.7. ST. SEVERUS'S TEACHING CONCERNING THE *MIA ENERGEIA* OF GOD THE WORD WHO EFFECTS MIRACLES THROUGH HIS OWN FLESH:

Everything in Christ is deduced from the divine *Logos* as nature principle. Every activity flows from above, even if the human principle of activity is engaged. This is how St. Severus understands the inner functioning of the one *energeia* in Christ and makes it clear in his third book against John, the "godless Grammarian", in regard to the miracle of healing the leper. Thus he writes: "While the incarnate God spoke with human tongue and said with human and clear voice to the leper: 'I will, be clean' (*Matthew* 8:3), he showed through the effect that the voice, in keeping with the mixing worthy of God, has gone forth from the incarnate God; for the healing of the leper went together with the heard word" (*Contra imp. Gram., Or.* III, chap. 32: *CSCO* 102, p. 94,27-32, in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, pp. 163-164).

"The miracle-working of Christ thus provides the model for how the '*one energeia*' is to be understood. The activity starts from the divinity as the real source; it mixes itself with the human voice (or as well with the touch of Jesus' hand) and produces the miraculous effect in the sick person. The human voice is only the vehicle of the divine flow of will; for without a doubt Severus ascribes the 'I will' to the volition of the divinity. The human will of Christ clearly does not need to be active.....The touch with the hand is only the instrument through which the power of the divinity, which is bestowed on the holy body, acts on the sick person" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 164).

VII.H.8. THE NEW THEANDRIC ENERGY OF GOD THE WORD WHO WAS INCARNATE AND BECAME MAN:

Anticipating the later Chalcedonian Monoenergists of the seventh century, St. Severus cited the Christological formula from the writings attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, whose real author is not known. It is taken from the fourth letter to Gaius and introduced by St. Severus into a letter to the strategos John, which is transmitted only in fragments. The Severan text which contains this formula reads: "As we have already developed in full breadth in other writings, we understood and understand the statement of the utterly wise Dionysius the Areopagite, who says: 'Since God has become a human being, he performed among us a new divine-human activity', of the one composite (activity) (μίαν ἐνοήσαμεν σύνθετον καὶ νοοῦμεν); it cannot be interpreted other than as a rejection of every duality; and we confess the incarnate God, who operated in this new manner [this divine-human activity], as the one divine-human nature and *hypostasis* and also as the one incarnate nature of the God-*Logos* (καὶ τὸν ἀνδρωθέντα θεὸν τὸν ταύτην καινοπρεπῶς πεπολιτευμένον μίαν ὁμολογοῦμεν φύσιν τε καὶ ὑπόστασιν θεανδρικήν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν μίαν φύσιν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένην)" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 170, quoting Severus Ant., *Ep. 3 ad Johannem ducem* [*CPG* 7071,31: *DP*, 309,XXIV]).

"...we ascend, so to say, to a high mountain and profess one – because he is one – nature, *hypostasis*, *energeia* (which are also) composite; also we anathematize all those who,

concerning this (question) teach about a dyad of natures and activities after the unity" (St. Severus Ant., *Ep. ad Johannem ducem*: *DP* 309-310).

This passage provides rich material for conclusions. Firstly, St. Severus once again repeated that the *energeia* of Christ is single, and this is because Christ is one. It is single also because his nature is one, i.e. the one divine-human nature and *hypostasis*. Apart from this he showed us that the *energeia* is closely linked to the nature and *hypostasis*. The mode of their unity and their existence after the Incarnation are identical. The expression "new divine-human (*theandric*) activity" (καινὴ θεανδρικὴ ἐνέργεια) is characterized by St. Severus as one and composite and is considered as the logical interpretation of the *mia-physis* formula. Therefore, as the single *energeia* of Christ is 'theandric', so also is the nature and *hypostasis*. "We confess one theandric nature and *hypostasis*" (μίαν ὁμολογοῦμεν φύσιν καὶ ὑπόστασιν θεανδρικήν, *ad Johannem ducem* 309,24).

The usage by St. Severus of the term *synthesis* (σύνθεσις) with respect to Christ had been formally justified by St. Cyril of Alexandria and St. Gregory of Nazianzus (see Part Three, section II.C.2. of the present work), to whom he refers (St. Severus, *ad Sergium* II: *CSCO* 120,80,84-86).

Insofar as St. Severus accepted this term, "it was the same as saying a composed *physis* or a composed *hypostasis*. Both were synonymous with 'one nature of the incarnate Word'. For *synthesis* was for him not so much a static ontological end result, as rather the characterization of the historical process of the assumption of the flesh by the *Logos* according to the *hypostasis*. To this characterization *physis*, *hypostasis*, *synthetos* Severus gave a twofold point: it banned from Christ both any division or duality as well as any mingling. Many variants on the fundamental formula appeared: 'the one composed *physis* (*hypostasis*) of the *Logos*' became '*Logos synthetos*', by which naturally the composition with the body is meant. Thus one ought not to introduce any 'composition' in the essence, the *ousia*, of the divine *Logos* himself. '*Synthesis*' always refers to the historical *henosis* with the flesh" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 128).

When, through the *hypostatic* union, from two natures there is one Christ, without confusion, one person and one nature belonging to the Word incarnate, then the Word claims both the properties of his divine nature, which he always had and the properties of the humanity. The Word himself may be seen, through his own visible flesh, and the flesh, being the own flesh of the Word, is rightly understood as divine. It should be noticed here that though there is a *communicatio idiomatum* (the Word is seen, and the flesh takes on the properties of the Word), the flesh becomes divine not on its own right, but as the own flesh of the Word, so its exaltation stems from the activity (*energeia*) of the Word.

VII.H.9 ALL OF CHRIST'S UTTERANCES AND ACTIONS ARE PERFORMED BY THE SINGLE INCARNATE GOD THE WORD THROUGH HIS SINGLE ACTIVITY:

St. Severus emphasizes the unity of the single Christ's *energeia*. He also draws a distinction between the one acting Christ, one activity and result(s) of this activity. The activity is not something that exists detached of the acting subject. It has no independent existence because it is just a movement, a motion. Both Christ and his activity are singular. The activity is one because it belongs to the single Christ. The results of the activity, however, are diverse.

With regards to this, St Severus writes: "Therefore what has thus been clarified and

made known is that he who acted is one thing, and activity is another, and another (still) that which was acted upon, or effected. And activity is something in the middle, that is, an active movement, between him who acted and that which was acted upon, even if in the case of God, his wishing is the accomplishment of an action, and it is not easy to find that which is in the middle, when everything exists in a moment, and as in the blink of an eye, as Paul says (cf. *1Corinthians* 15:52)" (St. Severus, *ad Serg.* I, in Torrance, *Christology*, pp. 152-153).

VII.H.9.a. A Similitude from Humans:

St. Severus continues saying (*ibid.*, p. 153): "And first, let us test this on the example of a man like us. Thus, some of the things which are done by a man like us are intellectual, and some are sensible and bodily. For example, to reckon up and think about something that should be done, and to fulfil and plan in thought, and to fix and determine intention, is a thing which is done intellectually, such as arranging how it is fitting to prepare a city or a house or a ship. But to build a house or to construct a ship, is sensible and bodily. And the man who acts (in both cases) is one, consisting of soul and body, and the activity is one, for the active movement is one, which is the impetus of volition, but the things which are done are diverse, for one is intellectual but the other is sensible and bodily".

VII.H.9.b. In the Case of Emmanuel:

St. Severus goes on saying (*ibid.*, pp. 153-154): "One can see the same in the case of Emmanuel. For there is one who acts, that is the Word of God incarnate; and there is one active movement which is activity, but the things which are done are diverse, that is (the things) accomplished by activity. For example, bodily to walk on the earth and to make a journey is something human, but to raise up and order to run those who are lame in the feet, and unable to use their soles, but who are prostrate and crawl like reptiles, is most proper to God. But there is one Word which was incarnate, and one activity of his, which is an active movement, which performed the one and the other. And it is not the case that, because these things which were done were of different kinds, we say that consequently there were two natures which were effecting those things, for as we have said, a single God the Word incarnate performed both of them. And just as no-one divides the Word from the flesh, so also it is impossible to divide or separate these activities. For we also recognize a variety of utterances: for some are proper to God, while others are human, but one Word incarnate spoke both the former and the latter. For there are utterances which make known at the same time the divine character of Emmanuel and the humanity as well, as 'One Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things' (*1Corinthians* 8:6), and 'From whom is Christ, in the flesh, who is God blessed for ever, above all things' (*Romans* 9:5). And no-one, unless he is mad, dares to divide or distinguish into two these statements, which establish the same (Christ) as indivisible, being both from Israel in the flesh, and God blessed for ever. And again the same one is anointed because he was incarnate, for the act of being anointed belongs to the incarnation, and through the same (one) everything came into existence."

"But what our Saviour said about the death of Lazarus is like those utterances as well, in that it shows at the same time the divine character and humanity: 'Lazarus our friend

is asleep, but I go that I may arouse him' (*John* 11:11). For it belongs to God that he should say that he would rouse him as if he were asleep, him who for four days had been reckoned among the dead, and had wasted away, and had putrified in the body, and in truth to change death into sleep, because of the hope of the resurrection; but it was human to say 'I go and shall awake him'. For he was able as God, even while he was far off, to do that. But he mingled the two, establishing that he is indivisibly one and the same Son and Word, who on our behalf unchangeably became man, speaking as befits God and humanly. Thus too it is often possible to see in his actions what belongs to the character of God and (what is) human mingled together. For how will anyone divide walking upon the water? For to run upon the sea is foreign to the human nature, but it is not proper to the divine nature to use bodily feet. Therefore that action is of the incarnate Word, to whom belongs at the same time divine character and humanity indivisibly".

VII.H.9.c. The Absurdity of Leo's Teaching of Two Forms, Each Doing What Belongs to It:

This is shown by St. Severus who writes saying: "It is possible to see that those things which are contained in the *Tome* of Leo go clearly against these things, and I quote them: LEO: 'For each one of the forms does what belongs to it: the Word doing what belongs to the Word, and the body fulfilling those things which belong to the body, and the one of them is radiant with wonders, but the other falls under insults' (*PL* 54:767A-B). For if each form or nature does those things which are its own, those things are of a bastard partnership and of a relationship of friendship, such as a master's taking on himself the things which are performed by a servant, or vice versa, a servant's being glorified with the outstanding possessions of a master, while those things which are not properties of human nature are ascribed to him out of a loving friendship. For he is a man clad with God, who in this way makes use of a power which is not his own, and is impelled by one who acts, like an inanimate instrument, perhaps a saw or an axe, which is used by a craftsman" (St. Severus, *ad Serg.* I, in Torrance, *Christology*, p. 154).

"But Jesus is not like that, away with you! For he is seen using his own power as God inhominate, and he confirms this with utterances worthy of God. And to the sea he says, 'Be quiet, be restrained' (*Mark* 4:39) and to Peter when he called out 'Order me to come to you on the water', he orders 'Come' (*Matthew* 14:28-29) and to the leper 'I am willing: be clean' (*Mark* 1:41; *Luke* 5:13). And he lays down the law with the authority of God and says 'But I say to you, do not be angry' (cf. *Matthew* 5:22) and nowhere does he say 'The Lord says this', 'In the name of the Lord I do such and such things'. These things (are so) even though, because it was suitable to the economy, and because of the contentiousness and the difficulty of the coming of the Jews towards God, and (because of) the imperfection otherwise of those who were hearing, in many places he says that he has received a commandment from the Father (*John* 10:18), and that he speaks those things which he heard from him (cf. *John* 8:26). But yet, showing (his) royal and unenslaved condition and equality of honour towards the Father, he said that the Father too works likewise (cf. *John* 5:19), and that the Father is in him, and he is in the Father (*John* 14:10)" (St. Severus, *ad Serg.* I, in Torrance, *Christology*, pp. 154-155).

VII.H.10. THE MEANING OF CHRIST'S NATURAL PROPERTY AND ITS PARTICULARITIES IN THE TEACHING OF ST. SEVERUS:

VII.H.10.a. The Meaning of Christ's Single Natural Property:

St. Severus developed a special conception of the natural properties which was articulated mainly in his correspondence with Sergius the Grammarian. St. Severus used the word "property" in the singular and the plural. In both cases, he called them "natural". In the case of the properties-in-the-plural, he also spoke of "properties of the flesh", "properties of the humanity", and "properties of the divinity of the Word". In respect to the property-in-the-singular, he asserted its oneness. He condemned the idea of two properties coexisting in Christ, as well as of two energies (*energeiai*). He probably referred to the corresponding teaching of his opponents among the Dyophysites. Thus he writes:

In the study of Emmanuel "let us make an enquiry of the divinity and the humanity. They are not only different in everything but they are removed from each other and distinct as well. But when union is professed **from the two** of them, the difference, again, in the quality of the natures **from which** there is the one Christ is not suppressed, but in conjunction by *hypostasis* division is driven out. And look how wise Cyril clearly teaches this, in the Second Volume against the blasphemies of Nestorius. (CYRIL): 'For I too allow that there is a great difference or distinction between humanity and divinity. For these things which were named are seen to be other, according to the mode of how they are, and they are not like each other in anything. But when the mystery which is in Christ has come for us into the middle, the principle of union does not ignore the difference but it removes the division;..'.." (St. Severus Ant., *ad Serg. I*, in Torrance, *Christology*, pp. 149-150, quoting St. Cyril Alex., *PG* 76:85A-B = Pusey ed., vol. 6, p. 113,7-16).

"But if someone should wrongfully divide Emmanuel with a duality of natures after the union, there also occurs a division at the same time, along with the difference of the natures, and the properties are divided in every respect to suit the (two) natures. And wise Cyril again learnedly explained this in the same volume, when he said as follows after other things: (CYRIL): 'God is not touchable, but the Word became subject to touch by means of his own flesh; he is invisible by nature, but he became visible by means of the body. But you again, in making distinctions in every way, play craftily with the truth, in that on the one hand you keep distinct the natures, but on the other hand you unite, so you say, the worship. But if you keep distinct the natures, the properties of each one of them naturally go with them as well. Then the principle of difference occurs in everything, (and) thus two are confessed'" (*ibid.*, p. 150, quoting St. Cyril Alex., *PG* 76:105A-B = Pusey ed., vol. 6, p. 128,25-129,2).

St. Severus goes on saying: "It is clearly established, therefore, from these things which have been quoted, that natural quality is the principle of how (a thing) is, for the Doctor said: with respect to how they are, these things which are named are seen to be different and are unlike each other in anything. And so we confess the difference and the particularity and the otherness of the natures **from which** Christ is, for we do not quarrel about names, but (we confess) the particularity which (lies) in natural quality and not that which will be set in parts, each one existing independently. For holy Cyril writes as follows too, in the Treatise

of question and answer *That Christ is One*: (CYRIL): 'Therefore, as I have said, it is not right that we should make a division into an independent diversity, so that they should become separate and apart from each other; rather we ought to bring (them) together to [undivided] union. For the Word became flesh, according to the word(s) of John' (*John* 1:14)" (*ibid.*, quoting St. Cyril Alex., *PG* 75:1289C = Pusey ed., vol. 7, p. 364,2-5).

"For we do not refuse to confess the difference, God forbid, but we flee from this, that we should divide the one Christ in a duality of natures after the union. For if he is divided, the properties of each one of the natures are divided at the same time with him, and what is its own will cling to each one of them. But when a *hypostatic* union is professed, **of which** the fulfillment is that **from two** there is one Christ without confusion, one person, one *hypostasis*, one nature belonging to the Word incarnate, the Word is known by means of the properties of the flesh, and the properties of the humanity will become the properties of the divinity of the Word; and again the properties of the Word will be acknowledged as the properties of the flesh, and the same one will be seen by means of both (sets of properties), both touchable and not touchable, and visible and not visible, and belonging to time and from before time, and we shall not attribute the properties of each nature, dividing them up" (*ibid.*, pp. 150-151).

VII.H.10.b. Why We Anathematize Those Who Say Emmanuel has Two Natures After the Union and (Speak of the) Activities and Properties of These:

St. Severus gave an answer to this question in his *First Letter to Sergius the Grammarian*, saying: "Therefore when we anathematize those who say Emmanuel has two natures after the union, and (speak of the) activities and properties of these, we are not saying this as subjecting to anathema the fact of speaking of, or naming, natures, or activities or properties, but speaking of two natures after the union, and because consequently (those natures) attract their own activities and properties which are divided along with the natures completely and in everything, whether we say (this) or not. For if this were not so, it would be right for us not to profess Emmanuel even to be '**from two natures**', if the word 'natures' were to be shunned. But now, when we say 'from two natures', and acknowledge one God who was immutably incarnate and inhominate, and believe that there was an unconfused union, we are obliged to acknowledge as well the particularities of the natures from which Emmanuel is..." (Torrance, *Christology*, pp. 151-152).

As we have seen, these special characteristics of divinity and humanity, which are retained by the single nature of the Word, were called by St. Severus "particularities". The natural property that remains single reveals these "particularities".

By ascribing particularities to the property, St. Severus withdrew them from the single nature and so protected it from being split by particularities. In addition, the fact that Christ's single nature and *hypostasis* is composite could be explained by the particularities of the natural property.

VII.H.10.c. The Concept of "Particularity" in the Teachings of St. Severus:

This concept is studied in detail by Torrance in his introduction to the First Letter of St. Severus to Sergius the Grammarian (Torrance, *Christology*, pp. 81-110). We quote here

from his study some representative paragraphs which demonstrate St. Severus's explanation and use of this concept:

As regards St. Severus's explanation of what a particularity is: "We may summarize this by saying that the particularity of a thing is its integrity of being. But we notice now another thing about particularities: though an individual, independent object of course has a particularity, for it is what it is, and is not something else, a thing can still be concrete, individual, in its particularity, and yet not be an independent existent. It is then necessarily a constituent part of a union, and Severus gives the example, though later we will suggest others, of body and soul in the union we call 'a man'. The body remains what it is, namely flesh and bone, but in the union it is not independent like a leg of mutton in a butcher's shop, but is somehow involved in a union which endows it with qualities beyond itself. It is, for example, alive. It is this aspect of a particularity, that a thing's possession of integrity of being does not imply independence of existence that Severus emphasizes when he argues that to acknowledge two particularities in a compound thing is not to see a division in it, or a juxtaposition of two independent things....."

"....We have already seen hints of this in what we called the *aspect of possession* in the union. Though the body is not the same in natural quality as the Word, yet it became his; divinity and humanity are different, and though this difference is preserved in the union, division is driven out, because the Word has *shared in* flesh and blood....it was stressed that a thing could retain its particularity in a union, but without being independent. The meaning of this lack of independence is now explained: the flesh in the incarnation is not independent, even though it remains flesh, because it is possessed by the Word. It does not belong to itself, but to the Word. It is not closed in on itself, but taken by possession into a union where it is endowed with properties other than its own. But what is this union? It is clearly not a kind of more subtle juxtaposition in which two incomplete things somehow jig-saw together, but it is something active, in which the Word is the subject, or active possessor, and makes the flesh his" (Torrance, *Christology*, pp. 84-86).

Torrance (*ibid.*, p. 89) says: "We have seen how important it was to Severus to distinguish the concept of particularity which pointed to the integrity of identity of a thing, from the concept which implied a thing's independent existence. As we might expect, we find this same distinction in others of his letters: for example, '....we mean in the matter of natural quality, and not that those which were naturally united are individually and independently separated and divided from each other, for this is what those who cut our one Lord Jesus Christ into two natures say....' (*To Oecumenius*, *Collected Letters*, p. 177,3-6). In Severus' *Philalethes* (for example, p. 323,2-3) we also frequently find a rejection of the humanity's having any independent status, which in Severus' view led directly to Nestorianism. Behind this, of course lies Cyril, with his refusal to divide Christ into a man by himself, and the Word by himself ". (For example, cf. St. Cyril, *Scholia* xxxvii, Pusey ed., vol. 6, p. 574, 15ff.; *Adv. Nest. Lib. V*, *PG* 76, 224C-D = Pusey ed., vol. 6, p. 220,28-221,3).

Torrance (*op. cit.*, p. 91) quotes St. Severus writing *to Oecumenius* (*Collected Letters*, p. 177,12-14): "*Therefore those who confess one nature of God the Word Incarnate*, and do not confuse the (elements) **from which** he is, *recognize as well the particularity* of those things which came together to union". "The Word is the one active subject of this union. Where there is one subject or possessor, what happens to the different elements in the union? Again

as we follow the text, Severus tells us that the properties of the constituent natures are not distributed out, each to its proper nature" (Torrance, *op. cit.*, & n. 59, quoting in p. 107: St. Severus, *Letter to Oecumenius*, *Collected Letters*, p. 194,5-7: "It is not confessing the particularity of the natures from which Emmanuel comes that we avoid....but distributing and dividing the properties to each of the natures".).

"This is because in the union there is just one subject: the constituent natures are no longer independent possessors. The flesh, therefore, becomes the own flesh of the Word. Quoting Cyril against Nestorius, Severus says that as an implication of this union, we do not say that the flesh became Godhead (as if it were independent), but rather it became divine as being his" (Torrance, *op. cit.*, & n. 60, referring to St. Severus, *Letter to the Emesenes*, *Collected Letters*, p. 232,7-8).

VII.H.11. HOW IT IS ABSURD TO SPEAK OF TWO PROPERTIES AND TWO ACTIVITIES IN CHRIST:

As the nature of the Word incarnate is one, so also his activity and his natural property remain single. In order to prove this, St. Severus implied an argument that later would be used by the Chalcedonian Monoenergists of the seventh century. He said that if one accepts two properties as the Chalcedonians claim, then a multiplicity of them must be assumed, because both the divinity and the humanity of Christ have various properties.

Thus St. Severus asks in his *First Letter to Sergius*: "How is it not absurd to speak of two properties or two activities? For there are many properties and not just two, of each nature. For example, of his humanity there is perceptibility, and visibility, and mortality, and being subject to hunger and to thirst and to other things like it. And there are many properties of the divine nature: invisibility, intangibility, being before the ages, being unlimited. The things which are done are similarly many and various, and all these are as many as the human and divine actions that a man can recount" (Torrance, *Christology*, p. 155).

St. Severus used in this passage the word 'property' in the plural. He made a clear distinction between the single property and the multiple properties of Christ's single nature. He placed the properties-in-the-plural on the same scale as the deeds of Christ. They are, so to speak, 'deeds' either of the single property or of the single nature.

Because of the unity of the properties-in-the-plural in the one Christ, they can be characterized neither as purely divine nor as purely human. The divine ones can also be named human and vice versa. Thus St. Severus writes:

"When a *hypostatic* union is professed, of which the fulfillment is that **from two** there is one Christ without confusion, one person, one *hypostasis*, one nature belonging to the Word incarnate, the Word is known by means of the properties of the flesh, and the properties of the humanity will become the properties of the divinity of the Word; and again the properties of the Word will be acknowledged as the properties of the flesh, and the same one will be seen by means of both (sets of properties), both touchable and not touchable, and visible and not visible, and belonging to time and from before time, and we shall not attribute the properties of each nature, dividing them up."

"And the clear and astute words of wise Cyril will again teach and instruct us clearly (in) these things, for he writes as follows in the Third Volume against the blasphemies of Nestorius: (CYRIL): 'Does he then lie, when he said that the Son of Man, who is himself,

descended from heaven? Far from it! For he is himself the truth. Therefore how may "the Son of Man from above" be understood rightly? Because although he is God the Word and from the *ousia* which is above every (*ousia*), it is said that he descended and took the form of a servant, and then speaks with us, not, from then on, as the naked Word, but as a man like us, and as one who is understood already as one with flesh united to him. Just as, for the sake of that which is proper to the emptying, he takes for his own all those things which are of the body, even though he is incorporeal by nature, so too, he, being from above and from heaven, attributes (the words) "he came from above" to himself, while he was man, even though he was in the flesh with us from woman. Therefore the properties of the Word became properties of manhood, and those of manhood, properties of the Word. For thus one Christ and Son and Lord is understood'..." (St. Severus, *ad Serg. I*, quoting St. Cyril of Alexandria, *PG* 76:137B-C = Pusey ed., vol. 6, p. 153:18-154:3, as published in Torrance, *Christology*, p. 151 & n. 20 on p. 162).

VII.H.12. EXAMPLES OF ANATHEMATISMS PRONOUNCED BY ST. SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH AGAINST THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, THE *TOME* OF LEO, AND ALL THOSE WHO SPEAK OF TWO NATURES AFTER THE UNION AND THE OPERATION OF THESE AND THEIR PROPERTIES:

VII.H.12.a. During the ceremony of his consecration to the see of Antioch on November 16th, 512, St. Severus delivered the first of his 125 Cathedral homilies in which: "He anathematizes all heretics, '**especially Nestorius and Eutyches, Chalcedon, Leo's *Tome* and all supporters of the "two natures after the union", and every distribution of activities and properties in the one incarnate *Logos* to "two" (natures), which meant for Severus the profession of two persons. Chalcedon had stirred up an even more furious storm than Nestorius had** (Coptic §10, p. 258). **At this Council the new Jews assembled** (Coptic §14, pp. 260-261)" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part I, pp. 281-282).

VII.H.12.b. In his *Letter 47*, to Hippocrates the Alexandrian scholasticus, St. Severus writes: "But this you may keep firmly and fixedly in your mind, **that no one shall be our fellow-communicant, nor will we consent to greet by letter any man who at the same time receives the wicked synod at Chalcedon contrary to the law, and does not anathematize the *Tome* of Leo.** But, if any concession is necessary, I will stand within the ordinances of the **holy Timothy**, considering the general benefit of a union of the holy churches, and **demanding an open anathema of the things done at Chalcedon against the orthodox faith, and of the wicked *Tome* of Leo, and of those who speak of two natures after the union, and the operations of these and their properties....**" (*PO* T. XII, Fascicule 2, p. 322f., *Ep.* 47).

VII.H.12.c. In his *Homily 109*, St. Severus preaches saying: "Therefore godless are those, who with regard to Christ teach two natures which act, for it is necessary that each nature has an action which is proper to it and different, that is, an acting movement/motion..... some conduct themselves in an ungodly way, at the same time they suffer from a final

ignorance with regard to the alteration [change] of deeds and words; they have set up two that act and speak, when very significantly they have named the persons 'natures' and have concealed two sons and two Christs under the lion's skin" (*Hom.* 109: *PO* 25,758-760, as quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, pp. 145-146).

VII.H.12.d. St. Severus writes to the strategos John saying: "...we ascend...and profess one – because he is one – nature, *hypostasis* and *energeia* (which are also) composite; also we anathematize all those who, concerning this (question) teach about a dyad of natures and activities after the unity" (St. Severus Ant., *Ep. ad Johannem ducem*: *DP* 309-310).

VII.H.12.e. In reply to the Synodical Letter of St. Theodosius of Alexandria, St. Severus wrote a Synodical Letter to St. Theodosius, dated 26 July 535, in which he says: "We, too, anathematize with all our authority those who have boasted and spoken against them (i.e. against the twelve chapters of St. Cyril) and those who cast forth before them the seeds (that is, the tares) of Jewish anthropolatry" [and, after giving a list of their names, he adds:] "**Now along with these afore-mentioned profane teachers of anthropolatry we must number and anathematize also the Synod of Chalcedon and the blasphemous *Tome* of the impious Leo of the church of the Romans**, whom the same Synod called 'the pillar of orthodoxy': for outside the canon of the divinely inspired Fathers, it established a definition of the faith, and after the inexpressible union divided the divine and indivisible incarnation into a duality of natures along with their activities and their particular properties, as the *Tome* itself also indicates to those who read it – since openly and at length it expounds what it means that the one, our Lord Jesus Christ, should be acknowledged as existing in two natures....." (Allen & Hayward, *Severus [of Antioch]*, pp. 166-167, quoting the Synodical Letter to Theodosius, tr. *CSCO* 17, pp. 30&31).

[See also Part Six, section XXX. of the present work, for the Anathematism in the *Typus* of Emperor Anastasius, which was probably drafted by the monk St. Severus on the instruction of the Emperor.]

VII.İ. Christ's One Activity in the Teachings of St. Philoxenus of Mabbug:

St. Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabbug (485-523 A.D.), takes the theme "God suffered" to emphasize that the subject of the one activity of the one Lord Jesus Christ is God (the *Logos*).

In a letter to the monks of Senoun (*CSCO* 232, p. 38,25-39,9) written by St. Philoxenus in the year 521 or 522 A.D. from Philippopolis, where he lived in exile, (before his assassination there in 523), he "looked back at the long development of the theme 'God suffered' and determined the place of the *Henoticon*", saying: "There [then] is what blessed Cyril also wrote who follows in everything the path of the holy Fathers, his precursors, without wandering either to the left or to the right from the royal highway along which they advanced. [For] he himself also says: the virginal conception is [that] of God [is to be expressed of Jesus Christ as God]; the birth is of God; the resemblance to us in all things is of God; the passion is of God; the resurrection from the dead is of God; the ascension into heaven is of God. And [it is] because Nestorius departed from this way [in

order to] show another one, new and strange, already trodden before him by the feet of heretics, I mean Diodore, Theodore [of Mopsuestia] and those of their persuasion, [that] he was anathematized with [his] doctrine, first by the holy Council held at Ephesus, then by all the bishops and archbishops who subscribed the unifying Edict [*Henoticon*]. These anathematized, apart from Nestorius, the erring of Eutyches and his own heresy which is Manichaean. And they condemned also those who had assembled at Chalcedon, who even before the *Henoticon* had fallen under the anathema through the decision taken at the holy Council held at Ephesus where these words were officially sanctioned: 'Anyone who shall produce a definition of faith other than the august and holy [definition] coming from the Fathers of Nicaea, let him be anathema'." (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, pp. 285-286).

St. Philoxenus "does make a distinction between what is appropriate to the humanity and what is appropriate to the divinity within the Incarnation – e.g. stating that God died in so far as he was a man, and therefore was mortal, while he remained immortal in his divinity. When he does this, he is using the concept of the two proprieties as Severus used it (St. Severus believed that one self-subsistent *hypostasis* may have more than one, or even more than two, proprieties). Philoxenus does not know, apparently, of such a concept of propriety as Severus came to use" (Chesnut, p. 65, n. 3). St. Philoxenus rejects the notion of two properties as it was expressed at Chalcedon, because to him, two properties means necessarily two separate *hypostases* or natures (see e.g. *Letter to the Monks of Senoun*, p. 22, as mentioned in Chesnut, *op. cit.*). St. Philoxenus says, "explaining the passage 'the Word became flesh', that 'the flesh does not have any individuality which is not also that of the Word; and again, there is no property which one may not think is also that of the flesh... After the Word became flesh, his own properties and those of the flesh we confess to be one, because the one who became is the one who is, and the one who is is also recognized as the one who became and not another'..." (Chesnut, *op. cit.*, quoting St. Philoxenus, *Letter to the Monks of Senoun*, pp. 62-63).

This teaching is also very clear in the Confession of Faith of St. Philoxenus from which we quote the part following the confession of the Holy Trinity: "Now therefore, one of the Persons of this Trinity came down by the mystery of depletion, and of the Holy Virgin became man. Inasmuch as He was God, His nature was not changed in its being, and no addition to His Person took place, but He remained the Only-begotten, even after He had taken upon himself a body. For the act of coming into being did not introduce into the Only-begotten another firstborn, but shewed that the firstborn of the Virgin was the Only-begotten of the Father; for He, Who was the Only-begotten through His birth from the Eternal, Himself became the firstborn by His birth of the Virgin. And since God the Word, Who is of the Virgin, is the Only-begotten, and since because He became man of the Virgin He is the firstborn, the Only-begotten is the firstborn, and the firstborn is the Only-begotten. And being Himself God, He is Son of God [and] Son of man; and Son of man [and Son of] God; Son of the Eternal [and] Son of the Virgin; Son of the Virgin [and] Son of the Eternal; the concealed revealed, and the revealed concealed; a spiritual corporeal Being, and a corporeal spiritual Being; a finite infinity; Who was upon the throne and was in the womb; Who was in the womb and was upon the throne; Son of God Son of man; Son of man Son of God; the visible invisible; the concealed and invisible visible; the passible impassible; the impassible passible; the dead living, and the living dead; Who being in heaven was in

Sheol, and Who being in Sheol was in heaven. The Only-begotten is One Who hath no number among those who belong to heaven or among those who belong to earth, for the attributes of the Only-begotten belong to the Only-begotten, and not unto various others, as those who are in error say: 'For do not exalted things belong to the exalted? and lowly things to the humble? and divine qualities to God? and human attributes to man?' But to the exalted one who hath been abased belong lowly things; and of the God Who became man we must believe human things; of the hidden One who became revealed must we believe all contemptible things; and to the infinite God Who of His own will became mortal man, and Who yet remained immortal God in His nature, belong suffering and death. One of the Trinity became the Only-begotten of the Father, the Word God became the Son of man by the Virgin by taking upon Himself the body of our Nature, the nature of the Word remaining unchanged, and He Himself, One God, Who was of God, suffered and died for us. And because He became the Son of Man, and remained [so] in His life and also in His death even as He continued in His unchanging and eternal Being, He was also man in His Being" (Budge, *Philoxenus*, vol. II, pp. xxxii-xxxiii).

Furthermore, in the Eighth of the *Ten Anathemas* against the Council of Chalcedon, St. Philoxenus declares: "VIII. And we anathematize the Council of Chalcedon also because it distinguisheth in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God, natures, and attributes, and functions, and celestial and terrestrial qualities, and Divine and human properties. And it considereth Him [to be] Two, and it introduceth an idea of Four, and it worshippeth an ordinary man, and in every particular it findeth Him to be a creature, even as do the Jews and heathen, and it agreeth with the wicked Nestorius who is accursed and doomed to perdition. For all these and for many other similar reasons we have anathematized and we will [always] anathematize the Council of Chalcedon" (*ibid.*, pp. xxxv-xxxvi).

VII.J. Christ's One Activity in the Teachings of St. Jacob of Sarug:

St. Jacob (*c.* 451-521 A.D.) was consecrated bishop of Sarug in 519. At the root of his Christology is the uncompromising insistence on the absolute oneness of Christ.

Our Lord Jesus is "one Son, one number, one *hypostasis*, one nature, one God who was enfleshed from the holy virgin, one of the Trinity who was seen in the flesh..." (Chesnut, p. 119, quoting *Jacobi Sarugensis: epistulae quotquot supersunt*, ed. Olinder, G., Louvain 1937, *CSCO* vol. 110, Scriptores Syri, T. 57, *Letter* 3, p. 19).

In Jesus there is one nature and *hypostasis* without division. Therefore, St. Jacob says: "[I anathematize those] who, after the union, divide (*mphalgîn*) and name and count in the one Christ natures and their proprieties, and their individualities, and their operations," *Letter* 16, p. 70. "For the prohibition against 'dividing' see also *Letters*, 16, pp. 65, 72; 33, pp. 247, 248; 14, pp. 60, 61; 6, p. 31. The root in all these cases is *plg*" (Chesnut, p. 119, n. 2).

In Christ there is only one will – the will of God (*ibid.*, n. 5, referring to *Hom.* 53), and one operation – the operation of the Word made flesh (*ibid.*, referring in n. 6 to *Letter* 16, p. 71). This is in contrast to the Nestorians who know "in Immanuel two *hypostases*, one the receiver of passions, and one the worker of powerful things; the high things were given to the one, and the lowly things to the other" (Chesnut, *op. cit.*, n. 6; see also *Letters* 21, pp. 139, 140; 12, p. 50 etc.).

In Christ there are no separate proprieties, belonging to the humanity and the divinity, all things belong to the Word. In *Letter* 14 (p. 61) St. Jacob condemns those who "arrange natures after the union, and speak about natures and their proprieties and individualities" (Chesnut, *op. cit.*, n. 7. See also *Letters* 16, pp. 65, 70; 19, p. 115).

In our Lord Jesus, there are no "names" or "parts", "ranks" or "numbers". [These terms are explained by St. Severus. It is important to St. Severus that "there are no names: a self-subsistent *hypostasis* was characterized by the fact that it could be counted as an entity (i.e. it had a number) and that it had a name of its own, such as 'Jesus' or 'the man' or 'the Incarnate Word'. That there are no ranks means that the Word cannot be divided into a lowly and a glorious part". There are no names: *Letters* 16, p. 65; 14, p. 61. There are no parts: *Letters* 6, p. 31; 33, p. 247; no ranks or degrees: *Letters* 19, p. 118; 21, pp. 139, 140; 33, p. 247; no numbers: *Letters* 16, p. 65; 14, p. 61; 6, pp. 31, 32; 19, p. 118; 21, pp. 139, 140" (Chesnut, p. 119f. & n. 8).].

VII.K. Christ's One Activity in the Teachings of St. Anthimus Patriarch of Constantinople:

St. Anthimus Patriarch of Constantinople (535-536 A.D.) was deposed and exiled because of his rejection of the Council of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo (see Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, pp. 348ff.). His confession of the true faith is preserved in a fragment of a *logos* addressed to Emperor Justinian, which contains typical miaphysite and miaenergist theses: "We confess the one incarnate nature of the God-*Logos*, which together with its own flesh is to be adored in worship, in this one incarnate nature of the God-*Logos*; we do not permit talk of an ignorance of the divinity or (of an ignorance) of his rational and intellectual soul by which that is animated which is assumed from us, is consubstantial with us, a passible body which is united to the God-*Logos* according to the *hypostasis*. If there is only one *hypostasis*, one nature of the incarnate God-*Logos*, then without doubt there is also only one will, one activity, one wisdom and one knowledge for both" (St. Anthimus, *Sermo ad Iustinian.* [*CPG* 7086]: Mansi xi, col. 440E-441A, as quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 366).

The *acta* of the Chalcedonian Council of 680/681 produce from the same *logos* of St. Anthimus a very interesting patristic justification, namely from St. Cyril's commentary on St. John, with the depiction and interpretation of the raising of the daughter of Jairus. Christ raised the dead not only by word and command; he also put his flesh into action in doing this. Through speech and touch together occurs a single coherent activity: "vivifying as God through a command effecting everything; he also enlivens, however, by the touch of his hand and shows by this the one activity grown together from both (μίαν τε καὶ συγγενῆ δι'ἀμφοῖν ἐπιδείκνυσι τὴν ἐνέργειαν)" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 366-367, referring to St. Cyril Alex., *In Ioannis Evangel.* IV: *PG* 73,577C3-15. This text is cited twice: Mansi xi, col. 441-442, 517-518). St. Anthimus adds his own reflections to this: "Because we also know that the property of the divine intellectual activity consists in the knowledge of all things, we are taught that there is only one and the same divine activity; how should we also not confess that there is in the one Christ only one and the same knowledge of all things (as we have already said) according to his divinity and according to his humanity?" (Grillmeier,

op. cit., p. 367, quoting Mansi xi, col. 441/442C).

"We shall add yet another fragment from this *logos* to Emperor Justinian, which is contained in B.L. Add. 14532:"

"Because we follow the prophetic speech we in no way attribute ignorance to the one Son, our Lord Jesus Christ (composite and indivisible). For to say that the God-*Logos*, insofar as he is God-*Logos*, does not know the last day and the (last) hour (cf. *Matthew* 24:36 and *Mark* 13:32), is full of Arian, or rather Judaic impiety. (To say that he does not know it) in his humanity makes a division of the one Lord into two persons, two Sons, two Christs, two natures and two *hypostaseis*, and into their separate activities and properties and a complete (division)....". "For us there is one *hypostasis* and one incarnate nature of the God-*Logos*, as there is also without doubt only one will. We know too only one activity, and one wisdom, and there is (only) for both one knowledge. Therefore whoever says that he knew as God, but as a human being he did not know, separates in an unconscionable way the one indivisible Son into two natures, two *hypostaseis*, just like the impious Theodoret. We believe, however, with God's grace, as we have already said: his divine, rational and intellectual soul, consubstantial with our souls obtained, after its union with God the Word, an existence together with his body, consubstantial with our bodies; immediately with its union to that (body) it had all of his divine activity, wisdom, and omniscience, so that every single knowing is the same for both the God-*Logos* and the rational and intellectual soul" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 367-368, referring to Van Roey-Allen, *OLA* 56, p. 65).

Grillmeier (*op. cit.*) concludes: "Anthimus thus presents a picture of Christ conceived totally from above. As the order and sole power to raise the dead proceeds from the *Logos*, mediated by the simultaneous corporal contact, so too the one knowledge, the divine omniscience, comes from the *Logos* into Christ's humanity. The idea of the 'one activity' (*mia energeia*) is consistently applied to the region of knowledge".

VII.L. Christ's One Activity in the Teachings of St. Theodosius Pope of Alexandria:

Pope St. Theodosius, the thirty-third Patriarch of Alexandria (535-566 A.D.) was summoned to Constantinople and exiled there by Emperor Justinian. He wrote a treatise on Christ's knowledge to Empress Theodora. It was certainly composed between 536 and 540 (*Tomus ad Theodoram augustam*: *CPG* 7133, introduction, edition and Latin translation prepared by Van Roey-Allen, *OLA* 56, pp. 16-56). In it we can see the oldest and most significant treatment of the question in the East. Like all who followed the true faith of one incarnate nature, one will and one activity (*mia energeia*) from above, would have to proceed consistently to the μία γνῶσις, the one knowledge. All *energeia* and *dynamis* in Christ are from the divine side of Jesus and flow from above down below. Although St. Theodosius speaks only of Christ's knowledge, the willing of Christ also belongs naturally to the one *energeia*. To the "one knowledge" there corresponds necessarily the one *thelesis*, i.e. the one will which is intimated by talk of *potens* = omnipotent (see Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 372).

St. Theodosius "gains a special argument for Christ's omniscience as a human being by classifying knowing among the *activitates*, that is, the *energeiai*. Then, however, it is

true for him that in Christ there is only one *physis*, one *hypostasis*, one activity, that is, the fundamental Severan thesis for the one Christ. His concluding judgement shows that he is just reproducing Severus" (*ibid.*). Thus, St. Theodosius writes:

"With regard to the activity – for knowledge is an activity and not less the foreknowledge of the future – the holy Fathers have handed on to us that there is only this one (*energeia*), namely the divine, in the composite Christ. It is not in accordance with tradition to say that he [Christ] acts in the one and does not act in the other [N.B. against Leo], knows (in the one and) does not know in the other. For we must confess either (1) that there is both in his humanity and in his divinity a knowledge [proper to each] – which is foolish and ungodly, or (2) that there is only one *divine* knowledge – which is true, correct and has been said by the holy Fathers about the Emmanuel. For this reason no ignorance at all remains in him" (*ibid.*, quoting *OLA* 56, p. 55,479-487).

"Christ's knowledge thus has a special position. It is classified as 'activity', as *energeia*, and is distinguished from the πάθη, the passions. In the domain of the *energeia* there is for Theodosius not *in alio et in alio* in Christ" (*ibid.*, quoting *OLA* 56, pp. 55,497-56,503).

But according to St. Theodosius the actions (*actiones*) or activities (*activitates*) have to be distinguished from the natural passions (*passiones naturales*) which are conceivable only in Christ's humanity as executive organ, while the divinity is free from these. Thus, St. Theodosius writes: "But in relation to the natural passions (*passiones naturales*) it is permissible to speak of 'in one – in the other'; one and the same is mortal in the humanity and immortal in the divinity; the same is passible in the humanity and impassible in the divinity" (*ibid.*, pp. 373-374, quoting *OLA* 56, p. 55,493-495).

St. Theodosius connects the concept of the synthesis of the divinity and humanity with the idea of the unity of the *energeia*, activity, *operatio*. In St. Severus also, this concept played a special role in Christology.

St. Theodosius writes also in his *Epistula synodica* to Patriarch Paul of Antioch, referring to the Council of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo, saying: "This perfidious and damnable synod taught unlawfully among its other blasphemies that Christ is to be known in two natures, and against the best valid *canones* it set up a different definition of faith and called the *Tome* of Leo a pillar of orthodoxy, which openly affirmed the godless teachings of Nestorius and two natures and *hypostases*, as well as [two] forms (*agit enim utraque forma!*) and activities and characteristics..." (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 59, quoting St. Theodos. Alex., *Ep. synod. ad Paul. Patr.*: *CPG* 7142: *CSCO* 103, pp. 85,26-86,7).

VII.M. Christ's One Activity in the Teaching of St. Damian Pope of Alexandria:

Pope St. Damian, the thirty-fifth Patriarch of Alexandria (569 [or 578] – 605 A.D.), who was of Syrian origin, wrote a synodical letter with which he introduced himself to St. Jacob Baradai after his consecration as patriarch. He begins in this letter with a Christological part with the soteriological idea, explaining the significance of the *Theotokos* title of the Holy Virgin and expressly emphasizing her perpetual virginity (like the *virginitas Mariae ante et post partum*). Immediately following are the *mia-physis* formula – which he especially stresses later, just like the ἐκ δύο (from two) – and the confession to *mia energeia*. Thus he writes:

"We proclaim not two Christs nor two sons nor two natures nor two activities (*opérations*) but one single Son and one single nature of the incarnate Word, one single *hypostasis*, one single person, one single activity" (St. Damian Alex., *Epistula synodica ad Iacobum Baradaeum*: *CPG* 7240; Michael Syr., *Chronicle* X:14, Chabot II, p. 327b; quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 76).

Then he presents the incarnation in detail followed by a pronouncement of anathema against the pernicious Council of Chalcedon, and the *Tome* of Leo, and all who say two natures in Christ after the union (Chabot II, p. 329b).

VII.N. Christ's One Activity in the Teaching of St. Benjamin Pope of Alexandria:

Pope St. Benjamin I, the thirty-eighth Patriarch of Alexandria (623-662 A.D.), wrote Easter festal letters. His patristic knowledge can be seen especially in the sixteenth festal letter (end of 643/beginning of 644). In addition to the Cappadocians, he refers there above all to the Alexandrian patriarchs SS. Athanasius, Cyril and Dioscorus, St. Epiphanius of Salamis, St. Severus of Antioch...etc. The parable of the iron in the fire is repeatedly used to show that only the flesh of Christ suffered. But during the suffering the divinity did not separate from the humanity.

The letter ends with St. Benjamin's confession to *mia physis*, *mia hypostasis* and *mia energeia*. (See Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, pp. 81-86, for details and Bibliography. In p. 84, he says: "According to Graf, Benjamin's sixteenth Easter letter appears in two Coptic florilegia, namely, in the 'Priceless Pearl' in the seventh section ('On the Sufferings on the Cross that Give Life'), and in the 'Confession of the Fathers', where there is an 'abbreviated version'.". For the Arabic version of the sixteenth Easter festal letter in the 'Confessions of the Fathers' and its editions see n. 158 in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 86. The Arabic letter is also quoted by Bishop Isidurus's history of the Coptic Church entitled *Al-Kharīdah al-Nafīsah fi Tarīkh al-Kanīsah*, vol. II, pp. 112-119 in the ed. of Hegumenus ᶜAttalla Arsanyus al-Muḥarraqī. Cairo, 1964).

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VIII. THE QUESTION OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST'S GROWTH AND KNOWLEDGE:

VIII.A. St. Athanasius and His Interpretation of Christ's Growth and Knowledge:

VIII.A.1. ST. ATHANASIUS'S INTERPRETATION OF CHRIST'S GROWTH:

St. Athanasius treated this topic in his *Contra Arianos* (*Or.* III, 51-54), interpreting St. *Luke* 2:52, from which we quote the following: "51. Now Luke says, 'And Jesus advanced in wisdom and stature, and in grace with God and man'. This then is the passage, and since they stumble in it, we are compelled to ask them, like the Pharisees and the Sadducees, of the person concerning whom Luke speaks. And the case stands thus. Is Jesus Christ man, as all other men, or is He God bearing flesh? If then He is an ordinary man as the rest, then let Him, as a man, advance; this however is the sentiment of the Samosatene (i.e., the heretic Paul of Samosata), which virtually indeed you entertain also, though in name you deny it because of men. But if He be God bearing flesh, as He truly is, and 'the Word became flesh', and being God descended upon earth, what advance had He who existed equal to God? or how had the Son increase, being ever in the Father? For if He who was ever in the Father, advanced, what, I ask, is there beyond the Father from which His advance might be made?..... And again, if, as being the Word, He advances, what has He more to become than Word and Wisdom and Son and God's Power? For the Word is all these, ... or how did Wisdom advance in wisdom? or how did He who to others gives grace (as Paul says in every Epistle knowing that through Him grace is given, 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all'), how did He advance in grace? for either let them say that the Apostle is untrue, and presume to say that the Son is not Wisdom, or else if He is Wisdom as Solomon said, and if Paul wrote, 'Christ God's Power and God's Wisdom', of what advance did Wisdom admit further?".

"52. For men, creatures as they are, are capable in a certain way of reaching forward and advancing in virtue. Enoch, for instance, was thus translated, and Moses increased and was perfected;.... For each had room for advancing, looking to the step before him. But the Son of God, who is One and Only, what room had He for reaching forward? for all things advance by looking at Him;..... To men then belongs advance; but the Son of God, since He could not advance, being perfect in the Father, humbled Himself for us, that in His humbling we on the other hand might be able to increase. And our increase is no other than the renouncing things sensible, and coming to the Word Himself; since His humbling is nothing else than His taking our flesh. It was not then the Word, considered as the Word, who advanced; who is perfect from the perfect Father, who needs nothing, nay brings forward others to an advance; but humanly is He here also said to advance, since advance belongs to man. Hence the Evangelist, speaking with cautious exactness, has

mentioned stature in the advance; but being Word and God He is not measured by stature, which belongs to bodies. Of the body then is the advance; for, it advancing, in it advanced also the manifestation of the Godhead to those who saw it. And, as the Godhead was more and more revealed, by so much more did His grace as man increase before all men. For as a child He was carried to the Temple; and when He became a boy, He remained there, and questioned the priests about the Law. And by degrees His body increasing, and the Word manifesting Himself in it, He is confessed henceforth by Peter first, then also by all, 'Truly this is the Son of God';... to advance in wisdom is not the advance of Wisdom Itself, but rather the manhood's advance in It. For 'Jesus advanced in wisdom and grace'; and, if we may speak what is explanatory as well as true, He advanced in Himself; for 'Wisdom builded herself an house', and in herself she gave the house advancement."

"53. ..... For thus, the body increasing in stature, there developed in it the manifestation of the Godhead also, and to all was it displayed that the body was God's Temple (cf. *John* 2:19-21), and that God was in the body..... the Word has become man, and bore true flesh. And as we said that He suffered in the flesh, and hungered in the flesh, and was fatigued in the flesh, so also reasonably may He be said to have advanced in the flesh; for neither did the advance, such as we have described it, take place with the Word external to the flesh, for in Him was the flesh which advanced and His is it called, and that as before, that man's advance might abide and fail not, because of the Word which is with it. Neither then was the advance the Word's, nor was the flesh Wisdom, but the flesh became the body of Wisdom. Therefore, as we have already said, not Wisdom, as Wisdom, advanced in respect of Itself; but the manhood advanced in Wisdom, transcending by degrees human nature, and being deified, and becoming and appearing to all as the organ of Wisdom for the operation and the shining forth of the Godhead. Wherefore neither said he, 'The Word advanced', but Jesus, by which Name the Lord was called when He became man;..", i.e. the advance was in His humanity.

"54. Therefore as, when the flesh advanced, He is said to have advanced, because the body was His own, so also what is said at the season of His death, that He was troubled, that He wept, must be taken in the same sense".

The advance also, as was mentioned before (parag. 52), was in us, through his humbling Himself for us, "that in His humbling we on the other hand might be able to increase. And our increase is no other than the renouncing things sensible, and coming to the Word Himself; since His humbling is nothing else than His taking our flesh". And again (*ibid.*) at the start of paragraph 53, St. Athanasius says: "53. (What moreover is this advance that is spoken of, but, as I said before, the deifying and grace imparted from Wisdom to men, sin being obliterated in them and their inward corruption, according to their likeness and relationship to the flesh of the Word?)..." (The quotations are from *NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. IV, pp. 421-423).

VIII.A.2. ST. ATHANASIUS'S INTERPRETATION OF CHRIST'S KNOWLEDGE:

[His interpretation of St. *John* 11:34 and St. *Mark* 13:32]: The Arians had already used these texts to deduce an argument against the divinity of the *Logos*. St. Athanasius and the rest of the Nicene Fathers defended the full divinity of the *Logos* and demonstrated his full knowledge of everything including the last day and hour and solved the difficulty of the

apparent ignorance in such texts by ascribing it to his humanity and his way of speaking humanly.

St. Athanasius interpreted these texts in the third of his *Discourses Against the Arians.*

VIII.A.2.a. His Interpretation of the Question in *John* 11:34 and Similar Texts:

St. Athanasius writes (*Contra Arianos*, *Or.* III, parag. 37): "if we should hear Him asking where Lazarus is laid (*John* 11:34), or when He asks on coming into the parts of Caesarea, 'Whom do men say that I am?' or 'How many loaves have ye?' and, 'What will ye that I shall do unto you?' (*Matthew* 16:13; *Mark* 6:38; *Matthew* 20:32), we may know, from what has been already said, the right sense of the passages, and may not stumble as Christ's enemies the Arians. First then we must put this question to the irreligious, why they consider Him ignorant? for one who asks, does not for certain ask from ignorance; but it is possible for one who knows, still to ask concerning what He knows. Thus John was aware that Christ, when asking, 'How many loaves have ye?' was not ignorant, for he says, 'And this He said to prove him, for He Himself knew what He would do' (*John* 6:6). But if He knew what He was doing, therefore not in ignorance, but with knowledge did He ask. From this instance we may understand similar ones; that, when the Lord asks, He does not ask in ignorance, where Lazarus lies, nor again, whom men do say that He is; but knowing the thing which He was asking, aware what He was about to do. And thus with ease is their clever point exploded; but if they still persist...etc.".

Petavius (1583-1653 A.D.) refers to the above-mentioned passage in proof that St. Athanasius did not in his real judgment consider our Lord ignorant, but went on to admit it in argument after having first given his own real opinion (*NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. IV, p. 414, n. 5).

St. Athanasius continues in argument saying: "...but if they still persist on account of His asking, then they must be told that in the Godhead indeed ignorance is not, but to the flesh ignorance is proper, as has been said. And that this is really so, observe how the Lord who inquired where Lazarus lay, Himself said, when He was not on the spot but a great way off, 'Lazarus is dead' (*John* 11:14), and where he was dead; and how that He who is considered by them as ignorant, is He Himself who foreknew the reasonings of the disciples, and was aware of what was in the heart of each, and of 'what was in man', and, what is greater, alone knows the Father and says, 'I in the Father and the Father in Me' (*John* 2:25; 14:11)" (*ibid.*, p. 414).

Although St. Athanasius admits ignorance as being natural and proper to humans, and that Christ does not shrink from what is man's, yet He is God Who has taken to Him the flesh, and being in the flesh deifies the flesh. What St. Athanasius intends to teach is that although the flesh is naturally ignorant, yet because through the incarnation it was deified and became God's flesh, it thus received all knowledge and power through its union with Him.

Thus St. Athanasius continues to say (*ibid.*, *Contra Arianos*, *Or.* III, parag. 38): "....the Word Himself, considered as the Word, knows all things even before they come to be. For He did not, when He became man, cease to be God; nor, whereas He is God does He shrink from what is man's; perish the thought; but rather, being God, He has taken to Him the flesh, and being in the flesh deifies the flesh. For as He asked questions in it, so also in it did

He raise the dead; and He shewed to all that He who quickens the dead and recalls the soul, much more discerns the secret of all.....".

Again he says (*ibid.*, parag. 46): "...In like manner also about Lazarus He asks humanly, who was on His way to raise him, and knew whence He should recall Lazarus's soul; and it was a greater thing to know where the soul was, than to know where the body lay; but He asked humanly, that He might raise divinely. So too He asks of the disciples, on coming into the parts of Caesarea, though knowing even before Peter made answer. For if the Father revealed to Peter the answer to the Lord's question, it is plain that through the Son was the revelation, for 'No one knoweth the Son', saith He, 'save the Father, neither the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him' (*Luke* 10:22). But if through the Son is revealed the knowledge both of the Father and the Son, there is no room for doubting that the Lord who asked, having first revealed it to Peter from the Father, next asked humanly; in order to shew, that asking after the flesh, He knew divinely what Peter was about to say. The Son then knew, as knowing all things, and knowing His own Father, than which knowledge nothing can be greater or more perfect" (*NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. IV, p. 419).

VIII.A.2.b. His Demonstration of Christ's Knowledge of the Last Day and Hour in the Context of Interpreting St. *Mark* 13:32:

This topic was discussed by St. Athanasius in great detail in his *Contra Arianos* (*Or.* III, 42-46) from which we quote the following: "42.... come let us now examine into 'But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, neither the Angels of God, nor the Son' (*Mark* 13:32);..... Through the Word all things have been made, times and seasons and night and day and the whole creation; and is the Framer of all said to be ignorant of His work? And the very context of the lection shews that the Son of God knows that hour and that day, though the Arians fall headlong in their ignorance. For after saying, 'nor the Son', He relates to the disciples what precedes the day, saying, 'This and that shall be, and then the end'. But He who speaks of what precedes the day, knows certainly the day also, which shall be manifested subsequently to the things foretold. But if He had not known the hour, He had not signified the events before it, as not knowing when it should be. And as any one, who, by way of pointing out a house or city to those who were ignorant of it, gave an account of what comes before the house or city, and having described all, said, 'Then immediately comes the city or the house', would know of course where the house or the city was (for had he not known, he had not described what comes before lest from ignorance he should throw his hearers far out of the way, or in speaking he should unawares go beyond the object), so the Lord saying what precedes that day and that hour, knows exactly, nor is ignorant, when the hour and the day are at hand."

"43. Now why it was that, though He knew, He did not tell His disciples plainly at that time, no one may be curious where He has been silent; for 'Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been His counselor? (*Romans* 11:34) but why, though He knew, He said, 'no, not the Son knows', this I think none of the faithful is ignorant, viz. that He made this as those other declarations as man by reason of the flesh..... And this again will be well seen by honestly examining into the occasion, when and to whom the Saviour spoke thus. Not then when the heaven was made by Him, nor when He was with the Father Himself, the

Word 'disposing all things' (*Proverbs* 8:27, LXX), nor before He became man did He say it, but when 'the Word became flesh' (*John* 1:14). On this account it is reasonable to ascribe to His manhood everything which, after He became man, He speaks humanly. For it is proper to the Word to know what was made, nor be ignorant either of the beginning or of the end of these (for the works are His), and He knows how many things He wrought, and the limit of their consistence. And knowing of each the beginning and the end, He knows surely the general and common end of all....".

"44. On this account, He alludes to the Angels, but He did not go further and say, 'not the Holy Ghost'; but He was silent, with a double intimation; first that if the Spirit knew, much more must the Word know, considered as the Word, from whom the Spirit receives (cf. *John* 16:15); and next by His silence about the Spirit, He made it clear, that He said of His human ministry, 'no, not the Son'. And a proof of it is this; that, when He had spoken humanly 'No, not the Son knows', He yet shews that divinely He knew all things. For that Son whom He declares not to know the day, Him He declares to know the Father; for 'No one', He says, 'knoweth the Father; save the Son (*Matthew* 11:27). And all men but the Arians would join in confessing, that He who knows the Father, much more knows the whole of the creation; and in that whole, its end. And if already the day and the hour be determined by the Father, it is plain that through the Son are they determined, and He knows Himself what through Him has been determined, for there is nothing but has come to be and has been determined through the Son. Therefore He, being the Framer of the universe, knows of what nature, and of what magnitude, and with what limits, the Father has willed it to be made; and in the how much and how far is included its period. And again, if all that is the Father's, is the Son's (and this He Himself has said, *John* 16:15), and it is the Father's attribute to know the day, it is plain that the Son too knows it, having this proper to Him from the Father. And again, if the Son be in the Father and the Father in the Son, and the Father knows the day and the hour, it is clear that the Son, being in the Father and knowing the things of the Father, knows Himself also the day and the hour. And if the Son is also the Father's Very Image, and the Father knows the day and the hour, it is plain that the Son has this likeness also to the Father of knowing them. And it is not wonderful if He, through whom all things were made, and in whom the universe consists, Himself knows what has been brought to be, and when the end will be of each and of all together;....".

"46. Moreover, after narrating the parable of the Virgins, again He shews more clearly who they are who are ignorant of the day and the hour, saying, 'Watch therefore, for ye know neither the day nor the hour' (*Matthew* 25:13). He who said shortly before, 'No one knoweth, no not the Son', now says not 'I know not', but 'ye know not'. In like manner then, when His disciples asked about the end, suitably said He then, 'no, nor the Son', according to the flesh because of the body; that He might shew that, as man, He knows not; for ignorance is proper to man. If however He is the Word, if it is He who is to come, He to be Judge, He to be the Bridegroom, He knoweth when and in what hour He cometh, and when He is to say, 'Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light' (*Ephesians* 5:14). For as, on becoming man, He hungers and thirsts and suffers with men, so with men, as man He knows not; though divinely, being in the Father Word and Wisdom, He knows, and there is nothing which He knows not" (*NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. IV, pp. 416-419).

The mode in which St. Athanasius expresses himself, in parag. 46 cited before, is as if he did not ascribe ignorance literally, but apparent ignorance, to our Lord's soul "that He might *shew* that as man He knows not", that "as man" (i.e. on the *ground* of being man, not in the *capacity* of man), "He knows not". He did not speak of a real ignorance, but of an economical or professed ignorance, in a certain view of His incarnation or office, as when he asked, "How many loaves have ye?" (*Mark* 6:38), when "He Himself knew what He would do" (*John* 6:6), or as He is called sin though sinless (*2Corinthians* 5:21). Thus it has been noticed that St. Athanasius seems to make Christ's infirmities altogether only imputative, not real. And this view of St. Athanasius's meaning is favoured by the turn of his expressions. He says that "since He was made man, He is not *ashamed* because of the flesh which is ignorant, *to say*, 'I know not'" (parag. 43; similarly also in parag. 45).

"'He *asks* about Lazarus humanly', even when 'He was *on His way* to raise him', which implied surely knowledge in His humanity. The reference to the parallel of St. Paul's professed ignorance when he really knew (parag. 47); leads us to the same suspicion. And so 'for *our profit* as I think, did He this' (parag(s). 48-50)" (cf. *NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. IV, p. 418, n. 2, & p. 419, n. 2).

In fact, Christ was not ignorant, even in His humanity according to its capacity, since it was from the first taken out of its original and natural condition, and "deified" by its union with the Word (*ibid.*, p. 414, parag. 38).

VIII.B. St. Basil the Great and His Interpretation of Christ's Knowledge:

This topic was discussed by St. Basil in response to the question being asked him by St. Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium, concerning the saying of the Gospel as to our Lord Jesus Christ's ignorance of the day and of the hour of the end (*Mark* 13:32). St. Basil says that he will give him the answer he had heard from the fathers when he was a boy, but which was more fitted for pious Christians than for cavilers, and that is, that "our Lord says many things to men in His human aspect, as 'Give Me to drink' (*John* 4:7)... yet He who asked was not flesh without a soul, but Godhead using the flesh endued with soul" (*Ep.* 236, parag. 1). He also exclaims, "how can this passage fall in with the rest of the evidence of Scripture, or agree with the common notions of us who believe that the Only-Begotten is the image of the invisible God, and image not of the bodily figure, but of the very Godhead and of the mighty qualities attributed to the essence of God, image of power, image of wisdom, as Christ is called 'the power of God and the wisdom of God'? (*1Corinthians* 1:24). Now of wisdom knowledge is plainly a part; and if in any part He falls short, He is not an image of the whole; and how can we understand the Father not to have shewn that day and that hour—the smallest portion of the ages—to Him through Whom He made the ages? How can the Creator of the universe fall short of the knowledge of the smallest portion of the things created by Him? How can He who says, when the end is near, that such and such signs shall spear in heaven and in earth, be ignorant of the end itself? When He says, 'The end is not yet'. He makes a definite statement, as though with knowledge and not in doubt..... So in the present instance no one will be carried beyond the bounds of the interpretation of true religion, who understands the ignorance of him who had received all things according to the economy (οἰκονομικῶς), and was advancing with God and man in favour and

wisdom (*Luke* 2:52)" (*Ep.* 236, parag. 1, in *NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 8, p. 276).

St. Basil goes on saying (*ibid.*, parag. 2): ".... He could not say what is false Who said, 'All things that the Father hath are Mine' (*John* 16:15), but one of the things which the Father hath is knowledge of that day and of that hour. In the passage in *Matthew* (24:36), then, the Lord made no mention of His own Person, as a matter beyond controversy, and said that the angels knew not and that His Father alone knew, tacitly asserting the knowledge of His Father to be His own knowledge too, because of what He had said elsewhere, 'as the Father knoweth me even so know I the Father' (*John* 10:15), and if the Father has complete knowledge of the Son, nothing excepted, so that He knows all knowledge to dwell in Him, He will clearly be known as fully by the Son with all His inherent wisdom and all His knowledge of things to come".

St. Basil goes on to suggest another explanation. He "takes the words οὐδ' ὁ υἱός, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, to mean, 'nor does the Son know, except the Father knows', or 'not would the Son but for, &c.' or 'nor does the Son know, except as the Father knows'. 'The cause of the Son's knowing is from the Father' (*Ep.* 236, 2). St. Gregory alludes to the same interpretation, οὐδ' ὁ υἱὸς ἢ ὡς ὅτι ὁ πατήρ. 'Since the Father knows, therefore the Son' (Naz. *Orat.* 30, 16). St. Irenaeus seems to adopt the same when he says, 'The Son was not ashamed to *refer* the knowledge of that day to the Father'; (*Haer.* ii. 28, n. 6) as Naz, *supr.* uses the words ἐπὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀναφερέσθω" (*NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. IV, p. 416, n. 1).

It is to be noticed that St. Basil uses such words as οἰκονομικῶς to denote both our Lord's Incarnation (*Ep.* 236, 1 fin.) and His gracious accommodation of Himself and His truth (*Ep.* 8:6). In the latter Epistle St. Basil suggests that our Lord "economizes by a feigned ignorance" (parag. 6). (Cf. *NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. IV, p. 418, n. 2).

VIII.C. St. Gregory Nazianzen and His Interpretation of Christ's Growth and Knowledge:

St. Gregory Nazianzen defended the Deity of the *Logos* against the followers of Eunomius and Macedonius.

VIII.C.1. ST. GREGORY'S INTERPRETATION OF CHRIST'S GROWTH:

As regards the interpretation of St. *Luke* 2:52, we find that, like St. Athanasius, St. Gregory takes the view that from the first, Christ was perfect, and that in Him the qualities of wisdom and favour, not being capable of increase, were "gradually disclosed and displayed". Thus, (in his *Oration* 43:38), he says: "For He also, the gospel says, increased in wisdom and favour, as well as in stature, not that these qualities in Him were capable of growth: for how could that which was perfect from the first become more perfect, but that they were gradually disclosed and displayed?" (*NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 7, p. 408).

VIII.C.2. ST. GREGORY'S INTERPRETATION OF CHRIST'S KNOWLEDGE:

In *Oration* 30, entitled: "The Fourth Theological Oration which is the Second concerning the Son", which St. Gregory preached in Constantinople (379-381 A.D.), he treated the topic of Christ's knowledge saying: "XV. Their tenth objection is the ignorance, and the

statement that Of the last day and hour knoweth no man, not even the Son Himself, but the Father (*Mark* 13:32). And yet how can Wisdom be ignorant of anything – that is, Wisdom Who made the worlds, Who perfects them, Who remodels them, Who is the Limit of all things that were made, Who knoweth the things of God as the spirit of a man knows the things that are in him (*1Corinthians* 2:11). For what can be more perfect than this knowledge? How then can you say that all things before that hour He knows accurately, and all things that are to happen about the time of the end, but of the hour itself He is ignorant? For such a thing would be like a riddle; as if one were to say that he knew accurately all that was in front of the wall, but did not know the wall itself; or that, knowing the end of the day, he did not know the beginning of the night – where knowledge of the one necessarily brings in the other. Thus everyone must see that He knows as God, and knows not as Man;-- if one may separate the visible from that which is discerned by thought alone. For the absolute and unconditioned use of the Name 'The Son' in this passage, without the addition of whose Son, gives us this thought, that we are to understand the ignorance in the most reverent sense, by attributing it to the Manhood, and not to the Godhead" (*NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 7, p. 315).

St. Anthimus, Patriarch of Constantinople, wrote a comment on this teaching of St. Gregory preserved in a fragment of a *logos* to Emperor Justinian (B.L. Add. 14532), in which he says: "Saint Gregory Nazianzen also taught this in his second speech on the Son, saying: 'Is it not clear for all that he [Christ] as God knows [the day], but says as a human being that he does not know, if one separates the visible from the intelligible'. See how this wise teacher explained the word of the gospel, saying: 'if one separates the visible from the intelligible', and taught us that we can attribute ignorance to him [Christ] when we make use of a division in *theoria* about the one composite Christ and ask about the content of the substance of his animated flesh" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 367).

Grillmeier also notes (*ibid.*, n. 219): "This same passage from Gregory Nazianzen is also dealt with by Constantine, the bishop of Laodicea, in a *logos prosphonetikos* before Empress Theodora, cf. *CPG* 7107-10, together with p. 574; but the *logos* just named is not noted. Referring to it Constantine explains to the Empress that in the one Christ one should only distinguish in thought between the knowing divinity and the ignorant humanity. Considered in itself and by itself (its essence) the humanity is said not to have any knowledge of the last day or any divine powers, but certainly has everything in the state of union. Only in *theoria* can one speak of 'asking', 'receiving', 'being anointed with the Holy Spirit', 'having become Lord and Christ' (*quasi tantum naturam carnis animatae in se et separatim considerans*)".

In the same Oration (30, parag. 16), St. Gregory alludes to the same interpretation (given before by St. Basil). Thus he says "And I think that anyone, even if he did not read it in the way that one of our own Students did, would soon perceive that not even the Son knows the day or hour otherwise than as the Father does. For what do we conclude from this? That since the Father knows, therefore also does the Son" (οὐδ' ὁ υἱὸς ἢ ὡς ὅτι ὁ πατήρ, 'since the Father knows, therefore the Son'; as quoted in *NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. IV, p. 416, n. 1).

VIII.D. St. Cyril of Alexandria and His Interpretation of Christ's Growth and Knowledge:

VIII.D.1. ST. CYRIL'S INTERPRETATION OF CHRIST'S GROWTH:

As regards the crucial text of St. *Luke* 2:52, Bruce has shown in his *The Humiliation of Christ*, pp. 366 ff., through a collection of Cyrilline passages bearing on the subject, that St. Cyril "does not hesitate to speak of a physical, but will not go so far as to posit a moral and intellectual, growth—according to Cyril the manhood of Jesus Christ is perfect in wisdom from the start. So for him, as for Athanasius, the growth in wisdom is not real but apparent. It is the gradual manifestation of a wisdom already present, for 'it would have been an unwonted and strange thing if, yet being an infant, He had made a demonstration of His wisdom worthy of God'—therefore:"

"expanding it gradually and in proportion to the age of the body and [in this gradual manner] making it manifest to all, He might be said to increase [in wisdom] very appropriately" (*Adv. Nestor.* iii. 4, ed. Pusey, vi, p. 166, quoted in Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 368).

"Or, the growth in wisdom is 'simply a holding back or concealment of wisdom existing in perfection from the first, out of respect to the physical law', the growth being rather that of the habit of those who were wondering at this Person:"

"It was in a sense necessary that He should adapt Himself to the custom of our nature, lest He should be reckoned something strange as man by those who saw Him, while His body gradually advanced in growth He concealed Himself and appeared daily wiser to those who saw and heard Him;...because He was even wiser and more gracious in the esteem of beholders, He is said to have grown in wisdom and grace, so that His growth is to be referred rather to the habit of those who wondered at His wisdom than to Himself" (*Thesaurus*, Assert. xxviii, quoted, Bruce, *op. cit.* p. 370). [Cf. also *Comm. in Jo. Ev.* i, 15, ed. Pusey, III. p. 144, for the same thought: "He is said to increase, not in that He is *Logos* and God, but because He, ever more greatly marveled at, appeared more full of grace to those who saw Him, through His achievements, the disposition of those who marveled advancing, as is more true to say, in grace, than He who is perfect as God" (trans. as in *S. Cyril on S. John*, vol. i, p. 112, in Library of the Fathers, as quoted in *Two Ancient Christologies*, pp. 103-104).]

So, St. Cyril maintains that in the Incarnation, the *Logos* permitted the measures of humanity to prevail. And together with the progress of the bodily age there was a moral and intellectual growth which was only in appearance.

Again in his *Scholia on the Incarnation*, St. Cyril treated this same topic, saying (parag. 13): "So, if Jesus is said 'to have advanced in wisdom and grace' (*Luke* 2:52), it refers to the economy. For the Word of God allowed the humanity to exist in the manner of its own nature, but wished to provide a gradual revelation of the nature of his own deity, so that as the body grew, so also he would extend with it his own proper qualities, and then nothing alien would be seen which might terrify the onlookers because of its great strangeness. And remember how they had even said: 'But how does this man know his letters when he has never studied' (*John* 7:15)? This is why the 'advance' is a bodily matter and his progress in wisdom and grace befits the measures of the manhood. But we say that in his own nature he is the Word of God who has no need of any advancement, or any wisdom or grace, but on

the contrary bestows wisdom and grace and every benefit on the creation."

"And if Jesus is said to suffer, this passion applies to the economy too. Nonetheless it is attributed to him quite properly in so far as that which suffered was his very own. He who knew not suffering because he was impassible as God, was in the suffering body, but in so far as concerns the arrogance of his persecutors he did suffer, even though he could not suffer. It happened in so far as the Only Begotten came to be like us. So, as often as the scriptures call him man we understand the economy, even though he is God by nature, and we confess him as such" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 308).

Later, in parag. 34 of the same *Scholia*, St. Cyril returns to the same topic, saying: "It is also written about him: 'The child advanced and grew strong, and was full of wisdom and grace' (*Luke* 2:40, 52). But since he was perfect in nature, as God, and gave spiritual gifts to the saints from his own fullness, and since he himself was the giver of wisdom and grace, then how can the child have advanced and been filled with wisdom and grace? It is in one manner and another manner: since he himself is at once God and man, he reckons all the human characteristics as his own because of the union; but as God he is perfect, and the giver of wisdom and grace."

"He is also called the First Born and the Only Begotten, and if anyone wishes to investigate the meaning of these titles then Firstborn means being the firstborn among many brethren, but Only Begotten means sole begotten; not a firstborn, nor one among many brethren. And yet he is both the one and the other. How can this be? It is in one manner, and another manner; for he is Firstborn among many brethren on account of the humanity, but the same one is the Only Begotten since, as God, he alone was born from the only Father" (McGuckin, *op. cit.*, p. 329).

In his treatise *On the Unity of Christ* (*Quod Unus Sit Christus*), St. Cyril of Alexandria treats the same topic, posing the question: "...if Jesus is said to 'advance in stature and wisdom and grace' (*Luke* 2:52) then who is the subject who is 'becoming' in this instance? The Word of God the Father is complete and perfect in himself, so what could he progress or advance to? He himself is wisdom, so he cannot be said to receive wisdom'..."

Then he gives his answer saying: "...When the wise evangelist introduces the Word as having been made flesh he shows him economically, allowing his own flesh to obey the laws of its own nature. It belongs to manhood to advance in stature and wisdom, and one might say in grace also, for understanding unfolds in a certain fashion in each person according to the limits of the body. It is one thing in infants, something else in grown children, and something different again for adults. It would not have been impossible, or impractical, for God the Word who issued from the Father to have made that body which he united with himself rise up even from its swaddling bands, and bring it straight to the stature of perfect maturity. One might even say that it would have been plain sailing, quite easy for him to have displayed a prodigal wisdom in his infancy; but such a thing would have smacked of wonder-working, and would have been out of key with the plan of the economy. No, the mystery was accomplished quietly, and for this reason (that is economically) he allowed the limitations of the manhood to have dominion over himself. This was so arranged as part of his 'likeness to us', for we advance to greater things little by little as the occasion calls us to assume a greater stature and a concomitant mentality. The Word who is from the Father, then, is entirely perfect and needs nothing whatsoever, since he is God, yet he makes what

is ours his own since he became as we are. Even so we know that he is above us, as God. In some places, even though he knows that he became flesh, yet with an eye to the excellencies of the Godhead, Paul even goes so far as to say that he was not even a man. He writes to the Galatians, for instance: 'Paul, an apostle, not from man or by a man, but through Jesus Christ' (*Galatians* 1:1). And elsewhere he says: 'I declare to you the Good News which I announced, that it is not according to man; for I did not receive it from a man, nor was I taught it. It came by the revelation of Jesus Christ' (*Galatians* 1:11-12)" (McGuckin's ed., pp. 109-110).

Then he poses other related questions, saying: "Then should we apply to him what is said about advancing in wisdom and stature and grace, just as we would with reference to hunger and tiredness and other such things? Perhaps even if he could be said to suffer or be restored to life by the Father we should attribute such things to him as well?"

He gives a detailed answer, from which we quote the following paragraph (*ibid.*, pp. 110-111): "We say that these human things are his by an economic appropriation, and along with the flesh all the things belonging to it. We recognize no other Son apart from him, for the Lord himself has saved us, giving his own blood as a ransom for the life of all (*Isaiah* 63:9 *LXX*). 'We were not bought with a perishable price of silver or gold, but with the precious blood of the spotless lamb without blemish, which is Christ, who offered himself on our behalf as a sweet-smelling offering to God the Father' (cf. *1Corinthians* 6:20; *1Peter* 1:18-19)....".

Again, in *Letter* 55, "*On the Creed*" (parag. 29), St. Cyril quotes St. Proclus Archbishop of Constantinople (434-447 A.D.) saying: "Proclus, our most holy and religious brother and fellow bishop, who but recently came to grace the throne of Constantinople's holy Church,...has written to the most religious bishops of the East in these very terms: 'The formless becomes incarnate without changing, the unbeginning is born in flesh. The utterly complete in nature progresses in bodily age, the transcender of suffering endures suffering, undergoing insult not in what he was, but in what he has been made accepting the body's sufferings'..." (Wickham, *Select Letters*, p. 129).

Sarkissian (p. 123) gives another quotation from the *Tome of St. Proclus* to the Armenians, which reads: "He who was born of the Virgin, he who in the course of time grew in stature according to the flesh, he who bore all the sufferings of the flesh, is he who was before Abraham and through whom the world was created".

VIII.D.2. ST. CYRIL'S INTERPRETATION OF CHRIST'S KNOWLEDGE:

St. Cyril dealt with this topic in the fourth of his *Answers to Tiberius*. He was a Palestinian deacon who came to him with his companions, asking for guidance. We quote St. Cyril's answer here in full:

"4. To those who assert that the Son did not know the final day"

"Answer:"

"They state that others, on hearing Christ saying 'No one knows about that day or hour, not even the angels of heaven or the Son but the Father alone' are most foolishly asserting that the Word, issuing from God the Father's substance, actually does not know either that hour or day, in order that he may be ranked alongside the angels and may be deemed to differ in no respect from his creatures. How can creature and creator belong in the same

rank and nature? Must there not surely be an impassable gulf between them? The Creator transcends the universe, the creature belongs in the universe. If they suppose that Christ, in so far as he is viewed as God, was actually ignorant of something, they are going off course, careering over boulders and raising their horn against his glory. For, if it be as they say, then he will no longer be found to be consubstantial with God the Father. For if the Father knows but the Son does not know, how can he be equal or consubstantial with him? Ignorance must be inferior to knowledge. Even more anomalously for them, the Son is called God the Father's Wisdom and Counsel. For Paul said of him 'Who was made Wisdom for us by God' and again 'In whom are hidden all the treasures of Wisdom and Knowledge'. Inspired David hymns the heavenly God and Father in the words 'Thou hast guided me with thy counsel', meaning by God's 'counsel' the Son springing from him. In that case must it not be absurd to suppose that the Father's Wisdom and Counsel could be ignorant of any feature of him? How could the only knower of the Father be ignorant of the day of consummation? Which is the superior kind of knowledge, knowledge of what the Father is or knowledge of the final day? Scripture again has it that 'The Spirit searches out all things, even the depths of God'. So when the Spirit, which knows the depths of God and all that is in him, is the Spirit of the Son himself, must he not know what belongs to his Father?"

"There are many considerations which reduce this ignorant and shoddy argument of theirs to absurdity, but we ought to touch on the divine plan and remark that God's only-begotten Word took on along with his humanity all its attributes save sin alone. Ignorance of future events properly belongs to the limitations of humanity and so, in so far as he is viewed as God, he knows all the Father knows; in so far, though, as the same Son is man, he does not repudiate the appearance of ignorance because it is an attribute of humanity. Just as he who is personally the Life and Power of all took bodily nourishment out of respect for the measure of his self-emptying and is recorded as having slept and been weary, so, though knowing all things, he is not ashamed to allot himself the ignorance which belongs to humanity; because his were all the attributes of humanity save sin alone. But seeing that the disciples wanted to learn things beyond them, he helped them by claiming not to know as man, and tells them that not even the angels in heaven know, in order that they might not be disappointed at not being entrusted with the mystery" (Wickham, *Select Letters*, pp. 150-153).

Wickham (*op. cit.*, p. 153, n. 29) gives the following additional information: "Cf. the parallel passages *Thesaurus*, c. 22 (*PG* 75, 368 ff.) and *Dialogues on the Trinity* 6 (*ibid.* Aubert 623). Cyril's solution derives directly from Athanasius' *Third Oration against the Arians*, cc. 42 ff., owing nothing to the important discussions by Basil *Ep.* 236 or Gregory Naz. *Or.* 30, 15 f. All refer the ignorance to the conditions of the Incarnation, but the Cappadocians are subtler. For a discussion of Cyril's view and survey of the literature on it, see J. Liébaert *La Doctrine christologique etc.*, pp. 87-100; he concludes that, for Cyril, 'Christ's ignorance was simply an educational process bearing no relation to any actual ignorance'. This needs qualification, for clearly the ignorance is as real as the hunger and thirst (see next sentence). Cyril's view is, rather, that Christ does not feign ignorance, any more than he feigns hunger. It belongs with the human condition he has taken on, and therefore when asked about a mystery beyond human comprehension, he gives the only possible human answer. Cf. also Cyril's slightly different solution in a frag. *In Matt.* 24: 36 (*PG* 72, 441C, cf. *ibid.* 444C);

both passages are included in *Doctrina Patrum*, c. 16 (a section of the florilegium directed against *Agnoetes* and Aphthartodocetists). For a Latin debate see the case of Leporius and his *Libellus Emendationis* (*PL* 31, 1221 ff.), para. 10, *ibid.* 1229".

VIII.E. St. Severus and His Interpretation of Christ's Growth and Knowledge:

From tradition St. Severus of Antioch had taken over the teaching that "the *Logos* of God elevated over all creatures and perfect in everything" has remained in the incarnation without alteration. He is, for St. Severus: "A single Christ without division or partition, in one person, one *hypostasis* and one single nature of the *Logos* become flesh, without one being able to say that, due to (qualifying in) virtue, he would have become perfect... In fact how should he have become perfect, who is himself in essence justice, wisdom and holiness; rather he mediates to every created and rational nature participation in all these perfections, and is the source of all good things and distributor of virtue" (St. Severus Ant., *Crit. tom.*, i.e. *Critique of the Tomus of Julian*: *CSCO* 245, p. 74,8-17).

The growth of Jesus is ascribed to the flesh (*sarx*); Christ's suffering is possible because he is also consubstantial with us.

Against the Antiochene probation theory in interpreting the scriptural words about the *kenosis*, (i.e. the humiliation) and the growth of Jesus in their full compass, St. Severus has this warning:

"What has to be warded off is the Antiochene probation theory, according to which Christ is said to have earned for himself the fullness of sonship through moral behaviour and the acquisition of virtue" (*ibid.*, 76ff., as quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, pp. 171-172). This is because to speak of a becoming perfect in Christ would be to concede a sinful lack in him, as St. Cyril of Alexandria had already stressed against Theodoret (*PG* 76, 444D-445A) (see also St. Severus Ant., *Apol. Philal.*, ch. 44: *CSCO* 319, p. 22,4-23 with the comments).

St. Severus's explanation for the growth of Christ (*Luke* 2:40) is as follows: "What increases in the earthly Jesus is only the 'progressive revelation of wisdom' in accordance with the law of *oikonomia*" (St. Severus Ant., *Crit. tom.*: *CSCO* 245, p. 76,18-20). In all 'growth' in Christ it is only a question of *our* becoming perfect, for which he is the absolutely valid example. This is because 'the nature of the *Logos* is always perfect and wisdom itself' (*ibid.*, pp. 92, 17-93, 24). Christ is sinless from infancy according to *Isaiah* 7:15-16 (LXX), a position which the theology of Church in general took over. Beyond the question of impeccability, St. Severus promoted his particular conception of interpreting *Luke* 2:40. Jesus has no need of development, because "he is not subjected to any passion which comes from evil and sin, and he is exclusively good as God" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, n. 423, referring to Severus Ant., *Crit. tom.*: *CSCO* 245, p. 93, 13-15).

In the discussions of St. Cyril of Alexandria with Theodoret and Antiochene christology in general, the fear of accepting a humanly limited knowledge in Christ increased, as St. Severus shows in his *Apologia for Philalethes*, chapter 44. The question about Christ's knowledge is solved for him by the fact that 'Christ himself is by nature the wisdom and justice of God the Father (*1Corinthians* 1:30), through whom everything, which is at all capable of wisdom, has become wise...' An imperfection in Christ, however, can be

accepted only by those (heretics) who isolate the human being in him from the God-*Logos*, so that they then declare 'through deeds he became perfect, he who proceeded from Mary and from David and has become perfect in virtue'. For this reason they must also accept that this human being is capable of sin and error and is weighed down through concupiscence (Cf. Severus Ant., *Apol. Philal.*, ch. 44: *CSCO* 319, pp. 22,4-23,4).

Here, admittedly, St. Severus "distinguishes between the weaknesses, which go together with sin and are therefore 'blameworthy', and the others, like thirst, hunger, tiredness, fear, which are 'blameless'. Only the former are not reconcilable with the reality of Christ, the others he took over freely in condescension. Thus he, the God-*Logos*, in the flesh which he united *hypostatically* to himself and which in a natural way is capable of suffering and dying, can take over 'natural and blameless passions, death as well, and thus die for us'.." (*ibid.*, p. 23,5-24, as quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 173).

VIII.F. Themistius and His Sect of *Agnoetae*:

At the time of Pope Theodosius of Alexandria (535-566 A.D.) the dispute about the knowledge or ignorance of our Lord Jesus Christ began in Alexandria with a deacon called Themistius (first half of the 6th century), who claimed that as the body of Christ was subjected to mortality, so too was Christ's human spirit finite and, in relation to knowledge, subject to human limits. This deacon moved to Constantinople during the exile of the Alexandrian Patriarch St. Theodosius at Derkos near Constantinople, where a break occurred between the Alexandrian Patriarch and the deacon regarding the question of Christ's knowledge.

St. Anthimus Patriarch of Constantinople (335-336 A.D.), who was deposed for his refusal to follow the dogma of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo, was also active in the controversy with that deacon Themistius, the founder of the sect of "*Agnoetae*", so called because they attributed ignorance to the human soul of Christ. Themistius's followers were also called after him "Themistians".

VIII.G. The Refutable Teaching of the *Agnoetae*:

On the basis of *Mark* 13:32 and *John* 11:34, the *Agnoetae* preached that Christ did not have complete knowledge but was subject to ignorance like all men (*DCB*, vol. I, pp. 62-63).

The Miaphysites rejected the *Agnoetae*'s teaching as inconsistent with the dogma of one incarnate nature of God the *Logos*, which implied also a unity of knowledge. Their comment, therefore, on the famous passage of *Mark* 13:32 about the day of judgment which the Father alone knew, is that the Son remains in his state of incarnation without alteration. Hence Jesus Christ who is God the *Logos* incarnate cannot be ignorant of the day of judgment, because it is "his day" (*Luke* 17:24), "the day of Christ" (*Philippians* 1:10; 2:16), "the day of Jesus Christ" (*Philippians* 1:6), "the day of our Lord Jesus Christ" (*1Corinthians* 1:8; cf. *2Thessalonians* 2:1-2), and he is "Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God" (*1Corinthians* 1:24), "in whom are hidden all treasures of wisdom and knowledge" (*Colossians* 2:3). Since Christ is the wisdom of God, no knowledge can be hidden from him, but he did not choose to reveal to his disciples the day of judgment, and thus appeared ignorant for a wise purpose (κατ' οἰκονομίαν 'according to the economy'), because it was not yet the time to speak or in the divine plan to act.

As regards the question of the Lord Jesus concerning Lazarus: "Where have ye laid him?" (*John* 11:34), which Themistius used as implying Christ's ignorance of this fact, it can be shown clearly that the Lord cannot be truly ignorant of where the body of Lazarus was placed. Because, while Jesus was absent from Bethania at the death of Lazarus and staying far from it and from the whole of Judea, he had already shown his knowledge of everything through announcing from afar the death of Lazarus and his ability and will to go and raise him. Therefore, this interrogation the Lord did out of ancient custom. For to Adam he had similarly said: "Where are you, Adam?" (*Genesis* 3:9). This was not because he was ignorant of where Adam was, but that he might therefore question him so that Adam would openly confess his sin. Again, to Cain the Lord said: "Where is your brother Abel?" (*Genesis* 4:9). This was not because he was ignorant of what Cain did to Abel, but to lead Cain to confess his crime of murdering his brother. But when Cain replied: "I don't know...etc.", the Lord said: "What have you done? Listen! Your brother's blood cries out to me from the ground. Now you are under a curse...etc." (*Genesis* 4:10ff.) [cf. St. Athanasius, *Contra Arianos*, *Or.* III, parag. 50]. It is the same here. He does not ask because he is ignorant of Lazarus's whereabouts (*ibid.*, *Or.* III, 37, 46), but so that the crowd of the Jews who were gathered to console the two sisters would follow him to Lazarus's tomb, so that, seeing the divine power of Christ exhibited in the resurrection of Lazarus, they might put their faith in him (*John* 11:45).

VIII.H. The Patristic Activity in the Refutation of the *Agnoetae*:

The main arena for the discussion with the *Agnoetae* was Constantinople, particularly through the activity of the exiled patriarchs, St. Theodosius and St. Anthimus, and in addition of the bishop Constantine and the monk Theodore.

We have now in publication large fragments from the *Tomus* of the Alexandrian Patriarch St. Theodosius (end of 537 A.D.) to Empress Theodora. These excerpts are part of a chapter of B.L. Add. 14532 with the title: "On the teaching of *Agnoetai*: by Theodosius, Constantine and Anthimus" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 362).

Those holy Fathers who considered "ignorance" as "blameworthy *pathos*" saw Christ's sinlessness as endangered by the teaching of the *Agnoetae*. "'Ignorance' (*agnoia*) was already seen by the ancient Greeks in relation to moral evil, indeed as the font and reason for false moral decisions. Thus with regard to Christ, if ignorance is to be conceded in him, his 'sinlessness' would be undermined" (*ibid.*, p. 364).

VIII.H.1. THE MONK THEODORE AND HIS CONTROVERSY WITH THEMISTIUS:

The concept of "sin" needs to be differentiated. But Themistius always assumes that "sin" is what deserves death penalty or severe penalty, i.e., it is a severe actual sin.

"But 'sin' can also mean that in ignorance one can be 'capable' of sin and thus too deserving of disapprobation and blame. In this sense the teachers said that every ignorance is subject to blame and also to sin. For this extended concept of 'sin' Theodore refers to John Chrysostom. Hence Themistius is said to suffer from a lack of understanding and inability to distinguish" (*ibid.*, p. 365).

Monk Theodore, therefore, does not want to allow even this potential sinfulness on the basis of ignorance for Christ in his ensouled humanity. Christ is 'incapable of evil, that is incapable of sin (*impeccabilis*), as we all confess' (*OLA* 56, p. 93,52-53). For the angels (seraphim) and for many creatures in general it is true that there is a certain lack of wisdom and an *inclinatio ad peccatum*. Theodore cites a certain text of St. Cyril as well as St. Basil, *De spiritu sancto*: *PG* 32, 137B; *SC* 17bis, 382; but above all he refers to his father St. Severus, *Contra Felicissimum* (*CPG* 7032). This text shows that St. Severus simply refers omniscience and thus absolute sinlessness back to the *hypostatic* union of the *Logos* with a body endowed with a rational soul (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 365 & n. 212, quoting Van Roey-Allen, *OLA* 56, p. 94,91-94. There follow further *testimonia* from St. Severus, which certainly contain nothing other than the teaching of St. Cyril of Alexandria, whom he also cites further: the humanity of Christ is filled with the wisdom and omniscience of the *Logos*).

With regard to the question of Christ's ignorance Theodore clearly distinguishes between "factual sinlessness" (*impeccantia*) and "absolute incapability of sinning" (*impeccabilitas*) on account of the *hypostatic* unity (*OLA* 50, p. 95,102-111).

Monk Theodore (*OLA* 56, p. 98, 199-215) thus also concedes an *ignorantia* in Christ with reference to St. Athanasius, *Ep. II ad Serapionem* (*PG* 26, 621-624), because from it one can conclude: "See, (Athanasius) calls ignorance (the fact) that (human beings) have (their) knowledge only by receiving and acquiring, and not from themselves" (*OLA* 56, p. 98, 219-221).

He concludes: "This valiant one [Themistius] does not know, as usual, that it is not the same to know or not to know, and to have knowledge by receiving or by nature; hence he declares the statements (of Cyril) to be contradictory" (*OLA* 56, p. 102,360-363) (cf. Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 365-366).

Thus with St. Cyril and St. Severus, the Miaphysites have an integrated solution to the *Agnoetic* question: the humanity of Christ through the *hypostatic* union has omniscience and with it impeccability.

VIII.H.2. ST. ANTHIMUS AND HIS INTERPRETATION OF CHRIST'S KNOWLEDGE:

A first fragment from a *logos* of St. Anthimus contains typical miaphysite and miaenergist theses: "We confess the one incarnate nature of the God-*Logos*, which together with its own flesh is to be adored in worship, in this one incarnate nature of the God-*Logos*; we do not permit talk of an ignorance of the divinity or (of an ignorance) of his rational and intellectual soul by which that is animated which is assumed from us, is consubstantial with us, a passible body which is united to the God-*Logos* according to the *hypostasis*. If there is only one *hypostasis*, one nature of the incarnate God-*Logos*, then without doubt there is also only one will, one activity, one wisdom and one knowledge for both" (St. Anthimus, *Sermo ad Iustinian.* [*CPG* 7086]: Mansi xi, col. 440E-441A).

"The intention of the text is perfectly clear: the vision of the one *physis* and *energeia*, which is already familiar to us, is now extended to the 'one wisdom and one knowledge'. The divine and human knowledge in Christ are equated with regard to scope. Neither in the one nor in the other is there ignorance or not-knowing. In practice this means that there is only *one* knowledge, the divine, which also fills the human spirit of Christ" (Grillmeier,

CCT, vol. II, part 2, p. 366).

The Chalcedonians in the *Acta* of their Council of Constantinople (680/681 A.D.) produce from the same *logos* of St. Anthimus a very interesting patristic justification, namely from St. Cyril's *commentary on John*, with the depiction and interpretation of the raising of the daughter of Jairus. Christ raised the dead not only by word and command; he also put his flesh into action in doing this. Through speech and touch together occurs a single coherent activity: "vivifying as God through a command effecting everything; he also enlivens, however, by the touch of his hand and shows by this the one activity grown together form both" (Cf. Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 366-367 & notes 215&216, quoting St. Cyril of Alexandria, *In Ioannis Evangel.* IV: *PG* 73:577C 3-15. This text, which is cited twice: Mansi xi, col. 441-442, 517-518, is very important for the *mia-energia* teaching in general).

St. Anthimus adds his own reflections to this: "Because we also know that the property of the divine intellectual activity consists in the knowledge of all things, we are taught that there is only one and the same divine activity; how should we also not confess that there is in the one Christ only one and the same knowledge of all things (as we have already said) according to his divinity and according to his humanity?" (Mansi xi, col. 441-442C).

We shall add yet another fragment from this *logos* of St. Anthimus to Emperor Justinian, which is quoted in B.L. Add. 14532 (see Van Roey-Allen, *OLA* 56, p. 65): "Because we follow the prophetic speech we in no way attribute ignorance to the one Son, our Lord Jesus Christ (composite and indivisible). For to say that the God-*Logos*, insofar as he is God-*Logos*, does not know the last day and the (last) hour (cf. *Matthew* 24:36 and *Mark* 13:32), is full of Arian, or rather Judaic impiety. (To say that he does not know it) in his humanity makes a division of the one Lord into two persons, two Sons, two Christs, two natures and two *hypostaseis*, and into their separate activities and properties and a complete (division). Saint Gregory Nazianzen also taught this in his second speech on the Son, saying: 'Is it not clear for all that he [Christ] as God knows [the day], but says as a human being that he does not know, if one separates the visible from the intelligible'. See how this wise teacher explained the word of the gospel, saying: 'if one separates the visible from the intelligible', and taught us that we can attribute ignorance to him [Christ] when we make use of a division in *theoria* about the one composite Christ and ask about the content of the substance of his animated flesh" (St. Anthimus is quoting here St. Gregory Naz., *Or* 30 [*CPG* 3010] = *Or. theol.* IV:15: *PG* 36:124B).

A little later St. Anthimus says: "For us there is one *hypostasis* and one incarnate nature of the God-*Logos*, as there is also without doubt only one will. We know too only one activity, and one wisdom, and there is (only) for both one knowledge. Therefore whoever says that he knew as God, but as a human being he did not know, separates in an unconscionable way the one indivisible Son into two natures, two *hypostaseis*, just like the impious Theodoret. We believe, however, with God's grace, as we have already said: his divine, rational and intellectual soul, consubstantial with our souls obtained, after its union with God the Word, an existence together with his body, consubstantial with our bodies; immediately with its union to that (body) it had all of his divine activity, wisdom, and omniscience, so that every single knowing is the same for both the God-*Logos* and the rational and intellectual soul'.." (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, pp. 367-368).

St. Anthimus thus presents a picture of Christ conceived totally from above. "As the order and sole power to raise the dead proceeds from the *Logos*, mediated by the simultaneous corporal contact, so too the one knowledge, the divine omniscience, comes from the *Logos* into Christ's humanity. The idea of the 'one activity' (*mia energeia*) is consistently applied to the region of knowledge" (*ibid.*, p. 368).

St. Severus too accepts only the one universal knowledge and the substantial divine wisdom in Christ; if there is talk of an increase in wisdom and grace (*Luke* 2:40) then that is only an advance in the "revelation" of his divinity (*ibid.*, n. 220, referring to St. Severus of Antioch, *Contra imp. Gram.* III, 31: *CSCO* 102 [V], p. 87:3-7).

VIII.H.3. THE ONE ACTIVITY IN CHRIST AND THE QUESTION OF CHRIST'S KNOWLEDGE IN THE TEACHINGS OF ST. THEODOSIUS POPE OF ALEXANDRIA:

In his treatise on Christ's knowledge to Empress Theodora, only just recently researched and edited, St. Theodosius Pope of Alexandria (535-566 A.D.), who was summoned to Constantinople and exiled there by Justinian, produces a much more differentiated interpretation of Christ's knowledge than St. Anthimus could offer. "In it we can see the oldest and most significant treatment of the question in the East. It was certainly composed between 536 and 540. The solution of the question was conditioned by specific options: (1) on the classification of ignorance either under the 'blameless' or the 'not blameless' affections (πάθη διαβλητά ,ἀδιάβλητα); (2) on the assumption or non-assumption of an autonomy of Christ's human knowledge, whether occurring autogenically" in his humanity "or on the presupposition of a 'single activity' (*mia energeia*) from above, which allowed the human knowing in Christ no spontaneity and independence..... Whoever followed the line: one nature, one will, one activity, would have to proceed consistently to the μία γνῶσις, the one knowledge. The Chalcedonian-Leonine two natures, two activities demanded in contrast two powers of knowing and two manners of knowing. With their teaching the Chalcedonians were put on the defensive. St. Theodosius attacked the initiative so vigorously that from the Chalcedonian side only a tentative, partial reply resulted" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, pp. 368-369, & n. 221, referring to St. Theodosius of Alexandria, *Tomus ad Theodoram augustam* (*CPG* 7133), introduction, edition and Latin translation prepared by Van Roey-Allen, *OLA* 56, pp. 16-56).

The *Tomus* of Pope Theodosius of Alexandria to Empress Theodora

The starting point of St. Theodosius' *Tomus* to Theodora is the truth of Christ's humanity, which is consubstantial with us. As has been customary since St. Cyril, it is emphasized by the theologians of the *mia physis* in an almost stereotypical manner that Christ's flesh has a rational soul which experiences all the natural, blameless affections (passions), the πάθη ἀδιάβλητα: hunger, thirst, sleep, tiredness, piercing of the body, pains, wounds, death, sadness, anguish and the like. These experiences occur only in the flesh which the *Logos* allows to undergo suffering willingly from time to time. As each human soul according to its nature is distinguished from the flesh, but still on account of the union considers in "sympathy" the flesh's experience of pain as happening to itself, so

too it is the case with the *Logos* as far as the experiences of suffering of his humanity are concerned (*ibid.*, p. 369).

St. Theodosius in his assessment of the long fragment from St. Cyril that Christ appropriated the imperfections of our nature including our natural need of knowledge, but as only one *de iure* not as one *de facto*, as real. Fundamentally Christ's humanity was in need of knowledge as a natural necessity. In reality, however, this lack was always already filled through the natural union (ἕνωσις φυσική) of the *hypostasis* of the Divine *Logos* to his ensouled flesh.

St. Theodosius also does not advance beyond a *de iure* appropriation (*OLA* 56, p. 50, 311-313).

"By virtue of this 'ignorance *de iure*' the Emmanuel could say that he does not know the day of judgement, although he knew it by virtue of his divine knowledge" (*ibid.*, p. 50,313-314).

"Because he, however, was not purely a simple human being like us – although a human being like us, he remained what he was, God – so we do not say that he – not even in his humanity – was robbed of these things: for his animated flesh received through its union with the *Logos* all divine holiness, efficacy (*efficacitatem*) and also wisdom and omniscience" (*ibid.*, pp. 50,314-51,319).

St. Theodosius thus decides for St. Cyril's solution, that in Christ there existed only an ignorance of his humanity *de iure*: "The 'Father' (Cyril) shows clearly that the Emmanuel did not have ignorance in reality, not even according to his humanity; only through appropriation did he hide himself in accordance with the economy of salvation..." (*ibid.*).

That St. Cyril in reality does not recognize an ignorant Emmanuel, he states more certainly than any other, when he says in the second book of his *Thesaurus* (*CPG* 5215; *PG* 75:377D): "Christ acts in accordance with the economy of salvation (οἰκονομεῖ), when he says that he does not know the hour, although in reality he does".

From the Holy Scripture and the Fathers St. Theodosius "wants to prove that Christ, according to all types of appropriation, appropriated our being and lot. In this way he believes he has mastered the question of Christ's humiliation in all its aspects, particularly in relation to the honourable and dishonourable passions and the passions that are worthy or unworthy of God (sins)..." (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 371). Christ suffers need as this pertains to our nature (cf. *2Corinthians* 8:9); from the outside he also appropriates our sin, by becoming the head of a sinful body (thus not from inside through his own sin). (Cf. *Isaiah* 53:6, 9, 12; *2Corinthians* 5:21; *Galatians* 3:13; *Romans* 4:25; *Hebrews* 9:28; *1Peter* 2:22, 24; *1John* 3:5).

For the problem of Christ's knowledge, St. Theodosius takes over a method used by the Cyrillians/Severans to solve the question of the nature of our Lord Jesus Christ. As St. Cyril, St. Severus and all the Orthodox Miaphysites can never speak of our Lord Jesus Christ "in two natures", but only "of/from two natures one incarnate nature of the divine *Logos*", and that the two natures **out of which** our Lord Jesus is composed might be contemplated in *theoria* alone in their coming together in the moment of the union, so too the assumption of human ignorance is only in *theoria*, but not in reality, since his humanity never came into existence alone, but only in the state of union with the divine *Logos*. Therefore, St. Theodosius, with reference to the Fathers, does not allow real ignorance. As

the separation of divinity and humanity in Christ exists only in *theoria*, but never in reality, so too does the assumption of ignorance. Thus St. Theodosius says: "...Agree therefore with the holy Fathers that the rational soul (of Christ)...through the union [with the Word] at the same time received his holiness, divine power, wisdom and omniscience" (*OLA* 56, p. 54,447-451).

St. Theodosius gains a special argument for Christ's omniscience as regards his humanity by classifying knowing among the activities (*activitates*), that is, the energies (*energeiai*). Then, however, it is true that in Christ there is only one *physis*, one *hypostasis*, one activity, that is, the fundamental Severan thesis for the one Christ. His concluding judgement shows that he is just reproducing St. Severus. Thus St. Theodosius writes: "With regard to the activity – for knowledge is an activity and not less the foreknowledge of the future – the holy Fathers have handed on to us that there is only this one (*energeia*), namely the divine, in the composite Christ. It is not in accordance with tradition to say that he [Christ] acts in the one and does not act in the other [N.B. against Leo], knows (in the one and) does not know in the other. For we must confess either (1) that there is both in his humanity and in his divinity a knowledge [proper to each] – which is foolish and ungodly, or (2) that there is only one *divine* knowledge – which is true, correct and has been said by the holy Fathers about the Emmanuel. For this reason no ignorance at all remains in him" (*OLA* 56, p. 55,479-487).

"Christ's knowledge thus has a special position. It is classified as 'activity', as *energeia*, and is distinguished from the πάθη, the passions. In the domain of the *energeia* there is for Theodosius not *in alio et in alio* in Christ" (*ibid.*, pp. 55, 497-56,503, as quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 372).

"Everything is concentrated in the *Logos* and proceeds from him. Although St. Theodosius speaks only of Christ's knowledge, the willing of Christ also belongs naturally to the one *energeia*. To the 'one knowledge' there corresponds necessarily the 'one *thelesis*'", the "one will", which is intimated by talk of *potens* = omnipotent (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, & n. 233).

St. Theodosius applies to the domain of the *energeia* precisely St. Cyril's and St. Severus's linguistic rules with regard to *physis*: as one can speak of two natures before the union in *theoria*, and after the union, however, only of one, so too this holds true with regard to Christ's knowledge. It is only in *theoria*, says St. Theodosius, that I may speak simultaneously of Christ's omniscience and ignorance, as long as I consider the natures in themselves: "But when you still say, after thinking of the union, that God the *Logos* knows the future, but that the rational, intellectual soul which is consubstantial with us and united to him does not perceive it, how do they escape the danger of division and separation? How do they avoid saying that there are two sons and two natures?" (*OLA* 56, p. 56,515-519).

The one divine light of omniscience and God's infinite knowledge thus flows into Christ's human soul with the *henosis*, and allows no shadows of the human limitations of knowledge to return to it (Grillmeier, *CCT*, *op. cit.*, p. 373).

According to St. Theodosius the actions (*actiones*) or activities (*activitates*) have to be distinguished from the natural passions (*passiones naturales*). Thus he says: "But in relation to the natural passions (*passiones naturales*) it is permissible to speak of 'in one – in the other'; one and the same is mortal in the humanity and immortal in the divinity; the same is passible

in the humanity and impassible in the divinity" (*OLA* 56, p. 55,493-495) (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 374).

To these *passiones*, which are conceivable only in Christ's humanity as an executive organ, belong hunger, growth, loathing. The divinity is free of these. That means an extraordinarily great deal for the picture of Christ and the interpretation of his redemptive action..... All *energeia* and *dynamis* in Christ are from the divine side of Jesus and flow from above down below (*ibid.*).

As we have seen with St. Severus, the one *energeia* becomes the strongest expression of the *mia physis* and the guarantor that Christ is really one – in contrast to the "Nestorianism" of the two activities of Leo I (cf. Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 59).

St. Theodosius advanced this development decisively, as we have seen in his interpretation of the knowledge of Christ.

We close with a text from St. Theodosius's *Epistula Synodica* to Patriarch Paul of Antioch in which he stresses the importance of the dogma of Christ's omniscience, but begins first by condemning the Council of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo I, saying: "This perfidious and damnable synod taught unlawfully among its other blasphemies that Christ is to be known in two natures, and against the best valid *canones* it set up a different definition of faith and called the *Tome* of Leo a pillar of orthodoxy, which openly affirmed the godless teachings of Nestorius and two natures and *hypostases*, as well as [two] forms (*agit enim utraque forma*!) and activities and characteristics..." Then he goes on saying: "Your Holiness in your wisdom has fallen into a state of agitation about the damnation of those who assert that our Lord Jesus Christ, the wisdom and power of the Father, suffered ignorance. A truly wise man of humanity cannot reach the conclusion that he [Christ] did not know the day of consummation or anything else from the realm of being, even if he took on our ignorance on account of the economy of salvation. How then can this holy and life-giving flesh – which from the beginning of the union, that is, from formation in the womb of the holy Virgin, was equipped with soul and understanding and *with every activity befitting God* – not know something that is or was or will be?" (*ibid.*, quoting St. Theodosius of Alexandria, *Epistula Synodica ad Paul. Patr.* [*CPG* 7142]: *CSCO* 103, pp. 85,26-86,7).

VIII.H.4. THE ONE ACTIVITY IN CHRIST AND HIS OMNISCIENCE IN THE TEACHING OF POPE DAMIAN OF ALEXANDRIA:

St. Damian who was a Syrian was elected to the See of St. Mark and became the thirty-fifth Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria (*c.* 569 [or 576]-605 A.D.). He wrote a detailed theological synodical letter after his ordination as patriarch to introduce himself to St. Jacob Baradai.

He begins the christological part with the soteriological idea, stating that the "one out of the Trinity" was incarnate and became man, confessing two births of the same Son (the first from the Father above before the ages, and the second from the Virgin Mary in the flesh). "Thus was God born". Whence also the significance of the title *theotokos* for St. Mary. Then he expressly emphasizes the dogma of her perpetual virginity. Immediately following are the *mia-physis* formula – which he especially stresses later, just like the ἐκ δύο – and the confession to *mia energeia*. "We proclaim not two Christs nor two sons nor

two natures nor two activities (*opérations*) but one single Son and one single nature of the incarnate Word, one single *hypostasis*, one single person, one single activity" (St. Damian of Alexandria, *Epistula synodica ad Iacobum Baradaeum* [*CPG* 7240]: Patriarch Michael Syr., *Chron.* X:14, Chabot II [325-334]: p. 327b).

Then the incarnation is presented in detail by St. Damian followed by anathematizing the pernicious Council of Chalcedon and all who say two natures in Christ after the union (Chabot II, p. 329b). Then he goes into condemning the individual heresies, and at the end he turns against the *Agnoetes*: whoever asserts Christ's ignorance fails to appreciate that through the union the flesh of Christ was enriched by the divinity – an argument which follows St. Theodosius. Pope Damian reproves and anathematizes them saying: "If after these words one imputes or ascribes ignorance to him in whom the sources of knowledge and wisdom originate, he despises this knowledge and does not consider that the ensouled and rational flesh of our Lord was enriched by the union with the divine glory and with every activity (*opération*) that befits the divinity, like knowledge. We reprove and anathematize all of them like all other heretics" (*ibid.*, p. 331b; cf. Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, pp. 75-76 & n. 97).

VIII.İ. The Chalcedonian Reaction and Refutation of the *Agnoetae*:

The Chalcedonians, "who might from the Chalcedonian dogma of the two natures in Christ have inferred two kinds of knowledge, a perfect divine, and an imperfect human admitting of growth (*Luke* 2:52), nevertheless rejected the view of the *Agnoëtae*, as making too wide a rupture between the two natures, and generally understood the famous passage in *Mark* of the *official* ignorance only, inasmuch as Christ did not choose to reveal to his disciples the day of judgement, and thus appeared ignorant for a wise purpose (κατ' οἰκονομίαν). The question concerning Lazarus was explained from reference to the Jews and the intention to increase the effect of the miracle" (*DCB*, vol. 1, p. 62).

VIII.İ.1. THE REFUTATION OF THE *AGNOETAI* BY THE WRITER OF PSEUDO-CAESARIUS:

The real compiler of Pseudo-Caesarius's *Erotapokriseis*, whose work is to be dated shortly before 550 A.D., was probably a Chalcedonian contemporary of the patriarchs St. Theodosius and St. Anthimus (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 374).

"Perhaps for the first time in the sixth century we encounter the term *Agnoetai* in Question 30 to Ps. Caesarius."

"Sufficiently instructed about our previous questions, we request still further the statements (*phonas*) of the *Agnoetai* to be refuted; they say namely that the Redeemer does not know the tomb of Lazarus, also does not know about the woman with the flow of blood who seizes the hem (of his garment), and that he was not at all perfect God, for he made advances and increased in wisdom and age as the Gospel says (*Luke* 2:52; 2:40)" (*ibid.*, p. 377, quoting *Pseudo-Kaisarios. Die Erotapokriseis. Erstmals vollständig herausgegeben von R. Riedinger*, p. 30, 1-5 (Berlin, 1989)).

"One does not need to be surprised by the emergence of the name *Agnoetai*, for shortly after 536 there occurred in Constantinople the break between Patriarch Theodosius and

Themistius, and the formation of a group ('sect') around the deacon began quickly. That it soon received the name *Agnoetai* is only natural... With regard to the examples of Jesus' ignorance adduced in Question 30, he takes refuge in their classification under 'economical speech', that is, it belongs to the free incarnational adaptation of Jesus to our manner of limitation. Thus in *Matthew* 16:13 or *Luke* 2:52, 40 no demonstration of real *agnoia* is produced (Riedinger, p. 31,10); rather the equality of the Son with the Father is proven by the scriptures (*John* 11:34). God's questions to the fallen Adam and to Cain (where is your brother Abel?) and the questions of Jesus in Bethany are not an objection to the knowledge of God and of Jesus. These cases do not attest to an *agnoia*, but only an *oikonomia* of God and of Jesus in intercourse with human beings, that is, the tailoring of God's knowledge to our capacity to understand" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 377-378, referring in n. 252 to *Erotap.* 31: Riedinger, p. 33,5, in general p. 33,4-23).

VIII.İ.2. THE REFUTATION OF THE *AGNOETAI* BY EULOGIUS THE PATRIARCH OF THE CHALCEDONIANS AT ALEXANDRIA:

Eulogius, the patriarch of the Chalcedonians at Alexandria (581-608 A.D.), "wrote against the *Agnoëtae* a treatise on the absolute knowledge of Christ, of which Photius has preserved large extracts" (*DCB*, vol. 1, p. 62; cf. Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 379 & n. 257 quoting Photius, *Bibl. cod.* 230: *PG* 103,1080D-1084D).

Concerning the influence of the writings of St. Theodosius, the anti-Chalcedonian Pope of Alexandria (535-566 A.D.), on the Chalcedonian Eulogius of Alexandria, Grillmeier writes (*op. cit.*, pp. 379f.):

"How seductive Theodosius' view was will be evident at the end of the sixth century in the theology of Eulogius of Alexandria (581-608). This patriarch seems to be immediately dependent on the *Tomus* of Theodosius to Theodora. We shall refer to this briefly."

"Christ's ignorance in Patriarch Eulogius of Alexandria (580-607)"

"Although Eulogius is a Chalcedonian, albeit with a neo-Chalcedonian tint, he takes over extensively the teaching and arguments of Theodosius. In an important argument the two theologians are alike: like Theodosius, Eulogius of Alexandria too takes refuge in the purely intellectual consideration of the different states of Christ's human nature, of the real *status unionis* in contrast to the only mental *status separationis*:"

"Whoever ascribes ignorance either to his divinity or to his humanity will never escape the crime of certain recklessness. If, as the blessed Cyril teaches, we separate fact from fact in subtle thoughts (*ennoiai*) or in the imagination of the spirit according to the art of *theoria*, then we see the characteristics of each of the two natures, as they are in themselves... The sign that is proper to the simple and pure humanity is ignorance. In this regard ignorance can be ascribed to Christ's humanity, considered as simple and pure human nature" (*ibid.*).

"When Eulogius refers here to Cyril, without adducing evidence, he has probably copied Theodosius, who indeed with reference to Cyril speaks of Christ's two knowledges 'in thought', but probably means by this only a passage from the second letter to Succensus about the 'mental distinction' of the two 'natures'. The writings of Theodosius were certainly familiar to him, because they were highly esteemed in Alexandria", as the anti-Chalcedonians Theodore of Alexandria and Pope Damian of Alexandria testify (cf. *ibid.*,

pp. 379-380 referring in n. 260 to Damian Alex., *Epistula synodica ad Iacobum Baradaeum* [*CPG* 7240]: Michael Syr., ed. Chabot II, 333; Theodore Alex., *Epistula synodica ad Paulum Antiochenum* [*CPG* 7236], Chabot, *CSCO* 103 [V], p. 211,17-22).

If Eulogius accepts Christ's omniscience, even with regard to human knowledge, it is because he ascribes immediate significance to the *henosis* as such, and writes: "Christ's humanity too, which has been united to the inaccessible and essential wisdom in one *hypostasis*, cannot be in ignorance about anything either of the present or of the future... [cit. *John* 16:15: everything that the Father has is mine], if they do not want in their temerity to ascribe ignorance to the Father himself" (*ibid.*, p. 380, quoting Eulogius, *C. Agnoitas*: Photius, *Bibl. Cod.* 230: *PG* 103, 1081A). "F. Diekamp, *Analecta Patristica* = *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 117, 154-60, produces a long fragment from a treatise of archbishop Stephen of Hierapolis against the *Agnoetai* (*CPG* 7005). The major part of the writing is lost. The bishop's position is summarized at the end as follows: 'No one should ascribe ignorance to Christ's divinity in the Arian manner or to his humanity in the way of Paul [of Samosata] or of Nestorius. As one and the same according to the person and *hypostasis* he has the clear knowledge of this day and of this hour (cf. *Matthew* 24:36; *Mark* 13:32) and of his holy Father and the life-giving Spirit, with whom he blesses, sanctifies and enlightens every human being who comes into this world... (cf. *John* 1:9)'" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 380, n. 263).

VIII.İ.3. THE REFUTATION OF THE *AGNOETAE* BY THE ROMAN POPE GREGORY THE GREAT:

The Chalcedonian Roman Pope Gregory the Great (590-604 A.D.) takes over the teaching of his friend Eulogius of Alexandria, when in 600 A.D. an enquiry came to him from the deacon Anatolius, and confirms that it stands in agreement with the Latin Fathers. He adds saying:

"But the Only-begotten, who became a human being for our sake, knew in the nature of the humanity the day and the hour of judgement, not on the basis of the human nature, but 'because God became a human being, he knows the day and the hour of judgement by virtue of his divinity" (*ibid.*, p. 381 & n. 266 referring to Norberg, *CCL* (i.e. *Corpus Christianorum*, series *Latina* [Turnhout 1, 1953ff.] 140A, pp. 853,53-854,58).

Nevertheless, "whoever is not a Nestorian can in no way be an *Agnoetes*" (*CCL* 140A, p. 854, 76-77). "For how can one who confesses the incarnate wisdom of God himself say that there is something which the wisdom of God does not know, or that the Word of God created something which he did not know (*John* 1:1)? For the rest Gregory refers to examples in the Old Testament, where there is talk in a human way of God's not knowing (Abraham, *Genesis* 22:12; Adam, *Genesis* 3:9; Cain, *Genesis* 4:9-10)" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*).

VIII.İ.4. THE CHALCEDONIAN SOPHRONIUS OF JERUSALEM PRONOUNCES THE ANATHEMA ON THEMISTIUS, THE FOUNDER OF THE *AGNOETAE* SECT:

Sophronius the Chalcedonian patriarch of Jerusalem (633/634-638) pronounced the anathema on Themistius (*DCB*, vol. I, pp. 62-63).

[*Agnoëtism*, however, was revived by the Adoptionists of the eighth century (*ibid.*, p. 63,

see *ibid.*, pp. 44-47). "Felix of Urgel maintained the limitation of the knowledge of Christ according to his human nature..." (*ibid.*). In the ninth century, Nicephorus the Chalcedonian patriarch of Constantinople (806-815 A.D.) went beyond most other theologians to emphasize that Christ truly experienced ignorance through his humanity. Nicephorus died in exile 829 A.D. (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 317; see also Meyendorff, *CECT*, p. 142)].

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IX. THE ONE WILL OF THE INCARNATE GOD

THE *LOGOS*

IX.A. The Nature, Desires, and Will of Ordinary Men:

IX.A.1. INTRODUCTION

Every human is composed from flesh animated with a human rational soul. Although the natural qualities and desires of the flesh are different from those of the soul, yet we cannot speak of two natures in every ordinary human, one of his flesh and the other of his rational soul, but we speak of only one nature for every ordinary man, called the human nature. The qualities of the flesh and of the soul co-exist in a state of combination in the human nature of every ordinary person.

But the desires of the flesh are different from those of the soul and sometimes are conflicting in ordinary humans. Although the Greek θέλημα means both "desire" and "will", yet it is better to keep in mind the difference which is clear in our English usage:

A "desire" is a wanting, longing or strong wish. Although "will" can also mean a wish or desire, yet the word "will" commonly indicates "the power of the mind to decide and do", it is a "deliberate control over thought and action" expressing a "purpose, determination". It means also "the act of choosing to do something". It is a "decision, resolution".

The "desires" are related to the natural qualities of the flesh and of the soul. St. Paul speaks of "the desires (τὰ θελήματα) of the flesh and of the mind (= intelligences)" (*Ephesians* 2:3). But the will is related to the person as the Agent of decision making. For example, the soul might desire to fast and keep vigil in prayer while the flesh might desire to eat and sleep. It is for the person to choose, by his own personal will, the proper decision either to follow the desires of his soul or those of his flesh. Therefore, the works are varied. (Compare *Galatians* 5:19).

IX.A.2. THE WILL AND OPERATION OF ORDINARY MEN IN THE TEACHING OF ST. SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH:

St. Severus distinguishes in the human activity the agent (ἐνεργήσας), the action (ἐνέργεια), and the effect (ἐνεργηθέν). "Although in the human being, which is composed of body and soul, the genuinely human body-soul activity in effect produces two different types of work, intellectual and sensible-corporeal, there is nevertheless only one process of activity (*motus operativus, id est impetus ipsius voluntatis unus*), because the human being itself is a nature unity" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 165 & n. 403, quoting St. Severus Ant., *Ep. 1 ad Sergium*: *CSCO* 120, p. 60, 29-33:) "And the man who acts (in both cases) is *one*, consisting of soul and body, and the activity is *one*, for the active movement is *one*, which is the impetus of volition, but the things which are done (*opera*) are diverse, for one is intellectual but the other is sensible and bodily" (= Torrance, *Christology*, p. 153).

"It is always, for example, Peter (cf. *Matthew* 14:28f.) who posits and executes the act

of the will, although walking on the water is a matter for the body" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*).

Now the one *operation* of Peter is the "efficient motion" of Peter. "The will chooses, but the operation is the source of energy—what sets the man in motion, so to speak, so that the choice of the will becomes a completed fact. Severus explains what he means by saying that the operation is the 'outreaching' or 'irruption' (*ḥîphâ*) of the individual will. Peter wills to walk on water; Peter's will is translated into operation and he starts walking" (Chesnut, p. 30, referring to St. Severus, *First Letter to Sergius*: *CSCO* vol. 119, p. 82).

Thus, St. Severus linked will to activity. An activity is an impetus of a will... "When we talk about Peter making choices, we do not divide his choices up and say, 'Peter's body chose to fall asleep in Church'; 'Peter's mind decided to visit his neighbour who is ill'. We refer all his choices to Peter himself, and all arise out of Peter's one will. Nevertheless, the choices Peter makes can be roughly divided into those appropriate to the body and those appropriate to the soul—deciding to eat, deciding to pray, etc. In this sense, we recognize the difference between the two types of wishes, but we do not separate them and say that there are two wills in Peter" (Chesnut, pp. 29-30).

Another example is given by St. Severus who writes: "And first, let us test this on the example of a man like us. Thus, some of the things which are done by a man like us are intellectual, and some are sensible and bodily. For example, to reckon up and think about something that should be done, and to fulfill and plan in thought, and to fix and determine intention, is a thing which is done intellectually, such as arranging how it is fitting to prepare a city or a house or a ship. But to build a house or to construct a ship, is sensible and bodily. And the man who acts (in both cases) is one, consisting of soul and body, and the activity is one, for the active movement is one, which is the impetus of volition, but the things which are done are diverse, for one is intellectual but the other is sensible and bodily. One can see the same in the case of Emmanuel. For there is one who acts, that is the Word of God incarnate; and there is one active movement which is activity, but the things which are done are diverse, that is (the things) accomplished by activity" (St. Severus, *ad Serg. I*, in Torrance, *Christology*, p. 153).

IX.B. The Body-Soul Analogy and the Willing of Christ in the Teaching of St. Severus of Antioch:

This topic is discussed in detail in St. Severus's *Liber contra Impium Grammaticum* (3 books) in which he refutes a defense of the Council of Chalcedon written by John of Caesarea.

In that book St. Severus begins with the body-soul analogy saying: "Do we not see in the human being, as we are, who is one nature and *hypostasis* from body and soul, how he can now spontaneously demand nourishment..., but then also can reflect on that and despise the material food, and in its place surrender himself to heavenly thoughts in desiring likeness to God? Thus there are two wills in the human being; one wills what is of the flesh, the other what is of the soul which is created according to the image of God. Should we for this reason divide the human being and consider it as two natures and *hypostases*? By doing this we would make fools of ourselves" (*C. imp. Gram., Or.* III. 2, ch. 33: *CSCO* 102, pp. 132,31-133,7).

Then he proceeds to **the Application to Christ** saying: "Even less is Christ divided into two natures. He is indeed one from two, from divinity and humanity, one person and *hypostasis*, the one nature of the *Logos*, become flesh and perfect human being. For this reason

he also displays two wills in salvific suffering, the one which requests, the other which is prepared, the one human, the other divine. As he voluntarily took upon himself death in the flesh, which was able to take over suffering and dissolved the domination of death by killing it through immortality – which the resurrection had shown clearly to all – so in the flesh, whose fruit he could take over – it was indeed rationally animated – he voluntarily took upon himself the *passio* of fear and weakness and uttered words of request, in order through the divine courage to destroy the power of that fear and to give courage to the whole of humanity, for he became after the first Adam the second beginning of our race" (*CSCO* 102, p. 133,7-21).

In the text further on we then learn that "the two wills ought not to be assigned to two natures", this once again starting from the text attributed to St. Athanasius, St. Severus comments: "The teacher of divine dogmas has characterized very well the request (of Christ) to avert suffering as 'will'; in this way he shows that it occurs *for us* against the inclination and will to have fear and trembling in the face of danger, but Christ took this over voluntarily. Thus there was really a will (as intention) present, no involuntary suffering. He [Athanasius] immediately showed that he acknowledges the one Christ from two and does not divide up into two wills what belongs to one and the same, namely the incarnate God, by adding this after the passage cited: [Athanasius] 'He suffers from weakness, but he lives from the power of God' (*2Corinthians* 13,4). The power of God is, however, the Son who suffered from weakness, that is from union with the flesh (συμπλοκή), as a human being he prayed to be freed from suffering; he lives, however, through his [the Son's] power (*PG* 26, 1024)."

"The Word of God was thus united to the flesh, which was endowed with a rational soul and was not divided after the union.... For that word 'union' (συμπλοκή)...denotes *one* being existing from two in unmingledness, a formula which expresses essential union, but is rejected by the Council of Chalcedon. Thus one and the same prayed as a human being to avoid suffering...and as God said: the spirit is willing, and voluntarily proceeded to suffer. Hence let us apportion neither the wills nor the words (*voces*) to two natures and forms" (*CSCO* 102, pp. 133,34-134,21, quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 167).

What St. Severus wants to see excluded is the view of Leo in his *Tome* of an *actio* or *operatio* proper to both forms and natures, each with its own spontaneity and freedom. Thus St. Severus writes: "It is possible to see that those things which are contained in the *Tome* of Leo go clearly against these things, and I quote them: LEO: 'For each one of the forms does what belongs to it; the Word doing what belongs to the Word, and the body fulfilling those things which belong to the body, and the one of them is radiant with wonders, but the other falls under insults'. For if each form or nature does those things which are its own, those things are of a bastard partnership and of a relationship of friendship, such as a master's taking on himself the things which are performed by a servant, or vice versa, a servant's being glorified with the outstanding possessions of a master, while those things which are not properties of human nature are ascribed to him out of a loving friendship. For he is a man clad with God, who in this way makes use of a power which is not his own, and is impelled by one who acts, like an inanimate instrument, perhaps a saw or an axe, which is used by a craftsman."

"But Jesus is not like that, away with you! For he is seen using his own power as God inhominate, and he confirms this with utterances worthy of God. And to the sea he says, 'Be quiet, be restrained' (*Mark* 4:39), and to Peter when he called out 'Order me to come to you on the water', he orders 'Come' (*Matthew* 14:28-29), and to the leper 'I am willing: be

clean' (*Mark* 1:41; *Luke* 5:13). And he lays down the law with the authority of God and says, 'But I say to you, do not be angry' (cf. *Matthew* 5:22)..." (St. Severus, *ad Serg. I*, in Torrance, *Christology*, pp. 154-155).

As we have seen in the above-quoted passage, St. Severus argues against Leo's *Tome* that if each nature performs only those things which are *its* own, they have not come to a union but only to a sort of partnership. Jesus Christ would not be God the *Logos* become a man, but only a man "clothed with God", making use of a power which is not his own.

In St. Severus's understanding of the union, Christ's humanity is not independent of His divine nature. It only *sometimes* undergoes the passions proper to it and this is the mode of its union by possession to God the *Logos*. If the humanity is divided from the *Logos*, St. Severus, in a vivid phrase, says it will "walk in its own ways, following its nature" (St. Severus, *To Oecumenius*, *Collected Letters*, p. 184:9-10. Brooks' translation). In contrast to Leo, St. Severus teaches that our Lord Jesus Christ is one subject: "he is seen using his own power as God inhominate..." (*Ad Serg. I*, in Torrance, *Christology*, pp. 154f.).

IX.C. The One Will of Christ:

IX.C.1. CHRIST'S ONE WILL IN THE TEACHINGS OF ST. ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA:

In the Incarnation, the Word (*Logos*) is the sole personal subject of all the conditions of Christ's existence, divine or human. He is directing, at His will, all words and deeds performed through His humanity, whether miracles or blameless passions.

Thus St. Athanasius says concerning the Word: "He who did the works is the same as He who shewed that His body was passible by His permitting it to weep and hunger, and to shew other properties of a body. For while by means of such He made it known that, though God impassible, He had taken a passible flesh; yet from the works He shewed Himself the Word of God, who had afterwards become man" (*Contra Arianos*, *Or.* III, parag. 55).

Therefore, it is to be noted and emphasized that our Lord's suspense or permission, at His will, of the operation of His manhood is a great principle in the doctrine of Incarnation.

Again, from St. Athanasius's interpretation of Christ's passion, we quote the following (*ibid.*, parag. 57): "57. And as to His saying, 'If it be possible, let the cup pass', observe how, though He thus spake, He rebuked Peter, saying, 'Thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men' (*Matthew* 16:23). For He willed what He deprecated, for therefore had He come; but His was the willing (for for it He came), but the terror belonged to the flesh. Wherefore as man He utters this speech also, and yet both were said by the Same, to shew that He was God, willing in Himself, but when He had become man, having a flesh that was in terror. For the sake of this flesh He combined His own will with human weakness".

"It is observable that, as elsewhere we have seen St. Athanasius speak of the nature of the Word, and of, not the nature of man as united to Him, but of flesh, humanity, &c. (vid. *Or.* ii. 45, n. 2.) so here, instead of speaking of two wills, he speaks of the Word's willing and human weakness, terror, &c. In another place he says still more pointedly, 'The will was of the Godhead alone; since the whole nature of the Word was manifested in the second Adam's human form and visible flesh' *contr. Apoll.* ii. 10" (*NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. IV, p. 424, n. 3).

IX.C.2. CHRIST'S ONE WILL IN THE TEACHINGS OF ST. GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS:

St. Gregory of Nazianzus's comment on the Lord's prayer in Gethsemane and His words on the Cross makes it clear that although our human will does not follow completely the Divine and for the most part struggles against and resists it, yet Christ's human will cannot be opposed to God. This is because it is altogether taken to God (θεωθὲν ὅλον, i.e. being 'all deified'). Therefore, the sole personal subject and agent of decision making in Christ is the Son (i.e. the *Logos*) of God the Father, whose will is the same as the Father, for both have one Godhead and one will.

This is what St. Gregory teaches us in his *Fourth Theological Oration* (*Or.* 30, parag. 12), saying: "The Son came down from Heaven, not to do His own Will, but the Will of Him That sent Him (cf. *John* 6:38). Well, if this had not been said by Himself Who came down, we should say that the phrase was modeled as issuing from the Human Nature, not from Him who is conceived of in His character as the Saviour, for His Human Will cannot be opposed to God, seeing it is altogether taken into God" [Gk. θεωθὲν ὅλον, i.e. 'all deified' (cf. *Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 79)].

St. Gregory goes on to say (*Oration* 30, parag. 12): "... For we understand in the same way the words, Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me; Nevertheless let not what I will but Thy Will prevail (*Matthew* 26:39). For it is not likely that He did not know whether it was possible or not,... But since, as this is the language of Him Who assumed our Nature (for He it was Who came down), and not of the Nature which He assumed, we must meet the objection in this way, that the passage does not mean that the Son has a special will of His own, besides that of the Father, but that He has not; so that the meaning would be, 'not to do Mine own Will, for there is none of Mine apart from, but that which is common to, Me and Thee; for as We have one Godhead, so We have one Will'..." (*NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 7, pp. 313-314).

In the same Oration (parag. 5, *ibid.*, p. 311): "Of the same kind, it appears to me, is the expression, 'My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?' (*Psalm* 22:1). It was not He who was forsaken either by the Father, or by His own Godhead, as some have thought, as if It were afraid of the Passion, and therefore withdrew Itself from Him in His Sufferings (for who compelled Him either to be born on earth at all, or to be lifted up on the Cross?) But as I said, He was in His own Person representing us. For we were the forsaken and despised before, but now by the Sufferings of Him Who could not suffer, we were taken up and saved....".

IX.C.3. CHRIST'S ONE WILL IN THE TEACHINGS OF ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA:

St. Cyril's explanation of the miracles of Christ is given in several places. Thus in no. 9 of his *Answers to Tiberius*, he says: "... The Word himself took flesh, being made man, and remained even in this state, God. When, therefore, he effects miracles, you are not to separate the Word of God from his sacred flesh and attribute the power involved in their accomplishment to the Word on his own, but are to see, rather, with true religion that God's only-begotten Word on being made man often uses his flesh to act by, because he possesses it as his own, without merger or mingling..." (Wickham, *Select Letters*, pp. 162-163).

This is how St. Cyril explains Christ's miracle of healing of the leper, saying: "When

he cleansed the leper, he did not offer (only) a speech and also did not say: 'My Father may will and you will be healed'. Rather he combined the healing with his own movement of will (*nutus*), as he who had in himself the paternal authority and the glory of the majesty of the Father. After he had expressed his decision (*nutus*) from his good will, he added the touch with his hand and granted it results. Thus we should learn that the holy workplace of the purification [of the leper] is also his holy body and is gathered with divine willing with best results for our sanctification" (St. Cyril Alex., *Comm. in Matthew*, *CPG* 5206, quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 164).

It is to be noted that St. Cyril "attributes everything explicitly to the divine willing (βούλησις, act of will) of the *Logos*. There is no talk of Christ's human act of will. The touch with the hand is only the instrument through which the power of the divinity, which is bestowed on the holy body, acts on the sick person" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*).

St. Cyril states that the *Logos* uses his body as an *organon* (instrument), saying: "... the body was made his very own through a true union and thus served the function of an instrument, in order to fulfil those things which it customarily does, sin alone excepted" (St. Cyril Alex., *Scholia on the Incarnation*, *scholion* 25, trans. McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 320; see also *Or. ad Theodos.* 21, *ACO* I, I, I, p. 55, 16ff.).

"The Word", says St. Cyril, "permitted His flesh to go after its own laws, and this thing is said to be His, because His body is His own" (Pusey, *Five Tomes etc.*, Tome V, p. 170).

But St. Severus observes that "God the Word did not permit his flesh in all things to undergo the passions proper to it". Thus he quotes St. Cyril against Theodore saying that the Word incarnate "feared by dispensation inasmuch as he *sometimes* allowed his flesh to suffer the things that belonged to it, in order that he might make us strong" (St. Severus Ant., *Letter to Oecumenius*, *Collected Letters*, p. 183, 5-6; St. Cyril Alex., *Apol. Contra Theod.*, *PG* 76, 441, B-C).

As regards the interpretation of the Agony in Gethsemane, St. Cyril "allows that the cry 'Father, if thou be willing, let this cup pass from me' was real, springing from a flesh which was weak and in fear of death—for 'the divine *Logos* suffers the flesh to undergo things proper to it, that He may be shown to be truly man';..." (*Two Ancient Christologies*, p. 105, quoting St. Cyril Alex., *Comm. in Jo. Ev.* vi. 38, 39, ed. Pusey, III. p. 487).

Again in his *Commentary on St. Luke* (22:41-43, *Homily* 147), St. Cyril says: "You have heard Christ say, 'Father, if you will, remove this cup from me'. Was then his passion an involuntary act? Was the need for him to suffer or the violence of those who plotted against him stronger than his own will? We say no. His passion was a voluntary act, although in another respect it was severe, because it implied the rejection and destruction of the synagogue of the Jews...."

"Since it was impossible for Christ not to endure the passion, he submitted to it, because God the Father so willed it with him".

St. Cyril also explains the voluntary passion of the Incarnate Word (*ibid.*, *Homily* 146), saying: "The passion of grief, or affliction or sore distress as we may call it, cannot have reference to the divine nature of the Word, which is not able to suffer. That is impossible since it transcends all passion. We say that the incarnate Word also willed to submit himself to the measure of human nature by suffering what belongs to it. He is said to have hungered although he is life, the cause of life and the living bread. He was also weary from a long journey although he is the Lord of powers. It also is said that he was grieved and seemed to be capable of anguish.

It would not have been fitting for him who submitted himself to emptiness and stood in the measure of human nature to have seemed unwilling to endure human things. The Word of God the Father, therefore, is altogether free from all passion. For the dispensation's sake (i.e. the appointed time's sake), he wisely submitted himself to the weaknesses of humankind in order that he might not seem to refuse that which the dispensation required. He even obeyed human customs and laws. He still did not bear this in his own [divine] nature".

St. Cyril also says: "The God-inspired Scriptures therefore proclaim to the world One Christ and Son and Lord and say that He is the Lord of Glory and that He of His own Will bare for our sakes the contumelies of the Jews, and economically endured Death upon the wood, not in order with us to remain dead, but that having undone the might of death which none might withstand, He might bring again to immortality the nature of man: for He was God in Flesh" (Pusey, *Five Tomes etc.*, Tome V, p. 171).

IX.C.4. CHRIST'S ONE WILL IN THE CONFESSION OF ST. DIOSCORUS OF ALEXANDRIA AT CHALCEDON:

This is the confession of faith which St. Dioscorus of Alexandria is said to have made at Chalcedon: "The Lord Jesus, Emmanuel, our God, has never been divided in all his works; but [he is] one only Lord, one only nature; he has only one will; and Godhead has been united with manhood, as the soul is united with the body. This is my declaration and confession—I, the least, Dioscorus, the poor".

[This confession is found in a fragment of a lost work of St. Dioscorus in the Bohairic dialect of Coptic: ed. and trans., W.H.P. Hatch, *Harvard Theological Review* (1926) xix. 377-384]. Sellers (p. 32, n. 3) quoted this confession of St. Dioscorus with a comment saying: "if it is not his, it undoubtedly sums up his point of view".

IX.C.5. CHRIST'S ONE WILL IN THE TEACHINGS OF ST. SEVERUS:

[St. Severus (*c.* 465-538) was consecrated Patriarch of Antioch in 512 A.D.] He prefers to speak of a single will in Christ, because the will is linked to activity. Following St. Basil *Contra Eunomium IV*, he distinguishes between the agent, the action and the effect and quotes him saying:

"For he who acts is he who is impelled towards doing something, but the activity (is) like an active movement and impetus of the will which is directed on and indicates doing something, and is set in motion at once. In the case of activity, that which wills (it) remains complete and momentarily impelled to action" (St. Severus, *ad Serg. I*: *CSCO* 119, p. 81 = Torrance, *Christology*, p. 152). St. Severus, however, is aware that in Christ there is no gap between willing and acting. Thus he goes on saying: "...Activity is something in the middle, that is, an active movement, between him who acted and that which was acted upon, even if in the case of God, his wishing is the accomplishment of an action, and it is not easy to find that which is in the middle, when everything exists in a moment, and as in the blink of an eye, as Paul says (*1Corinthians* 15:52)..." (Torrance, *Christology*, pp. 152-153).

St. Severus's notion of the will in Christ is an integral part of his understanding of the *hypostatic* union in which the divinity and the humanity remain *distinct* but never *separate*.

But the *hypostatic* union signifies for St. Severus first and foremost a clear *Logos* hegemony in Christ. The subordinate part is the flesh (*sarx*) of Christ: "It is evident that it has not

retained its propriety without diminution". At the same time this diminution of what is proper to it is an enrichment through the divinity. St. Severus refers to the transfiguration or the miraculous pouring forth 'of the source of life, of the blood and water of forgiveness after the piercing of the divine side' of Jesus" (*CSCO* 102, p. 79,4-9).

"The flesh in the incarnation is not independent, even though it remains flesh, because it is possessed by the Word. It does not belong to itself, but to the Word. It is not closed in on itself, but taken by possession into a union where it is endowed with properties other than its own" (Torrance, *Christology*, p. 85).

Therefore, everything in Christ's action or speech is deduced from the divine Word (*Logos*) as nature principle. And every activity flows from above, even if the human principle is engaged.

Through the miracle-working of Christ, St. Severus explains the "one *energeia*" and the process of acting in which the will is involved. Thus, he comments on the Gospel story of healing the leper saying: "While the incarnate God spoke with human tongue and said with human and clear voice to the leper: 'I will, be clean' (*Matthew* 8:3), he showed through the effect that the voice, in keeping with the mixing (*mixtio*) worthy of God, has gone forth from the incarnate God; for the healing of the leper went together with the heard word" (St. Severus, *Cont. imp. Gram.* III, chap. 32: *CSCO* 102, p. 94,27-32, quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, pp. 163-164).

It appears from this passage that the will is single, because it is attributed to the subject of activity and because it is linked to the *energeia*, which is single.

Grillmeier (*ibid.*, p. 164) puts it this way: "The activity starts from the divinity as the real source; it mixes itself with the human voice (or as well with the touch of Jesus' hand) and produces the miraculous effect in the sick person. The human voice is only the vehicle of the divine flow of will; for without a doubt Severus ascribes the 'I will' to the volition of the divinity. The human will of Christ clearly does not need to be active".

St. Severus takes up the explanation of this miracle from St. Cyril of Alexandria, who, along the lines of a statement from St. Gregory of Nyssa in his *Catechetical Oration* (in *PG* 45:80), already excluded the "caricature" which Leo of Rome in his *Tome* had given of the activity of Jesus: "When he cleansed the leper, he did not offer (only) a speech and also did not say: 'My Father may will and you will be healed'. Rather he combined the healing with his own movement of will (*nutus*), as he who had in himself the paternal authority and the glory of the majesty of the Father. After he had expressed his decision (*nutus*) from his good will, he added the touch with his hand and granted it results. Thus we should learn that the holy workplace of the purification [of the leper] is also his holy body and is gathered with divine willing with best results for our sanctification" (St. Cyril of Alexandria, *Comm. in Matthew*: *CPG* 5206, as quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*).

It is to be noted that St. Cyril (and with him St. Severus) "attributes everything explicitly to the divine willing (βούλησις, act of will) of the *Logos*. There is no talk of Christ's human will. The touch with the hand is only the instrument through which the power of the divinity, which is bestowed on the holy body, acts on the sick person" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*). The single *energeia* as activity, which is effective in this miracle, is explained by St. Severus according to the body-soul analogy (*ibid.*).

This singularity lies established in the *hypostatic* union, through which the rational

animated flesh (*sarx*) is subjected to the *Logos* as *organon*. The teaching of the *organon* is found particularly in St. Athanasius of Alexandria (*Or.* III *Contra Arian.*; *CPG* 2093: *PG* 26,376), and in St. Cyril of Alexandria (*Scholion* 25 & *Or. ad Theodos.* 21, *ACO* I,1,1, p. 55, 16ff.).

St. Severus follows this Athanasian concept applying it to the whole *energeia* of Christ. Thus he says (*CSCO* 102, p. 135, 2-10): "The incarnate Word has done and said this, for it is united *hypostatically* to the body and through adhering together (συμφυῖα) it had this as an organ for the deeds, as the soul too, which is peculiar to each one of us, has chosen its own body as organ; the *Logos* does not act through an extrinsically (united) God-bearing human being, as the ravings of Nestorius would have, nor in the way in which an artisan uses a tool and thus completes the work" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 168).

It is clear from these remarks that in the activity of the "incarnate *Logos*" his human will is not the spontaneous or even autonomous source of acts. "All intellectual *energeia* starts from the *Logos* principle, even if the intellectual abilities in this process were to be regarded as co-moved or really are so" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*). That this is St. Severus's understanding of the will as ability and willing as action is certainly shown with particular clarity from *Homily* 83, where he interprets *Isaiah* 7:15-16 (LXX) about Emmanuel: "Butter and honey shall he eat, before he knows either to prefer evil or choose the good. For before the child shall know good or evil, he refuses evil, to choose the good", saying:

"With respect to him [the new Adam] the prophet Isaiah says: 'Before he knows or chooses evil, he will choose good' (7:15). For before the child recognizes good or evil, he spurns evil in order to choose good. None of us, who is tested as a child, already has knowledge of good and evil. Only with the advance of time, it [the child] begins to distinguish them. But because the Emmanuel is by nature also God and goodness itself, although he has become a child according to the *oikonomia*, he did not await the time of the distinction; on the contrary. From the time of swaddling clothes, before he came to an age of distinguishing between good and evil, on the one side he spurned evil and did not listen to it, and on the other he chose good. These words 'he spurned' and 'he did not listen' and the other 'he chose' show us that the *Logos* of God has united himself not only to the flesh, but also to the soul, which is endowed with will and understanding, in order to allow *our* souls, which are inclined towards evil, to lean towards choosing good and turning away from evil. For God as God does not need to choose good; but because *for our sakes* he assumed flesh and a spiritual soul, he took over for *us* this redress (*redressement*)" (St. Severus Ant., *Hom.* 83: *PO* 20, pp. 415,15-416,15, quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-169).

This homily shows clearly that the principle of free decision for the human activities of the Incarnate One is precisely this *Logos* in his divinity. For he already makes a choice before the age of discernment, while his human spiritual organ is not yet capable of action or choice. Therefore the freedom to decide and the actual decision is transferred entirely to the divine *Logos* as such.

There is no doubt that Christ has an intellectual soul, but St. Severus cannot venture to make this soul the principle of choosing which functions by itself, because this would make the human being Jesus appear as a second person alongside the *Logos* (cf. Grillmeier, *op. cit.*).

Against the position of Leo of Rome in his *Tome*, St. Severus writes "If...the things which clearly belong to the flesh have come to belong to the Word, how shall we allow that each one of the forms performs its own acts?" (*To Oecumenius*, *Collected Letters*, p. 181. 6,8-9).

Christ is then one subject, one agent, who performs *his* actions with what he has made his own (Torrance, *Christology*, pp. 97, 108).

Christ's intellectual soul, therefore, cannot function apart from the divine will to which it belonged. "The humanity of Jesus could not be free, as a prophet was, to assent to, or reject, God's calling. The humanity belonged to the Word, not as a prophet belongs to God, but as a man's own flesh belongs to him" (Chesnut, p. 27, quoting St. Severus, *Hom.* LVIII: *PO* 8:222-223). "In Emmanuel the decision for good occurs through a self-movement of the human spiritual principle, but simply with the *hypostatic* union of the naturally good *Logos* with the spiritual soul. In the soul the choice for good has already been made with the *henosis* (union)" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*).

The soteriological activity of the *Logos* is of fundamental importance in understanding the Cyrillian-Severan account of the union in Christ. It is not a series of alternate, parallel and ultimately independent actions, as on the model of Leo and the Dyophysites, but a union of such a kind that its nature and course can only be understood in terms of its goal. Its goal is the inclining of the will of the rest of the human race toward God. In *Homily* 83, St. Severus says: "Every man is born for his own benefit, to participate in this light [of God] and the knowledge of God; but Christ, 'the true light which enlightens every man who comes into the world' has no need [of this]". "The Word of God is united *hypostatically*... to a soul endowed with will and reason for the purpose of making our souls bent toward sinfulness incline toward the choice of the good..." (St. Severus Ant., *Hom.* LXXXIII: *PO* xx.415-17). (See also *Hom.* CXXIII: *PO* xxix.180-4).

Therefore, "*We* are the place of human decisions. For the union of our soul with the *Logos* in the incarnation is now the model for *us*, who must decide in the battle against evil only from case to case. This evasiveness by referring to *us* in the interpretation of the graced endowment of the human spirit of Jesus is typical of Severus. With the *hypostatic* union the humanity of Christ has everything which is necessary to fulfil the messianic task, as the interpretation of the descent of the Holy Spirit on Jesus at his baptism has already shown us" (see Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 169). Everything which appears to flow as gifts in the humanity of Jesus does not need to stop there, in order to take its place there; it only flows through, because from the very start it is only present for our sake (St. Severus Ant., *Hom.* 83: *PO* 20, pp. 416,15-417,17). "This interpretation of the endowment of Christ's spirit is the inheritance of the anti-Arian teachers of the fourth century. Their fear that the *Logos* of God may be made, for example at his baptism, into a receptive principle, and thus into a creature, is then combined in Cyril and Severus with the anti-Nestorian dread that the humanity of Christ might be made into an autonomously active principle of salvation, and thus into a *hypostasis* of its own alongside the *Logos*" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*).

In contrast to Leo of Rome, St. Severus teaches that Jesus is one subject: "he is seen using his own power as God inhominate" (*Ad Serg. I*, in Torrance, *Christology*, p. 154). In his *Letter to Oecumenius* (*Collected Letters*, p. 182), St. Severus criticizes Leo saying: "In his *Tome*, Leo not only wrote that each form did that which belonged to itself, but also said that 'each of the natures preserves its own property without diminution'". Against Leo, St. Severus suggests that God the Word did not permit his flesh in all things to undergo the passions proper to it (cf. *ibid.*). He quotes St. Cyril against Theodore, saying that the Word incarnate "feared by dispensation, inasmuch as he *sometimes* allowed his flesh to suffer the things that

belonged to it, in order that he might make us strong" (*ibid.*, p. 183,5-6. St. Cyril, *Apol. contra Theod.*, *PG* 76, 441 B-C as quoted in Torrance, *Christology*, pp. 97, 108).

Again St. Severus writes: "If he [Leo] in spirit were to hold and confess the *hypostatic* union, he could not say that each of the two natures keeps its propriety (*proprietatem*) without detraction, but he would say, like Cyril, that the *Logos* now and then permitted the flesh to suffer what is proper to it and to operate according to the laws of its nature. Thus the *Logos* would bear that as its own which is of the flesh, and still not relinquish what he has according to his essence (*ousia*), also not the superiority to suffering and his highest nobility" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 162, n. 394, quoting St. Severus, *Contra imp. Gram.*, *Or.* III, ch. 29: *CSCO* 102, p. 79,18-25).

Commenting as before on St. Cyril, St. Severus concludes: "If he *sometimes* allowed his flesh by dispensation to suffer the things which belonged to it, he did not preserve its propriety undiminished: for it is seen in many cases not to have suffered the things which clearly belong to its nature, for it was united to the Word, the Maker of nature" (*To Oecumenius*, *Collected Letters*, p. 183, 6-9, quoted in Torrance, *Christology*, pp. 97, 108).

St. Severus several times mentions the *obedience* of Christ and his taking on of our disobedience as one of the saving factors in the Economy (see e.g. *Hom.* XLIX: *PO* xxxv.352-6; see especially *Hom.* LXXI: *PO* xii.56). He also says that no single instance in Jesus's life is devoid of meaning, no matter how slight, even if it is unknown to us, and everything had to happen according to the preordained divine timetable. Nevertheless Jesus was not under *'anankî*, Greek 'necessity' (Chesnut, p. 27, n. 2, quoting *Homilies* XLVI: *PO* xxxv.298; CXIX: *PO* xxvi.381). His humanity only sometimes undergoes the passions proper to it: and this is the quality of its union by possession to God the Word.

But what is the meaning of this "sometimes" and what governs it? To understand St. Severus's account of this, we can look at the use he makes of St. Gregory Nazianzen and St. Cyril of Alexandria. He quotes St. Gregory: "For he is purity itself, and did not need purification, but he is purified for you...for he himself was a warden to himself of what he should suffer" (Torrance, *Christology*, pp. 98, 108, quoting St. Severus, *To Oecumenius*, *Collected Letters*, p. 185.4-5,7; St. Gregory Nazianzen, *Or.* XL, *In Sanctum Baptisma*, *PG* 36.400C).

In a remarkable and creative adaptation St. Severus extends this: "He was a warden to himself of hungering and of being tired after a journey, and of accepting the other human sufferings...in order to demonstrate the inhomination truly and without illusion" (*ibid.*, quoting St. Severus, *ibid.*, p. 185.7-9). Thus, the "sometimes" is governed by internal intention....the Word incarnate acted in certain ways and said certain things because it was suitable to the economy. He quotes St. Cyril writing against Nestorius, and saying that the Word incarnate took for his own all that belonged to his body, "for the sake of that which is proper to the emptying". (Cf. Torrance, *Christology*, pp. 98, 151: quoting St. Severus, *ad Serg. I*).

St. Severus also writes: "For this purpose he [Christ] accepted *natural* and *necessary* passions; in doing this he revealed in contrast to this *necessity* the *voluntary* character [of this acceptance of passions] as fruit of an entirely divine munificence. Precisely at the height of this *necessity* (Hespel: *au sein de ces nécessités*) the *divine-voluntary* character manifested itself; for he ordered, as God, who he was, that the natural needs come into effect in his body. Thus it was every time, if he wanted it to be so, and not otherwise, that the passions (πάθη) of sleep, of hunger and of fear or of any other blameless emotion, of which the Gospel speaks, made themselves known (in him)" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 106 & n.

262 on p. 105, quoting St. Severus Ant., *Adv. Apol. Iul.*, ch. 6: *CSCO* 302, p. 175,9-18. In addition Severus cites a passage from John Chrysostom, *Hom.* 67: *PG* 59, 462, in which this voluntariness is also stressed".

It is God the *Logos* himself who voluntarily elected to take upon himself all the anxiety and suffering, fear of death included (St. Severus, *Contra Grammat.* 3,33: *CSCO* vol. 101. 183ff. *Hymn* 108-1-VII: *PO* vi.146; *Critique du Tome*: *CSCO*, vol. 244, 125ff.). "By the very fact that he is incarnated he *accepted* to suffer...." (St. Severus, *Hom.* CII: *PO* xxii.293-4).

He "submitted himself to the laws of our nature" (St. Severus, *Hom.* LVIII: *PO* viii.227; *Critique du Tome*: *CSCO*, vol. 244, 110). A typical statement of St. Severus: "Even if the passions and death of our Saviour God were voluntary...they were, however, natural and proper to a truly passible and suffering flesh: the Incarnate Word permitted it to suffer according to the law of nature" (*Critique du Tome*: *CSCO*, vol. 244, 133. *Letter* LXV: *PO* xiv. 42; *Hom.* LXXXI: *PO* xx. 355, quoted in Chesnut, p. 29, n. 2). Therefore, it would be quite true to say that what all men possess by *nature*, within the Incarnation, the *Logos* possessed by *will* (Chesnut, p. 29).

It was the same one, the Incarnate *Logos*, who humanly feared death and said, "'Father, if it is possible, let this cup pass', and that which is flesh suffered; but divinely said, 'the spirit is willing' and willingly he received the passion: we do not *divide* into wills or words or natures or images" (cf. *ibid.*, p. 28, quoting St. Severus, *Contra Gramm.* 3, 33: *CSCO*, vol. 101, p. 184).

[It would be worthwhile making clear that the *hypostasis* of the divine *Logos* incarnate as *Logos* is the sole agent of decision making and his humanity which is *hypostatically* united to him is co-moved by the *Logos*. Christ himself in his prayer to the Father on the eve of his suffering declared his single will saying to the Father: πλὴν μὴ τὸ θέλημά μου ἀλλὰ τὸ σὸν γινέσθω "nevertheless not My will, but Yours, be done" (*Luke* 22:42). So he said: "My will" (single), not "My wills" (plural), indicating the hegemony of his divine *hypostasis* as the decision making agent].

IX.C.6. CHRIST'S ONE WILL IN THE TEACHING OF ST. PHILOXENUS OF MABBUG:

[St. Philoxenus (*c.* 440-523) was consecrated Bishop of Mabbug in 485 A.D.]

It is clear from studying the writings of St. Philoxenus that while our Lord Jesus Christ underwent all human things, he suffered them voluntarily rather than naturally (Chesnut, p. 77, n. 1, quoting de Halleux, *Philoxène*, p. 466).

St. Philoxenus "shared the common idea of the ancient world that death was the separation of the soul from the body, rather than the notion that death was the destruction of the person in terms of personal identity. It is obvious that, if death is only the separation of soul and body, one does not have a paradox at all when one says that the immortal God died on the cross: He died, in so far as soul was separated from the body; he was immortal, in that, in so far as he is a 'spirit', his existence did not depend upon the union of body and soul. Philoxenus emphasizes that while God is immortal and impassible *by nature*, he became passible and mortal through his *will* (*Tres tract.*, p. 89, etc.), but we must understand this as he meant it, i.e. he became mortal and passible in so far as he became a man by his will, or by a miracle" (*ibid.*, p. 64, n. 1 & p. 77 n. 1, quoting *Philoxeni Mabbugensis tractatus tres de Trinitate et incarnatione*, ed. and transl. by A. Vaschalde, *CSCO* 9, 10. Scriptores Syri 9, 10 [repr. Louvain 1955, 1961], p. 89, *Hom.* XI, p. 447). "We remember that this non-natural

realm is the realm of miracle: 'All things that concern him are miraculous and not natural and ordinary matters, for it is necessary that all things that God does be miracles'..." (*ibid.*, quoting St. Philoxenus, *Lettre aux moines de Senoun*, ed. & trans. by A. de Halleux, *CSCO* 231-232, Scriptores Syri 98-99, Louvain 1963, p. 61).

IX.C.7. CHRIST'S ONE WILL IN THE TEACHING OF ST. JACOB OF SARUG:

[St. Jacob (*c.* 451-521 A.D.) was consecrated Bishop of Sarug in 519 A.D.]

At the root of his Christology is the uncompromising insistence on the absolute oneness of Jesus which he expressed in the traditional Miaphysite language.

Jesus is "one Son, one number, one *hypostasis*, one nature, one God who was enfleshed from the holy virgin, one of the Trinity who was seen in the flesh...", (Chesnut, p. 119, quoting Jacob's *Letter* 3, p. 19). Jesus is not a union of a complete man and God, as the Nestorians believe (*ibid.* & n. 3, referring to *Letters* 14, p. 61; 21, pp. 137, 139; 19, p. 118). He is God who without change has become man (*ibid.* & n. 4, referring to *Letters* 6, p. 32; 13, p. 56; 36, p. 264). In him there is only one will – the will of God (*ibid.* & n. 5 referring to *Hom.* 53 part 3 [ii:502]), and one operation—the operation of the Word made flesh (*ibid.* & n. 6, quoting *Letter* 16, p. 71, also *Letters* 21, pp. 139, 140; 12, p. 50 etc.).

"Jesus' real human body belonged to him as his own. He was really born, in a miraculous fashion from a virgin, and really suffered physical pain on the cross and died". "But this pain did not belong to him, in so far as his nature was unembodied: it belongs to him only as part of the economy" (*ibid.*, p. 121 & n. 8, referring to *Letter* 33, p. 249). "And he was able to die only because he was willing" (*ibid.*, n. 8, referring to *Homilies* 49 [ii.354]; 40 [ii.190]; 94 [iii.597]; 53, part 4 [ii.505], etc.).

IX.C.8. CHRIST'S ONE WILL IN THE TEACHING OF ST. ANTHIMUS PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE:

St. Anthimus Patriarch of Constantinople (535-536 A.D.), who was deposed for his refusal to follow the dogma of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo, says in a *logos* to Emperor Justinian: "We confess the one incarnate nature of the God-*Logos*, which together with its own flesh is to be adored in worship, in this one incarnate nature of the God-*Logos*;... If there is only one *hypostasis*, one nature of the incarnate God-*Logos*, then without doubt there is also only one will, one activity, one wisdom and one knowledge for both" (St. Anthimus, *Sermo ad Iustinian.* [*CPG* 7086]: Mansi xi, col. 440E-441A, as quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 366).

In another fragment of the same *logos* to Emperor Justinian (which is contained in B.L. Add. 14532), St. Anthimus says: "For us there is one *hypostasis* and one incarnate nature of the God-*Logos*, as there is also without doubt only one will. We know too only one activity, and one wisdom, and there is (only) for both one knowledge" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 367).

IX.D. The Chalcedonians and Their Controversies Concerning the Will and Activity of Christ:

This topic is discussed in great detail in Part Four of the present work under section VII, q.v.

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X. CHRISTOLOGICAL DOCTRINAL FORMULAS

X.A. "One Incarnate Nature of the Divine *Logos*":

This formula is discussed in the present work in several places, especially in Part Five, section VI., and in Part Three, section III.C.7., (q.v.).

Flavian of Constantinople used it in his Christological statement of faith in his letter sent to Emperor Theodosius II in December, 448 [see Part Two, section II.A.4.b.].

For the meaning of its inclusion in Canon viii of the Chalcedonian Council of Constantinople of 553, see Part Three of the present work under section VI.C.4. (q.v.).

X.B. "One Composite Nature" and "One Composite *Hypostasis*":

These two formulas are studied in Part Three of the present work under section II (q.v.).

X.C. The "*Hypostatic* Union":

The history of the term *hypostasis*, and the doctrine of the "*hypostatic* union" were studied together in Part Three, section III (q.v.).

X.D. The "Natural Union":

This Christological doctrine was studied in Part Three, section IV. (q.v.).

X.E. The "Out of [Two Natures]":

This principal formula used by St. Cyril was accompanied by several variants which also stemmed from Cyrillian tradition. Thus we have "out of two", i.e. "from two" (ἐκ δύο); "out of two natures", i.e. "from two natures (ἐκ δύο φύσεων); "out of both", i.e. "from both" (ἐξ ἀμφοῖν); "out of which", i.e. "from which" (ἐξ ὧν). We have also "from two things (realities)" (ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων); "from two natures one nature"; "from two natures one incarnate nature"; "from two natures one incarnate *hypostasis*".

This Christological formula together with one or more of its variants are mentioned in several parts of the present work, e.g. quotations from the writings of St. Cyril in Part Three, section VI.A., and in Part Five, section VI.B.1.; and from St. Dioscorus in Part Five, section VI.B.2.

For the use of the formula: Christ is "from two natures" by Flavian of Constantinople according to his published oral Christological statement of faith in his home synod of Constantinople, 448, see Part Two of the present work under section II.A.4.a. And for his use of this same formula in his Letter to Emperor Theodosius II of December 448, in which he supplemented it by the statement: "We do not refuse to affirm one nature of God the Word enfleshed and incarnate, since **from both** is one and the same our Lord Jesus

Christ", see Part Two of the present work under section II.A.4.b.

More examples of the "out of two natures" formula and its variants are given from the writings of St. Severus of Antioch in Part Three sections III.F.2. and VI.B. and in Part Five section VI.B.6. (q.v.).

For the way this formula is used in Justinian's edict of 551 A.D. and in the Chalcedonian Council of Constantinople of 553, see Part Three, section VI.C.2-4.

We add hereinafter more details on this important formula and its variants.

X.E.1. NESTORIUS AND THE ANTIOCHENES' SUSPICION OF THE "OUT OF TWO" (ἐκ δύο) FORMULA AND ITS VARIANT "OUT OF WHICH", I.E. "FROM WHICH" (ἐξ ὧν):

St. Cyril's party favoured a conception of Christological union on the basis of "natural union" and propagated the catchphrase: **"union from out of two natures"** (*henosis ek dyo physeon*) to sum it up for the populace. Nestorius in turn coined the radically different formula: "Christ in two natures" (*en dyo physesin*) which was later adopted by the Council of Chalcedon.

Nestorius argued: "Look what Cyril says here: 'Even if the distinction of natures is not misunderstood **from which** (*ex on*) as we say an inexpressible union is achieved...' But this phrase of his **'from which'**, makes it sound as if he were speaking of the natures of the Lord as being parts which together made up a single whole. **He should not have said 'from which' but rather 'of which** an inexpressible union is achieved', because the inexpressible union is not made up from the natures, but rather is an inexpressible union of the natures" (Loofs, *Nestoriana*, p. 197f. as quoted in McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 136, n. 27).

The Antiochenes were suspicious of the "out of two", especially because it was the watchword of their Cyrillian opponents. "It was not that they expressly rejected it, but rather that they did not favour its use" (Sellers, p. 177). "Thus Theodoret can confess that Christ is εἷς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ('one from both')" (*ibid.*, n. 6, quoting *Dial.* ii; ed. Schulze, IV.i. p. 119). See also "Theodoret, *Dial.* ii: 'Orthodox' asks 'Eranistes', when the latter has said that he accepts 'out of two natures' but rejects 'two natures', whether he is thinking of a compound—like that of gold and silver, or of lead and tin" (ed. Schulze, *op. cit.*, IV.i. p. 101, as quoted in Sellers, p. 177, n. 7). Note that Theodoret the Nestorian Antiochene writer of that *Dialogue* considers himself "Orthodox" while "Eranistes" is the one faithful to the Alexandrine doctrine.

X.E.2. PRICE'S COMMENT ON THE AMBIGUITY OF THE PHRASE: "THERE HAS OCCURRED A UNION OF TWO NATURES" IN THE *FORMULARY OF REUNION* OF 433 A.D.:

In his comment on the demand by Flavian's home council of Constantinople of 448 that Eutyches should affirm two natures after the union, Richard Price gave his judgement saying: "The demand by the synod that Eutyches should affirm two natures after the union breached the terms of the accord of 433, since the *Formula of Reunion* was ambiguous on this point: it stated, 'There has occurred a union of two natures', which left it ambiguous

whether after the union there are two natures or one" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 115).

Earlier in 1941 A.D., Trevor Gervasse Jalland expressed his conviction that the condemnation of Eutyches by the synod of 448 on the ground that he did not accept the formula of "two natures" was unjustifiable. Thus he writes: "Flavian had exceeded his authority in demanding subscription to a formula for which as yet no ecumenical sanction could be claimed", and that therefore Flavian "was guilty of undue haste" (Jalland, T., *The Life and Times of (St.) Leo the Great*, pp. 216-217). [See 'More Scholarly Comments on the Home Synod of Flavian 448' in Part Two of the present work under section I.C.1.e.].

X.E.3. THE IMPORTANCE OF ST. CYRIL'S INSERTION OF HIS "OUT OF WHICH" (ἐξ ὧν) FORMULA INTO THE *FORMULARY OF REUNION* AS SHOWN BY ST. SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH:

It was objected that the Council of Chalcedon had refused to include in its confession the "out of two".

In the sixth century, some Chalcedonians like John the Grammarian and those with him who supported the Chalcedonian Definition claimed that Chalcedon also accepted the "out of two". St. Severus of Antioch refuted their claim. "His reply is to this effect: the Grammarian, and those with him, who were pleading that, since Cyril had received the *Formulary of Reunion*, the opponents of the Council should be ready to receive the Council's 'two natures', should enquire more closely into the *Laetentur coeli*, and then they would find that **the wise Alexandrian was exercising the physician's art when dealing with 'those sickly Orientals'; for, while accepting 'a union of two natures', he skillfully administered the medicine which removed the taint of the doctrine of 'two Sons' through introducing his 'out of which'** (ἐξ ὧν); therefore, since the Chalcedonian Synod had substituted its 'in two natures' for the 'out of two natures' of the champion against Nestorius, its formulary contained the same evil taint" (Sellers, p. 258).

Thus St. Cyril wrote in his letter to John of Antioch (*Laetentur coeli*): "There is one Lord Jesus Christ, although the difference of the natures is not ignored **out of which** we say that the ineffable union has been constituted (κἂν ἡ τῶν φύσεων μὴ ἀγνοῆται διαφορὰ ἐξ ὧν τὴν ἀπόῤῥητον ἕνωσιν πεπράχθαι φαμέν)" (*PG* lxxvii. 180B, as quoted in Sellers, p. 148). Clearly **St. Cyril's position is unassailable**. For him Jesus Christ is "out of two".

"Severus is constantly pointing to the introduction of the phrase 'out of which' by St. Cyril in the *Laetentur coeli* (St. Severus Ant., *Contra Gramm.* III.i., ed. Lebon, pp. 112, 129, 132 etc.). **It was a bright beam cast upon what was ambiguous** (*ibid.*, p. 122), since the Orientals had but to add 'according to dignity, homonymity, good pleasure and love' to their formula, 'a union of two natures', and they would have been altogether in line with Theodore of Mopsuestia (ed. Lebon, p. 141). Consequently **the Patriarch likens Cyril to the godly Elisha, who cast wholesome salt into the unwholesome water of the well at Jericho** (*IIKings* 3:19ff.), **and speaks of him as the wise and spiritually minded warrior, and the dispenser of the mysteries of God, who at the same time is a minister of clemency** (ed. Lebon, p. 112). Similarly,

in the *Philalethes* **Severus alludes to the Alexandrian as 'the wise physician'** (ed. Sanda, p. 65)" (cited in Sellers, n. 3 on pp. 258f.).

X.E.4. WHAT WAS THE ORIGINAL PHRASE IN THE CHALCEDONIAN DEFINITION: "IN (ἐν) TWO NATURES" OR "FROM (ἐκ) TWO NATURES"?:

It is worth noting here that, according to Hefele (*Hist. of the Councils*, vol. III, p. 348), Tillemont, Halm and others, **their Greek text has εκ δύο φύσεων ('from two natures') while the old Latin translation has *in duabus naturis* (in two natures)**. Although Dorner maintains, that the 'from two natures' of this Greek text of the Chalcedonian definition is the original one; yet the majority of scholars are convinced by the clear evidence that, "After what had been repeatedly said... on the difference between 'in two natures' and 'of two natures', and in opposition to the latter formula, there can be no doubt whatever that the old Latin translator had the more accurate text before him, and that it was originally εν δύο φύσεσιν" (*NPNF*, second series, vol. XIV, p. 263f.; see Sellers, n. 6 on pp. 120-121).

But the question remains: From where did that Greek text get the "from two natures" formula? Is it related somehow to the text originally prepared by Anatolius in the first commission before it was changed by the second commission during the sessions of the Council of Chalcedon? Or was it an amendment made under the influence of the theology adopted in the Chalcedonian Second Council of Constantinople 553?

Price seems to give us an answer to this question in a note on the Definition of Chalcedon which was read in the fifth session which declares Christ acknowledged "in two natures". Thus he says (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 204, n. 52): **"The reading 'from two natures', which the Cyrillians would have preferred, appears in some Greek MSS, and was doubtless slipped into a sixth-century edition of the text in an attempt to appease the miaphysites".**

[For a more detailed discussion of this topic see Sellers, n. 6 on pp. 120f.].

X.E.5. PRICE'S COMMENTARY ON THE OMISSION OF THE "FROM TWO NATURES" IN THE REVISED DRAFT OF THE DEFINITION OF CHALCEDON:

In his commentary on the fifth session of the Council of Chalcedon, 22 October 451, Richard Price writes in his work *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon* (vol. 2, pp. 187-189), under the subtitle "the revision of the draft", saying:

"Although the great majority of the bishops greeted the draft definition enthusiastically, the minutes inform us that there were two small but significant groups of dissentients – 'the Romans and some of the Orientals' (6). The latter group, consisting of Theodoret of Cyrrhus and his allies, the heirs of the Antiochene school (which by this date had limited support even in Syria itself), had as its spokesman at this session **Bishop John of Germanicia**, who made two recorded interventions, demanding amendments to the draft (4, 12; details of the amendments demanded are not given). **His intervention served simply to anger the majority party, which responded by demanding the expulsion of the 'Nestorians'. Far more serious was the opposition of the Roman delegates, who demanded that the draft be brought into line with the**

Tome of Leo and threatened to return home immediately if this was not granted (9). The lay chairman took up their objection: both Flavian of Constantinople and Leo of Rome had insisted that there are two natures in Christ, yet the formula used in the draft – 'from two natures' – was not only ambiguous: it had in addition been approved by the now disgraced Dioscorus. It was fatal for the draft that Dioscorus had said at the first session, 'I accept "from two [natures]"; I do not accept "two"' (I. 332)".

"Anatolius and his committee had held a meeting of bishops on the previous day at which the draft had been approved (7, 12)..... **Despite the unanimity with which the bishops had solemnly approved the _Tome_ of Leo in the fourth session, they were now in no mood to let an appeal to the _Tome_ force on them a Christological formula that could be seen as a victory for the 'Nestorians'.** The lay chairman Anatolius decided to resolve the impasse by an appeal to the emperor. After the interval required for the secretary of the imperial consistory to cross the Bosporus and back to elicit the imperial will, **the emperor's response duly arrived (22): he threatened the bishops that if they did not give way to the officials and the Roman delegates he would transfer the council to the west (i.e., to Rome), where it would of course be dominated by Pope Leo.** Nothing is more amazing in the drama of this session than the fact that the bishops refused at first to yield to what was in effect an imperial command. **But finally, and inevitably, the emperor's will prevailed.** The imperial representatives set up a new committee, consisting of themselves, the Roman delegates, Archbishop Anatolius, and 17 eastern bishops, who withdrew into a side-chapel (29) and after what cannot have been a long discussion returned to the nave to present their revision of the draft (30-34)" (*ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 187-188).

"The amending committee was obliged to assert a continuing duality in Christ, but the formula it used to do so – 'acknowledged in two natures' (replacing the '_from_ two natures' of the draft' – had been coined apparently by Basil of Seleucia (I. 169, 176, 301) on the basis of the assertion that Christ is 'perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood' in Cyril's Letter to John of Antioch. If the duality of natures in Christ had to be asserted, this was done by using, as far as possible, Cyrillian expressions..." (*ibid.*, p. 189).

Price then comments on the Chalcedonian formula "acknowledged in two natures" saying (*ibid.*, n. 15):

"15. The formula came later to be understood as equivalent to Cyril's formula that Christ is two 'in contemplation alone', in other words that the duality arises in the mind that analyses Christ, while the reality is of a perfect unity of being:... But it is clear from I. 170, 176, 303 that the formula was understood in the mid-fifth century to assert the distinction between the natures as not merely a mental construct but an objective fact (see de Halleux 1994, in *Revue théologique de Louvain* 25, pp. 464-466). **This is why the formula satisfied the demand by the Roman delegates and the imperial representatives that the Definition had to define unambiguously that there are two natures in Christ, even if the exact meaning of 'nature' is not defined...".**

X.E.6. GADDIS'S COMMENTARY ON THE OMISSION OF THE "FROM TWO NATURES" IN THE REVISED DRAFT OF THE DEFINITION OF CHALCEDON:

In his "General Introduction" to *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, Michael Gaddis wrote under the subtitle "Matters of Faith", (*ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 46-47), saying:

"Issues of doctrine, the primary concern of the council, occupied the second, fourth and fifth sessions. First on the agenda was the reading of Leo's *Tome*,... With the bishops' subscription to Leo's *Tome* and the two-nature Christology expounded therein, Leo would have been satisfied. The rest of the bishops.....preferred not to commit themselves to a definitive rejection of the one-nature interpretations so widespread in the eastern provinces. It was the imperial officials...who demanded that the council compose a new and explicit Definition of Faith – perhaps because Marcian could not claim to be a 'new Constantine' without a doctrinal product comparable to the Nicene Creed. The bishops expressed great reluctance to the imperial demand, agreeing only after the emperor threatened to move the council to Italy. **Their first attempt at a definition, which seems to have contained a compromise formula based on *ek duo phuseon* ('from two natures') that was acceptable to the vast majority, was not enough to satisfy the papal legates. Tellingly, the text of that draft creed was not recorded in the minutes.** Theology was apparently too important to be left to 300 bishops, so when they were commanded to revise the formula, the task was entrusted to a select committee of leading churchmen who met behind closed doors. No records were kept of their deliberations, and the definition they finally produced was offered to the council as a finished product – faith should not be seen to be subject to debate or discussion".

In reference to the aftermath, he concludes: "**The council's ambitious project inspired immediate opposition in a diverse group ranging from Egyptian bishops still loyal to Dioscorus, to Constantinopolitan monks.... They considered themselves both pro-Nicene and anti-Nestorian, and worried that the council was falling into heretical error.** Although they did not have a consistent or well-articulated Christological position of their own, **they knew what they did *not* accept. Invoking their own understanding of tradition and their reverence for dead fathers, they found justification for rejecting the interpretive authority of the council's bishops.[171] The attitude displayed by these 'Nicene fundamentalists' at the fourth session offers an early glimpse of the sentiments that would drive the broad-based opposition to Chalcedon in later years**" (*ibid.*, p. 47 & n. 171), referring to the immediate opposition and rejection of the Council during its sessions by the Egyptian bishops [session IV. 19-62], by the Constantinopolitan clerics [session IV. 63-116] and again in the session on Carosus and Dorotheus and their party of monastic opponents of the council (see *ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 164-168).

X.E.7. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE "OUT OF TWO" FORMULA AS SHOWN BY POPE TIMOTHY II OF ALEXANDRIA AND BISHOP PHILOXENUS OF MABBUG:

Both St. Timothy II, the twenty-sixth Pope of Alexandria (457-477), and St. Philoxenus bishop of Mabbogh objected that the Council of Chalcedon had refused to include in its confession the "out of two". They insisted that "the phrase had been received from the holy

Fathers, who like themselves, did not use it in any Eutychian sense" (Sellers, p. 258 & n. 1: "Thus in his *Refutation of the Synod of Chalcedon and the Tome of Leo* (Pt. ii), Timothy declares that if any of the Fathers have said the one Christ is 'out of two natures', they were teaching that the divine *Logos* was incarnate 'of the universality of human nature' (*Brit. Mus. Add. MS.* 12156f. 48vb). Philoxenus often uses 'out of two natures' in opposition to the 'in two natures' of Chalcedon, and insists that, just as a man is 'out of two different things according to nature', so the *Logos* made flesh, the *una natura incorporata*, is *ex* [*divina*] *essentia* and *ex humanitate* (*Tractatus de Trinitate et Incarnatione*, trans. A. Vaschalde, *CSCO*, *Scriptores Syri*, ser. ii. t. xxvii, p. 147). In the same work, he sets in contrast 'out of two' and 'two',...").

X.E.8. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE "OUT OF TWO" FORMULA AS SHOWN BY ST. SEVERUS PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH:

In the manner of St. Cyril of Alexandria, St. Severus of Antioch illustrated the unity of Christ through the analogy of the union of the human soul and body, to show that he is **"one from two natures"**. Thus, St. Severus preaches:

"We say that the human being, ours, which is composed from a soul and a body and which is in a single *hypostasis*, is a mortal, rational animal; still on the one side it is mortal through the body, on the other side rational through the soul; nevertheless it is still the whole animal which is called mortal and which as whole is characterized as rational; and the elements from which it is composed in a natural way are not mingled and it is not at all divided into two. **It is also this way with the Emmanuel, because he is one from two natures, and one single *hypostasis* and one single incarnate nature of the *Logos***, without in any way the elements having to be mingled, from which the inexpressible unity comes to pass, and also, while one remains, without furnishing access to the duality from which the division arises. For he, who is really one, will never be two; and if he proceeds to become two, he has necessarily ceased to be one" (*Hom.* 44: *PO* 36, pp. 96-98, as quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 134, n. 343).

He also says in *Homily* 38: "For it is impossible that the uncreated and immutable nature should change into a creature or that something from what is created should be transformed and pass over into the uncreated being. Rather he remained what he was and has united himself *hypostatically* with a body which possesses a rational soul in such a way that ***out of two natures*, out of the uncreated divinity and the created humanity, he has appeared to us as a single Christ, a single Lord, and a single person (*prosopon*), a single *hypostasis*, a single incarnate nature of the *Logos*** (*Hom.* 38: *PO* 8, 216-217, as quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 133).

[It was early in his monastic life in a monastery near Maiuma in Palestine that St. Severus, the future patriarch of Antioch was confronted by Nephalius, the Chalcedonian monk who dared to express his views in defense of Chalcedon before him. But, according to John, the biographer of St. Severus, "the wise Severus annihilated him as if he had been a spider's web" (cf. Sellers, p. 293 & n. 4). Nephalius was a member of the small Proterian party who followed Proterius, the Chalcedonian imperial appointee to the throne of St. Mark instead of the exiled legitimate patriarch St. Dioscorus. Before 508 A.D., Nephalius left Alexandria for a wider sphere of work for the Council of Chalcedon, settling in Palestine and leading a

violent agitation against the Severian Miaphysite monks who regarded him as "the monster from Nubia", calling him "Kraipalios", since he was "drunken" by his revolutionary projects (*ibid.*, pp. 293-294, referring to *Vie de Sév. par Jean...*, ed. M.A. Kugener, *PO*, t. ii, fasc. 1, pp. 231f.).]

Nephalius preached in Palestine an address (*apologia*) in defense of the two natures and the Council of Chalcedon. This *apologia* is lost. Fragments are preserved in the two *Orationes ad Nephalium* (of the first we have only the ending, the second survives entire in a Syriac version) composed in reply by St. Severus (cf. Ber. *EEC*, pp. 593 & 773).

"Nephalius wanted to bring close together once again the two formulas which were contested at Chalcedon and seem to be in opposition to each other, viz. 'out of two natures' and 'in two natures'; this was to occur through speaking of the 'united natures' (φύσεις ἑνωθεῖσαι). 'In two united natures' should signify as much as 'out of two one' (ἐκ δύο εἷς). We can recognize these trains of thought from Severus' refutation" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 49, and n. 78: Cf. the following passages: *Or. 2 ad Neph.*: *CSCO* 120, p. 9,16-18: "It is not the same to say that Christ is 'out of two [natures]' and 'in two [natures]' after the union, even if the expression is added: 'united natures'. The Synod itself testifies to that").

St. Severus "argues not unskillfully with the acts of Chalcedon. There the Fathers had rejected the first suggested proposal for a *horos*, a proposal composed by Patriarch Anatolius of Constantinople, precisely because it contained the formula **'out of two natures'**. At the forefront of this action were the two Roman legates of Pope Leo I who had threatened their departure should the **'out of two'** continue to be retained. In its place the new *horos* with its profession of 'in two natures' was then composed and accepted. Thus—so argued Severus—even now the 'out of two natures' cannot be made to coincide with 'in two natures', even if the state of being united is expressly emphasized:"

"See how they [the Fathers of Chalcedon] characterize the formula **'out of two'** as heretical but define as orthodox the formula 'two united [natures]', whereby they have prepared the ground for Christ's being called two natures after the union" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 49 & n. 80 quoting St. Severus of Ant., *Or. 2 ad Neph.*: *CSCO* 120, p. 9,27-30. It is said that with the **'out of two'** the following were also rejected by the Fathers: 'one through *synthesis*' and above all the 'one nature of the incarnate Word'. Were the Fathers of Chalcedon to have acknowledged the two formulas as really having the same meaning, they would not have condemned Dioscorus, but would have had to have characterized as a wrangler the one who conducted an unnecessary fight against equally valid expressions [*ibid.*, pp. 9,30-10,3]).

Thus for St. Severus not even "in two united natures" is sufficient to achieve in efficacy his preferred "out of two".

Among the several variants of the "out of two" formula used by St. Severus we mention the following (from Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-161):

+ ***'From two natures'***. "The Patriarch of Antioch gladly recalls the refusal of the Fathers of Chalcedon to approve the 'from two natures' of the first draft of the formula of faith.

In its place was put, he says, the 'in two natures', the *tessera* of Nestorianism (see Lebon, *Chalkedon* I, pp. 510-534). **The *ek dyo* represented for him the simplest way to avoid the detested duality in Christ and still retain the possibility of distinguishing divinity and humanity in the *theoria*.**"

+ ***'From two natures one nature (or one incarnate hypostasis)'***. "This formula can be understood as a variant of the schema of the 'two ages' (*ibid.*, p. 161 & n. 390: Cf. Severus Ant., *Philal.*: *CSCO* 134, 105-130 (introduction), where first of all the two-natures formula is criticized. The refutation begins on 130ff., where the variants are then offered. Cf. *C. imp. Gram.*, *Or.* II, ch. 6: *CSCO* 112, 66-69; *C. imp. Gram.*, *Or.* III, ch. 9: *CSCO* 94, 115-134)".

+ ***'From two (ἐκ δύο)'***. "This is the final simplification to which Severus gladly resorts to give expression to his aversion to any duality."

"Everything really depends on the formula **'from two'**; from them both the *hypostatic* union is effected as well as (the fact) that there is only one incarnate nature of the *Logos*, and also this, that one ought understand those two (realities) **from which** the union happens, as distinct and of a different kind **only in thought, and that one ought no longer speak of two after thinking of the one**" (*ibid.*, quoting St. Severus Ant., *C. imp. Gram.*, *Or.* III, ch. 10: *CSCO* 94, p. 141,20-25).

"**'From two'** thus becomes the shibboleth (cf. *Judges* 12:5-6, i.e. 'catchword') of anti-Chalcedonian christology, and its rejection was for Severus the *proton pseudos* of Chalcedon. For in this way it renounced the possibility of hindering the division of Christ into two" (St. Severus, *C. imp. Gram.*, *Or.* III, ch. 10: *CSCO* 94, p. 157,11-18: the formula **'one Christ from two'** by itself hinders any cutting up. If one rejects it, then there follows the duality of the Sons and the Christs. The Patriarch's reproach of Chalcedon revolves around the exclusion of the **'from two'** in favour of the **'in two'**. Cf. *ibid.*, ch. 18, p. 214,23-33; p. 218,5-11, where Severus says that the *ex duabus naturis* is *destructivum...dualitatis*). Because **the 'from two' moves towards the 'one nature'**, it comes to be on a par with the *mia-physis* formula in general" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 161, n. 393, quoting St. Severus, *C. imp. Gram.*, *Or.* III, chap. 12: *CSCO* 94, p. 158,29-34: "...this 'from two' is proper to the *hypostatic* union; the end (*terminus*), however, of this union is the one incarnate nature of the God-*Logos*". Similarly in *Philal.*, ch. 62: *CSCO* 134, p. 231,27-30, Severus relentlessly combines two expressions: **"a single Christ from two natures"** and the confession of **"the one incarnate nature of the God-*Logos*"**).

X.E.9. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE "OUT OF TWO" FORMULA AS SHOWN IN THE SYNODICAL LETTER OF POPE THEODOSIUS I, THE THIRTY-THIRD PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA:

Pope Theodosius I of Alexandria (535-566), wrote in his *Epistula synodica* to Patriarch Paul of Antioch, saying: "The *hypostatic* union did not falsify the distinction of natures that marks the united and also left no place for division and separation; rather, for us it created **from two the one and indivisible Emmanuel**; one is his nature or composite *hypostasis*; this means the same as when we say: the nature of the God-*Logos* himself and his *hypostasis*

has become flesh and perfectly human being..." (Theodos. Al., *Ep. synod. ad Paul. Patr.* (*CPG* 7142): *CSCO* 103, pp. 84,35-85,4, as quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 57).

X.E.10. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE "OUT OF TWO" FORMULA AS SHOWN IN THE SYNODICAL LETTER OF POPE DAMIAN, THE THIRTY-FIFTH PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA:

Pope Damian of Alexandria (569 [or 576]-605), in his synodical letter with which he introduced himself to St. Jacob Baradai after his consecration to the see of St. Mark, stated the following concerning the Incarnation:

"He was not transformed into the nature of flesh but remained what he was and assumed what he did not have;...one single [nature] formed **from two**, perfect in itself, that is, he is **composed out of divinity**, which was before the worlds and brought everything into existence out of nothing, **and out of humanity**, which was formed by the *Logos* itself and was assumed by him from the first moment..." (Damian Alex., *Epistula synodica ad Iacobum Baradaeum* [*CPG* 7240]: Michael Syr., *Chronicle* X.14, Chabot II, p. 327b., as quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 76).

X.E.11. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE "OUT OF TWO" FORMULA AS SHOWN IN THE DOGMATIC LETTER OF PATRIARCH ATHANASIUS OF ANTIOCH TO EMPEROR HERACLIUS:

Mar Athanasius, the anti-Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch (known as the "camel-driver" 596-631 A.D.), in his letter sent to emperor Heraclius (610-641 A.D.), concerning dogmas states among the many reasons he gives for condemning the Council of Chalcedon that that council composed a Definition stating that "Christ is two natures" and "known in two natures"....ignoring the phrase **"from two natures"** which is received from the Fathers... (Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, XI, Ar. tr. vol. II, p. 297).

X.E.12. THE "OUT OF TWO" FORMULA AS EXPRESSED AND SUNG FROM THE COPTIC BOOK OF PSALMODY:

X.E.12.a. In the Sunday Theotokion:

Ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲉⲛ ⲃ̅ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩⲃⲏⲟⲩϯ
ⲉⲥⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲁⲧⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲛ̀ⲟⲙⲟⲟⲩⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ.
(He is) one out of two: a pure divinity:
which is indestructible: consubstantial with the Father.
Ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲭⲱⲣⲓⲥ ⲥⲩⲛⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲟⲙⲟⲟⲩⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ϯⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ.
And a pure humanity: without sexual coupling:
consubstantial with us: according to the economy.

X.E.12.b. In the Thursday Theotokion:

Ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲉⲛ Ⲃ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩ† ⲛⲉⲓⲁ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲣⲱⲙⲓ·
ϩⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲓⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲉ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲩⲟⲥ·ⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲛⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲑⲉⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲛ.

(He is) one out of two: (the) divinity and (the) humanity:

the Magi worshipped him as such: tacitly theologizing (i.e. when they recognized his divinity).

X.F. "One of the Trinity Suffered in the Flesh":

This formula "One of the Holy Trinity suffered in the flesh" (Gk. εἷς τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος ἔπαθε σαρκί), with several other variants, such as "One from [or of] the Trinity suffered" ('*unus ex* [or *de*] *Trinitate passus est*'), "One of the Trinity became incarnate" ('*unus de Trinitate incarnatus*'), "One from the Trinity became incarnate and suffered" ('*unus ex Trinitate incarnatus et passus*'), "One from the Trinity was crucified" ('*unus ex Trinitate est, qui crucifixus est*'), derive mainly from the famous twelfth anathema of St. Cyril of Alexandria which reads:

"12. If anyone does not confess that **the Word of God suffered in the flesh, was crucified in the flesh, and tasted death in the flesh**, becoming the first-born from the dead, although as God he is life and life-giving, let him be anathema" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 275, 292).

St. Cyril "was determined to press the point of single-subject christology in the most vigorous manner he could, and this is why his Anathemas leave no room at all for manouevre. They are a bold and strong statement of the Alexandrian position, in the graphic language of paradox, especially the famous twelfth, or 'Theopaschite', anathema urging the full implication of incarnational theology—that God died in the flesh" (*ibid.*, p. 45).

X.F.1. THE MEANING OF THE TERM "THEOPASCHITES" AND ITS APPLICATION:

The term "Theopaschites" from Gk. Θεοπασχῖται, i.e. "those who hold that God suffered", (from Θεός: God; πάσχειν: to suffer).

The miaphysite orthodox tradition introduced the Christological formula *unus ex* (or *de*) *Trinitate passus est*, which, for its opponents (i.e. the Nestorians and the adherents of strict Chalcedonian definition and nothing else) signified nothing but theopaschism, of which the dyophysites had accused St. Cyril and his followers.

The term theopasch(it)ism can have an orthodox meaning. This is because it is God the *Logos* himself who suffered, not in his divinity, but in the flesh which he made his own through the economy of his incarnation. Therefore it is the incarnate *Logos* who suffered.

But this term was falsely used by the Dyophysites as an accusation against the Cyrillian Miaphysites with the intention of reproaching them for attributing suffering and death to the *Logos* himself in his divinity. Even they sometimes confuse the term theopaschism with

"Patripassianism" which is a form of the early third-century "Monarchianism" known also as "Sabellianism". But this confusion is really surprising since Patripassianism is a monistic non-Trinitarian (heretical) doctrine according to which God the Father suffered as the Son, i.e. God the Father, being identical with the Son, suffered on the Cross (cf. *ODCC*, ed. 2, pp. 929, 1044; Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 219, n. 20).

X.F.2. THEOPASCHISM AS A FALSE ACCUSATION AGAINST ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA AND HIS SUPPORTERS:

X.F.2.a. As Shown in St. Cyril's Writings:

St. Cyril never attributed suffering and death to the *Logos* in his divinity, which is impassible and immortal, but only in the flesh which he made his own and in which he accepted suffering and death as the incarnate *Logos*. This is clear from St. Cyril's Third Letter to Nestorius (*Ep.* 17, parag. 6) in which he says:

"6.....and **we confess that the same Son and Only Begotten God, born from God the Father, suffered in the flesh for our sake, in accordance with the scripture** (cf. *1Peter* 4:1) **even though he is impassible in his own nature. In the crucified body he impassibly appropriated the suffering of his own flesh and 'by the grace of God he tasted death on behalf of all'** (*Hebrews* 2:9). **He surrendered his own body to death even though by nature he is life and is himself the Resurrection** (*John* 11:25). He trampled upon death with unspeakable power so that he might, in his own flesh, become the 'first-born from the dead' (*Colossians* 1:18) and the 'first fruits of those who have fallen asleep' (*1Corinthians* 15:20),..." (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 270).

This is also clear in the twelfth of his anathematisms appended to that letter and in the *Explanation of the Twelve Anathematisms* which he wrote when he was under house arrest at Ephesus in late summer 431. We quote here the twelfth anathematism and its explanation (*ibid.*, pp. 292-293):

"*Anathematism 12.*"

"30. If anyone does not confess that **the Word of God suffered in the flesh, was crucified in the flesh, and tasted death in the flesh**, becoming the first-born from the dead, although as God he is life and life-giving, let him be anathema."

"*Explanation 12.*"

"31. The Word of God the Father is impassible and immortal, for the divine and ineffable nature is above all suffering, and this it is which gives life to all things and is greater than corruption or anything else that can normally cause us grief. Yet even though the Word of God the Father is so by his own being, he made his own the flesh which is capable of death so that by means of this which is accustomed to suffer he could assume sufferings for us and because of us, and so liberate us all from death and corruption by making his own body alive, as God, and by becoming the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep, and the first born from the dead (*1Corinthians* 15:20). **He who endured the noble cross for our sake and tasted of death was no ordinary man conceived of as**

separate and distinct from the Word of God the Father but it was the Lord of Glory himself who suffered in the flesh, according to the scriptures (*1Corinthians* 2:8; *1Peter* 4:1). Because those who are trying to introduce stupid and profane teachings into the orthodox and blameless faith are saying that an ordinary man endured the cross for our sake, then this anathematism became necessary to expose the magnitude of the wickedness prevalent among them."

X.F.2.b. As Shown in the Letter of Acacius Bishop of Melitene to Sahak Catholicos of the Armenians:

This letter of Acacius was written soon after the Council of Ephesus, most probably in 432. It opens with an assertion that in Christ all peoples are made one (*Colossians* 3:11). That unity "was shaken by the malicious heresy of Nestorius" (Sarkissian, p. 113).

"After this general warning he tries to show briefly, on the basis of the Scriptural evidence, that it is one and the same Lord, one and the same person who lived and acted as the God-man. He criticizes those who think of Christ as a person no greater than the Apostles and the Saints. **He complains about people who accuse him of Theopaschite inclinations which he rejects categorically** by saying:"

"But we not only do not accept their (i.e. his accusers') interpretation, but also **we anathematize those who dare say that God even in his nature underwent the sufferings, and consider the immortal as mortal and the incorruptible and the unstained as corruptible**; they do not look into the Scriptures and not into the teaching of the 318 Bishops of Nicaea" (*ibid.*, p. 114, quoting *B.L.*, p. 15).

Acacius "refers, as Richard has shown convincingly, to the incident which happened in Chalcedon immediately after the Council of Ephesus (431 A.D.) when delegations from the two sides, Alexandrians and Antiochenes, were advocating before Theodosius the truth of their respective christological systems and Acacius was suddenly caught out by the Antiochenes for teaching **Theopaschism** in his utterances at the meeting" (*ibid.*, n. 4, referring to Richard, *Acace*, pp. 402-3).

X.F.2.c. As Shown in the *Tome* of Proclus to the Armenians:

This letter of Proclus Patriarch of Constantinople (434-447) to the same Sahak Catholicos of the Armenians is a famous christological document known as the *Tome* of Proclus. It emphasizes the unity of Christ being God and having become truly man. He faces boldly the objection to his conception of the unity of Christ's person. "Here are both the objection and his answer given straightforwardly:"

"If they (i.e. the opponents) say the Trinity is of one substance and the Trinity is without passions and sufferings; and if the Trinity is without passions and sufferings, then the Word of God also is without sufferings; **it follows that he who was crucified was someone other than God the Word who is without sufferings"** (*ibid.*, p. 122; cf. *PG* t. 65, col. 865; *ACO*, p. 191).

"Proclus first makes his opponents look ridiculous for this very weak objection, which he likens to a spider's web—even looser than that—**and to script written upon water! Then he answers the objection by saying that it**

is not the Word God who suffered but the Word Incarnate. Everyone knows that the divine nature in itself is above all suffering. But God wanted to overcome death which is the chief of all sufferings, and, **therefore, he became flesh through the Virgin.** His becoming flesh or his taking the form of a servant did not diminish his Godhead, **and it was through his body that he overcame the sufferings**" (*ibid.*; cf. *PG* t. 65, col. 865; *ACO*, pp. 191-192; cf. also Meyendorff, *CECT*, pp. 182-183, n. 8).

"This is probably the ground for accusations charging Proclus of Theopaschism. Although Richard has tried to clear him from any responsibility in this respect, in so far as his authorship of the famous formula εἷς τῆς Τριάδος ἐσταυρώθη is concerned (see Richard, *Proclus*), yet there seem to have been rumours about Proclus' 'Theopaschism'; for this reference and, more particularly, the way in which he makes the accusations look ridiculous, show this quite clearly" (*ibid.*, n. 2; cf. Amann, *Theopaschites*, col. 506; cf. also M. Simonetti in Ber. *EEC*, p. 713).

"For methodological reasons it is advisable to distinguish the formula *unus ex trinitate incarnatus est* from the formulas in which suffering (*passus*), death (*mortuus*) or crucifixion (*crucifixus*) is stated of the subject *unus ex (de) trinitate*. We find the formula *unus ex trinitate incarnatus* for the first time in Proclus, the Patriarch of Constantinople (434-446), in the following passages:"

"(a) Proclus, *Tomus ad Armenios* (*CPG* 5897) 21: *ACO* IV, 2, p. 192,7: τὸν ἕνα τριάδος, σεσαρκῶσθαι; Latin: p. 202,25: *unum ex trinitate incarnatum*."

"(b) Proclus, *Ep. uniformis ad singulos Occidentis eppos* (*CPG* 5915) 7: *ACO* IV, 2, p. 66,16-17: *unum ex trinitate...deum verbum factum hominem*. (On the authenticity cf. Diekamp, *ThR* 16 (1917), 357f.)" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 317).

"For the real theopaschite formula too, the *unus ex trinitate crucifixus* or *passus*, Proclus was called upon not only by Severus, but also by Innocent of Maronia and Facundus of Hermiane. This attribution to Proclus, nevertheless, has been decisively contested by M. Richard" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 318 & n. 9, giving texts & references with more elaboration).

X.F.3. THE THEOPASCHITE EXPRESSION IN THE EARLIER TRADITION:

St. Paul himself speaks of the "princes of this world" who "crucified the Lord of Glory" (*1Corinthians* 2:8).

From the Apostolic Fathers, St. Ignatius of Antioch (*c.* 35 – *c.* 107) speaks of "passion of God" (πάθος τοῦ θεοῦ) (Ignatius, *Ep. to the Romans* 6:3) and the "Blood of God" (Ignatius, *Ep. to the Ephesians* 1:1).

"St. Gregory Nazianzen already makes it the essential element of his doctrine of salvation: 'We needed a God *made flesh and put to death* (*edeéthēmen Theoû sarkouménou kaì nekrouménou*) in order that we could live again'" (*Homily* 45, 28, *PG* 36, col. 661), "and there is no problem for him about using such terms as 'blood of God' (*haîma Theoû*) and 'crucified God' (*Theòs stauroúmenos*)" (St. Greg. Naz., *Hom.* 45, 19, 22, 28, col. 649C, 653A, 661D).

Meyendorff (*CECT*, p. 52) adds saying: "Does not the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed itself explicitly proclaim the faith of the Church in 'the *Son of God*...incarnate of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary..., *crucified* for us under Pontius Pilate'? St. Cyril's major preoccupation in his struggle against Nestorius consisted precisely in preserving the faith of

Nicaea, which seemed to him to be endangered as soon as one ceased to say that Mary was 'Mother of God' or that the Word 'suffered in the flesh'...".

X.F.4. THE THEOPASCHITE FORMULA AS PRONOUNCED BY MONK DOROTHEUS AT THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON:

Monk Dorotheus was one of the representatives and defenders of Eutyches in the fourth session of the Council of Chalcedon (17 October, 451). After defending his master (parag. 106), he was asked about his own opinion and gave his declaration of faith with a form considered an early anticipation of the famous theopaschite formula "One of the Trinity suffered", which was much debated in the period 518-534. We quote hereafter his declaration in full as recorded in the minutes of the fourth session of Chalcedon parag. 108:

"108. Dorotheus the most devout monk said: 'I was baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, **acknowledging Christ our Saviour, who came down and was enfleshed from the holy Virgin, and became man and was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate**—bear with me and if anything escapes me, correct me—, **and we profess him to be of the Trinity. And our Lord himself, having been spat upon, pierced and struck**, said to his holy disciples when he rose from the dead, "Go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." **We profess that he who suffered is {one} of the Trinity, and I do not acknowledge any other creed**'" (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 162).

X.F.5. THE THEOPASCHISM IN THE *HENOTICON*:

The letter of emperor Zeno, dated 28 July, 482, and known as the *Henoticon*, was addressed to the Church of Alexandria. "It was apparently the work chiefly of Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople, and Pope Peter Mongo, Patriarch of Alexandria" (*ODCC*, ed. 2, p. 632). It condemned both Nestorius and Eutyches and stated that the orthodox faith was epitomized in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed together with the Twelve Anathemas of St. Cyril (cf. *ibid.*). The Christological confession of faith given in that document avoided the use of the controversial terms "nature", "*hypostasis*" and "*prosopon*" and "carefully maintained not only **the Cyrillian affirmation of the oneness of Christ, including theopaschism ('we say that the miracles and the passion are of the One'—ἑνὸς εἶναι φαμέν)** and condemned the doctrine of the 'two sons', but also affirmed...that Christ is 'consubstantial to us, according to his humanity'..." (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 199). It stated also the formula: **"One (member) of the Trinity....was incarnate"**, as shown in the following quotation from the *Henoticon*:

"We, moreover, confess that the Only-begotten Son of God, Himself God, who truly assumed manhood, namely our Lord Jesus Christ, who is consubstantial with the Father in respect of the Godhead, and consubstantial with ourselves as respects the manhood; that He, having descended and become incarnate of the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin and Mother of God, is one and not two: for **we affirm that both His miracles and the sufferings which He voluntarily endured in the flesh are those of a single Person**....His truly sinless incarnation from the Mother of God did not produce an addition

of a Son, because the Holy Trinity continued a Trinity even when **one member of the Trinity, God the Word, became incarnate**" (Kidd, *Documents*, vol. III, p. 7).

X.F.6. THE CONFESSION "ONE OF THE TRINITY SUFFERED IN THE FLESH" AS RECORDED WITH VARIANTS IN THE WRITINGS OF THE ANTI-CHALCEDONIANS:

X.F.6.a. The Vision of St. Peter the Iberian:

St. Peter the Iberian (*c.* 413-491) was taught in a vision that "He who was crucified is one of the Trinity and not another". (Cf. John Rufus, *Plerophoriae* [from 515], ch. 37 = *PO* 8,86-87, quoted in Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* VIII, chap. 9:11, Ar. trans., vol. I, pp. 344-345).

X.F.6.b. The *Libellus* of the Alexandrian *Apocrisiarii*:

The formula "One of the Trinity...became incarnate" in Zeno's *Henoticon* "was taken over into the *libellus* of the Alexandrian *apocrisiarii* (of Patriarch John I Hemula [496-505]) which these handed over to the (Roman) papal delegation of 497 in Constantinople: *CA*, *ep.* 102. no. 11: *CSEL* 35, 472; in Rome this *libellus* was translated by Dionysius Exiguus into Latin: *CA*, *ep.* 102: *CSEL* 35, 473" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 319).

X.F.6.c. The Confession of Emperor Anastasius I (491-518):

"Emperor Anastasius I: Confession of faith, in Zacharias Rhetor cont., *HE* VII, 8: Brooks, *CSCO* 88, p. 30,16-27; Hamilton-Brooks, 173: '...**I confess that one of the *persons* [*hypostases*] of the Trinity, God the Word,...became incarnate...was crucified**...' In his *suggestio* to Pope Hormisdas of 29 June 519, the deacon Dioscorus comments that Emperor Anastasius has prescribed the ***unus de trinitate crucifixus*** for the Catholics. On the condemnation of those who refuse to confess **'one of the Trinity was crucified'** at a *Synodus Endemousa* in Constantinople (according to Victor of Tunnuna in 499; more correctly in 507), summoned at the instigation of Philoxenus of Mabbog under Emperor Anastasius, see Grillmeier" (*op. cit.*, p. 319).

X.F.6.d. St. Philoxenus Bishop of Mabbug:

"Philoxenus of Mabbog (d. 523), *Dissertationes decem de* ***uno e sancta trinitate incorporato et passo*** (*Mēmrē contre Ḥabib*): *PO* 15, 443-542 (Latin); *PO* 38, 479-633; *PO* 39, 549-753 (French); *PO* 40, 203-351 (French)" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*).

X.F.6.e. St. Severus of Antioch:

"Severus of Antioch. *C. imp. Gram.* III, ch. 29; cf. John of Beth Aphth., *Vita Severi*: *PO* 2, 236-237: at the instigation of Severus an imperial delegation was sent to Patriarch Macedonius (496-511 A.D.) to ask him where he stood with regard to the sentence ***unus de trinitate incarnatus***. The Patriarch of Constantinople rejected the formula. Severus saw in

it the touchstone of 'true faith'" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*).

It is surprising that St. Severus also had to defend himself against the accusation of Theopasch(it)ism, which attributes suffering to the godhead of Christ as such. The following is a beautiful text from St. Severus's first address to Nephalius on this topic:

"If anyone says that the flesh of the Lord descended from heaven or passed through the Virgin as through a channel, and describes it not rather as from her in accordance with the law of conception, even if formed without man, he is condemned. Neither the conception nor the birth from Mary, nor the dealings with human beings, nor cross, tomb, resurrection from the dead, ascension into heaven happen according to appearance, but all according to truth: for we needed real healing, because we had really sinned. Thus we await in truth the coming Christ in exactly the body in which he bore the suffering of the cross which brought salvation; thus namely will he be seen by those who have pierced him (*John* 19:37). **We hold in our mind not the so-called theopaschism – far be it – but we say that the Lord of glory, as stands written, suffered in the flesh** (cf. *1Peter* 4:1; *1Corinthians* 2:8). **Although it is namely proper to the body to suffer, so the impassible Word was united to one capable of suffering; and because the body is proper to him, thus too the suffering is stated of him.** But according to our faith the incarnation of the Lord is neither without soul nor without spirit, rather ensouled, endowed with spirit and understanding. We impose the ban on the appearance doctrine (*phantasia*) of Eutyches and Valentinus and the ungodliness of the Manichaeans and the foolishness of Apollinarius and the dreadful division of the *oikonomia* by Nestorius" (St. Severus Ant., *Or. 1 ad Nephalius*: *CSCO* 120, pp. 6.28-7.17, as quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 52).

In his homilies, St. Severus says: "with regard to his divinity he remained impassible; with regard to his flesh he suffered" (cf. *Homily* 109: *PO* 25, 767-768). Again, he says: "**If Peter...had not known the incarnate *Logos*, who also suffered for us, as the single Christ, he would not have said of him in his letter (*1Peter* 4:1): 'Christ suffered for us in the flesh', but he would have spoken of the two *christoi*... If he had not known that the same, insofar as he is God, is impassible, but, insofar as he is a human being, is passible, he would not have added 'in the flesh'.** For this unity of the God-*Logos* with his flesh is sublime and inseparable. It draws this special character to itself, that is, the addition of the *differentia specifica*: in the flesh. (*Homily* 22: *PO* 37, 88)" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 140).

X.F.6.f. St. Jacob of Sarug:

St. Jacob of Sarugh (James of Sarug, *c.* 451-521), one of the greatest Syrian Doctors, who was made bishop in 519, right at the end of his life, writes in the traditional miaphysite language saying that our Lord Jesus is: "One Son, one number, one *hypostasis*, one nature, **One God who was enfleshed from the holy virgin, One of the Trinity who was seen in the flesh**" (Chesnut, p. 119, quoting *Letter* 3).

"Jesus' real human body belonged to him as his own. He was really born in a miraculous fashion from a virgin, and really suffered physical pain on the cross and died" (*ibid.*, p. 121 & n. 8: "But the pain did not belong to him, in so far as his nature was unembodied: it belongs to him only as part of the economy [*Letter* 33]. And he was able to die only because he was willing: *Homilies* 49; 40, 94, 53, etc.).

St. Jacob anathematizes Nestorius and Chalcedon, explicitly rejecting the "two nature" christology because two natures has to mean two basic "beings" in Christ [see Part Six of the present work, under section XLII]. Therefore with the death of miaphysite orthodox Emperor Anastasius I (491-518), and the accession of Emperor Justin I (518-527) who tried to impose the Chalcedonian definition on the Church by force, the question arose:

"If an openly 'Nestorian' definition of faith had ever been proposed, it is more doubtful whether the loyalty of the episcopate to the throne would have survived. Christ 'divided' could also have introduced schism into the concept of imperial monarchy" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 60 & n. 1: "An interesting sidelight on this attitude comes **from the anti-Chalcedonian Bishop James of Serug (d. 521) concerning Justin. James asks why, if Justin failed to believe that the crucified one was God, could he still wear a cross on top of his crown.** If it were simply the cross of a man, as those pretend who wish to deceive the emperor and outrage God, the emperor would never have wished to wear the cross of a man on top of his crown. *Chronicle of Edessa* cited from A. A. Vasiliev, *Justin the First* [Harvard, 1950], p. 234. The symbol of crown and cross only made sense in the framework of Cyrilline theology. Earlier Athanasius himself [*De incarnatione* 24.4] had argued that the Word-flesh Christology was in itself a guarantee against schism").

X.F.6.g. St. Anthimus Patriarch of Constantinople (536 A.D.):

St. Anthimus had been one of the Chalcedonian representatives at the colloquies of 532, but he was an ascetic, and the arguments of the Miaphysite leaders must have impressed him. "Soon after he had been consecrated patriarch, Theodora brought him into contact with Severus who convinced him completely both of his own orthodoxy and of the iniquity of Chalcedon. The letter which he wrote to him and whose text is preserved by Zacharias (*HE* IX.21) probably dates to after his expulsion from office and Severus' return to Alexandria, but it could hardly have been very long before he aroused well-founded suspicion that he was at heart an anti-Chalcedonian. **To Severus, he proclaimed his acceptance of the Twelve Anathemas, of the *Henotikon* in the Severan sense, of the Theopaschite doctrines of Justinian** and the condemnation of the Antiochenes, Ibas, Theodore and Theodoret. He urged ... that the two-nature doctrine transformed Trinity into Quaternity" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 271).

X.F.6.h. St. Theodosius Pope of Alexandria (535-566 A.D.):

The thirty-third Pope of Alexandria, "Theodosius (535-566), a decided Severan, introduces the term *hypostasis* in order to interpret correctly the *unus ex trinitate* against 'Sabellians'; cf. (1) his *Tractatus theologici ratio et scopus* (*CPG* 7136): *CSCO* 103 (V), p. 25,5-9: *Et inde ausi sunt et ille dicere: essentiam Trinitatis incorporatam esse per unam ex hypostasibus; et idem praedicant de natura divina. Ibid.*, 26 (on his work, ch. VI):...*circa inhumanationem unius e Trinitate sancta, Verbi Dei, discimus hypostasim ipsius Verbi tantum incorporatam esse.* To it corresponds (2) the statements in the *Oratio theologica* (*CPG* 7137), ch. VI: *CSCO* 103 (V), pp. 51,32-53,30. Reference is made in this to the word *hypostasis* in Ps. Dionysius Areop., *De div. nom.* I 4; the incarnation is said to take place *per unam ex suis hypostasibus* (*ibid.*, p. 52,10-11). (3) The signature to his *Epistula canonica* (*CPG* 7138): *CSCO* 103, 59. (4) His synodal letter

to Paul of Antioch (*CPG* 7142): *CSCO* 103 (V), p. 84,13-21" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 324, n. 34).

X.F.7. THE CHALCEDONIANS AND THEIR POST-CHALCEDONIAN ACCEPTANCE OF THEOPASCHISM:

X.F.7.a. The Theopaschism of the Chalcedonian Palestinian Monks:

In the last decade of the fifth century not only was the episcopate of Phoenicia Chalcedonian, but also Sabas and the members of the Palestinian monastic communities under his rule. "He was always a follower of Euthymius, that is to say, loyal to Chalcedon. At the same time, he seems to have admitted the Alexandrian Monophysite formula ***'unus de Trinitate passus est'*** (without the addition *'carne'*), and may therefore be regarded as one of the influences that led to the Theopaschite solution...in the reign of Justin" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 205 & n. 4: Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* (ed. Schwartz), pp. 127-8. Compare J. Lebon, *Le Monophysisme sévérien* (Louvain, 1909), pp. 70 and 479 n. 4).

When the Scythian monks who combined their acceptance of Chalcedon with the assertion 'one of the Trinity suffered in the flesh' (*unus de Trinitate passus carne*), [that is, that Christ who was born, suffered and died was one of the Trinity] began their activities on their arrival at Constantinople, they found opposition from the Sleepless monks. But, "they found allies in the capital in representatives of the patriarchate of Jerusalem, who as in Zeno's reign attempted to act as honest brokers between the more moderate elements for and against Chalcedon. The **Theopaschite formula** seemed to provide just such a possibility. It emphasized the role of Mary as *Theotokos*, it implied Cyril's assertion in his Twelfth Anathema that 'God the Word suffered in the flesh', and it could boast a respectable pedigree extending to the *Tome* of Proclus to the Armenians" (*ibid.*, p. 245 & n. 1: "See Philoxenus, *Letter to the monks of Senoun* (ed. Halleux), pp. 62 and 66, Philoxenus was contemptuous of their activities. ***'Unus de Trinitate passus est'*** had often been on the lips of Palestinian monks as a guard against Antiochene theology, and they also admitted the *hypostatic* union though they were bitterly opposed to Severus. See Moeller, 'Le Chalcédonisme e: le néo-chalcédonisme', [in *Chalkedon*, vol. I], p. 657").

X.F.7.b. The Theopaschism of the Chalcedonian Scythian Monks:

A group of monks from Scythia Minor, the territory between the lower Danube and the Black Sea, which corresponds almost wholly to the modern Romanian province of the Dobrudja, which had Tomi as its capital, lived there in tension with their metropolitan Paternus, and in contrast had close ties with their compatriot Vitalian. They "had come to Constantinople in March 519 in the entourage of the Chalcedonian *magister militum*, Vitalian, who had rebelled against Anastasius, but became close to the court of Justin I. They had, therefore, impeccable Chalcedonian credentials, but undertook to correct the Chalcedonian position, as it was expounded by the 'Non-Sleepers', by placing it in Cyrillian christological context. Their busy activism and some sloganeering were annoying to the Constantinopolitan establishment" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 218).

Under the leadership of John Maxentius, the Scythian monks drew up their formula

"One of the Trinity was crucified in the flesh" (Sellers, p. 305). "In favor of their position the Scythian monks could, of course, point not only to the Twelve Anathemas, contained in the Third letter of St. Cyril to Nestorius, but also to the Nicene creed itself, in which the subject of the verb 'suffered (παθόντα) under Pontius Pilate' is indeed the Son of God" (*ibid.*, p. 219). The formula **"One of the Holy Trinity suffered in the flesh"** was believed to have been used in the *Tome* of Proclus to the Armenians (435). ["'John Maxentius, *Libellus fidei*, X, 17-19 (ed. Glorie, *CCL* 85A) produces three citations from a work which 'Proclus, the bishop of this city,... (wrote) to the Armenians'; in these we find the formulations ***unus ex trinitate est, qui crucifixus est*** (p. 16,215), ***unus est de trinitate, qui passus est*** (p. 17,239) and ***unus ergo de trinitate est crucifixus*** (p. 17,245). However, the three sections from which John Maxentius cites are not present in the *Tomus ad Armenios*. Innocent of Maronia also transmits these three sections under the name Proclus: *ACO* IV, p. 73,1-11 (first section), 13-27 (the next two sections...)" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 318). But this attribution to Proclus has been decisively contested (*ibid.* & n. 9, as mentioned here before in Part Three under section X.F.2.c.)].

"The theopaschism of the Scythian monks did not, in fact, affirm any christological doctrine different from that which was implied by the title of *Theotokos* applied to Mary: only *somebody* (not 'something') can be born of a woman, and only *somebody* (not 'something') can suffer and die. In Christ there was no personal subject, except the *Logos*, who remained personally the same in assuming the flesh and in suffering on the cross. It is the hesitation of some Chalcedonians, under the lingering influence of the christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia, to admit 'theopaschism' which allowed the Monophysites (i.e. the anti-Chalcedonian Miaphysites) to accuse them of betraying the faith of Nicaea itself" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 219).

X.F.7.c. The Contradicting Reactions of the Chalcedonians Towards the Theopaschism of the Scythian Monks:

The legates of the Roman Pope Hormisdas had been sent to Constantinople (before 25 March 519) to restore the unity of the Church. The hour was thus favourable to the Scythian monks who wasted no time in accusing the Constantinopolitan deacon Victor of heresy before the legates. According to *CA*, *ep.* 224, the deacon Victor confessed strict Chalcedonian teaching. At the same meeting, which F. Glorie (*CCL* 85A, xxiv) assigns to the period between 25 March and 29 June 519, **the Scythian monks handed over a *libellus* of their confession to the Roman delegation but they refused to accept it** (John Maxentius, *Libell. fid., tit.*: *CCL* 85A.5). **Vitalian** took the part of the Scythian party from the very beginning and **excluded the papal legates from further discussion, since they were tactless. They left the impression of even refusing Mary the title of "*Theotokos*", denying that the crucified Christ was one of the Trinity, and failing to anathematize Nestorius.** [See more details in Part Five of the present work under section V.C.16.].

The Scythian monks refused to yield and sent a delegation to Rome (the summer of 519) in order to gain Pope Hormisdas to their cause.

The legates suspected that the monks were at heart anti-Chalcedonians. "When Pope Hormisdas demanded from his legates a report of success, Vitalian and Justinian seized

the opportunity to report to Rome about the monks, concerning whom the papal legates themselves made some very critical remarks" (*CA*, *ep.* 217, nos. 5-12: 677-679). "No doubt influenced by the negative attitude of the papal legates, in the heat of the moment **Justinian wrote a letter**, in which the names of the monks are mentioned and clearly warned against.... (saying:) Their empty prattle (*vaniloquia*) introduced novelties into the Church, which were contained neither in the four Councils nor in the letters of Leo. They should be given 'a corresponding penance and be dismissed'. Such 'restless people' (*inquieti homines*) should not be allowed to disturb the unity and peace which had been newly regained after the Acacian schism" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 322-323, quoting Justinian, *Ep. ad Hormisd.* [*CPG* 6867] of 29 June 519: *CA*, *ep.* 187, 644-645).

"What Vitalian wrote is not preserved; however, he probably spoke for the monks, as is clear from the letter of the papal legates of 29 June 519..... What is significant now is that **Justinian evidently had second thoughts about his first letter, and, a few days after sending his letter of 29 June 519, forwarded an 'express letter'** (*CA*, *ep.* 191, 648-649), **which was intended to reach the Pope more quickly than his first**. In this second letter new notes were sounded. The Pope was supposed to answer the questions of the 'pious monks' as quickly as possible and send them back to Constantinople with this decision 'before our delegate [with the letter of 29 June] arrives before Your Holiness'. Otherwise there was imminent danger to the unity of the Church. From this letter onwards Justinian favoured the Scythian monks" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 323).

The Scythian monks who were sent to Rome "took with them a concise expression of their doctrine in form of eleven anathematisms (*contra Nestorianos Capitula*, *PG* lxxxvi. i. 87f). But Hormisdas regarded the monks as men who thought they knew everything and, despising ancient authority, were for ever proposing new questions (see his letter to Justin and Justinian, *PL* lxiii. 509ff)" (Sellers, p. 305, n. 3).

"On 15 October 519 a new letter was sent to Rome, in which **Justin's co-regent once again urged that the questions be answered quickly and the trinitarian-theopaschite formula be accepted**" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, referring in n. 27 to Justinian *Ep. ad Hormisd.* [*CPG* 6868]: *CA*, *ep.* 188, 645-646. The letter arrived at Rome on 17 November 519). On 19 January 520 his pressure on the Pope increased [Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 323ff. gives more details on the communications, q.v.].

Pope Hormisdas hesitated to pronounce on the validity of the formula *Unus ex Trinitate passus est*. "Yet, as time went on, an answer became imperative. The representatives of the monks at Rome—who were later joined by others, including Maxentius himself—had appealed to certain African bishops (see, for this appeal, Petrus Diaconus, *de Incarn. et Grat.*, *PL* lxv. 422ff.) who, then in exile in Sardinia, were highly reputed for their ability and orthodoxy, and Fulgentius of Ruspe had heartily accepted their teaching (Fulgentius, *Ep.* xvii; *ibid.*, 451ff.). On the other hand, the 'Sleepless' monks at the Capital, taking the Pope's hesitation as their cue, had strongly condemned the formula, and when told that it carried with it the same theological implications as '*Theotokos*', went on to reject that title, too (Mansi, viii. 815f.)" (Sellers, p. 305, n. 3).

Among the writings of John Maxentius the leader of the Scythian monks is his "*Responsio adversus epistulam quam ad Possessorem a Romano episcopo dicunt haeretici destinatam....* **The *Responsio* seeks to reply to the grave charges that pope Hormisdas had**

made against the Scythian monks in his letter to Possessor. So as to be free in his criticisms, John Maxentius feigns to believe that Hormisdas's letter is a falsification by heretics. Also commonly ascribed to John Maxentius is the *Libellus fidei* which the Scythian monks presented in 519 to Hormisdas's delegates at Constantinople, and which he would not accept" (M. Simonetti, in Ber. *EEC*, p. 443).

The delegation of the Scythian monks "remained in Rome from June 519 to August 520. But **Hormisdas, who hesitated to give his approval because he did not consider the formula useful and considered the monks enamoured of novelty** (Thiel 124), **expelled them from Rome** (*ACO* IV, 2, 54-55)" (Ber. *EEC*, p. 400).

X.F.7.d. The Theopaschite Formula in the *Codex Iustinianus* I,1,5 (c. 527 A.D.):

After Justinian had become the sole monarch (527), "from various actions we recognize his resolve to restore the religious unity of the Empire. **From that time the confession of the theopaschite formula was not omitted from any document related to christology.** The influence of Empress Theodora—in this Chalcedonian - anti-Chalcedonian mixed marriage—is from now on to be taken into consideration" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 338).

"The *Codex Iustinainus* I,1,5 contains a confession of faith which is perhaps to be dated 527. **In it the *unus ex trinitate* is expressly mentioned**" (*ibid.*, p. 339. For the date of the *Codex* and the reference, see *ibid.*, notes 97&98).

X.F.7.e. The Theopaschite Formula in the *Collatio* of Severians and Chalcedonians at Constantinople, 532, and Later Discussions:

"When Emperor Justin's nephew, Justinian, was named as co-emperor on 1 April 527, recourse was had once again to the **policy of coercion**. Patriarch Ephraem (527-545), who had been installed in Antioch in the same year, also joined in this policy" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 328).

"In 531 A.D. Justinian relaxed the persecution of the anti-Chalcedonians and rescinded certain laws. Those who had been banished could return. Numerous bishops proceeded to Constantinople under the protection of Empress Theodora, Emperor Justinian's wife, who was of anti-Chalcedonian mind. On the Persian border Justinian himself came into contact with bishops in exile and discovered that the way which could lead to the goal of unity was not that of expulsion, but rather of discussion. It was obviously from this experience that there emerged the proposal for the *religious conference of 532 in Constantinople*.... Thus a *commissio mixta* was formed in which, following the idea of the Emperor, both sides were to be represented equally, each by six bishops who were selected in accord with a cleverly devised scheme...." (*ibid.*).

"Justinian was ready for dialogue. Severus was too big to ignore, there was a strong Monophysite (i.e. Miaphysite) undertow among the poor of Constantinople" (Frend, *RC*, p. 841). But the Patriarch St. Severus, fearing for his own safety, refused to attend and was represented by six of his bishops (cf. Sellers, p. 311, n. 4). They were: "Sergius of Cyrrhus, Thomas of Germanicia, Philoxenus of Doliche, Peter of Theodosiopolis (Reschaina), John of Constantina or Tella, and Nonnus of Circesium" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 234).

The Chalcedonian bishops who took part in the *Collatio* were: Hypatius of Ephesus, John of Bizya, Innocent of Maronia, Demetrius of Philippi, Stephen of Seleucia in Isauria, and Anthimus of Trebizond [who later became Patriarch of Constantinople (535) and was converted to anti-Chalcedonianism] (*ibid.*, p. 233; cf. Ber. *EEC*, p. 43).

From the desert, the Syrian Severan bishops "first demanded imperial assurances of their freedom. When these were given, they were prepared to come into the Imperial City. During the time of their sojourn in Constantinople (531/532) there occurred, however, the notorious **Nika riot (January 532)**, which could almost have cost Justinian his life and crown, had it not been for the perseverance of Theodora and her interventions to save him and his rule" (*ibid.*, p. 346 & n. 130: ".....Procopius experienced the Nika riot personally..... According to Procopius, in the putting down of the riot by Belisarius and Mundus **more than thirty thousand people of the citizen body died**. See R. Browning, *Justinian and Theodora* [London, 1971], pp. 109-112; J.A.S. Evans, 'The "Nika" Rebellion and the Empress Theodora', *Byz.* 54 [1984], pp. 380-382").

The bishops who were selected as representatives of the Chalcedonian side in the *Collatio* were prepared to accept the formula of the Scythian monks **"One of the Trinity suffered in the flesh"**, and Justinian "believed that with **the formula of the Theopaschites (*Theopaschitai*)** he had a possible means of healing the doctrinal breach. **'One of the Trinity *suffered* in the flesh'**, had an impeccable Constantinopolitan background, having been used [as was believed] by the patriarch Proclus in his *Tome to the Armenians* in 437, and it embraced the beliefs contained in the Monophysite addition to the *Trisagion* ('...who was crucified for us') without explicitly stating them. The formula also corresponded to Cyril's twelfth *Anathema*, insisting that **'God the Word *suffered* in the flesh'** and it emphasized the role of Mary as *Theotokos*" (Frend, *RC*, p. 841).

The doctrinal discussion in the *Collatio* lasted only three days since the Severan Orthodox Miaphysites "flatly refused to accept a Council which had introduced a new tessara of orthodoxy – the *duarum naturarum novitas* – and had been so misguided as to exonerate Theodoret and Ibas" (Sellers, pp. 311-312 referring to *PO* xiii, pp. 192ff.; see also *Chron. Z.M.* IX.15). [For details on the discussion, see Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-248].

"According to a Syrian report about the religious conference the Syrians had formulated their own ideas on the assumption of communion, and submitted these to the Emperor. 'They laid down the following conditions. Those who accept the two natures after the union must be anathematized. The same anathema must apply to the letter of Leo and to everything the Council of Chalcedon did against right faith. And above all the *libelli* of the Roman Popes (Hormisdas), which all the bishops are to subscribe, must be suppressed as well... After receiving the Syrian conditions, Justinian for his part made proposals with compromise formulas and solutions...." (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 329).

In a devastated city and after the severe political upheavals of the winter of 532, there was not much hope for the doctrinal dialogue. But "the greatest significance of the meeting of 532 lay in the fact that Emperor Justinian made compromise proposals for a solution, proposals which herald the beginning of the Three Chapters dispute" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*).

"Through much of 532 and early 533 a series of discussions were held in the capital between Chalcedonian and Monophysite (i.e. Miaphysite) representatives; the results were inconclusive" (Frend, *RC*, p. 841).

Emperor Justinian's proposals were not accepted and his goal from the dialogue could not be achieved, namely, to lead the Severans back to unity with the imperial confession.

According to the conviction of the anti-Chalcedonians "it was the Chalcedonian side that was marked with the sign of schism:"

"We do not think that those who have specifically withdrawn themselves from communion with the opposite party will be united, unless they anathematize those who speak of two natures after the inexplicable union, as well as the *Tome* of Leo, and what took place at Chalcedon in opposition to the orthodox faith..." (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 247).

What Justinian was striving for at that time is expressed in the edict of 15 March 533.

X.F.7.f. The Theopaschite Formula in Justinian's Edict of 15 March 533:

"In 532, at the conclusion of the doctrinal dialogue with the Severans, which we have already treated, we encounter our formula once again. According to the report of Innocent of Maronia, it was through it that **the accusation was brought against the Chalcedonians before the Emperor, to the effect that they would deny 'that God suffered in the flesh or that he [Christ] was one of the Trinity and that the miracles and the sufferings did not belong to the one and the same person'"** (*ibid.*, p. 339, quoting *ACO* IV, 2, no. 82: p. 183). "At the special audience which the Patriarch of Constantinople, Epiphanius, and archbishop Hypatius had requested in order to deal with the accusations of the Syrians on account of the *unus ex trinitate*, the Emperor asked: 'Do you not confess that both the suffering as well as the miracles belong to the same person of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that he is the God who suffered in the flesh and that he is one of the Trinity?' Hypatius made an explicit *confessio*, in which a positive response was given to all the points raised by the Emperor" (*ibid.*, quoting *ACO* IV, 2, nos.83-86: p. 183). "Justinian could be satisfied and feel that he was in a position to extend his initiative in favour of the disputed formula to the whole Empire, and above all to be able to make a new approach for it in Rome" (*ibid.*).

"**On 15 March 533 the Emperor issued in edict form a confession of faith** which was addressed to the citizens of Constantinople, but also to the important cities from Trebizond to Jerusalem and Alexandria. Into a text which is compiled in a completely trinitarian, creed-like manner is consciously inserted: **'one of the Trinity, the God-*Logos*, became flesh'** and the denial of the following statement is condemned: **'our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God and our God, who became flesh and a human being and was fixed to the cross, is one of the consubstantial Trinity'**..." (*ibid.*, quoting *Codex Iustinianus* I,1,6: Krüger, 7-8).

This edict, therefore, contains a profession of faith which does not contradict Chalcedon, "but which could appear acceptable also to the Severans" (*CPG* 9313: *Cod. Iust.* I,1,6: Krüger, 7-8). "For in it everything is omitted which could provoke them, above all the two-natures formula and the mention of Chalcedon. In contrast, the theopaschite formula is acknowledged. The policy of the *Henoticon* seemed to have returned. The Emperor was seriously concerned to restore the unity of the Church through peace and not through persecution" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 346).

Justinian, however, "**in the letter to Patriarch Epiphanius of 26 March 533** (*CPG*

9314): *Cod. Iust.*, I,1,7: Krüger, 8-10 **and in the letter to Pope John II, of 6 June 533** [*CPG* 9315]: *CA, ep.* 84 [= *CPG* 6874], **the four synods were explicitly mentioned and acknowledged as binding**. Cf. *CA, ep.* 84, nos. 17 and 18: *CSEL* 35, 324" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, n. 132).

"With Emperor Justinian's new religious policy, the Severans recognized the chance to permeate the capital more and more with their influence, and on that basis to make a fresh attempt to abolish Chalcedon. **In November 533 they took advantage of the panic that occurred among the population because of the earthquake, to organize a demonstration by the people against the Fourth Synod"** (*ibid.*, pp. 346-347 & n. 134: *Chron. Pasch.* 629 BC: **"the praying crowd called to Christ: 'Take and burn the decree composed by the bishops of the Synod of Chalcedon'"**. Cf. E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II, 380).

X.F.7.g. The Approval of Justinian's Edict with its Theopaschite Formula by the Roman Pope John II (533-535):

The emperor Justinian, "having embodied his view of the true doctrine in an imperial edict (of 15 March 533), sent also an embassy of two bishops—Hypatius and Demetrius—to Rome with a letter (of 6 June 533) requesting the pope to signify in writing to himself and the patriarch his acceptance of the doctrine of the edict, which he lays down as indubitably true, and assumes to be, as a matter of course, the doctrine of the Roman see... But the edict was in fact a distinct assertion of the correctness of the phrase that had been contended for by the Scythian monks, and so much objected to by Hormisdas. Its words are, 'The sufferings, as well as miracles, which Christ of His own accord endured in the flesh are of one and the same. For we do not know God the Word as one and Christ as another, but one and the same. For the Trinity remained after the incarnation of the one Word of God, who was of the Trinity; nor does the Holy Trinity admit the addition of a fourth person. We anathematize Nestorius the man-worshipper, and those who think with him, who confess not that **our Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, and our God, incarnate, made man, and crucified, is ONE of the holy and consubstantial Trinity**' (Lex. Justin. *Cod.* 1, i, 6). In his letter he expresses himself thus:--'For we do not acknowledge God the Word to be one and Christ another, but one and the same, consubstantial with the Father according to His divinity, and one and the same consubstantial with us according to His humanity, passible in the flesh, and one and the same impassible in the Godhead'..." (*DCB*, vol. III, p. 390).

"John, having received both deputations, assembled the Roman clergy, who at first could come to no agreement. But afterwards, when Ferrandus, deacon of Carthage, consulted by the Roman deacon Anatolius, had expressed his adhesion to the view that the Divinity itself might properly be said to have suffered in the flesh, and **when this appeared to be the general view of the learned, a synod was convened by the pope, in which Justinian's confession of faith was accepted and confirmed.** To this effect he wrote to the emperor (March 25, A.D. 534), saying, 'We find that thou hast proposed an edict to the faithful out of thy love of the faith, and for removing the intention of heretics, according to the apostolic doctrine, with the consent of our brethren and fellow bishops. Which edict, because it agrees with the apostolic doctrine, we confirm

by our authority" (*ibid.*, pp. 390-391). He goes on saying:

"We receive and confess the *Hypostatic* Union. For the Trinity remains a Trinity, even after the incarnation of that one of the Trinity, God the Word: for the Holy Trinity does not receive the addition of a fourth Person. This then being so, **we anathematize every heresy; but chiefly [the heresy of] Nestorius the man-worshipper, and those who thought or still think with him; those who divide the one Christ, and speak of two sons; denying and refusing to confess one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and our God who was incarnate and was made man and was crucified, to be one of the holy and consubstantial Trinity**...." (Kidd, *Documents*, vol. III, p. 16, quoting J. Tixeront, *Histoire des dogmes*, iii, 133).

Pope John II also wrote to the Senators of Constantinople laying down the true doctrine as the emperor had defined it, supporting it from Scripture and the Fathers, and warning them not to communicate with the "Sleepless Monks" (*ACO* IV, 2, 206-210), who were now condemned as Nestorians:

"**The Sleepless Ones (*Aquimitos*), however, who call themselves monks, the Roman Church also condemns, because they have publicly appeared as Nestorians**; on their account I do not neglect to admonish you with pastoral care, for the sake of the canon which does not permit a Christian to speak or to have fellowship with excommunicated people; you should avoid all simple dialogue with them and consider nothing as common between you and them. I do this, therefore, that I may not be found guilty of silence, if I were in no way to have brought this to your notice, most Christian son" (*ibid.*, as quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 342).

"This case has been adduced (e.g. by Bower in his *Lives of the Popes*) as a glaring instance of **two popes contradicting each other in definition of doctrine, and an argument against their infallibility**. It is contended, on the other hand (as by Baronius), that Hormisdas never actually condemned the doctrine endorsed by John; that he only repudiated the use of the phrase which expressed it at the time when it was first put forward, **as being then unnecessary, unauthorized, intended in a heretical sense, and likely to sow the seeds of heresy**. And it is true that we do not find in the letters of Hormisdas any distinct condemnation of the phrase itself, however strongly **he inveighed against its upholders, as troublesome and dangerous innovators**. But the fact remains, whatever it is worth, that a doctrinal statement which one pope strongly discountenanced, as at any rate unnecessary and fraught with danger, was, twelve years afterwards, at the instance of an emperor, authoritatively propounded by another. The view expressed by Justinian and accepted by John has (gradually) ever since been received as orthodox" (*DCB*, vol. III, p. 391).

Thus, Pope John's decision was accepted by his successor, Pope Agapetus I in 536 (cf. Ferguson *EEC*, p. 1121).

X.F.7.h. The Theopaschite Formula in the Chalcedonian Second Council of Constantinople, 553:

At the Council of 553 with canon 10 of the anathemas against the Three Chapters, the capstone, as it were, was put on a building which was to be dedicated to the ***unus e Trinitate crucifixus***:

"If anyone does not confess that **our Lord Jesus Christ, who was crucified in the flesh, is true God and Lord of glory [cf. *1Corinthians* 2:8] and one of the holy Trinity**, let him be anathema" (Percival, p. 314).

This Council of 553 which is considered by the Chalcedonians as the fifth Ecumenical and its canons as binding to them, yet its theopaschite formula in canon 10 was rejected even by Nicephorus (*c.* 758-829 A.D.) whom the Chalcedonians consider a saint. This man Nicephorus, who became Patriarch of Constantinople from 806 until 815, was a resolute foe of iconoclasm and **received the title of a saint and confessor of the faith in the Byzantine Church**, whose feast day is celebrated on June 2nd in the Greek Church, and on March 13th in the Latin Church (*ODCC*, ed. 2, pp. 968-969). **But he was a Nestorianizer, if not a real Nestorian.** The Byzantine writer Meyendorff (*CECT*, pp. 144 & 206) comments on the Christology of Nicephorus quoting his work saying:

"Nicephorus seems to go even further than the limits of post-Chalcedonian orthodoxy. **Some passages of his *Antirrhetics* appear as formal denials of the theopaschism proclaimed by Cyril and the fifth council: 'One cannot assert,' writes Nicephorus, 'either that the Word suffered the passion, or that the flesh produced miracles.... One must attribute to each nature what is proper to it.'** (*Antirrh.* I, col. 252b; cf. col. 313d). This passage seems to ignore the distinction established by Chalcedonian and post-Chalcedonian Christology between the *Logos' hypostasis*—subject of the passion in the flesh—and his nature. **The same Nestorianizing confusion appears when Nicephorus writes that the Word 'is not described when his body is described'** (*ibid.*, col. 285a, 301d, 305a) and in his tendency to minimize the value of the *communicatio idiomatum*, which, for him, merely manipulates 'words' (*psilà onómata*) (*ibid.*, col. 317b)".

Moreover, Meyendorff also speaks (in *CECT*, p. 182) **concerning "the attitude of recent historians of neo-Chalcedonism for whom John Maxentius is but a blind fanatic, and his work 'unbearable' to read, such as C. Moeller,** *Le Chalcédonisme*, 678-679**; such a view is also curiously found in the Russian historian V.V. Bolotov,** *Lektsii po istorii Tserkvi*, 4 [Petrograd, 1918], 366-369. **Evidently the very essence of Christology is at stake here.** On this problem, see also G. Glaiselle, *Justinien, sa doctrine christologique* [Lyon, 1905], 20-32**".**

X.F.8. THE "*O MONOGENES*" HYMN WITH ITS ORTHODOX THEOPASCHITE CONFESSION AS USED BY BOTH THE ANTI-CHALCEDONIAN MIAPHYSITES AND THE CHALCEDONIANS OF THE BYZANTINE RITE:

X.F.8.a. The Text of the "*O Monogenes*" Hymn:

This hymn written in Greek "Ὁ Μονογενὴς Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ..." is addressed to "the Only-begotten Son and Word of God" who became incarnate and crucified, confessing that he is "One of the holy Trinity, jointly glorified with the Father and the Holy Spirit".

The text in full reads as follows:

"Only-begotten Son and *Logos* of God, immortal...
For the sake of our salvation you took it upon yourself
To become flesh from the holy mother of God and ever-virgin Mary.
Without change become a human being and crucified
Christ God, through death treading death with the feet,
One of the holy Trinity, jointly glorified with the Father and the Holy Spirit.
Save us!"

X.F.8.b. Its Liturgical Use:

i. In the Coptic Orthodox Church:

In the Coptic Orthodox Church this hymn is used on four occasions only: (*a*) at the Consecration of the Patriarch of Alexandria; (*b*) at the Consecration of bishops; (*c*) at the Consecration of the Holy Myron; (*d*) at the Sixth Hour of Good Friday (Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, p. 177).

But the text is also found in the Egyptian Greek Liturgy of St. Mark which was to be sung before the *Trisagion*, and the reading from the Epistles as it appears in a manuscript probably from the twelfth century (*ANF*, vol. 7, pp. 534, 552 & n. 4; Brightman I, pp. 116-117).

ii. In the Syrian Orthodox Church:

The authorship of the hymn is attributed in the rubric to Mar Severus of Antioch. It is sung in the Liturgy of Catechumens at the little entrance before the *Trisagion* and the reading from the Epistles or the Book of Acts (Brightman I, p. 77; Day, pp. 172-173).

The hymn is found also in the Greek Liturgy of St. James at the beginning of the little entrance (Brightman I, p. 33; *ANF*, vol. 7, p. 538).

iii. In the Armenian Orthodox Church:

The *Monogenes* hymn is sung on ordinary Sundays of the year and on the commemoration of the Nativity at the *Enarxis*, i.e. the beginning of the *Synaxis* (Brightman I, p. 421; Day, p. 35; Nersoyan, pp. 44-45, 269).

iv. In the Liturgies of the Chalcedonians of the Byzantine Rite:

This hymn is sung in the liturgies of SS. Basil and John Chrysostom of the Greek Church after the Second Antiphon (Brightman I, pp. 365-366; Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, pp. 176, n. 2, 282, n. 4).

X.F.8.c. The Authorship of the Hymn:

The composition of this hymn has been ascribed to the Emperor Justinian, between the years 535 and 536 A.D., but it is more likely that it was composed by St. Severus, patriarch of Antioch (512-538 A.D.) (Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, p. 176 & n. 3, referring to "A.A. King, *The Rites of Eastern Christendom*, Città del Vaticano 1948, p. 164, and I. Ephrem II Rahmani, *Les Liturgies Orientales et Occidentales*, Mont-Liban 1924, p. 207 (Arabic text)"). "The hymn, ...according to Theophanes was sung in the Church of Constantinople in 535/536 by order of Justinian" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 341 & n. 111: "See V. Grumel, 'L'auteur et la date de composition du tropaire "Ὁ Μονογενὴς", *EO* 22 (1923), 398-418. Cf. *CPG* 6891. Grumel considers it probably (but only that) that

Justinian himself is the author of the hymn, or at least the person who inspired it. In any case the hymn is unknown both in Constantinople and in the Empire before 519. Between 531 and 539 it was adopted into two liturgies. The text is found on pp. 400-1. Grumel sees it closely related to the monophysite patriarch Anthimus; indeed, he is of the opinion that Justinian himself became a monophysite [*EO* 22, p. 418]"). But Grumel in the above-mentioned article in *EO* 22, pp. 398-418, considers the text more probably of the late fifth century, i.e. before Justinian (cf. Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 224, n. 36).

Therefore, it is most likely that the hymn was composed by St. Severus of Antioch, according to the Syrian tradition and that its introduction to Constantinople was between 531 and 536 during the period of the great truce between the adherents and opponents of Chalcedon when persecution ceased and the discussions gave the Severans the opportunity to influence the emperor and the great majority of the population of Constantinople. This influence was enhanced by the activity of the anti-Chalcedonian empress Theodora and the arrival in the capital in the winter of 534/535 of St. Severus, again invited thither by the emperor and received by him with honour (cf. Frend, *RMM*, pp. 369f., referring to Zacharias Rhetor, *HE* IX 15 and 19), and the enthronement of Anthimus the ascetic Patriarch of Constantinople (535) who was converted by St. Severus to the anti-Chalcedonian side. But the Roman Pope Agapetus (535-536) visited Constantinople in 536 and in spite of imperial opposition from Justinian and Theodora, he deposed Anthimus, the Miaphysite Patriarch of Constantinople, and consecrated Mennas as his successor (*ODCC*, ed. 2, p. 23). This change of course led the emperor to the expulsion of St. Severus in 536 after his excommunication by a Chalcedonian Synod at Constantinople, and a decree ordered the destruction of his books (cf. Ber. *EEC*, p. 773; Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 384). That is how – I think – the Chalcedonian Byzantines preferred to ascribe the composition of the *O Monogenes* hymn to emperor Justinian who allowed and encouraged its use in the liturgies of their churches and not to St. Severus its real author whom they excommunicated.

X.G. The *Trisagion* as a Hymn Addressed to the Incarnate *Logos*:

"After the council of Chalcedon, the controversy mainly concerned two formulae: *qui crucifixus est pro nobis*, added to the *Trisagion*, and *unus ex Trinitate passus est*; in fact this was an aspect of the doctrine of *communicatio idiomatum*, differently understood by the Alexandrians on one hand and the Antiochenes and Latins on the other, but finally accepted by all in the Alexandrian sense, earlier sanctioned by the council of Ephesus (DS 263: a meaning also comprised in *Theotokos*)" (Ber. *EEC*, p. 831).

X.G.1. ST. PETER THE FULLER OF ANTIOCH AND HIS LITURGICAL ADDITION TO THE *TRISAGION* OF THE CLAUSE: "WHO WAS CRUCIFIED FOR US":

The anti-Chalcedonian monk Peter the Fuller was in good terms with (the future emperor) Zeno the Isaurian, son-in-law of emperor Leo I (457-474). When Zeno was made *magister militum per Orientem* the monk Peter the Fuller followed him. And when the opposition to Martyrius the Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch (459-470) forced him out, St. Peter the Fuller succeeded him as the first anti-Chalcedonian Patriarch of Antioch (470). Gennadius of Constantinople, however, obtained from emperor Leo a decree of exile against

St. Peter the Fuller which was commuted to imprisonment in the convent of the *Acoemetae* ("Sleepless ones"). In 475, on the occasion of Basiliscus's revolt and his permission to the exiled bishops to return to their sees, St. Peter regained his see of Antioch. But in 477 he was once more deposed, together with Paul bishop of Ephesus, by a Chalcedonian council presided over by Acacius of Constantinople which met in the capital in the context of the anti-miaphysite reaction that followed the end of Basiliscus's revolt and Zeno's resumption of the throne in September 476. The council's decision was confirmed by emperor Zeno who took drastic measures against the miaphysites: Peter the Fuller of Antioch, Paul of Ephesus (who had supported Timothy) and Timothy Aelurus himself were all deposed and exiled, although the latter died soon after receiving the imperial notification without having to leave Alexandria (cf. Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 197; Ber. *EEC*, pp. 197, 679; *ODCC*, ed. 2, p. 1072).

"Peter the Fuller was in exile, but the anti-Chalcedonians remained in control. Both there and in Alexandria the populace was firmly anti-Chalcedonian. The people supported Peter the Fuller, and Pope Gelasius included in his requisitory against Acacius in 494 the charge that Martyrius of Antioch had been expelled in favour of Peter in 470 by the mob and by heretics (*CSEL* 35.1, p. 450). The situation was complicated because the Jews supported the more aristocratic Blue faction against the popular anti-Chalcedonian Green, and were massacred by them (John Malas, *Chron.*, XV. 103, ed. Dindorf, p. 389). The new patriarch, Stephen II, a Chalcedonian, was murdered in a tumult, pierced through and through by reed pens early in 479 (Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* IX. 6, ed. Chabot, II, p. 149). His successor, Calendio, also a firm Chalcedonian, was ordained by Acacius himself in Constantinople in 481, but could not take possession of his see. In letters to Simplicius Acacius had promised that his election should be confirmed by a provincial synod at Antioch itself (referred to in Simplicius's letters to Zeno and Acacius, *CA* 66&67)" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 175).

Calendio, in his zeal for Chalcedon, upon his entry into Antioch revised the *Trisagion* which was sung there with the clause "who was crucified for us" (ὁ σταυροθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς) since it was introduced by St. Peter the Fuller in his first episcopate (470). Calendio's aim from the revision was to make the hymn accord with the teaching of the classical Antiochenes, through the addition of the words "Christ the King" before the clause "who was crucified for us". The new form thus being: "Holy God, Holy Mighty One, Holy Immortal One, Christ the King who was crucified for us, have mercy upon us" (Theophanes, *Chron.* 5982; cf. Sellers, p. 278, n. 1). This form can have a Nestorian heretical meaning that the one who was crucified for us was not the Holy God (One of the Trinity in his incarnate state) but (another, the man Jesus) Christ the King. That is why St. Peter the Fuller at once struck out the addition when he returned to his see in 485 (cf. Sellers, p. 278, n.1).

The circumstances which helped in St. Peter's return were political. "Early in 484 the long-smouldering discord between Zeno and Illus broke out into civil war. Illus established himself at Antioch and, supported by the Empress-Dowager Verina, set up another Isaurian of consular rank, Leontius, as emperor..... Ostensibly the rebellion (to judge from Verina's proclamation) was aimed against the *Henotikon*, and as such it attracted Calendio's support. But, in addition, advised by the last of the Neoplatonist philosopher-statesmen, Pamprepius, the rebels permitted some restoration of paganism.... The great effort failed (August 484), though it was not until 488 that Illus was finally cornered in his Isaurian

stronghold and executed. The population had remained constant to Zeno and this time the anti-Chalcedonians paraded their loyalty to the emperor. Calendio was deposed in September 484 and Peter the Fuller returned to Antioch for the third time. He accepted the *Henotikon*" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 181), and remained in his see till his death in 488 (*ODCC*, ed. 2, p. 1072; Ber. *EEC*, p. 679).

X.G.2. THE MISUNDERSTANDING AND THE CONDEMNATION OF ST. PETER THE FULLER FOR HIS LITURGICAL ADDITION OF THE CLAUSE "WHO WAS CRUCIFIED FOR US" TO THE *TRISAGION*, WHICH HIS ACCUSERS CONSIDERED A TRINITARIAN HYMN:

The earlier tradition preserved in Antioch addresses the *Trisagion* to Christ. Therefore, St. Peter the Fuller introduced the clause: "who was crucified for us" to the liturgical singing of the *Trisagion* in the first year of his Patriarchate of Antioch (470). This was an additional safeguard against the Nestorian tendencies, since Christ the Holy God, the Mighty One, the Immortal One, He Himself suffered in flesh and was crucified for us. Soon this clause became the touchstone of Miaphysite Orthodoxy. It became popular in Antioch as a chant encapsulating the rejection of the Chalcedonian Definition, an emblem underlying the defect of Chalcedon, namely its failure to affirm with uncompromising clarity that through the incarnation, God himself, the second person of the Trinity, experienced suffering and death in his flesh in order to redeem humanity from the curse of death unleashed by the Fall of Adam.

At Constantinople the *Trisagion* was used in a Trinitarian sense. Therefore, they accused St. Peter the Fuller of implying, with this addition: "who was crucified for us", the passion of the three persons or of the divine essence. Of course this was a false accusation in the context of the anti-miaphysite reaction that followed the end of Basiliscus's short reign (January 475-August 476) and Zeno's resumption of the throne. Acacius of Constantinople took this opportunity to hold a synod at Constantinople in 478 in which St. Peter the Fuller Bishop of Antioch and John of Apamea were condemned: "and a letter addressed to Simplicius, bishop of Rome, to acquaint him with, and request him to concur in, their condemnation (Mansi vii. 1017-1022). A letter was addressed at the same time by Acacius to St. Peter the Fuller himself, rebuking him for having introduced the clause 'who was crucified for us' into the *Trisagion* or hymn to the Trinity" (*DCA*, vol. I, p. 441). In fact, "this sentence [i.e. of Constantinople, 478 A.D.] was a confirmation of one already pronounced against him by a synod held at Antioch which had raised a man, Stephen by name, to its episcopal throne" (Percival, p. 401; cf. *DCA*, vol. 1, p. 92). The emperor confirmed the sentence of deposition and sent them (i.e. Peter the Fuller and John of Apamea) to exile. At Rome also in 478, Pope Simplicius held a synod and confirmed the sentence (Kidd, *Documents*, vol. 3, pp. 5-6, referring to *PL* lviii. 909 A, B & quoting the text of the sentence).

These condemnations were unjust and at least partially politically motivated. This is because the *Trisagion* at Antioch was addressed to our Lord Jesus Christ and the clause: "who was crucified for us" is unexceptionably orthodox.

"This fact is admitted by contemporaries like Ephrem of Amida, Chalcedonian

successor to Peter the Fuller in the See of Antioch (527-545). In a book addressed to the Severian Zenobius of Emesa and analyzed by Photius, he showed that 'the Easterners addressed this hymn to our Lord Jesus Christ, while the Byzantines and the Westerners linked the doxology to the consubstantial Trinity' [*Bibliotheca*, 228, *PG*, 103, col. 957 bc]" (Meyendorff, *CECT*, p. 173, n. 15).

Anyhow, as we shall see later (under section X.G.6.) this Christological meaning of the *Trisagion* remains alive both in Greek and Latin in the Reproaches of Good Friday and in other Byzantine liturgical services.

As we have mentioned before in the previous section (X.G.1.), the Chalcedonian Calendio of Antioch revised the clause "who was crucified for us" in the *Trisagion* by making it "Christ the King who was crucified for us" which renders it ambiguous with a probably Nestorian meaning. But Calendio was removed in 484 after having been charged with being complicated in the revolt of Illus. And St. Peter the Fuller on his return to his see (485-488) struck out Calendio's addition (cf. Sellers, p. 278, n. 1).

Ephrem, the Chalcedonian bishop of Antioch (527-545), or of Amida (birth place), a staunch Chalcedonian, used military power in his attempt to break down the opposition of the Miaphysites – in *c.* 536 he was going about his diocese with a military tribune and a band of soldiers – see *Chron. Z.M.* X.1,5. He wrote against the scholasticus Zenobius, one of the *Acephali* defending the use of the *Trisagion* at Antioch in the form given to it by Calendio (Sellers, p. 321, notes 3&5).

X.G.3. THE EARLIER TRADITION WHICH TRACES THE ADDITION TO THE *TRISAGION* OF THE CLAUSE "WHO WAS CRUCIFIED FOR US" BACK TO JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA AND NICODEMUS:

John of Nikiu, the Egyptian bishop in the second half of the seventh century, in his *Chronicle* (Lxxxix.54-56, pp. 127-128) records a discussion between St. Severus the future Patriarch of Antioch and Macedonius II, the Chalcedonian Patriarch of Constantinople (496-511) in which St. Severus relates an old tradition which shows that the *Trisagion* was addressed to the Son. Thus John of Nikiu writes:

"54. But Macedonius and his adherents, as well as the partisans of the Nestorians, were wroth, and said that after the manner of their *(tris)agion* the angels recite the *trisagion*. But Severus answered: 'The angels recite as follows: "Holy God, holy Mighty One, holy Immortal One, have mercy upon us". Indeed the angels have no necessity to say: "Who was crucified for us"; for the crucifixion of our God was not on behalf of angels, but on behalf of us men was our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ crucified. 55. And it was for our salvation that He came down from heaven and was incarnate and became man, and was crucified for us in the days of Pontius Pilate, and rose from the dead on the third day, as it is written in the holy Scriptures which were set in due order by our holy Fathers of Nicaea and Constantinople and Ephesus, who also established a fitting definition of His divinity. 56. It is for this reason that we Christians say of necessity: "O Thou who hast been crucified for us, have mercy upon us". We believe also that the holy, mighty and immortal God was crucified for us. In like manner also we truly believe that the holy Virgin Mary brought forth very God: and that they were not two different persons, but one and the same whom the Virgin bare and the Jews crucified—one and the

same alike in birth, crucifixion, and resurrection'".

Other Miaphysite writers have been at pains to defend the clause "who was crucified for us", as e.g. John Bar Cursos bishop of Tella (died 538); David Bar Paulus (8th century), (cf. King I, p. 147).

Moses Bar Kepha (*c.* 815-903) bishop of Mosul, in his Commentary on the liturgy, gives a detailed exposition of the *Trisagion* with its clause, affirming that the hymn "Holy art Thou, God, etc." is addressed to the Son, who became incarnate and was made man for us, refuting those who consider it a Trinitarian hymn. As to the question who taught it to us, his reply is as follows:

(a) Some say that it is taken and introduced from *Isaiah* the prophet (6:3) who heard the seraphim sanctifying the Lord of Glory saying: "Holy Holy Holy , Lord of sabaoth", and from him it was adapted and appointed in the Church.

(b) "But others say that at the time of the crucifixion, after Christ had given up his spirit into the hands of His Father, the holy seraphim came together round about the body of Christ, and sang this hymn as far as 'Who wast crucified for us'; and they left out this clause, and very rightly, since it was not for them that He was crucified, but for the whole race of men. At that time, they say, Joseph the Councillor was present, he who begged the body of Christ from Pilate the judge and embalmed it, and they say that when he heard them saying: 'Holy art Thou, God; holy art Thou, Almighty; holy art Thou, Immortal', his own mind was enlightened, and he added (thereto) 'Who wast crucified for us, have mercy on us...'"

(c) "Others say that by Ignatius the Fiery (i.e. St. Ignatius of Antioch).... it was fixed in the Church, both it and the present manner of singing the service in two choirs" (Connolly, *Two Commentaries*, pp. 26-27).

Mar Dionysius Bar Salibi metropolitan of Amida (died 1171) in his treatise *Against the Melchites*, chap. X, and his *Exposition of the Liturgy* suggests that three choirs of angels carried the body of our Lord to the grave, and the first choir sang "Holy God", the second "Holy and omnipotent", and the third "Holy and Immortal", while Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus added "Who was crucified for us", and Ignatius the Fiery, the disciple of John established it in the Churches (cf. King I, p. 147).

The thirteenth century Coptic writer Ibn Sibaᶜ, in his *Pretiosa Margarita* (chap. 68) gives almost the same story with little variation (q.v.). He also interprets the repetition of the word "Holy" nine times in the *Trisagion* as referring to the nine angelic orders sanctifying Him. Ibn Sibaᶜ (*ibid.*) also connects the *Trisagion* with the preceding hymn "Christ is risen from the dead" (now said only in Eastertide).

X.G.4. THE ADDRESS OF THE *TRISAGION* TO THE SON IS JUSTIFIED BY THE BIBLICAL AND PATRISTIC EVIDENCE THAT THE ONE WHOM ISAIAH SAW ON A HIGH THRONE AND THE SERAPHIM ROUND HIM WORSHIPPING HIM IS THE SON:

X.G.4.a. As Shown by the Syrian Miaphysite Fathers:

Bar Salibi, metropolitan of Amida, writes in the twelfth century in his treatise *Against the Melchites*, chap. X, using the biblical and patristic evidence for asserting that the expression

"Thou art holy, God", refers exclusively to the Son. His reply to what the Chalcedonians say that the *Trisagion* is derived from the *Sanctus* found in *Isaiah* is as follows: "The One whom Isaiah saw on a high throne and the seraphim round him is the Son. This we know from John the Evangelist who says: 'These things said Isaiah about Him when he saw His glory' (*John* 12:41). Cyril, John Chrysostom, and other Doctors teach us that it was the Son, the Word, that Isaiah saw on the throne and not the Father". He also says: "The words of the *Trisagion* have been attributed by the Doctors to the Son because He became flesh, put on the weak and mortal human body, and was addressed by them as 'God', 'omnipotent', 'Immortal', and 'Who has been crucified for us' in the flesh..... The *Trisagion* is, therefore, to be truly referred to the Son and Word-God who became man, and who is both mortal and immortal: mortal in the flesh, and immortal in His Godhead, and He was crucified on our behalf".

Moses bar Kepha says, not only is the *trisagion*—as of old, probably,—directed to the Son; but he also pleads the explanation for the *sanctus* at the end of the Preface that the threefold "holy" signifies the acknowledgement, in homage, to the Son that he is one of the holy Trinity, just as he it was, also, whom Isaias (6:1f.) saw seated on the throne above (Jungmann, *PCLP*, p. 235).

X.G.4.b. As Shown by the Early Writers and Fathers:

(i) **Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea** (*c.* 315-*c.* 340), wrote after 314 in his *Proof of the Gospel* (9.16) concerning the vision of Isaiah: "The prophet had seen Christ and the glory of Christ in the vision in which he said, 'I saw the Lord of hosts sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up', and what follows" (Eusebius, *POG* 2:184).

(ii) **St. Hilary, bishop of Poitiers** (*c.* 350-367), in his *De Trinitate* (V:33) addresses the Arians who deny the true divinity of Christ saying: "Isaiah says that he has seen no God but Him. For he did actually see the glory of God, the mystery of Whose taking flesh from the Virgin he foretold. And if you, in your heresy, do not know that it was God the Only-begotten Whom the prophet saw in that glory, listen to the Evangelist:--*These things said Esaias, when he saw His glory, and spake of Him* (*John* 12:41). The Apostle, the Evangelist, the Prophet combine to silence your objections. Isaiah did see God; even though it is written, *No one hath seen God at any time, save the Only-begotten Son Who is in the bosom of the Father; He hath declared Him* (*John* 1:18), it was God Whom the prophet saw. He gazed upon the Divine glory, and men were filled with envy at such honour vouchsafed to his prophetic greatness. For this was the reason why the Jews passed sentence of death upon him" (*NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 9, p. 95; see also p. 230, *De Trinitate* XII,47).

(iii) **St. Jerome** in a letter written, in A.D. 381, for the Roman Pope Damasus explains at length the vision recorded in the sixth chapter of *Isaiah* and enlarges on its mystical meaning saying: "...John expressly tells us (*John* 12:41) that it was Christ and not the Father whom the prophet saw" (Jerome, *Letter* XVIII, in *NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 6, p. 22).

(iv) **St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan** (374-397), in his *Exposition of the Christian Faith*, Book I, ch. 17, parag. 116, speaks of Isaiah's vision saying: "Isaiah spake when he saw God's Glory, and thus in the Gospel it is plainly said that he saw the Glory of Christ and spoke of Him (*John* 12:41)" (*NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 10, p. 220).

(v) **St. Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem** (*c.* 349-386), in his Catechetical lectures

delivered in 350 said in *Lecture* 14, parag. 27, concerning Isaiah's vision of the Lord on the throne: "And this throne the Prophet Esaias having beheld before the incarnate coming of the Saviour, says, *I saw the Lord sitting on a throne, high and lifted up* (*Isaiah* 6:1), and the rest. For the Father *no man hath seen at any time* (*John* 1:18), and He who then appeared to the Prophet was the Son" (*NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 7, p. 102).

(vi) **St. Cyril the Great, Pope of Alexandria** (412-444), in his *Commentary on Isaiah* (1.4), written before 429 (Quasten III, p. 122), says:

"No one can deny that the prophet saw the Son in the glory of God the Father, as John said: 'Isaiah said this because he saw his glory and spoke of him [Christ] (*John* 12:41)'. Look and see the great honor that is due to God, and see the authority he has over all creation. God is high and lifted up on a throne, crowned with the splendor of his reign.... In my view we should not think of the throne of God as lifted up in a physical way. That would be foolish and absurd. Rather, that the throne is said to be lifted up means that the reign of God transcends all things. That God is sitting refers to his immovability and that his blessings are everlasting and unchanging" (*ACCS*, O.T. X, pp. 48-49, referring to *PG* 70:172; cf. Hill's trans. vol. I, pp. 144-145).

(vii) **Again, St. Cyril, Pope of Alexandria**, in his *Scholia on the Incarnation*, composed after 431 (Quasten III, p. 128), says in Scholion 14:

"The holy host of heavenly spirits looks only to the will of God, and is never tired of gazing on God. This is why the prophet Isaiah said he saw the Son on 'a throne lifted up and exalted' (*Isaiah* 6:1), with the Seraphim standing by and worshipping him as God" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 309).

X.G.5. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS OF THE THEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY CONCERNING THE ADDRESS OF THE *TRISAGION* TO THE SON AFTER THE TIME OF ST. PETER THE FULLER:

St. Severus sojourned in Constantinople itself for three years (508-511), challenging the Chalcedonian archbishop Macedonius II (496-511), promoting the singing of the *Trisagion* with the clause "who was crucified for us have mercy on us", and intelligently criticizing the limitations of the Chalcedonian definition and the weaknesses of its defenders. "Macedonius often joined the 'Sleepless' monks in their solitude, and every year celebrated with them the memory of Nestorius (*Chron. Z.M.* vii. 7; *The Conflict of Severus*, ed. Goodspeed, p. 616; see also *ibid.*, pp. 643ff., for a Monophysite account of his debate with Severus on the orthodoxy of Nestorius)" (Sellers, p. 280, n. 2).

There were riots in the capital, the Chalcedonians calling on Macedonius, their opponents on the emperor himself who favoured their use of the *Trisagion* as a hymn addressed to the Son with the addition "who was crucified for us". "On 20 July 511, a confrontation took place between Severus and Macedonius, as a result of which the patriarch (i.e. Macedonius) refused to allow the use of the new doxology. On 7 August he was deposed by a council for 'falsifying Scripture'. He was told, 'the master of the world has decreed your banishment', and sent off, like his predecessor (i.e. Euphemius), to the monastery of the Euchites" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 218). "Various charges had been brought against Macedonius. He had denounced the Emperor as a heretic and a Manichaean (*Chron. Z.M.* vii. 7, 8); he had falsified the

Scriptures in the Nestorian interest (Liberatus, *Brev.* 19); and he was responsible for the riots which were constantly occurring in Constantinople, and the 'prime mover and chief' of the sedition which arose when he (i.e. the emperor) wished to add the clause 'Who was crucified for us' to the *Trisagion* (Evagrius, *HE* iii.44; Theophanes, *Chron.* 6003; Theodorus Lector, *HE* ii.26)" (Sellers, p. 280, n. 3).

Macedonius was replaced by Timothy I (511-518) who showed more lenience towards the Miaphysites (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 204).

"Evagrius, with open mind, refers to a letter which Severus, before his election to the patriarchate, had written to Soterichus, the bishop of Caesarea Cappadocia, to the effect that it was Macedonius and his clergy who were responsible for the uprising, which developed into sedition against Anastasius" (Allen, *Evagrius*, p. 164 & n. 106: "this letter survives only in Coptic fragments...". It can be dated 510, *ibid.*, p. 165). "There were two uprisings associated with the addition of the theopaschite formula to the *Trishagion*, one in 510 and another on 4 November, 512" (*ibid.*, & n. 112: "Theod. Lect. [pp. 137,23-138,14; and pp. 144,24-145,19, supplied from Theoph.], and ps. Zach. [VII,7,9] distinguish these two events.... The other chief sources are Malalas, p. 407; John of Nikiu, ch. 89,54-68...").

Evagrius "is unaware of the chronology of Macedonius' deposition and Severus' accession, for both events took place *before* the major uprising of 512" (Allen, *Evagrius*, p. 165).

Following the introduction of the interpolated *Trisagion* at St. Sophia in 512, riots took place, statues of Anastasius were overthrown and violence erupted against the Monophysites (i.e. Miaphysites) (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 204). "The sedition was extremely violent, even to the extent, says Evagrius (146,13-15), that the lives of important people were imperiled, and the mob fired many parts of the city. During the excitement the crowd rushed to the house of Marinus the Syrian, who was commonly supposed to have persuaded Anastasius to propose the addition to the *Trishagion*, where they found an unfortunate monophysite monk, whom they beheaded" (Allen, *Evagrius*, p. 164, referring to Ps. Zach. VII.9...).

John of Nikiu (*Chron.* 89:61-64) describes the attack on the house of Marinus saying: "61. And they proceeded with haste to the house of Marinus the Syrian, an illustrious man. And they burnt his house and possessions. And they sought to slay him, but they could not find him; for he had fled, and was saved through the strong aid of our Lord Jesus Christ... 63. And moved with evil zeal they sought for him with a view to slaying him, though he was unaware of it. And when they had plundered the house of this illustrious man and carried out the silver vessels he possessed, they divided them amongst themselves. 64. But indeed the moment the crowds entered the house of the magistrate they found (in it) a monk of the east, (and) they led him forth and put him to death, believing him to be the Godloving Severus. And they took his head and carried it about throughout all the city crying aloud these words: 'This is the enemy of the Holy Trinity'".

"The riot became so widespread and uncontrollable that Anastasius decided to appear in the Hippodrome without his crown, in an attempt to appease the rabid mob. Evagrius records (146,20-27) that the emperor sent messengers to the people to announce that he was prepared to abdicate, but that only one of them could be his successor" (Allen, *Evagrius*, p. 165). The crisis was finally overcome through a courageous gesture of the old emperor. Showing his personal commitment to anti-Chalcedonianism, he appeared before the crowds at the hippodrome dressed in mourning clothes, without his imperial crown, and offered to

resign the throne. His personal popularity, pious reputation and obvious sincerity won the day. He stayed on and was even able to quench the rebellion of Vitalian (513-515) who had espoused the Chalcedonian cause" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 204). Anastasius had once before tried successfully this tactic of offering his resignation on the occasion when Macedonius accused him publicly of being a Manichee (Allen, *Evagrius*, p. 165, n. 110 referring to ps. Zacharias VII,7).

St. Severus defends this Miaphysite form of the *Trisagion* saying: "This statement of praise is made of the only (Son) of God, of the Word, who for us assumed flesh and became human. That the Father too is by nature God, mighty and immortal and so too the Holy Spirit equally, is certain for everyone. But in opposing the stupidity of the pagans and the incredulity of the Jews, for whom a crucified one is a folly and a scandal (cf. *1Corinthians* 1:23), we say: Holy are you, God, you who without change became a human being for us and remained God; holy are you, Mighty, you who in weakness have shown the superiority of power (cf. *1Corinthians* 1:25); holy are you, Immortal, you who have been crucified for us, you who bore in the flesh the death that came through the cross, and you who have shown that you are immortal, even as you were in death. On account of the unbelievers it is very fitting that we say that this statement of praise is directed to the Son. The Father and the Holy Spirit have never been in humanity, neither in weakness nor in death. But the only Son, the Word of God, who became flesh, voluntarily took this on himself. And when he was in adversity, he showed in a brilliant way that he was impassible, powerful and immortal God. For this reason we present to him threefold praise and allow it to ascend to him: 'You are holy', in order to show that he is no other outside the Trinity, who like one of the creatures was enriched through partaking of their holiness, because he is by nature holy as God, above all he is one of the three *hypostases* through whom the others are able to be sanctified, and because the praise of the Son is praise of the Father and of the Holy Spirit. Because their essence is one, the praise is also one, and whoever praises one of the three *hypostases* has in no way separated from it the doxology of the two others; for the doxology of the Son contains the doxology of the Father and of the Holy Spirit" (*Hom.* 125: *PO* 29, 245; quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part II, p. 146-147).

In the same *Homily* 125 which was preached in April 518, St. Severus complained that the Miaphysite addition to the *Trishagion* was not being used in Egypt even though it was in parts of the province of Asia (Frend, *RMM*, pp. 229-230, referring to *Hom.* 125: *PO* 29,1, p. 249). It seems, therefore, that this form of the *Trisagion* which was introduced liturgically at Antioch by St. Peter the Fuller was later introduced liturgically in Egypt through St. Severus when he was forced to seek refuge in Egypt on Justin's accession to the throne in 518.

As regards Syria during the second half of the sixth century, "the Monophysite (i.e. the Miaphysite) authorities on whom Michael the Syrian drew gave the impression of unanimous Monophysite (i.e. Miaphysite) support, impervious to any argument, in the countryside—all the way east from Antioch to the Euphrates frontier. In the reign of Maurice (582-602) while some of the towns remained Chalcedonian, the villages would refuse to accept a bishop who was not consecrated by the Monophysite (i.e. the anti-Chalcedonian Miaphysite) patriarch. When asked in the reign of Maurice's predecessor, Tiberius II (578-82), why they refused to give up the Monophysite (i.e. Miaphysite) *Trisagion*, Syrian women replied, 'We are but women; we know nothing about controversy, but from the tradition of the Eastern

Fathers we will not depart so long as we live'" (Frend, *RC*, p. 875 and n. 25 on p. 897, quoting John of Ephesus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* III.3.19: ed. Brooks, p. 108).

X.G.6. THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHALCEDONIANS TOWARDS THE ADDRESS OF THE *TRISAGION* TO THE SON FROM THE SEVENTH CENTURY TILL THE PRESENT TIME:

The addition to the *Trisagion* of the clause "who was crucified for us" was condemned in the Chalcedonian Council of Trullo in 692, also known as the "Quinisext" or Fifth-Sixth Council. The Eastern Chalcedonian bishops who met in the domed room ("trullus") of the Emperor Justinian II's palace at Constantinople stated this condemnation in Canon 81 of the council as follows: "Whereas we have heard that in some places in the hymn *Trisagion* there is added after 'Holy and Immortal', 'Who was crucified for us, have mercy upon us', and since this as being alien to piety was by the ancient and holy Fathers cast out of the hymn, as also the violent heretics who inserted these new words were cast out of the Church; we also, confirming the things which were formerly piously established by our holy Fathers, anathematize those who after this present decree allow in church this or any other addition to the most sacred hymn; but if indeed he who has transgressed is of the sacerdotal order, we command that he be deprived of his priestly dignity, but if he be a layman or monk let him be cut off" (Percival, p. 400). The Ancient Epitome of this canon 81 of Trullo reads: "Whoever adds to the hymn *Trisagion* these words 'Who wast crucified' shall be deemed heterodox" (*ibid.*).

The Chalcedonian John of Damascus (*c.* 675-*c.* 749) in his *De Fide* (III.10) blames Patriarch Peter the Fuller "for introducing the addition of 'crucified for us' in the *Trisagion*, on the ground that the hymn is addressed to the Holy Trinity and that the Trinity was not crucified. The Damascene would, however, admit that 'one of the Trinity suffered in the flesh'. Since in the Syrian church where it originated the hymn is addressed to the Son, John's objection to the addition loses its force" (Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 274).

The *Trisagion* in the form "O Holy God, O holy mighty One, O holy immortal One, have mercy on us" seems to have been introduced into the Eastern liturgies after 450. But John of Damascus in his *De Fide* (III.10: *PG* 94,1021) claims that the *Trisagion* was revealed to St. Proclus Patriarch of Constantinople (434-447) and was used there in its Trinitarian sense (see Ber. *EEC*, p. 853).

Meyendorff (*IUCD*, p. 224, n. 37) has the following comment concerning the liturgical use of the *Trisagion* as a hymn addressed to the Son. Thus he says: "There is no doubt, however, that the interpolated *Trisagion*, introduced by Peter the Fuller of Antioch ('Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal *who was crucified for us*, have mercy on us') was also meant to be addressed to Christ, and not to the Trinity, and was, therefore orthodox in its intention. This fact was recognized by moderates on both sides (cf. Severus, *Hom.* 125, *PO* 29, p. 241-7; Ephrem of Antioch, in Photius, *Bibliotheca* 228, ed. P. Henry, vol. 4, Paris, 1965, p. 115). This christological meaning of the *Trisagion* remains alive in the Byzantine liturgy (cf. its use on Good Friday and in funeral services; also *doxasticon* of Lauds, First Sunday of Lent; Lite, 2d. stikheron, Ascension day). On this, see V. S. Janeras, 'Les Byzantins et le trisagion christologique' *Miscellanea in honor of G. Lercaro*, II, Rome 1967, pp. 469-499".

In the West, "the *Trisagion* was introduced into the Gallican liturgies before the readings, as in the Byzantine liturgy, and before the gospel, as in the Egyptian liturgies. The *expositio brevis antiquae liturgiae gallicanae* calls it simply '*Aius*' and explains why it is sung both in Greek and in Latin" (Ber. *EEC*, p. 853).

The Hispanic, sometimes called "Mozarabic", or "Visigothic" liturgy that developed in Spain, and remained in force from the 6th century until suppressed during the pontificate of Gregory VII (1073-1085), used the *Trisagion* only on solemn feasts, recited in Latin exclusively, with additions similar to those of Egypt (*ibid.*, p. 853, cf. p. 385).

The Roman liturgy did not accept the *Trisagion* until the eleventh century and then only addressed to Christ for the adoration of the cross on Good Friday (*Ordo Romanus* 31). The *Trisagion* did not reach Rome directly from the East, but arrived through the Gallican liturgies (*ibid.*, p. 853).

X.G.7. THE FORM OF THE *TRISAGION* IN THE MIAPHYSITE ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES:

X.G.7.a. In the Coptic Orthodox Church:

The Coptic form of the *Trisagion* is as follows: "(1) Holy God, Holy Mighty One, Holy Immortal One, Who was born of a Virgin, have mercy upon us. (2) Holy God, etc., Who was crucified for us, have mercy upon us. (3) Holy God, etc., Who rose from the dead and ascended into the heavens, have mercy upon us. (4) Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, both now and always and unto the ages of ages. Amen. (4) Holy Trinity have mercy upon us".

It is sung in the liturgy before the prayer of the Gospel and the reading of the Gospel. It is also sung in various other church services and is recited in the canonical hours. The choice of verses varies according to the service and the feast. For example, from Christmas Eve to the feast of Circumcision (or until the day before the *Paramone* of the Epiphany), the first verse is repeated thrice, followed by the fourth and fifth verses (without the singing of the second and third verses), and so on.

X.G.7.b. In the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church and the Eritrean Orthodox Tewahdo Church:

The Ethiopian and the Eritrean *Trisagion* is similar to the Coptic one, but with the addition of longer verses derived from the Creed as follows: "Who wast born from the holy Virgin Mary", "Who wast baptized in Jordan and crucified on the tree of the cross", "Who didst rise from the dead on the third day, ascend into heaven in glory, sit at the right hand of Thy Father and again wilt come in glory to judge the quick and the dead" (*The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*, tr. by the Rev. Fr. Marcos Daoud, Egypt, 1959, p. 50; see Brightman I, p. 218).

X.G.7.c. In the Antiochian Syrian Orthodox Church, the Malankara Syrian Orthodox Church, and the Malankara Orthodox Syrian Church:

They sing the *Trisagion* with the verse "Who wast crucified for us", and this is sung three times (Brightman I, p. 77). Its place in the liturgy is after Mar Severus's hymn "O my Lord King, the Only-begotten Son" (i.e. the *O Monogenes* hymn in Syriac) at the Lesser Entrance and before the reading of the lesson from the Epistles or the book of Acts (see Brightman I, p. 77).

X.G.7.d. In the Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church:

After the singing of the *Monogenes* hymn at the *Enarxis* (i.e. the beginning of the *Synaxis*), the Lesser Entrance begins with the Prayer of the *Trisagion* (in secret), during the singing of the *Trisagion*, before the lections (see Brightman I, pp. 423-424).

The form of the *Trisagion* varies according to the season or the feast day:

+ *For Eastertide and for Sundays of Resurrection*:

Holy God, holy and mighty, holy and immortal,
Who didst rise from the dead,
Have mercy upon us.

Repeat thrice.

+ *For Theophany and Transfiguration*:

Holy God, holy and mighty, holy and immortal,
Who wast revealed for us,
Have mercy upon us.

Repeat thrice.

+ *For Presentation, Pentecost and Assumption*:

Holy God, holy and mighty, holy and immortal,
Who didst come and art to come,
Have mercy upon us.

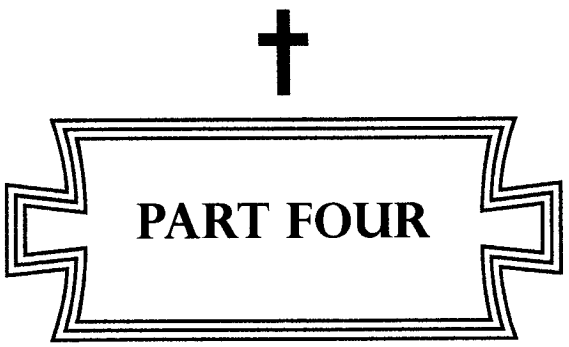
Repeat thrice.

+ *For the days of the Cross, of the Church, of Saints and of Fasting*:

Holy God, holy and mighty, holy and immortal,
Who wast crucified for us,
Have mercy upon us.

Repeat thrice.

(Nersoyan, p. 49).



THE HISTORY AND ACTS OF

THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, 451 A.D.,

AND THE RELATED LATER CHALCEDONIAN COUNCILS

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I. TOPICS RELATED TO THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON FROM EARLIER COUNCILS:

I.A. The Creed of the Council of Nicaea, 325 A.D.:

The word "creed" is derived from the Latin *credo* ("I believe"). It is used now for formal, usually short, authorized statements of the main points of Christian belief.

I.A.1. THE FORMATION AND PROMULGATION OF THE NICENE CREED:

The Nicene Creed of 325 was the work of a council of bishops called by the emperor Constantine in the city of Nicaea, in Bithynia, to resolve the controversy over the definition of Christ's divinity, which had arisen between Pope Alexander of Alexandria and Arius, one of his priests, and was threatening to divide the church which the emperor had just freed from the danger of persecution and given his support to. This was the first time an ecumenical council had been held or a *credo* drawn up which was intended to be valid as a criterion of orthodoxy for all believers. Compared with later conciliar creeds it is relatively short, concluding with the words "and in the Holy Spirit". Appended to it were four anathemas against Arianism, which came to be regarded as an integral part of the text. This very important creed is called Nicene by the scholars, and is referred to as N.

Eusebius of Caesarea declares that the baptismal creed of his church was identical with that newly drawn up by the council which he had just attended (i.e. Nicaea, 325). But the Nicene Creed was probably based on the Baptismal Creed of Jerusalem or from a creed which came from Syria or Phoenicia, and certainly not, as older scholars held, through a misunderstanding of Eusebius's statement, on that of Caesarea in Palestine. The bishops at Nicaea introduced into this creed certain expressions intended to avoid an Arian interpretation of their statements: e.g. the words applied to the Son, "generated from the Father's substance" (ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός) [i.e. "from the innermost being (essence) of the Father]. Also the words "generated not made", and, above all, "of the same substance (essence) as the Father" (Gk. ὁμοούσιον "*Homoousion*", Latin *consubstantialem*), ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί [i.e. sharing one being (the same essence) with the Father, and therefore distinct in existence though essentially one]. And for the same purpose a series of anathemata or condemnations of particular Arian doctrines were added. These anathemata are pronounced against those who say: "there was a time when he was not" or "he was made from nothing", or he derives "from a different person (ὑπόστασις) or substance" [than that of the Father], or he is "changeable or alterable" (Ber. *EEC*, p. 207; *ODCC*, ed. 2, p. 968; Bettenson, *Documents*, p. 25).

I.A.2. THE TEXT OF THE NICENE CREED AS QUOTED IN ST. CYRIL'S THIRD LETTER TO NESTORIUS AND IN OTHER SOURCES:

The Nicene Creed is set out as a standard in the Third Letter of St. Cyril to Nestorius,

written on behalf of the Alexandrian Holy Synod held in November 430, from which we quote the text of the Nicene Creed as recorded by St. Cyril with his introduction:

"For this is the faith of the catholic and apostolic church in which all the orthodox bishops throughout the West and East concur."

"3. We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, maker of everything visible and invisible, and in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Only Begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father, that is from the essence of the Father, God of God, light of light, true God of true God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father, through whom all things were made, things in heaven and things on earth, who for us men and for our salvation came down, was incarnate and made man, suffered and rose again on the third day, ascended into the heavens and will come to judge the living and the dead; and in the Holy Spirit. But those who say, 'There was when he was not', and 'Before he was begotten he was not', and that 'he came to be from nothing', or those who maintain that the Son of God is from a different subsistence or essence, or that he is mutable or changeable, these the catholic and apostolic church anathematizes" (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 267-268; see Percival, p. 202).

[The single subject reference throughout the creed (that the one Son of God before the ages is he who comes down to suffer and to redeem the world) sustains St. Cyril's point about the *hypostatic* union exactly].

The text of the Nicene Creed of 325 was read in the opening session of the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus of 431 A.D. (Percival, p. 3, n. 1 & p. 197) and is found in the Acts of that council. It is found also in the Epistle of Eusebius of Caesarea to his own church (quoted in *ibid.*, p. 3). It is found also in the Epistle of St. Athanasius *Ad Juvianum Imp.*, in the Ecclesiastical Histories of Theodoret and Socrates, in the Definition of Chalcedon and elsewhere (*ibid.*).

I.A.3. THE TEXT OF THE NICENE CREED AS READ AND QUOTED IN THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON:

The text of the Nicene Creed and that of Constantinople to which the assembly at the second session of Chalcedon (II:11, 14) listened "had been extracted from the archives in which the original documents were presumed to have been deposited. It should be observed that the texts embodied in the Definition appear to have differed in several respects from those recited at the second session, and that E. Schwartz once suggested that they were deliberately modified, at the request of Marcian and the Empress Pulcheria, so as to be brought into closer harmony with each other" (Kelly, *Creeds*, chap. X, p. 298).

The text of the Nicene Creed embodied in the Chalcedonian Definition as recorded and read in session five (V:32), under the title "symbol" (σύμβολον) [which is the technical term for a creed, πίστις ("faith") the more usual one]. It reads:

"The symbol of the 318 fathers at Nicaea"

"32. We believe in one God, Father, Almighty, maker of heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ the only-begotten Son of God, who was begotten from the Father before all ages, true God from true God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father, through whom all things were made; who for us men and for our salvation came down, was enfleshed and became man, suffered, rose on the third day, ascended into heaven, and is coming to judge the living and the dead; and in the Holy

Spirit. Those who say, 'There was when he was not', and 'Before being begotten he was not', and that he came into being from things that are not, or assert that the Son of God is from another *hypostasis* or substance or is changeable or alterable, these the catholic and apostolic church anathematizes" (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 202).

> [Price comments (*ibid.*, n. 48): "We translate the text Schwartz provides, which has very limited support in the Greek MSS but is the text in the Latin version of the Acts. It contains several interesting departures from the original text of the Nicene Creed, as read out at the second session (II:11) and as given in most of the Greek MSS of the Definition. The critical problems are discussed above (*ibid.* on pp. 191-4), which defend Schwartz's preference for the version given here".]

I.B. The Creed of the Council of Constantinople, 381 A.D.:

I.B.1. THE NAMES OF THE CREED OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND ITS RELATION TO THE ORIGINAL NICENE CREED:

In common parlance, the "Nicene Creed" more often means the considerably longer formula which is in regular use in the Eucharistic worship of the Church, both in East and West. It is also known as the "Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed", and is referred to as C.

It differs from N. in that, *inter alia* (1) the second section on the Person of Christ is longer and has at its end a small and curious clause, "his kingdom will have no end", which was inserted in opposition to the heresy of Marcellus. "(2) the phrase in N. 'from the substance of the Father' (ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός) as an explanation of '*Homoousios*' is wanting; (3) the third section contains an extended statement on the status and work of the Holy Ghost; and (4) after this follow assertions of belief in the Church, Baptism, the Resurrection of the Dead, and Eternal Life. Also it has no anathemas" (*ODCC*, ed. 2, p. 968; cf. Ber. *EEC*, p. 208).

This creed was apparently unknown to the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, 431.

I.B.2. THE EARLIER STATUS OF THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE OF 381 A.D. AND ITS CREED:

It is evident also that St. Cyril of Alexandria together with his Egyptian synod of 430 A.D. and the fathers of the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus of 431 A.D. did not mention the Council of Constantinople of 381 A.D. nor the Niceno-Constantinopolitan form of Creed known to be adopted in that Council and which is now regularly used in the Church both in East and West. This means, as Percival (p. 162) puts it in his "Historical Introduction to the First Council of Constantinople", that "it was not intended to be an Ecumenical Synod at all". Percival (*ibid.*) also gives more reasons in support of this view, of which we quote the following:

"It was a local gathering of only one hundred and fifty bishops..."

"No diocese of the West was present either by representation or in the person of its

bishop; neither the see of Rome, nor any other see...."

"Its canons were not placed in their natural position after those of Nice in the codex which was used at the Council of Chalcedon, although this was an Eastern codex...."

"Its Creed was not read nor mentioned, so far as the acts record, at the Council of Ephesus, fifty years afterwards" (Percival, p. 3, n. 1, and p. 197).

Neither Pope Timothy I of Alexandria (381-385), nor his successors, Pope Theophilus (385-412), Pope Cyril (412-444), and Pope Dioscorus (444-454), acknowledged the legitimacy of the Council of Constantinople of 381, which would eventually be recognized as "second ecumenical". In 449, Pope Dioscorus of Alexandria specifically refers to the Council of Ephesus (431) as "second", associating it with Nicaea (Mansi VI, cols. 625D, 664A), (cf. Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 114).

I.B.3. COUNCILS AND FATHERS BEFORE CHALCEDON USE THE ORIGINAL NICENE CREED ALONE AND NEVER MENTION THE CREED OF THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE OF 381 A.D.:

It was the original form of the Nicene Creed of 325 A.D. which was read in the opening session of the Council of Ephesus of 431 A.D., not the Constantinopolitan one (Percival, p. 162; Sellers, p. 10).

The same original Nicene Creed was cited in the Third Letter of St. Cyril to Nestorius written on behalf of the Alexandrian Synod held in 430 A.D. known as the synodical letter to which the Twelve Anathemas of St. Cyril were subjoined, which was also read in the Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D., and considered part of its faith and preserved among its documents.

Moreover, canon VII of that same Ecumenical Council of Ephesus of 431 prohibits making, holding or teaching any other faith than that of the original creed. (See Part Five, section II, of the present work.)

At the Second Council of Ephesus of 449 A.D., St. Dioscorus Pope of Alexandria "ordered to be read in sequence, first the Acts of the opening session of the Council of Ephesus (431), at which the Creed of Nicaea had been established against Nestorius as the norm of orthodoxy, and next, the Acts of the sixth session of the same Council, at which the Ephesine Decree had been set up" (Sellers, p. 81, referring to Mansi vi, 872ff., 887ff., 893). "He then asked each bishop to signify in writing whether anything should be added to, or taken from, the Nicene faith. General agreement was forthcoming, and the papal legates themselves 'signified their assent'" (*ibid.*, referring to Mansi vi, 905). For St. Dioscorus "the true faith had been laid down at Nicaea and confirmed at Ephesus (431). These, he affirmed, were 'two Councils in name, but one in faith', and he who tried to disturb the Nicene and Ephesine decisions was making void the grace of the Holy Spirit, who had sat in these assemblies". So said St. Dioscorus in the Second Council of Ephesus (Mansi vi, 628) as recorded in the Acts of that council and preserved and read in the first session of Chalcedon (I:141-148, *ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 154-155), to which saying the Fathers of Ephesus II applauded "Archbishop Dioscorus the great guardian of faith" (*ibid.*).

After the Second Council of Ephesus, "the letters dispatched from Rome on 13 October 449 never reached their destination".

"On 25 December, Leo, anxiously awaiting news from the East, once more attempted to approach the Emperor, though now he began to change his tune. Seemingly, he thought it best to make no mention of either the ascendancy of St. Peter or the 'Nicene Canon VI', but to justify his appeal simply on the ground that he, too, strictly adhered to the Creed of Nicaea. With this Creed, he affirmed, his letters were in complete agreement, since in them he anathematized the perverse doctrine of Nestorius, and condemned the impiety of those who were denying that real flesh had been assumed by our Lord Jesus Christ" (Sellers, pp. 91-92).

I.B.4. THE CONSTANTINOPOLITAN CREED AT THE TIME OF THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON:

"Certainly there is very little indication that the majority of the bishops in 451 were even remotely familiar with the creed of the 150 fathers, which was introduced by the imperial commissioners as a symbol of orthodoxy alongside the original Nicene Creed at the end of the first session (Acts I:1072). Before this stage, the only bishop at Chalcedon to have shown detailed knowledge of the creed of 381 is Diogenes of Cyzicus in his account of the condemnation of Eutyches in 448. 'He [Eutyches] adduced the council of the holy fathers at Nicaea deceptively, since additions were made to it by the holy fathers on account of the evil opinions of Apollinarius, Valentinus, Macedonius and those like them, and there were added to the creed of the holy fathers the words "He came down and was enfleshed from the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin". This Eutyches omitted, as an Apollinarian' (Acts I:160, [*ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 157-158])" (Gwynn in *Chalcedon in Context*, p. 17). "Though he did not explicitly mention C., it is probable that Diogenes had it in mind when he spoke of an expanded version of N. His statement was not allowed to pass unchallenged. The Egyptian bishops at once protested against the idea of anything having been added to the creed of the Nicene fathers, and declared that Eutyches had done right to quote it in its original form. But the episode is proof that, even at this relatively early date, C. was being regarded as an expansion of N. carried out by the 150 fathers" (Kelly, *Creeds*, chap. X, p. 299). But Eutyches can hardly be blamed for not citing so poorly known a creed (cf. Price in *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 158, n. 113).

The Egyptian bishops in their defense of Eutyches, appealed to canon 7 of 431, exclaiming "No one admits any addition or subtraction. Confirm the work of Nicaea" (Chalcedon I:161, *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 158).

"The 13 Egyptian bishops in the fourth session who asked to remain outside the debates until Dioscorus, who had been condemned in the third session, was replaced likewise refer in their petition only to the creed of 325 (Acts IV:25) and omit any reference to the creed of 381 as a symbol of orthodoxy. The strength of Egyptian feeling on this question was apparently recognized by the Emperor Marcian who in his Letter to the Monks of Alexandria in 454 (*ACC*, vol. 3, pp. 154-156) appeals solely to the faith of 325 and not (as in his other writings after Chalcedon) to the creeds of both 325 and 381" (*Chalcedon in Context*, p. 18).

"Nevertheless, the main body of bishops at Chalcedon did eventually recognize the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed of 381 as a necessary supplement to Nicaea, particularly to clarify the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and this recognition helped to pave the way for the Chalcedonian Definition (Acts V:31-4)" (*ibid.*, p. 19).

I.B.5. THE TEXT OF THE CONSTANTINOPOLITAN CREED AS READ IN THE SECOND SESSION OF CHALCEDON AND INCLUDED IN ITS DEFINITION AT THE FIFTH SESSION:

The first appearance of the text of the creed known as C., as an official formulary was at the Council of Chalcedon, 451 A.D. "At the second session of the council, on 10 October, the Nicene creed having been publicly read and acclaimed, the imperial commissioners ordered 'the faith of the 150 fathers' to be read out too. The description they used was the one popularly applied to the council of Constantinople of 381. Aetius, the archdeacon of the capital city, immediately got up and recited our creed from a written document. It again played a prominent part at the fifth and sixth sessions, on 22 and 25 October, when it was incorporated along with the Nicene creed in the definition adopted by the council. On the latter occasion the definition embodying it was signed, in the presence of the emperor Marcian, by the papal legates and all the bishops present. The minutes, or *acta*, of the council of Chalcedon, which survive in full, thus constitute our primary source for the creed" (Kelly, *Creeds*, chap. X, pp. 296-297).

The following is a literal English translation of the version of the Greek text of C. which was read out at the second session of Chalcedon (II:14) as quoted by Kelly (*ibid.*, pp. 297-298):

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

"And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten from the Father before all ages, light from light, true God from true God, begotten not made, of one substance with the Father, through Whom all things came into existence, Who because of us men and because of our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary and became man, and was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, and suffered and was buried, and rose again on the third day according to the Scriptures and ascended to heaven, and sits on the right hand of the Father, and will come again with glory to judge living and dead, of Whose kingdom there will be no end;"

"And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and life-giver, Who proceeds from the Father, Who with the Father and the Son is together worshipped and together glorified, Who spoke through the prophets; in one holy Catholic and apostolic Church. We confess one baptism to the remission of sins; we look forward to the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come. Amen" (For the Greek text see *ibid.*).

The text of the Creed of Constantinople 381 which was included in the Chalcedonian Definition reads as follows:

"The same of the 150 holy fathers who assembled at Constantinople"

"33. We believe in one God, Father, Almighty, maker of heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, who was begotten from the Father before all ages, true God from true God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father, through whom all things came into being, who for us men and for our salvation came down, was enfleshed from the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin and became man, was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate and was buried, rose on the third day and ascended into heaven, is seated at the right hand of the Father, and is coming again with glory to judge the living and the dead, of whose kingdom there will not

be an end; and in the Holy Spirit, the lord and life-giver, who proceeds from the Father, who with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified together, who spoke through the prophets; and in one catholic and apostolic church. We confess one baptism for the remission of sins. We await the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the age to come. Amen" (Chalcedon V:33, *ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 202f. & n. 49: "Here again we follow Schwartz's reconstruction, based on the Latin version. It differs from the authentic form of the Creed of Constantinople, as read out at the second session (II:14), in omitting the following phrases: 'light from light' [restored by Rusticus, but absent from the earlier editions of the Latin], 'from heaven', 'suffered', 'in accordance with the scriptures' and 'holy' [before 'catholic and apostolic church']").

I.B.6. THE STATUS OF THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE OF 381 A.D. AND ITS CREED AFTER THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON:

In subsequent centuries after Chalcedon, there was a growing emphasis on the basic identity of the Creed of Nicaea and the Creed of Constantinople.

A very instructive example is provided by the Miaphysite Emperor Basiliscus, who obtained possession of the imperial throne in January 475. "One of his first acts was to publish an encyclical setting aside the council of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Pope Leo, and affirming that the one and only valid formula was the Nicene creed of the 318 fathers. At the same time he prescribed that the definitions drawn up by the 150 fathers as a reply to calumniators of the Holy Spirit should continue to hold good, and plainly regarded the council of 381 as having 'sealed (ἐπεσφράγισαν)' N. and elucidated its meaning" (Kelly, *Creeds*, p. 300, quoting Evagrius, *HE* 3, 4 = *PG* 86, 2600f.).

Some five hundred bishops (or even seven hundred) including St. Timothy II of Alexandria and the Miaphysite patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, St. Peter the Fuller and St. Anastasius, willingly subscribed the Encyclical of Basiliscus. Only Acacius of Constantinople uttered his protests. Having reached Ephesus, St. Timothy II and St. Peter the Fuller assembled a large number of the bishops of Asia and held the Third Council of Ephesus, 476 A.D. [See Part Two, section I.A.2.h.]. And there they "anathematized Chalcedon, excommunicated Acacius and (against Canon xxviii of Chalcedon) solemnly recognized the autonomy of Ephesus, restoring to Bishop Paul the former rights of the see. In their Petition to the Emperor (Evagrius, *HE* iii. 5), they say: 'We have anathematized and do anathematize the *Tome* of Leo and the decrees of Chalcedon, which have been the cause of much blood-shedding and confusion, and tumult, and division and strifes in all the world. For we are satisfied with the doctrine and faith of the Apostles and the holy Fathers, the Three Hundred and Eighteen; to which also the illustrious Council of the One Hundred and Fifty in the royal city, and the *two* other holy Synods at Ephesus adhered, and which they confirmed'..." (Sellers, p. 275, n. 1).

Emperor Zeno revealed precisely the same attitude in the *Henoticon*, or edict of union, which he published on 28 July 482, sidelining the council of Chalcedon and approving only the first three ecumenical councils of Nicaea, Constantinople and Ephesus I together with the Twelve Anathematisms of St. Cyril that had been omitted in 451. He insisted in the *Henoticon* that the only symbol which should be professed was that of the 318 fathers "which the 150 assembled at Constantinople confirmed" (see Evagrius, *HE* 3, 14 = *PG* 86, 2621).

By the time of the *Henoticon*, it would seem, the ecumenical status of the Council of Constantinople in 381 A.D. had achieved widespread acceptance.

The viewpoint of Emperor Justinian I concerning C. was exactly that of these Miaphysites, "and in a decree of 533 he affirmed his loyalty to the holy instruction or symbol...set forth by the 318 holy fathers, which the 150 holy fathers in this royal city explained and clarified. When next it comes before our notice, at the council held at Constantinople in 536, and then at the fifth...council (also held at Constantinople) in 553, the theory seems to be established that C. is an improved version of N. According to the minutes of the latter, 'the same holy fathers [the 150], while following the orthodox faith as expounded by the 318 holy fathers, added an explanation regarding the deity of the Holy Spirit and gave a complete account of the dispensation of the incarnate Word'" (cf. Mansi ix, 179, quoted in Kelly, *Creeds*, p. 301). In the middle ages the original difference of C. from N. was forgotten and in most circles it became known as the Nicene creed" (Kelly, *op. cit.*).

I.B.7. THE ORIGIN OF THE CONSTANTINOPOLITAN CREED:

The Constantinopolitan Creed is a free version of the Nicene, which was attributed to the Council of Constantinople of 381. This council had not hitherto been considered of ecumenical status and few of the bishops will have been aware that a creed was attributed to it. "Since the time of the Council of Chalcedon of 451 it has been regarded as the Creed of the Council of Constantinople of 381; but the earliest authorities connecting it with Constantinople date from *c.* 449-50. If this tradition is to be accepted, it may have been put forward at the Council as a profession of faith by Cyril of Jerusalem, or alternatively by Nectarius (both of whom figured prominently there). But, apart from the want of any contemporary evidence, there are other grounds for dissociating the Creed from Constantinople. Its occurrence in St. Epiphanius's *Ancoratus* (374 A.D.) would be decisive if its position in this treatise were established; but there are grounds for believing that N., not C., originally stood in the text here. Whatever its origin, it is probable that, like N., it ultimately derives from the Baptismal Creed of Jerusalem" (*ODCC*, ed. 2, p. 968). Therefore, the scholars were able to extract the Constantinopolitan creed, almost word for word, from the Catechetical lectures of St. Cyril of Jerusalem (Bettenson, *Documents*, p. 25). Whether the Council of 381 did actually draw up this creed is the subject of a lively controversy. [For a discussion of the origin of this creed, see Kelly, *Creeds*, chap. X, pp. 296-331. It was but one of a family of creeds based on the original Nicene Creed and not regarded as new creeds; see *ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 191-194].

I.B.8. THE LITURGICAL USE OF THE CONSTANTINOPOLITAN CREED:

"As time passed, C. became the central and universally recognized creed of Christianity, as it is today. At some point (*c.* 700-800) it was also adopted in a Latin formula as the baptismal creed of the church of Rome (it was finally replaced by the modified Apostolic creed). To this *credo*, in time, the Western Latin church made an addition not approved by any fully ecumenical council. First in Spain, probably under the pressure of Visigothic Arianism, then all through Western Europe and finally (1014) in Rome, to the expression 'who proceeds from the Father' were added the words 'and from the Son' (*Filioque*). For

more than a thousand years this addition has been a cause of discord and friction between Eastern and Western (incl. Protestant) churches, and is still so today" (Ber. *EEC*, p. 208). Its use in the Eucharistic worship after the Gospel apparently began at Antioch under St. Peter the Fuller (476-488) and gradually spread through East (cf. Kelly, *Creeds*, chap. XI, pp. 348-357; *ODCC*, ed. 2, p. 968). It established itself more gradually in the West: traces of it can be found at the third council of Toledo, held in 589, then in the Irish church, and finally in Charlemagne's empire in the eighth and ninth centuries. The Church of Rome adopted it only in 1014 (*ibid.*, pp. 351ff.; Ber. *EEC*, p. 208).

In the Coptic Orthodox Church, the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed is recited in every Eucharistic liturgy and in almost all other church services including the prayers of the hours. Its use in the Coptic Baptismal service is for the Sanctification of the Waters of the Font. But the baptismal creed itself is the ancient short formula: the priest shall exhort the candidates to confess the Faith in the following words: "I believe in One God, God the Father the Almighty, and His Only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, and the vivifying Holy Spirit, and the resurrection of the flesh, and the One Only Holy Catholic (and) Apostolic Church. Amen". After this, he shall ask the candidate, saying thrice: "Dost thou believe?" and he shall answer: "I believe" (Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, p. 117).

I.C. The Reasons for the Coptic Alexandrian Church's Repudiation of Canon Three of the Council of Constantinople, 381 A.D.:

The Church of Alexandria protested against the third canon of the Council of Constantinople of 381 A.D., which had decreed that: "However, the bishop of Constantinople is to have honorary pre-eminence after the bishop of Rome, because Constantinople is New Rome", and refused to allow its validity.

In spite of the fact that Pope Timothy I of Alexandria and his bishops departed from the Council in protest against that canon, yet later the Church of Alexandria accepted the Council itself and regarded it the Second Ecumenical, for the sake of the faith expressed in the Creed attributed to it. The Creed is used in the liturgical worship of the Church and is recited in the Eucharistic worship after the Gospel, both in East and West. And the Coptic Church mentions the Fathers of the three Ecumenical Councils in the prayers and takes the absolution from their mouths.

Doubtless, the third canon of Constantinople of 381 had offended the Roman See as well as the Church of Alexandria (see Percival, pp. 178-179). Pope Timothy I of Alexandria, Neale says, "refused to allow" the "validity" of canon 3 of Constantinople (*Hist. Alex.* I, p. 209); "yet that he did not break off openly from the majority is proved by the law of July 30, A.D. 381, in which (Emperor) Theodosius names him as one of the centers of Catholic communion (Sozomen, *HE* vii, 9; compare Tillemont, ix, p. 720; *DCB*, vol. 4, p. 1029).

Canon 3 of Constantinople 381 A.D. reflects worldly order and ambitions to elevate Constantinople as the new imperial residence, New Rome, immediately after Old Rome in ecclesiastical rank also. Thus the ecclesiastical rank of a see follows the civil rank of a city. This canon, however, has no apostolic justification and is not in harmony with the principle laid down in the canon of Nicaea, that in such matters the ancient customs should continue. Above all, this canon contradicts, or at least is not in harmony with, the teachings of our

Lord Jesus Christ to his disciples when "they had disputed among themselves who would be the greatest. And He sat down, called the twelve, and said to them, 'If anyone desires to be first, he shall be last of all and servant of all'" (*Mark* 9:34-35).

Also, when James and John, the sons of Zebedee asked for the privilege of sitting on the right hand and left hand of the Lord in his glory: "And when the ten heard it, they began to be greatly displeased with James and John. But Jesus called them to Himself and said to them, 'You know that those who are considered rulers over the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great ones exercise authority over them. Yet it shall not be so among you; but whoever desires to become great among you shall be your servant. And whoever of you desires to be first shall be slave of all. For even the Son of Man did not come to be served, but to serve, and to give His life a ransom for many" (*Mark* 10:35-45).

Therefore, St. Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, is justified in reproaching Domnus bishop of Antioch for "violating the rights of the Church of Antioch and that of Alexandria" by accepting without hesitation the claim of the see of Constantinople to primacy in the East. This is because Domnus had accepted the synodical letter of Proclus in which the latter had pointed to the validity of the third canon of the Council of Constantinople (see Theodoret, *Ep.* lxxxvi, and Sellers, p. 47 and n. 3).

It is worth noting also that the Roman delegates at Chalcedon rejected the canons of the Council of Constantinople of 381 as lacking authority. They were indeed absent from the standard collection of conciliar canons which was already in existence with a consecutive numbering and was used throughout the council of Chalcedon. The absence of the canons of 381 from this collection was rightly pointed out by the Roman delegate Lucentius (Chalcedon XVI:12) and is confirmed by the fact that Aetius the archdeacon of Constantinople had to read them from a separate document (see *ACC*, vol. 3, p. 86, n. 39).

Moreover, the acceptance of Canon 3 of Constantinople, 381 A.D., by the Council of Chalcedon, 451 A.D., and its confirmation in Canon 28 of Chalcedon is not binding to the Coptic Church by any means, since that is the Council in which our Faith-defender Pope Dioscorus of Alexandria was deposed. Besides, Canon 28 of Chalcedon does not build this pre-eminence on any foundation except the temporal dignity and the civil rank of both Old and New Rome as capitals of the Empire.

Thus Canon 28 of Chalcedon reads: "Following in all things the decisions of the holy Fathers, and acknowledging the canon, which has been just read, of the One Hundred and Fifty Bishops beloved-of-God (who assembled in the imperial city of Constantinople, which is New Rome, in the time of the Emperor Theodosius of happy memory), we also do enact and decree the same things concerning the privileges of the most holy Church of Constantinople, which is New Rome. For the Fathers rightly granted privileges to the throne of old Rome, because it was the royal city. And the One Hundred and Fifty most religious Bishops, actuated by the same consideration, gave equal privileges (ἴσα πρεσβεῖα) to the most holy throne of New Rome, justly judging that the city which is honoured with the Sovereignty and the Senate, and enjoys equal privileges with the old imperial Rome, should in ecclesiastical matters also be magnified as she is, and rank next after her....." (Percival, p. 287).

The Ancient Epitome of the same Canon says: "The bishop of New Rome shall enjoy the same honour as the bishop of Old Rome, on account of the removal of the Empire...." (*ibid.*).

It goes without saying that this canon was approved at Chalcedon despite the protest of the Roman delegates, to whom the ranking seemed detrimental to effective Roman primacy. In fact Pope Leo of Rome contended to destroy the foundation on which they built this canon (*ibid.*, p. 288; cf. Kidd, *HC*, vol III, pp. 332-338; Ber. *EEC* vol. I, p. 159). But the Church of Alexandria, following the spiritual guidance of her Patriarchs in their obedience to the teachings of the Lord himself, never accepted Canon 3 of Constantinople, 381 A.D., nor Canon 28 of Chalcedon, 451 A.D., nor the Primacy of the Church of Rome, nor its claimed theological foundation on the so-called "Petrine Office".

[For a thorough analysis of the 28th canon of Chalcedon and its relationship to the third canon of 381 which was invoked as its precedent, see L'Huillier, pp. 267-296; see also *ACC*, vol. 3, pp. 67-72].

I.D. The Ecumenical Canonicity of St. Cyril's Dogmatic Letter and the Alexandrian Synodical Letter With the Twelve Anathematisms of St. Cyril, as Part of the Faith of the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D.:

This topic was discussed in Part Three of the present work under section III.D.3. (q.v.).

I.E. The Significance of Canon VII of the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D., Which Prohibits Making, Holding, or Teaching Any Other Faith than that of the Original Creed of Nicaea, 325 A.D.:

This topic is discussed in Part Five of the present work under section II (q.v.).

II. THE POLITICAL FACTORS WHICH PRECIPITATED THE SCHISM AT CHALCEDON:

II.A. The Petrine Claims of Leo I of Rome:

The Roman Pope Leo I (440-461 A.D.) had a firm belief that the supremacy of his see was of divine and scriptural authority, and he pressed his claims to jurisdiction in Africa, Spain and Gaul and all the Western provinces, but his jurisdiction was not recognized in the East.

The Petrine claims of Leo I were an expansion of the theories put forward by his predecessors, Pope Damasus I (366-384 A.D.) and Pope Siricius (384-399 A.D.).

"Peter, according to Leo, is the founder and even the present administrator of the Roman see. The Pope seems to suppose 'a continual, one might almost say mystical, presence of St. Peter with and in his successors (Gore, *Leo the Great*, p. 91)... Moreover if the other Apostles had anything in common with Peter, their powers were only transmitted to them through him' (*ibid.*, p. 93). He is mediator between Christ and the other Apostles; and as in his character of 'head' (Leo, *Epistle X*, parag. I) of the body, the only immediate recipient, then the 'channel' too (Leo, *Sermo* iv, parag. 2), of sacerdotal grace. Such plentitude of authority Leo claimed for himself" (Kidd *HC*, vol. III, p. 279).

For example, in *Letter* XIV parag. 12, Leo writes to the bishop of Thessalonica that in case of difference of opinion between the Vicar and the bishops, the bishop of Rome must be consulted "through whom the care of the universal Church should converge towards Peter's one seat, and nothing anywhere should be separated from its Head" (*NPNF*, second series, vol. XII, p. 19).

We find St. Dioscorus Pope of Alexandria, "before the end of his first year, in correspondence with Pope Leo the Great, who did not miss the opportunity of giving directions, as from the see of St. Peter, to the new successor of St. Mark. He wrote, on June 21st, 445 A.D., to Dioscorus that 'it would be shocking (*nefas* = wickedness) to believe that St. Mark formed his rules for Alexandria otherwise than on the Petrine model'; therefore, what we know to have been very carefully observed by our fathers 'we wish (*volumus*) to be retained by you also' (*DCB* vol I, p. 855, quoting Leo, *Epistle* IX, published in *NPNF*, second series, vol. XII, pp. 7-8), 'viz. that the ordination of priests or deacons should not be performed at random on any day' but early on Sunday morning; and repeating the eucharistic celebration on great festivals, in the Church, as often as a fresh congregation might make it necessary" (*ibid.*).

The Coptic Church, however, did not bow to the claims of the Roman see, nor has changed any of her Apostolic Traditions. Until the present time, it is only the consecration of bishops which is performed on Sundays according to the Apostolic Tradition, while the ordination of priests and deacons is performed at any day of the week... While it is possible at any day to repeat the Eucharistic celebration in the same church but on different altars and sanctuaries, with different liturgical vessels, by different celebrant fasting priests and

deacons, yet on great festivals, it is only one liturgical celebration which is allowed in each church in all the Coptic Churches at the same time without repetition whatsoever.

The claims of the See of Rome as regards "the authority" in councils "is inconsistent with the reality. Ecumenical councils, summoned by the emperors, were always held not far from the centres of imperial control in the east. The Roman popes, perhaps for that reason, quickly established a precedent of refusing to attend these councils in person. Instead they sent representatives who attempted to create an impression of being in charge. Their role, they insisted, was not to deliberate along with the assembled bishops but rather to inform them of the Roman pope's judgements. But Rome's practical ability to affect the outcome of conciliar deliberations was somewhat limited due to both geographical and linguistic isolation, increasingly a problem in the fifth century as political conditions made travel more dangerous and as it apparently became more difficult for the papal offices to find staff literate in Greek (as, e.g., during the controversy between Cyril and Nestorius. Cf. also Pope Leo's *ep.* 113 of 453 to Julian of Cos, complaining of his inability to decipher the Greek Acts of Chalcedon). At the councils, the pope's representatives were often hampered by ignorance of that language, speaking only in Latin and forced to follow conversation through interpreters. Nevertheless, it was the consistent position of the Roman popes from the fifth century onwards that no council could be held 'ecumenical' without their blessing and participation" (cf. *ACC*, vol. I, pp. 11-12 & notes 35, 36).

It is with this mentality and position that in the First Session of the Council of Chalcedon (I:9), "Lucentius the most devout bishop, representing the apostolic see, said: 'He [St. Dioscorus] should render an account of his judgement. Although he did not possess the role of a judge, he usurped it. He presumed to hold a council without the leave of the apostolic see, which has never been allowed and has never been done'" (*ACC*, vol. I, p. 129). But the Second Council of Ephesus was in fact called by Emperor Theodosius II. "He summoned Pope Leo to it, who responded 'I have exerted myself to obey your clemency's commands in some measure by sending from here brethren of mine...who can represent me (*Ep.* 37). Wholly similar was the way in which the Council of Chalcedon was convened contrary to Leo's wishes but with his acquiescence in the imperial will. Lucentius's charge was therefore unfounded" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 129 & n. 54 on pp. 129-130, referring to Documents before the council 5-7, *ibid.*, pp. 96-100).

In the third session of Chalcedon, when the Roman delegates pronounced sentence against St. Dioscorus, they referred to the Roman pope as "the head of the universal church", as we know from the text preserved in a letter of Pope Leo's (*Ep.* 103), but in the conciliar acts, in both the Greek and Latin editions, this high claim for Roman authority is omitted (*ACC*, vol. II, pp. 69-70, with nn. 96 and 100).

In the verdict as it appears in Leo's *Ep.* 103 we read: "..... Therefore the holy and most blessed pope, the head of the universal church, through us his representatives and with the assent of the holy council, endowed as he is with the dignity of Peter the Apostle, who is called the foundation of the church, the rock of faith, and the doorkeeper of the heavenly kingdom, has stripped him of episcopal dignity and excluded him from all priestly functions. What remains is for the venerable council assembled to pronounce, as justice bids, a canonical verdict against the aforesaid Dioscorus" (*ibid.*, p. 70, cf. *ibid.*, n. 96 on p. 69).

With this Roman understanding that the Pope of Rome is "the head of the universal church", he is also the source of authority and the head presiding over the council and acting in the council, not only through his personal Roman delegates, but also through the whole council members acting as his delegates. This haughty claim is expressed by Julian bishop of Hypaepa who said in the third session to the bishops (III:91): ".... But now your holiness has the authority of the most holy Archbishop Leo..... We therefore ask your holiness (i.e. the chairman), who represents—or rather all those who represent—the most holy Archbishop Leo, to deliver sentence upon him (i.e. Dioscorus) and to pronounce against him the penalties contained in the canons. For all of us, and the whole ecumenical council, concur with your holiness". Here "Bishop Julian follows the Roman line, also expressed by the Roman representatives at III:94:1-3, that ultimate authority lay with the pope and that not only his representatives but also the whole council acted as his delegates. The eastern bishops, in contrast, treated the pope (acting through his legates) as *primus inter pares*" (*ibid.*, p. 69 & n. 95).

II.B. The Imperial and Leonine Pressure at Chalcedon:

The Council of Chalcedon was originally convened at Nicaea by the emperor Marcian on 451 A.D. to resolve the arguments raised by the spread of miaphysism which had triumphed at the Council of Ephesus of 449 (Ber. *EEC*, p. 159). Pope Leo had proposed holding it in Italy, where he might control it, but when he realized that this prospect was faint, his zeal to another Council began to cool (Kidd *HC*, vol. III, p. 311), since Anatolius of Constantinople not only signed the *Tome* of Leo, but busied himself to get other signatures (*ibid.*, p. 312). Leo objected to a Synod in the East, perhaps to its being allowed to reopen debates on the faith (*ibid.*, p. 314, quoting Hefele, *Councils*, iii, 282). Nor were his expectations mistaken. In the words of Kidd, "As many as five hundred and twenty bishops arrived before long, at Nicaea, all of them were from the Eastern Empire, save the Roman legates and two from Africa, who were there not so much as representatives of their provinces as in the character of fugitives from the Vandals" (*ibid.*, quoting the seventeenth century French Church historian Tillemont *Mémoires*, XV, 641). "Dioscorus was there, with seventeen Egyptians only, but strong in the support of numbers from Palestine and Illyricum. Relying upon these, and giving out, in all likelihood, that every opponent of his was simply a Nestorian, he excommunicated Leo during the days of waiting at Nicaea..... The papal legates, meanwhile, were with Marcian at the capital" (Kidd, *op.cit.*). They have instructions from Leo who "tells the council expressly that his representatives are to preside there, custom forbidding his own presence (Mansi, vi, 131-5). His representatives, on their own part, warn the emperor that unless he is present in person they cannot attend (*ibid.* 557-8). Hence, to facilitate this arrangement, the council is transferred to Chalcedon" (*DCA*, I, 334).

The real reason for transferring the council to Chalcedon was to bring the gathered bishops under strict imperial control which enables the imperial commissioners to exert concentrated pressure on the bishops to let them accept Leo's theology and obey the orders of the papal legates. Indeed, the bishops were acting freely when they were at Nicaea and could speak their mind. Thus, Metropolitan M. Krikorian, citing Duchesne, tells us that "in 451, at a preliminary meeting in Nicaea, Patriarch Dioscorus, the successor of Cyril on the

See of Alexandria, together with more than 520 bishops, condemned Pope Leo of Rome as a supporter of Nestorian heresy, on the ground of his *Tomus* (*WWS*, II, p. 113; *FVC*, p. 128, citing Duchesne, *The Early History of the Christian Church*, vol. III, 297, 298). In the words of Schaff: "The bishops assembled at Nicaea, in September 451, but, on account of their turbulent conduct, were soon summoned to Chalcedon, opposite Constantinople, that the imperial court and senate might attend in person, and repress, as far as possible, the violent outbreaks of the religious fanaticism..." (Schaff P., *History of the Christian Church, Nicene and Post-Nicene Christianity*, Edinburgh, 1891, vol. II, parag. 141, p. 742). The same 520 bishops who had been transferred from Nicaea became the fathers of the Council of Chalcedon whose number (520) is mentioned in their letter to Leo (Leo, *Epistle* xcviii, parag. I, in *NPNF*, second series vol. XII, p. 72).

Marcian and Pulcheria were determined to control the council, even against the wishes of many, perhaps the majority of bishops, dictating its outcome through the supervision of lay imperial commissioners. Price, the editor of the *Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, writes about how this imperial and patriarchal control affected even the documentation of the council: "The agenda of the Council of Chalcedon was directed by both secular officials and the patriarchal staff of the capital. Two secretaries from the imperial consistory, Constantine and Veronicianus, took turns at the lengthy task of reciting back the acts of the prior councils. In the later sessions, archbishop Anatolius' chief notary Aetius often helped them read out documents and in some cases seems to have been the source of the copies they used. Although the Acts of Chalcedon make no direct reference to the process of their own transcription, it is likely that both imperial and patriarchal scribes were responsible for preparing the official documentary record of the council. These officials were able to control the production of the minutes... There are a number of instances in which it is clear that the record did not include everything that was said, particularly when matters of faith were under discussion. The compilers of the Acts made a deliberate and explicit decision to suppress the text of the first draft definition that had been presented in Session V, and in several of the early sessions it seems likely that additional debate regarding Leo's *Tome* or the Definition took place but was not recorded. Much of the council's crucial business was transacted at informal meetings of smaller groups of bishops outside of the official sessions, but these also were never recorded" (*ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 77-78).

In fact, it appears that the outcomes of the Council of Chalcedon were already predetermined. "The notaries diligently recorded dissident voices – with some notable exceptions – but the authorities restrained excessive displays and kept a firm order. All significant decisions were taken in advance or behind the scenes, while the role of the formal sessions was largely to approve those decisions by unanimous consensus" (*ibid.*, pp. 40-41).

Michael Whitby in his article "An Unholy Crew?..." writes: "Chalcedon needs to be seen as a council whose key decisions had been determined in advance by Marcian and Pulcheria, with the bishops meeting to deliver the appropriate episcopal approval, whereafter they could resolve various lesser ecclesiastical issues. Very few bishops could have been entirely happy with the outcome, certainly not the papal representatives, even though Chalcedon endorsed the *Tome* of Leo, since papal claims to universal authority were compromised, nor the leading bishops of the eastern empire who had to sign up to a new definition contrary to

their clear intentions" (*Chalcedon in Context*, p. 182).

Price also writes: "There was no scope for contrary voices: this imposed a duty on the senior bishop to express the common consensus, but once he had spoken the other bishops had no option but to confirm his decision. Indeed, the verdict of the senior bishop took immediate effect, even before the other bishops had spoken. This is clear from the trial of Dioscorus at the third session, where the first bishop to pronounce a verdict was the papal legate Paschasinus, who declared Dioscorus deposed: once he had done so, all the bishops who subsequently delivered verdicts referred to Dioscorus as 'formerly' bishop of Alexandria (Acts III. 94-6). This is in stark constrast to the proceedings of the Roman Senate, where senators also spoke in order of seniority but enjoyed a freedom, absent from ecumenical councils, to express contrary opinions or to make counter-proposals when their turn to speak came round" (*Chalcedon in Context*, pp. 92-93).

In the second session held on 10 October, 451, the emperor's chief representative, the Patrician Anatolius, who chaired this and most of the sessions of the council proposed the setting up of a committee of bishops to draft "a pure exposition of the faith" (II:2), in other words to compose a new credal statement. The bishops responded with unanimous opposition and vigorous protest (II:3-5, 7-9), which the lay chairman simply ignored, declaring that his proposal would be put into effect (II:6, 45). This is a striking instance of the way in which the imperial policy rather than the Episcopal wishes dominated the proceedings of the council.

In his detailed commentary on the minutes of the fifth session of Chalcedon, Price comments saying: "Accounts of this session by church historians used to gloss over the extent to which it testifies to the political reality of the council – the determination of the outcome by the imperial will, and the lack of episcopal freedom. The bishops had not originally wanted to produce a definition at all (see the second session); and when the draft was produced, few of them wished to amend it to please the Roman delegates. Yet the final outcome was indeed a new definition, and one that...was so worded as to be acceptable to Rome" (*ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 190-191).

Subsequent critics of the council of Chalcedon, therefore, could rightly claim that the bishops had produced the Definition only under coercion, and what was worse, under coercion by lay officials with Nestorian sympathies. Several of the officials who presided over the council had corresponded with Theodoret, and the chairman Flavius Anatolius was Theodoret's personal friend. Ste. Croix (2006), p. 291, describes Anatolius as "the closest and most regular of Theodoret's secular correspondents". [For his period in Syria and Theodoret's letters to him see Martindale (1980), pp. 84-86; *Chalcedon in Context*, p. 79, n. 33]

Therefore, John Philoponus, a non-Chalcedonian of the mid-sixth century was to write: "He (Marcian) made the bishops sit as judges in appearance, but he joined to them as the true judges the notables and senators, among whom were to be found supporters of paganism, of Manichaeism and of other heresies, and the majority were friends of Nestorius" (Philoponus, *Four Tmêmata against Chalcedon*, as abridged in Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, trans. Chabot II, 99, as quoted by Price, *Chalcedon in Context*, p. 95 & n. 9).

The details of the sad events of the council of Chalcedon and the tragic events that followed are related with impartiality in the learned article of the Jesuit scholar Wilhelm

de Vries about "*The Reasons for the Rejection of the Council of Chalcedon by the Oriental Orthodox Churches*" (*WWS* I, pp. 54-61 = *FVC*, pp. 46-53), from which we cite few quotations to illustrate the massive pressure exerted on the fathers of Chalcedon by the secular authorities and the papal legates. Thus he writes:

"... In Chalcedon there was no true discussion, no real dialogue between the disputing parties... on the demand of the papal legates Dioscorus was deprived of his seat as a father and was admitted to the sessions only as the accused... For the pope (Leo) the dogmatic question was settled in his letter. He requested the council to accept it without discussion... The Emperor... took care that the *Tome* of Leo was included in the doctrinal definition of the council in spite of the strong opposition of a sizeable minority of the fathers... At the fifth session, however, it became evident how strong opposition to Leo's theology still was among the participants in the council and only by concentrated pressure were the imperial commissioners able to break this opposition. It is here the inherent weakness of Chalcedon lies as well as the true reason why the council was later on rejected by a considerable part of Christendom. A commission headed by Anatolius of Constantinople had worked out a dogmatic formula which did not take into account the *Tome*. Unfortunately the text is not extant. However, it must have contained the words 'from two natures' and not Leo's version 'in two natures'. When Anatolius asked whether the council approved of the definition worked out by himself and his commission all the bishops excepting only the Roman and some Oriental bishops (i.e. from the civil diocese 'Oriens' whose capital was Antioch) exclaimed 'We all approve of the definition... Whoever does not agree be cursed... Expel the Nestorians!' Quite obviously the general sentiment was in favour of a dogmatic definition excluding Leo's *Tome*. The papal legates protested and threatened to depart and summon a council in Italy... a compromise proposal: the institution of a new commission which would include the Roman legates... In this critical situation the imperial commissioners took action by confronting the opposing bishops with the decisive choice: either you are for Dioscorus or for Leo. There is no middle course. Dioscorus said 'from two natures', Leo 'in two natures'. Whom do you want to follow? In this situation the bishops could hardly do anything but decide for Leo. Dioscorus had already been condemned by the council and moreover was in disfavour at the imperial court. In the end the bishops – many of them reluctantly – approved the new dogmatic definition which had been worked out by the new commission and contained Leo's *Tome*."

"From these discussions it is clear that many of the Fathers of Chalcedon suspected Leo's *Tome* of Nestorian tendencies. Later on this was to be one of the main charges of the opponents of the council against the decree of Chalcedon... What is more, the council vindicated the bishops Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Ibas of Edessa who had been suspected of Nestorianism. Theodoret had been condemned at Ephesus (449 A.D.) but he had been vindicated by Leo in the meantime... The council vindicated him after he had reluctantly pronounced anathema upon Nestorius... The case of Ibas was discussed... His letter to the Persian bishop Maris in which Ibas had vehemently attacked Cyril and had praised Theodore of Mopsuestia was at least by some fathers acknowledged to be orthodox doctrine and Ibas was vindicated. This was later on to constitute another important charge against Chalcedon. In view of these events it is not surprising that after Chalcedon resistance against the decrees of the council set in" (*ibid.*).

III. THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON:

III.A. Prelude to Chalcedon: 449-451 A.D.:

III.A.1. THE DECISIONS OF THE ECUMENICAL SECOND COUNCIL OF EPHESUS, 449 A.D.:

At the Second Council of Ephesus of August 449, which we have already studied in detail in Part Two, section II, of the present work, Eutyches' condemnation was annulled, Flavian of Constantinople and Eusebius of Dorylaeum were condemned and deposed, not unreasonably, for imposing an improper doctrinal test. The council was chaired by Pope Dioscorus of Alexandria who took the opportunity to secure the total victory over the Antiochene sympathizers with Nestorius. Hence, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Ibas of Edessa and other Antiochene bishops, sympathizers with Nestorius, were deposed as well as their superior Archbishop Domnus of Antioch who had given them protection.

III.A.2. THE ROMAN OPPOSITION TO THE DECISIONS OF THE SECOND COUNCIL OF EPHESUS, 449 A.D.:

Pope Leo of Rome was not content with the decisions of this council, particularly since his *Tome* was not read and that Eutyches had been exonerated contrary to his wishes which he had detailed in his *Ep.* 33 addressed to that council. In that letter, he not only expects that Eutyches will be condemned as a heretic at Ephesus II, but that his (i.e. Leo's) *Tome* accompanying this letter will be the document of faith unifying the Christian world.

Pope Leo therefore appealed several times to emperor Theodosius II in various letters and indirectly through other state officials and members of the royal family to annul Ephesus II, 449 A.D., and to have a new council in Italy: *Ep.* 43 (Pope Leo to Theodosius II, 14 December 449); *Ep.* 55 (Emperor Valentinian III to Emperor Theodosius II after Pope Leo complained about Ephesus II to him during a visit to St. Peter's Basilica, 22 February 450); *Ep.* 56 (Empress Galla Placidia, the mother of Valentinian III and aunt of Theodosius II, to Theodosius II, 22 February 450); *Ep.* 57 (Licinia Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosius II and wife of Valentinian III, to Theodosius II, 22 February 450) (as mentioned in *ACC*, vol. 3, pp. 159-160). Emperor Theodosius denied this request insisting that "the council had decided correctly, and Flavian was justly deposed for introducing 'dangerous novelties' to the faith" (*ibid.*, pp. 160-161). [See Part Two, sections II.E. and II.F.1. & 4.]

III.A.3. MARCIAN AND PULCHERIA'S PRO-ROMAN POLICY:

With the sudden death from a riding accident of emperor Theodosius II on 28 July 450, and the accession of Marcian and his consort Pulcheria (a frequent correspondent of Leo's and a good friend of the Roman see), the court of Constantinople shifted to a pro-Roman policy. On 22 November 450, Pulcheria wrote a letter to Pope Leo (Leo, *Ep.* 77) in which

she reassures him that Anatolius has signed the *Tome*, asks him to convene a new council, and informs him that Flavian's remains have been brought to Constantinople, and that the bishops deposed at Ephesus have returned from exile (*ACC*, vol. 3, p. 161, vol. 1, pp. 93-94).

"Immediately on his accession Marcian degraded and detained Eutyches, who was inevitably ruined by the fall and execution of his patron Chrysaphius, quite apart from the need to mend fences with Rome. Marcian could not wait for a formal reversal of the decree of Ephesus II in Eutyches' favour" (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 161, n. 70).

III.A.4. LEO EXCOMMUNICATES ST. DIOSCORUS, JUVENAL AND EUSTATHIUS AND DEMANDS THE SUBSCRIPTION TO HIS *TOME* FROM ALL BISHOPS:

On 13 April 451, Leo of Rome wrote to Anatolius of Constantinople (*Ep.* 80) insisting that the names of Dioscorus and his fellow chairmen at Ephesus II, Juvenal of Jerusalem and Eustathius of Berytus should be excised from the diptychs read out at the liturgy, thereby excommunicating them on his own authority (*ACO* 2.4, pp. 38-40; *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 89 & n. 7). Leo also wrote to Pulcheria Augusta (*Ep.* 84 of 9 June) envisaging the disciplinary matters being resolved by his own legates and Anatolius of Constantinople acting in concert and presses that Eutyches be sent into distant exile (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 91, n. 13).

Patriarch Anatolius of Constantinople received the papal legates and formally subscribed to Leo's *Tome* in their presence, and encouraged other bishops to follow suit. Maximus of Antioch also fell into line together with his bishops and Leo mentioned this in his letter 88 of 24 June 451 to Paschasinus (see *ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 101-103). Agents of Marcian and Anatolius of Constantinople were active in collecting episcopal signatures. Only Pope Dioscorus of Alexandria and his bishops and Juvenal of Jerusalem the co-chairman of Ephesus II refused to sign.

III.A.5. EXPLORATION OF THE POSSIBILITY OF HOLDING A NEW COUNCIL:

In less than two months after Pulcheria had invested her husband Marcian with the imperial insignia (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 311 & n. 2), discussions quickly turned to the possibility of a new council. And when Marcian consulted Leo of Rome (Leo, *Ep.* 76, 22 November 450) concerning the council about to be held (Mansi vi.93-94), the Pope's reply was that he would rather it were postponed till the times were more favourable (*ibid.*, pp. 114-115). It was only when he found his advice unheeded that he decided on sending representatives thither (*ibid.*, 126-129). In accordance with longstanding papal tradition, Leo did not condescend to appear in person and appointed bishops Paschasinus, Lucentius and Julian of Cos and the presbyter Boniface (Leo, *Letters* 89 & 90 to Marcian, 24 & 26 June 451, *ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 99-101). Of these, only Julian of Cos was fluent in Greek; the others spoke through interpreters. Even so, Leo reminds the empress, in his *Ep.* 95 of 20 July 451 that his demand had been for a council in Italy. In the same letter Leo called the Council of Ephesus II a "council of robbers" *Latrocinium* (*ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 39, 105-107). Of course, Leo's papal claims for universal authority and haughty attitude in name-calling cannot annul the decisions of an ecumenical council. And Leo himself knew this for a fact. Therefore, he appealed several times to emperor Theodosius II in various letters, directly and indirectly through other state officials and members of the royal family, to annul the

Second Council of Ephesus 449, and to have a new council in Italy, as mentioned before (in this work Part Four under section III.A.2.), but his appeal was denied. The same appeal was later applied to emperor Marcian, whose policy was pro-Roman, to annul the decrees of Ephesus II (Leo's *Ep.* 90 to Marcian, 26 June 451). Certainly, the decrees of Ephesus II were not annulled until the tenth session of Chalcedon (X:145-159) and Marcian's confirmation of the same in the following year on 6 July, 452 A.D. (Document 5 after Chalcedon in *ACC*, vol. 3, pp. 131-133).

III.A.6. THE IMPERIAL SUMMONING OF A COUNCIL AT NICAEA AND ITS RELOCATION AT CHALCEDON:

On 23 May 451, Marcian sent out letters summoning bishops to a council that would meet in September in the city of Nicaea (*ACO* 2.1.1, pp. 27-28; *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 98 & n. 33). "The choice of the venue, of course, was no accident... Marcian and Pulcheria reached back to an earlier conciliar model, wishing to cast themselves as the new Constantine and Helena presiding over the Second Council of Nicaea" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 39). Thus the tradition which appeared in a later generation that "Chalcedon claimed 636 bishops in attendance – considerably more than the actual number present and, more to the point, exactly double the 318 of Nicaea" (*ibid.*, n. 147; quoting Honigmann 1942-3, p. 46).

Zachariah (*HE*, III.1) and Rufus (*Plerophories* 33, 36; *PO* 8, 1911, pp. 76,84-85) say that Nestorius was invited to attend the Council of Chalcedon. Michael Whitby in his article "An Unholy Crew?..." (*Chalcedon in Context*, p. 182 & nn. 18, 19) writes:

"A further probable example of imperial wishes determining actions without regard to episcopal preferences is the invitation to Nestorius to attend the council,.... It is difficult to believe that the bishops who found it difficult to accept Theodoret into their presence would have sought the much more disruptive attendance of Nestorius, but one can see how this might have boosted the reputation of the imperial pair who could present themselves as the agents for the re-establishment of complete harmony in the Church. Only Nestorius's opportune death in Egypt, shortly after he had received the summons, avoided an awkward scene" (see further Ste. Croix [2006], pp. 280-281).

[Concerning the death of Nestorius shortly after he had received the summons from Marcian, see also Sawirus Ash., *Refutation*, p. 171, and Patriarch Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* VIII:9:2, Ar. trans. vol. 1, p. 294].

Practical reality soon intruded on Marcian and Pulcheria's dream of holding the council at Nicaea. The Roman delegates warned the emperor that unless he is present in person they cannot attend (Mansi vi.557-558). Many bishops were reluctant to attend at all unless the emperor himself was there to take charge. Nicaea (modern Iznik) is approximately 150 km from Constantinople and would have required a few days' travel. Therefore, Marcian could not give the council his full attention while also directing military efforts against the Huns in Illyricum which needed his presence in Constantinople.

The bishops gathered at Nicaea and waited there for a few weeks "while Marcian was distracted by the troubles in the Balkans, devastated by Hunnic raids. We may presume that during this period more and more bishops signed Leo's *Tome*; it was perhaps in reaction to this that Dioscorus, who had bravely come from Alexandria with 19 other Egyptian bishops, declared Leo excommunicate" (Price, *Chalcedon in Context*, p. 73). [But see the

words of Duchesne, cited by Krikorian, and the words of Schaff quoted before in this Part Four under section II.B.].

To facilitate his attendance in person, Marcian asked the bishops already assembled in Nicaea in 3 successive letters in September 451 to relocate in Chalcedon, a city on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus opposite Constantinople and a quick boat ride from the imperial palace. [For the letters of Marcian to the bishops at Nicaea, see Documents 12, 14 & 15 in *ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 107-110]. This imposed a few weeks additional delay, and it was not until 8 October 451 that the council could begin its work at Chalcedon.

III.B. The Commissioners and Delegates to the Council's Meetings at Chalcedon:

The council held its meetings at the Church of St. Euphemia situated on a hill just outside Chalcedon. The first session was held on 8 October 451, and was attended by 343 bishops (or their representatives) according to the Acts (I:3; *ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 123-128). But the list is not complete. The council met in sixteen sessions extending from 8 October to 1 November 451 A.D.

III.B.1. THE PRESIDENCY OF THE COUNCIL:

The presidency of the council was given to a committee of high imperial government officials and members of the senate. Their number varied, being 19 at the first session, 18 at the second and fourth, none at the third, and 38 accompanying the imperial couple at the sixth. For all the remaining sessions only the leader Anatolius was present together with Palladius and Vincomalus (*ibid.*, p. 41 & n. 154). Flavius Anatolius, patrician, *magister militum* and former consul, experienced in negotiations is always listed in the first place and was clearly the leader. As chairman, his remarks are regularly attributed in the Acts to "the most glorious officials and the exalted senate". It is to be presumed that it is always Anatolius who is speaking (*ibid.*, pp. 41 & 118f., n. 15).

Since Marcian had written on 22 November, 450, in terms that seemed to invite Leo to chair the council [Leo, *Ep.* 76] (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 93), Leo presumed that his senior legate, Paschasinus, would chair the council on his behalf, together with his fellow papal legates, thereby controlling the agenda (see Leo's *Ep.* 89 to Marcian, 24 June, 451, and Leo's *Ep.* 93 to the Council, 26 June, 451, i.e. Documents 7 & 10 before the Council, in *ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 99-100; 103-105). It was probably only when his representatives arrived in the East that they discovered that Leo had been hoodwinked.

Gaddis comments (*ibid.*, p. 42): "Only the third session – when Dioscorus was put on trial – proceeded with no supervision by imperial officials, perhaps so that the government might escape direct responsibility for his condemnation".... The Roman papal legates headed by bishop Paschasinus "were recognized as holding formal presidency over the council, although the imperial commissioners more typically directed the agenda in practice. The papal legates pronounced sentence on Dioscorus during the third session, and were able to dictate the terms of the Definition of Faith. But at the council's final session, the twenty-eighth canon ratifying Constantinople's ecclesiastical primacy in the east was adopted over their strenuous objections" (*ibid.*).

III.B.2. THE PHYSICAL SETTING:

The council convened in the martyrium of St. Euphemia. As it is clear from the Acts of the council (I:4) the imperial commissioners sat in the middle in front of the rails of the sanctuary. On their left were seated Leo's representatives, the archbishops Anatolius of Constantinople and Maximus of Antioch, Thalassius of Caesarea, and the bishops of Syria and Asia Minor. On their right were seated Dioscorus the Archbishop of Alexandria and his supporters, initially including Juvenal of Jerusalem and the bishops of Palestine and Illyricum as well as those of Egypt. As was customary a copy of the Gospels was displayed in the center. The center space was also reserved for those speaking, for those presenting accusations or those present as defendants. During the first session, both Archbishop Dioscorus and Theodoret of Cyrrhus were directed to sit in the centre apart from the rest of the bishops (I:5-14, 25-35).

III.B.3. THE DELEGATES AND THEIR REAL NUMBER:

It is not easy to ascertain the exact number of bishops or their representatives who attended the synod. The attendance lists attached to the session are mainly bogus, and from the analysis of the numbers there seem to have been approximately **370** physically present (see *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 43). Official sources contemporary with the council claimed that 500 or 520 bishops had attended Chalcedon (*ibid.*). The council's concluding letter to Pope Leo gives the figure of 500 (*ACC*, vol. 3, p. 121), while Marcian's Fourth Edict confirming the council's decrees gives 520 (*ibid.*, p. 134). Leo himself in his letter to the Gallic bishops of 27 January 452 refers to "almost six hundred" bishops (*ibid.*, p. 193, n. 2; *ACO* 2.4, p. 53.31). The figure of six hundred was already given by bishop Lucentius, one of Leo's representatives, in the fourth session [IV:53] (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 152). This figure is clearly symbolic being twice the number of the 318 Fathers gathered at Nicaea. Still the symbolic figure of 636, exactly double the Nicene tally, appears in the generation after the council in Timothy Aelurus (*ACC*, vol. 3, p. 193, n. 1). The figure of 600 is modest compared with that of 1,200 with which one of the bishops tried to intimidate the Egyptian contingent (*ibid.*, referring to session IV, parag. 50, *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 151 & n. 39: "The figure 1,200 bishops represents the total number of bishops in the Roman Empire").

Honigmann (1942-3) tries to justify the figure of 520 bishops through counting presbyters or deacons representing absent bishops and the generous reckoning of double-counting, where bishops who attended both on their own account and as representatives of absent bishops were counted twice (cf. *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 43 & n. 164).

Nevertheless, the detailed analysis of the various lists of attendance and subscription preserved in the Acts and the calculation made by Price and Gaddis show that the sheer number of bishops present (or bishops' representatives) was around **370**. [For this calculation see Price, *ACC*, vol. 3, pp. 193-196. For its relation to the attendance lists see *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 196-201].

The lists preserved in the Acts for individual sessions seldom record much more than about 300 present at one time. They do not disguise the poor attendance at St. Dioscorus's trial in session III at which around 204 bishops were present. The attendance "at the first session, 342; at the second, 305; at the third, only 204 reflecting the deliberate absence of

Dioscorus' supporters; at the fourth, 305; at the sixth, 324, listed at the beginning of the session, although there are 452 signatures on the Definition (adopted at that session); the remainder of the sessions only list the first 55-58 names followed by 'and the rest of the holy and ecumenical council'" (*ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 43, n. 163).

Under the subtitle "Fiction and Falsification" in his article "Truth, Omission and Fiction in the Acts of Chalcedon", R. Price writes:

"To what extent do these bogus lists mislead the reader as to the course of the council? They do not disguise the poor attendance at Dioscorus's trial in Session III (at which scarcely over 200 bishops were present), since the authentic attendance list for this session was preserved. What they do disguise, however, is the poor attendance at Sessions II and IV. The virtually identical attendance lists for Sessions II and IV give 305 names. This may be compared to the 343 listed attendances for Session I and to the 324 for the Session VI, the fall from Session I being accounted for by the absence, from all the sessions after the first, of the 20 Egyptian bishops. At the end of Session I not only Dioscorus but also five other leading metropolitans were deposed, and were not restored till a midway point in Session IV. This will have led to the non-participation in the council for a whole week not only of these bishops but also of the great majority of the 60 suffragans who had accompanied them to the council; we may also surmise that some other bishops will have absented themselves from Sessions II and IV out of solidarity" (*Chalcedon in Context*, pp. 103-104; see also *ibid.*, n. 41: ".... Attendance at Sessions II and IV will have been significantly higher than that at Session III (the trial of Dioscorus), where attendance was diminished yet further by the **unpopularity of the victimizing of Dioscorus**").

III.C. The Unjust Deposition of St. Dioscorus of Alexandria at the Council of Chalcedon:

Although the council of Chalcedon is believed to have condemned Eutyches, the man whom it really dealt with was not the old monk, but the patriarch St. Dioscorus of Alexandria.

III.C.1. AT THE FIRST SESSION (MONDAY, 8 OCTOBER, 451):

[*ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 111-365]

In many ways, the general direction of the assembly became apparent at the first session, when the council debated the personal status of St. Dioscorus and admitted the condemned Nestorianizer main spokesman of the "Eastern" or Antiochene group, Theodoret of Cyrrhus.

III.C.1.a. The Roman Legates Demand the Exclusion of St. Dioscorus from the Council:

On Monday, 8 October, 451, the council held its first session in the Martyrium of St. Euphemia at Chalcedon. No sooner had the assembled delegates been seated than the Roman legate Paschasinus took his stand in the center together with his companions and said: "We have [at hand] instructions from the most blessed and apostolic bishop of the city of Rome, the head of all the churches, in which he has thought it right to declare that Dioscorus should not take a seat at the assembly, and that if he has the effrontery to attempt

to do so, he should be expelled. This we are obliged to observe. Therefore, if it pleases your greatness, either he must leave, or we shall leave" (Chalcedon I:5).

The imperial officials intervened and pressed for a charge to be specified in order to justify the demand (I:6, 8).

III.C.1.b. The Accusation Against St. Dioscorus by the Roman Legates:

Lucentius, another Roman legate did this by asserting that he usurped the role of a judge and dared to conduct a council without the authorization of the apostolic see, which has never been allowed and has never been done (I:9).

The point did not convince the officials. The Second Council of Ephesus was in fact called by Emperor Theodosius II. He summoned Pope Leo to it, who responded, "I have exerted myself to obey your clemency's commands in some measure by sending from here brethren of mine...who can represent me" (*Ep.* 37). Wholly similar was the way in which the Council of Chalcedon was convened contrary to Leo's wishes but with his acquiescence in the imperial will (Documents before the Council 5-7, *ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 96-100). Lucentius's charge was therefore unfounded.

When Leo found his advice to Marcian for postponing the council unheeded, he bowed to the situation, and in the last week of June 451 wrote two letters to Marcian that gave the names of those he had chosen to represent him at the council (Documents before the Council 7 and 8, *ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 99-101). In these letters Leo does not formally give permission for the council to be summoned but simply accepts the imperial decision (cf. *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 90 & n. 11).

After an exchange of words, however, the officials conceded the point expressed by Lucentius and Pope Dioscorus took his seat as a defendant in the center of the church (I:13-14).

III.C.1.c. The Accusation Against St. Dioscorus by Eusebius of Dorylaeum:

Eusebius of Dorylaeum, the accuser of Eutyches in 448, now came forward exclaiming that Dioscorus had ill-treated him and damaged the faith; Flavian had been killed; with Eusebius he had been deposed by Dioscorus. So saying, he presented a petition addressed to the emperors and asked it to be read (I:14).

In the petition (I:16) he accused St. Dioscorus of infringing on the faith of the Church by trying to establish the heresy of Eutyches as orthodoxy through the council of 449 and that he deposed the accuser and Flavian, neither of whom (he claims) had trespassed against the faith. Patriarch Dioscorus answered the charge by saying that the council of 449 had been convened by the emperor, that it made its decision after examining the proceedings of the synod of 448 which were all recorded in the council's minutes, and that the minutes might be read to see what had happened (I:18). Immediately the commissioners ordered the reading of the minutes (I:20). However, St. Dioscorus requested that before this was done, the subject of the faith itself should be clarified (I:21).

Samuel (*Chalcedon Re-examined*, pp. 46-47) comments on this point saying: "This request of Dioscorus, although it has been taken lightly by many, was most significant. Eusebius of Dorylaeum, for instance, had argued that the theological basis of the council of 449 had

been simply the teaching of Eutyches, and it was on the basis of this argument that he had challenged the orthodoxy of the patriarch. Therefore, any legitimate verdict on the council could be given only after settling the question of the faith. Besides, Dioscorus could refer to both the synod of 448 and the council of 449, not to mention the councils of Nicaea and Ephesus, in support of his request. These assemblies had discussed the issues before them only after clarifying the nature of the faith. In answer to his request, however, Dioscorus was told by the commissioners that because there were personal charges against him, they had to be investigated before the question of the faith could be taken up. Since all these personal charges had been derived from the council of 449 which itself had been based on a particular understanding of the faith, this answer of the commissioners was indeed questionable".

The reading started with several imperial instructions relating to the summoning of Ephesus II (I:24-25).

III.C.1.d. The Admission of Theodoret to the Council:

The magistrates then ordered that Theodoret of Cyrrhus should be brought in, because Leo had "restored to him his episcopate", and the emperor had ordered him to attend the council (I:26). He entered accordingly. The bishops of Egypt, Illyricum and Palestine shouted, "Turn out the teacher of Nestorius!" (I:27). Others rejoined, 'We signed a blank paper; we were beaten, and so made to sign. Turn out the enemies of Flavian and of the faith!' 'Why', asked Dioscorus, 'should Cyril be ejected?' (i.e. virtually, by the admission of Theodoret) (I:29). His adversaries turned fiercely upon him: (I:30)..... Ultimately the magistrates ruled that Theodoret should sit down, but in the middle of the assembly, and that his admission should not prejudice any charge that might be brought against him" (I:35-36, 194, 196).

[We have to remember that Theodoret wrote to Nestorius (Theodoret, *Letter* 172) declaring that, if his two hands were to be cut off, he would never agree to what had been done against Nestorius. Theodoret, therefore, was a Nestorian whom the decree of the Ecumenical Second Council of Ephesus, 449, deposed. That is why the Egyptian bishops and those with them exclaimed at the first session of Chalcedon accusing him of being a "Jew": "Do not call him a bishop, he is not a bishop... Drive out the enemy of God. Drive out the Jew" (Chalcedon I:37). This is because both Nestorius and Theodoret, like the Jews, sever Christ from God and make of him a mere man (see Part Five of the present work under section VII.A.1.).

We have to remember also that at the height of the Nestorian controversy, Theodoret had accused St. Cyril of Alexandria of heresy, whence St. Dioscorus's outburst (at Chalcedon I:29): "Why is Cyril being cast out who was anathematized by this man?".

In spite of his being deposed by the ecumenical council of 449 (still officially recognized as "ecumenical" at least until the tenth session of Chalcedon), Theodoret was admitted to Chalcedon because "Pope Leo of Rome had recognized him as orthodox" (Mansi vii:190D). The imperial commissioners stood up for his claimed right to be a member of the council (Mansi vi.592D and vii.190BC). Although, in the face of fierce

opposition, Theodoret attended the first session of Chalcedon as a plaintiff (I:35, 194, 196), sitting apart from the other bishops (I:36), and was not formally restored to his see until the eighth session, after he had reluctantly consented to anathematize Nestorius in the ninth session in the Greek Acts (the eighth in the Latin, VIII:7-13), (cf. *ACO* II.1.3.7-14; Mansi vii, 190AB-191B-D), yet Theodoret participated as a full member of the council in the second and fourth sessions (II:26, IV:9:41), and was not forced to retract his book against St. Cyril's Anathematisms (Loofs, *Nestorius*, pp. 98-99). Price also says that Theodoret "played a full role at Chalcedon from the second session onward" (*Chalcedon in Context*, p. 122).]

III.C.1.e. The Accusation Against St. Dioscorus by the Bishops Who were Delegated Members to Both Ephesus II and Chalcedon:

After the remaining imperial documents had been read, Dioscorus intervened to protest at the injustice of his being singled out, as if responsibility for Ephesus II were his alone. He remarked that Juvenal and Thalassius of Caesarea were associated with him, that the synod had gone with him, and that Emperor Theodosius had confirmed all the judgments of the holy and ecumenical council by a general law (I:53). At this a number of bishops intervened to insist that they had cooperated with Dioscorus only because he used physical force against them (I:54-62). They cried, "Not one of us signed voluntarily. We were overawed by the soldiers". Their attendant clerics swelled this cry; and the Egyptians answered, "These men signed before we did; this is a council of bishops, not of clerics; turn out those who have no place here" [τοὺς περισσοὺς] (I:54-55).

Stephen of Ephesus told how insolently the friends of Eutyches had treated him (I:56, 58, 60). Thalassius of Caesarea pleaded that he had urged moderation (I:61).

III.C.1.f. The Blank Papers:

The Oriental bishops said: "We signed blank paper. We were threatened with deposition. We were threatened with exile. Soldiers with clubs and swords stood by, and we took fright at the clubs and swords. We were intimidated into signing..." (I:54). Theodore of Claudiopolis also exploited this option: "They brought us blank sheets – Dioscorus and Juvenal – accompanied by a mob of disorderly people, with a mass of them shouting and making a tumult and disrupting the council... They made a sport of our lives" (I:62). The composition of the mob is subsequently clarified by Basil of Seleucia, "Armed soldiers burst into the church, and there were arrayed Barsauma and his monks, *parabalani*, and a great miscellaneous mob (I:851, the *parabalani* were volunteers originally devoted to the care of the sick, but increasingly used to intimidate opponents), while Marinianus of Synnada states, "The counts entered, and they led in the proconsul with fetters and with a great crowd, and then each of us signed" (I:861). Theodore of Claudiopolis attempted to justify his apparent cowardice by parading his concern for all those whom he had baptized: they would be ruined if his refusal to acquiesce in Dioscorus' designs led to him being branded a heretic, since this would invalidate their membership of the Church. And he concluded saying: "... What could we do?... They terrified us. They said we were heretics, and we were excluded as heretics" (I:62).

The most devout Egyptian bishops and those with them (scornfully) exclaimed: "A Christian fears no one. An orthodox fears no one. Bring fire, and we shall learn. If they had feared men, there would never have been martyrs" (I:64).

St. Dioscorus found himself cast as defendant with the acts of Ephesus II treated as evidence against him. 119 of the bishops present at Chalcedon had participated in Ephesus II and signed its decrees (So Honigmann [1942-1943], 40). They now claimed that they had signed blank papers only under duress (I:62-63).

Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: "Since they say that they didn't hear the sentences and decrees but simply signed a blank sheet passed to them, it was quite improper of them to sign without being assured about the pronouncements of the council, especially since matters of faith were at stake. Since they are making accusation that they were given a blank sheet to sign, who then composed their declarations? I ask your magnificence to make them answer" (I:65). The officials immediately said: "Let the proceedings be read" (I:66).

One response to St. Dioscorus's question would have been that a sequence of formulaic declarations had also been devised in advance by Dioscorus and his supporters, but the fact that the imperial commissioners evaded the challenge by insisting that the reading of the acts should continue might suggest that Dioscorus had identified a weakness in the defense of the inconsistent bishops.

Basil bishop of Seleucia, one of the six bishops excluded at the end of the first session of Chalcedon for their role in controlling the proceedings at the Second Council of Ephesus was challenged by the officials after declaring his new faith that Christ is "acknowledged in two natures after the union" (I:176), they said: "If your teaching was so orthodox, why did you sign the deposition of Flavian?..." (I:177). His answer was: "Because I was delivered for judgement to one hundred and twenty or thirty bishops, and forced to submit to their decisions" (I:178).

St. Dioscorus immediately responded saying: "This fulfills the words of scripture, 'From your own mouth you will be justified, and from your own mouth you will be condemned' (*Matthew* 12:37). Have you, out of respect for human beings, transgressed what is correct and rejected the faith?...." (I:179). Basil's reply was: "If I had been up before secular officials, I would have borne witness; after all, I displayed boldness of speech at Constantinople (448 A.D.). But if one is judged by one's father, one cannot defend oneself. Death to a child who defends himself against his father" (I:180).

Basil's potential embarrassment was avoided by an outbreak of chanting from the Eastern bishops: "We all sinned, we all beg forgiveness" (I:181). The officials said: "Yet you declared earlier that you were forced by violence and compulsion to sign the deposition of Flavian of sacred memory on a blank sheet" (I:182). And again, the Eastern bishops and those with them exclaimed: "We all sinned, we all beg forgiveness" (I:183).

St. Dioscorus, however, maintained his courage and dignity; he alone, in the words of Otto Seeck, "behaved like a man in this collection of howling old women" (quotation derived by R. Price, in *Chalcedon in Context*, p. 74 & n. 21, from Ste. Croix [2006], 314).

As the hours passed, the reading continued, interrupted by episcopal interjections, (e.g., by Eusebius of Dorylaeum, "He lied! There is no such decree; there is no canon that states this", I:158).

St. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: "There are four documents containing this decree. If the bishops decreed it, is it not a decree? Does he think it a canon? It is not a canon. But a canon is one thing, a decree another. Impugn the five conciliar documents. I have a copy, and so does such a one and such a one; let them all bring their documents" (I:159). Here "Dioscorus is insisting that the decree in question, the so-called Canon 7 of Ephesus I, is not a mere canon (often issued by local synods) but a conciliar decree with full conciliar status" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 157, n. 112).

After a time the interjections in the written record cease: were the bishops getting weary? Most probably, however, large barren tracts of the Acts of Ephesus II were simply taken as read, although given in full in the minutes published subsequently (*ibid.*). The Acts of the first session of the council are of exceptional length in their full version (which survives only in the Latin edition). This is due in part to the exceptional length of the session [since "during the reading the lamps were lit" (I:942a, *ibid.*, p. 340 & n. 489)] and in part to the fact that it included substantial readings from the Acts of Ephesus II which were incorporated into the minutes. But "there would not appear to have been time for the complete minutes of the first session of Ephesus II to be read out. That the first part of the minutes was read out is shown by the repeated interruptions by bishops at Chalcedon, but substantial abbreviation is suggested by the absence of such interruptions in the long section 555-849 (the minutes of hearings at Constantinople in April 449). Prime candidates for cutting were also 884-945 (consisting mainly of a long sequence of episcopal verdicts and readings from the Council of Ephesus of 431) and the list of signatories at Ephesus II at 1067" (Price in *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 112 & n. 2). It seems logical, therefore, that the readers of the minutes at Chalcedon made some sensible pruning during the reading while preserving the full text for later inclusion in the Acts.

III.C.1.g. The Desertion of St. Dioscorus by His Supporters:

Early on in the first session the great majority of St. Dioscorus's supporters deserted him, literally crossing the floor as one group after another in a strikingly dramatic gesture (I:284-298). This began especially when the reading of the minutes of Ephesus II began to show the unorthodoxy of Flavian in the incorporated Acts of the Home Synod of 448 which he (i.e. Flavian) had chaired. The minutes of Ephesus II were now read out (I:223-552), and during the reading the chairman at Chalcedon elicited from the bishops expressions of support for Flavian of Constantinople (272-280). At this point all of St. Dioscorus's supporters began deserting him except the Egyptian bishops. But the desertion of St. Dioscorus by his Palestinian and Illyrian allies was temporary and tactical. They criticized the *Tome* of Leo at the second session (II:24-26) and were notable for their degree of conspicuous absence from the third session to avoid participation in St. Dioscorus's condemnation. In fact, the Illyrian bishops and those with them pleaded for the restoration of St. Dioscorus in the second session: "[Restore] Dioscorus to the council. [Restore] Dioscorus to the churches. May no misfortune occur in your time. [May no misfortune occur in your reign. May there be no division in your reign] (II:41, the words in brackets are supplied from the Latin version, cf. *ACC*, vol. 2, p. 28 & n. 91). But they were outcried by the Constantinopolitan clerics and the Antiochenes and ignored by the officials (II:42-45, *ibid.*).

One cannot ignore the deplorable defection of four of St. Dioscorus's Egyptian

suffragans who spoke out in favour of Flavian (I:293-296) and were later to find themselves in a tiny and despised minority when they returned home.

St. Dioscorus continued boldly to interrupt the proceedings with insistence on strictly miaphysite Christology (I:299, 332, 341).

Bishop Eustathius of Berytus pointed out to the assembly (at Ephesus II) that the Letter to John of Antioch needed to be interpreted in the light of the letters Cyril had written subsequently to his supporters, giving a miaphysite slant to his acceptance of the *Formula of Reunion* (I:261). When this comment was read out at Chalcedon, the chairman asked the council whether it could be squared with the two conciliar letters. In an angry response, Eustathius "came forward to the center, threw down a book and said, 'If I have spoken wrongly, here is the book of Cyril. Let it be anathematized and let me be anathematized'" (I:265). He also reminded the council that Flavian too used miaphysite expressions (I:267, cf. I:279) and pointed out the dangers in imposing a profession of two natures in Christ after the union – a truly prophetic warning (I:531).

III.C.1.h. The Provisional Deposition of St. Dioscorus and Five other Metropolitans:

At the end of the first session, without asking the bishops for their opinion, the lay chairman delivered his verdict: Dioscorus and five other bishops (namely Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Eusebius of Ancyra, Eustathius of Berytus, and Basil of Seleucia) who had played a leading role at Ephesus II were deposed, subject to ratification by the Emperor, but he did not refer to a need for ratification by the council fathers (I:1068). Meanwhile the bishops approved the decision by acclamation (I:1069-1071).

Finally, the chairman asked the bishops to draw up professions of their faith on paper, as a first stage of consultation on how the council should settle the great doctrinal issue for which the Emperor had summoned it (cf. I:1072).

What formally had the chairman brought by pronouncing his sentence of deposition at the end of the first session? The six bishops he condemned were excluded from the second session; this means that his sentence had immediate effect in suspending them. St. Dioscorus was immediately placed under arrest (III:19), as presumably were the other five suspended bishops (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 364, n. 515). "But by the time of the third session of the council five days later, the chairman's sentence had been transmogrified into a provisional sentence needing ratification by the bishops. At this point Dioscorus was subjected to a full trial, while the other five bishops suspended at the end of the first session, who in the meantime had made their peace with the government, were reinstated a few days later, at the fourth session (IV:14-18)" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 121, & vol. 2, p. 147).

III.C.2. AT THE SECOND SESSION (WEDNESDAY, 10 OCTOBER, 451):

[*ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 1-28]

Two days later, on October 10th, the bishops duly reassembled in a second session. They expected the doctrinal issue to be settled simply by a formal approval of Leo's *Tome* to which the majority of bishops had already subscribed. To their alarm, the government now revealed its plan: the bishops were to draw up a new definition of faith (II:2). But the

bishops reacted with vigorous protests because such a new definition was quite uncalled for and contrary to Canon 7 of Ephesus I which forbids the production and use of any creed apart from the Nicene Creed of 318 (II:3-5, 7-9). The lay chairman simply ignored these protests declaring that his proposal would be put into effect. The session was largely taken up by the reading of credal and dogmatic documents including Leo's *Tome*. The readings went smoothly except for Leo's *Tome* which was interrupted several times by the Illyrian and Palestinian bishops who had, till the middle of the first session, been supporting St. Dioscorus. The Illyrian bishops who criticized the *Tome* were subject to Leo's authority, mediated through the papal vicar, Anastasius the metropolitan of Thessalonica, but they were courageous enough to oppose the christology expressed in his *Tome* (II:24-26).

Atticus the most devout bishop of Nicopolis said: "Since your magnificence is showing readiness to listen with patience, order it to be granted to us that within a few days what is pleasing to God and to the holy fathers may be formulated with calm reflection and unruffled thought, since the letter of our master and holy father and archbishop Leo who administers the apostolic see has now been read. We should also be provided with the letter of the blessed Cyril written to Nestorius in which he urged him to assent to the Twelve Chapters, so that at the time of the examination we may be found well prepared" (II:29). The most devout bishops exclaimed, "If you order this to be granted we request that the fathers take part in the examination" (II:30).

The officials responded saying: "The hearing will be adjourned for five days, so that in the meantime your holinesses may meet in the residence of the most holy Archbishop Anatolius and deliberate together about the faith, so that the objectors may be instructed" (II:31). Again they said: "It is not necessary for you all to meet, but since it is appropriate to convince all the objectors, let the most devout Archbishop Anatolius select from among the bishops who have signed those he considers competent to instruct the objectors" (II:33).

"It would have been very unwise", says Wickham (*Select Letters*, p. xxxix) "to test it (i.e. Leo's *Tome*) by the standard of (St. Cyril's) Anathemas 3 and 4. Bishop Atticus of Nicopolis nearly succeeded in opening the can of worms, but the discussion he asked for was postponed for five days and never took place" (*ibid.*, quoting *ACO* 2.I, p. 196, 2ff.). [See more details in Part Five of the present work under section IV.H.]

By the end of the second session it was clear that the deposition of St. Dioscorus together with five bishops by the lay chairman at the end of the first session threatened to undermine the work of the council. In addition to the vocal minority of the bishops, largely from Illyricum and Palestine who boldly opposed this governmental decision, the poor attendance in the second session was evident because of the absence of St. Dioscorus and the other five metropolitans who were deposed and the twenty Egyptian bishops and presumably the majority, if not all, the suffragans of the deposed metropolitans. And councils were supposed to make their decisions by general consensus, not by majority vote. Therefore, the supporters of St. Dioscorus interrupted the proceedings with acclamations demanding that participation in the council be restored to St. Dioscorus and the other leading bishops that had been suspended (II:34), but they were outcried by bishops from the Orient and the clerics of Constantinople (II:35-44). The response of the officials is not recorded, but a negative one is implied by the trial of St. Dioscorus in the following third session and by the exclusion of the other suspended bishops until the fourth session (IV:14-18).

During the second session, the officials and senators, as almost always represented by their spokesman Anatolius the chairman, had already made proposals (II:6 & II:31). In reference to these proposals now the lay chairman closed the session declaring that "the proposals will be put into effect" (II:45). The second of these proposals – as mentioned above – was the adjournment of theological discussions in a formal session for five days (II:31). But, in fact the council returned to the question of the faith seven days later (in the fourth session of 17 October) after having in the meantime sat in judgement on St. Dioscorus. The first of these proposals made by the officials was the setting up of a special committee of bishops to draw up a new definition of faith, "the fruit of their work was subsequently presented at the fifth session. When first making the proposal, the chairman had said it was subject to the approval of the bishops (II:6). This approval had not been forthcoming, but the chairman treated his proposal as approved nonetheless. Episcopal resistance was not to be allowed to frustrate the wishes of the government; as was to become plain in the fifth session, Marcian was determined to be a new Constantine, supplementing the Creed of Nicaea with a new text, produced under his direction" (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 5).

III.C.3. AT THE THIRD SESSION: THE TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION OF ST. DIOSCORUS OF ALEXANDRIA (SATURDAY, 13 OCTOBER, 451):

[*ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 29-116]

III.C.3.a. The Date and Presidency of the Third Session:

The five day recess, declared by the lay officials at the end of the second session (II:31) on 10 october, was not respected. The third session was held on Saturday 13 October to be a special formal meeting organized by the Roman legates to cast out the Alexandrian pope from the church. It met under the presidency of Paschasinus, the senior legate of the Roman pope, in the martyrium of St. Euphemia at Chalcedon (III:2), in the absence of all lay commissioners.

The lay chairman's hasty verdict at the end of the first session (I:1068) was reinterpreted as a provisional verdict, requiring ratification by the bishops. Accordingly the third session was devoted to a formal trial of St. Dioscorus by the bishops, chaired not by the patrician Anatolius (this was the only full session of the council that he did not chair) but by the senior Roman legate Paschasinus, who always spoke in Latin (cf. III:4, "Paschasinus...said in Latin"). For the purpose of presiding, Paschasinus presumably understood enough Greek through the help of an interpreter.

In his opening speech of the session (III:4), Paschasinus said in Latin: "It is well known to this God-beloved council that a divine letter was sent to the blessed and apostolic Pope Leo summoning him to the holy council. But since neither the custom of antiquity nor the necessities of the general time seemed to allow this, he has charged our littleness to preside over this holy council in his stead....". As mentioned before, in Part Four of the present work under section III.B.1., it had been Pope Leo's understanding that his legates were to preside throughout the council. In fact this was the only session at which they presided.

III.C.3.b. The Bishops' Attendance at the Third Session:

Unfortunately, the lists are not wholly reliable. Paragraph 2 of the Acts of the third session lists 204 bishops (or their representatives) as attending, and of these five should be deducted, as in all probability not present personally but represented by bishops who are listed separately (7, 31, 42, 65, 142). However, of the 192 bishops (or their representatives) who uttered verdicts condemning St. Dioscorus (at III:94-96), seven are absent from the attendance list (79, 82, 157, 172-175), which shows up the latter as incomplete, or more likely these verdicts and signatures were collected after the session and distributed among the other verdicts in a later stage during the preparation of the acts for publication as a propaganda against St. Dioscorus.

In all, almost half the bishops at the council absented themselves from St. Dioscorus's trial at the third session, and those who did attend agreed to differ over what they were condemning him for. It was clearly an embarrassment to the government that the list of bishops (or their representatives) who pronounced sentence against St. Dioscorus was on the short side, only 192 out of the 370 bishops or their representatives who really attended the council, as we have shown before (in Part Four under section III.B.3., q.v.). Still the figure of 192 bishops or their representatives who condemned St. Dioscorus represents a small minority if compared with the figure of 500 bishops who had attended Chalcedon as claimed in the concluding letter of the council to Pope Leo, or the figure of 520 given in Marcian's Fourth Edict confirming the council's decrees, or the figure of 600 given by the papal legate Lucentius in the fourth session (IV:53), or the figure of "almost six hundred" bishops mentioned by Leo himself in his letter of 27 January 452 to the Gallic bishops, or the symbolic figure of 636 (i.e. double the 318 Fathers gathered at Nicaea in 325) which St. Timothy II (Aelurus) of Alexandria recorded as he heard it from the Chalcedonians, or the figure of 1,200 with which one of the bishops tried to intimidate the Egyptian contingent in the fourth session of Chalcedon (IV:50). [The references to all these figures were given before in Part Four of the present work under section III.B.3., q.v.]

Under the subtitle "Fiction and Falsification" in his article "Truth, Omission and Fiction in the Acts of Chalcedon", R. Price gives several examples for falsification (read the full article in *Chalcedon in Context*, pp. 92-106). In his introduction to this subtitle he says that the acts have reached us in two editions, the original edition produced sometime after the council, but still in the 450s, is lost, but we have a fairly complete Latin version dating from the 550s (i.e. the mid-sixth century), and a less complete Greek edition dating perhaps to the early seventh century. There is some variation in the contents. Price then gives his interesting remarks concerning the tampering in these editions through falsification and omissions.

More details are given by M. Gaddis about the composition and transmission of the Acts (see *ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 75-85).

R. Price also in his commentary on the third session mentions that "of the 31 Illyrian bishops listed as present at the first session, only seven are named as attending the third" (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 36 & n. 17), the rest absented themselves in order not to share in the condemnation of St. Dioscorus, in spite of the fact that they were under Leo's authority mediated through the papal vicar, Anastasius the metropolitan of Thessalonica.

Price also says (*ibid.*, p. 35, n. 15): "One indication of sloppiness in the editing of the

minutes of this session is the exceptional frequency of a failure to indicate when a bishop did not himself attend, speak or sign but was represented by another". His footnotes draw attention to these cases.

> [For examples of speeches attributed to bishops who were in fact not present in person but represented by others see *ibid.*, n. 23 on p. 38; n. 32 on p. 39 & notes 34, 36, 37 on p. 40.
>
> For other examples of bishops mentioned in the list of attendance at the third session who in fact were not present in person but represented by others see *ibid.*, notes 22, 24, 25 & 26 on p. 38; notes 28, 30, 31, 33 on p. 39; and notes 35, 38, 39, 40 and 41 on p. 40.]

III.C.3.c. St. Dioscorus's Reception of Three Summonses to Appear in the Third Session of Chalcedon, and His Response:

In the third session, Saturday, 13 October 451, the magistrates not being present, a fresh plaint to the council from Eusebius of Dorylaeum, setting forth his charges against St. Dioscurus, was read. He accuses him of misconduct at the Council of Ephesus II and of sharing the heresy of Eutyches (III:5). It then appeared that St. Dioscorus had been summoned, like other bishops, to the session and had sent word that he was willing to come, but that his guards prevented him (III:7). Two priests were thereupon sent to search for him, but he could not be found in the precincts of the church (III:8-11). Three bishops were then sent with a notary to meet him at the lodgings where he is staying and summon him to appear before the council (III:12-14). They found him and delivered to him the message in writing and said to him: "The holy council invites your holiness to present yourself before it" (III:15-19): "I am under guard", said he, "let them say if I am allowed to come".

Acacius bishop of Ariaratheia said: "We were not sent to the hallowed *magistriani* (i.e. the subordinates of the master of offices), but to your sacredness to ask you to take the trouble to repair to the holy council...".

"Dioscorus bishop of Alexandira said: 'I am ready to appear at the holy and ecumenical council, but I am prevented'".

"Atticus bishop of Zela said: 'A plaint against your holiness has been presented just now to the holy and ecumenical council by the most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius. The great and holy council has informed your holiness through us that you should appear and make a defense against the charges'".

"Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'I have said once already that I too have an intention to go to the holy and ecumenical council, but as your God-belovedness can see, I am prevented by the hallowed *magistriani* and *scholarii* (i.e. imperial guards, also under the master of offices)'" (III:19). They brought for him the permission from the assistant of the master of offices (III:20) and told him.

"22. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'Having collected myself and considered what is advantageous, I make this reply. At the previous meeting of the council the most magnificent officials who were in session took certain decisions after a full discussion of each point. Since a second meeting of the council summons me to a revision of the aforesaid, I request that the great officials and the sacred senate, who attended the council

previously, should also attend now, so that these same decisions can be reconsidered in their presence'"....

Again "Bishop Dioscorus said: 'You have now said to me, "Eusebius has presented a plaint against your religiousness". I again request that his case be examined in the presence of the officials and the sacred senate'" (III:22). Then Constantine bishop of Bostra asked St. Dioscorus for an answer: why, after having received the permission of the assistant of the master of offices to repair to the council without hindrance from the guards, are you now changing your position? "Bishop Dioscorus said: 'I have now heard that the most magnificent officials and exalted senate are not present. This is why I have now given you this answer'" (III:22).

This being reported in the council, Eusebius said that Dioscorus (who is still called "the most devout bishop", "the most God-beloved bishop") "piles up pretexts and excuses for not repairing to this holy council", and they deliberated to send a second summons (III:23-28). Amphilochius bishop of Side who was a convinced miaphysite having no stomach for Dioscorus's condemnation said: "Let the matter be postponed for one or two days" (III:29). This proposal was not accepted and a second synodical summons was then sent by the hands of three other bishops. He pleaded that he was not well, and that he must stipulate for the presence of the magistrates; he had requested the emperor to grant this. "But", said the envoys, "this is a canonical question that is raised, and laymen have no business with it. To put off coming is to strengthen your accusers". "Let other bishops", said Dioscorus, "come with me: Eusebius attacks what we did in common". "No, he accuses you individually" (III:30-36).

When the envoys returned and their report was read, the council resolved to hear the petitions framed against St. Dioscorus by four witnesses from Alexandria who submitted written plaints accusing him, in passing of heresy and treason, but concentrating on allegations of tyrannous conduct in Alexandria, principally against the relatives and close associates of his predecessor St. Cyril (III:47, 51, 57, 64); it appears that St. Dioscorus's offense had been to make them disgorge wealth they had improperly purloined out of the church funds. It is clear that the government had gone to a considerable trouble to produce these four Alexandrian witnesses. "Their plaints", says R. Price, "show marked similarities in theme, style and phraseology, which reveal the hand of a common redactor, who clearly enjoyed his work" (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 31, n. 4). They are manifestly drafted by the same government secretary with the purpose of discrediting St. Dioscorus in the eyes of the pro-Cyrillian majority at the council. No other charges were presented at this session, and there was no discussion of the charges. Of course, these charges deserve to be treated only like the charges against St. Athanasius of Alexandria brought by the Arians before the council of Tyre in July 335 A.D.

Then, a third summons was sent to "the most sacred Bishop Dioscorus"; but he positively and finally refused to come. He had nothing more to say than what he had said to former envoys (III:66-78).

III.C.3.d. The Reasons for Which St. Dioscorus Preferred to Ignore the Three Summonses of the Council:

When St. Dioscorus was pressed by the summoners on the ground that the petitions

against him were a cause of scandal to the Church, which it was his duty to remove, he answered, "The catholic church has no stain – God forbid! I know how I have responded to the injunctions" (III:78).

St. Dioscorus received the standard threefold summons, but he chose to stay away, correctly surmising that he could not receive a fair hearing from a council determined to overturn everything he had done at the Ecumenical Second Council of Ephesus 449. Since the charge presented in the first session, implied both in the words of the Roman legates and in the petition of Eusebius, was the same; it was a charge against a council. And because it was too uncomfortable to admit this fact, Leo's representatives and their eastern supporters had together agreed upon a plan whereby to single out St. Dioscorus from his associates in the east and to hold him exclusively responsible for the decisions of a council, without ever examining the decisions themselves against their historical and theological background. That is why Eusebius submitted a new plaint to the council in its third session in which St. Dioscorus was singled out by the charge. St. Dioscorus chose to absent himself, surely not out of cowardice, nor from a guilty conscience, but to spare his supporters by his absence which enabled them to approve his deposition on the ground that he had not responded to a threefold summons without commenting on other charges.

The penalty of deposition was carried out on St. Dioscorus for ignoring the threefold summons from the council. The exact nature of the charges against St. Dioscorus was deliberately left vague. The imperial authorities were no doubt relieved to avoid pronouncing any judgement upon the orthodoxy of St. Dioscorus and at the same time achieve his deposition for simple failure to appear before the council. Meanwhile, this deliberate vagueness allowed his supporters to maintain his innocence and to venerate him as a great saint, confessor and martyr. The Coptic Synaxarion on his feast day, 7 Tut (= 4 September Julian calendar and 17 September Gregorian calendar) relates how the empress Pulcheria pulled at his beard and struck out his teeth when he refused to recant his confession of the true faith. (See details and documentation in Part Six of the present work under section I). And he refused to sign the *Tome* of Leo till the end. This violence against St. Dioscorus needs to be compared with what had happened to Amphilochius metropolitan of Side who did not agree at first to sign the Chalcedonian Definition and needed to be hit on the head by Aetius the archdeacon of Constantinople to be persuaded to sign (Chadwick 2001, 582-583, citing Zachariah, *HE* III.1, trans. Hamilton and Brooks, p. 46) and he was the only metropolitan who, in response to the emperor Leo's consultation of 457, dissented from the Chalcedonian Definition (see Evagrius, *HE* II:10; *ACO* 2.5, p. 24.9n, and *ACC*, vol. 2, p. 218, n. 26).

St. Dioscorus and the Second Council of Ephesus 449 were never explicitly condemned as heretical but instead rejected on grounds of lawlessness and violence (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 46), and, therefore, that council was not to be mentioned, as requested by the bishops in the tenth session of Chalcedon (X:145-159) and by Marcian's confirmation of the same in the following year on 6 July 452 (Document 5 after Chalcedon, in *ACC*, vol. 3, pp. 131-133).

III.C.3.e. The Procedure of Delivering the Verdict of Condemnation and Deposition of St. Dioscorus:

After St. Dioscorus refused to heed the third summons, Paschasinus the senior Roman

legate, as chairman invited the judgement of the council fathers, who condemned St. Dioscorus by acclamation (III:80, 83, 86, 88) and comments (III:81, 89, 90). The chairman was then asked by two bishops, namely Julian of Hypaepa (Asia) and Maximus of Antioch, to pronounce his verdict (III:91, 93). His verdict of condemnation and deposition in the name of Pope Leo, as represented by the three legates (III:94:1-3), followed by Anatolius of Constantinople the New Rome (III:95) and 188 bishops or their representatives (III:96:5-192). Note how, when delivering their verdicts, all the bishops follow Paschasinus's lead in referring to Dioscorus as "formerly bishop": once the chairman had spoken, the sentence took immediate effect. Bishop Leontius of Magnesia delivered his verdict in the following terms: "It is a pious rule that one must obey the holy fathers and follow their judgements. Observing this rule in the present case of the verdicts relating to Dioscorus, I too agree with the sentence and deprive him of all priestly dignity" (III:96:43).

The bishops had no option but to follow the lead of their Roman papal chairman. Those who were unwilling to condemn St. Dioscorus simply absented themselves from the session. "The implication of this strict conformism is that open disagreement could not be tolerated because there would have been no clear way of resolving it. There was clearly no principle of decision by majority vote: conciliar decisions were made by consensus, and consensus was understood to require the agreement of all the bishops present. The chairman would take account of the views of the bishops; but once he had pronounced his verdict, the role of the council fathers was simply to confirm it" (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 35).

Note also the clear words of the Roman legates that Dioscorus was deposed, not by the assembly of bishops, but by the pope of Rome. The assembly did not appropriate the decision already given by the Head of the Universal Church to itself. No one in the council commented on these far-reaching claims. [N.B.: The Petrine claims of Leo I of Rome were discussed in detail in Part Four of the present work under section II.A., q.v.].

The council sent a letter to Marcian, extant only in the Latin version, acquainting him with their verdict against Dioscorus (III:98, following closely the verdict of Paschasinus III:94) and a notification of deposition to Dioscorus (III:99). Letters were also sent to the clergy of Alexandria present at Chalcedon (III:100), to Pulcheria (III:103), acquainting them with their verdict, and a public notice against Dioscorus (III:101). (For all these letters see *ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 110-116).

III.C.3.f. The Number of the Signatories of the Condemnation of St. Dioscorus:

The number of the signatories of the condemnation of St. Dioscorus at the end of the third session of Chalcedon (as it appears in sections 94-96, *ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 69-93) is 192 bishops or their representatives, of which seven are absent from the attendance list at the beginning of the third session (79, 82, 157, 172-175), which shows that either the attendance list is incomplete or more probably that the signatures of those seven were collected after the session and distributed among the other verdicts and signatures in a later stage during the preparation of the acts for publication as a propaganda against St. Dioscorus.

Both the Latin and Greek editions of the acts of Chalcedon omit one curiosity in the original list of the episcopal verdicts delivered against St. Dioscorus in the third session. The Roman deacon Rusticus in his edition of the Latin version gives a number to each of these verdicts, beginning with Anatolius of Constantinople which is given the number 9. He

informs us in an annotation (*ACO* 2.3, p. 305n.) that in the original list (now lost) the three Roman legates (who counted as the senior bishops at Chalcedon) were number 6-8, and preceded by five still more august judges who had pronounced sentence against Dioscorus, number 5 being Pope Leo himself, number 4 St. Peter and numbers 1-3 the three Persons of the Most Holy Trinity. It was clearly an embarrassment to the government that the list of bishops or their representatives who pronounced sentence against St. Dioscorus was on the short side, only 192 out of the 370 bishops or their representatives who really attended the council. The desire to augment the number of those condemning St. Dioscorus is understandable, but it is startling to find the Persons of the Most Holy Trinity dragooned into service (cf. *ACC*, vol. 2, p. 71, n. 101).

Price (*ibid.*, p. 37, n. 18) says: "....according to Liberatus, *Breviarium* 14 (*ACO* 2.5, p. 123.24), the four Egyptian bishops who deserted Dioscorus at the first session (I:293-296) also condemned Dioscorus; they certainly accepted his deposition", "but in the absence of their names from any of the lists" – says Price (*op. cit.*) – "we may doubt whether they actually signed his condemnation".

Price also in his commentary on the third session discusses the number of the bishops in various lists (*ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 35-37) and mentions in p. 36: "A curious problem attends the list of the signatories to Dioscorus's condemnation. These will have been gathered after the session, and reveal the degree of success the government achieved in securing approval of the verdict. The Greek edition (97G) gives 252 names (including some erroneous entries and doublets), while the Latin version (97L) gives 308, listed in a quite different order... Since the Latin list is particularly rich in doublets, the number of new names is actually only 36... At the same time, the Latin list includes at least two, and perhaps three, metropolitan bishops who were elected only after the council (8, ?15, 182) and one of the other new names is a bishop who appears neither to have attended the council nor sent a representative (Alexander of Tomi, 183).... Deducing from the full tally of 308 names the later additions, dubious entries and the many doublets....the total number of bishops or their representatives who signed the condemnation comes out as 265. This is significantly lower than the number of signatories to the Definition which was around 350".

[For the augmented list of signatories to the condemnation of St. Dioscorus in the Greek version 97G which gives 252 names, see *ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 93-99. For that in the Latin version 97L, which gives 308 names, see *ibid.*, pp. 99-110].

[There is clear evidence of sloppiness in the editing of the three lists of the signatories to the condemnation of St. Dioscorus. In his footnotes on the three lists, Price indicates cases in which a bishop is mentioned as signing in person while in reality he was not present at the council and his name in the signature was written by someone else who represents him.

+ Examples from the list of the 192 signatories (*ibid.*, pp. 69-93):

For signatory bishops who were probably represented by others, in spite of their presence in the attendance list see *ibid.*, n. 104 on p. 75; n. 106 on p. 78; n. 107 on p. 79, and n. 108 on p. 81 in which the representative represents three more bishops who were absent. See also *ibid.*, n. 113 on p. 84; and n. 119 on p. 88. Note 121 on p. 91 gives a signatory bishop whose name does not appear in the attendance list because

he was not present and was in reality represented by another.

+ Examples from the list of the 252 signatories in the augmented Greek list 97G (*ibid.*, pp. 93-99):

For the signatory bishops who were in reality represented by others, see *ibid.*, notes 125, 127 on p. 94, notes 128, 129 on p. 95; and notes 133, 135, 136, 137 on p. 96; and note 141 on p. 97.

For signatory doublets, see *ibid.*, notes 130, 131, 132 on p. 95; notes 134, 138, 139 on p. 96; and notes 145, 146 on p. 98.

For false entries, see *ibid.*, n. 124 on p. 94; n. 140 on p. 96; and n. 147 on p. 99.

+ Examples from the list of 308 signatories in the augmented Latin list of 97L (*ibid.*, pp. 99-110):

For signatory bishops who were in reality represented by others see *ibid.*, n. 151 on p. 99; n. 155 on p. 100; notes 156, 158 on p. 101; n. 161 on p. 102; n. 164 on p. 103; n. 168 on p. 104; n. 178 on p. 107; and notes 181, 182, 183, 185 on p. 108; and n. 200 on p. 110.

For signatory doublets see *ibid.*, n. 159 on p. 101; n. 162 on p. 102; n. 163 on p. 103; notes 166, 167 on p. 104; n. 169 on p. 105; notes 173, 174, 175 on p. 106; notes 176, 179 on p. 107; n. 180 on p. 108; notes 187, 188, 189, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197 on p. 109; and notes 198, 199, 201, 202, 203, 204 on p. 110.

For incorrect, false and doubtful entries, see *ibid.*, n. 152 on p. 99; notes 153, 154 on p. 100; n. 157 on p. 101; n. 160 on p. 102; n. 165 on p. 103 (or doublet); n. 184 on p. 108; notes 186, 190 on p. 109.

For later addition see *ibid.*, notes 171 & 172 on p. 106.]

III.C.3.g. The Futility of the Charges Against St. Dioscorus and the Injustice of His Condemnation:

(i) St. Dioscorus was condemned for **ignoring the three summonses from the synod** which merited the canonical penalty of deposition. The verdict refers to "other offenses" without specifying any of them. The bishops who pronounced the condemnation, or signed it subsequently, agreed, either explicitly or implicitly, that he had committed offenses which merited his deposition and excommunication. However, they were not entirely sure and could not express a common mind as to which of the offenses they refer to (which they refer to vaguely) deserved this penalty.

R. Price says, "The injustice of a judicial procedure where the precise charges on which someone is condemned are left undefined needs no underlining" (*ibid.*, p. 34). He also quotes Schwartz, 1921, p. 141, saying that at Chalcedon the bishops "had sacrificed Dioscorus as a scapegoat" (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 120 & n. 5). Again he says: "The condemnation of Dioscorus was...a travesty of justice. The St. Athanasius of his age, he deserves his place in the Coptic martyrology" (Price, in *Chalcedon in Context*, pp. 77-78).

M. Gaddis also says: "The vagueness of the exact nature of the charges against him was entirely deliberate. The authorities were no doubt relieved to be able to depose him for simple failure to appear, and thus to avoid pronouncing any judgement upon his orthodoxy" (*ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 45-46).

V.C. Samuel pointed out that at Chalcedon "the assembly, which assumed from tradition

the formality of serving on the accused a threefold summons, did not take over also from tradition the equally important practice of establishing a definite charge against the man whom it was constrained to condemn. For Dioscorus was certainly not the first man in the history of the Church to be condemned in absentia. At least Paul of Samosata and Nestorius himself had been so deposed. But in the case of each of them the respective council took in evidence the writings of the man and established a definite charge against him. Even the council of 449 had made out a charge against each of the men whom it had condemned. It is this fairness that was denied to the Alexandrine pope by the Roman legates, at a time when the incumbent of the Egyptian see had occupied a place in the Church as high as that of Rome itself" (Samuel, Chalcedon Re-examined, p. 67).

The vagueness of the denunciations in the assembly's verdict against St. Dioscorus can only show that "with the political support enjoyed by them, the Roman legates succeeded in rallying round the eastern opponents of the Alexandrine patriarch, and together perpetrated this grievous crime" (*ibid.*).

Likewise, the Chalcedonian Byzantine scholar Meyendorff in his reference to the title "judge of the universe" (κριτὴς τῆς οἰκουμένης), a title which is used even today by both the Greek and Coptic incumbents of the Alexandrian church, notes that "the Alexandrian bishop did not define his role merely in terms of an Egyptian 'ethnarch', but rather as a guardian of orthodoxy and church order in the empire and the whole Christian world. This is the reason why the condemnation of Dioscorus at the Council of Chalcedon was interpreted as an unacceptable scandal engineered by Constantinople and Rome, and in need of redress" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 273).

(ii) The allegedly unjust condemnation of Eusebius of Dorylaeum at Ephesus II was mentioned only by Julian bishop of Hypaepa in Asia (III:91) and also in the letter to Marcian. Eusebius's custody after Ephesus II was not tight enough, and he managed to escape to Rome (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 194, n. 210).

(iii) The allegedly unjust condemnation of Flavian of Constantinople at Ephesus II was mentioned by six bishops (III:89-91 & 96:65, 114, 137). One of them, namely Proterius of Myrina, says that Flavian was murdered and nothing was done properly in his case (III:90). The only one who was so insolent as to accuse St. Dioscorus of **murdering Flavian** was Quintus bishop of Phocaea in Asia who spoke (III:89) before Proterius and Julian (III:90, 91), saying: "When he (i.e. Dioscorus) murdered that most holy man Flavian...he did not cite canons....but he deposed him on his own authority..." (III:89). Perhaps with the exception of Proterius, no one else followed the lead of Quintus or reiterated his false accusation.

Of course, following the then prevailing custom, once Flavian and Eusebius were condemned by the Second Council of Ephesus, they were taken into custody by the state, and Flavian died subsequently. "This incident", says V.C. Samuel, "came to be interpreted in later times by the opponents of the council of 449 as having been caused by physical injuries inflicted on him at the council, though no such story was told at Chalcedon in 451" (*Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 41). Nothing of this sort was said in the first session of Chalcedon, even with the many interruptions and comments of the enemies of St. Dioscorus, especially during the reading of the Acts of Ephesus II in that first session of Chalcedon.

Samuel also says (*ibid.*, p. 41, n. 181): "In agreement with H. Chadwick, Grillmeier

maintains that Flavian may have died in February 450 and not in August 449, and that 'it would be quite possible that Anatolius had some hand in Flavian's death' (*Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. I, p. 469, n. 1)".

Frend also says (*RMM*, p. 42, n. 3): "It would appear that Flavian was still in good enough health to pen his desperate but dignified appeal to Leo. His *natalis* was kept on 17 or 18 February, and the possibility exists that he died in exile on that day in 450". He refers also (*ibid.*) to Chadwick's survey of the evidence (see Chadwick 1955; which shows that Flavian died in exile, perhaps in February 450; see also Frend, *RC*, pp. 768, 783, n. 150).

As regards the propriety of the condemnation of Eusebius and Flavian, R. Price has the following comment:

"Damage to Flavian's reputation as an impartial judge emerged at a hearing a fortnight later on 27 April (449 A.D.), when an imperial official revealed that in the course of the synod (November 448) Flavian had discouraged the attendance of the patrician Florentius on the grounds that Eutyches' condemnation was already signed and sealed, and this even before the luckless defendant had appeared in court (I:838, 842)" (*ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 117, 267, 268).

"In view, however, of the injustice of Eutyches' condemnation at the Home Synod of 448, one may concede some propriety in Ephesus' condemnation of Eutyches' chief accuser, Eusebius of Dorylaeum, for vexatious prosecution, and of Archbishop Flavian of Constantinople, the chairman at the synod, whose bias against the defendant had been exposed in the hearings of April 449" (*ibid.*, p. 118).

Although Flavian in a letter which he sent to emperor Theodosius II in December 448 included the same credo which was presumably read out at the Home Synod of Constantinople of 448 (cf. Chalcedon I:271), yet he supplemented it with the statement: "We do not refuse to call the nature of God the Word one, albeit enfleshed and made man, because from both is one and the same Jesus Christ our Lord" (*ACO* 2.1, p. 35.20-22). But Price cautions us saying: "Flavian's tardy adoption of a miaphysite formula was a political manoeuvre, after his championship of the dyophysite cause at the Home Synod had exposed him to criticism" (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 187, n. 10).

[See more details and samples from the bishops' verdicts of condemnation of Flavian and Eusebius in the Second Council of Ephesus in Part Two of the present work under section II.C.1.d.]

(iv) The charges framed against St. Dioscorus by the four witnesses, who were brought by the government, from Alexandria to submit four written plaints prepared for them by the same government secretary because they show marked similarities in theme, style and phraseology revealing the hand of a common redactor who clearly enjoyed his work. These plaints mentioned in a previous section (III.C.3.c.), which were only read in the third session, but never discussed, were clearly a vexatious act with the malicious purpose of discrediting St. Dioscorus.

(v) The accusation that St. Dioscorus had received Eutyches back into communion, even before the Second Council of Ephesus had revoked the decisions of the Home Synod of 448, was brought up by Paschasinus (III:94), by Theodore of Tarsus (III:96:13) and in the letter to Marcian (III:98).

But it is not clear what the Roman legates precisely meant by this charge. The word communion can be taken either in the sense of friendship and support or in the sense of Eucharistic fellowship. If the Roman legates meant communion of friendship and support, then nothing is wrong with this. Eutyches was a friend even of St. Cyril of Alexandria and people connected with him (cf. Mansi 6, 628, 631, 713), and of his successor St. Dioscorus from 444 A.D. (Ber. *EEC*, p. 304). It is a fact that St. Dioscorus together with the leading men of the council of 449 had supported Eutyches for his keen opposition to Nestorianism even before they received the imperial invitation to participate in that council which formally exonerated him in its first session on 8 August 449.

The injustice of Eutyches' condemnation at the Home Synod of 448 was clear from the acts of that council.

Moreover, Eutyches did not accept the verdict of the Home Synod of Flavian in the seventh session, 22 November 448, and its sentence of his deposition and appealed directly to the councils of Rome, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and also sent a copy of his appeal to the bishops of Thessalonica and Ravenna (*ACO* II.3.1. p. 6) [see Part Two, section II.A.1.]. All these councils have the right and duty to accept the appeal and re-examine the case to revoke the unjust verdict, if it is a clear case, at least through accepting the victim of injustice into their communion, as a show of support to the victim.

Eutyches also, after his condemnation in November 448, petitioned the emperor, demanding a scrutiny of the minutes of the Home Synod at Constantinople on the ground that they had been falsified [see before under Part Two, section II.A.3.]. This scrutiny was done on April 449 [see Part Two, section II.A.5.]. On this scrutiny, Price states: "A minute investigation revealed that the envoys sent by the synod had attributed to Eutyches some statements of uncertain authenticity" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 116). Price also concedes saying: "... some distortion in the record did indeed emerge..." (*ibid.*).

"Further damage to Flavian's reputation as an impartial judge emerged at a hearing a fortnight later on 27 April (449 A.D.), when an imperial official revealed that in the course of the synod (November 448) Flavian had discouraged the attendance of the patrician Florentius on the grounds that Eutyches' condemnation was already signed and sealed, and this even before the luckless defendant had appeared in court" (*ibid.*, p. 117, as recorded in Chalcedon I:838, 842).

Price also speaks of the deceitful act of Flavian, saying: "Flavian put on an act of impartial chairmanship and pastoral solicitude, saying of the absent Eutyches at one point, 'Let him come here: he will come to fathers and brothers, to people who are not ignorant of him and who even now persevere in friendship' (Acts I:417). But once Eutyches appeared at the hearing, Flavian took off the mask, harassing the unfortunate archimandrite and pressing him to profess two natures after the union, the deed of condemnation already drawn up and in his pocket" (*Chalcedon in Context*, p. 71 & n. 6: "All this was disguised in the minutes of the synod but revealed at an investigation in the following year"). "A second ecumenical council was convened in August 449 to repair the scandal" (*ibid.*).

In his evaluation, Price says (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 118): **"In view, however, of the injustice of Eutyches' condemnation at the Home Synod of 448, one may concede some propriety in Ephesus' condemnation of Eutyches' chief accuser, Eusebius of Dorylaeum, for vexatious prosecution, and of Archbishop Flavian**

of Constantinople, the chairman at the synod, whose bias against the defendant had been exposed in the hearings of April 449.....".

The admissions of Eutyches in the seventh session of Constantinople 448 (Part Two, section I.C.1.b.) do not show that he denied the true humanity of Christ. Flavian as president of that synod gave the verdict that Eutyches was a follower of Valentinus and Apollinarius (Part Two, section I.C.1.c.). Valentinus (or at least some Valentinians) denied Christ a physical body, while Apollinarius denied him a human mind. Flavian sent this verdict to Rome (Part Two, section II.A.2.). Therefore, "The charge of denying Christ's true humanity has been made against Eutyches ever since Leo's *Tome* of 449, but the evidence does not support it. See Draguet [1931]" (*Chalcedon in Context*, p. 71, n. 5).

"The actual sentence against Eutyches, pronounced by Flavian and read into the minutes at I:551, is vague as to the exact nature of his heresy. It refers only to 'heresies of Valentinus and Apollinarius', fairly generic accusations, and makes no clear reference to anything actually said by Eutyches at the synod – so it could indeed, as later alleged (I:838) have been written up in advance of the trial" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 28, n. 97).

At any rate, **Eutyches himself in his plaint** submitted later to the Second Council of Ephesus, 449, and read once more in the first session of Chalcedon, parag. 164, stated the following:

"I anathematize Mani, Valentinus, Apollinarius and Nestorius, and all the heretics since Simon Magus, including those who say that the flesh of our Lord and God Jesus Christ came down from heaven" (*ibid.*, p. 158).

Pope Leo, when he read the Acts of the Home Synod of Constantinople 448, misunderstood Eutyches to deny the humanity of Christ; the whole of his famous *Tome* is vitiated by this mistake. Thus in parag. 2 of his *Tome*, Leo wrongfully repudiates Eutyches saying: "Nor should Eutyches, speaking with intent to deceive, have said that the Word became flesh in such a way that Christ, born of the Virgin's womb, had the form of a man but had not the reality of his mother's body" (Stevenson, *CCC Documents*, p. 338).

Price, therefore, exhorts (in *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 116) saying: **"There is no excuse for parroting Flavian's misrepresentation and Leo's misunderstanding today. One may agree with Henry Chadwick, writing on Eutyches' vindication at Ephesus II: 'Eutyches was declared orthodox. That verdict, when Cyril's Anathemas and his Eucharistic doctrine were adopted as [the] criterion was justifiable – much more so than later estimates of Eutyches were to allow'**(Chadwick 2001, 561. See also Draguet 1931)".

Now if the Roman legates, in their accusation, meant to assert that St. Dioscorus offered Eutyches Eucharistic communion before he was vindicated at the Ecumenical Second Council of Ephesus, the question concerning the source of their information has to be ascertained, in the face of the fact that no one of the eastern neighbors of St. Dioscorus including the four men from Alexandria who witnessed against him had ever made mention of an incident like this.

As we have seen before, Eutyches was neither a Valentinian nor an Apollinarian as shown in his admissions in the Home Synod of 448 which do not show that he denied the true humanity of Christ. Therefore, his condemnation by Flavian's synod as a follower of

Valentinus and Apollinarius shows, as was exposed later in the hearings of April 449, that the sentence against Eutyches had been written up in advance of the trial. The Alexandrian council headed by St. Dioscorus had the right to receive Eutyches' appeal and the duty to review his case and remove the injustice through declaring his innocence and accepting him back into their communion.

After all, if the Roman legates consider St. Dioscorus guilty of accepting Eutyches into communion, then Leo of Rome was equally culpable in this repect. For it was reported to the members of the Council of Chalcedon in the first session by the magistrates, when they ordered that Theodoret of Cyrrhus should be brought in, that this was because "the most holy Archbishop Leo has restored his see to him" and the emperor has decreed his attendance at the holy council (I:26). When Theodoret entered accordingly, the most devout bishops of Egypt, Illyricum and Palestine exclaimed: "... Drive out the teacher of Nestorius" (I:27). [More details were given before in Part Four under section III.C.1.d., q.v.]. It was a grievous haughty act of Leo that he restored the Nestorian Theodoret, who had been excommunicated by the Ecumenical Second Council of Ephesus of 449, to the episcopate even before he was restored after anathematizing Nestorius in the eighth session according to the Latin acts of Chalcedon which is the ninth in the Greek acts.

"There is one difference", says Samuel, "between Leo and Dioscorus on this subject. Whereas Leo's exoneration of Theodoret is an unquestionable fact, the admitting of Eutyches into communion by Dioscorus is only alleged against him" (Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 69).

Theodoret was a man who had been trained from childhood to old age in the Nestorian, i.e. the Antiochene, blasphemies (cf. Perry, p. 253). In his letter 172, Theodoret wrote to Nestorius after the First Council of Ephesus 431 declaring that, if his two hands were to be cut off, he would never agree to what had been done against Nestorius. Theodoret, therefore, was a Nestorian when the decree of the second session of the Ecumenical Second Council of Ephesus on 22 August 449 deposed him. [See Part Two of the present work under section II.C.2.g.]. In the eighth session of Chalcedon in the Latin Acts (i.e. the ninth in the Greek Acts), after the reinstatement of Theodoret of Cyrrhus, we have the acclamation, "... May the church receive back the orthodox teacher. Theodoret is worthy of the see... May the congregation receive back the one who is orthodox... May the church be restored to the orthodox teacher Theodoret" (Latin Acts VIII:15, *ACC*, vol. 2, p. 255). By 600 A.D., after the condemnation of a number of Theodoret's writings at the Chalcedonian Second Council of Constantinople of 553, his designation as "orthodox" became an embarrassment to the Chalcedonian Byzantines, and in the Greek Acts the words "the orthodox teacher" are omitted and replaced by "the bishop" (cf. *ibid.*, p. 255, n. 12).

[For the unjust condemnation of Eutyches at the Home Synod of 448, see Part Two of the present work under sections I.B. and I.C., especially I.C.1.e.

For the justifiability of the Second Council of Ephesus's decision of exonerating Eutyches as viewed by St. Severus of Antioch and the Miaphysites, see Part Two, section I.C.2.c., and as viewed by the Chalcedonian Byzantine scholar Romanides, in Part Two, section I.C.2.d.].

At the first session of Chalcedon, however, St. Dioscorus was ready to condemn the heresies ascribed to Eutyches, but conditionally saying: "If Eutyches holds opinions contrary to the doctrines of the church, he deserves not only punishment but hell fire. For my concern is for the catholic and apostolic faith and not for any human being. My mind is fixed on the Godhead, and I do not look to any person nor care about anything except my soul and the true and pure faith" (Chalcedon I:168, in *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 159; see also Sellers, p. 60, n. 1).

V.C. Samuel, on the other hand, belives that "the words of Dioscorus cannot have been meant to offer a 'conditional anathema' against Eutyches, as Sellers observes (p. 60, n. 1), but to call in question the propriety of the procedure adopted by the council" (Samuel, Chalcedon Re-examined, p. 51).

(vi) The charge that St. Dioscorus did not permit the reading of Leo's *Tome* at Ephesus II is specified as a crime in Paschasinus's verdict (III:94) and in the letters to Marcian and Pulcheria (III:98, 103 in *ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 110-112 & 114-116).

At Ephesus II "Leo's letter to the council (*ep.* 33: Latin version *ACO* 2.4 pp. 15-16; Greek *ACO* 2.1. pp. 43-4) stressed the authority of the Roman see and condemned Eutyches, referring to his letter to Flavian (the *Tome*, read out at Chalcedon at II:22) as a fuller treatment of the issues. It was clearly Leo's intention that both this letter and the *Tome* itself (both dated to 13 June 449) should be read to the council" (*ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 148, n. 97). These letters were received courteously (I:84): Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: "Let the letter to this holy and ecumenical council from our most sacred brother and fellow Bishop Leo be received".

When it had been received at Ephesus II, John presbyter and protonotary said: "Another pious decree (i.e. from the emperor) was sent to our most holy and God-beloved Archbishop Dioscorus, which we have in our hands for the pleasure of your holiness" (I:85). Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem said: "Let it be read and inserted in the guarantee of the minutes" (I:86).

When this was read at Chalcedon, Aetius the archdeacon of Constantinople (who was a friend of Theodoret) complained that the letter of Leo was "neither received nor read" (I:87), and swore seven times in the presence of all to have it read but it was not read (I:90). Others endorsed this claim (I:89, 91). The officials asked the chairmen of Ephesus II why Leo's letter was not read especially since there had beeen a previous declaration ordering that it be read (I:92). St. Dioscorus said: "The acts prove that I called a second time for the letter of the most devout bishop of Rome to be read" (I:93). When asked again he answered: "The other bishops to whom the matter had been entrusted should also be asked why it was not read" (I:94-95). When asked once more by the officials: "...who do you want to be asked?.." (I:96), he answered: "The most religious Bishop Juvenal and the most religious Bishop Thalassius" (I:97). But the officials said: "In first place answer yourself why the reading did not take place; they will be asked in their turn" (I:98). St. Dioscorus said: "I have said once already that I proposed its reading a second time" (I:99).

When Juvenal of Jerusalem was asked, he said: "John the presbyter and *primicerius* of the notaries suddenly announced that he had in his hands a pious letter from the most God-beloved and pious emperors, and I replied that the imperial letter should be read" (I:101-102). The officials reacted saying: "So after the reading of the divine letter was the letter of the most devout Archbishop Leo also read?" (I:103). Juvenal the most devout bishop of Jerusalem said: "Neither the *primicerius* of the notaries nor anyone else said that he still

had in his hands the letter of the most devout bishop of Rome" (I:104).

When Bishop Thalassius of Caesarea in Cappadocia was asked, he answered: "I only know that I did not prevent it, and that I did not have the authority to order the reading on my own" (I:105-106). Then the officials (including the senators) said: "Let the sequel of the proceedings be read", and the reading continued...(I:107-108), which means that the lay judges (officials and senators) were not able to find any blame with St. Dioscorus in this respect and the issue was not raised by them once more, except that Paschasinus, the Roman legate who chaired the third session of Chalcedon, mentioned it in his verdict (III:94) and in the letters which he wrote, in the name of the bishops or their representatives in that session, to emperor Marcian and empress Pulcheria.

The twelfth century Miaphysite historian Patriarch Mar Michael the Syrian notes that the Council of Ephesus 449 "did not read the *Tome* of Leo, in order to spare its author from a sentence of condemnation" (Michael Syr., *Chron.* viii:6, Ar. trans., vol. 1, p. 282).

Richard Price, commenting on Leo's *letter* 33 and his *Tome* which was delivered to the Second Council of Ephesus (449), says that they "were received courteously (I:84), but not read out; with their unconditional condemnation of Eutyches they were merely an embarrassment to a council summoned to acquit him" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 148, n. 97).

W.H.C. Frend (*RC*, p. 768) expresses his view that **"it was good that Leo's *Tome* was not read, for in that atmosphere its author and representatives would have been excommunicated then and there"**. This is true, because, as Frend himself noticed (*ibid.*, p. 767): "The *Tome* could be reconciled with the *Formula of Reunion*, but not with Cyril's twelve Anathemas. Even at Chalcedon, where the tide was flowing strongly against Dioscorus, these statements and the thought behind them were challenged. From his exile far away in an Egyptian oasis, the aged Nestorius welcomed the *Tome* as 'an orthodox and irreproachable confession of faith'" (*ibid.* & n. 143 on p. 783, quoting Nestorius, *Liber Heraclidus*, ed. Nau, p. 298).

[For more details see whole section IV in Part Five of the present work and especially section IV.H. of Part Five for the irreconcilability of Leo's *Tome* with St. Cyril's Anathemas].

(vii) The charge that St. Dioscorus had excommunicated Pope Leo of Rome was mentioned by Paschasinus in his verdict (III:94) and in the letter to Marcian (III:98).

R. Price comments on this charge saying: "Dioscorus declared Leo excommunicate while the bishops were gathering at Nicaea, before the council moved to Chalcedon. Since Leo had excluded Dioscorus from commemoration in the liturgy months earlier (see *ep.* 80, *ACO* 2.4 pp. 38-40, 13 April 451), this might seem a less than outrageous quid pro quo. One may surmise that it was stimulated by the exertion of pressure on the bishops assembled at Nicaea to sign Leo's *Tome*" (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 32, n. 8).

The Chalcedonian Byzantine scholar Romanides (1993) was able to demonstrate convincingly that Pope Dioscorus of Alexandria was justified in excommunicating Pope Leo of Rome on doctrinal grounds, especially because Leo insisted that the Nestorian Theodoret of Cyrrhus must participate as a member in the Council of Chalcedon 451. Thus he writes from his own point of view as a Chalcedonian saying: "It is important to note that Theodoret's profession of the faith of Cyril and the Third Ecumenical Council at session VIII of the Council of Chalcedon was accompanied by much hesitation on his part and episcopal cries of 'Nestorian' against him. This is a clear proof that had Dioscorus accepted

to appear before the Council and face Theodoret his accuser, he would have certainly been cleared in his fight against this Nestorian enemy of Cyril. He would have been found at least doctrinally, if not canonically, excusable for his excommunication of Leo for his support of this Nestorian. Dioscorus and his bishops excommunicated Leo upon approaching Chalcedon and learning that the legates of Pope Leo were insisting that Theodoret must participate as a member of the Council. Leo insisted upon this in spite of the fact that Theodoret had never yet accepted the Third Ecumenical Council, the Twelve Chapters of Cyril, the condemnation of Nestorius, nor the re-conciliation of 433 between John of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria. It seems that the Chalcedonian Orthodox must let these facts sink into their heads and take them seriously."

Then he adds saying: "This is why the Council of Chalcedon upheld the excommunication of Theodoret by the Ephesine Council of 449. Therefore, Dioscorus was legally and canonically correct by excommunicating Leo for his support of Theodoret before the Council of Chalcedon. Ephesus 449 was still before the Council of Chalcedon a part of Roman Law in spite of Leo of Rome. From a purely doctrinal viewpoint the Pope of Rome was guilty of supporting a Nestorian and a vigorous enemy of the Twelve Chapters, which were the basis of the doctrinal decision of the Third Ecumenical Council. John of Antioch and his own Third Ecumenical Council of 431 had condemned and excommunicated the Cyrillian Third Ecumenical Council because its doctrinal decisions were summarized in Cyril's Twelve Chapters. But then in 433 John and his bishops accepted the Third Ecumenical Council with the Twelve Chapters and condemned Nestorius. Therefore, before the Council of Chalcedon in 451, Theodoret was under condemnation by the Roman Laws of both Ephesus 431 and 449. Ephesus 449 was not yet in the process of being repealed or accepted as was finally done item by item. Thus Chalcedon did not repeal the condemnations of Theodoret and Ibas by Ephesus 449. On the contrary Chalcedon enforced these decisions against both and required that both must repent for their actions against Cyril and the Third Ecumenical Council, accept Ephesus 431 and their own condemnation by Ephesus 449, and to ask forgiveness. In other words Chalcedon completely supported Dioscorus on these questions."

Again Romanides (*ibid.*) concludes his defense saying: "The question is now raised whether there were substantial grounds for Dioscorus' excommunication of Leo of Rome. It would further seem possible to argue that this excommunication was somewhat like that of Cyril's excommunication of Nestorius when the latter refused to subscribe to the Twelve Chapters. Cyril did this with the full support of the Pope Celestine of Rome. But in the case before us in 451 we have Pope Leo of Rome himself who is being excommunicated by Pope Dioscorus of Alexandria. The reason behind this is the simple fact that Pope Leo was in reality repudiating his predecessor's support of Cyril's Twelve Chapters by supporting a fanatic enemy of Cyril and his Twelve Chapters."

As we have mentioned before (in Part Four, under section II.A.), on the accession of St. Dioscorus to the see of St. Mark (444 A.D.), Pope Leo of Rome, in his *Ep.* IX maltreated St. Dioscorus even before the beginning of the theological controversy.

Samuel (*Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 70) noted that from the beginning of the controversy, Leo considered Dioscorus an enemy without ever trying to know his point of view. Samuel also added saying (*ibid.* & n. 99): "Leo, for instance, who sent copies of the *Tome* to various persons in the east never cared to dispatch one to the Alexandrine patriarch also". "(n.

99): The fact that there existed a lack of communication between Rome and Alexandria is noted by persons like Aloys Grillmeier in personal discussions. Both he and Charles Moeller (essay on 'Le Chalcédonisme et le néochalcédonisme en orient de 451 à la fin du VI^{e} siecle' in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, vol. I, p. 645) maintain that Rome came to know of the Cyrilline anathemas only in 519. This sounds confusing, to say that Rome took the initiative in crushing the Alexandrine patriarch, without ever understanding the theological position of the Alexandrine tradition, is not a credit. It is a fact that Leo of Rome claimed to bear witness to Christ's own mind inherited through the Apostle Peter, and yet very little of that mind could be found reflected in Leo's reactions in the dispute". "In the controversy itself, Leo had excommunicated Dioscorus at least six months before the council of Chalcedon. This shows that Dioscorus was fairer to Leo than was the latter to the former, for the Alexandrine patriarch is alleged to have excommunicated his colleague of Rome only less than a month before the council of Chalcedon met" (*Chalcedon Re-examined*, p. 70).

But Samuel also had already expressed his doubts concerning the reality of St. Dioscorus's excommunication of Pope Leo of Rome saying (*ibid.*, pp. 62-64, augmented by references in between brackets from *ACC*): "The charge...that he had excommunicated Leo of Rome is of a different character. It is not possible, nor even necessary, to argue that Dioscorus had not done it. In fact, as we have already noted, Leo had excommunicated Dioscorus exactly six months before the day when this charge was made against the latter. If therefore Dioscorus had done this, it was only a reciprocal action".

"Having granted all this, we must look anew into the evidence more carefully and see whether we have not been too uncritical in treating this subject. Almost all historians of pro-Chalcedonian persuasion seem to take it as a well-established fact. However, our evidence consists of four references to it at the council of Chalcedon and one in a letter of Leo of Rome after the council. The earliest of them all is the statement of (the Alexandrian) deacon Theodore in his petition (Chalcedon III:47). Following him on the same day, the Roman legates asserted this in their verdict against Dioscorus (III:94). The third is to be found in the words of Anatolius on 22 October, when he said that the reason for Dioscorus's condemnation was not a point of faith but the fact that 'he had excommunicated the Lord archbishop Leo' and disobeyed the threefold summons of the council (Chalcedon V:14). The fourth is a mention of the alleged incident in the letter of the council of Chalcedon to Leo of Rome. It said that Dioscorus had excommunicated one who had only the unity of the churches at heart (Leo, *Ep.* 98, *ACO* 2.1., pp. 475-477). Finally, Leo complained in his letter to Theodoret of Cyrus that Dioscorus 'did not exempt from special vexation in attempting to inflict upon his Head with strange and unheard of an incredible effrontery' (Leo, *Ep.* 120, *NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 12, pp. 87-90, dated 11 June, 453)".

"The story was told for the first time in recorded history by (the Alexandrian) deacon Theodore on 13 October, and all other references had been drawn from it. In evaluating the account of Theodore, we should recall the fact that at the first session of the council on 8 October, there was a long and protracted investigation of charges against the Alexandrine pope. On that occasion no one mentioned an excommunication of Leo by Dioscorus. Even the Roman legates, who were challenged by the commissioners to specify a charge against the accused in support of their demand for his exclusion from the council, showed no awareness of this important incident. Is it not strange that none of the eastern neighbours of

Dioscorus, including his bitter enemies and above all Stephen of Ephesus who had volumes of incriminatory reports against him, expressed any knowledge of the story which is alleged to have happened..., before Theodore mentioned it in his petition?" (Samuel, *op. cit.*).

(viii) The charge that St. Dioscorus shared the heresy of Eutyches: There is no mention of heresy in Paschasinus's verdict or in the letter to Marcian.

The charge of heresy, however, was mentioned few times, but without discussion, as recorded in the following documents:

1 – The principal plaintiff was Eusebius of Dorylaeum, and his plaint at the first session concentrated on the charge of heresy, specifically that of sharing the heresy of Eutyches (I:16). The same charge was pressed again by Eusebius in a second plaint presented to the council in the third session (III:5). This charge was taken up and repeated by only one bishop in delivering his verdict (III:96:63).

2 – Vague and unsubstantiated charges of blasphemy against the doctrine of the Trinity were included in all the four plaints from the plaintiffs from Alexandria (III:47, 51, 57, 64).

3 – The letter to Pulcheria (III:103) contains extended, though vague, references to heresy.

4 – Finally, the letter that Marcian addressed to the monks of Alexandria in 454 (Documents after the Council 14) describes Dioscorus as an adherent of Eutychianism (cf. *ACC*, vol. 3, pp. 154-156).

Price comments on this charge of heresy saying: "The issue came sharply to the fore some days later at the fifth session when the wording of the definition of faith was under discussion. The (lay) chairman insisted that the formula that Christ is 'from two natures' was unacceptable because it was favoured by Dioscorus (V:13). Bishop Anatolius of Constantinople immediately objected, 'Dioscorus was not deposed on account of the faith; but because he broke off communion with the lord Archbishop Leo and was summoned a third time but did not come, this is why he was deposed'. The chairman, however, ignored this intervention, and continued to speak as if Dioscorus' teaching has been condemned, and the bishops weakly concurred (V:26-7). **Dioscorus had certainly given support to Eutyches, but did that prove him a heretic? It is not obvious to modern historians that Eutyches deserved his reputation as a heretic; even if he did, Dioscorus had distanced himself from him at the first session of the council (I:168), and in his subsequent exile at Gangra was to denounce the Eutychian error of denying Christ's consubstantiality with the rest of the human race**" (*ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 33-34, & n. 11: "See Ebied and Wickham (1970, 360 and Chadwick 2001, 575, citing Ps.-Zachariah, *HE* 3.1. Subsequent anti-Chalcedonians did not defend Eutyches either").

"The point to be made in the present context, however, is that **the later categorization of Dioscorus as a Eutychian heretic is not securely based on the proceedings of Chalcedon**" (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 34).

The deposition of St. Dioscorus at Chalcedon was not on account of erroneous belief. He was not a heretic but a faithful guardian of the true faith defended by his predecessor St. Cyril. His statement at Chalcedon and the anathema which he pronounced at the first session of Chalcedon (October 8th) against those who teach confusion is a clear indication of his sound faith. Thus, before the Chalcedonian formula was signed in the sixth session

(October 25th) declaring the four adverbs, St. Dioscorus had already said in the first session: "We speak of neither confusion nor division nor change. Anathema to whoever speaks of confusion or change or mixture" (I:263, *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 185).

St. Dioscorus "expressed quite clearly his own doctrinal position, which will remain that of most Eastern opponents of Chalcedon: Christ was fully God and fully man, and therefore 'of two natures', but, after the union, it was not possible to speak of these 'two natures', as distinctly subsisting, because their union into one being was a perfect union. Of course, he would not admit the use of the Greek word *physis* ('nature') for any meaning other than 'concrete reality'. Furthermore, as he and his supporters pointed out, St. Cyril used the expression 'one nature incarnate of God the Word', and never plainly spoke of two natures after the union. It is on the basis of this Cyrillian fundamentalism that Dioscorus considered the condemnation of Flavian in 449 to be justified: Flavian and Eusebius of Dorylaeum, the official accuser of Eutyches in 448 had spoken of 'two natures after the Incarnation', and were therefore *de facto* 'Nestorians'....." (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, pp. 169-170). "Dioscorus was not in doctrine a follower of Eutyches but a staunch Cyrillian. He held, 'that no one shall say that the holy flesh which Our Lord took from the Virgin by the operation of the Holy Spirit, in a manner which He himself knows, was different from and foreign to our body'. 'The flesh which was born of Mary was compacted with the soul of the Redeemer, that reasonable and intelligent soul.... For he was like us, for us, and with us, not in phantasy, not in mere semblance...but rather in actual reality from Mary the *Theotokos*. He became by the dispensation like us, that we in His tender mercy be like Him'..." (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 183).

Therefore, St. Dioscorus, though formally deposed at Chalcedon, remained for the Coptic people their legal patriarch until his death. The verdict of his removal from the patriarchal see was followed by his banishment to the island of Gangra in Paphlagonia. Defiantly and with dignity he accepted the Chalcedonian verdict rather than move from his orthodox stand, and remained exiled in Gangra till his death and burial there in 454 A.D. His successor St. Timothy II who was also exiled in Gangra for his orthodoxy, on his return from exile during the reign of Basiliscus (January 475-August 476), "by the king's command", the bones of St. Dioscorus were now brought back from Gangra to Alexandria, and the saint was "buried in the place of the bishops, and honoured as a confessor and martyr" (cf. the late fifth-century *Life of Dioscorus* by Theopistus and the sixth-century *Life of Macarius of Tkow*. Cf. also Davis, *ECP*, p. 93 & n. 40 on p. 220, quoting Zacharias Rhetor, *Chron.* 5.4, ed. E.W. Brooks, *CSCO* 83, 218 [Syriac] and *CSCO* 87, 151 [Latin], trans. F.J. Hamilton and E.W. Brooks, 111-112. In the fourth and fifth centuries, the term "confessor" often came to be used as a synonym for "martyr").

St. Dioscorus's legacy endures in the Coptic Church as a defender of the faith at the Second Council of Ephesus in 449 and as a martyr who died in exile, and is venerated in the Coptic Church by the title "our teacher" in the commemoration of saints in the Coptic liturgy of St. Basil. His feast day is 7th of Tut (4 September Julian = 17 September Gregorian).

Martiniano P. Roncaglia says: "Dioscorus remained for the Coptic people their legal patriarch until his death in exile. Even if some of his clergy signed the Chalcedonian verdict of his removal under imperial and Roman pressures, the Coptic nation itself as a whole refused to accept this decision, and this congregation was never reconciled to the

consideration of Chalcedon as an ecumenical council. For the two centuries preceding the Arab conquest of Egypt, the Egyptian nation deprecated Chalcedon as an infamous gathering of misguided bishops. To the Copts, the last ecumenical council was Ephesus II in 449. They utterly contested the nomination by Constantinople of a Melchite Greek patriarch of Alexandria and, after the death of Dioscorus, continued to elect their own Monophysite (i.e. Miaphysite) patriarch in opposition to any Melchite nominee, until the advent of Arab rule that had been precipitated in part by this disunity in the church ranks" (*Cop. E*, vol. III, pp. 914-915).

III.C.4. AT THE FOURTH SESSION OF 17 OCTOBER AND THE TWO UNNUMBERED SESSIONS OF 20 OCTOBER 451:

III.C.4.a. At the Fourth Session (Wednesday, 17 October, 451):

[*ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 117-163]

At the fourth session of the Council (17 October), the patrician Anatolius returned to his chairmanship of the council together with the rest of the lay officials and senators after having absented themselves from the trial of St. Dioscorus at the third session. "The government wished to create the impression of a fair trial of Dioscorus by his peers; the pretense that the outcome was not pre-determined was pushed so far that at the following fourth session the lay chairman rebuked the bishops for deposing Dioscorus without reference to the imperial will (IV:12)" (Price in *Chalcedon in Context*, pp. 76-77; *ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 146-147).

The session began by a reading of the decisions of the first and second sessions (IV:3-4), then the papal representatives reported on the wishes of the bishops regarding the faith (IV:6) which was translated into Greek (IV:7). Then almost half the time and minutes of the session was taken up by bishops testifying with monotonous repetition to the harmony between the *Tome* of Leo and the Nicene Creed, 158 bishops or their representatives in addition to the three papal legates (IV:9:1-161). It is striking that the *Tome* of Leo was approved because it was claimed that it agreed with St. Cyril's letter; throughout the council it was St. Cyril, not Leo, who was seen as the determinant voice of orthodoxy.

When the remaining bishops who had not spoken individually were asked to acclaim Leo's *Tome*, they took the opportunity to request the reinstatement of the five bishops who had been deposed (IV:11) or at least suspended together with St. Dioscorus at the close of the first session – Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Eusebius of Ancyra, Eustathius of Berytus, and Basil of Seleucia in Isauria (I:1068), and then capitulated by signing Leo's *Tome* to make their peace with the government. Their reinstatement had been already requested at the second session (II:34). The request, for their reinstatement, made by bishops at the fourth session was reported to the emperor who, after the few hours required for messages to cross the Bosphorus and back, replied empowering the bishops to decide the matters themselves; the five were immediately admitted to the council and reinstated (IV:14-18).

The Illyrian and Palestinian bishops had now accepted the *Tome* after the holding of a meeting with the papal legates in the palace of Archbishop Anatolius in which they

were assured by the legates of the faith. The outcome was reported at the formal fourth session. So, despite their initial reservations about the *Tome* at the second session (II:24-26) they accepted the verbal assurances from the pope's representatives that the pope did not separate the two natures of Christ, despite expressions in the *Tome* that could give the opposite impression (IV:9 after §98 and §114). The minutes do not detail what was said in these discussions, but given the imperial and patriarchal control of this council, there is a great possibility that their signatures were forced [see Part Four, section II.B.].

It was claimed, as propaganda for the government line, that Leo and Cyril were in perfect accord, but the minutes of this session are less than compelling: the content of the *Tome* was never discussed, with the result that the proof of its orthodoxy was made to lie purely in the authority and sincerity of the bishops testifying in its favour. But their affirmations were compromised by the fact that many of the same bishops had only two years previously, at the Second Council of Ephesus, condemned Flavian of Constantinople for holding the same views as Leo of Rome. (Cf. *ACC*, vol. 2, p. 118 & n. 2: "Honigmann [1942-3, p. 40] computes that, out of the bishops at the Second Council of Ephesus, 119 attended Chalcedon"). ["Subsequent opponents of Chalcedon made much of the fact that the council had approved the *Tome*, whose compatibility with the Christology of Cyril is still disputed today. As propaganda on behalf of the council's approval of the *Tome* the minutes must be judged ineffective" (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 118).]

The only bishops still resistant were the Egyptians. After the deposition of St. Dioscorus, thirteen of the Egyptian bishops sent a statement of faith to the emperor in which they affirmed the Nicene Creed, condemned the most gross of the heresies attributed to Eutyches (the notion that the manhood of Christ came down from heaven and is unlike ours), though without mentioning Eutyches by name or affirming two natures after the union, and without referring to either Dioscorus or Leo's *Tome* (IV:25). The emperor sent the bishops to the council (IV:19-20), which rejected their statement of faith as inadequate and demanded anathematization of Eutyches and subscription to the *Tome*. The Egyptian bishops duly anathematized Eutyches (IV:42), but baulked at the *Tome*, saying: "We cannot sign without the approval of our archbishop" (IV:44). When pressed they said: "...since the most religious bishops of our diocese happen to be very many, while we, being easy to count, are not able to represent them....if we do anything without the approval of our leader, the whole Egyptian diocese will attack us as acting uncanonically and as not keeping but abolishing the ancient customs according to the canons..." (IV:48). They argued that if they accepted the *Tome* of Leo (and by implication St. Dioscorus's deposition), it would not be safe for them to return to Egypt and added saying: "...we shall be killed in our native land... It is preferable for us to die at the hands of the master of the world, of your pre-eminence, and of the holy council than there" (IV:56, 58). Their fellow bishops in the council were stonyhearted in their response (IV:57, 59), but the lay chairman sensibly ruled that they should not be forced to agree to anything until a new bishop of Alexandria had been appointed (IV:60, 62) (see the minutes in *ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 148-153).

"The council now turned its attention to rival petitions from two groups of Constantinopolitan archimandrites (IV:76 & 105). The members of the first group were admitted to the council in person (IV:63-66). They had written to the emperor before the council complaining about the harsh treatment that was being meted out to many monks in

the imperial city, clearly as part of a campaign against the supporters of Eutyches (IV:76). The emperor sent them on to the council, where they presented a second petition, in which they claimed that the emperor had assured them before the council that its work would be simply to confirm the creed of Nicaea without any additions; **they therefore rejected the condemnation of Dioscorus as unjust and demanded his reinstatement, threatening to break off communion with the bishops if they refused to comply** (IV:83, 88)..." (*ibid.*, pp. 153-158, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 119-120).

From the words of the monks' plaint (IV:83): "We entreat your holinesses that the proper procedure be followed and that the most holy Archbishop Dioscorus and the most holy bishops with him be admitted to this assembly", **it appears that Carosus and his supporters had originally intended to come to the second session to support the demand for the reinstatement of Dioscorus and the other five bishops suspended at the end of the first session (see session II:41).**

When the officials asked the monks, after the reading of their plaint in the fourth session, to declare whether they were ready to accept the decisions of the entire most holy council (IV:92), they gave the following answers:

(IV:93): Carosus the most devout archimandrite said: "I recognize the creed of the 318 fathers who were at Nicaea, in which I was baptized, since I do not recognize any other creed. They are bishops; they have the power to excommunicate and depose, and if they want anything, they have the power. But I do not recognize any other creed beyond this. When the holy Timothy baptized me at Tomi, he told me not to believe in anything else."

(IV:94): Dorotheus the most devout archimandrite said: "I abide by the creed of the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea, in which I was baptized, and in the decree of those who deposed Nestorius at Ephesus. I believe accordingly, and I do not recognize any other creed apart from this."

The monks Barsaumas and Helpidius gave similar answers (IV:95-96). The other monks said: "We too say the same" (IV:97).

The following dialogue during the investigation shows the heroism of Carosus:

(IV:100): Aetius the most devout archdeacon of the church at Constantinople said: "Do you then anathematize Eutyches as the holy council does, or not?"

(IV:101): Carosus the most devout monk said: "Do you not recognize the scripture, 'Judge not, lest you be judged'? (*Matthew* 7:1). The bishops are in session, so why are you speaking?"

(IV:102): Aetius the most devout archdeacon said: "Answer the question put to you by the holy council through me: do you obey the holy ecumenical council or not?"

(IV:103): Carosus the most devout monk said: "I myself, as I have said, believe in accordance with the definition of the 318, as I was also baptized. If you say anything else to me, I do not recognize it. You have the power, you are bishops. Do you want to send me to exile? Do you want to degrade me? Whatever you want I accept from you. The holy apostle says, 'If an angel from heaven should preach to you a gospel contrary to that you have received, let him be anathema' (*Galatians* 1:8-9). What can I do? If Eutyches does not believe as the catholic church believes, let him be anathema" (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 160 & n. 68: "Like Dioscorus at the first session (I:168), Carosus insists that the issue is the Nicene faith, not the orthodoxy of Eutyches").

So, "the petitioners must have known exactly what was in store for them. They were ordered to submit to the council, and a rival petition was produced in which a number of archimandrites demanded the punishment of the followers of Eutyches (IV:105). Since the supporters of Eutyches claimed that the emperor had told them that he would himself attend to their case (IV:83), and the chairman informed the council that the emperor wished them to be given time for reflection (IV:113), formal decision on their fate was postponed for three days, to allow them time for second thoughts and for the council to consult the emperor" (*ibid.*, pp. 120, 165).

But still an important question needs to be answered: Why had the emperor sent this group of pro-Eutychian Constantinopolitan archimandrites to the council to present a petition – the petition was a demand that Dioscorus be restored to the episcopate and the council? Why had the emperor assisted this group to present its demands? Why had he allowed those critics of the consensus around Leo's *Tome* to be admitted to the council when it looked as if the doctrinal work of the council could be concluded by a near-unanimous approval of the *Tome*, particularly after the bishops had sacrificed St. Dioscorus as a scapegoat? "One may presume that his motive was to dent the bishops' new-found sense of unanimity and to impress on them that, even after the approval of Leo's *Tome*, more was needed to restore concord and order to the churches" (Price, *Chalcedon in Context*, p. 79). Therefore, "The admission to the council chamber of critics of the consensus around Leo's *Tome* was a government decision presumably intended to provoke the bishops into issuing a new definition of the faith; it illustrates how government could choose to manipulate a council rather than dictate to it, as it did at the second and fifth sessions" (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 117).

III.C.4.b. At the First Unnumbered Session of 20 October, On Carosus and Dorotheus:

[*ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 164-168]

The session on Carosus and Dorotheus began with a report from the priest Alexander who was sent to Marcian and reported back that the emperor, when he heard the petition of the monks in which they reminded him of his promise that he arbitrate between them and their monastic opponents, retracted saying to them (through Alexander): "If I wished to take my seat in the midst of you and the other monks and hear the case between both sides, I would not have troubled the holy and ecumenical council here...". And he told them to go back to the council (parag. 4).

"A further petition from Carosus and Dorotheus to Marcian was read out (6); its text is not given, but it is clear from the comment on it made by Archdeacon Aetius of Constantinople (7) that **it was a plea on behalf of Dioscorus, very similar to the monks' petition to the council read out at the fourth session (IV:83, 88)**. After commenting on this petition acidly, Aetius read out two canons of Antioch (*c.* 328) which penalized schismatic clerics. On the basis of these canons, even though they did not directly apply to the present case, Carosus and his party were ordered to submit to the council – that is, to accept its decrees against Eutyches and Dioscorus. They were given one month to submit, before the secular arm would be called upon to intervene, doubtless by imposing exile or imprisonment" (*ibid.*, p. 165).

"However, no action was taken. In 454 Pope Leo had to write to the emperor Marcian

to complain about Carosus' continued campaign in Constantinople against the authority of the council, and he wrote in 455 to compliment the emperor on removing Carosus and Dorotheus from their monasteries and transferring them to other monasteries where they could do no harm – in other words, imprisoning them in monasteries of their opponents" (*ibid.* & n. 4: cf. Leo, *Epp.* 136 [*ACO* 2.4 p. 90, *ep.* 81] and 142 [*ACO* 2.4 p. 95, *ep.* 86].

Price comments: "Why did the emperor wait for so long before suppressing monks who had insulted and defied the council and continued to attack it after its dissolution? One can only suppose that their opposition enjoyed such wide support as to make the emperor reluctant to take provocative action" (*ibid.*).

III.C.4.c. At the Second Unnumbered Session of 20 October, On Photius and Eustathius:

[*ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 169-182]

"Traditionally the bishop of Tyre consecrated all the bishops of the province, but at a date that followed the elevation of Anatolius to the see of Constantinople (late in 449) and preceded the death of Theodosius II (in July 450) the see of Berytus in the same province was elevated by an imperial rescript (7) to metropolitan status; this was doubtless a reward for the role Eustathius of Berytus had played in the Council of Ephesus of 449...for which Pope Leo had erased his name from the diptychs; at the same time it was a humiliation for Bishop Photius of Tyre, who had made enemies by his sympathetic treatment early in 449 of one of the most outspoken opponents of the Alexandrians, Ibas of Edessa...When Bishop Photius ignored Eustathius' claims and continued to consecrate bishops for these northerly sees, a Home Synod held at Constantinople under Anatolius' chairmanship confirmed the authority of Berytus over these sees, sentenced Photius *in absentia* to excommunication, and degraded two bishops he had consecrated to the rank of presbyter (19-27). Photius himself was forced to sign the decree (7), doubtless as the price for the lifting of the excommunication (which implied deposition). The change of regime at Constantinople and the discrediting of Eustathius because of his role at Ephesus II (leading to his suspension at the end of the first session of Chalcedon I:1068) gave Photius the opportunity for a comeback. He appealed to the emperor (7), who passed the matter on to the Council of Chalcedon...and duly restored the full metropolitan rights of the see of Tyre. Eustathius had to yield, though he determinedly signed the Definition as 'bishop of the metropolis of Berytus' (VI:9:65)" (*ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 169-170).

III.C.5. AT THE FIFTH SESSION (MONDAY, 22 OCTOBER, 451):

[*ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 183-205]

The fifth session, the minutes of which are suspiciously brief, was held on Monday, 22 October, 451. The meeting began with the submission of a draft definition by the committee set up in the second session (II:6, 45). The text of the draft definition is no longer extant. "Asclepiades deacon of the great church of Constantinople read out the definition, which it was decided not to include in these minutes" (V:3).

The draft satisfied the great majority of the bishops (V:6, 8) but was criticized by John of Germanicia (in Syria Euphratensis) (V:4, 12), who had been an ally of Theodoret of Cyrrhus and a promoter of the dyophysite cause since the early 430s (*ibid.*, p. 187, n.

11). Therefore, he was shouted by the bishops as a Nestorian (V:6, 12), and he was later obliged, like Theodoret, to utter an anathema against Nestorius in the eighth session (VIII:28-29).

The draft was also formally and forcefully protested by the Roman legates: "If they (i.e. the terms) do not agree with the letter of the apostolic and most blessed man Archbishop Leo, order letters to be given us so that we may return home, and the council will be concluded there" (V:9). As we remember, the official position of the Roman church was that all issues had already been settled in the *Tome* of Leo, and that, in fact, no further statement was necessary. Since a statement was demanded by the officials, it had, at least, to be in full conformity with Leo's *Tome*. The embarrassed officials whose major role was to secure the unity of the "two Romes", proposed that a new commission be formed of all parties together with Archbishop Anatolius and the Roman legates in order to revise the draft (V:10). There was a wild protest by the bishops against such a procedure (V:11, 12). So, the officials said: "Dioscorus said that the reason for Flavian's deposition was that he said there are two natures (cf. I:299), but the definition has "*from* two natures" (V:13). Here Archbishop Anatolius reacted saying: **"It was not because of the faith that Dioscorus was deposed. He was deposed because he broke off communion with the Lord Archbishop Leo and was summoned a third time and did not come" (V:14).**

The officials ignored this intervention, and asked the bishops: "Do you accept the letter of Archbishop Leo?" (V:15). They replied: "Yes, we have accepted and signed it" (V:16). The officials said: "Then its content must be inserted in the definition" (V:17). The bishops exclaimed: "Another definition must not be produced. Nothing is lacking in the definition" (V:18).

When deadlock ensued, the emperor was consulted (V:20-21), who issued his commands that either the bishops agree to a suitable amendment of the draft so as to please everyone and leave not a single doubt, or the council will have to meet in the western parts (V:22), that is, to entrust the matter to a Roman council presided over by Pope Leo.

Amazingly, the bishops still put up resistance exclaiming: "Let the definition be confirmed or we shall leave" (V:23), and again the bishops of Illyricum said: "Let those who dissent make themselves known. The dissenters are Nestorians. Let the dissenters go off to Rome" (V:25). The Illyrian bishops were formally under the jurisdiction of the see of Rome, exercised through the metropolitan of Thessalonica, yet at the same time many of them were Miaphysites (see I:27, in *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 134 & n. 65), and here courageously implying that Rome was sympathetic to Nestorianism.

But it was one thing to oppose the will of a chairman who was simply a senior court official; it was another to defy that of the emperor. Yet, amazingly, this is what the bishops continued for a time to do. It needed further persuasion, or rather dictation, from the lay chairman before they agreed to an amendment of the draft.

Thus the officials (as represented by the chairman) artfully put the question to the bishops in a modified way: "Dioscorus said, 'I accept from two natures, but I do not accept "two"' (cf. Chalcedon I:332). But the most holy Archbishop Leo says that there are two natures in Christ, united without confusion, change or separation in the one only-begotten Son our Saviour. So whom do you follow – the most holy Leo or Dioscorus?"

(V:26). The bishops answered: "We believe as Leo does" (V:27). Of course, the words used by the officials in expressing Leo's teaching in the above-mentioned question which was put to the bishops (V:26) do not occur in Leo's *Tome*. [See the text of the *Tome* in Chalcedon II:22, *ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 14-24, and read the criticisms of Leo's *Tome* in Part Five of the present work under sections IV.A.-J.] It was a guileful representation by which the officials were trying to hide the heterodoxy of Leo's teaching in the *Tome*, through quoting words used by the delegates of Leo when explaining the *Tome* to the Illyrian delegates, giving them verbal assurances, in the episcopal palace of Constantinople, that "the pope did not separate the two natures in Christ, despite expressions in the *Tome* that could give the opposite impression (IV:9, after §98 and §114)" (*ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 118, 138-139, 200 & n. 44).

The bishops yielded and the draft was accordingly amended... But the minutes also "bring out the politicization of doctrinal debate, with the result that the chief argument against the draft was that the disgraced Dioscorus could accept it, and the way in which even on a doctrinal issue episcopal wishes had to yield to imperial policy" (*ibid.*, p. 183).

"Nothing is more amazing in the drama of this session than the fact that the bishops refused at first to yield to what was in effect an imperial command. But finally, and inevitably, the emperor's will prevailed. The imperial representatives set up a new committee, consisting of themselves, the Roman delegates, Archbishop Anatolius, and 17 eastern bishops, who withdrew into a side-chapel (V:29) and after what cannot have been a long discussion returned to the nave to present their revision of the draft (V:30-34, [text in *ibid.*, pp. 201-205])" (*ibid.*, p. 188).

"The amending committee was obliged to assert a continuing duality in Christ... 'acknowledged in two natures' (replacing the 'from two natures' of the draft)..." (*ibid.*, p. 189).

"The minutes conclude with the bishops' approval of the new text by acclamation (V:35). Considering that the 'in two natures' formula was controversial, since it was understood to imply a real distinction between two elements in the incarnate Christ (see, for example, Chalcedon I:169-170), this acceptance appears too easy, and one may suspect that the minutes suppress some expressions of dissent and some further debate" (*ibid.*, p. 190). Price makes a note on his own text here that: "It is possible, however, that the bishops were inhibited by fears that further opposition might lead the emperor to carry out his threat to transfer the council to Rome" (*ibid.*, n. 18).

Price sums up this session in his own words commenting: "Accounts of this session by church historians used to gloss over the extent to which it testifies to the political reality of the council – the determination of the outcome by the imperial will, and the lack of episcopal freedom. The bishops had not originally wanted to produce a definition at all (see the second session); and when the draft was produced, few of them wished to amend it to please the Roman delegates. Yet the final outcome was indeed a new definition, and one that, while Cyrillian in its expression, was so worded as to be acceptable to Rome" (*ibid.*, pp. 190-191).

"With hindsight the church historian is bound to judge the production of a definition a tragedy for Christian unity, leading as it did to the schism between Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian churches that has continued to this day" (*ibid.*, p. 191).

III.D. The Production and the Signing of the Chalcedonian Definition of Faith:

III.D.1. THE PRODUCTION OF THE CHALCEDONIAN DEFINITION:

The second session held on 10 October 451 had its agenda how to confirm the faith. The emperor's chief representative, the patrician Anatolius, who chaired this and most of the sessions of the council proposed the setting up of a committee of bishops to draft "a pure exposition of the faith" (II:2), in other words to compose a new credal statement. But the bishops, the majority of whom have already subscribed to the *Tome* of Leo and the two-nature christology expounded therein, preferred not to commit themselves to a definitive rejection of the one-nature christology so widespread in the eastern provinces and known for sure to be the orthodox faith. And the creed which the Council of Nicaea (325) had drawn up was by the time of the mid-fifth century considered irreplaceable, and therefore set no precedent for composing fresh creeds. The production of new definitions of faith was, in fact, forbidden by the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus 431 in its famous seventh canon which was also read at the first session of Chalcedon (I:943). Leo and his representatives needed nothing more than the subscription of the bishops to his *Tome*. It was, therefore, the imperial officials, not the Roman legates nor the eastern bishops, who demanded that the council produce a new and explicit definition of faith – perhaps because Marcian could not claim to be a "new Constantine" without a doctrinal definition comparable to the Nicene Creed.

But the bishops responded to the officials' demand for a new credal statement with unanimous opposition and vigorous protest citing the prohibition expressed by the First Council of Ephesus in its seventh canon (II:3-5, 7-9). The imperial officials, however, simply ignored the bishops' protest, declaring that the proposal would be put into effect (II:6, 45).

As we have mentioned before (under Part Four, section III.C.2., q.v.), the second session was largely taken up by the reading of credal and dogmatic documents including Leo's *Tome*, the reading of which was interrupted several times by the Illyrian and Palestinian bishops, who criticized the christology expressed in the *Tome* (II:24-26). At the end of the reading the *Tome* was approved by acclamation (II:23) which can scarcely have been unanimous. One bishop, Atticus of Nicopolis, asked for St. Cyril's Third Letter to Nestorius with its Twelve Chapters to be taken into account as well (II:29), but his proposal was ignored without formal rejection. The chairman now proposed a postponement of formal discussion of the faith for five days until Leo's supporters had provided further reassurance for the critics of the *Tome* at a private meeting to be held at the residence of Archbishop Anatolius at Constantinople (II:31-33).

The Illyrian and Palestinian bishops reported to the council at the fourth session (17 October), the result of their meeting at the Archbishop's palace in which they received verbal reassurance from the papal legates that Leo did not intend to separate the two natures in Christ despite expressions in the *Tome* that could give the opposite impression (IV:9 after §98 and §114). 161 bishops or their representatives in turn, with monotonous repetition, expressed the view that the *Tome* was in accord with the creeds and with the proceedings

of the First Council of Ephesus, by which they meant the Second Letter of St. Cyril to Nestorius which had been formally approved at that council (IV:9:1-161). The remaining bishops expressed agreement by acclamation (IV:10-11). It is striking that Leo's *Tome* was approved because it was claimed to be in agreement with St. Cyril's letter, although, of course, not with the Third Letter of St. Cyril to Nestorius with its Twelve Chapters which cannot be reconciled with the *Tome* [see Part Three of the present work under section III.D.3.]. Anyhow, throughout the council, it was St. Cyril, not Leo, who was seen as the determinant voice of orthodoxy. For propagandistic advantages, Leo was proclaimed to be in perfect accord with St. Cyril. But the minutes of the session are less than compelling. The content of the *Tome* was not discussed, with the result that the proof of its orthodoxy was made to lie entirely in the authority and the claimed sincerity of the bishops testifying in its favour; yet 119 of them had only two years previously, at the Second Council of Ephesus, condemned Flavian of Constantinople for holding the same views as Pope Leo. Therefore, their sincerity is doubtful.

In the fifth and most momentous session of the council (22 October), a dramatic confrontation took place between the imperial officials and the bishops after a small drafting group headed by Archbishop Anatolius presented a draft definition to the council, the text of which had been shown to the bishops at an informal meeting the day before and (to quote from acclamations) "The definition satisfied everyone...." (V:7-8), "Yesterday the definition satisfied everyone" (V:12). But the Roman delegates and some Antiochene bishops objected to the draft, and their reservations were backed by the imperial officials, in spite of the fact that the majority of bishops were chanting, "The definition has satisfied everyone. [Report] our statements to the emperor. This is the definition of the orthodox. Another definition must not be produced. Nothing is lacking in the definition" (V:11, 18). As we have detailed before in the previous section (III.C.5.), the bishops shouted that those wanting further change were Nestorians, yet the bishops' opposition eventually collapsed in the face of a threat to transfer the council to Italy, and a new drafting group quickly produced the revised version with its uncompromising dyophysitism. [See Part Five, section VI, "The Danger of Dyophysism"].

Clearly, "(the bishops') first attempt at a definition, which seems to have contained a compromise formula based on *ek duo phuseon* ('from two natures') that was acceptable to the vast majority, was not enough to satisfy the papal legates. Tellingly, the text of that draft creed was not recorded in the minutes. Theology was apparently too important to be left to 300 bishops, so when they were commanded to revise the formula, the task was entrusted to a select committee of leading churchmen who met behind closed doors. No records were kept of their deliberations, and the definition they finally produced was offered to the council as a finished product – faith should not be seen to be subject to debate or discussion" (M. Gaddis in *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 46).

R. Price also has the following comment: "It is not credible that Anatolius would have been so foolish as to present the draft without having secured Roman approval beforehand. We can but conclude that since the meeting of the day before they (i.e. the Roman legates) had been lobbied, presumably by the Syrians, and most probably by Bishop Theodoret of Cyrrhus, easily the leading representative of what we call the 'Antiochene School', meaning the Syrian clergy hostile to Cyril. Since Theodoret was a personal friend of the lay chairman,

the patrician Anatolius, the role the latter was to play in this session may also be attributed with plausibility to Theodoret's lobbying" (*Chalcedon in Context*, p. 79). Price also adds (*ibid.*, n. 34): "A non-Chalcedon source tells us that Theodoret was also in league with Aetius the archdeacon of Constantinople, who supplied him with a copy of the draft definition 'by night', clearly before the other bishops had seen it (Ps.-Zachariah, *Hist. Eccl.* III.1, trans. Hamilton and Brooks, 46-7)".

"Ste. Croix's analysis of the links between the presiding officials, in particular the senior official Anatolius, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus reveals that the rehabilitation of the deposed bishops had been a priority from the very conception of the council, even though there were probably few bishops outside the diocese of Oriens who would have supported this action if it had not been perceived to chime with imperial wishes" (Michael Whitby, "An Unholy Crew?", in *Chalcedon in Context*, p. 181, referring to Ste. Croix [2006], pp. 285-294). [For details on the admission of Theodoret to the Council, see section III.C.1.d. in Part Four of the present work].

R. Price in his article "Truth, Omission and fiction in the Acts of Chalcedon" comments on the omissions in the minutes of the fifth session saying:

"There are striking omissions in the minutes: they leave out the draft definition, as also the objections raised to it by the Roman delegates and by some of the Syrian bishops. The sheer brevity of the record is proof of extensive omissions. At the end of the session, after the reading out of the revised definition, the bishops are recorded as approving it by universal acclamation: 'This is the faith of the fathers. Let the metropolitans sign at once... To this we all assent. We all believe accordingly' (Acts V:35). Whence suddenly this happy consensus? Did the mere reading of the Definition in its final form silence all dissent and leave scope for nothing but applause? Even if, as we have seen, the main sequence of the session was recorded with surprising honesty, it is clear that the editors of the acts used plenty of red pencil: although the existence of disagreement over the drafting of the Definition was to be admitted as evidence of honest debate, the details of the discussion were to be excised, since they would have revealed real theological disagreement, and that would have been scandalous.....nothing was to be left in the minutes that would undermine the impression of unity in belief and witness, and a genuine unanimity in approving the Definition in its final form" (*Chalcedon in Context*, pp. 96-97).

"The result has sometimes deceived historians as to what was really going on. It emerges from the acts that the draft definition stated that Christ is 'from two natures'. The Roman delegates and the chairman wanted this formula to be replaced by a wholly unambiguous statement of a continued distinction between the two natures even after the union; the majority of bishops present resisted this, since it smacked to them of Nestorianism. In the minutes as they stand, however, 'from two natures' features as the favoured expression of the recently condemned Dioscorus, while the stronger expression that the chairman demanded is presented as the teaching of Pope Leo that all the bishops had approved without reservation at the fourth session (Acts V:13-17). The bishops, according to this account, had no solid reason to raise difficulties, and the chairman's task was not to compel them to accept something against their will, but simply to explain to them, as to slow-witted schoolchildren, the clear logic of the question before them; and this he did, one modern historian has naively remarked, 'with exemplary patience'" (*ibid.*, p. 97, quoting Kidd, *HC*,

vol. III, p. 325).

But of course, "any assertion of 'two natures' after the union was anathema to the Cyrillian purists, and the Definition never had a hope of winning universal acceptance in the eastern provinces" (*ibid.*, p. 81).

III.D.2. THE SIGNING OF THE CHALCEDONIAN DEFINITION AT THE SIXTH SESSION OF CHALCEDON (25 OCTOBER, 451):

[*ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 206-243]

Three days after the fifth session in which the revised text of the definition was drawn up, there followed the sixth session on Thursday 25 October 451. It was a gala occasion attended by the emperor Marcian and his consort Pulcheria in person, although her name is not present in the attendance list for this session in either the Greek or the Latin of the complete Acts. (Cf. *ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 206f.).

The session was attended by 324 bishops or their representatives (VI:1:1-324) and no fewer than 38 high officials of the state (VI:2), (*ibid.*, pp. 208-213).

The session was opened by a self-congratulatory speech from emperor Marcian, in which he compared himself to his great predecessor Constantine, in securing the unity of the Church through unity of doctrine. The speech was delivered in both Latin and Greek (VI:2, 4). His speech was followed by the inevitable acclamations "To Marcian the new Constantine" (VI:3, 5), and by the reading of the new definition. There follow in the acts signatures of the bishops whose collection, however, had begun before the session and was to continue after it. The total number of signatories amounted to 452 (VI:9), but this was an inflated number through the inclusion of 114 names of absent bishops (VI:9:342-450) provided in block lists by their metropolitans. They come in this position in the acts as the result of an editorial decision to link them as closely as possible to the text of the Definition.

"The pressure on the bishops to sign is illustrated by the case of two leaders of the opposition, Amphilochius of Side and Eustathius of Berytus, both of whom signed the definition under duress (VI:9:21, 65)" (*ibid.*, p. 207).

The name of Amphilochius of Side, "given in the Latin manuscripts, is absent from the Greek text. This...has a curious rightness to it in that Amphilochius 'needed to be cuffed on the head by the archdeacon of Constantinople to be persuaded to sign'..." (*ibid.*, p. 218, n. 26, quoting Chadwick [2001], pp. 582-583 who is citing Ps.-Zachariah, *HC* III.1). Amphilochius also was the only metropolitan who, in response to emperor Leo's consultation of 457 A.D., dissented from the Chalcedonian Definition (*ibid.*, referring to Evagrius, *HE* II:10, and *ACO* 2.5, p. 24.9n).

As for Eustathius of Berytus, his name is given in the list of signatories followed by the words: "I have defined and signed" (VI:9:65), but "Eustathius later claimed that he added in shorthand, 'I have signed this under pressure, not being in agreement'..." (*ibid.*, p. 220, n. 28, quoting Ps.-Zachariah, *HE* III:1).

Apart from the Egyptian bishops – whose refusal to take any part in the council, after St. Dioscorus's disgrace, had been accepted by the officials (IV:60) – all the bishops at the council were clearly required to sign (*ibid.*, p. 207).

While the collection of the signatures extended over many days, the immediate

response at the sixth session to the reading of the definition was its approval by acclamation with further acclamations to Marcian the new Constantine and Pulcheria the new Helena (VI:11), comparisons which would probably have been known in advance to appeal to imperial vanity.

Marcian betrayed awareness that the Definition was already proving divisive by proceeding to pronounce penalties on anyone who stirred up opposition to it in Constantinople. Thus he said: "....our serenity has judged it right and profitable that every future occasion for controversy over our holy religion should be removed. Therefore, if anyone, whether in private life or involved in government service or belonging to the clergy, publicly gathers a mob and under the pretext of holding a disputation about the faith causes a disturbance, let him know that if he is enrolled as a private citizen he will be expelled from the imperial city, while if he is a public servant or a cleric, he will endanger his service in the former case and his clerical rank in the latter and be subjected to other penalties (VI:14)" (*ibid.*, p. 241). The same penalties were enacted in the First Edict confirming Chalcedon, issued 7 February 452 (see the text of the Edict in *ACC*, vol. 3, pp. 128-130).

The emperor proceeded to present three draft laws (VI:17-19), which he had been asked to promulgate as imperial edicts, but he declared they should be approved by the bishops, "in council rather than enacted by our laws" (VI:16). These canons were indeed included, with minor amendment, among the canons subsequently issued in the council's name, as Canons 4, 3 & 20 of Chalcedon (see texts in *ACC*, vol. 3, pp. 94-101).

Price concluded saying: "The council had proved obedient in yielding to imperial demands over the definition; the emperor was happy to continue to employ it as the agent of his wishes" (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 208). Likewise, Michael Whitby, in his article "An Unholy Crew? Bishops Behaving Badly at Church Councils", (*Chalcedon in Context*, p. 183), reached a similar conclusion , saying: "The Acts of Chalcedon demonstrated that bishops could not be trusted to look after the business of the Church, especially on important matters".

The emperor also declared to the council that he had decreed that "the city of Chalcedon, in which the holy faith has been defined in council, shall have the rank of a metropolis, this honour being purely titular since the metropolis of Nicomedia will of course keep its own status (VI:21)" (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 243).

In reference to the disagreement over the paschal calendar raised by Pope Leo in his letter to Paschasinus (*ep.* 88, of 24 June 451, *ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 101-103), the bishops cried to the emperor in the sixth session, "One Easter for the whole world. Put an end to the misfortunes of the bishops" (VI:22). "The issue of the dating of Easter remained perplexed", notes Price (*ibid.*, p. 103, n. 49:), "We find Leo writing to Julian of Cos in March 454 (*ep.* 131), instructing him to seek clear guidance from the emperor on the matter, and to Marcian himself in May 454, conveying his acceptance of the Egyptian calculation 'not because clear reason taught this but because I have been persuaded by concern for unity, which we maintain most of all' (*ep.* 137, *ACO* 2.4 p. 90, 12-13)".

Finally, the bishops at the end of the sixth session exclaimed: "...We beg you, dismiss us. You are pious, O emperor; dismiss us" (VI:22).

But "Marcian closed the session by telling the bishops that, now that the council had achieved its main purpose, they were free to raise lesser agenda items on their own

initiative and were all to remain in the city until their work had been completed (VI:23). The bishops indeed stayed on for another week and transacted business that related largely to disputes over individuals. But they were not free to set up their own agenda: of the remaining items of business, the great majority were initiated by the emperor himself, in response to petitions. All the others arose inevitably – the standing of Theodoret (Session VIII) and of Domnus (Session on Domnus), and the privileges of the see of Constantinople (Session XVI). Chalcedon was from first to last very much an imperial council" (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 208).

III.E. The Compromise Agreement Between Maximus of Antioch and Juvenal of Jerusalem at the Seventh Session of Chalcedon (Friday, 26 October, 451):

[*ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 244-249]

The session of 26 October 451 is numbered as the seventh act in the Latin Acts; it is numbered as the eighth in the Greek edition, as a result of its listing the 27 Canons as the "seventh act".

The see of Jerusalem as the cradle of the church was granted in Canon 7 of the Ecumenical Council of Nicaea the recognition of the "proper honor" due to it, while insisting that the metropolis of the province (Palestine) remained Caesarea. Juvenal (422-458 A.D.) tried to have Jerusalem recognized at the First Council of Ephesus (431) as not only fully autonomous but also as enjoying jurisdiction over the provinces of Palestine, Phoenice and Arabia. Frustrated on this occasion, he got his way at the Second Council of Ephesus 449, which accepted his claims both to authority over these provinces and even to an elevated patriarchal dignity superior to that of Constantinople and perhaps even Antioch. This is shown by the position of his name in the attendance list of the first session of the Second Council of Ephesus (*ibid.*, pp. 244, 245 & n. 3, see the list in *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 144).

On Marcian's accession to the throne, Maximus bishop of Antioch, which claimed patriarchal authority over all these provinces, appealed to the emperor against these decisions. Neither contestant was in a strong position personally.

At Chalcedon the politically astute Juvenal sensed the way the wind was blowing and switched sides to save his own position and was just reinstated in the fourth session of Chalcedon after being discredited and temporarily suspended in the first session of Chalcedon (I:1068) for his role in the Second Council of Ephesus. Maximus of Antioch was still in a weak position at the seventh session and liable to lose his see to his predecessor Domnus, since the decision in favor of Maximus was only taken later in the tenth session (X:144-149). So, Juvenal and Maximus worked out a compromise according to which Jerusalem's independence of Antioch and authority over Palestine was confirmed but Phoenice and Arabia were to be restored to Antioch (VII:4, 5). The council was happy to approve this compromise solution (VII:6-17), since in the words of Bolotov, a modern historian quoted by Price, the two agreed that, "a bad peace was better than a good quarrel" (*ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 244-245).

III.F. The Reinstatement of Theodoret and Ibas and the Decision in the Case of Domnus:

III.F.1. THE REINSTATEMENT OF THEODORET IN THE EIGHTH SESSION (FRIDAY, 26 OCTOBER, 451):

[*ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 250-257]

This session, of 26 October 451, is numbered as the eighth in the Latin Acts and the ninth in the Greek. It took place on the same day as both the seventh and ninth sessions. According to the original nomenclature (as in Liberatus, *Breviarium*, *ACO* 2.5 pp. 120-23), these counted as three "acts" transacted in a single "session".

Theodoret of Cyrrhus had been employed by his Antiochene party in 431 as a controversialist in the campaign against St. Cyril of Alexandria both before and after the Ecumenical First Council of Ephesus of 431, and when peace was restored between the rival factions in 433, he was notably reluctant to accept the condemnation of Nestorius. He was deposed at the Second Council of Ephesus of 449, but Pope Leo protested against this decision and "recognized him as orthodox" (Mansi vii:190D), and Marcian soon after his accession effectively reinstated him.

As we have mentioned before (in Part Four under section III.C.1.d.), the imperial officials insisted that he attend the Council of Chalcedon from the first session, even before his condemnation at the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus 449 had been formally reviewed (I:26). In the face of fierce opposition Theodoret attended as a plaintiff (I:194-196) sitting apart from other bishops (I:36), yet he participated as a full member of the council in the second and fourth sessions. Price also says that Theodoret "played a full role at Chalcedon from the second session onward" (*Chalcedon in Context*, p. 122).

His case was resolved at this eighth session, at which he was formally restored to his see, after having been given a rough reception. He requested the opportunity to prove his orthodoxy by the reading out of two documents he presented, but the bishops refused to hear them, saying: "We don't want anything to be read. Anathematize Nestorius now" (VIII:5-6). He attempted to prove his orthodoxy by anathematizing Nestorius and Eutyches jointly, which is an affirmation of the Chalcedonian Definition, saying: "I by the grace of God was raised among the orthodox, and both received and have passed on orthodox instruction. Not only Nestorius and Eutyches but every human being who holds unorthodox views I reject and consider alien" (VIII:7).

While he was still speaking, the most devout bishops exclaimed: "Say publicly, anathema to Nestorius and his teachings, anathema to Nestorius and his friends!" (VIII:8).

Again Theodoret said: ".... I have come to prove that I am orthodox and that I anathematize Nestorius and Eutyches and everyone who says 'two sons'" (VIII:9).

While he was still speaking, the bishops exclaimed: "Say clearly, anathema to Nestorius and to those who hold his views!" (VIII:10). Then Theodoret said: "If I may not expound what I believe, I shall not speak but simply believe" (VIII:11). While he was still speaking, the most devout bishops exclaimed: "He is a heretic. He is a Nestorian. Drive out the heretic" (VIII:12).

Finally Theodoret said: "Anathema to Nestorius and to whoever does not say that the

holy Virgin Mary is *Theotokos*, and to whoever divides the one only-begotten Son into two Sons. I have signed the definition of the faith and the letter of the most sacred Archbishop Leo, and I think accordingly", concluding irately, "And after all this may you be preserved!" (VIII:13).

Price comments saying: "A joint condemnation of Nestorius and Eutyches was simply an affirmation of the Chalcedonian Definition; an anathema directed specifically at Nestorius by a suspected Nestorian was equivalent, in the eyes of his critics, to an act of repentance by a heretic; this made Theodoret's submission both reluctant and humiliating" (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 251, & n. 3: "Justinian had reason to comment, in his Letter on the Three Chapters, that Theodoret and Ibas were received back by the fathers of Chalcedon 'not as teachers or fathers but as penitents' [*PG* 86, 1087B]...").

It is recorded in the minutes that once the officials declared that Theodoret's condemnation of Nestorius is accepted (VIII:14), "All the most devout bishops exclaimed: 'Theodoret is worthy of the see. Restore the orthodox one to the church... May the church receive back the orthodox teacher... May the congregation receive back the one who is orthodox.... May the church be restored to the orthodox teacher Theodoret'" (VIII:15). But it is manifest from the rest of the session that this acclamation did not express a general view (*ibid.*, p. 251, n. 3 & p. 255 & n. 12: 'the orthodox teacher' is the reading of the Latin version, where the Greek has 'the bishop'. Schwartz detects in the Greek a change to the text in the light of the condemnation of Theodoret's writings against Cyril of Alexandria at the [Chalcedonian] Council of Constantinople of 553).

On these acclamations Price expresses reservation saying: "But how many bishops, one wonders, actually took part in these acclamations: scarcely the same ones, surely, who a moment before had shouted him down as 'a heretic' and 'a Nestorian'! At an hearing at Constantinople in April 449 to examine the accuracy of the minutes of the Home Synod of November 448 one of the notaries observed, 'It often happens at these most holy gatherings that one of the most God-beloved bishops present says something, and what one man says is recorded and counted as if everyone alike had said it. This is what has happened from time immemorial: for instance, one person speaks, and we write, "The holy council said..."'" (*Chalcedon in Context*, p. 122, referring to the Acts of Chalcedon I:767).

Then he goes on to say: "In any case the acclamations were not the last word at this session of Chalcedon. They are followed in the acts by a series of verdicts by senior bishops, who agreed that Theodoret was orthodox, but stressed that he had proved this by anathematizing Nestorius (VIII:16-23). This was a less fulsome tribute to Theodoret's orthodoxy than describing him as 'the orthodox teacher'" (*ibid.*).

Michael Whitby in his article "An Unholy Crew?" comments on the verdicts of the bishops and the officials in favor of Theodoret (VIII:16-25) saying: "The papal envoys initiated the record of views by noting that Pope Leo had welcomed Theodoret back into communion some time previously, and that Theodoret's current written and verbal anathemas of Nestorius and Eutyches had merely confirmed the rectitude of that decision. The papal view of the council as a mechanism to endorse Pope Leo's views was, unsurprisingly, not picked up by any of the subsequent speakers. Maximus of Antioch, speaking third, was the most effusive in affirming Theodoret's orthodoxy, which had, apparently, been evident to him from the very beginning, a surprising assertion for someone who had been consecrated

during Theodoret's exclusion from his see, but perhaps necessary now that Maximus would have to deal closely with Theodoret as the most influential bishop within the diocese of the Oriens. Juvenal of Jerusalem, who came next, is even more revealing, managing a terse, 'I too agree with the resolution of the most God-beloved Anatolius archbishop of Constantinople'; alone out of the bishops who spoke he could not bring himself to mention his doctrinal enemy by name, even though he could not avoid participating in his return" (*Chalcedon in Context*, pp. 190-191).

At the end of the session, two more bishops suspected of Nestorian leanings were likewise required to anathematize Nestorius (VIII:26-29), the first Sophronius of Constantia (Tella) who was condemned at Ephesus II (see Part Two of the present work, section II.C.2.f.), the second John of Germanicia who had close relations with Theodoret (see Theodoret, *ep.* 125), and had boldly criticized the draft definition at the fifth session (V:4, 12).

Amphilochius of Side, a notably reluctant signatory of the definition (see VI:9:21), as mentioned before (under section III.D.2. of Part Four), was obliged to anathematize Eutyches (VIII:30-31). The chairman closed the session with an expression of satisfaction that the council had been fully reconciled and the time had come for all to maintain concord (VIII:32). On the surface this was true.

The vindication of Theodoret at this session proved momentous for the reception of Chalcedon. The charges against the Chalcedonian Definition together with its included *Tome* of Leo are discussed in great detail in Part Five of the present work, and the examples of condemnations and anathemas pronounced against them by the non-Chalcedonians who were persecuted and accepted martyrdom for holding the true Miaphysite faith are given in great abundance in Part Six of the present work.

The critics of Chalcedon could always point to the council's support for Theodoret as proof of its Nestorian sympathies. It is true that Theodoret was only restored after he had anathematized Nestorius, but he did so with obvious reluctance and was not required to withdraw his book in which he had fiercely criticized St. Cyril's Twelve Anathematisms. This omission is understandable in the context of the crypto-Nestorianism of the Council of Chalcedon. [See section V in Part Five of the present work.] It was to exclude this argument that the Chalcedonian Council of Constantinople of 553 combined its reaffirmation of Chalcedon with condemnation of the "Three Chapters", which included the writings of Theodoret against St. Cyril and the First Council of Ephesus, and in defense of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius. But because of Theodoret's reinstatement at Chalcedon, his person remained protected and was spared the fate of posthumous condemnation as a heretic doled out to his master Theodore of Mopsuestia. [See section V.C. of Part Four.]

III.F.2. THE CASE OF IBAS OF EDESSA AND HIS REINSTATEMENT AFTER DISCUSSIONS IN THE NINTH AND TENTH SESSIONS (26 AND 27 OCTOBER, 451):

III.F.2.a. The Ninth Session:

[*ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 258-264]

Three sessions were held on October 26th (the seventh, eighth and ninth).

"This the third session (or 'act') held on 26 October 451 is numbered as the ninth act in the Latin Acts and as the tenth in the Greek. Like the following tenth session, held on the next day, it was devoted to the case of Bishop Ibas of Edessa who had been condemned at the Council of Ephesus 449. Ibas appeared at the ninth session as a plaintiff, appealing for reinstatement in his see.... He appealed to an earlier ruling on his case in February 449 by two Oriental bishops (Photius of Tyre and Eustathius of Berytus) which had left him in possession of his see....he also appealed to the fact that the main charge against him, one of making heretical statements, had been rejected by 'all' his clergy. The council proceeded to hear the terms imposed at Tyre (IX:7), which were interpreted by the Roman delegates as an acquittal of Ibas (IX:6, 9); it was clearly hoped that the bishops would squash Ibas' condemnation at Ephesus II and accept in its place the compromise worked out at Tyre. The bishops, however, maintained a stony silence (IX:13)..... Accordingly the case was adjourned until the tenth session on the following day". [For the condemnation of Ibas at the Second Council of Ephesus and the hearings which preceded his trial there, see Part Two of the present work under section II.C.2.c.].

III.F.2.b. The Tenth Session:

[*ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 265-309]

The session of Saturday 27 October 451 is numbered as the tenth act in the Latin Acts and as the eleventh in the Greek.

The proceedings begin by Ibas relating to the council that after a year which he spent in exile and imprisonment, the accession of Marcian enabled him to appeal with effect against his deposition, and the emperor entrusted the case to the Council of Chalcedon (X:1). Some of his clergy were allowed to come before the council as his accusers (X:9-10); they insisted on a reading out of the minutes of the inconclusive hearing in February 449 that began at Tyre and soon moved to Berytus (X:22); the Acts of Chalcedon reproduce a substantial part of the minutes (X:28-138) which contained the charges against him, including the Letter of Ibas to Mari the Persian (X:138). This letter, written in 433 A.D., criticized St. Cyril of Alexandria and the pro-Cyrillian sessions of the Ecumenical First Council of Ephesus of 431 with wit and acerbity. It was read out accidentally, because of its presence in the minutes of the hearing at Berytus. After the reading Ibas produced a testimonial in his support signed by 65 of his clergy (X:141). At Berytus, however, his opponents had claimed all too plausibly that he had used terror tactics on an earlier occasion against those reluctant to sign a testimonial in his support (X:106, 109), [the reference to the testimonial submitted by some of his clergy to the Council of Antioch of 448].

The discussion turned, however, decisively in Ibas's favor when the lay president asked for the reading of the Acts of Ephesus II relating to his condemnation (X:143). It must have become clear at this point that reopening the Acts of the Second Council of Ephesus could only embarrass the more than 100 bishops who had then cheered the condemnations of those now being restored. **The Roman legates quickly protested that the proceedings of Ephesus were null and void and should not be read (X:144). This gained the assent of the other bishops, in what constituted an annulment of the decrees of that council (X:145-159), conditional upon imperial confirmation in a decree which was issued only on 6 July 452 in the Third Edict confirming Chalcedon**

(see the text in *ACC*, vol. 3, pp. 131-133). Thus the proceedings of the second session of Ephesus II were never read back at Chalcedon and did not make it into the official record. [It is preserved only in the Syriac Acts of that council, ed. with English trans. by Perry and with German trans. by Flemming, see list of Bibliog. under Perry and under Flemming].

Since the former proceedings at Ephesus were no longer read the officials asked the council to express its pleasure concerning Ibas (X:160).

The first verdict was delivered by the Roman delegate Paschasinus, who chose to interpret the adjudication pronounced at Tyre on 25 February 449 as a ringing endorsement of Ibas's innocence and the Letter to Mari as further proof of his orthodoxy. His judgement in the name of the whole Roman delegation representing the apostolic see was: "the most devout Ibas has been proved innocent, and from the reading of his letter we have found him to be orthodox" (X:161). This was endorsed by the second verdict from Anatolius of Constantinople but without mentioning the Letter to Mari (X:162). The third verdict was from Maximus of Antioch, who could simply have ignored the Letter to Mari, but his tenure of the see of Antioch (to which Domnus's superior rights had not yet been discounted) depended on Roman support, thus he chose to echo Paschasinus saying: "From what has just been read it has become clear that the most devout Ibas is guiltless of everything charged against him; and from the reading of the transcript of the letter produced by his adversary his writing has been seen to be orthodox. I therefore decree that he is to recover the dignity of the episcopate and his own city...." (X:163).

Since it was customary that once the senior bishop who spoke first gave his verdict all the bishops who speak subsequently have to endorse it. But in view of Ibas's letter, and its disrespectful treatment of St. Cyril and the First Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, and curiously muted criticisms of Nestorius, these compliments from Paschasinus (and Maximus) seem oddly injudicious, and an awkward situation arose.

The ice was broken when Juvenal of Jerusalem declared that Ibas should be treated leniently saying: "Divine Scripture orders the receiving back of those who repent, which is why we also receive people from heresy. I therefore resolve that the most devout Ibas should receive clemency, also because he is elderly, so as to retain episcopal dignity, being orthodox" (X:164). "This gave the bishops who spoke next the courage to say that he should be reinstated on the more judicious grounds that his judges at Tyre had not deposed him and he had anathematized Nestorius. No one asked whether he had in fact carried out his promise at Tyre to anathematize Nestorius and declare his acceptance of the full authority of the Council of Ephesus of 431 which he had derided in his Letter to Mari; since he had been unable to return to Edessa after the hearings at Berytus and Tyre, we can only suppose that he had not done so" (*ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 269-270). "Yet after Paschasinus' unconditional acquittal of Ibas none of the bishops who spoke individually dared to state unambiguously that Ibas needed to prove his orthodoxy in the presence of the council. Only when it came to the subsequent acclamations did the bishops make the demand, 'Let him now anathematize Nestorius' (Acts X:179). The council only narrowly escaped the disaster of restoring Ibas without his repudiating Nestorius" (*Chalcedon in Context*, p. 87). The lay chairman endorsed the decision of the bishops to reinstate Ibas (X:180-181).

It is clear that the desire at Chalcedon to undo the work of the Ecumenical Second Council of Ephesus took priority over the rights and wrongs of this particular case.

III.F.2.c. The Session on Domnus of Antioch (Saturday, 27 October, 451):

[*ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 310-312]

"This act, or session, is preserved only in the Latin version (*ACO* 2.3 pp. 444-5). The date given – 27 October 451 – shows that it was a continuation of the tenth session, which had concluded with an annulment of the decrees of the Council of Ephesus of 449.... Part of the agenda of Chalcedon was to undo the work of Ephesus II by restoring the bishops it had deposed – Theodoret of Cyrrhus in the eighth session and Ibas in the tenth. Now Domnus of Antioch had also been deposed at Ephesus, leading to his replacement by Maximus. Maximus, however, had been consecrated by Anatolius of Constantinople and recognized as the lawful bishop of Antioch by Pope Leo (X:145). Domnus, moreover, was in disgrace after his capitulation at Ephesus, where he tried without avail to protect his own position by approving the deposition of his fellow bishops Flavian of Constantinople, Eusebius of Dorylaeum, Ibas of Edessa and Theodoret of Cyrrhus. He had returned to the monastery of Euthymius in Palestine, where he had originally been a monk..... Domnus decided not to press for his own reinstatement, but simply to ask for a pension out of the revenues of his former see.. This compromise Maximus was happy to accept and to place before the council – to protect himself from any questioning of the legitimacy of his own election". And the bishops also were happy to approve the proposal.

III.G. Adjudications in a Variety of Matters:

III.G.1. A VERDICT DEALING WITH A DISPUTE OVER EPISCOPAL ELECTIONS AT EPHESUS DELIVERED AT THE ELEVENTH SESSION, RECONSIDERED AND AFFIRMED AT THE TWELFTH SESSION:

III.G.1.a. The Eleventh Session (Monday, 29 October, 451):

[*ACC*, vol. 3, pp. 1-17]

This session of 29 October 451, is numbered as the eleventh act in the Latin Acts and the twelfth in the Greek. "Like the following session it dealt with a dispute over episcopal elections at Ephesus, the metropolis of the province of Asia. Stephen appeared at Chalcedon as the sitting bishop, but his deposed rival Bassianus appealed to the emperor, who sent him to present this plea for reinstatement to the council. After a full debate the bishops accepted the proposal of the lay chairman that neither of the two rivals was acceptable and that a new bishop should be elected."

For the details and complexity of the dispute see the commentary (*ibid.*, pp. 1-3).

"Because of the lack of consensus over where, and by whom, the consecration of a bishop of Ephesus should be conducted, the chairman adjourned the discussion until the following session, presumably hoping to combine the decision over Bassianus and Stephen with a clarification of the rights of the see of Constantinople."

The proposal of consecrating the new metropolitan of Ephesus caused great anxiety. "The most devout bishops of Asia, prostrating themselves before the most holy council of the fathers, said: 'Have mercy on us; we beg the holy council to have mercy on our children,

lest they should perish on account of us and our sins, so that clemency may be accorded them and that [a bishop] be accorded to us, even if it were Bassianus, in a choice of evils. For if someone is consecrated here, our children will perish and the city will be ruined' (XI:53)". "This is a reference to the heavy consecration fees demanded by the bishop of Constantinople, for which see XVI:37" (*ibid.*, p. 15, n. 28). Therefore, "one may conjecture that they and the people of Ephesus had accepted Bassianus because at least he had not been imposed on them by Constantinople; this explains too why Proclus of Constantinople only accepted him under imperial pressure (XI:14)".

"Canon 28 of Chalcedon was to confirm that the bishop of Ephesus was to be consecrated by the bishop of Constantinople, after the due process of election had been carried out. Although this left the choice of a bishop to the local clergy and people, the implication was that in the case of a disputed election the decision would rest with the bishop of the imperial city; the canon also implied that appeals against the bishop of Ephesus would be heard at Constantinople and that he had no authority outside the province of Asia itself. It is not surprising that after Chalcedon some of the bishops of Ephesus allied themselves to the anti-Chalcedonian cause" (*ibid.*, p. 3).

In 476, St. Timothy II Pope of Alexandria and St. Peter the Fuller of Antioch assembled a large number of bishops of Asia and other places, to the total of around six hundred bishops (in other sources 700 bishops) in a council held at Ephesus, which restored the full patriarchal rights of Ephesus "τὸν πατριαρχικὸν δίκαιον". [See details on this Third Council of Ephesus in Part Two of the present work under section I.A.2.h.].

III.G.1.b. The Twelfth Session (Tuesday, 30 October, 451):

[*ACC*, vol. 3, pp. 18-22]

"This session, or act, of 30 October 451, is numbered as the twelfth act in the Latin Acts and the thirteenth in the Greek. It gave the bishops the opportunity to reconsider their verdict at the preceding session on the case of Bassianus and Stephen of Ephesus.....there was scope for second thoughts about the claims of Bassianus and Stephen. A rival proposal was aired, that it should be left to the bishops of Asia to decide between the two (XII:11, 15, 17); the council, however, decided to stick to its earlier decision that both claimants should stand down and a successor be elected. The one further detail that was not settled was the size of the pension that both Bassianus and Stephen were to receive (XII:26)".

III.G.2. A DECISION IN THE DISPUTE BETWEEN THE BISHOP OF NICOMEDIA THE METROPOLIS OF BITHYNIA AND THE BISHOP OF NICAEA IN THE SAME PROVINCE IN THE THIRTEENTH SESSION:

[*ACC*, vol. 3, pp. 23-33]

"This the second session held on 30 October 451 is numbered as the thirteenth act in the Latin Acts and the fourteenth in the Greek. It addressed a dispute between Bishop Eunomius of Nicomedia, the metropolis of Bithynia, and Bishop Anastasius of Nicaea in the same province, who had assumed jurisdiction in the neighbouring city of Basilinopolis on the strength of traditional links between the two cities and his enjoyment of honorary metropolitan status. The bishops decided that the rights of Nicomedia should be safeguarded" (*ibid.*, p. 23).

"Of greater importance was the question of authority of the see of Constantinople in Bithynia. Canon 28 was to enact that the bishop of Constantinople was to consecrate metropolitans of the Pontic diocese, which included Bithynia..... Archdeacon Aetius of Constantinople argued that nothing in the case between the bishops of Nicomedia and Nicaea should affect the right of the bishop of Constantinople to carry out consecrations in Basilinopolis (XIII:37). The chairman replied that the question of the rights of Constantinople would be discussed later. The bishop of Nicomedia responded with a qualified acceptance of the role of Constantinople 'subject to the canons' (XIII:40). Canon 28, with its specification that *only* the metropolitans were to be consecrated by the bishop of Constantinople, was shortly to present a more restrictive definition of his role" (*ibid.*, p. 24).

Likewise, when the emperor announced that the council's host city would be honoured with metropolitan dignity (VI:21) he made sure to specify that Chalcedon's new rank was to be "in name only" and was not to interfere with the rights of the provincial metropolis, Nicomedia. Among the canons adopted in the sixteenth session of Chalcedon, Canon 12 explicitly prohibited any efforts to divide provinces or create metropolitan sees.

III.G.3. A DISCUSSION OF THE FATE OF ATHANASIUS OF PERRHE IN THE FOURTEENTH SESSION:

[*ACC*, vol. 3, pp. 34-61]

"This the first session of 31 October 451 is numbered as the fourteenth act in the Latin Acts and as the fifteenth in the Greek. It was devoted to the rival claims to the see of Perrhe (in Syria Euphratensis) of Bishops Athanasius and Sabinianus. Athanasius represented Perrhe at the earlier sessions of the council, but the bishops now heard an appeal from Sabinianus. The fact that Athanasius had been deposed at a council at Antioch in 445 according to a proper procedure and had only recovered the see at the Council of Ephesus in 449 was decisive against him, although it was decided that the definitive reinstatement of Sabinianus would have to wait until yet another council at Antioch investigated the matter" (*ibid.*, p. 34).

"The Acts are not very revealing on the case, since the charges against Athanasius were not read out. But it is significant that he was supported by Cyril and later by Dioscorus of Alexandria, while Theodoret of Cyrrhus was forbidden by imperial mandate from attending the council at Antioch that dealt with the case (XIV:158). That Christological disagreement lay behind the case is confirmed by a letter of Theodoret (*Ep.* 127), dating to the period after Sabinianus' deposition, which urges him not to make peace with his enemies since this would betray the anti-miaphysite cause."

"A point of some interest is the lack of a clear legal closure in cases of this kind. After his initial condemnation in the court of his metropolitan, Athanasius appealed successfully for a retrial at Antioch, which went against him, but was subsequently reinstated at Ephesus II. The Acts of Ephesus II were annulled at the tenth session of Chalcedon (X:145-59), and this should have left in force Athanasius' condemnation at Antioch some years before. But instead the council agreed that yet another hearing was necessary before Athanasius' claims could be finally discounted" (*ibid.*, pp. 35-36).

It seems clear that Athanasius, who was a pro-Cyrillian, was condemned by an anti-Cyrillian council at Antioch in 445 and rehabilitated at the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus 449, the decisions of which were annulled at Chalcedon.

III.G.4. A READING OF A LETTER FROM POPE LEO DATING TO LATE JUNE, 451, IN THE FIFTEENTH SESSION:

[*ACC*, vol. 3, pp. 62-66]

"This the second session held on 31 October 451 is numbered as the sixteenth act in the Greek Acts and omitted from the Latin version. It consisted of no more than the presentation by the Roman delegates, and the reading to the council, of a letter from Pope Leo, dating to late June 451, in both the Latin original and a Greek translation. The minutes end abruptly after the reading of the letter, and it is unclear why it was read to the council at this late stage of the proceedings" (*ibid.*, p. 62).

"Hefele-Leclerq commented, 'One is at a loss to explain why this letter reached the council so late and at a time when for the assembled fathers it served no useful purpose. Evangelos Chrysos has suggested that these minutes are fictitious, contrived to fill a gap in the record when it was decided to suppress the minutes of the session held on this day at which the privileges of the see of Constantinople were discussed and decreed for the first time..... However, a more likely reason for the omission of the minutes of this session is that, since neither the imperial nor the papal representatives took part, its status was uncertain and, after the following session, which covered the same ground more authoritatively, its inclusion in the Acts would have served no purpose..... One could with more plausibility suggest that the Roman delegates were aware that a proposal, unwelcome to Rome, on the privileges of the see of Constantinople was about to come up and presented this letter at this juncture as a timely reminder of the authority of Pope Leo and his representatives. The link between the delegates' authority and their resistance to the pretensions of Constantinople was later made directly in a letter from Leo to Anatolius of Constantinople (*Ep.* 106 on 22 May 452; *ibid.*, pp. 146-150), 'Our brethren dispatched by the apostolic see, who presided in my stead at the council, resisted these unlawful attempts persistently and commendably'. But all such suggestions are mere speculation" (*ibid.*, pp. 62-63).

III.H. The Sixteenth Session and the Roman Objection to the Decree Later Known as Canon 28 of Chalcedon:

III.H.1. THE ROMAN OBJECTIONS TO CANON 28:

[*ACC*, vol. 3, pp. 67-91]

This session is numbered as the sixteenth act in the Latin Acts and the seventeenth in the Greek. Both the Latin and Greek Acts give the date of this session as 28 October 451, which is certainly wrong. Price argues more convincingly for 1 November as the date of this session (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 72-73).

The session heard an appeal from the Roman delegates against a decree (later called "Canon 28" of Chalcedon), adopted at an informal meeting of the bishops on the previous day, which recognized Constantinople as the first see in the east, ranking above Alexandria and Antioch, and assigned it authority over the bishoprics in Thrace, Asia and Pontus. The Roman delegates objected that this contravened the canons of the Council of Nicaea (which, of course, had met before Constantinople was even founded). They could not believe that

the bishops had freely agreed to the decree, and demanded that the bishops testify whether coercion had been used to secure their assent. When they failed to uncover from their testimony (XVI:20-33) any evidence to this effect, they attempted to veto it as an insult to the Roman see, which had not been consulted and was hostile to innovation. But the canon was adopted over their strenuous objections.

But it is clear from the Acts of Chalcedon that "the Roman delegates had certainly been slow to wake up to the importance of the issue. At the first session the chief Roman delegate, Bishop Paschasinus, had criticized Ephesus II for not according the bishop of Constantinople first place among the eastern bishops (I:72), while the authority of the see of Constantinople in Asia Minor had surfaced at subsequent sessions without the Roman delegates registering disapproval (see XI:53-61; XIII:7, 12, 19, 20, 37, 39, 40). Lucentius, when pressed as to what in his instructions made him object to the canon, quoted a document that forbade any derogation from the honour of the Roman see (XVI:14)" (*ibid.*, pp. 70, 85).

At the end of the session Lucentius also said: "The apostolic see ought not to be humiliated in our presence, and therefore we ask your sublimity to order that whatever was transacted yesterday in our absence in prejudice of the canons or rules be nullified. But if otherwise, let our formal objection be recorded in the minutes, so that we may know what we ought to report to the apostolic man the pope of the universal church, so that he may pass sentence on either the insult to his see or the overturning of the canons" (XVI:45).

"The bone of contention that dominated discussion in the session was the jurisdiction exercised by the eastern capital in the adjacent dioceses of Thrace, Asiana and Pontica. In the letters of protest that Leo wrote after the council (Documents after the Council 9, 10, *ibid.*, pp. 142-150) the main issue became the standing of Constantinople over against Antioch and Alexandria: the canon accorded Constantinople primacy throughout the east, and this was rejected by Rome as an innovation that derogated from the dignity of two more ancient sees" (*ibid.*, p. 71).

Particularly to be noted is the stress Leo placed on the Petrine status, and therefore the Roman links, of both Antioch and Alexandria: Peter had first preached at Antioch, and the founder of the see of Alexandria was St. Mark, the disciple of St. Peter" (*ibid.*, & n. 17: "Leo, *ep.* 106, *PL* 54, 1007B. This theme appears already in Pope Damasus in 382, apparently also in reaction to the claims of Constantinople, *PL* 13, 374C-376A").

As we have mentioned before (under section II.A. of Part Four), St. Dioscorus of Alexandria, before the end of the first year of his episcopacy, received a letter from Pope Leo (*Ep.* 9) stressing the Petrine link between their sees and arguing that Alexandria should therefore follow Roman customs on such details as the proper day for ordinations and the propriety of celebrating more than one Eucharist on a major feast-day.

It seems likely, therefore, that Leo had fears that the rise of the status and influence of Constantinople in the east would in the future weaken or even jeopardize the historically strong relations of Rome with Alexandria and Antioch. Consequently, the status of Rome would be effectively reduced to that of the patriarchal see of the western provinces. In this sense rivalry for influence between Rome and Constantinople was the root cause of the debate over Canon 28 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 72).

In fact, the Roman see rejected Canon 28 (and the related Canon 3 of the Council of Constantinople 381) for centuries, "until in the very different conditions of the establishment

of a Latin Patriarchate in Constantinople, as an offshoot of the Fourth Crusade, the Fourth Council of the Lateran under Pope Innocent III (1215 A.D.) decreed (in its Canon 5) that 'after the Roman Church...the church of Constantinople shall have the first place'" (*ibid.*, p. 110).

From the perspective of the Church of Alexandria, i.e. the Coptic Orthodox Church, the problems associated with this canon were not new and the principle of it was never accepted when brought up as Canon 3 in the Council of Constantinople 381 A.D. For more details as to why the Church of Alexandria rejected these canons according to the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ, please see Part Four, section I.C.

III.H.2. THE CONCLUSION OF THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND THE DRAFTING OF ITS CANONS 1-27:

[*ACC*, vol. 3, pp. 92-103]

With the end of the sixteenth session on a sour note, the council officially concluded and the bishops were free to leave. Some undoubtedly did, but others may have stayed around to assist in the drafting of the canons and to compose the council's official proclamations, namely the council's address to Marcian and the letter to Leo which appear at the end of the official acts (see the texts, *ibid.*, pp. 111-128). Over the next few months, the emperor issued several edicts confirming and enforcing the decrees of the council (see texts *ibid.*, pp. 128-136).

Delicate negotiations with Leo dragged on for more than a year, and only in March of 453 did the pope formally accept the council's decision on the faith – while continuing to reject the controversial twenty-eighth canon (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 51 & n. 186 referring to Leo, *Epistles* 110-116).

As regards the canons of Chalcedon, there is a list of canons 1-27 the text of which is numbered in the Greek Acts, and the *versio antiqua* of the Latin as the seventh session (or act) and in the later Latin versions as the fifteenth.

At the time when R. Price published his *Acts of the Council of Chalcedon* (2005 A.D.) he was believing that, "It is not a session of the council at all but a list of 27 canons. Even though these canons are styled an 'act' in both the Greek and Latin editions of the Acts, the absence of both a date and a list of participants or signatories tells against presuming that they were ever debated or approved at a formal session of the council; it appears that Anatolius simply issued them subsequently in the council's name. The chief interest of the canons in the context of Chalcedon is their insistence on episcopal authority over independent-minded clergy and monks" (*ACC*, vol. 3, p. 92).

But later when he edited *Chalcedon in Context* (2009, 2011 A.D.), Price wrote in his article "Truth, Omission, and Fiction in the Acts of Chalcedon", under the subtitle "Omission", saying: "There may also have been a session to approve the other 27 canons; there is no reference to such a session, but the emperor had asked for one when he himself attended the session at which the Definition was formally proclaimed (VI:16)" (*Chalcedon in Context*, p. 99). And in a comment (*ibid.*, n. 19), he refers to his previous position stated in *ACC*, vol. 3, pp. 92-93, in which he suggested that no such session took place, and that the canons were simply issued by Anatolius in the council's name, adding "but I think now that I failed to give sufficient weight to Marcian's instructions and that there must have been some meeting of bishops to rubber-stamp the canons".

L'Huillier (pp. 206-301) has extensive commentary on all the Chalcedonian canons.

IV. THE AFTERMATH OF CHALCEDON:

Chalcedon came not to bring peace and unity of the Church but divisions and persecutions. It became immediately apparent, even from the first session of the council, that the predetermined outcomes of the council and its key decisions taken in advance by Marcian and Pulcheria and achieved through their imperial representatives' getting the appropriate episcopal approval by coercion could not secure real doctrinal consensus. The Chalcedonian crisis was not only a crisis of intellectuals. It was a crisis involving the totality of Christians in the eastern Mediterranean. "Most opponents of the council did not necessarily support Eutyches. They did, however, regard Chalcedon as at best an unnecessary innovation upon Nicaea and at worst as doctrinally unsound, fearing that both Leo's *Tome* and the convoluted Definition of Faith came dangerously close to a 'Nestorian' division of Christ into two persons" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 51).

[The arguments against the Chalcedonian faith are discussed in detail in Part Five of the present work].

At Jerusalem:

"The earliest opposition to the council came from among lower clergy and especially monastic leaders who considered Chalcedon a betrayal of the true faith and were not afraid to defy their bishops. The first target of their wrath was Juvenal, who had dramatically abandoned Dioscorus and switched sides during the first session, and who upon his return to Palestine was greeted by angry protests that soon escalated into violent insurrection" (*ibid.*). The widowed empress Eudoxia, living in Jerusalem, resenting the overthrow of her husband Theodosius II's Ecumenical Second Council of Ephesus with the support of her sister-in-law empress Pulcheria, joined the ranks of the dissidents. Gerontius, abbot of a famous double monastery on the Mount of Olives, shared the dismay of the followers of Cyril. These and others resolved that the traitor Juvenal be replaced as bishop of Jerusalem. They forced Juvenal to flee Jerusalem and ordained as bishop the monk Theodosius, who occupied the city for more than a year attracting widespread support. "The new patriarch began installing his own bishops to replace the traitors returning from Chalcedon. Still, when Eutyches passed through Palestine on his way to an unknown place of exile, the bishops and monks had nothing to do with him. Their objections to Chalcedon were not centered on the condemnation of Eutyches but on the apparent failure of the Council to accept the full Cyrillian theological program" (Davis, *FSEC*, pp. 194-195). Marcian and Pulcheria responded with caution at first, writing numerous letters to archimandrites and clerics in Egypt and Palestine in an attempt to persuade them to accept Chalcedon. Not until 453 did they resort to military force to crush the rebellion and reinstall Juvenal in a city sullen under martial law. (Cf. *ibid.*, and *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 52).

At Syria and Cappadocia:

"In Syria and Cappadocia too there were instances of strong objections to the conciliar definition.... In Syria, the ancient stronghold of Antiochene theology, the doctrines of Cyril were making surprising headway. The monks particularly became zealous propagators of his teaching. Among the people too the Cyrillian emphasis on the divinity of Jesus grew in appeal" (*ibid.*, pp. 195, 198-199).

At Constantinople, firm measures had to be taken against the anti-Chalcedonian monks. Carosus and Dorotheus were apparently still leading their monasteries as late as 455. "In 458 Anatolius was followed in the see of Constantinople by Gennadius who was more firmly Chalcedonian, not to say Nestorian. The new patriarch translated Chalcedonian terminology in a way that the Monophysites (i.e. the Miaphysites) could not accept. He avoided any mention of *Theotokos* and *hypostatic* union, emphasizing the particular identity of each nature which entered into union in a single *prosopon*. This only stiffened the Monophysites (i.e. the Miaphysites) in their belief that the Council of Chalcedon was at base Nestorian" (*ibid.*, p. 198). [See more on Gennadius in Part Five, section V.C.8.].

At Alexandria, as might be expected, the resistance was very severe. With St. Dioscorus in exile at Gangra after the council, the civil authorities selected as the new patriarch Proterius, the archpriest to whom St. Dioscorus had entrusted the administration of the see in his absence at Chalcedon. The city broke out in revolt at the news of the consecration of this traitor. The government responded by the use of military force, the interdiction of food supplies and the closure of baths and theaters. Even under military occupation the mass of the people resolutely refused to accept Proterius. At the death of St. Dioscorus in exile three years later, riots broke out again, and even the dispatch of an imperial ambassador could not reconcile the populace. (Cf. *ibid.*, p. 195).

The maintenance of a forced Chalcedonian consensus depended heavily upon strong imperial support. Pulcheria died in 453 and St. Dioscorus in 454. When the emperor Marcian died in early 457, the Egyptians who celebrated the memory of St. Dioscorus as a confessor and martyr took advantage of the interregnum to consecrate St. Timothy II (Aelurus) as a legal successor of St. Dioscorus.

The traitor Proterius the pro-Chalcedonian bishop was overthrown and lynched in the street. In the *Life of Peter of Iberia*, Proterius was depicted as "a new Caiaphas", a man without a shadow of virtue, a "hard-faced wolf" who relied on "fierce barbarian soldiers" to keep his position, who rejoiced in Dioscorus's death and richly deserved his own fate (*Vita Petri Iberi* [ed. Raabe], pp. 63-68, quoted in Frend, *RMM*, p. 184).

Egypt honoured the memory of St. Cyril and St. Dioscorus, resisted the demands of the imperial government, and clung firmly to a miaphysite Christology. St. Dioscorus's successor, St. Timothy, had no sympathy with the muddled theology of the Eutychians, but was like his master a stalwart Cyrillian. The *Tome* had been the "divider" and Chalcedon "the time of the Apostasy". The Duke of Egypt was ordered by emperor Leo I to oust St. Timothy II from Alexandria for his anti-Chalcedonian position. Blood flowed, but St. Timothy was at last arrested in 458 and exiled, first to Paphlagonia then to Crimea on the Black Sea. Here he remained for the next seventeen years fulminating against the Eutychians and the Council of Chalcedon alike. (Cf. Ber. *EEC*, p. 840).

"At the death of Emperor Leo I in 474, Zeno the Isaurian managed to seize the imperial throne. Neither his origins, private life or government endeared him to the people. His mother-in-law, the redoubtable Dowager Empress Verina led the faction that replaced him with her own brother Basiliscus" (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 199). Determined to end the religious strife, the new emperor Basiliscus overruled Acacius patriarch of Constantinople who had replaced Gennadius in 471 and called from exile the aging Miaphysite St. Timothy II (Aelurus) of Alexandria. On his own initiative, Basiliscus entrusted St. Timothy with an

Encyclical in which the *Tome* of Leo and all things done at Chalcedon in innovation of the faith of the 318 Fathers of Nicaea were anathematized. In 476, St. Timothy of Alexandria together with St. Peter the Fuller of Antioch assembled a large number of bishops of Asia and other places, to the total of around six hundred bishops (in other sources 700 bishops) in a council held at Ephesus, known as the Third Council of Ephesus. [See details in Part Two of the present work under section I.A.2.h.].

At his return triumphant to Alexandria regaining his see, St. Timothy II granted a pension of a penny a day to the previous occupant the Chalcedonian Timothy of the White Turban, who had retired to a monastery. When Basiliscus found himself threatened with treason against him abroad, he withdrew his Encyclical, but Zeno was able to retake the capital and the throne in 476. Basiliscus and his family were captured, exiled and left to die of starvation in a castle's prison. The subsequent anti-Miaphysite measures of Zeno were too late to harm St. Timothy II of Alexandria, since the imperial commissioner who came to depose him found him old and ill and he was allowed to die in peace in 477. St. Peter Mongos was hastily consecrated in his stead. But St. Peter had time only to bury St. Timothy and flee Alexandria one step ahead of the imperial police. The Chalcedonian Timothy of the White Turban was recalled to the patriarchal throne from monastic exile.

"By 482 Acacius of Constantinople was beginning to have second thoughts about the Definition of Chalcedon. Since the majority of Eastern bishops resisted it, he started to plan for compromise. The reaction of the West had begun to mean less. It had ceased de facto to be a part of the Empire..... A decree of union, the *Henotikon*, was drawn up probably by Acacius himself and with the sanction of Emperor Zeno sent to Egypt and Libya. In the *Henotikon*, no new form of faith was proposed, for 'the only right and true belief' was that of Nicaea as confirmed at Constantinople and followed at Ephesus. The Twelve Anathemas of Cyril against Nestorius were accepted and no mention was made of 'two natures'..... Nestorius, Eutyches and those who think with them or who have held any other opinion than that proposed in the *Henotikon*, whether at Chalcedon or in any other synod, were condemned. Neither the Definition of Chalcedon nor the *Tome* of Leo was mentioned" (*ibid.*, pp. 200-202). Pope Peter Mongos of Alexandria accepted the *Henotikon*. [See details in Part Six under sections XVII & XVIII. The whole Part Six of the present work is devoted for the resistance, anathemas, and condemnations against the Council of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo].

V. THE CHALCEDONIAN SECOND COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE OF 553 A.D.:

V.A. A Historical Narrative:

This council is counted by the Chalcedonians as the fifth ecumenical. It was convoked by the Emperor Justinian I at the request of the Roman pope Vigilius who had been forcibly brought to Constantinople to approve the condemnation of the Three Chapters required by the emperor. The controversy over this issue, which began at least a decade earlier, was whether Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and Ibas of Edessa should be condemned as tainted with Nestorianism, or whether following the attitude of the Council of Chalcedon, they should be spared.

The adherents of the Miaphysite orthodoxy, who were anxious to shake the authority of Chalcedon, as well as the emperor, who wished to reconcile the Miaphysites, were opposed to any toleration of Theodore and his associates.

The controversy over the Three Chapters was preceded earlier by the Origenist controversy. In 531, the Archimandrite Sabas, at the age of ninety-two, arrived in Constantinople to complain of attacks on the Palestinian monks by the Samaritans and to request the expulsion of monks who were teaching Origenist doctrines. These monks had already broken away from Sabas's Great Laura, or hermit community, and had founded their own New Laura south of Bethlehem. Origenist teaching remained popular even in the Great Laura and forty monks had been expelled. Theodore Askidas was the Abbot of the New Laura and a warm admirer of Origen who at the same time secretly favoured Miaphysism. In 537 he was consecrated metropolitan of the see of Cappadocia but spent more time in Constantinople. When Justinian and patriarch Menas of Constantinople condemned the Origenists in 543 A.D., Theodore Askidas subscribed the edict while continuing to favour them secretly. In 543 he suggested to the emperor that the best way to bring the Miaphysites back to unity was to condemn the sources of the Antiochene theology, the so-called Three Chapters as tainted with Nestorianism. Justinian welcomed the opportunity to undertake another campaign of reconciliation of the Miaphysites. After consultation, it was agreed to condemn the person and whole works of Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428), the writings of Theodoret of Cyrus (d. 458) against the Cyrillians and the Letter to Maris the Persian of Ibas of Edessa (d. 457). It will be remembered that the last two bishops had been personally restored to the ... communion by the Council of Chalcedon. A compendium of the writings of these Antiochenes was drawn up under three headings; the document came to be known as the Three Chapters. In 543 Justinian issued an edict embodying the condemnations. The patriarch of Constantinople Menas signed provisionally, dependent on papal approval. This act aroused a vast controversy during which the Roman pope Vigilius, already under surveillance, excommunicated in 551, Askidas, Menas and other bishops of the imperial party who signed the edict of condemnation of the Three Chapters. (Cf. Ber. *EEC*, p. 197; Davis, *FSEC*, p. 233-235).

Some time before the council of 553 opened, Justinian sent the conciliar bishops a letter condemning Origenism. The letter's 15 anathemata condemned not so much Origen's genuine doctrine as the more extremist Origenism of the sixth century. The council, however, dealt only with the question of the Three Chapters. It was opened in 5 May 553 in a hall attached to the Basilica of Hagia Sophia, with about 150 bishops under the presidency of Mena's successor, patriarch Eutychius of Constantinople. Vigilius took no part in its work, though repeatedly begged to, adducing his state of health as an excuse: in fact he was still seeking to avoid assenting to the condemnation (cf. *ibid.*).

In the fourth session (12/13 May), anathemas were pronounced against Theodore of Mopsuestia. On May 14th Vigilius finished preparing his *Constitutum I*, which was also subscribed by 16 Italian bishops who, like him, had abstained from taking part in the council. He published it on the 24th of May. It condemned 60 propositions taken from the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, but refused to anathematize the memory of a dead man – which obviously included Theodoret and Ibas – on the ground that Theodore had not been condemned at the First Council of Ephesus (431) or Chalcedon (451).

In the seventh session (May 26th) the council examined a series of documents produced by Justinian, aimed at showing that on several earlier occasions Vigilius had condemned the Three Chapters, and, at the emperor's request, struck the pope's name from the diptychs, though without condemning him (cf. *ibid.*).

In the final sitting of June 2nd (eighth session), the council pronounced 14 anathemata condemning the person and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the statements in the writings of Theodoret of Cyrrhus which were hostile to St. Cyril of Alexandria and the council of Ephesus of 431, and Ibas of Edessa's letter to Maris. At the same time it reaffirmed the validity of the first four ecumenical councils, hence also that of Chalcedon (cf. *ibid.*).

"Once the council had completed its work, Justinian sent the acts to all the bishops for their signatures. Those in the papal entourage who resisted the conciliar decrees were exiled to the Egyptian desert; the deacon Pelagius was imprisoned at Constantinople. The ailing Vigilius remained in Constantinople. Since Rome had been occupied by the imperial armies, the Romans requested the return of their bishop who had not been in the city since 545. Justinian agreed to Vigilius' return provided he recognized the Council. Vigilius held out for six months. In February, 554, declaring that he had been misled by his advisers, Vigilius capitulated. In his *Constitutum II*, he reversed his earlier stand and accepted the Sentence and anathemas of the Council, condemning the person and works of Theodore of Mopsuestia and some of the works of Theodoret. He still had reservations about Ibas' letter but in the end condemned the letter said to have been written by him. To sweeten the bitter pill Justinian had forced the pope to swallow, he granted a Pragmatic Sanction reorganizing the government of Rome and Italy and conferring on them greater powers of self-government. The pope was allowed to return home but died on his journey at Syracuse in Italy in 555" (Davis, *FSEC*, pp. 247-248).

The Westerners worried that any attempt to make Chalcedon acceptable to the Miaphysites risked abandoning the doctrine of Leo. Therefore, despite the Papal acceptance of the Council of 553, it was not at once recognized as ecumenical in the West. Milan and Aquileia even broke off communion with Rome, and the relations were not restored with

Milan until the end of the sixth, and with Aquileia until the end of the seventh century (cf. *ODCC*, ed. 2, p. 340).

To the strict Miaphysites, after a generation of schism and persecution, the very name of Chalcedon was unacceptable no matter how carefully the Council of Constantinople of 553 tried to beautify its image through using more of the Cyrillian terminology in expressing its Chalcedonian doctrinal statements. It was and would always be a false council, a "Nestorian" betrayal of the true faith (cf. *ACC*, vol. 1, p. 54).

[This council of 553 was also discussed together with the Three Chapters in Part One of the present work under section III.B.5. For more details on the history of this council and its aftermath and chronology see Davis, *FSEC*, pp. 207-257; see also Price, R., *The Acts of the Council of Constantinople of 553*, trans. with introduction and notes, 2 vols. Translated texts for Historians 51. Liverpool 2009 A.D.].

V.B. Cross-References to Related Christological Topics Discussed:

Several topics related to the Christology of the Second Council of Constantinople of 553 A.D. are discussed in several places throughout the present work, especially in Part Three, as follows:

1 – "The Double Consubstantiality" as expressed in canon viii of the council of 553 is quoted in Part Three under section I.C.

2 – "The One Composite *Hypostasis* of the *Logos* Incarnate" as expressed in canon iv of the council of 553 is quoted in Part Three under section II.D.5.

3 – "The *Hypostatic* Union" as emphatically and repeatedly expressed by the council of 553 in canons (i.e. anathemas) iv, vii, viii are quoted in Part Three under section III.H.7.

4 – That the council of 553, contrary to St. Cyril's Third Anathematism, refused to speak of "Natural Union" because Nestorius and the Antiochenes had taken umbrage to it, is mentioned in Part Three under section IV.C.2.

5 – "The Four Adverbs" as emphasized in anathemas vii & viii of the council of 553 are mentioned in Part Three under section V.A.6.

6 – "The Distinguishing According to *Theoria*" as expressed in canon seven of the council of 553 is quoted in Part Three under section VI.C.4.

7 – That the council of 553 uses the Cyrillian formula "out of two" together with the Chalcedonian formula "in two natures", is discussed in Part Three under section VI.C.4., but see also in the same part sections VI.C.2-3.

8 – That the council of 553 uses in its eighth canon the Miaphysite formula of St. Cyril out of respect to him for cosmetic reasons, but without granting it equal right with the fundamental dualistic formula, is discussed in Part Three under section VI.C.4.

9 – The Theopaschite formula as expressed in the tenth canon of the council of 553 is discussed in Part Three under section X.F.7.h. See also the whole section X.F.7., with its sub-sections a.-h., for the whole topic of the Chalcedonians and their Post-Chalcedonian acceptance of Theopaschism.

10 – That the council of 553, because of its relatively pro-Cyrillian approach, does not mention St. Dioscorus of Alexandria and St. Severus of Antioch in its list of heretics is discussed later in Part Four, under section VI.C. This is different from the attitude of

the later Chalcedonian councils which considered them heretics (cf. Part Four, sections VI.D.-F.).

V.C. How Was the Chalcedonian-Claimed Orthodoxy of Theodoret Viewed by Justinian and the Council of 553 ?:

Reading in the Acts of Chalcedon as a whole and the acts of the eighth session in which Theodoret was reinstated, it is clear that his critics outnumbered his admirers. As we have seen before (in Part Four under section III.F.1.) that after he was forced to condemn Nestorius, the minutes of Chalcedon record that all the bishops exclaimed: "...May the church receive back the orthodox teacher... May the church be restored to the orthodox teacher Theodoret" (VIII:15). "But how many bishops, one wonders", says Price, "actually took part in these acclamations: scarcely the same ones, surely, who a moment before had shouted him down as 'a heretic' and 'a Nestorian'!" (*Chalcedon in Context*, p. 122). He goes on saying: "Manifestly, the council fathers were not all of one mind.... But conciliar authority was accorded not to the majority voice but to the general consensus; where this consensus was lacking, one cannot attribute any particular judgement to 'the council'...." (*ibid.*, p. 123).

Then he expounds the answer to the inquiry: "How was all this viewed a century later, at the time of the controversy over the 'Three Chapters' – the person and works of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret's writings against Cyril, and the Letter to Mari the Persian, as condemned by the emperor Justinian? Defenders of Theodoret could point to the fact that Chalcedon had reinstated him, while his opponents could point to the evident lack of enthusiasm with which most of them did so. The miaphysite philosopher and controversialist John Philoponus castigated the Council of Chalcedon for declaring that Theodoret was an 'orthodox teacher', and argued that the Council of Constantinople of 553, by anathematizing 'the impious writings of Theodoret against the orthodox faith' (Canon 13), had thereby anathematized all those who accepted the decrees of Chalcedon" (*ibid.*, quoting Philophonus in Michael the Syrian, *Chronicles*, II, 121). In fact, many, too, feared the precedent that would be set by posthumous anathematization of long-gone theologians who had, after all, died 'in the peace of the church'. Since Theodoret and Ibas had been declared orthodox at Chalcedon, how could they be condemned without condemning the council itself?

"In contrast, the emperor Justinian, responding a few years earlier to the same accusation, wrote as follows on Chalcedon's verdicts on Theodoret and Ibas:"

"Both Ibas and Theodoret were accepted not as teachers and fathers but as penitents who anathematized the heresy of which they had been accused and had accepted the Definition of the Council of Chalcedon and signed it, since it is the custom of the catholic church that all heretics who abandon their own error and return to the orthodox faith are received into communion but are not numbered with the fathers as teachers" (*ibid.*, quoting Justinian, *Letter on the Three Chapters*, Schwartz [1939], p. 66, 28-32).

Commenting on this response of Justinian, Price says:

"It is likely that the great majority of the bishops at Chalcedon did indeed regard Theodoret and Ibas as repentant heretics rather than doctors of the Church, but Justinian betrays awareness of a weakness in his position when he talks of their being received into

communion while making no mention of the fact that both were restored to their sees as bishops in good standing" (*ibid.*, p. 124 & n. 25: "The same embarrassed silence is to be found in the acts of the council of 553 [VIII.4.26; *ACO* 4.1, pp. 213,37-214,8]").

Still, "the main embarrassment, however, remained the fact that Theodoret and Ibas, though required at Chalcedon to anathematize Nestorius, had not been required to withdraw their writings against Cyril. Their defenders in the sixth century argued that they should not now be condemned for offenses that Chalcedon had thought best to pass over" (*ibid.*).

That is why the anti-Chalcedonians always castigate Chalcedon as a Nestorian betrayal of the true faith. [See Part Five of the present work and especially the whole section V of that part.]

V.D. How Was the Authenticity of the Letter of Ibas to Mari the Persian Viewed by Justinian and the Council of Constantinople of 553 A.D.?:

The letter to Mari (or Maris) the Persian bishop of Rewardasir was written by Ibas when still a presbyter among the clergy of the pro-Cyrillian orthodox bishop Rabbula of Edessa. Ibas, being a convinced anti-Cyrillian and a partisan of Nestorius, was certainly not on good terms with bishop Rabbula, as is confirmed by the letter sent by Ibas to bishop Mari in the wake of the agreement between St. Cyril of Alexandria and the Antiochene bishops expressed in the *Formulary of Reunion* of 433. In this letter, which was originally written in Syriac but preserved only in a Greek translation, "Ibas reveals his personal loyalties in his enthusiastic encomium of Theodore of Mopsuestia (who was arguably the father of Nestorianism), in his criticisms of Ephesus I, and in his highly tendentious account of the reconciliation between the warring factions in 433: he ignores the confirmation of the deposition of Nestorius, and interprets Cyril's acceptance of the *Formula of Reunion* as a capitulation which implied that he condemned his own Twelve Chapters and his teaching that there is one nature in Christ" (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 270).

Ibas's letter was intended for wide circulation among the Christians of Persia, who indeed refused to follow the church in the Roman empire in condemning Nestorianism. [According to the Syriac sources from the sixth century, the letter was addressed to a bishop in the Persian empire. "Mari" might not be his name but a title of respect used in addressing him as a bishop, since "Mari" in Syriac simply means "My Lord"].

A Greek translation of the letter of Ibas to Mari was read out accidentally in the tenth session of Chalcedon (X:138) because of its presence in the minutes of the hearing at Berytus which was read at that session (X:28-138).

Since the Council of Chalcedon immediately restored Ibas to the see of Edessa in the same tenth session in which his letter to Mari the Persian was read with a verdict from the senior Roman legate Paschasinus declaring the innocence of Ibas as proved from the reading of his letter, it became clear that the Council of Chalcedon is practically approving the heresy of Nestorianism and siding with the Nestorians against the orthodox faith defended by St. Cyril of Alexandria. In that verdict which was pronounced by Paschasinus in the name of the whole Roman delegation representing the apostolic see, he commended the heretical letter of Ibas saying: "the most devout Ibas has been proved innocent and from the reading of his letter we have found him to be orthodox" (X:161). This verdict was echoed by a verdict

from Maximus bishop of Antioch saying: "From what has just been read it has become clear that the most devout Ibas is guiltless of everything charged against him; and from the reading of the transcript of the letter produced by his adversary his writing has been seen to be orthodox. I therefore decree that he is to recover the dignity of the episcopate and his own city...." (X:163). And since the Council of Chalcedon, like Ibas, had already condemned miaphysite language in the fifth session (V:34), the anti-Chalcedonians in the subsequent period often rightfully adduced these decisions of Chalcedon as evidence that the council had in effect rejected the sound faith of St. Cyril and approved Nestorianism. [See Part five of the present work.]

The letter became even more of a liability with the development in the sixth century of what modern historians have called "Neo-Chalcedonianism" – a reinterpretation of the Chalcedonian Definition, promoted by the emperor Justinian, which sought to harmonize it with the Cyrillian Christology, in particular with the Twelve Chapters which Ibas, like Theodoret, had so fiercely attacked. [See Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, pp. 438-462.]

The Chalcedonian council of Constantinople of 553 proceeded to issue a formal condemnation of the so-called "Three Chapters" – the writings and person of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the anti-Cyrillian writings of Theodoret and **"the letter said to have been written by Ibas to Mari the Persian"** (Canons 12-14). How could this be reconciled with the apparent approval of the letter at the tenth session of Chalcedon? The solution adopted was that it was claimed that Ibas had denied the authenticity of the letter and that it was on this basis that the bishops of Chalcedon restored him to his see. But it is very hard to explain away the verdicts of two of the senior bishops at Chalcedon, the papal legate Paschasinus and Maximus of Antioch (X:161, 163), who cited the letter to Mari as evidence of Ibas's orthodoxy, "a fact appealed to in defense of Ibas in around 550 by both Facundus, *Defense of the Three Chapters* 5.1.1-5, and Pope Vigilius, *First Constitutum*, *PL* 69.105. It was argued (perhaps) not unreasonably at the council of Constantinople of 553 that these two verdicts did not express the mind of the majority (*ACO* 4.1, p. 145)" (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 271, n. 19).

There is evidence that the minutes of the tenth session of Chalcedon were seriously tampered with at some date subsequent to its initial publication under Marcian. We can detect some omissions in the extant acts. The secretary would not have read out the letter to Mari without instructions from the bishops. So, there is evidence of serious tampering in the curious presentation of the letter, which lacks a proper introduction (at X:137); suppression of comments by the chairman both at Berytus and at Chalcedon is beyond doubt. Equally glaring is the lack of any discussion of the letter. "The Syriac Acts of the Second Council of Ephesus (449 A.D.) contain testimony given at Edessa before the governor of Osrhoene that during the hearing at Berytus Ibas repeatedly acknowledged the authenticity of the letter, and it is clear that this was reported in the minutes of the hearing (*ibid.*, pp. 271-272, quoting *Syriac Acts*, trans. Perry, 120-123). At the Second Council of Ephesus several witnesses testified that Ibas had admitted authorship (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 54, n. 199, quoting *Syriac Acts*, ed. Flemming, 52-55). Pope Vigilius argued at particular length against the authenticity of Ibas's letter to Mari in his *Second Constitutum* of February 554 (*ACO* 4.2, pp. 138-168). In this same *Second Constitutum*, he mentions that the Acts of the Second Council of Ephesus contained testimony (which he dismisses as false) that Ibas had acknowledged the

letter (*ACO* 4.1, p. 149.3-12). (Cf. *ACC*, vol. 2, p. 271, n. 18 & n. 20 on p. 272). Moreover, "Vigilius in his *Second Constitutum* (which expresses the opposite position to that of the *First*) tried to argue that the letter that Paschasinus and Maximus had approved was not the Letter to Mari but the testimonial from Ibas' clergy that follows it in the Acts (*ACO* 4.1, pp. 161-5)" (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 271, n. 19).

As regards the question: why and when was all this tampering with the minutes of the tenth session of Chalcedon through omissions? The natural presumption is that this was done during the Three Chapters controversy in the time of emperor Justinian probably in 543 A.D. when he published his first edict against the Three Chapters. This was Schwartz's original view which was preferred by R. Price when he published the *Acts of Chalcedon* as the most convincing hypothesis (*ibid.*, p. 272), but he mentioned also that Schwartz later argued that Justinian's own reaction to the problem was not to suppress but to explain, and that it was too late in his time to change the record without any traces of the truth remaining; he accordingly re-dated the distortion of the record to the time of Marcian (*ibid.*). In a later publication, R. Price reviewed the problem, giving reasons for changing his earlier preferred hypothesis and reaching the conclusion that "it remains plausible to suppose that the tampering with the record was due to embarrassment over the Letter (and its ascription) to Ibas, but at an earlier date than the reign of Justinian" (*Chalcedon in Context*, pp. 99-100). He also wrote an explicit statement (*ibid.*, p. 99, n. 21) saying: "Eduard Schwartz first suspected that Justinian had suppressed the record but later changed his mind; I now withdraw my earlier preference (*ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 271-272) for his original opinion".

VI. THE UNFAIR CONDEMNATION OF ST. DIOSCORUS OF ALEXANDRIA AND ST. SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH AS HERETICS IN LATER CHALCEDONIAN COUNCILS:

VI.A. The Condemnation of St. Severus of Antioch and His Fellows by Chalcedonian Councils at the Reign of Justin I (518-527) and of Justinian I (527-565):

Emperor Anastasius was succeeded in 518 by Justin I who at once declared for the Chalcedonian faith, replacing the anti-Chalcedonian prelates everywhere by Chalcedonian successors. The first to fall was St. Severus of Antioch. Irenaeus, the count of the East, was commissioned to arrest him. St. Severus, however, escaped, and in September 518 sailed by night for Alexandria. The Chalcedonian Paul was appointed in his room. St. Severus and his doctrines were then anathematized in various Chalcedonian councils (*DCB*, vol. IV, p. 638).

During his active work in Egypt in confirming the faith, St. Severus found himself unexpectedly summoned to Constantinople by Justin's successor, Justinian I, for theological discussions. At this period, A.D. 535, Anthimus of Trebizond had been recently appointed to the see of Constantinople by Empress Theodora's influence, who on his accession at once joined heartily with St. Severus and his associates, Peter of Apamea and Zooras, in their endeavours to annul the Chalcedonian decrees and cause Miaphysitism to be recognized as the orthodox faith.

"The supporters of Chalcedon in Constantinople were alarmed. The archimandrite and monks there, strengthened by a delegation of monks from Syria II and from the desert near Jerusalem (Sabas' monasteries), dared to make an attack on Anthimus, Severus, Peter, the former metropolitan of Apamea, and the fanatical monk Zooras, a Syrian from Sophanone and a former stylite, who had settled in the exclusive residential area Sykai, performed baptisms and liturgies and brought numerous supporters to the anti-Chalcedonian party. The monks demanded from Anthimus an unambiguous profession of Chalcedon, the acknowledgement of the *Tomus* of Leo I and the condemnation of Patriarch Dioscorus, who was deposed at Chalcedon. Anthimus, however, refused to meet this demand" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 349 & n. 148: "See the *Relatio monachorum*, *CPG* 9325 [2], delivered at the Council of Constantinople on 2 May 536, *ACO* III, 134-6, especially no. 62: pp. 134,27-135,6"). "Consequently the monks sent a delegation to Pope Agapetus I in Rome,who on 13 May 535 had become the successor of Pope John II" (*ibid.*).

The result was that, at the instance of the Roman pope Agapetus, who happened to visit Constantinople on political business at this time, the Miaphysites Anthimus and Timotheus were deposed and Severus was again subjected to an anathema (cf. *DCB*, vol. IV, p. 639).

"Mennas, head of the hospitium of Samson in Constantinople, was appointed in the place of Anthimus, and consecrated by Agapetus, who soon afterwards died, having asked the emperor, however, to have the charge of heresy against Anthimus properly investigated. Accordingly, by the directions of Justinian, the new patriarch Mennas called a local synod – σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα – which met during the months of May and June A.D. 536. Its *Acta* are fully preserved, and may be read in Mansi, *Concilia*, vol. viii. [cf. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, ii. pp. 742-753]. Anthimus is cited, does not appear, and is thereupon condemned and deposed from his see of Trebizond" (*DCB*, vol. III, p. 546). At this council also charges were brought against St. Severus and his associates. Their condemnation was a foregone conclusion. "Two months after this synod, in August A.D. 536, Justinian issues an edict addressed to Mennas in which he confirms all that the synod had done, condemns anew the heretics denounced by it, forbids them to remain in Constantinople or in any great town, to disseminate their doctrines, to baptize. Their books are to be burnt and their adherents exiled" (*ibid.*) [For the text of the imperial edict of Justinian of August 536 against St. Severus and his fellows, see the following section.] "The writings of Severus were proscribed, and any one possessing them who failed to commit them to the flames was sentenced to lose his right hand. (Evagr. *HE* iv, 11; Novell. Justinian. no. 42; Matt. Blastar. p. 59.) Severus on this returned to Egypt, which he seems never again to have left" (*DCB*, vol. IV, p. 639).

VI.B. The Chalcedonianism of the Imperial Documents of Justinian I, and the Text of His Edict of *Commanded Unity* of 6 August, 536, in Which St. Severus and His Fellows are Condemned:

The analysis of the imperial documents of Justinian revealed that "they contain a pure, strict Chalcedonian christology, a christology orientated on Leo I" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 383). From his act of keeping St. Theodosius the legal anti-Chalcedonian Patriarch of Alexandria confined to a palace at Constantinople, and his efforts in eradicating the anti-Chalcedonian bishops and clergy of Egypt through appointing successive Chalcedonian patriarchs instead, "evidently the emperor drew hope from the 'conversions' which he believed he could ascertain in Alexandria to be able to restore unity of faith along this line. His real goal, which he hoped to achieve in his efforts to win the Severans between 532 and 536 and in the two letters addressed to Alexandria, was always the unity of teaching, the true guarantee of the welfare of his reign. On the basis of this intention, ...is the conclusion of his dogmatic constitution of 536 to be understood, which is considered to be one of the most powerful texts of Byzantine influence on Christian teaching. **The unity of faith should be restored by command"** (*ibid.*, pp. 383-384).

"Commanded unity"

"We forbid, however, all who attempt to rend asunder the catholic Church of God
whether it be according to the teaching of the heretical Nestorius,
or according to the tradition of the senseless Eutyches,
or according to the blasphemy of Severus,
who thought similar things to them,
or their followers

to bring sedition into the holy churches and to say anything about the faith. Rather we ordain all these [named] to remain silent, not to summon gatherings around them, to receive no proselytes (*accedentes*), and not to dare to baptize unlawfully (*parabaptizare*), or to defile holy communion and to give it to others (of like mind) or to expand the forbidden teachings. Whoever does this either here in this imperial city or in another lays himself open to all danger [penalty]. We also forbid everybody to receive these [named]..." (*ibid.*, p. 384, quoting in n. 277: "Justinian emp., *Constitutio contra Anthimum, Severum, Petrum et Zooram*: Amelotti-Migliardi Zingale, *Scritti teologici* II, p. 52,23-32 [Greek]; p. 53,21-29 [Latin]").

VI.C. An Indirect Demonstration of the Orthodoxy of St. Dioscorus and St. Severus from the Chalcedonian Second Council of Constantinople of 553 A.D., and a Direct One from the First Edict of Emperor Justin II (565-578 A.D.):

The Second Council of Constantinople of 553 A.D., counted by the Chalcedonians as the Fifth Ecumenical, tried to rectify some of the defects of the Council of Chalcedon and its Nestorian favoritism [treated in detail in Part Five of the present work] through the adoption of a pro-Cyrillian approach in condemning the Nestorianism of the Three Chapters and the use of more Cyrillian terminology. This council, therefore, was not in a mode of contradicting or condemning the sound teaching of St. Dioscorus or St. Severus and it never considered them as heretics. Anathema xi of that council of 553 named the heretics whom the council anathematized, among whom Nestorius and Eutyches are mentioned, but not St. Dioscorus nor St. Severus. It reads as follows:

"If anyone does not anathematize Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Apollinaris, Nestorius, Eutyches and Origen, as well as their impious writings, as also all other heretics already condemned and anathematized by the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, and by the aforesaid four Holy Synods and [if anyone does not equally anathematize] all those who have held and hold or who in their impiety persist in holding to the end the same opinion as those heretics just mentioned: let him be anathema" (Percival, p. 314).

Canon XII of that Council anathematizes the person and works of Theodore of Mospuestia.

Canon XIII of the same Council anathematizes the impious writings of Theodoret of Cyrus against the true faith and against the first holy Synod of Ephesus, 341 A.D., and against St. Cyril and his Twelve Anathemas and that which Theodoret has written in defense of Theodore and Nestorius and others having the same opinions.

Canon XIV of the same Council anathematizes the letter said to be written by Ibas of Edessa to Maris the Persian, in which he denies that God the Word was incarnate of the Holy Virgin and reprehends St. Cyril as a heretic of the same sentiments as Apollinaris. In that epistle Ibas blames the Council of Ephesus (431 A.D.) as deposing Nestorius without discrimination and without examination, defends the teachings of Theodore and Nestorius and calls the Twelve Anathemas of St. Cyril as impious (see Percival, p. 315 and the sentence of that Council of Constantinople, *ibid.*, pp. 306-311).

The above-mentioned last three canons (XII, XIII, XIV) are recorded from a compendium of the writings of these three Antiochenes which was drawn up under three

headings; the document came to be known as the Three Chapters.

The first edict of Emperor Justin II (565-578 A.D.) offers a direct testimony to the orthodoxy of St. Severus of Antioch, by means of which the Emperor attempted to reach agreement with the Severans. It is a testimony to an extreme concession *vis-à-vis* the 'Miaphysites', almost amounting to the renunciation of Chalcedon. From the full text of the edict, which is cited verbatim in Part Three of the present work, under section I.C., we quote here the paragraph which contains the list of heretics and the explicit recognition of St. Severus of Antioch and the annulment of all anathemas that were imposed upon him and upon all the miaphysites since the time of St. Cyril. It reads as follows:

"We anathematize all heresies, above all Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Nestorius, who was deposed and anathematized by the Fathers, Celestine and Cyril. In the same way we anathematize Theodore, the letter of Ibas, the writings of Theodoret, and all those who think like them and resemble them in impiety. **We accept the holy Patriarch Severus and annul the anathema imposed upon him in iniquity and without reason. We annul the anathemas which have been imposed from Cyril's time to the present**" (as quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 484, from Michael Syr., *Chron.* X, II: Chabot II, 289a-290a; and X, IV-V: 295-299). [But Emperor Justin II's second edict, published probably 571 A.D., can be understood as an endorsement of Chalcedonian christology].

VI.D. The Condemnation of St. Dioscorus and St. Severus in the Chalcedonian Third Council of Constantinople of 680-681 A.D.:

It was the Chalcedonian Third Council of Constantinople of 680-681, counted by the Romans and Byzantines as the Sixth Ecumenical, which described St. Dioscorus together with Eutyches in its Definition of Faith as "hated of God" and St. Severus as "impious" in the same Definition in the clause which speaks of "the mad and wicked doctrine of the impious Apollinaris, Severus, and Themistius" (Percival, p. 344).

The Prosphoneticus of that Council speaks of the Chalcedonian Monothelites "who have recently introduced the detestable novelty that in him there is but one will and one operation, renewing the malignancy of Arius, Apollinaris, Eutyches and Severus" (*ibid.*, p. 347).

Again the Letter of that Council to Pope Agatho speaks of "the impiety of these God-hated persons, Apollinaris, Severus and Themestius, to wit, Macarius... of Antioch" (*ibid.*, p. 349).

VI.E. The Condemnation of St. Dioscorus in the Canons of the Chalcedonian Council of Trullo, 692 A.D.:

The Council of Trullo (often called the Quinisext council), 692 A.D., in its first Canon, regrettably spoke unjustly against St. Dioscorus thus condemning him for a heresy of confusion which he himself anathematized. Thus, after stating a condemnation against Eutyches, it goes on saying: "And together with him also Nestorius and Dioscorus of whom the former was the defender and Champion of division, the latter of the confusion [of the

two natures in the one Christ], both of whom fell away from the divergence of their impiety to a common depth of perdition and denial of God" (Percival, pp. 359-360). [Canon 95 of that same council, which Hefele considers undoubtedly false, counts St. Dioscorus and St. Severus among heretics who are to be anathematized by converts from heresy (Percival, pp. 405-406)].

VI.F. The Condemnation of St. Dioscorus and St. Severus in the Chalcedonian Second Council of Nicaea, 787 A.D.:

Again the Chalcedonian Second Council of Nicaea, 787 A.D., counted by the Romans and Byzantines as the Seventh Ecumenical Council, "condemned Nestorius because he divided the one Son and Word of God into two sons, and on the other side, Arius, Dioscorus, Eutyches, and Severus because they maintained a mingling of the two natures of the one Christ" (Davis, *FSEC*, pp.302-303; see the Decree of that Council and its list of heretics in Percival, pp. 549-551).

VII. THE CHALCEDONIANS AND THEIR CONTROVERSIES CONCERNING THE WILL AND ACTIVITY OF CHRIST:

VII.A. The One Will and One Activity of Christ as Explained by the Chalcedonian Monoenergists and Monothelites:

VII.A.1. THE CHALCEDONIAN MONOENERGISTS:

Emperor Heraclius (610-641 A.D.) saw the urgent need for reconciling the Monophysites (~the Miaphysites) without alienating the Chalcedonians. It fell to the Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople (610-638 A.D.) to provide the theological basis for ecclesiastical reconciliation. "Sergius himself was born in a Jacobite Syrian family, and could therefore be considered a convert from Monophysitism. It is he who acted, discreetly and skillfully, as the emperor's theological advisor" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 337).

VII.A.1.a. Monoenergism as a Formula of Union:

"As early as 617/18 Sergius wrote to George Arsas, a leader of the Monophysites in Egypt, asking for texts referring to the unique activity of Christ. Severus of Antioch, the earlier great theologian of the Monophysite movement, had already insisted on one nature, one will, and one activity in Christ. What Sergius evidently had in mind was to hold to the Chalcedonian definition of 'in two natures' but to reconcile this with a declaration of one activity in Christ. Sergius wrote as well to Theodore, bishop of Pharan near Mount Sinai, a Chalcedonian..... Theodore was won over. Moreover, it seems to have been Theodore who supplied the metaphysical justification of Monoenergism, the theory that there is in Christ only one activity. In Theodore's view, in Christ, the body was the instrument of the soul and both were the instrument of the Word. All activity proceeded from the Word as agent. Whatever was done by the Incarnate Word was done by Him as Creator and God, and that therefore all the things that were said of Him either as God or in a human way were the action of the divinity of the Word. As mediator between God and man, Christ was the subject who carried out human acts in an ineffable way by means of the flesh that He had assumed. Because Christ had by divine and wise economy taken upon Himself such human needs as sleep, work, hunger and thirst, it was necessary to attribute these things to the single action of one and the same Christ. The Incarnate Word was thus the agent and subject of all action, whether this was appropriate to his divine or human nature" (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 261).

"Cyrus, bishop of Phasis in the Caucasus on the Black Sea, raised the question of how this doctrine could be reconciled with the statement in Pope Leo's *Tome* that in Christ each

form (nature) performs the function that is proper to it in communion with the other. Sergius' response was to reread Leo's statement, putting form not in the nominative but in the ablative case to the effect that the Word does *by means* of each form, the acts that belong to it. Cyrus, too, was won to Monoenergism and was to be employed later in the struggle to propagate the doctrine in Egypt" (*ibid*, p. 262).

The Chalcedonian writer Meyendorff (*IUCD*, pp. 337-338) comments from his own perspective saying: "The advantages of proposing the 'monoenergism' as a formula of union were many. Severus of Antioch himself – who had accepted a distinction of the two natures of Christ 'in thought' (ἐν θεωρίᾳ), affirmed the concrete unity of the Agent: 'One is the agent (ἐνεργὼν), he wrote, i.e. the incarnate Word; one is the activity (ἐνέργεια), but the works (τὰ ἐνεργηθέντα) are varied'. The Fifth council also had admitted that in Christ there are not two concrete beings, but two natures to be distinguished only 'in thought' (τῇ θεωρίᾳ μόνῃ, anathema 7). Was it not then logical to conclude, that Christ was one 'in activity' (ἐνεργείᾳ)? Was it not appropriate to think so, especially if one used the Cyrillian expression – whose legitimacy was fully admitted in 553 – of 'one nature incarnate of God the Word'? Aristotelian logic and terminology always connected the terms 'nature' (φύσις) and 'energy' (ἐνέργεια) – 'energy' represented the concrete manifestation of any 'nature'. One could therefore legitimately speak of one energy, since one also spoke of one nature, provided, of course, one also admitted the importance and orthodoxy of Chalcedonian 'diphysitism' as an antidote against Eutyches".

VII.A.1.b. Monoenergism as a Device for Implementing Forced Church Union in the East:

By 613, after ten years of systematic Persian attacks on Eastern Roman installations around the Euphrates river basin and into Syria, the Byzantine Empire had grown vulnerable, and the Persians took advantage. In the space of three years, they captured Damascus (613), Caesarea (613), Jerusalem (614), and Chalcedon (615), advancing to the door of the capital Constantinople. Four years later, Alexandria fell, and by 620 all of Egypt was in Persian hands (Davis, *ECP*, p. 114).

When the Persians governed Syria, the Miaphysite patriarch of Antioch, Mar Athanasius, the Camel-Driver (595-631), wrote to his colleague in Alexandria, Pope Anastasius (605-616) saying: "the world rejoiced in peace and love", because the "Chalcedonian darkness" had vanished (Sawirus Ash, *HP*, ed. & tr. B.T.A. Evetts, *PO* I, p. 481).

The Miaphysite chronicler Mar Michael the Syrian also reports with satisfaction how the Persian king ordered "all Chalcedonians to be expelled" and that "the memory of the Chalcedonians disappeared from the Euphrates to the Orient (i.e. Syria)" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 341, quoting Michael Syr., *Chron.*, X, 25).

"But then came the victory of Heraclius and the restoration of Byzantine rule, followed by new attempts at ending the schism. During his own six year stay in Transcaucasia and Persia (622-8) and in the years which followed the victory, Heraclius, advised by Sergius of Constantinople, actively pursued a policy of church union. He needed it not only politically, but also to justify the religious character of the war and the miraculous victory of 628" (*ibid.*).

The Monoenergism of Sergius was offered as a solution. But the contacts of Heraclius

with the Jacobites of Syria and Mesopotamia was not easy. "As the emperor was visiting reconquered Edessa, he seems to have taken for granted a state of union with the Monophysites. According to Michael the Syrian, he attended the Eucharist celebrated by the local (Jacobite) bishop Isaiah, but was publicly rebuked from the chalice by the latter, who requested a preliminary (written) anathema to Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo. In spite of this setback, further contacts continued, this time with the old ascetical and learned Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, Athanasius, the Camel-Driver (595-631). Athanasius had a record of .....imperial loyalty. He had been deposed by the Persians, travelled to imperial-held Egypt in 616, and accepted the imperially-sponsored unity with the Egyptian 'Theodosian' Monophysites. The patriarch and twelve of his bishops met emperor Heraclius in Hierapolis (Mabbugh). Sergius of Constantinople sent letters explaining Monoenergism, and Cyrus of Phasis came in person to promote union. According to Monophysite sources, the debates were inconclusive" (*ibid.*, pp. 343-344). They could not accept Heraclius's edict of two united natures in Christ with one will and one energy because its dyophysitism still agrees with Nestorius and Leo. And Heraclius began persecuting the opponents. Michael the Syrian (*Chron.* XI, 3) reports that **Heraclius wrote to all parts of the kingdom saying: "Everyone who does not accept the Council of Chalcedon, his nose and ears are to be cut and his house to be plundered"**. And this persecution continued for not a short period (Ar. trans. chap. XI, 3, vol. 2, p. 302).

Under this severe persecution "many monasteries and communities in the area of Antioch, accepted Chalcedon with 'monoenergistic' understanding. One of these was the monastery of St. John Maron near Emesa, where Heraclius was met with solemnity, making land donations to the monastery. From that time, an isolated community of **'Maronites'**, faithful to the Monoenergism of patriarch Sergius of Constantinople, survived persecutions and massacres by escaping to the mountains of Lebanon and establishing there their own patriarchate. Eventually, with the help of the Latin crusaders, the Maronites joined the communion of the Roman Catholic Church (1182)" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 344).

Meyendorff (*ibid.*, n. 33) says: "Apologetic attempts have been made to defend the perpetual 'orthodoxy' of the Maronites, but there cannot be any serious challenge to contemporary scholarly consensus on the original Monophysitism of the Maronite community, and its Monoenergism between the seventh and twelfth century".

VII.A.1.c. Heraclius's Attempt to Force Imperial Chalcedonianism Through Cyrus's Pact of Union:

When John the Chalcedonian patriarch left Alexandria fleeing the Persians (617), Pope Andronicus the legitimate patriarch of Alexandria (616-623) remained under the Persian regime and was able to regain the *Caesareum*, the main church of Alexandria. His successor, Pope Benjamin I (623-662), is one of the greatest patriarchs of Alexandria whose popularity and ascetical prestige unified the Christian Copts in this crucial period of their history. He is the first to be designated in sources as the "Coptic patriarch". He was about 33 years of age at his election and shepherded his flock for thirty-nine years. "Meanwhile, Heraclius inaugurated in Egypt the tactics which were serving him so well in other territories recovered from the Persians" (*ibid.*, p. 345).

"In autumn 631, a new Chalcedonian patriarch arrived in Alexandria, invested with

extraordinary powers: that of archbishop and of prefect of Egypt. This combination of church and civil functions was contrary to ecclesiastical canons...such powers were entrusted by imperial appointment at a very critical moment, to a foreigner, Cyrus, formerly metropolitan of Phasis in the Caucasus, who already had a record as one of the architects of ecclesiastical unions, based on 'monoenergism'" (*ibid.*). His main mission was the one in which so many other Chalcedonian patriarchs had failed: to reestablish the religious unity of Egypt within imperial Chalcedonianism.

"Upon the arrival of Cyrus, the Monophysite patriarch Benjamin went into hiding and lived in remote desert monasteries until the Arab conquest. In order to achieve his goal, Cyrus used both persuasion and force..... In practically all Coptic sources, the memory of Cyrus is associated exclusively with blood and coercion, not with theological compromise. They do not even mention the 'monoenergistic' stand of Cyrus, or the *Ekthesis* of Heraclius, but only the persecutions suffered by the opponents of Chalcedon. Indeed, among many others, the brother of patriarch Benjamin, Menas was tortured and executed, and the Roman troops kept mutilating dissident Copts, even as they themselves were besieged by Arabs in Babylon (contemporary Cairo) in 641. The terror lasted for ten years, the entire length of Cyrus' tenure. Being the head of both civil and ecclesiastical administrations in Egypt, he was held responsible by the Copts for all the brutalities of his administration. Known as the 'Caucasian' (Al-Muqauqas, in Arabic) because he came from Lazica on the Black Sea, he entered history as the great persecutor of the Monophysites and a skilled – though unsuccessful – diplomat, respected by the Muslims" (*ibid.*, pp. 345-346).

+ *Cyrus's Pact of Union:*

"After Cyrus instituted a reign of terror,...he managed in 633 to negotiate a Pact of Union embodied in nine chapters. The seventh chapter formed the theological center of the Pact. It anathematized all who did not hold the doctrine of the two natures in Christ, perfect in His divinity and humanity, the natures remaining unconfused and undivided after a natural and *hypostatic* union, but attributed all activity in Christ to the one person not to the natures. 'There was but one and the same Christ, working both the divine and human actions by one theandrical operation' as Dionysius taught. Cyrus was referring here to an author whose name carried great weight in these controversies – Dionysius, supposedly a disciple of St. Paul himself who is mentioned in *Acts* 17:34. He was first cited by Severus of Antioch and may have been none other than the much exiled Monophysite patriarch of Antioch, Peter the Fuller. Dionysius had maintained that Christ had 'done divine things as God and human things as man', but that there had been 'a certain divine-human (theandric) action of God made man'. As Cyrus explained, **it was no longer permissible to speak of two actions after the union but only of a single dominant action, which directed everything that the Incarnate Word said or did or experienced in mind or body. The alternative position which ascribed a distinct action to each of the two natures, would be obliged to go on to posit a distinct action for the body of Christ's humanity and another for his soul, which by reduction would lead to three actions in the incarnate Christ.** For what do we attribute to the whole Christ if we do not give to the whole the single action through the union? From the pulpit of the patriarchal basilica in Alexandria Cyrus promulgated the Pact of Union" (Davis, *FSEC*, pp. 262-263).

VII.A.2. THE CHALCEDONIAN CONTROVERSY CONCERNING MONOENERGISM:

Precisely in 633, as the Pact of Union was being prepared for proclamation, Sophronius, an old monk more than eighty years old, was present in Alexandria. As he enjoyed a high prestige among the Chalcedonians, Cyrus showed him the nine chapters of the Pact, asking for his authoritative support. Sophronius objected exclusively against what he considered as a misuse and misquotation of the Dionysian expression "one divine-human energy" in chapter 7 of the union document. "Sophronius insisted that activity proceeds not from the person of Christ as the sole agent but from the two natures" (*ibid.*, p. 264). The protest of Sophronius did not stop the plans of Cyrus in Egypt and the Union was proclaimed. However, the old man travelled to Constantinople immediately to meet Sergius. His intervention had immediate effect in a gesture which seems to indicate the patriarch's diplomatic flexibility. "Sergius persuaded Sophronius to cease from numbering the activities in Christ, whereupon the monk left Constantinople to return to Jerusalem" (*ibid.*).

VII.A.2.a. The *Psephos* of Patriarch Sergius:

"Alarmed by the protests of Sophronius which threatened to destroy all his patient efforts toward the reunion of the Monophysites, Sergius convoked the Home Synod of Constantinople. There it was decided that though all actions, divine and human, in Christ are to be attributed to one sole agent, the Incarnate Word, there should be no numbering of activities" (*ibid.*).

"Sergius published a patriarchal *Psephos* ('authoritative opinion') which was handed to Sophronius and a copy sent to Cyrus. It amounted to a partial disavowal of the terms of the Alexandrian union: no one was to speak any longer about 'one' or 'two' energies in Christ, such expressions being 'impious'. The right approach would be to speak of one Divine subject, as agent, which excludes the existence in Christ of two wills contrary to each other. The text stopped short of proclaiming one will in Christ, but affirmed that 'at no time did His flesh, animated by a [human] intelligence, accomplish its natural movement separately, or on its own initiative, contrary to the consent of God the Word, *hypostatically* united with it, but it acted as God willed'..." (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 349).

"The original complete text of the patriarchal *Psephos* has not been preserved, but long quotations were forwarded by Sergius himself to his colleague in Rome, pope Honorius. In this letter to the pope, Sergius also affirms that Sophronius was content with the text and 'accepted not to speak anymore of either one, or two energies, limiting himself to tradition and to the certain and habitual teachings [of the Fathers]'" (*ibid.*, quoting Mansi xi, 536C).

"To Cyrus at Alexandria Sergius dispatched the *Psephos*, which instructed Cyrus not to permit talk of one or two activites in relation to Christ. Rather, the teaching should be that the only Son, Our Lord Jesus Christ, does what is divine and human and that all activity of God and man proceeds from the sole Incarnate Word without division or confusion. Talk of one activity seemed to abolish the two natures *hypostatically* united in Christ; talk of two activities, to indicate that there could be in Christ two acts of will, one opposed to the other. Rather, the Fathers have taught that at no moment could the flesh animated by reason accomplish any natural movement contrary to the assent of God the Word who is

hypostatically united to it, for the flesh acts in the manner and measure in which God the Word has willed. For Christ the human composite was always and in all things under the divine motion of the divinity of the Word Himself" (Davis, *FSEC*, pp. 264-265).

The *Psephos* was certainly embarrassing to Cyrus. "Although it abandons Monoenergism, it introduces a new concept in the theory of one will in Christ. Without making the theory too explicit, it excludes 'two wills', and suggests that the existence of 'two wills' would imply the possibility of a conflict, or opposition between them" (Meyendorff, *op. cit.*).

VII.A.2.b. Sophronius's Rejection of Monoenergism in a Synod at Jerusalem:

"To everyone's surprise, in Jerusalem Sophronius was elected patriarch (634 A.D.). As a monk he had bowed to Sergius' pleas to remain silent about the activities of Christ; as patriarch he felt compelled to speak the truth as he saw it. He held a synod at Jerusalem in 634 which defined the doctrine of two wills and operations. Further, he sent his synodical profession of faith to Pope Honorius, Sergius and his fellow patriarchs. In the Christological section of his letter accepting the *Tome* of Leo as coming from St. Peter, the works of Cyril as coming from St. Mark, he expounded the doctrine of the unity of person and duality of natures, and then turned to the problem of operations. For Sophronius the duality of operations results from the duality of the natures and their properties: 'As in Christ each nature preserves its properties inviolate, so each form works, in communion with the other, what is proper to itself'. Since the being of the natures is distinct, it followed that the operations are also distinct. To deny the duality of operations could lead to the fusion of the natures, for by means of operations, natures are discerned; differences of operation enable us to realize the diversity of substances. When Dionysius spoke of a theandrical operation, he did not present it as the only operation in Christ, but as a new operation, added to the two others, comprising the actions in which the divinity and the humanity are exercised at the same time. But even though insisting that there are in Christ two operations, Sophronius insisted equally that there is in Him only one agent: 'We maintain that all the speech and energy of Christ, whether divine and heavenly, or human and earthly, proceed from one and the same Christ and Son, from the one compound and unique *hypostasis* which is the incarnate *Logos* of God, who brings forth naturally from Himself both energies unseparated and unmixed, according to His natures...'. But Sophronius nowhere speaks of two wills, even though Sergius had already spoken of one will. As yet the controversy had not turned precisely to this point. He does observe that Christ did not undergo necessarily and unwillingly the motions and passions of human nature, even though He underwent them naturally and humanly" (Davis, *FSEC*, pp. 265-266).

VII.A.2.c. The Letter of Sergius to Pope Honorius of Rome:

"At Constantinople, Sergius had anticipated that once Sophronius was patriarch, news of developments in the East would soon reach Rome. So before Sophronius' synodical letter reached Rome, Pope Honorius had received a letter from Sergius. The patriarch informed the pope of the events that had transpired in the East. He told Honorius that he had enjoined Cyrus of Alexandria to avoid discussion of one or two operations because this was thought an innovation in doctrine and scandalized many. Especially talk of two operations would lead

many to assume in Christ two wills contrary to each other, while the Fathers teach that the humanity of Christ always performed its natural operation just when and how and inasmuch as the Word willed, at all times and in all things moved and directed by the divinity of the Word. Rather, we should confess with Leo that from one and the same Incarnate Word all divine and human energy proceeds indivisibly and inseparably" (*ibid.*, p. 266).

In his Letter to Pope Honorius, Sergius reflected on the content of his *Psephos*: "the uncontroversial affirmation of a unity of Christ's divine subject, which excluded any conflict of 'two wills' and actually made it unnecessary to insist upon counting 'energies'..... Of course, Cyrus in his nine chapters of union, had used the 'one energy' terminology, but this was to be interpreted as an *oikonomia*, for the sake of the salvation of a multitude, without implying any infringement upon the exactitude (ἀκρίβεια) of the right teachings of the Church."

"Clearly – and with ostensible sincerity – Sergius wanted the pope to join the newly-founded consensus, insisting on his faithfulness to Chalcedon and Pope Leo. The *Psephos* seemed to have reached that goal at the price of some ambiguity to which even Sophronius had not formally objected" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, pp. 351-352).

VII.A.3. THE CHALCEDONIAN SHIFT TOWARDS MONOTHELETISM:

Pope Honorius (625-638 A.D.) responded favorably to Sergius's letter and sent back his reply in which he used the formula of "one will" (ἓν θέλημα) in Christ from which came the appellation Monothelitism (Gk. μονοθελῆται, from μόνος, "one", and θέλειν, "to will"; the more correct, but less usual, spelling of the word is "Monotheletism") (*ODCC*, ed. 2, p. 932). "When his injunction of silence on both parties was disobeyed, he wrote a second letter rejecting the expression 'two wills' as giving rise to contentions, though insisting strongly on the two natures. He died in 638, the year of the publication of the *Ecthesis*, the charter of the Monotheletism which utilized Honorius' formula of the 'one will'..." (*ibid.*, p. 663).

VII.A.3.a. The Monotheletism of Pope Honorius of Rome:

In his reply to the Byzantine Patriarch, Pope Honorius "congratulates the architects of union policies based on Monoenergism, and criticizes those who raise sophisticated problems of terminology (implying obviously...Sophronius). Giving his full approval to the policies of Cyrus and their results, he makes a significant step by clarifying further the implications of the letter of Sergius. The latter had rejected 'Monoenergism' as ambiguous and controversial, but strongly emphasized that, in Christ, there was One divine Agent, which excluded 'two wills' [contrary to each other]. This was a clear suggestion that the *hypostatic* union presupposed one will, i.e. the doctrine known as Monotheletism. Honorius moves from this suggestion to a clear statement: 'Indeed, he writes, the Deity could neither be crucified, nor experience human passions. But [according to the *hypostatic* union], one says that the Deity suffered and that humanity came from heaven with the Deity. Therefore, we confess the one will of our Lord Jesus Christ (ὅθεν καὶ ἓν θέλημα ὁμολογοῦμεν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ)'.." (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, pp. 352-353, referring to Mansi xi, col. 540B-C).

The following is the *First Letter of Pope Honorius* to Sergius Patriarch of Constantinople, 634 A.D., (as quoted in Kidd, *Documents*, vol. III, pp. 48-49): "By the leading of God we have come to the measure of the true faith, which the apostles of the truth have spread abroad by the rule of the Holy Scriptures, confessing that the Lord Jesus Christ, the mediator between God and man, worked the divine works by means of the manhood, which was *hypostatically* united to Him, the Word of God, and that the same worked the human works since the flesh was assumed by the Godhead, in an unspeakable and unique manner...so that the union must be wonderfully thought of, under the continuance of both natures... Whence also **we confess one will of our Lord Jesus Christ**, since our [human] nature was plainly assumed by the Godhead, but not our guilt: to wit that nature as it was created before sin, not as it was tainted after the fall. For Christ...as He was conceived by the Holy Ghost, so was He also born without sin of the holy and immaculate Virgin, the mother of God, without experiencing any contamination from our tainted nature.... In His members, there was **not another will different from, and contrary to,** [that of] the Saviour because He was born above the law of human condition.... That the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son and the Word of God, by whom all things were made, the one and the same, works divine and human works, is shewn quite clearly by the Holy Scriptures. But whether on account of the works of the godhead and the manhood it is suitable to think of one or two energies (*operationes*, ἐνέργειαι) as present, we cannot tell: we leave that to schoolmasters who sell to boys the expressions invented by them, in order to attract them to themselves. For we have not learned from the sacred scriptures that Christ and His holy Spirit have **one or two energies**; but that He works in manifold ways.—Hefele, §296, Vol. V. 28 *sqq.*".

Davis (*FSEC*, pp. 266-267) presented the main points in Honorius's letter saying: "He made three points. First, we should avoid speaking of one or two operations; these are new and scandalous disputes about words. It would be Nestorian to speak of two operations; Eutychian to speak only of one. Scripture attests to the fact that Christ is the one working agent of the divinity and the humanity and that He worked in a great many ways. Neither the Apostles nor the Fathers spoke of one or two operations. The question should be left to the philosophers and grammarians or best left in silence. Secondly, Jesus Christ, who is one person, has performed both divine and human works through the concourse of two natures; the same Christ has worked in His two natures both divinely and humanly. Thirdly, we must hold the unity of Christ's will, for while the Word truly took our nature, He did not take our vitiated nature; He took our flesh but not the law of flesh repugnant to that of the spirit. There was in Christ no will tending in a direction opposed to the law of the spirit. Christ's words: 'I came down from heaven, not to do my own will, but the will of Him who sent me' (*John* 6:38) and 'Father, not what I will, but what you will' (*Matthew* 26:39) do not reveal a will differing from the Father's but merely the economy of the humanity which He had assumed, to give us an example upon which to model our willing submission to God."

"In a second letter to Sergius, after having received Sophronius' synodical profession of faith, Honorius repeated the doctrine of his first concluding that it was better to speak of one operator and two operating natures. He added that he had so informed Sophronius of Jerusalem and Cyrus of Alexandria" (*ibid.*, p. 267).

VII.A.3.b. The *Ekthesis* of 638 A.D.:

"Upon receipt of the letter from Rome, Sergius felt quite relieved. The terminological problems seemed to be resolved. There was no need any longer to use the ambiguous doctrine of 'one energy', since the formal endorsement of the concept of 'one will' by Honorius opened the door for a Christological position which seemed quite appealing: how can the one person, or *hypostasis* of Christ possess more than one will? Eventually a crucial document, drafted by Sergius with the cooperation of the abbot Pyrrhus, was presented to the signature of emperor Heraclius: the *Ekthesis*" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, pp. 353-354).

The formula of the *Ekthesis* (Gk. ἔκθεσις, "a statement of faith") issued in 638 by the Emperor Heraclius forbidding the mention of 'energies' (ἐνέργειαι), whether one or two, in the Person of Christ and asserting that the two Natures were united in a single Will (Monothelitism), "and repeating almost word for word the text of the *Psephos* concerning Christ as the unique Agent and Subject of His divine and of His human acts, the text also picks up the sentence from the letter of Honorius: 'We confess one will of our Lord Jesus Christ'" (*ibid.*, p. 354, referring to the text in Mansi x, 992C-997A).

"What Sergius and the emperor had decreed was that there is in Jesus Christ only one will and one truly free and spontaneous activity, the divine activity and will. Granting the existence of a human nature, its activity is completely subordinate to that of the divine; the humanity in the power of the Word is merely a docile instrument which He uses" (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 268).

Sergius died in the same year, after having the *Ekthesis* endorsed by the synod of Constantinople in 638. His successor patriarch Pyrrhus (638-641) – the correspondent and future adversary of Maximus – had himself been one of the drafters, endorsed it in another council held at Constantinople in 639 and, "with imperial sanction, proclaimed the *Ekthesis* to be the official faith of the empire."

"There is no doubt that Sergius, who had been originally impressed by the arguments of Sophronius, felt emboldened by the perhaps unexpectedly strong support of Honorius and decided to oppose the patriarch of Jerusalem directly. The *Ekthesis* actually served as a response to a *Synodical letter* of Sophronius which the patriarchate of Constantinople refused to accept" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, 354, referring to Mansi xi, col. 456C).

Later when Honorius was repeatedly condemned by his successors, the *Ekthesis* was soon disowned by Heraclius as well as by Honorius's two successors (Severinus, 640 A.D.; and John IV, 640-642 A.D.) (*ODCC*, ed. 2, p. 443). Heraclius wrote to the Roman Pope John IV: "When I returned from the East, [Sergius] asked me to sign it and to promulgate it" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 354, n. 56, referring to Mansi ix, col. 9).

Honorius's successors, Severinus and John IV, says Meyendorff, "escaped possible imperial sanctions only because of the general confusion caused by the Arab invasions and the dynastic troubles which followed the death of Heraclius (641)" (*ibid.*, p. 356).

"In any case, these same Arab invasions destroyed completely the unionistic value of Monoenergism and Monotheletism: all the Monophysite communities of the East fell under the yoke of Islam, making the issue of their reconciliation with...Chalcedonians a moot question for centuries" (*ibid.*).

VII.A.3.c. Emperor Heraclius's Successors:

Heraclius died on February 11, 641, after a reign of thirty years. His death was followed by a dynastic struggle. "He left the crown jointly to his sons by two wives, Constantine III and Heraclonas. The faltering Empire was further distracted by factions divided in their support of the co-emperors. But Constantine died later in the year and the people turned against the boy-emperor Heraclonas and his unpopular mother, Martina" (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 273).

Martina, the second wife of Heraclius, was his niece. "Her incestuous marriage with the emperor, although blessed by patriarch Sergius, was considered illegitimate by many. This was one of the reasons which excluded Martina's posterity from the imperial succession" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 360, n. 77).

"By order of the Senate Heraclonas and his mother were deposed, the decision sealed by cutting off Martina's tongue and Heraclonas' nose, the first instance in Byzantine history of the oriental custom of mutilation as a sign of incapacity to hold office" (Davis, *op. cit.*). But (*pace* Davis), it was Emperor Heraclius who decreed the practice of mutilation, writing to all parts of the kingdom saying: "Everyone who does not accept the Council of Chalcedon, his nose and ears are to be cut, and his house to be plundered" (Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* XI:3, & in Ar. trans. vol. 2, p. 302).

The young son of Constantine III, Constans II, was made emperor. He is the grandson of Heraclius by his first wife Eudoxia, and was eleven years old at the time of his coronation.

Pyrrhus, the successor of Sergius on the see of Constantinople was an avowed Monothelite. "Unfortunately for him, he became involved in the dynastic struggle which followed the death of Heraclius (641). He ran into trouble during the short reign (three months) of Constantine III (son of Heraclius, by his first wife Eudoxia), who was opposed to Monotheletism. Siding with the cause of Martina and her children and accused of complicity in the murder of Constantine III, he followed Martina in her disgrace, after the enthronement of Constans II (November 641). Replaced by another Monothelite, Paul, at the patriarchate, Pyrrhus left the capital for an exile in Africa" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 363).

The regency of Constans II was assured by patriarch Paul and a group of predominantly Armenian military leaders, all devoted to Monotheletism (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 360). This Christological scheme "affirmed that the one and unique 'subject' or *hypostasis* of Christ could possess only one will. How indeed, they were asking, could Christ's humanity, since it does not possess a distinct human *hypostasis* (this would be Nestorianism), be manifested by a distinct will of its own?.....since Christ's unique *hypostasis* was the pre-existing, divine *hypostasis* of the *Logos*, His unique '*hypostatic*' will could only be the divine one. Consequently, His humanity was...a passive instrument of divinity, mechanically 'used' by the divine will. Monotheletism could not actually be compatible with the *Tome* of Leo (*agit utraque forma quod proprium est*) and the council of Chalcedon" (*ibid.*, 362).

VII.B. The Two Wills and Two Activities as Claimed by the Chalcedonian Anti-Monothelites:

VII.B.1. THE ANTI-MONOTHELITES IN ITALY AND IN AFRICA:

In Italy and in Africa, there was deep dissatisfaction with the imperial religious policy defined by the *Ecthesis*. "Pope Severinus, Honorius' (elected) successor in 638, sent representatives to Constantinople asking for imperial approval of his election. In 640 they returned with news of the *Ecthesis*, but Severinus died before he could deal with this new development. His successor John IV called a synod which condemned the *Ecthesis* before the death of Heraclius in 641. Further, the pope protested the encyclical letter of the patriarch Pyrrhus imposing the *Ecthesis* and defended an orthodox interpretation of Honorius' view of a single will in Christ" (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 274).

The protest of Honorius's successors, however, "did not entail severance of communion with the see of Constantinople: the Roman bishops of the seventh century lacked the energy and steadfastness of their predecessors so clearly manifested at the time of the schism with patriarch Acacius..." (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 363).

"Further communication between Rome and Constantinople was disrupted by the dynastic struggle following the death of Heraclius. In the course of that struggle the regent-empress Martina deposed the patriarch Pyrrhus, a staunch defender of Monothelitism, for political reasons. Pyrrhus, at first, tried to maintain his position in Constantinople but then fled to Africa. Here he found a hotbed of intrigue. The imperial exarch of Africa, Gregory, was plotting a coup against the central government such as Heraclius himself had accomplished in 610. It is possible that Pyrrhus saw in Gregory an agent who as emperor could restore him to the patriarchal throne. Since Gregory was...opposed to Monothelitism, this would entail a change of religious belief. However that may be, in 645 Pyrrhus met Maximus...in a public debate before the exarch in which he allowed himself to be convinced of the error of Monothelitism. He then proceeded to Rome where he formally recanted his heresy in St. Peter's basilica before Pope Theodore, John IV's successor. He was allowed to assist at the liturgy seated on a patriarchal throne and the pope wrote to the emperor demanding Pyrrhus' reinstatement as patriarch. If Pyrrhus had really pinned his hopes on the success of Gregory's coup against the emperor, he was to be disappointed. Gregory was defeated and killed by the invading Muslims in central Tunisia in 647, and Pyrrhus found himself called to the court of the exarch of Italy at Ravenna. There he recanted his recantation, and once again in the Monothelite camp, continued on to Constantinople" (Davis, *FSEC*, pp. 274-275).

In Rome, the fearless pope Theodore (642-649), who "was a Greek of Palestinian origin", excommunicated Pyrrhus, "signing the act with a pen dipped into a Eucharistic chalice" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, pp. 364, 365 & n. 91, referring to Mansi x, col. 610B-C, and adding: "The unusual practice of using the Eucharist in this way was sometimes adopted in the early Middle Ages to dramatize anathemas and excommunications").

"In Rome opposition to the Monothelite imperial policy grew, especially with the presence in the city of Maximus from 645/6 and Sophronius' disciple, Stephen of Dore who had been active in the election as pope of the Palestinian Theodore who had been

consecrated without imperial approval."

"Pope Theodore had received a synodical profession of faith from Paul, Pyrrhus' successor at Constantinople, which was orthodox but said nothing of suppression of the hated *Ecthesis*. For three years, Pope Theodore urged a profession of faith from Paul of Constantinople on the subject of Christ's will. When at last Paul formally professed Monothelitism, Pope Theodore excommunicated him. Paul thereupon laid an interdict on the palace of the papal representative and urged Emperor Constans to revise his religious policy with the issue of a new edict called the *Typos* in 648)" (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 275).

VII.B.2. THE *TYPOS* OF CONSTANS II IN 648 A.D.:

"In the *typos*, the emperor professed his continuing concern for the purity of the Christian faith and expressed his dismay at the divisions in the Empire caused by those who professed one or two wills and activities in Christ" (*ibid.*).

The following is the text of the *Typos*, as quoted in Kidd, *Documents*, vol. III, pp. 49-50: "We believed that, under God's guidance, we were bound to extinguish the flame of discord which had been kindled, and not allow it further to destroy souls. We declare therefore to our orthodox subjects that, from the present moment, they no longer have permission in any way to contend and to quarrel with one another over one will and energy, or two energies and two wills. This we ordain not to take away anything from the pious doctrines of the holy recognized Fathers in regard to the Incarnation of God the Word, but with the view that all further strife in regard to these questions should cease, and that we should follow only the Holy Scriptures and the five deliverances of the five holy Ecumenical Synods, and the simple utterances and confessions of the approved Fathers...without adding or taking away anything, and without explaining them in a manner opposed to their proper meaning.... Whoever ventures to transgress the command now given is subject, above all, to the judgment of God, but he will also be liable to the punishment of the despisers of Imperial Commands....—Hefele, §306; v. 95 *sq.*".

But the *Typos* came much too late: the issue had become a real dilemma and could not be suppressed by a simple act of political authority. In practice, the *Typos* was meant to prevent the Anti-Monothelites from fighting against official Monotheletism.

Pope Theodore of Rome died before receiving the *Typos*. The election of a successor was in itself an act of rebellion against the established imperial order, since the candidate did not receive approval from either the emperor or the exarch of Ravenna. Martin I, an Italian experienced in ecclesiastical affairs and personalities in the East, where he had served as an envoy of Pope Theodore in Constantinople, and had participated in negotiations concerning the fate of Pyrrhus before the formal break between Rome and Constantinople. He was aware of the issues and ready to face up to the empire.

VII.B.3. THE LATERAN COUNCIL OF 649 A.D. AND ITS REPERCUSSIONS:

Three months after his consecration, Pope Martin I of Rome called a council at the Lateran Palace, the official papal residence. The council convened on October 5, 649, at the basilica of the Lateran with a hundred bishops in attendance, mostly from Italy and Africa. Stephen of Dora, the Palestinian bishop who earlier had been the envoy of Sophronius of

Jerusalem to Rome, was there again, as well as some Greek monks, among whom Maximus (known among the Chalcedonians as "Maximus the Confessor"), a former secretary of Heraclius, and later a monk in Asia Minor. He played a role in gathering patristic references and preparing the results which took the form of twenty anathematisms. A profession of faith and the anathematisms were signed by 105 bishops.

Those Anti-Monothelite Chalcedonian bishops "confessed the faith of Chalcedon and added their belief that our nature is perfect and without restriction, except for sin, incarnate in Christ, God Himself. From two natures, the bishops continued, and in two natures, divinity and humanity, united *hypostatically* without confusion or division is the one sole and same Savior and Lord Jesus Christ. There are two wills, divine and human, intimately united in one and the same Christ, because through each of His natures He naturally willed our salvation. There are two operations, divine and human, intimately united in Christ because by each of His natures He wrought our salvation. The anathemas repeated this teaching, condemning Theodore of Pharan, Cyrus of Alexandria, the patriarchs Sergius, Pyrrhus and Paul of Constantinople and the imperial edicts, the *Ecthesis* and the *Typos*. All were bidden to accept the teaching of the five holy and general councils" (Davis, *FSEC*, pp. 276-277).

"The clear and drastic decisions of the council of the Lateran had to provoke an equally strong reaction from Constantinople. Perhaps, pope Martin and his advisors were hoping for some political support, similar to the rebellion of exarch Gregory in Africa. Such hopes, if they existed, were not entirely without foundation, as shown in the case of exarch Olympius of Ravenna. Having received from Constantinople the order to go to Rome, arrest the pope and impose the *Typos*, Olympius, faced with popular opposition, first negotiated with the pope, then left for Sicily where, before his death in 652 from an epidemic, he plotted an alliance with the Arabs against Constans II" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 366).

Although Pope Martin of Rome and monk Maximus "always denied any involvement in politics, the general atmosphere of plots and intrigue made the religious issue inseparable from the issue of imperial loyalty. Suspicious of the pope's political sympathies and angered by his open opposition to the *Typos*, Constans II acted forcefully" (*ibid.*, p. 367).

"In 653, the exarch Theodore Kalliopas arrested the sick pope Martin, accusing him of having been elected illegally (i.e. without imperial sanction) and of having sent money to Arabs (Martin had given support to pilgrims going to Jerusalem)...Martin was then dragged to Constantinople, kept in prison for three months and tried by the disciplinary court of the patriarchate of Constantinople. Indeed, as a cleric, he was not liable to a civil court. The act of accusation contained no religious elements, but essentially the crime of complicity with Olympius. The pope was defrocked, publicly divested of his episcopal ornaments, chained and humiliated. He died in exile in Kherson in the Crimea, on September 16, 655" (*ibid.*).

In 654 Pyrrhus succeeded in recovering the patriarchal throne of Constantinople, and offered a deal to the legates of pope Eugenius I. Eugenius had been elected in August 654, with the exarch's approval more than a year before pope Martin's death. "Eugenius was inclined to accept an ambiguous formula, which would avoid the formal rejection of the *Typos*, but was prevented from falling into compromise with Monotheletism by the clergy and people of Rome. It remains, however, that both he and his successor, pope Vitalian (657-672), were in communion with the Monothelite patriarch Peter (654-666) who had

presided over the trial of Martin. At Vitalian's election, Constans II sent him a precious Gospel book, and the pope met the Monothelite emperor.....solemnly as he visited Rome himself (663). Clearly, the trial and death of Martin had neutralized for a time the Roman opposition to the *Typos*: the popes were neither condoning it, nor condemning their predecessor Honorius, nor breaking fellowship with the Monothelite leadership in Constantinople, remaining loyal to the imperial system" (*ibid.*, pp. 367-368).

The resistance was therefore centered in one person, monk Maximus, who was arrested with two of his disciples in Rome and sent to Constantinople. His trial followed that of Pope Martin. It was allegedly for political crimes. "Maximus was exiled to Thrace where imperial agents tried to win him over. But Maximus remained loyal to the decisions of the Lateran Synod which he regarded as a conciliar definition. Later he was dragged back to Constantinople, retried and, according to one account, mutilated" (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 278). Exiled yet again to Caucasus, he died there on August 662, aged more than eighty years. No protests came either from Rome, or from any other part of the Christian world (cf. Meyendorff, *IUCD*, pp. 368-369).

Emperor Constans II never returned to Constantinople from his Western voyage begun in 662 A.D. He moved his administration to Syracuse in Sicily, "with the purpose of organizing a counter-offensive against the Arabs" (*ibid.*, p. 369). He "was assassinated in his bath by one of his own chamberlains" (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 278).

"His son Constantine IV (668-685) succeeded to the throne with the help of Pope Vitalian" (*ibid.*). "The first years of the new reign were entirely dominated by war, in which the empire was finally successful. The Arab fleet, built by the Khalife Muawija (Muᶜawiya), blockaded Constantinople for four memorable years: 674-8. The 'New Rome' stood directly on the way of the expansion of the Islamic *djihad* to Europe. But the siege failed, and a peace of thirty years was concluded between the empire and the khalifate. Egypt and Syria were, of course, lost to Byzantium, but the borders were set far from the capital in Eastern Asia Minor" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 369).

"Meanwhile, the relations between the churches of Constantinople and Rome remained ambiguous. The respective positions did not formally change. Patriarchs Thomas (667-69), John V (669-75) and Constantine (675-7) did not condemn the *Typos*, while the popes maintained an ambiguous reserve. As the war, and particularly the Arab siege of the capital, made contacts difficult, a growing estrangement arose between the two 'Romes'. Patriarch Theodore (677-9) attempted to force the hand of both the emperor and the pope, so that the *Typos* might be imposed by force. Instead of sending a regular 'synodical' letter announcing his election to pope Donus (676-8), he asked the latter to accept unity on ambiguous and, in fact, Monothelite terms, and also suggested to the emperor that all the popes, successors of Honorius, be stricken from the diptychs in Constantinople" (*ibid.*).

VII.B.4. THE *SACRA* OF EMPEROR CONSTANTINE IV:

In 678 A.D., the young Byzantine Emperor Constantine IV refrained from the drastic measures suggested by Patriarch Theodore of Constantinople. Instead, "he sent a formal letter, the *Sacra*, to Pope Donus asking that representatives be sent to Constantinople from the pope, his bishops and the Greek monasteries of Rome for a discussion of the religious differences between East and West. When the pope delayed answering, the patriarch of

Constantinople erased his name from the diptychs. In loyalty to the papacy, which had helped him to the imperial throne, Constantine opposed this move and deposed the patriarch. Since Donus had in the meantime died, the imperial letter was answered by the new pope, Agatho (678-681). He asked for time to consult the Western bishops. Local synods were convened.....and the legates were two Roman priests, the Roman deacon John and subdeacon Constantine, both later popes, three Italian bishops, a priest representing the bishop of Ravenna and four Greek monks. The legates were given explicit instructions and carried with them a letter from the pope to the emperor and a letter from the western episcopate signed by 125 bishops" (Davis, *FSEC*, pp. 278-279).

"The pope clearly informed the emperor: 'The Roman church has by God's grace never erred from the pathway of the apostolic teaching, nor has it lapsed into heretical novelties, but from the very beginning of the Christian faith has preserved unimpaired that which it received from its founders, the princes of the Apostles'. He then laid down the orthodox belief in the two wills of Christ: 'We truly confess that just as He has two natures or substances, that is, divinity and humanity, unconfusedly, indivisibly and unchangeably, so too He has two natural wills and two natural operations, as perfect God and perfect man, one and the same Lord Jesus Christ....'" (*ibid.*, p. 279).

"After the case of Honorius", writes Meyendroff (*IUCD,* p. 370), "and the rather ambiguous attitude of practically all his successors (except Theodore and Martin), such pretentious utterances about Roman authority could not be taken literally by anyone".

VII.B.5. THE THIRD COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE, 680-681 A.D.:

The Roman legates arrived in Constantinople on September 10, 680. Meanwhile, emperor Constantine IV had removed the rather anti-Roman Monothelite Patriarch Theodore of Constantinople from his see (cf. *ibid.*). He ordered George I, his new patriarch of Constantinople (679-686), and Macarius, the titular patriarch of Antioch, to assemble their bishops. "The simple conference, originally planned by the emperor, declared itself to be an ecumenical council" (*ibid.*, p. 371).

"The emperor had decided to turn the meeting of bishops into an ecumenical council. On November 7, 680, the Council of Constantinople III opened in a great domed room, the Trullus, in the imperial palace with **only some forty-three bishops present**. The emperor himself opened the Council and presided over the first eleven sessions. The Council would meet in eighteen sessions separated by long intervals until September 16, 681" (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 280).

"This very small attendance reflected the state of the Christian world in 680-1. Syria, Palestine, Egypt and North Africa were occupied by the Arabs. Asia Minor itself had been devastated, and Slavs had settled in much of the Balkan peninsula. The representation of the Eastern patriarchates was nominal. Macarius, a titular patriarch of Antioch living in Constantinople, was present, but Alexandria and Jerusalem, where the Chalcedonian sees were officially vacant, were represented only by 'vicars', presumably also living in the capital" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 371).

"Unlike the early councils which tended to debate theological issues for their own sake, the assembly of 680-1 focused on the issue of Tradition. The only question discussed was whether the earlier conciliar decrees and the writings of the Fathers could be used to justify

the doctrine of 'one energy' and 'one will' in Christ. Patristic authorities were brought in; the authenticity of some writings was challenged; archives were searched. This 'archival' character of the debates was partly due to the fact that .....no outstanding theologian was at hand to raise the christological discussion to the level which it had reached with St. Cyril...." (*ibid.*).

"The papal legates began by demanding that the clergy of Constantinople explain their teaching of Monoenergism and Monothelitism. At the emperor's invitation, George of Constantinople and Macarius of Antioch responded that they taught only doctrines defined by the councils. There followed the reading of the acts of the Councils of Ephesus, Chalcedon and Constantinople II. In the acts of Constantinople II the legates objected to the inclusion of a letter of Menas of Constantinople to Pope Vigilius which had been much used by Sergius in propagating his doctrines...." (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 280).

"In the fifth and sixth sessions Macarius of Antioch introduced three large volumes of extracts from the Fathers supporting his position. Upon examination, the legates objected that many of the texts were corrupted or twisted out of context..... In the eighth session George of Constantinople testified that a comparison of the texts presented by the legates with those in the patriarchal library convinced him of the existence of two wills in Christ. The bishops of his patriarchate agreed and requested authorization of the emperor to restore the pope's name to the diptychs" (*ibid.*).

"Macarius of Antioch, however, refused to accept two wills in Christ because this was in his view Nestorianism. In response to a question by the emperor, Macarius said that he would rather be torn to pieces than accept two wills in Christ" (*ibid.*, pp. 280-281).

"In the ninth session the Council concluded that Macarius and his disciple Stephen had deliberately falsified the patristic extracts. They were forthwith deprived of all priestly authority. In the tenth session the patristic texts presented by the legates were declared authentic and the bishops of the Orient and priests of Constantinople presented an orthodox statement of their faith. In the eleventh and twelfth sessions Macarius was put on trial before the Council. All his letters and writings were examined and some were shown to be heretical. After he acknowledged the authenticity of the documents, he was deposed and the emperor was requested to designate a new patriarch for Antioch" (*ibid.*, p. 281).

"At the thirteenth session the condemnation of Sergius, Cyrus, Pyrrhus, Paul, Peter, Theodore and Honorius was discussed and the synodical letters of Sophronius of Jerusalem were declared orthodox. The fourteenth session saw the seating of the new patriarch of Antioch, Theophanes, a Sicilian" (*ibid.*).

"During the sixteenth session, patriarch George made one last attempt to save the honor of the church of Constantinople by arguing against the formal condemnation of his several predecessors, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul and Peter, but unsuccessfully. The list of condemnations was adopted, and the name of pope Honorius added to it. Obviously, the council selected only leaders.....to be condemned by name, and avoided throwing anathemas to those who adopted ambiguous stands (i.e. some popes who succeeded Honorius, particularly Vitalian), or simply followed the accepted position of their church (patriarchs Thomas, John, Constantine and Theodore). The condemnation of Honorius did not raise any objection on the part of the Roman legates or of Agatho's successor,...Leo II (682-3)"

(Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 372 & n. 106 on pp. 372f., which reads as follows: "Writing back to Constantinople after receiving the Council's *Acts*, pope Leo specifically mentions Honorius, who 'instead of giving glory to his apostolic church by teaching apostolic tradition, has tried to subvert the immaculate faith by impious treason' (*hanc apostolicam ecclesiam non apostolicae traditionis doctrina lustravit, sed profana proditione immaculam fidem subvertere conatus est*), Jaffe-Wattenbach, 2118, *PL* 96, col 408B; on the various sources confirming the condemnation of Honorius, see Duchesne, *L'Eglise*, p. 473, note 1".).

The condemnation of Honorius was reaffirmed by the Council of Nicaea II, 787 (counted by the Chalcedonians as the Seventh), "and repeated by all popes at their consecration until the eleventh century" (*ibid.*, p. 373).

"Finally, in the seventeenth session the final touches were added to the definition which was solemnly promulgated in the last session, September 16, 681, and **signed by 174 bishops**..." (Davis, *FSEC*, pp. 281-282).

"Added to the condemnations were Theodore of Pharan and Cyrus of Alexandria, two of the first Monoenergists, and the last Monothelites, Macarius of Antioch and his disciple Stephen. The bishops then accepted the letter of Pope Agatho and the 125 Western bishops to the Council as consonant with the Council of Chalcedon, the *Tome* of Leo and the letter of Cyril of Alexandria" (*ibid.*, p. 282).

"The final decree of the council affirmed the two 'natural energies' and the two 'natural wills' of Christ making it also clear that 'the two natural wills are not opposed to each other, as the impious heretics suggested, but the human will follows His divine and all-powerful will, never opposes it, or struggles against it, but is rather submitted to it'..." (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 373).

[The text of the decree is published in Mansi xi, col. 655. English trans. in *NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 14, pp. 344-346).]

Meyendorff (*ibid.*) has an additional comment from which we quote the following: "The conciliar decree was accepted without further debate. It was clear, however, that the wide support received, for several decades, by the 'Monoenergistic' approach to christology reflected its attractiveness to many Eastern circles, who were struggling for centuries with the problem of reconciling Cyrillian views with the Chalcedonian formulation. The ease with which Monoenergism (or Monotheletism) made Chalcedon itself acceptable to many Monophysites in Armenia, Syria and Egypt seems to indicate that it met their concern for preserving the unity of subject in Christ. The formulas of Sergius had also been used in some 'Neo-Chalcedonian' circles, notably by patriarch Anastasius I of Antioch (559-70, 593-9), so that the stubbornness of his titular successor Macarius in 680-1 may be explained by his fear of betraying a formula which was popular in the church of Antioch, where he hoped to return".

From the decree of that council we quote here the paragraph in which they applied the (deplorable) teaching of Leo I of Rome to the matter: "We glorify two natural operations indivisibly, immutably, inconfusedly, inseparably in the same our Lord Jesus Christ our true God, that is to say a divine operation and a human operation, according to the divine preacher Leo, who most distinctly asserts as follows: 'For each form does in communion with the other what pertains properly to it, the Word, namely, doing that which pertains to the Word, and the flesh that which pertains to the flesh.'" Then they go on saying: "For we

will not admit one natural operation in God and in the creature, as we will not exalt into the divine essence what is created, nor will we bring down the glory of the divine nature to the place suited to the creature" (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 283; *NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. 14, p. 345).

Meyendorff (*op. cit.*) did not forget to include a last note (108) on the last page of his work (p. 373) before the Epilogue, saying: "**Monophysite authors, like Michael the Syrian, consider Maximus as a great heresiarch, and the council of 680-1 as the result of a bribe offered by pope Agatho to emperor Constantine IV** (*Chron.*, XI:11; ed. *cit.*, II, pp. 447-8)."

The details of what Patriarch Michael the Syrian wrote in this regard in his *Chronicle* (*op. cit.*, Arabic trans., vol. 2, p. 341) is as follows: Agatho patriarch of Rome gathered a synod. "And the bishops met in Rome for a second time and established the pernicious heresy of Maximus....and they decreed the following: 'since the Council of Chalcedon defined two natures and two forms and two operations for the Lord Christ, therefore there must be also two essences and two wills ascribed to him'. And they were immersed in this perversity and anathematized all whoever does not confess the two essences and two wills. And Agatho(n) bishop of Rome came to ratify this definition and sent a letter...and together with the letter he sent 170 Kantar of gold (i.e. 170 quital = 170 hundred weight of gold), as a bribe to the king. And he bribed the chiefs also to accept what was decreed by the synod which he held in Rome. And it was said that, 'a bribe blinds the eyes of the wise' (cf. *Deuteronomy* 16:19), and especially that the eyes of the Greeks had been blinded since long time with the heresy of the two natures which appeared at Chalcedon. And they turned here from bad to worse, and from a pit to another, because they accepted and established the belief of the vile Maximus who claimed two wills and two operations and two natures for the Lord Christ" (from the Arabic trans. of Michael's *Chronicle*).

VII.B.6. THE AFTERMATH OF THE THIRD COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE OF 680-681 A.D.:

"The decisions of the Council were embodied in an imperial edict hung up in the atrium of Hagia Sophia and on December 23, 681, promulgated to all the bishops of the Empire" (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 284).

VII.B.6.a. The Reign of Justinian II and the Quinisext Council of 692 A.D.:

VII.B.6.a.1. The First Period of Justinian's Reign:

At the death of Emperor Constantine IV in 685, he "was succeeded by his son Justinian II, aged sixteen. Invested with supreme power in adolescence, the new emperor was headstrong and reckless. But he was determined to ape the career of his great namesake Justinian I, even imposing the name Theodora on his Khazar wife" (*ibid.*).

"Monothelites still existed in Constantinople and in the Empire, while the Jacobites and Copts within the Islamic Empire resolutely rejected the definition of Constantinople III. When George of Constantinople died the emperor put in his place Theodore who had been deposed for his unwillingness to compromise with Rome and who, unknown to the emperor, cherished Monophysite sympathies" (*ibid.*, pp. 284-285).

"In order to emphasize his adherence to Constantinople III, Justinian II organized a

solemn procession of ecclesiastical and civil dignitaries who carried in triumph the original copy of the acts of the Council. Six sumptuous copies were made of the original and sent to the Pope for his signature before being circulated to the patriarchs of the East. Moreover, the emperor showed his good will toward the pope by remitting taxes he owed to the imperial treasury for lands in southern Italy. At the death of Theodore a lay official of the imperial court, accustomed to abject obedience to the imperial will, was made patriarch of Constantinople" (*ibid.*, p. 285).

VII.B.6.a.2. The Quinisext Council of 692:

Just as Justinian I codified a thousand year of Roman civil law, so Justinian II determined to codify canon law.

"Accordingly, in 692 a Council, which was later named the Quinisext, was called in Constantinople to reform ecclesiastical law neglected in the fifth and sixth councils and apply it to the changed circumstances caused by the Germanic and Islamic invasions. Present at the Council were the four Eastern patriarchs, the papal ambassadors resident in Constantinople and some 211 bishops of the East. The Council was intended to be ecumenical, for places were left at the ends of the acts for the signatures of the pope, the bishop of Ravenna, and the bishops of Illyricum, all citizens of the Empire. In the end the Council agreed on 102 canons. The first canon contained a profession of faith and a declaration of acceptance of the six ecumenical councils, repeating the condemnations of Constantinople III, including that of Pope Honorius. The second confirmed the canons of ecumenical and provincial councils, including only one from the West, a council of Carthage. Much of this legislation was sound, but the basis for future trouble was soon laid" (*ibid.*).

"The Council accepted all 85 so-called Apostolic Canons which actually dated only from the fourth century. In the West only the first fifty of these canons were regarded as authentic. The East also diverged from the West in allowing deacons and priests to live with their wives. Liturgically, the Council ordered, contrary to Western usage, that during the weekdays of Lent the full Mass was not to be celebrated but only the Eucharist distributed. The Saturday fast during Lent, practiced at Rome, was forbidden. Finally, the Council signified its acceptance of the twenty-eighth canon of Chalcedon declaring the Church of Constantinople equal in power to that of Rome but second to it in honor" (*ibid.*, p. 286).

VII.B.6.a.3. The Roman Objection to the Quinisext Canons:

"The resident papal ambassadors signed the canons, and the emperor confidently expected the pope to accept them. All copies which were to be circulated to the patriarchs and filed in the imperial archives were sent for his signature to Pope Sergius, a Sicilian born of a family fled from Antioch. Sergius adamantly refused to sign or to accept his copy of the canons. Especially he rejected the canon on the marriage of the clergy, refused to accept the authenticity of all the Apostolic Canons, and denounced the prohibition of the Saturday fast. Justinian II proposed to deal with the unexpectedly recalcitrant pope as had Justinian I. He ordered two of the pope's advisors arrested, one of whom was the former legate to Constantinople III. When Pope Sergius remained uncowed, the emperor sent a commissioner to arrest the pope himself. The militias of Ravenna and Rome rose to defend the pope, and the commissioner was forced to flee for his life to papal protection. He

returned from Rome empty-handed" (*ibid.*).

VII.B.6.a.4. The Deposition and Re-enthronement of Justinian II:

"Before the emperor could respond to this insult, a coup d'état deposed him for his cruelty, avarice and arbitrary use of power. The general Leontius was proclaimed emperor and had Justinian II hauled into the Circus where his nose was cut off and his tongue mutilated. Then he was sent into exile. With his going, the Empire fell into disorder, and after a series of romantic adventures, Justinian II succeeded in regaining his throne with the help of the Bulgar Khan in 705, a golden nose masking his scarred face. The patriarch who had supported the usurper Leontius was blinded and sent to Rome" (*ibid.*, pp. 286-287).

VII.B.6.a.5. The Roman Pope Travels to Meet Justinian II:

"Then Justinian II wrote to Pope John VII, a Greek by birth, asking him to review in synod the canons of the Quinisext and indicate his objections. Before John VII could comply, he died, to be replaced by Pope Constantine in 708. As the emperor carried out his long-delayed revenge on Ravenna for having protected Pope Sergius against his orders, Pope Constantine proceeded by slow stages to Constantinople. In Constantinople the imperial crown prince welcomed the pope with all ceremony and took him across the Bosporus to Nicomedia to meet with his father. The exact result of the conference is not known, but it seems that the pope and emperor resolved their differences and the Canons of the Quinisext were not applied in the West" (*ibid.*, p. 287).

VII.B.6.b. The Reign of the Monothelite Emperor Philippicus:

"During Justinian's rule and that of his son, the Empire shrank further as Armenia in eastern Asia Minor and all North Africa were lost to the Arabs. Justinian himself was overthrown a second time, and he and his family massacred by an Armenian general who made himself emperor under the name Philippicus. The new emperor was staunchly Monothelite and refused to enter the imperial palace in Constantinople until a tablet commemorating the Council of Constantinople III was taken down. The ... patriarch was deposed; Pope Constantine was sent the head of Justinian II and ordered to see to the teaching of Monothelitism in all theological schools; the original copy of the acts of Constantinople III was burned. All the bishops – Sergius and Honorius included – condemned in 681 were restored to the diptychs" (*ibid.*). This was decreed by a council which met at Constantinople, "A.D. 712, in the short-lived reign of Philippicus or Bardanes, and under the Monothelite patriarch of his appointment, John VI.; at which the 6th council was repudiated and condemned. The copy of its acts belonging to the palace was likewise burnt by his order, as we learn from the deacon who transcribed them; and the picture of it that hung there, removed" (*DCA*, p. 447).

"Pope Constantine refused the edict, Justinian's severed head, and approval of the new emperor. Instead, he organized a procession to St. Peter's commemorating the six ecumenical councils" (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 287).

"On the death of the tyrant indeed John (VI, of Constantinople) addressed a letter to Pope Constantine to apologize for what had been done; but its tone is not assuring. He testifies, however, to the authentic tomes of the 6th council being safe still in his archives

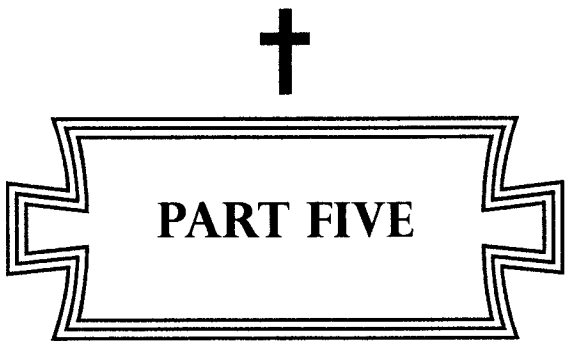
(Mansi, xii. 187-208); and Pagi can see some excuse for his conduct (ad Baron. A.D. 712, n. 2-6)" (*DCA*, pp. 447-448).

VII.B.6.c. The Reign of Emperor Anastasius II:

When Emperor Philippicus was found incompetent in dealing with the Bulgars and the Arabs, he "was overthrown and blinded. The new emperor Anastasius II proclaimed his adherence to Constantinople III and sent his profession of faith to the pope" (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 287).

Accordingly, a synod met at Constantinople, "A.D. 715, Aug. 11, at which the translation of Germanus from the see of Cyricus to that of Constantinople was authorized. He had been a party to the Monothelite synod under John three years before; but immediately after his translation he held a synod – most probably this one continued – in which he condemned Monothelism (Mansi, xii. 255-8)" (*DCA*, p. 448).

[In another council at Constantinople, "A.D. 730, or rather a meeting in the imperial palace, at which the Emperor Leo III, better known as the Isaurian, called upon Germanus the aged patriarch to declare for the demolition of images, which he had just ordered himself in a second edict against them. The patriarch replied by resigning his pall (Mansi, xii. 269-70, and Pagi, ad Baron., A.D. 730, n. 1-4)" (*DCA*, p. 448)].



PART FIVE

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I. THE INNOVATION IN THE CHALCEDONIAN FAITH

(a.) The adoption of the Antiochene formula "two natures after the union" by the Council of Chalcedon was considered an innovation in the faith. This "two natures" formula is the slogan of Nestorius "Christ in two natures" (*en dyo physeon*) (cf. McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 135). The evidence for the accusations against the Council of Chalcedon as being a Nestorian council will be discussed later here in Part Five under section V.

(b.) The bishops at Chalcedon knew that this was an innovation. "The production of a new definition of the faith was certainly opposed fiercely by the bishops when it was first mooted by the imperial commissioners at the second session: 'This is what we all say. What has already been expounded is sufficient. It is not permissible to produce another exposition.... We will not produce a written exposition. There is a canon which declares that what has already been expounded is sufficient. The canon forbids the making of another exposition. Let the [will] of the fathers prevail (Acts, session II, parag(s). 5, 7, *ACO* 2.1, p. 274). After a small drafting group had produced an initial definition, the imperial commissioners backed reservations expressed by the papal representatives and some eastern bishops, in spite of the fact that the majority of bishops were chanting, 'The definition has satisfied everyone. Our statements to the emperor. This is the definition of the orthodox... Another definition must not be produced. Nothing is lacking in the definition (Acts, session V, parag(s). 11, 18, *ACO* 2.1, p. 320). Although bishops shouted that those wanting further change were Nestorians, this opposition collapsed in the face of a threat to transfer the council to Italy..." (Michael Whitby, "An Unholy Crew?...", *Chalcedon in Context*, p. 181). And a new drafting group quickly produced an amended version which defined unambiguously that there are two natures in Christ.

(c.) The Miaphysites "were convinced that the Chalcedonian documents as they stood contained damaging evidence that the Council had made changes in the matter of faith: the Chalcedonian *faux pas* was the assertion of 'two natures after the union'. Following in the steps of the ardent anti-Nestorians before Chalcedon, they could proclaim, as Dioscorus and his company had proclaimed at the Second Synod of Ephesus, that 'no one sound in the faith would say that Jesus Christ is "two" after the union' – since he who is indivisible cannot be divided – and that it was Nestorius who had thought in this way" (Sellers, p. 259 and p. 80).

St. Severus of Antioch was concerned with the innovation in the Chalcedonian decree (Severus, *Ep.* 34 in *PO* 12.2, p. 272). The most trenchant criticism of the Council comes in St. Severus's *Ep.* 36, written before 512 A.D. "He tells Isaac the lawyer, who claimed that Chalcedon 'also placed the faith of the 318 before its definition', 'But in that case the innovation is obvious. First, it says in plain words, and that twice and three times, that it is making a definition. Secondly, because it said that our one Lord Jesus Christ is made known in two natures. Thirdly, to omit other points, because it called Leo's letter, which is full of the blasphemies of Nestorius, a "pillar of orthodoxy"' (*PO* 12.2, p. 292)" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 212, n. 5).

The bishops at Chalcedon inserted the Nicene Creed before their own faith which established the formula of "two natures after the union", which itself is an innovation, then added Canon 7 of the First Council of Ephesus (431 A.D.), as a final paragraph of their Definition, which reads: "Now that these matters have been formulated by us with all possible care and precision, the holy and ecumenical council has decreed that no one is allowed to produce or compose or construct another creed or to think or teach otherwise. As for those who presume either to construct another creed or to publish or teach or deliver another symbol to those wishing to convert to the knowledge of the truth from paganism or Judaism or from any heresy whatsoever, the council decrees that, if they are bishops or clerics, they are to be deposed, bishops from the episcopate and clerics from the clerical state, while, if they are monks or laymen, they are to be anathematized" (*ACC*, vol. 2, session V, parag. 34 on pp. 204-205, compare with Canon 7 of Ephesus, *ibid.*, vol. I, parag. 943 on p. 323).

In his *Philalethes*, St. Severus comments saying: "Every heresy professes that it is in agreement with the divine Scriptures and the tradition of the Fathers; that is why Cyril in his Third Letter to the same Nestorius told him that it was not enough simply to agree to the Nicene faith, but that he should understand and interpret it rightly; and the same applies to the Synod of Chalcedon" (ed. Sanda, pp. 43f., quoted in Sellers, p. 291).

"Chalcedon had established the doctrine of 'two natures after the union', which, itself an innovation, led to the Nestorian doctrine of 'two sons'. Severus admits that the bishops at Chalcedon spoke of the Creed of Nicaea, but they did so only to deceive the unwary. They inserted the Creed in the middle of their *Definitio*, and after their confession of faith added the Ephesine Decree, which was thus made to refer to their own impious doctrine; in fact, their evil intent was obvious, since they omitted the opening words of the Decree which declared it unlawful for anyone to 'bring forward, or to write, or to compose another faith besides that determined by the Holy Fathers assembled with the Holy Ghost in Nicaea'" (Severus, *Philalethes*, ed. Sanda, pp. 44f., quoted in Sellers, p. 269).

"*Philalethes*: The Ephesine Canon has nothing in common with what was added at Chalcedon; at Ephesus the Creed of Nicaea was accepted as the standard of the faith, but at Chalcedon—when something new was added to the faith through proclaiming the 'two natures', and setting up the *Tome* as the basis of doctrine—the reference to that Creed was passed over. Besides, the Council of Ephesus '*defined* nothing'" (ed. Sanda, pp. 44-46; Sellers, p. 291).

"It was indeed 'another faith' which had been set up at Chalcedon, and, like the rest, this unflinching Monophysite (~Miaphysite) was prepared to resist this great evil even to death—deeming it better to suffer for the truth's sake in this world, rather than in the next to be compelled to endure eternal punishment for denying it" (Sellers, p. 269).

The words of St. John, bishop of Tella, to Ephraim the Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch vividly illustrate the attitude of the Miaphysites to Chalcedon: "I say it in all truth: if my Patriarch, Mar Severus, had come and ordered me to ascribe to Christ 'two natures after the union', I would have placed my two hands on his head and anathematized him" (*Vitae Virorum apud Monophysitas celeberrimorum*, i, trans. E.W. Brooks, *C.S.C.O. Ser.* III, t. xxv, p. 57, quoted in Sellers, p. 269, n. 2). This Ephraim was a former military commander of the East (*magister militum Orientis*), whom Justin appointed as patriarch of Antioch in 526

A.D. (Frend, *RMM*, p. 249). He acted vigorously and systematically against the followers of St. Severus, hunting them by police and soldiers in their strongholds in Mesopotamia on the Persian frontier. "John of Tella himself was arrested in the mountains near Singara while continuing to preach the anti-Chalcedonian cause, and died in prison" (*ibid.*, p. 274 & n. 3; quoting Zacharias Rhetor, *HE* X. I, Elias, *Vita*, pp. 52ff., and John of Ephesus, *Life of John of Tella* (ed. Brooks), *PO* 18, pp. 524-5).

(d.) It was not until the Second Council of Constantinople 553 A.D., which adopted the "from two natures" and "one incarnate nature of God the Word" formulas, that the Chalcedonian "in two natures" formula was interpreted within the Cyrilline and Severian limitation "τή θεωρία μόνη" i.e. "in thought alone" or "by contemplation only"; hence it was claimed to be not in contradiction with the Orthodox Cyrilline formulas: "one incarnate nature of God the Word" and "from or of two natures". This was not the case at the time of Chalcedon when the "in two natures" formula of the *Tome* of Leo adopted by the Council was put in opposition to the "from two natures" formula declared by Dioscorus who was quoting his predecessor Cyril of Alexandria. Hence, the imperial commissioners confronted the opposing bishops at Chalcedon with the decisive choice between these two formulas since, as they said, there is no middle course (*ACC*, vol. 2, session V, parag(s). 13ff. on p. 198).

(e.) It is worth noting that during the first session at Chalcedon (October 8th), the acts of Ephesus 449 and the Home Synod of Flavian were read. "When the reader came to Dioscorus' words, 'I examine the decrees of the fathers' (councils), Eusebius said, 'See, he said, "I examine"; and I do the same'. **Dioscorus caught him up: 'I said, "examine", not "innovate".** Our Saviour bade us examine the Scriptures; that is not innovating'. 'He said, Seek and ye shall find', retorted Eusebius" (Mansi, vi. 629, as quoted in *DCB*, vol. I, p. 859; *ACC*, vol. I, session I, parag(s). 138-140, p. 154).

(f.) The ***Encyclical*** of Emperor Basiliscus (475 A.D.), which was a letter addressed to the exiled Alexandrian Patriarch Timothy II, whose stand the new emperor intended to vindicate, bitterly criticized the decisions of Chalcedon as "innovations". "The sharp reproach with regard to Chalcedon and Leo's *Tome* was based on the fact that these were a novelty vis-à-vis the Creed of 325 and the whole ecclesiastical and canonical order, and were a ratification of the teaching of Nestorius, as the longer version emphasizes. Condemnation and burning of the decisions of Chalcedon were to be carried out everywhere" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part I, p. 240).

Thus the *Encyclical* reads: "...But the proceedings which have disturbed the unity and order of the holy churches of God, and the peace of the whole world, that is to say, the so-called *Tome* of Leo, and all things said and done at Chalcedon in innovation upon the before-mentioned holy symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers, whether by way of definition of faith, or setting forth of symbols, or of interpretation, or instruction, or discourse; we ordain that these shall be anathematized both here and everywhere by the most holy bishops in every church, and shall be committed to the flames whenever they shall be found, inasmuch as it was so enjoined respecting all heretical doctrines... as superseding the everlasting and saving definitions of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers, and those of the blessed Fathers who, by the Holy Spirit, made their decision at Ephesus; that no one, in short, either of the priesthood or of the laity, shall be allowed to deviate from that most

sacred constitution of the holy symbol; and that together with all the innovations upon the sacred symbol which were enacted at Chalcedon there be also anathematized the heresy of those who do not confess that the only begotten Son of God was truly incarnate, and made man of the Holy Spirit, and of the holy and ever-virgin Mary, Mother of God, but, according to their strange conceit, either from heaven or in mere phantasy and seeming.....we ordain that the most holy bishops in every place shall subscribe to this our Sacred Circular Epistle when exhibited to them, as a distinct declaration that they are indeed ruled by the sacred symbol of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers alone—which the hundred and fifty holy Fathers confirmed; as it was also defined by the most holy Fathers who subsequently assembled in the Metropolitan city of the Ephesians, that the sacred symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers ought to be the only rule—while they anathematize every stumbling-block erected at Chalcedon to the faith of the orthodox people and utterly eject them from the churches, as an impediment to the general happiness and our own...." (Kidd, *Documents*, vol. II, pp. 328-329).

(g.) Again, the **letter of Emperor Zeno**, dated July 28th, 482 A.D. and **known as the *Henotikon***, which was addressed to the church of Alexandria, referred to Chalcedon "in a definitely pejorative context". "It affirms that 'neither the churches, nor Our Majesty accept any other creed (σύμβολον), or definition of faith (ὅρου πίστεως)'—an allusion which could be referred to the Chalcedonian statement, usually defined as ὅρος. The document then makes a curious, defensive statement, as if rejecting in advance the accusation of caesaropapism: 'We have written those things not innovating in the faith, but for the sake of your information'. Then comes a really crucial sentence: 'Anyone who thought or thinks otherwise, either now or at any other time, **either in Chalcedon or at any other council**, we anathematize, particularly the aforementioned Nestorius and Eutyches, and those who think like they do'" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 199. See the text of the *Henotikon*, in Kidd, *Documents*, vol. II, pp. 330-332).

II. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CANON VII OF THE ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF EPHESUS, 431 A.D., WHICH PROHIBITS MAKING, HOLDING, OR TEACHING ANY OTHER FAITH THAN THAT OF THE ORIGINAL CREED OF NICAEA, 325 A.D.:

The Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D., decreed in its sixth session (22 July) that, "It is unlawful for anyone to bring forward or to write or to compose another Creed (ἑτέραν πίστιν) besides that determined by the holy Fathers assembled with the Holy Ghost in Nicaea. But those who shall dare either to compose another Creed (πίστιν ἑτέραν), or to introduce or to offer it to persons desiring to come over to the acknowledgment of the truth, whether from paganism or from Judaism, or from any heresy whatsoever, shall be deposed if they be bishops or clerics—bishops from the episcopate, and clerics from the clergy—and if they be laymen, they shall be anathematized" (Mansi, iv., 1361f., quoted in Sellers, p. 12). This same decree constitutes the first part of Canon VII of the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D. (Percival, p. 231).

At the Second Council of Ephesus (449 A.D.) St. Dioscorus ordered to be read in sequence, first, the Acts of the opening session of the Council of Ephesus (431), at which the Creed of Nicaea had been established against Nestorius as the norm of orthodoxy, and next, the Acts of the sixth session of the same Council, at which the Ephesine Decree had been set up. He then asked each bishop to signify in writing whether anything should be added to, or taken from, the Nicene faith. General agreement was forthcoming, and the papal legates themselves "signified their assent" (Mansi, vi., 872ff, 893, 905; quoted in Sellers, p. 81). [The Council of Constantinople of 381 was not being mentioned by fathers and councils before Chalcedon. Treating it as equal in authority to Nicaea and Ephesus I was an innovation at Chalcedon (V:31-33). See Part Four of the present work under sections I.B.2. & I.B.3.].

St. Dioscorus did not mention the Council of Constantinople, 381 A.D., in his statement in the Second Council of Ephesus, 449 A.D., when he affirmed that "the true faith had been laid down at Nicaea and confirmed at Ephesus (431). These, he affirmed, were 'two Councils in name, but one in faith', and he who tried to disturb the Nicene and Ephesine decisions was making void the grace of the Holy Spirit, who had sat in these assemblies". For this declaration St. Dioscorus was greeted by the fathers of the Council by the cry "*Defensor fidei*" (Mansi, vi, p. 628; quoted in Sellers, p. 33 and n. 2, and p. 107, n. 6). We cite here verbatim what was said in this regard, as recorded in the acts of the Second Council of Ephesus and quoted and read in the first session of Chalcedon (I:141-148, in *ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 154-155):

"141. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'Even though one speaks of two councils,

they relate to one faith.'"

"142. The holy council said: 'The fathers issued a comprehensive definition. If anyone goes against it, let him be anathema. No one shall add to it, no one shall take away from it.'"

"143. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'God approves your affirmations and you yourselves agree that they are valid and pleasing to God. If anyone questions or scrutinizes or revises the proceedings or the decrees of the fathers who met at Nicaea or convened here, let him be anathema.'"

"144. The holy council said: 'To Archbishop Dioscorus, the great guardian of the faith!'"

"145. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'I have this to add, which is fearful and awesome: "If", it says, "a man sinning sins against a man, they will pray for him to the Lord; but if he sins against the Lord, who will pray for him?" If then the Holy Spirit sat together with the fathers, as indeed he did, and decreed what they decreed, whoever revises those decrees rejects the grace of the Spirit.'"

"146. The holy council said: 'We all say the same: Let whoever revises them be anathema. Let whoever invalidates them be expelled.'"

"147. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'No one decrees what has already been decreed.'"

"148. The holy council said: 'These are the sayings of the Holy Spirit. To the guardian of the canons! The fathers live through you. To the guardian of the faith!'"

St. Dioscorus also published his encyclical letter, after the Council of Ephesus, 449 A.D., "demanding that the writings of Nestorius—lest they should be circulated under the names of orthodox teachers—should be burnt, and that only the treatises of the holy Fathers, and those of others whose teaching was in harmony with the faith established at Nicaea and Ephesus, should be in use, and that for ever" (Perry, *op.cit.*, pp. 373ff.; quoted in Sellers, p. 87).

Yet in defiance of Canon VII of the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D., the bishops at Chalcedon were pressed by the imperial commissioners in the third and fifth sessions (October 13th and 22nd, 451) to produce a doctrinal definition of faith which they promulgated and signed in the sixth session (October 25th) in the presence of Emperor Marcian. Amazingly, the Definition of Chalcedon ended: "'it is unlawful for anyone to produce another faith, whether by writing, or composing, or holding, or teaching others', and provided suitable penalties for those who attempt to do so" (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 187, see also pp. 184, 188, 205; Meyendorff, *IUCD*, pp. 171, 176, 177).

That is why the anti-Chalcedonian *Encyclical* of Emperor Basiliscus, which was promulgated by Pope Timothy II of Alexandria (475 A.D.) and signed by bishops whose number varies between 500 and 700, sharply criticized the innovations of Chalcedon and its Definition saying:

"But the proceedings which have disturbed the unity and order of the holy churches of God, and the peace of the whole world, that is to say, the so-called *Tome* of Leo, and all things said and done at Chalcedon in innovation upon the before-mentioned holy symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers, whether by way of definition of faith, or setting forth of symbols, or of interpretation, or instruction, or discourse; we ordain that these shall be anathematized both here and everywhere by the most holy bishops in every church, and shall be committed to the flames whenever they shall be found,.....we ordain

that the most holy bishops in every place shall subscribe to this our Sacred Circular Epistle when exhibited to them, as a distinct declaration that they are indeed ruled by the sacred symbol of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers alone—which the hundred and fifty holy Fathers confirmed; as it was also defined by the most holy Fathers who subsequently assembled in the Metropolitan city of the Ephesians, that the sacred symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers ought to be the only rule—while they anathematize every stumbling-block erected at Chalcedon to the faith of the orthodox people and utterly eject them from the churches, as an impediment to the general happiness and our own...." (Kidd, *Documents*, vol. II, pp. 328-329).

Even in the *Henotikon* (482 A.D.) stress is laid on the pre-eminence of the Nicene faith, as it was confirmed at Constantinople (381) and followed at Ephesus (431), as "the only right and true belief"....and appeal is made to all to be united according to 'the one and only definition of the faith', namely that of the Three Hundred and Eighteen.... Further, it is insisted that no other 'symbol or definition of faith' is allowed, and that the *Henoticon* itself is not set forth as a new form of faith. Thus it says: "These things we write, not as setting forth a new form of faith (οὐ καινίζοντες πίστιν), but for your assurance: and everyone who has held or holds any other opinion, either at the present or another time, whether at Chalcedon or in any synod whatever, we anathematize" (Sellers, pp. 276-277 and n. 1).

III. THE ABSENCE OF THE CARDINAL ANTI-NESTORIAN EXPRESSIONS FROM THE CHALCEDONIAN DEFINITION:

The Definition of Chalcedon was not the end but the intensification of the controversy. Its critics affirm that the chief error of Chalcedon lay in the omission of the three anti-Nestorian expressions, namely, the "out of two" with the "one incarnate nature" and the "*hypostatic* union".

Concerning St. Timothy II of Alexandria, Davis writes: "Timothy and other Cyrillians were convinced that the Definition of Chalcedon was positively Nestorian for reasons already indicated. They also complained about what the Definition had omitted. There was no mention of Cyril's central doctrine: one incarnate nature of the Divine Word. Timothy drew up a compendium of patristic texts justifying the phrase... Timothy complained that in the Definition of Chalcedon no mention was made of *hypostatic* union; nor of the phrase 'out of two' to show that Christ existed out of two disparate elements, the divine and the human, but not 'in two' natures which would be to separate the One Christ into two persons, as did Nestorius. Timothy taught that 'we anathematize those who speak of two natures or of two *ousiai* in respect of Christ', for 'Nestorius was deposed because he spoke of "two natures"'. Nature for Timothy and the Cyrillians was almost synonymous with person: 'There is no nature which does not have its *hypostasis* and there is no *hypostasis* which exists without its person (*prosopon*); if then there are two natures, there are of necessity two persons, but if there are two persons, there are two Christs'. The use of Leo's *Tome* further convinced Timothy that the Definition of Chalcedon was Nestorian, for Leo had said that 'Jesus Christ was capable of death in the one nature and incapable of death in the other', that 'each form, in communion with the other, performs the function proper to it; that is, the Word performing what belongs to the Word, the flesh carrying out what belongs to the flesh', and that 'it does not belong to the same nature to say "I and my Father are one" and to say "My Father is greater than I"'. This sort of language was simply blasphemy to the Cyrillians, indicating division in Christ and therefore clearly Nestorian. The restoration of the Nestorian-tainted Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas of Edessa to their sees was further indication that the Council of Chalcedon was Nestorian. Finally, Chalcedon had added to the faith of Nicaea, something that the Cyrillian Council of Ephesus had forbidden."

"Positively, Timothy and the (other) Cyrillians believed that without change in His divinity the eternal Word, consubstantial with the Father, truly became man in Jesus Christ. The Word was one and the same person before and after the Incarnation, for the same person became through a personal, a *hypostatic* union, incarnate. This is what the Council of Chalcedon had not clearly declared: that the person of the union was the pre-existent person of the Word. The Word was united to flesh consubstantial with ours, consisting of body and rational soul, for we could not have been saved if the Savior were not in all things, sin alone excepted, like to His brethren. Jesus Christ is thus 'out of two', out of Godhead and out of

manhood, and in their union in His one person, each remains in its reality, inseparable, but perceived as different through intellectual analysis" (Davis, *FSEC*, pp. 196-197).

St. Severus says, "Nowhere does one find in the decree either 'the one incarnate nature of the Divine *Logos*' or 'the *hypostatic* union', or the confession of 'one nature out of two'. Instead, Christ 'in two natures, perfect, undivided and unconfused' was taken straight from Nestorius" (Frend, *RMM*, pp. 212-213, quoting Severus, *Liber contra impium grammaticum* III. I. 3, ed. Lebon, pp. 20 and 22). "How can Christ incarnate die 'in two natures', he asks. Which nature did Leo think had been nailed to the cross? It was these faults, as well as the acceptance of Theodoret and Ibas and the assertion of two natures 'after the incarnation', that made Leo appear in the eyes of Severus a 'blasphemer' and 'the common pillar of the heterodox'. He who 'numbered the persons' therefore 'divided them'" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 213, quoting Severus, *Liber contra impium grammaticum* III. I. 5, ed. Lebon, pp 49-50).

St. Severus "argued in addition, that the intention of Chalcedon had been to vindicate the teaching of Nestorius. Had the council, argued Severus, confessed the *hypostatic* union, it would have confessed one incarnate nature of God the Word, and would not have defined that the one Christ existed in two natures, thereby dissolving the union. In so doing, Chalcedon was heretical" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 209, referring to Severus, *Ad Nephalium*, ed. Lebon, p. 15).

Indeed St. Severus "frankly admits that had the bishops included these expressions in their confession of faith, they could have retained their 'two natures', since then all possibility of interpreting this last phrase in a Nestorian sense would have been removed. But, he asks, where in the *Definitio* (or in the *Tome*) were these cardinal expressions to be found?" (Sellers, p. 259). [See also Part Three section III.F.5.].

Some may say, "The Definition itself does not contain the phrase *hypostatic* union. The fact that the Council endorsed it may be assumed both from the affirmation that natures concurred into 'one *hypostasis*' and from its acceptance of the Cyrilline letters, which contain the phrase... It is obvious, in any case, that the Council of Chalcedon did not use the expression 'one *hypostasis*' and '*hypostatic* union' in the unequivocal sense in which they had been employed by men like Cyril of Alexandria" (Samuel, V.C., in *WWS* I, p. 50 = *FVC*, p. 42).

Therefore, "it is true", admits Sellers (p. 350), "that Chalcedon does not speak of the relations between the two natures in the union".

"J. Pelikan remarks that, even though it may be statistically accurate to say that the majority of the quotations came from the letters of Cyril, the contributions of Leo's *Tome* were the decisive ones..... They rejected decisively the view that Christ is from two natures and in one by affirming that Christ subsists in two natures.... 'One incarnate nature of the Divine Word' ...was opposed..... The bishops thus renounced any notion of the *hypostatic* union which would jeopardize the differences of the natures or deny that their union was accomplished without confusion. But they insisted that Christ could not be divided or separated into two persons.... Yet the Definition failed to do justice to certain concerns of the Cyrillians..." (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 187).

"Though the Definition insisted on the unity of person in Christ by repeating the adjective 'same' eight times, it still left the concept of *hypostatic* union unclear. It did say that the natures combine in one person, that the Virgin is *Theotokos*, and that the natures are joined without division, without separation. But it did not specify the subject of suffering

and crucifixion. Could one say with Cyril that the Word suffered, died and rose?... The Definition by and large satisfied the West down to our own times. But the East found it wanting in clarity about the *hypostatic* union...(and) the single subject of suffering and death in Christ..." (*ibid.*, p. 188).

Price, in his theological introduction to the *Acts of the Council of Chalcedon* (vol. I, pp. 71-72), inquires: "But how would the uncompromising Cyril of the Twelve Chapters have judged the Definition of Chalcedon?" He gives the answer from St. Cyril: "In 437, in a letter that accompanied copies of his last major work, the dialogue *That Christ is one*, he wrote as follows:"

"I have written a short book on the incarnation, summing up the faith under three heads: the first is that the holy Virgin is *Theotokos*, the second is that Christ is one and not two, while the third is that the Word of God, while remaining incapable of suffering, suffered in his own flesh for us". Here Price gives the reference and comments (*ibid.*, p. 71 & n. 235) saying: "*Ep.* 64, *ACO* 1.4 p. 229 [Collectio Casinensis 299]; see Cyril of Alexandria, *Deux dialogues christologiques*, 75-8. **Note the falsity of the oft-repeated assertion that Cyril moderated his language and effectively dropped the Chapters after agreeing to the *Formula of Reunion*".**

Price (*ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 71-72) goes on saying: "The Definition certainly affirms *Theotokos*, and is equally insistent that Christ is one and not two, but it does not assert explicitly that the subject of the passion was the eternal Word. Now the Antiochenes had directly attacked 'theopaschite' expressions – that is, expressions that attribute the passion on the cross to the Godhead: they insisted that it was the manhood alone that suffered. While agreeing with the Antiochenes about the impassibility of the Godhead, Cyril insisted nonetheless that we must at the same time profess that God the Word is the one who suffered, albeit not in his own nature" but in the humanity he had made his own; "as he wrote in the Third Letter to Nestorius:"

"We profess that the very Son begotten of God the Father and Only-begotten God, although in his own nature he is impassible, suffered in flesh for us according to the scriptures, and that he was in the crucified body, appropriating impassibly the sufferings of his own flesh" (*ibid.*, p. 72, cf. Wickham, *Select Letters*, pp. 20-21).

Price (*ibid.*) continues the search saying: "What do we find in the Definition? On divine impassibility it states that the council criticizes those 'fantasizing that the divine nature of the Only-begotten is passible', and 'it removes from the list of priests those who dare to say that the Godhead of the Only-begotten is passible' (V:34). This was intended to rebut not Cyril's defense of theopaschite language but the errors of Eutyches, who was (unfairly) understood to teach such a merging of the two natures in Christ that both lost their distinctive properties and the Godhead became as changeable and vulnerable as his creatures. Nevertheless it is a weakness in the Definition that it fails to express the paradox that is arguably the heart and kernel of the mystery of the incarnation". Here Price (*ibid.*, n. 237) says: "This criticism was forcibly made by Severus of Antioch, *Homiliae Cathedrales* 1.12-25. *PO* 38, 260-7. For the importance of the theopaschite issue, see O'Keefe 1997a and 1997b". [See an elaborate study of the theopaschite issue in Part Three of the present work under section X.F.].

The Byzantine writer Meyendorff tries to defend the Chalcedonian statement, but has

to explain the violent reaction against it saying: "It must be recognized, however, that the writings and activities of the 'Antiochene Chalcedonians' made it more difficult for the followers of Dioscorus and Timothy Aelurus to believe the assurances, so specifically voiced at Chalcedon, that the *Tome* of Leo and the final statement were to be read and understood only in the light of Cyril's christology, of Cyril's soteriology and Cyril's fundamental belief that union with divinity does not obliterate humanity, but makes it truly itself, in conformity with God's original creation. The lack of an articulate Chalcedonian theology, coupled with the brutality of imperial interventions, made the Chalcedonian definition into a symbol and a slogan. Both sides filled it with that content which suited their own emotional, political and, later, cultural tendencies, or interests" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 193). Yet, he was obliged to concede its weakness and the problems it created saying: "In reality, like all doctrinal definitions, the Chalcedonian statement did not only solve some problems: it also created new ones. Like all formulae using human language, **it was incomplete, especially in its failure to affirm, with sufficient and convincing clarity, and not only by implication, that the term *hypostasis* designated the pre-existing *hypostasis* of the Second Person of the Trinity**" (*ibid.*).

B.J. Kidd also said: "It (Chalcedon) ignored the real Cyril, and abandoned him for Leo" (Hist. Church, vol. iii, p. 395). Or, as Mgr Duchesne had already remarked in more explicit terms: "In fine, Cyril, the true Cyril had been sacrificed to Leo (Hist. Church, p. 317)" (Sarkissian, p. 221).

IV. THE INCLUSION OF THE *TOME* OF LEO IN THE CHALCEDONIAN DEFINITION:

IV.A. The Criticism of Leo's *Tome* by the Illyrian and Palestinian Bishops:

The Illyrian and Palestinian bishops at Chalcedon objected to three passages in the *Tome* of Leo on the ground that Leo "follows the Nestorian path and sees in Christ two parallel spheres of being, each in its 'ownness'" (Sellers, p. 245; see *ACC*, vol. 2, second session, parag. 25, pp. 25-26).

IV.B. The Meaning of "One Person" in Leo's *Tome*:

The Greek etymological equivalent of the Latin *persona* (person) is strictly speaking *prosopon*, not *hypostasis* (cf. McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, p. 149, n. 37).

Therefore, all the Miaphysites, beginning by St. Dioscorus, rejected the *Tome* of Leo which was included in the Chalcedonian Definition. Their point is that in two or three passages in the *Tome* "Leo so separates, and personalizes, what is divine and what is human in Christ that the *hypostatic* union is dissolved, and its place taken by a mere conjunction of the divine *Logos* and a man..."

As regards the "one Person" in Leo's *Tome*, e.g. when he says in parag. 4, "For although in the Lord Jesus Christ God and man are one Person...etc.", the Byzantine writer Meyendorff (*IUCD*, p. 173) has to concede saying, "It is true, however, that the normal Greek translation of *persona* being *prosopon*, his conception of Christ's personal unity could be understood to be only '*prosopic*' (as in Antioch), and not '*hypostatic*', or '*natural*' (as in Cyril)".

In fact, when comparing the *Tome* of Leo with the Definition of Chalcedon, there is a strong suggestion that "one person" mentioned in Leo's *Tome* needed to be modified in the Chalcedonian Definition to dilute the separation in the nature of Christ and make it more acceptable. Price documents that Leo writes in the *Tome* (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 17): "With, therefore, the distinctive character of each nature being preserved and coming together into one person" and comments on this phrase saying (*ibid.*, n. 43): "This clause was subsequently included verbatim in the Chalcedonian Definition (V:34), with two changes – the replacement of συνιούσης by συντρεχούσης for 'coming together', and the replacement of 'one person' by 'one person and *hypostasis*'. Both changes reflect the preferred terminology of Cyril of Alexandria".

The Definition of Chalcedon states (*ibid.*, p. 204): "the difference of the natures being in no way destroyed by the union, but rather the distinctive character of each nature being preserved and coming together into one person and one *hypostasis*". Meyendorff clarifies that "person" in the Chalcedonian definition is "*prósōpon*" (*CECT*, p. 14).

Based on another sermon given early in his papacy on the Feast of the Nativity, Pope Leo not only had spoken of *personae* in Christ, but he actually states that there was mingling of the two natures. He says, "For this wondrous child-bearing of the holy Virgin produced

in her offspring one person which was truly human and truly Divine, because neither substance so retained their properties that there could be any division of persons in them; nor was the creature taken into partnership with its Creator in such a way that the One was the in-dweller, and the other the dwelling; but so that the one nature was blended with the other" (*NPNF*, second series, vol. 12, Sermon XXIII, p. 132; *PL* 54, 200A).

Grillmeier comments on this saying: "Before the outbreak of the dispute with Eutyches, the Pope was sometimes quite unconcerned in his language. He even used the language of a Christology which confused the natures.... Leo ... speaks here of a mingling of the two natures" (*CCT*, vol. I, p. 537).

This apparently was not the only sermon in which Pope Leo had spoken of the "mixing" or "mingling" of the natures. Frend states that: "From the depths of his exile, Nestorius could appreciate that there were no essential differences between his theology and that contained in Leo's *Tome*. Leo's utterances, though sometimes penetrating, as in his *Sermo* XXVII. I, often contained unclear ideas about the 'mixture' or 'mingling' of the natures which would have been condemned by both Alexandria and Antioch. Leo, *Sermo* XXXIV. 4: '*dei filius naturae carnis inmixtus*'. Compare XXIII. I, '*naturae alteri altera miscebatur*'" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 134 and n. 3).

IV.C. The Criticism of Leo's *Tome* by St. Timothy II (Aelurus) of Egypt:

St. Timothy II, the successor of St. Dioscorus, "...claims that Leo is but reviving the doctrine of Nestorius when he says that the Mediator was capable of death *ex uno* and incapable *ex altero*, since what he is teaching is that one is he who died and another he who did not die..." (Sellers, p. 266, cf. pp. 245 ff).

"The use of Leo's *Tome* further convinced Timothy that the Definition of Chalcedon was Nestorian, for Leo had said that 'Jesus Christ was capable of death in the one nature and incapable of death in the other', that 'each form, in communion with the other, performs the function proper to it; that is, the Word performing what belongs to the Word, the flesh carrying out what belongs to the flesh', and that 'it does not belong to the same nature to say "I and my Father are one" and to say "My Father is greater than I"'. This sort of language was simply blasphemy to the Cyrillians, indicating division in Christ and therefore clearly Nestorian" (Davis, *FSEC*, pp. 196-197).

On the above-mentioned quotation from Leo's *Tome*, St. Timothy Aelurus objected, "He subverts [his statement that the person is one] by speaking of 'one' and 'another'. How, tell me, could 'one' have become 'one and another'? For 'one' and 'two' cannot be thought of as being the same, neither can the concept of unity be attributed to 'one and another'" (Ebied and Wickham 1985, 152, quoted by Price in *ACC*, vol. 2, p. 26,, n. 81).

"In his *Refutation of the Synod of Chalcedon and the Tome of Leo*, Pt. ii. (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 12156, f. 42-f. 51), Timothy takes one by one passages from the *Tome*, and sets beside them passages from Diodore of Tarsus, Nestorius, Theodoret and Paul of Samosata, as he would emphasize the 'Nestorianizing' character of the document" (Sellers, p. 266, n. 2).

On the accession of Emperor Leo I, after the death of Emperor Marcian 457 A.D., the position of Pope Leo of Rome became weakened. Pope Timothy II of Alexandria "returned and quickly consolidated his position by deposing Chalcedonian bishops and

clergy throughout Egypt..... Emperor Leo took Timothy's case under advisement. Deciding not to call yet another council, the emperor proceeded to poll the 65 metropolitans and 1600 bishops of the East on two questions: Should the Council of Chalcedon be upheld? Should Timothy be recognized at Alexandria? The answer was a resounding yes to the first question, no to the second. Still the Court delayed action against Timothy. From Rome Pope Leo intervened and sent two legates to the East armed with a conciliatory letter, omitting the phrase 'in two natures', and a dossier of patristic texts in which Cyril's works figured prominently. These were forwarded to Timothy, but he remained unmoved at these efforts toward compromise" (Davis, *FSEC.*, pp. 197-198).

This letter 165 known as the Second *Tome* of Leo is also mentioned by Meyendorff (*IUCD*, p. 192) who says: "In a letter to emperor Leo brought to Constantinople by papal legates in 458, the pope even accepted fully Cyrillian terminology, to the point of avoiding the expression 'in two natures'". But this was a political tactic from Pope Leo motivated by change of times, not by real retraction. That is why the publisher of Leo's Letters and Sermons (*NPNF*, 2nd series, vol. XII, p. 107) avoided publishing it saying under the title of that letter "I have not thought it necessary to reproduce the letter here". Was Pope Leo sincere in writing this letter, or was it a political ploy?

IV.D. The Criticism of Leo's *Tome* by St. Philoxenus of Mabbug:

St. Philoxenus considers the *Tome* of Leo a Nestorian blasphemous document. "Leo's *Agit enim utraque forma cum alterius communione quod proprium est*, Philoxenus asserts, makes it certain that with the natures, the Pope 'numbers' the *hypostases* in Christ, and through his two 'forms' teaches two Sons and two Persons. Such blatant Nestorianism, he declares, must be either rejected or received in 'its entirety'" (*Epistle ad Maron*, 14; Sellers, pp. 266-267).

Again, from the place of his exile at Philippopolis, St. Philoxenus writes, in *c.* 521 A.D., a *Letter to the Monks of Senoun* in which he decisively condemns Leo as a heretic and his successors in the see of Rome who work for the approval of his teachings as Nestorians, and earnestly warns the monks against them, saying: "Know, then, I beseech you, venerable sons, that for our part **we do not accept the [teachings] which have come from Rome and that we do not approve those who sent them, for all those who have occupied this see since Leo are Nestorians and work to have the cause of this heretic approved**" (*CSCO* 232, p. 63, 4f., quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 286).

IV.E. The Criticism of Leo's *Tome* by St. Severus of Antioch:

Sellers (p. 267) gives several quotations from St. Severus as taking the same view: "Leo's doctrine is simply that of 'a relative communion of the forms' (*PG* lxxxvi.i.925C). Again and again in his work against the Grammarian he bids his opponent examine the statement in the *Tome*, along with what comes after it. **Leo, he maintains, divides Emmanuel through apportioning to each nature, regarded separately, what on the one hand is God-befitting and what on the other is man-befitting**; for to attribute to the one (*uni*) eating and fatigue, and to the other (*alteri*) the power to feed thousands and to walk on the sea is patently to divide the one Christ into two Persons (*Contra Gramm.* III.i. chap. 8). Throughout this section of the *Tome*, Severus holds, the Pope—unmindful

of Cyril's injunction to Nestorius that he should 'cease dividing the natures after the union'—sets the natures side by side, and regards each as having an independent existence; consequently, the union becomes no more than a conjunction of the *Logos* and a Man. And that Leo should be condemned for preaching 'two Sons', the Patriarch declares, is borne out by his further statement: 'It is not of the same nature to say (*dicere*) "I and the Father are one", and to say (*dicere*) "The Father is greater than I"' (*ibid.*, chap. 9). Those who follow the teaching of the Fathers, he says in reply, do indeed recognize the difference of the sayings—and Cyril himself made it plain that while some are God-befitting and some man-befitting, others occupy a middle position—but here the impious Leo divides the sayings and causes each nature to speak!" (*ibid.* chap. 5; see also *ibid.*, chapters 6 and 4).

Severus "opposed the *Tome* of Leo because he regarded its statements concerning Christ as inconsistent and, where intelligible, Nestorian. How could Christ die 'in two natures', he asks. Which nature did Leo think had been nailed to the cross? How was it credible for the incarnate Christ's two natures to quote Scripture against each other?" (Frend, *RC*, pp. 838, 863, quoting Severus, *Letter to Count Oecumenius*, ed. E. W. Brooks, *Patrologia Orientalis* 12.2 [Paris, 1919], pp. 180ff.; and *Liber contra Impium Grammaticum* III.1.5, ed. J. Lebon, *CSCO* Script. Syri IV.5 [Louvain, 1936], p. 49 of translation).

"Leo appears in the eyes of Severus a 'blasphemer' and 'the common pillar of the heterodox'. He who 'numbered the persons' therefore 'divided them'. How else could one think in terms of 'two'? Indeed, Leo made each nature actually quote Scripture at the other, one declaring 'I and my Father are one' and the other 'the Father is greater than I'. His doctrine was simply a 'relative communion of forms', and therefore fallacious and heretical" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 213 & n. 2, quoting Severus, *Liber contra impium grammaticum*, III. I. 5, ed. Lebon pp. 49-50; "compare the first sermon preached at Antioch [Porcher, *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 19, 1914, p. 76]. The *Tome* was 'Jewish' [*Ep.* 46, *PO* 12. 2, p. 321]. Leo's acceptance of Ibas and Theodoret as blameless branded him as a Nestorian [*Ep.* 31, *ibid.* p. 265]").

Sellers (p. 268) thus wonders asking: "Were they not justified, then, in anathematizing a document which, through laying down that in Christ there are two natures, each with its separate activity, followed the Nestorian way of dividing him into a duad of Sons?". After showing in some detail their orthodoxy, he adds (pp. 270-273): "we must notice, they are as determined as Cyril himself to resist the notion of 'confusion', and attack those among them who were venturing to put forward Eutychianist views. For them, as we have seen, Jesus Christ is 'out of two (natures)'—out of Godhead, that is, and out of the manhood which he took from the Virgin through the agency of the Holy Spirit—and in their union in his one Person each remains in its reality. Such teaching is common to all these theologians. Severus, however, goes farther and develops the principle of 'recognizing the difference', as he works out his reply to the Chalcedonian opponents. Using Cyril's expressions, he holds that, 'solely in mental perception', 'through careful contemplation', or 'with the mind', one can 'divide' the things of which the one Christ consists, as one would peer into these things, and 'see' (θεωρεῖν) a coming together of two natures..... Similarly, like Cyril, he does not abolish the difference of the sayings, but attributes some to the Godhead, and others to the manhood. But, he insists, unlike the 'Nestorianizers' at Chalcedon, he does not divide the sayings between two natures 'after the union', and attribute some to the divine and others to the human nature—as if each had its own separate existence". Thus "Severus argues that

Nestorius, dividing the one Christ into a duality of natures after the union, recognizes not the 'difference' but the 'separation' of the sayings, as, like Leo and Theodoret, he causes each nature to say what is congruous with it" (*ibid.*, p. 273, n. 1, quoting Severus, *Contra Gramm.* III.i.chap. 4; ed. Lebon, p. 29).

Sellers concludes (pp. 273-274) saying: "In a word, for the Monophysite (~Miaphysite) Patriarch (i.e. Severus), as for his master, 'after the union' represents the return from the principle of enquiry to that of confession in Christological discussion. **And if there is no difference between the teaching of Severus and that of Cyril, it seems equally clear that Timothy Aelurus and Philoxenus are to be counted as orthodox as Dioscorus**. Had the leaders of the Monophysites (i.e. Miaphysites) been unsound in the faith, the task facing the upholders of 'two natures after the union' would have been easier. But the latter had to deal with teachers—not 'heretics', but 'distinguishers'—who understood the meaning of Nestorianism and Eutychianism, and at the same time were satisfied that what had been said by the Fathers in their expositions of the Creed of Nicaea, the one and only Faith, guaranteed the truth against every heresy." "Besides, these conservatives in the matter of doctrinal definitions were possessed by an *idée fixe*: **the so-called Fathers at Chalcedon had accepted the evil doctrine of Nestorius**, and it was now their bounden duty to break in pieces 'the idol with its two faces' which they had there set up" (*ibid.*, p. 274, referring to *Chron. Z.M.* iii. I, trans. Hamilton and Brooks, p. 46).

IV.F. The Incriminating Formula "*Agit enim utraque forma...*" and the Meaning of the Latin Word "invicem sunt" in Leo's *Tome*:

In regards to the criticism of Leo's *Agit enim utraque forma...*, Sellers (p. 347) admits that "**Leo did not weigh his words carefully**". Grillmeier (*CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 215, n. 99) speaks of **"Leo's incriminating formula 'each of the two forms act' (*agit enim utraque forma*)"**.

Although Sellers (p. 346) tries to alleviate the criticism in his comment on that passage, yet he concedes saying: "Certainly, especially if what he says here is taken in conjunction with his use of the word *invicem* (this being rendered 'by turns'), which occurs immediately before the passage in the *Tome*, it would seem that he is teaching that Christ performed this in his divine and that in his human nature, as if he were 'a being in whom now the God acts, now the man'...".

The word *invicem sunt* which means "by turns" is translated in that passage "alternated" [or "exist in reciprocity"] (Bettenson, *Documents*, p. 51). That passage thus reads: "while the lowliness of man and the majesty of Deity are alternated" (Bethune-Baker, *IEHCD*, p. 290). Bethune-Baker (*op. cit.*, p. 290, n. 1) explains "*invicem sunt*"—"this probably means 'are by turns', as explained in the following attribution of different operations to the different natures: now one and now the other is active". Accordingly Kidd (*Documents*, vol. II, p. 289) translates the passage as follows: "while there is **on the one hand** the humility of man, **on the other** the majesty of Godhead".

Stevenson (*CCC Documents*, pp. 339-340) follows Bindley-Green (pp. 168ff) in translating the word as **"separate spheres"**, thus the passage reads: "while the lowliness

of the manhood and the loftiness of the deity have their **separate spheres**".

Price, on the other hand, tries to alleviate the criticism on that passage saying (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 19, n. 48): "'both are with each other' is a felicitous rendering of the Latin *in invicem sunt*, which could equally mean, less fortunately, that the two natures act alternately".

He also documents (*ibid.*, session 2, parag. 25, p. 25) in the *Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*: "Likewise when there was being read the part that contains the words, 'For each form performs what is proper to it in association with the other, the Word achieving what is the Word's, while the body accomplishes what is the body's; the one shines with miracles while the other has succumbed to outrages', and the most devout Illyrian and Palestinian bishops raised an objection". He comments on this saying: "The fact remains that Leo's understanding of the operations in Christ differed from Cyril's: for Cyril the duality of the operations exists *outside* Christ (that is, in the contrasting effects, some divine and some human, of the one 'theandric' [divine-human] activity), while for Leo it also exists *in* Christ, in whom each nature has its own striving towards the term of its activity" (*ibid.*, n. 79).

Kelly (*Doctrines*, p. 337) paraphrases that paragraph (4) saying: "Thirdly, the natures are **separate** principles of operation, although they always act in concert with each other. So we have the famous sentence, 'Each form accomplishes in concert with the other what is appropriate to it, the Word performing what belongs to the Word, and the flesh carrying out what belongs to the flesh'...". His conclusion is as follows: "Antiochenes could recognize their own theology in Leo's vigorous affirmation of the duality in Christ, and of the reality and **independence** of the two natures. Some of his sentences, indeed, particularly the one cited above, were to prove stones of stumbling to Alexandrian Christologians" (*ibid.*, p. 338).

IV.G. The Falsification of the Greek Translation of Leo's *Tome*:

The Greek translation of Leo's *Tome* is most probably falsified. "Anastasius the Sinaite himself admitted to having personally falsified the *Tomus ad Flavianum*" (Hamman, A., 'Falsification', in Ber. *EEC*, pp. 317-318). [**"**There have been workshops specialized in falsification. One such organized at Alexandria by the city prefect, employed 12 copyists, according to Anastasius the Sinaite" (*ibid.*, p. 318). Allen (*Evagrius*, p. 127) quotes Anastasius Sinaite (*Hodegos*, *PG* 89. 184-185) in his comment on falsification, saying: "In the rabid controversy over the council of Chalcedon, in which written symbols, decrees, and documents played so important a part, forgery and textual tampering were not uncommon. The most extreme case we read of is that of the *augustalis* Severianus, who lived in Alexandria after the time of the patriarch Eulogius (A.D. 597-607). In his employ Severianus had fourteen secretaries, whose work it was to falsify passages of patristic texts, especially those concerned with the doctrines of Cyril...." (Of course, those falsifiers in Alexandria, i.e., the *augustalis* and his secretaries were Chalcedonians, because the Coptic legal patriarchs of Alexandria were almost always prevented from staying in Alexandria or even entering it during that period of about one hundred years before the Arab invasion of Egypt and were obliged to make their residence in the monasteries)].

An instance of falsification may be pointed out in the English translation of the *Tome* of Leo published among the documents of Chalcedon where the Latin "*invicem sunt*" is falsely

translated "meet together". Thus the passage in Percival (p. 256) reads: "while the lowliness of man and the loftiness of Godhead meet together".

When looking at the Acts of Chalcedon, it appears that it was not just the *Tome* of Leo that was falsified, but also the canons. Canon 6 of Nicaea was quoted in the sixteenth session in a falsified form by Paschasinus, the representative of the Pope of Rome, in order to impose the primacy of Rome over the other Apostolic Sees. This is not the authentic Greek canon. Price documents (*ACC*, vol. 3, p. 85, session XVI, parag(s). 15-17): "15. The most glorious officials said: 'Let each side present the canons'. Paschasinus the most devout bishop and representative read:"

"Canon 6 of the 318 holy fathers"

"16. The church of Rome has always had primacy. Egypt is therefore also to enjoy the right that the bishop of Alexandria has authority over everything, since this is the custom for the Roman bishop also....".

Price comments on this reading of Canon 6 of the Council of Nicaea saying (*ibid.*, n. 36): "This is the western version of Canon 6 of Nicaea, which we translate from the Latin version. The authentic Greek version ... differs in not asserting Roman primacy...". Thus the Greek version of the canon states (*ibid.*, p. 86): "17. Let the ancient customs in Egypt prevail, namely that the bishop of Alexandria has authority over everything, since this is customary for the bishop of Rome also....".

[For several other examples of falsifications in the Acts of Chalcedon see Richard Price, "Truth, Omission & Fiction in the Acts of Chalcedon", *Chalcedon in Context*, pp. 92-105 under the subtitle 'Fiction & Falsification', *ibid.*, pp. 100-104.]

IV.H. The Irreconcilability of Leo's *Tome* with St. Cyril's Anathemas:

This is clear from comparing, as an example, the second and third of the three criticized passages of Leo's *Tome* with the Third and Fourth Anathemas of St. Cyril.

These two passages from Leo's *Tome* (parag. 4) which were criticized at Chalcedon read: "Each form, in communion with the other, performs the function that is proper to it; that is, the Word performing what belongs to the Word, and the flesh carrying out what belongs to the flesh. The one sparkles with miracles, the other succumbs to injuries."..... "so it does not belong to the same nature to say 'I and my Father are one', and to say 'My Father is greater than I'. For although in the Lord Jesus Christ God and man are one Person, nevertheless the source of the shame that is common to both is one thing; the source of the glory that is common to both, another. For from our side he possesses the humanity that is inferior to the Father, and from the Father he possesses the divinity that is equal to the Father" (Stevenson, *CCC Documents*, pp. 340-341). These two passages of the *Tome* cannot be reconciled with St. Cyril's Third and Fourth Anathemas which read:

"3. If any one in the one Christ divides the persons [ὑποστάσεις] after their union, conjoining them with a mere conjunction in accordance with worth, or a conjunction effected by authority or power, instead of a combination according to a union of natures [καθ' ἕνωσιν φυσίκην], let him be anathema."

"4. If any one distributes between two characters [πρόσωπα] or persons [ὑποστάσεις] the expressions used about Christ in the gospels, etc.... applying some to the man,

conceived of separately, apart from the Word,... others exclusively to the Word..., let him be anathema" (Bettenson, *Documents*, p. 46).

"It would have been very unwise", says Wickham (*Select Letters*, p. xxxix) "to test it (i.e. Leo's *Tome*) by the standard of (St. Cyril's) Anathemas 3 and 4. Bishop Atticus of Nicopolis nearly succeeded in opening the can of worms, but the discussion he asked for was postponed for five days and never took place" (*ibid.*, quoting *ACO* 2.I, p. 196, 2ff.). [See Chalcedon II:29-33 in *ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 26-27 and Part Four of the present work under section III.C.2.].

On this point, Price in his theological introduction to the *Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, says: "...after the reading of Leo's *Tome* at the second session Bishop Atticus of Nicopolis argued that the *Tome* needed to be compared to the Twelve Chapters (II:29). In a subsequent informal meeting of the bishops, the Roman delegates had to satisfy their eastern colleagues by playing down the dyophysite emphasis in the *Tome* (IV:9, after §98), but nothing more was heard of Cyril's Chapters..." (*ACC*, vol. I, p. 68).

Of course, St. Cyril's Twelve Anathematisms are part of the Faith of the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D. [For the proofs, see Part Three section III.D.3. of the present work].

Again we have shown before in this chapter that St. Severus maintains that Leo in his *Tome* divides the sayings and causes each nature to speak. Indeed, as we shall also see in Part Five, section V.C.10. of the present work, Leo of Rome continued to use unguarded Antiochene or Nestorian terminology after the condemnation of Nestorius in the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D. Thus, we find him in the years 442-443 A.D. speaking in his sermons not only of natures but *personae* in Christ and the assumption of the whole man (not humanity) by God (q.v.).

So Leo's Christology is not in harmony with St. Cyril's Christology, contrary to the shouts of the bishops in the second session of Chalcedon (October 10th, 451 A.D.) that "Leo and Cyril taught the same". **Indeed, Leo repudiated St. Cyril's essential formula: "One incarnate nature of God the *Logos*".** In his *Letter* LXXXVIII to Paschasinus his representative at Chalcedon, dated June 24th (451, i.e. before the 1st session held on October 8th), Leo stresses his formula of two natures and repudiates the Cyrilline formula saying: **"and think they can deceive our wariness by saying they believe the one nature of the Word to be incarnate..."** (*NPNF*, second series, vol. XII, pp. 68-69).

Price comments on the irreconcilability of the Chalcedonian Definition and Leo's *Tome* with the Alexandrine Christology as expressed by St. Cyril of Alexandria: "It would be a mistake to interpret the Definition as a synthesis between Alexandria and Rome. The council solemnly approved the *Tome* of Leo, and it was as a result of Roman insistence that the Definition contains an unambiguous statement of two natures in Christ. There were significant non-Cyrillian features in the Christology of Leo, as of the west in general; in a word, while Cyril treated Christ's human nature as the instrument of the divine Word, Leo emphasized the cooperation of the two natures in 'the one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus' (*1Timothy* 2:5). If we take Leo's Christology as our starting point, a very different interpretation of the Definition emerges" (*ACC*, vol. I, p. 67).

Perhaps it was under the pressure of the change of times on the accession of Emperor Leo I to the throne that Pope Leo eventually tried to vindicate himself in his Second *Tome*

(*Letter* 165) by avoiding the expression "in two natures" and admitting the "orthodoxy of Cyril's formula 'one nature incarnate of God the Word,' as distinct from the Eutychian 'one nature of God incarnate'. If 'incarnate' (fem. σεσαρκωμένη) qualifies 'nature', and not 'Word', it implies the existence of 'the flesh after the union'..." (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 192 and n. 43, quoting Leo's *Epistle* 165 in *PL* 54. cols. 1155-1190), although he had already obliged the bishops at Chalcedon, through his legates, to avoid mentioning this essential Athanasian and Cyrilline Formula, even in their Chalcedonian definition.

IV.I. The Inaccuracy of Leo's *Tome* in Stating the Heresy of Eutyches:

Leo was not accurate in the accusation which he raised in his *Tome* (parag. 2) against Eutyches. Thus he repudiates Eutyches saying: "Nor should Eutyches, speaking with intent to deceive, have said that the Word became flesh in such a way that Christ, born of the Virgin's womb, had the form of man but had not the reality of his mother's body" (Stevenson, *CCC Documents*, p. 338).

"This was not really the view of Eutyches, but of some of his supporters and of some Apollinarians, who held that the flesh of Christ existed in heaven before the Incarnation" (*ibid.*, p. 344). [See more details in Part Two, sections I.B. and I.C. of the present work].

IV.J. The Criticism of Leo's *Tome* by Modern Writers:

Still we have the severe criticisms which moderns have brought against the Chalcedonian Christology and Leo's *Tome*.

Harnack (*History of Dogma*, pp. 223f) comments on the above-mentioned second passage *Agit enim..* saying: "The proposition which was now to pass for orthodox, 'each nature in communion with the other does what is proper to it', actually makes two subjects out of one..." (quoted by Sellers, p. 344).

According to S.H.R. Mackintosh (*The Person of Jesus Christ*, pp. 214, 294, 296), the Chalcedonian formula "awakens suspicion by its dualism, by its blank unrelieved insistence upon the eternal parallelism of two natures"; Christ is no longer one, but "divided against himself", and "a twofold personality is not merely something that we fail to understand; it is something we see quite well to be impossible. In fact – a being in whom now the God acts, now the man, is equally repellent to faith and theory" (quoted by Sellers, p. 344).

Also J.M. Creed in his study "English Christology" in *Mysterium Christi* (ed. G.K.A. Bell and A. Deissmann), p. 132, says: "The parallelism of the two natures and the two wills, united by their common relation to the one divine *hypostasis*, is a theory hard to reconcile with an intelligible conception of personality. And the theory finds no warrant in the Gospels. To differentiate, as Leo does, between those occasions on which the Lord spoke and acted in his human nature, and those on which he acted in his divine nature, is an artificiality entirely alien to the Gospel texts...." (quoted in Sellers, p. 344).

V. THE EVIDENCE FOR THE ACCUSATIONS AGAINST THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AS BEING A NESTORIAN COUNCIL:

V.A. The Council of Chalcedon is Said to Have Had Condemned Nestorius:

The Council of Chalcedon is said to have had condemned Nestorius, at least implicitly, since it accepted the Councils of Nicaea, 325 A.D., Constantinople, 381 A.D., and "the exposition of their faith, of the illustrious Cyril of the blessed memory set forth at the Council of Ephesus (in which Nestorius was condemned) is received" (Percival, p. 260).

V.B. The Council of Chalcedon is Viewed by its Opponents as a Nestorian Council:

Chalcedon created a schism and was labeled by many as a Nestorian council. This labeling seems to be not unfounded.

It was during the fifth session of the Council of Chalcedon, 22 October 451, that the Roman delegates opposed strenuously the original draft of the *Definitio* of the Council, in which the Cyrillian formula "from two natures" was used, and the Nestorian and Leonine formula "in two natures" was avoided. Paschasinus and Lucentius and Boniface, the representatives of the see of Rome, demanded that the draft be brought into line with the *Tome* of Leo through using "in two natures" instead of "from two natures", and they threatened to return home immediately if this was not granted (parag. 9). **The Illyrian bishops** – who were formally under the jurisdiction of Rome (exercised through the Bishop of Thessalonica as papal vicar) but theologically were Miaphysites (see Chalcedon I:27) – **reacted to the demand of the Roman delegates and said: "Let those who dissent make themselves known. The dissenters are Nestorians. Let the dissenters go off to Rome"** (Chalcedon V, parag. 25), **which imply that Rome was sympathetic to Nestorianism** (see *ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 199-200 & n. 42, see also *ibid.*, p. 4 above & n. 8).

In the words of Frend (*RC*, p. 773), "For Rome, **Chalcedon** was an unalterable Definition of Faith; **for the majority in the East, it represented a compromise acceptable to the emperor, but one which went near to vindicating Nestorius**".

(V.B.1.) **St. Dioscorus** and all the anti-Chalcedonian Churches never ceased to anathematize the Council of Chalcedon (see Part Six), because they always viewed it as a Nestorian or, at least, a Nestorianizing council.

(V.B.2.) From the Ten Anathematisms of **St. Philoxenus of Mabbug** against the Council of Chalcedon we quote hereinafter Anathemas IV, V, and VI which define the reasons for considering it a Nestorianizing council and Anathemas IX and X to demonstrate his fiery style in cursing it:

"IV. And we anathematize the Council of Chalcedon also because it anathematized

Nestorius, although agreeing with him and with his doctrine."

"V. And we anathematize the Council of Chalcedon also because it received Leo the wicked, of Rome, and because it anathematized Dioscorus the confessor of the orthodox faith, who had anathematized Leo the wicked, and would not agree with him."

"VI. And we anathematize the Council of Chalcedon also because it received Ibas and Theodoret as orthodox."

"IX. And it shall be anathematized, and heaven, and earth, and all the Church which hath been redeemed by the Blood and Resurrection of God shall say"

"X. that there shall be a curse upon the Council of Chalcedon, and upon every one who hath agreed or agreeth therewith—except he hath already repented, or shall repent—for ever, Amen" (Budge, *Philoxenus*, vol. II, pp. xxxiv-xxxvi).

No wonder, therefore, that St. Philoxenus warns the monks of Senoun against the teachings that have come from Rome and those who sent them "for all those who have occupied this see since Leo are Nestorians and work to have the cause of this heretic approved" (*Letter to the Monks of Senoun*, *CSCO* 232, p. 63, 4f. quoted before in the present work under section IV.D. of Part Five).

(V.B.3.) Evagrius (*Hist. Eccl.* Bk. 4, ch. 4) also tells us that **St. Severus of Antioch** ceased not daily to anathematize Chalcedon (quoted in Torrance, p. 5).

(V.B.4.) **St. Jacob of Sarug** writes to the monks of Mar Bassus (*Letter* XVII, parag. 5) saying: "I am now what I was before, all the time anathematizing with the whole Church Nestorius and his teaching, those of his opinion and the Council of Chalcedon, because this [Council] also employed words which accord with the opinion of Nestorius, the anathematized [one]. As for Diodore, Theodore, Theodoret, Ibas and the *Tome* of Leo, they are anathematized by [the very fact] that one says: 'I anathematize Nestorius and those of his opinion'. And because these men evidently adhere to the opinion of Nestorius, they are anathematized with him since they are of his opinion". (See more details under Part One, section III.C.7.)

[In PART SIX of the present work we record the "Anathemas and Condemnations against the Council of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo", under 72 headings (q.v.)].

V.C. The Evidence for the Nestorianism of the Council of Chalcedon from Its Actions and the Writings of Its Supporters:

(V.C.1.) **Theodoret** who, as we have seen before (under Part One, section III.A.7.), wrote to Nestorius after the reunion of the Easterns with St. Cyril, declaring that if his two hands were to be cut off, he would never agree to what had been done against Nestorius. This man, Theodoret, whom a decree of the Second Council of Ephesus, 449 A.D., had deposed (see Part Two, section II.C.2.g.), was present at Chalcedon. "Pope Leo of Rome had recognized him as orthodox (Mansi, vii, 190D), the imperial commissioners stood up for his right to be a member of the council (Mansi, vi, 592D and vii, 190BC), and the synod rehabilitated him after he had consented to anathematize Nestorius in the eighth session. [See Part Four of the present work under section III.F.1.]. Nevertheless he was not forced to retract his book against Cyril's anathematisms" (Loofs, *Nestorius*, pp. 98-99).

(V.C.2.) In the same way **Ibas of Edessa**, who had likewise been deposed in 449 (Perry, p. 134f.; see Part Two, section II.C.2.c.), was at Chalcedon reinstated as bishop (Mansi, vii, 262-270), without having been forced to recant what he had said in his letter to Maris about St. Cyril's "Apollinarism" as he called it, although this letter had been condemned by the Council of Ephesus of 449 A.D. The letter of Ibas to Maris, says Facundus, Bishop of Hermiane in North Africa in the sixth century (ii.1.f.), was read without a dissentient voice at the Council of Chalcedon (*DCB*, iv, p. 937). At Chalcedon, the Roman legates were opposed to reading any information about Ibas in the acts of the council of Ephesus of 449, "claiming that the decisions of this assembly had been annulled by Pope Leo. This objection was accepted. The legates declared that Ibas had been recognized to be innocent and that he ought to be reinstated in his bishop's chair and return to his church... The members of the council declared in favor of Ibas, but certain bishops added the stipulation that he had to anathematize Nestorius, which he did. (*ACO* II, I, 3, pp. 38-42)..." (L'Huillier, p. 199). By explicitly recognizing the orthodoxy of the letter of Ibas to Maris, Paschasinus (the Roman Papal legate) had been imprudent since a century later, the Chalcedonian (fifth ecumenical) council of Constantinople, 553, condemned this document because it attacked the doctrine of St. Cyril (see *ibid.*).

(V.C.3.) Hence it follows that **the decision of Chalcedon was interpreted in very different ways** by the western church, by the adherents of St. Cyril and by Theodoret, Ibas and other Antiochians.

"It is, therefore, impossible," says Loofs, "to answer in one sentence the question whether Nestorius was orthodox according to the standard of the Chalcedonian definition. It is certain that he could have accepted the creed of Chalcedon and its standards of faith as easily as Theodoret,... **Nestorius can therefore be regarded as orthodox according to the Antiochian interpretation of the Chalcedonian definition**" (Loofs, *Nestorius*, pp. 99-100).

(V.C.4.) **The formulas contained in the *Tome* of Leo were accepted by Nestorius who believed, by 451, that Leo was saying what he (Nestorius) had always said.** Thus he wrote in the *Book of Heraclides* (tr. Nau, p. 298) saying: "As for myself, when I had found and read this writing, I thanked God that the Church of Rome had an orthodox and irreproachable confession of faith, although, in so far as concerns me she had come to a different decision" (Stevenson, *CCC Documents*, p. 349).

(V.C.5.) **"Thus according also to the western interpretation of the Chalcedonian definition Nestorius can be regarded as orthodox"** (Loofs, *Nestorius*, p. 100).

(V.C.6.) To this effect writes the German Catholic theologian, **Kasper** (now Cardinal) saying: "**Nestorius** of the Antiochene school, who at once became a stumbling-block, found his way even before Chalcedon to the distinction between nature and person, and anticipated the Chalcedon formula of the one person in two natures. **After long being accused in the history of dogma and theology of the gravest heresies, and having even been called a new Judas by the Council of Ephesus, he is now to a large extent being rehabilitated by historical scholarship.** The pre-eminence of the *Logos*, which was Cyril's view, never, indeed, occurred to Nestorius; the unity of one person was, according to him, the result of the mutual penetration of the two natures"

(Kasper, *Jesus the Christ*, p. 235).

(V.C.7.) The Byzantine writer **Meyendorff** explains how and why the **Chalcedonian definition was interpreted in a Nestorian sense** which gives a justification for the uncompromising attitude of the Miaphysites in labeling Chalcedon as a Nestorian council. Thus he writes saying: "At Chalcedon, the Fathers, following the express desire of the emperor, had promulgated a new definition of the faith, for which they felt no real necessity and whose language was inconsistent with their habitual (theological) language.... Few of them were articulate theologians, so that, in the years which immediately followed the council, the only authoritative spokesman for Chalcedon in the East happened to be Theodoret of Cyrus, but his authority, in spite of his rehabilitation in 451, was marred by his earlier polemics against Cyril. And, in actual fact, Theodoret never really understood Cyril's christology. His writings continued to reflect the basic approach of Theodore of Mopsuestia, an attitude—so he thought—Chalcedon had legitimized" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 187).

"The predominance of Antiochene christology among the apologists of the council is obvious, first in their interpretation of the statement which proclaims that the characteristics of the two natures are 'concurring in one person (πρόσωπον) and one *hypostasis*,' and, second, in their aversion to 'theopaschite' formulae. The two points are, of course, related. Since Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, the Antiochenes had insisted upon the *concrete* integrity of both divinity and humanity of Christ, and designated them as 'natures' which could not be confused, or even be seen in true 'communion' with each other. Their relationship was seen as a 'contact' (συνάφεια) , whereas the oneness of Christ was expressed by the term 'one *prosopon*,' a weak term meaning 'person,' but also 'mask' or 'impersonation,' or 'role.' For Theodoret and many other Chalcedonians, the expression 'concurring in one *prosopon* and one *hypostasis*' implied a new and weakened use of the term *hypostasis*, as *synonymous with prosopon*. Taken by itself, the expression perhaps made such an interpretation possible" (*ibid.*, pp. 190-191).

"The Chalcedonian statement...was incomplete, especially in its failure to affirm, with sufficient and convincing clarity, and not only by implication, that the term *hypostasis* designated the pre-existing *hypostasis* of the Second Person of the Trinity" (*ibid.*, p. 193).

"The 'Antiochene' interpretation of the statement appears not only in the writings of Theodoret, especially in his *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*, published in 453, and his letter to the Nestorian John of Aegaea, but also in what we know of the positions of Gennadius, archbishop of Constantinople (458-471), of his successor Macedonius II (496-511), of the *Acoemetae* ('Non-Sleeping') monks, also in Constantinople, and other Chalcedonian churchmen of the period. The common position of these apologists of the council was their avoidance of the notion of '*hypostatic*' union and its implications. They were of course not formally Nestorian and always defended themselves from teaching the doctrine of 'two sons'—the pre-existing Son of God being distinct from the 'son of Mary,' born in history—but, in fact, just as their Antiochene teachers Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, they were consistently reluctant to admit a real *unity of subject* in Christ. This was particularly evident whenever they touched upon Christ's passion. When asked the question directly—'*Who* suffered on the cross?'—they would answer: 'the flesh of Christ,' His 'humanity,' His 'human nature,' or 'the things human' (τὰ ἀνθρώπεια), i.e. impersonal entities. Indeed, they would not admit the existence in Christ of a second

person—this would be straight Nestorianism—but were unable to concede that, since only *somebody* (not 'something') can really *suffer*, St. Cyril was right, in the famous twelfth *Anathematism* of his third letter to Nestorius, in saying: 'God the Word "suffered in the flesh" [ἔπαθεν σαρκί]'" (*ibid.*, pp. 191-192).

(V.C.8.) **Gennadius was a Nestorian and a great enemy of St. Cyril.** In 458 A.D. he was a presbyter at Constantinople and was designated by Pope Leo of Rome to fill the see of Constantinople (*DCB*, vol. II, p. 629). It was not a unanimous election (*ibid.*, pp. 629-630) and he occupied the see of Constantinople from 458 until his death at 471 A.D. (His Feast days in the Byzantine Church are 25 August and 17 November.) **Gennadius wrote around 431 A.D. a treatise against the Twelve Anathemas of exceptional sharpness and bitterness** (Quasten III, pp. 525-526). Facundus of Hermiane quotes several passages of this polemic. John Damascene cites in his *Sacra Parallela* a passage from Gennadius's treatise *Ad Parthenium*, a follower of Nestorius (*ibid.*). In these *Two Books to Parthenius*, **Gennadius exclaims, "How many times have I heard blasphemies from Cyril of Egypt? Woe to the scourge of Alexandria!" "Can we sufficiently deplore the corruptions of which he has been and is the author? There are no blasphemies which he does not vomit against the holy fathers, against the apostles, against Jesus Christ Himself.** He destroys the humanity which the Word took of us and for us; he makes that nature suffer which is incapable of suffering" (*DCB*, vol. II, p. 629).

Gennadius's Nestorianism appears clearly in his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*. Grillmeier (*CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 168) quotes Diekamp saying that in the commentary of Gennadius on the Letter to the Romans there are "clear indications of Antiochene christology, just as he is closest to the Antiochenes in his type of exegesis. **His repeated talk of the adoption (*hyiothesia*) of Christ, which is the pattern of our adoption, shows that at the time of the composition of this commentary he [Gennadius] did not conceive the unity of God and man as a true unity of person**". Grillmeier (*op.cit.*) goes on saying: "In any case, the commentary on the Letter to the Romans proves to us that at one time the Patriarch Gennadius was not too far removed from Nestorianism. The fact that he was accused of Nestorian tendencies by some when he was still patriarch (Diekamp, p. 68, n. 4) may perhaps have been based on recollections of this commentary".

Gennadius also composed an encomium on the *Tome* of Leo (Quasten III, p. 526). In his Praise of Leo's *Tome*, obviously destined to defend Chalcedonian teaching as he understood it, "Gennadius translated the essential terms in such a way that it was impossible for the strict disciples of Cyril to accept them. While rejecting formal Nestorianism, **the patriarch avoided the term *Theotokos* and *hypostatic* union; in discussing the two natures of Christ and in emphasizing the particular identity of each one of them** (*hekatéras phýseōs idiótēta sōzoménēn*), **he spoke of union only as 'in a single *prósōpon*'**. Undoubtedly, for Gennadius Antiochene Christology had lost none of its force, and he used it abundantly in his commentaries on Scripture" (Meyendorff, *CECT*, p. 21, citing in p. 173, n. 13, Fr. Diekamp, ed., *Analecta Patristica*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 117 [Rome, 1938], 77-78).

(V.C.9.) **The *Tome* of Leo** itself awakens suspicion by its dualism (see Part Five, section IV.).

(V.C.10.) Even after the condemnation of the Nestorian heresy in the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D., we find **Pope Leo of Rome in the years 442-443 A.D.** using unguarded Antiochene or Nestorian terminology. Thus **he speaks freely in his sermons not only of natures but *personae* in Christ and the assumption of the whole man (not humanity) by God.**

Thus, in his *Sermo* delivered on the occasion of the feast of Epiphany in 443, Leo of Rome had admittedly spoken more freely, saying: "Finally [the Magi] fulfill their duty with devotion (*cum religione*) and furnish themselves with gifts to show in their adoration that they believe in one Trinity—by **honouring the kingly person with gold, the human person with myrrh and the divine person with incense**" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 160, quoting Leo M., Tr. xxxiii.2 [1a ed. 443]: *Corpus Christianorum, series Latina* 138, p. 172, 41-44: *auro honorantes personam regiam, myrra humanam, ture divinam*).

In his *sermo* delivered April 5th, 442, Pope Leo of Rome said: "**God therefore assumed the whole man and joined himself to him, and him to himself**, out of mercy and power, so that each of the two natures inheres in the other and neither changes into the other with the surrender of its properties" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 162, quoting Leo M. Tr. LIV. I: *Corpus Christianorum, series Latina* 138A, p. 318, 25-29).

[As mentioned before under section IV.B. of Part Five: Based on another sermon given early in his papacy on the Feast of the Nativity, **Pope Leo not only had spoken of *personae* in Christ, but he actually states that there was mingling of the two natures**. He says, "For this wondrous child-bearing of the holy Virgin produced in her offspring one person which was truly human and truly Divine, because neither substance so retained their properties that there could be any division of persons in them; nor was the creature taken into partnership with its Creator in such a way that the One was the in-dweller, and the other the dwelling; but so that **the one nature was blended with the other**" (*NPNF*, second series, vol. 12, Sermon XXIII, p. 132). Grillmeier comments on this saying: "Before the outbreak of the dispute with Eutyches, the Pope was sometimes quite unconcerned in his language. He even used the language of a Christology which **confused the natures**.... **Leo ... speaks here of a mingling of the two natures**" (*CCT*, vol. I, p. 537).

This apparently was not the only sermon in which Pope Leo had spoken of the "mixing" or "mingling" of the natures. Frend states that: "From the depths of his exile, Nestorius could appreciate that there were no essential differences between his theology and that contained in Leo's *Tome*. Leo's utterances, though sometimes penetrating, as in **his *Sermo* XXVII. I, often contained unclear ideas about the 'mixture' or 'mingling' of the natures which would have been condemned by both Alexandria and Antioch**. Leo, *Sermo* XXXIV. 4: ***'dei filius naturae carnis inmixtus'***. Compare XXIII. I, ***'naturae alteri altera miscebatur'***" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 134 and n. 3).]

(V.C.11.) **Euphemius, Patriarch of Constantinople** (490-496 A.D.), looked in vain for support from Rome, but Felix of Rome replied (*Ep.* xii) that Constantinople need not look for support from Rome till Acacius had been anathematized. Euphemius was

eventually ejected (Sellers, p. 279 & n. 3). Michael the Syrian (*Chron.*, Ar. tr., IX. 7) says, that **Euphemius was deposed and exiled by emperor Anastasius when he discovered that he was a Nestorian. Pope Athanasius II of Alexandria "had joined with Sallustius of Jerusalem (486-494) and declared the Constantinopolitan a heretic**. A commission of bishops, supported by anti-Chalcedonian monks from Egypt and the East, found that the condemnation was just" (Sellers, n. 4 on pp. 279f.).

(V.C.12.) At the request of the empress Ariadne and the senate, **Macedonius II**, nephew of the former patriarch Gennadius, was appointed for the see of Constantinople (*DCB*, vol. II, p. 294) which he occupied from 496 until his deposition in 511 A.D. Among various charges which had been brought against Macedonius was that **he falsified the Scriptures in the Nestorian interest** (Liberatus, *Brev.* 19, quoted in Sellers, p. 280, n. 3). **His spiritual home was among the *Akoimetai* (= Acoemetae) or "Sleepless" monks in Constantinople.** He often joined them in their solitude, **"and every year celebrated with them the memory of Nestorius** (*Chron. Z.M.* vii. 7; *The Conflict of Severus*, ed. Goodspeed, *op. cit.* p. 616; see also *ibid.* pp. 643ff, for a Monophysite account of **his debate with Severus on the orthodoxy of Nestorius**)" (Sellers, p. 280, n. 2).

"It is noteworthy that Macedonius, the patriarch of Constantinople had gone so far as to draw up a collection of patristic texts to show that Nestorius was orthodox (see Severus, *Contra Gramm.* III. i. *c.* 17; ed. Lebon, pp. 206f)" (Sellers, p. 294, n. 5).

Therefore, Macedonius "was denounced on account of his 'Nestorianizing' activities and banished to Euchaita in Pontus, whither his 'comrade' Euphemius had gone before" (*ibid.*, p. 280).

(V.C.13.) As we have seen before, Patriarchs **Euphemius** (490-496) **and his successor Macedonius** (496-511) are considered by the anti-Chalcedonians as Nestorians and they were deposed for their Nestorianizing activities. They "are, even today considered as schismatics by Rome" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 162). But, **for the Byzantines "in Constantinople, they would not only remain in the diptychs (or liturgical commemorations), but even entered into the catalogue of holy confessors,** because both were deposed by Anastasius I for their defense of Chalcedon" (*ibid.*).

(V.C.14.) The "Chalcedonians who interpreted **the conciliar decree as a rehabilitation of the old Antiochene positions of Theodore of Mopsuestia,** were giving the Monophysites (i.e. the Miaphysites) a pretext for suspecting the council of Nestorianism" (*ibid.*, p. 217). These fears of the Monophysites were faithfully **reported to Pope Hormisdas by the intelligent Egyptian deacon Dioscoros**, who was one of the papal legates to Constantinople in 519 (*ibid.*, n. 15, referring to *Coll. Avell.*, *ed. cit.*, pp. 676, 686: *non sufficit synodus contra Nestorium*).

(V.C.15.) Even the Chalcedonian **Emperor Justin I**, who had violently persecuted the Miaphysites, **declared at the height of his pro-Chalcedonian reaction in 520 A.D. against Theodoret of Cyrus, condemning him "as a man 'everywhere accused of error of faith', being together with Theodore of Mopsuestia associated with Nestorius"** (*ibid.*, p. 236, referring to the *Mandate to Hypatius*, in Mansi ix, col. 364).

(V.C.16.) **"The opponents of the 'Non-Sleepers'** accused them even of refusing to use the term *Theotokos*. The firm Chalcedonian stand of the monks was a great help to the Chalcedonian archbishops of the capital, successors of Acacius, and influenced their

own positions as well as the views held in Rome. However, these views made the whole Chalcedonian party suspect in the eyes of the Monophysites (i.e. the Miaphysites). The fears of the latter were further confirmed by the Chalcedonian reaction in parts of Syria in 519. **In Cyrus there was a solemn celebration in memory of, not only the late Theodoret, but also the teachings of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Diodore of Tarsus**" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 217). "**According to documents quoted in the Acts of the Fifth Council** (ed. J. Straub, *ACO* IV, 1 Berlin, 1971, p. 187), **the name of Nestorius himself was included in the celebration...**" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 217, n. 17). "**The 'Antiochene' interpretation of Chalcedon appealed to some in the West also, because it seemed to agree with the position that Chalcedon was,** in itself, a sufficient christological formula and supported the struggle of Rome against the *Henotikon...*" (*ibid.*, pp. 217-218).

Among the opponents of the Sleepless monks of Constantinople are the Scythian monks from the region south of the mouth of the Danube who had been sent to Constantinople (before 25 March 519) to restore the unity of the Church. They wanted to protect the Council of Chalcedon, probably in the face of Severan opponents, against **the reproach of Nestorianism**. They believed that the Council of Chalcedon is not sufficient against Nestorianism. Therefore, they undertook to correct the Chalcedonian position, as it was expounded by the "Non-Sleepers", by placing it in Cyrillian christological context. Their busy activism and some sloganeering were annoying to the Constantinopolitan establishment" (*ibid.*, p. 218).

"**That the Scythians were of the opinion that the Council of Chalcedon was not sufficient against Nestorius and for this reason needed to be expanded, was reported by the deacon Dioscorus in his *suggestio* to Pope Hormisdas of 15 October 519**: *CA*, *ep.* 224, no. 7: *CSEL* 35, 686: '**May Your Beatitude (Hormisdas) know that these Scythians say that all who accept the Synod of Chalcedon are Nestorians, and say 'the Synod is not sufficient against Nestorius', and one ought to accept the Synod as they themselves have expounded (it)**'" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 321, n. 15).

Even before the arrival of the Roman delegation of Pope Hormisdas at Constantinople for the reunion discussions (some time between March and June 519, *ibid.*, n. 17), there had been fears lest the Sleepless Monks in their zeal for Roman strict Chalcedonianism would force an openly two-nature Christology in the east (*CSEL* 35.2, p. 685). "**When the legates did arrive there were many who said openly that those who communicated with representatives of the apostolic see were 'Nestorians'** (Letter of the Legates to Hormisdas on 29 June 519: *CA*, *ep.* 217, p. 677)", (cf. Frend, *RMM*, p. 244 & n. 5). "The lead in resisting any such doctrinal tendencies was taken by the Scythian monks" (*ibid.*). They handed over to the Roman legates a *libellus* of their teaching, but the legates refused to accept it. The *magister militum* Vitalian took the part of the Scythian party from the very beginning and excluded the papal legates from further discussion..... The Scythian monks sent a delegation to Rome in the summer of 519, trying to gain Pope Hormisdas to their cause (cf. Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 321-322).

This is because Hormisdas's emissaries "were tactless. They left the impression of **even refusing Mary the title of '*Theotokos*', denying that the crucified Christ was one**

of the Trinity, and failing to anathematize Nestorius. They became increasingly unpopular, and regarded as representatives of an alien theology" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 247).

Deacon Dioscorus, an Alexandrian who lived in Rome, who was a member of the Roman delegation sent to Constantinople for the reunion discussions "reported his own stand as 'Chalcedon and nothing else', and urged Hormisdas to do the same" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 245 & n. 2, referring to *CA* 224.11 and comparing with *CA* 216.5ff. He also added that **Dioscorus also "pointed out that the eastern affirmation that the Son was 'consubstantial with the Father' lay at the root of the tendency to deviate from Chalcedon"** [*CA* 216.7]. This seems an extraordinary statement by an Alexandrian presumably acquainted with the Creed of Nicaea and Athanasius. **No wonder he was branded by the clergy of the capital as a 'Nestorian').**

"It was not without reason that Pope Hormisdas attempted to put this Alexandrian deacon in the place of the anti-Chalcedonian Patriarch Timothy of Alexandria (517-535)" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, pp. 326-327 & n. 34: "See *Hormisda ppa. Dioscoro diac.*, 3 December 519: *CA* nr. 175 §§2/3: *CSEL* 35 II, 631-632. The Pope had already informed the deacon that he would write to Emperor Justin: *ut te Alexandrinum episcopum debeat ordinare. iustum est enim, ut ca doctrina vel moderatione tua corrigatur ecclesia. in qua praccipue ab istis aetatis tuae principiis militasti* (2). On the other hand Emperor Justin wanted to make Dioscorus the patriarch of Antioch; Hormisdas considered this to be false planning"). ["Egypt, of course, could dodge imperial influence to a great extent. For the next fifty years it would become the centre of resistance against Chalcedon. Severus could flee there and immediately be regarded as the great saint and real patriarch" (*ibid.*, p. 327)].

On the death of Roman Pope Felix IV (526-530), the majority of the clergy of Rome elected this same Alexandrian Deacon Dioscorus for the see of Rome (17 September 530) in opposition to Boniface II. Dioscorus died soon on 14 October 530 (Ber., *EEC*, p. 241).

(V.C.17.) The ***de Sectis*** attributed to Leontius of Byzantium (sixth century), or to Abbot Theodore based on the *Scholia* of Leontius of Byzantium, or on a lost work of Leontius, or even to the Scythian monk of the same name (Sellers, p. 331, n. 5; *ODCC*, ed. 2, pp. 815-816), was drawn up in the period 579-607 in defense of the Council of Chalcedon. Sellers is in agreement with other scholars that the author of the *de Sectis* is "to be numbered among those who, like Liberatus of Carthage and Facundus of Hermiane, were dissatisfied with the condemnation of the 'Three Chapters'", that he is "very indulgent to Theodore of Mopsuestia" and that he "interprets the Council of Chalcedon in the spirit of the school of Antioch". "See for instance *Act.* iv. 3, where Diodore and Theodore (the fathers of the Nestorian heresy) are praised as 'two great men'; iv. 5, where appears a defense of Theodoret of Cyrus..." (Sellers, p. 331, n. 5).

(V.C.18.) The Chalcedonian **Leontius of Byzantium** confesses that during his earlier years, when he was at Constantinople, "he joined those who favoured the teaching of the classical Antiochenes and were in sympathy with Nestorius (see especially his *contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos* iii, *PG*, lxxxvi.i.1377B); but, he goes on, when he had become 'their most ready prey', he who had guided Israel in the Wilderness had led him on his 'far journey', and, through his grace, 'placed him in the hands of godly men' (*PG*, lxxxvi.i.1357Cf.). The reference is to his journey to Palestine, where (*c.* 520 A.D. he found his new home amongst those who have been brought up in the Alexandrian doctrinal tradition (Sellers,

pp. 308-309).

(V.C.19.) Moreover, **the "*Akoimetai*" (Gk. ἀκοίμηται), i.e. the "Sleepless" monks**, whose theological positions influenced the Chalcedonian patriarchs of Constantinople as well as the views held in Rome, were Nestorians. When Pope Hormisdas (514-523 A.D.) hesitated to pronounce on the validity of the formula of the Scythian monks "One of the Trinity was crucified in the flesh", which was an enlargement of St. Cyril's Twelfth Anathematism, the "Sleepless" monks at Constantinople, taking the Pope's hesitation as their cue, had strongly condemned the formula. When they were told that it carried with it the same theological implications as the Marian title "*Theotokos*", they went on to reject that title, too (Sellers, p. 305, n. 3, referring to Mansi viii. 815f.).

It was the Roman Pope John II (533-535 A.D.) who condemned the Sleepless Monks as Nestorians, saying:

"The Sleepless Ones (*Aquimitos*), however, who call themselves monks, the Roman Church also condemns, because they have publicly appeared as Nestorians; on their account I do not neglect to admonish you with pastoral care, for the sake of the canon which does not permit a Christian to speak or to have fellowship with excommunicated people; you should avoid all simple dialogue with them and consider nothing as common between you and them. I do this, therefore, that I may not be found guilty of silence, if I were in no way to have brought this to your notice, most Christian son" (Roman Pope John II, *Ep. ad Senatores*, n. 30: *ACO* IV, 2, p. 210, 9-15, as quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 342).

"With this condemnation the heyday of the Sleepless Monks came to 'a sudden end'. Their services in establishing the validity of Chalcedon during the Acacian schism were apparently quickly forgotten" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*).

(V.C.20.) Again **Nicephorus** (*c.* 758-829 A.D.), Patriarch of Constantinople (806-815 A.D.), who was a resolute foe of iconoclasm and **received the title of a saint and confessor of the faith in the Byzantine Church**, whose feast day is celebrated on June 2nd in the Greek Church, and on March 13th in the Latin Church (*ODCC*, ed. 2, pp. 968-969), **was a Nestorianizer, if not a real Nestorian**. The Byzantine writer Meyendorff (*CECT*, pp. 144 & 206) comments on the Christology of Nicephorus quoting his work saying:

"Nicephorus seems to go even further than the limits of post-Chalcedonian orthodoxy. **Some passages of his *Antirrhetics* appear as formal denials of the theopaschism proclaimed by Cyril and the fifth council: 'One cannot assert,' writes Nicephorus, 'either that the Word suffered the passion, or that the flesh produced miracles.... One must attribute to each nature what is proper to it.'** (*Antirrh.* I, col. 252b; cf. col. 313d). This passage seems to ignore the distinction established by Chalcedonian and post-Chalcedonian Christology between the *Logos' hypostasis*—subject of the passion in the flesh—and his nature. **The same Nestorianizing confusion appears when Nicephorus writes that the Word 'is not described when his body is described'** (*ibid.*, col. 285a, 301d, 305a) and in this tendency to minimize the value of the *communicatio idiomatum*, which, for him, merely manipulates 'words' (*psilà onómata*) (*ibid.*, col. 317b). **This resurgence of a Nestorianizing Christology, treating Christ as two objects joined to one another**, and arising certainly from the relative fashion enjoyed by the biblical commentaries of Theodore of Mopsuestia and of Theodoret, was in

no way typical of the theology of all the advocates of images".

Nicephorus even went beyond most other theologians to emphasize that Christ truly experienced ignorance through His humanity (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 317; see also Meyendorff, *CECT*, pp. 142f.).

At the Second Council of Nicaea (787 A.D.) held under the presidency of his predecessor Tarasius of Constantinople, Nicephorus, as a civil official, had represented the Emperor Constantine VI and his mother Irene in the Council. On the death of Tarasius (806 A.D.), the Emperor Nicephorus I (802-811) made Nicephorus Patriarch though he was not yet in holy orders. In recompense for the Imperial favour the Emperor demanded his reinstatement of the priest Joseph, who had been deposed in 797 for blessing the adulterous marriage of Emperor Constantine VI and Theodota during the lifetime of the lawful Empress Mary. After some hesitation Nicephorus gave way, and at a synod held in 806 or 807 rehabilitated Joseph. After the death of the Emperor and of his son Stauracius (811), he renewed the original sentence against Joseph. In 815 A.D. he was exiled and retired to his former monastery again, where he spent the remainder of his life. Despite the opposition of the Studites, and their abbot Theodore, who could not forgive his weakness in the Adulterine Controversy, his relics were translated to Constantinople in 847 A.D. (*ODCC*, ed. 2, pp. 968-969; see also p. 1359).

(V.C.21.) Even this same **Theodore abbot of the Studite monastery at Constantinople** (759-826 A.D.) **who is widely venerated as saint of the Byzantine Church**, whose feast is celebrated on November 11th (*ODCC*, ed. 2, p. 1359), used expressions directly borrowed from the Antiochene christology. Meyendorff (*CECT*, pp. 143-144 & 206) quotes from his writing saying: **"Theodore the Studite speaks of natural *synápheia* (attachment) of the two natures of Christ** (*Antirrh.* I, *PG* 99, col. 344ab)—**a rather unfashionable term after the Council of Ephesus—and of a single person (*prósopon*) in two natures, of which one only can be represented** (*Letters*, II, 169, col. 1532d-1533a)".

It is worth noting that the Studite monks followed the rule of the "*Acoemetae*" (i.e. sleepless ones) (*ODCC*, ed. 2, p. 1316f.). Indeed the *Acoemetae* monks (many of whom were taken to other foundations and lived e.g. among the Studites) later fell into the Nestorian heresy for which they were excommunicated by the Roman Pope John II in 534 A.D. (*ibid*; pp. 10-11).

(V.C.22.) Even now the **Roman Catholic Cardinal Walter Kasper** represents an increasing Nestorianizing tendency among Catholic theologians who consider Nestorius a precursor of the Council of Chalcedon anticipating its formula. Thus, **Kasper writes: "Nestorius of the Antiochene school, who at once became a stumbling-block, found his way even before Chalcedon to the distinction between nature and person, and anticipated the Chalcedon formula of the one person in two natures. After long being accused in the history of dogma and theology of the gravest heresies, and having even been called a new Judas by the Council of Ephesus, he is now to a large extent being rehabilitated by historical scholarship.** The pre-eminence of the *Logos*, which was Cyril's view, never, indeed, occurred to Nestorius; the unity of one person was, according to him, the result of the mutual penetration of the two natures" (Kasper, *Jesus the Christ*, p. 235).

Therefore, **A. Nichols of the Blackfriars** raises "the question of the current tendency towards a low Christology in the contemporary Western Catholic church. Even leaving aside those writings which are manifestly abusive in their failure to meet the standard set by Nicene Orthodoxy, namely, in affirming the full Godhead of Jesus Christ, **some of the most respected Christological treatises in the Latin church today are heavily Antiochene in approach. Thus for example Walter Kasper's *Jesus der Christus* maintains that there are two persons within the total reality of the Word Incarnate... But the conversations between the Chalcedonian and Non-Chalcedonian Orthodox sometimes throw up the suggestion that Western Catholic Christology is increasingly Nestorian, and that this is the dead end to which the *Tome* of Leo leads**". He also adds saying: "It can be argued that the measures taken by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, in matters christological, against such Western theologians as Hans Küng and Edward Schillebeeckx derive in part from the papal sense that **relations with the separated East will deteriorate even further unless the Latin church silences its own neo-Nestorians, and so puts its own house in order**" (A. Nichols, *Rome and the Eastern Churches*, Edinburgh 1992, p. 101, adding *ibid.*, n. 81: For an overview of the difficulties which recent Western chrstologians have felt in regard to Chalcedon, see W. Kasper, *Jesus der Christus* (Mainz 1974), pp. 16-26). [See more on this in Part Five, under section VI.D.].

VI. THE DANGER OF DYOPHYSISM:

By dyophysism, whose adherents are called dyophysites, we understand the doctrine of those who say "Christ **in** (ἐν) two natures", divine and human, which was the slogan of Nestorius and the Antiochenes, expressed also by Leo and adopted by the Council of Chalcedon. This Christological position is opposed by St. Cyril of Alexandria and all his followers the Orthodox Miaphysites who speak of "one incarnate nature of the Divine *Logos*" and confess "Christ from (ἐκ) two natures".

VI.A. The Western and Antiochene Dualistic Christology Adopted at Chalcedon Lead to a Revival of Nestorianism:

As we have discussed before (under Part Five, section V), the Council of Chalcedon, 451, is viewed by its opponents as a Nestorian Council. In spite of the anathema which is said to have been pronounced at Chalcedon against Nestorius, yet according to the Western interpretation of the Chalcedonian definition, Nestorius can be regarded as "orthodox" (Loofs, *Nestorius*, pp. 99-100).

Nestorius himself was in full agreement with the formulas contained in the *Tome* of Leo (*The Book of Heraclides*, tr. Nau, p. 298).

Even the reforms adopted in the Chalcedonian Council of Constantinople of 553 A.D., counted by the Byzantines as the Fifth Ecumenical council, were contested in the West for a long period. These reforms contested by the West were in that Council's Definition and its canons [especially the condemnation of the Three Chapters in which the person and writings of Theodore, the real founder of Nestorianism, is anathematized, together with certain writings of Theodoret and the Letter of Ibas to Maris].

Even after the Roman Pope Vigilius (537-555 A.D.) finally capitulated and accepted the condemnation of the Three Chapters, the "bishops of Northern Italy and Illyria continued in their refusal to accept the decisions of Constantinople II..." (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 252).

"...During this time, Popes Pelagius I (556-561), Pelagius II (579-590) and Gregory I the Great (590-604) all accepted the definitions of Constantinople II, but all had reservations about the condemnations of the Three Chapters, thinking that they did not deal with the substance of the faith. [The Lateran Synod of 649 held under Pope Martin I (649-653) demanded the West's acceptance of the Council (*ibid.*, pp. 253, 277). In 680/81, the Third Council of Constantinople declared its acceptance of all five previous general councils" (*ibid.*, p. 253)].

VI.B. The Danger of the Dualistic Christology of the Nestorians and the Chalcedonians:

VI.B.1. AS UNCOVERED BY ST. CYRIL AND HIS COMPANIONS IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST NESTORIUS AND THE ANTIOCHENES:

"The statement that Christ was truly God and truly man would have been generally

accepted across a wide range of the fifth century church as a basic standard of orthodoxy, but with differing notions of what being 'truly human' involved. **Only the Antiochene school would have concluded from the phrase that Christ was a 'man'; Alexandrian theologians, on the other hand, were satisfied that it primarily meant the divine *Logos* lived a completely human life and used an ensouled body as his instrument (*organon*) for experiencing realities in the extra dimension of 'a bodily manner'. They did so, not so much to baulk at the reality of the Lord's humanity as to avoid the two unwanted implications they saw inherent in the confession of Christ as 'a man'; namely that he was 'only a man', or that he was a man alongside and distinct from the deity, and this they identified as the already rejected third century heresy of Adoptionism."**

"The statement that the two aspects of Christ abided on equal terms throughout the Saviour's life was, however, bitterly contested. **The Alexandrian position was that the 'assumption' of the humanity by the *Logos* deified the flesh from the very instant of the conception in the Virgin's womb. From the moment of his birth, Christ was seen by the eyes of faith to be one reality.** To speak of two abiding aspects or natures, for the Alexandrians, would utterly destroy any sense of the integral unity in Christ, the embodied *Logos*. As far as they were concerned **two complete and distinct natures remaining within Christ was synonymous with two separate lives, especially if the doctrine of single subjectivity was not otherwise secured, and thus two persons. The Alexandrians understood Diodore's stress on the two natures to mean exactly the 'Two Sons' as he said it did**. What they could not understand was **how Nestorius could continue to insist on the two separate realities abiding and yet still insist that he did not mean two sons himself"** (McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 136-137).

"Since **Cyril's party favoured a conception of the christological union based on the level of 'natural union', and had propagated the catch-phrase: union from out of two natures (*henosis ek dyo physeon*)** to sum it up for the populace **Nestorius in turn coined the radically different formula: 'Christ in two natures' (*en dyo physesin*). In this latter aspect of his christology Chalcedon would partially follow him**, at the cost of alienating the extreme Cyrilline party of the mid fifth century and causing the monophysite (i.e. Miaphysite) rift" (*ibid.*, pp. 135-136).

It seems that St. Cyril's own contribution lay in "his definition of the union of the *Logos* with flesh as a **'*hypostatic*' and 'natural' union**; and it is abundantly clear that he introduced it to enforce the truth....., that **Jesus Christ is one Person, the *Logos* in his incarnate state, and that any 'dividing' of this one Person is altogether impossible.....the flesh is therefore as Cyril is constantly saying, 'the own' (ἰδία) of the *Logos*, and cannot be so separated from him that one can think of it as 'that of another existing individually beside him'. And to give added emphasis to his main contention, he proclaims the 'natural union' (ἕνωσις φυσική)**. It is a **'natural' union**, because in Jesus Christ there has been a 'real' unification of Godhead and manhood" (Sellers, p. 141).

Moreover, St. Cyril says in his *Third Letter to Nestorius* (*Ep.* 17, parag. 8):

"8. **We do not divide out the sayings of our Saviour in the Gospels as if to**

two *hypostases* or *prosopa*. The one and only Christ is not twofold even though he is understood as compounded out of two different elements in an indivisible unity, just as **a man** is understood as consisting of soul and body and yet is not two fold (διπλοῦς) but rather is **one from out of both.** No, we think correctly and so we must maintain that **both the manly as well as the godly sayings were uttered by one subject....**" (McGuckin, *op. cit.*, p. 271).

"After the union", says St. Cyril, **"the duality has been abolished and we believe the Son's nature to be one, since he is one Son, yet become man and incarnate"** (*Ep.* 40, to Acacius of Melitene, parag. 12, Wickham, *Select Letters*, p. 49).

"Clearly, while the Alexandrians insist that Jesus Christ is seen to be ἐκ δύο ('out of two'), they even more strenuously insist that he is ἐκ δύο εἷς ('one out from two')" (Sellers, p. 151).

"It is also interesting to find that Cyril brings out the doctrinal importance of the principle of 'recognizing the difference' in his controversy with Nestorius. With the statements of his opponent before him the Alexandrian cannot but think that this 'thoughtless exponent of pernicious doctrine', in 'dividing the natures' and attributing what is divine in Christ to the *Logos* and what is human to 'the Man assumed', is dividing the one Christ into a duad of sons – the one the divine *Logos*, the eternal Son of God, the other the Man, regarded 'as another beside him' (ὡς ἕτερος παρ' αὐτόν)" (*ibid.*, pp. 151-152).

"Thus in the five books of the *adv. Nestor.*, (composed in the year 431) Cyril collects and criticizes more than forty statements of Nestorius—the discoverer of the latest impiety, who does not realize that 'the tongue is a fire and an unruly evil' (*James* 3:6, 8). Briefly, the Alexandrian's impression of the teaching of his opponent is this: **Nestorius denies the necessity of calling the Virgin '*Theotokos*'; he would present us with 'a God-bearing man, conjoined with him in equality and dignity'; he everywhere divides the natures, setting each by itself; he has the conception of a 'mere relationship', and would teach this indwelling of the *Logos* in a mere man; he allots the sayings in the Gospels, some to the *Logos*, considered individually, and some to 'him born of a woman', considered 'as another beside him'.** Nestorius, he says, should curb his tongue, and remember that, when we sin against the brethren, and wound a weak conscience, we sin against Christ (*adv. Nestor.* ii; ed. Pusey, VI. pp. 92ff.)" (Sellers, p. 151, n. 5).

Even the teaching of Distinction between the two natures "in contemplation alone" which is deeply rooted in the teaching of St. Cyril (Part Three, section VI.A.) and St. Severus of Antioch (Part Three, section VI.B.) was liable to a Nestorian interpretation. Nestorius spoke of "distinction in mind" and the Nestorians were speaking of a "separation which is in thought" (Part Three, section VI.D.). Hence St. Cyril warns us saying:

"The additional word 'inseparable' has with us an orthodox enough meaning. But that is not how they understand it. They take the word 'inseparable' in a different way, in accordance with the empty notions of Nestorius. What they say is that it is in equality of honour, in identity of will and in power, that the man is inseparable from the Word who dwelt in him. So they are producing these expressions not in simplicity of heart, but with a measure of craft and deceit" (St. Cyril's *Second Letter to Succensus* [*letter 46*], parag. 5 in Wiles and Santer, *Documents*, pp. 70-71; cf. Wickham, *Select Letters*, p. 93).

VI.B.2. AS UNCOVERED BY ST. DIOSCORUS OF ALEXANDRIA IN HIS CONDEMNATION OF THE NESTORIANS AND CHALCEDONIANS:

According to the Acts of the Second Council of Ephesus, 449 A.D., which was preserved and read in the first session of the Council of Chalcedon (paragraphs 492-495):

"492. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'Do you allow this language – speaking of two natures after the incarnation?'"

"493. The holy council said: 'Anathema to whoever says this!'"

"494. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'Since I need both your voices and a show of hands, let anyone who is unable to cry out raise his hand.'"

"495. The holy council said: 'Anathema to whoever says two!'"

During the reading at Chalcedon some Oriental bishops tried to deny this (I:496). The reaction was as follows:

"I:497. The most devout Egyptian bishops said: 'We said it then and we say it now'" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 219).

Before that, when the words of Bishop Longinus of Chersonesus were read in the first session of Chalcedon from the Acts of the Home Synod of Constantinople, 448, where he was stating on behalf of Flavian, the bishops and himself, that in agreement with Nicaea and Ephesus I, they confess that after the incarnation, the divinity of the Only Son of God, our Saviour Jesus Christ, should be worshipped as **from two natures** (Chalcedon I:331), St. Dioscorus signified his agreement. Thus during this reading at Chalcedon (I:332): "Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: **'I accept "from two [natures]", I do not accept "two"**...'" (*ACC*, vol. 1, p. 194).

St. Dioscorus's espousal of "from two natures" was used by the chairman in the fifth session of Chalcedon as a ground for insisting on the removal of the expression from the draft definition of faith and its replacement by the strong dyophysite formula "in two natures" (Chalcedon V:26, *ACC*, vol. 2, p. 200).

Price comments on the Chalcedonian formula "acknowledged in two natures" saying: "The formula came later to be understood as equivalent to Cyril's formula that Christ is two 'in contemplation alone', in other words that the duality arises in the mind that analyses Christ, while the reality is of a perfect unity of being:..." (*ibid.*, p. 189, n. 15). (See Canon 7 of the Chalcedonian Council of Constantinople of 553 through which the Council wants to maintain the confession of the two natures in the sense of Chalcedon, but from the Cyrillian stock of ideas formulates the conditions for the application of the number two to the two natures, which is not used by St. Cyril and is detested by St. Severus. See also Part Three of the present work under sections VI.C.2-4.)

But it is clear from Chalcedon I:170, 176, 303, that the formula "acknowledged in two natures" was understood in the mid-fifth century to assert the distinction between the natures as not merely a mental construct but an objective fact (see de Halleux in *Revue théologique de Louvain* 25 [1994 A.D.], pp. 464-466). This is why the formula satisfied the demand by the Roman delegates and the imperial representatives that the Definition had to define unambiguously that there are two natures in Christ (see *ACC*, vol. 2, p. 189, n. 15).

"Thus the number 'two' cannot be applied at all to Christ as long as the assertion concerns Christ himself. One cannot speak of two natures or persons or characteristics or names or activities. Similar formulations are found in the *History of Dioscorus...*, (where)

Dioscorus is supposed to have written to Emperor Marcian:"

"How can the rebellious Leo have dared to open his mouth and blaspheme the Most High by saying: we must confess in the Messiah two natures and two characteristics and [two] activities, since the holy church confesses one nature of the incarnate God without mixing or change; [even in death] the divinity of my master was not separated from his humanity, not even for a moment; but this horrible, this stupid, this accursed Leo, who wanted to separate...." (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 34 & n. 102 quoting F. Nau in *Journal Asiatique* X.1., p. 254 [with Syr. Text on p. 36] esp. lines 2-3).

"Similarly Dioscorus is supposed to have written to Juvenal of Jerusalem, still at Chalcedon:"

"Cursed be anyone who assumes two natures in the Messiah after the indivisible unity...! Cursed be anyone who assumes in the Messiah two properties and two activities" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, n. 103, quoting F. Nau, *op. cit.*, p. 278 [Syr., p. 64]).

VI.B.3. AS UNCOVERED BY POPE TIMOTHY II, THE TWENTY-SIXTH PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA (457-477) IN HIS CONDEMNATION OF NESTORIUS, LEO'S *TOME* AND CHALCEDON:

Following St. Cyril of Alexandria, Pope Timothy II "maintained that the nature of the incarnate *Logos* is one, since the humanity assumed by it, being without a specific *hypostasis* of its own and incapable of subsisting *per se*, cannot be called a nature. This humanity, however, is whole and complete and is united to the divine nature without alteration or confusion, so that Christ, incarnate and becoming man according to the economy, is consubstantial and congenerate with men according to the flesh, and consubstantial with God according to nature. By virtue of this union, Timothy, like Cyril, could claim that the *Logos*, while remaining impassible in its divine nature, suffered on the cross thanks to the flesh it assumed" (M. Simonetti in Ber. *EEC*, p. 841).

In his *Refutation of the Synod of Chalcedon and the Tome of Leo* (Pt. i), Pope Timothy II asserts: **"There is no nature (= *substantia*) which has not [its] *hypostasis*, and there is no *hypostasis* which exists without its *prosopon*; if, then, there are two natures, there are of necessity two *prosopa*; but if there are two *prosopa*, there are also two Christs, as these new teachers preach"** (ed. Nau, *PO* xiii, fasc. 2, pp. 228f., as quoted in Sellers, p. 260).

"Thus for Timothy 'two natures' is an impossible phrase. In fact, he is most definite on this point:"

"As for us, we conform to the doctrine of the divine Scriptures and of the holy Doctors of the Church. **We anathematize those who speak of two natures or of two *ousiai* in respect of Christ**" (Sellers, p. 261, quoting *Against those who say 'Two natures'* [*Brit. Mus. Add. MS.* 12156f. 19r; quoted J. Lebon, *Le Christol. de Tim. Aelur.*, *Revue d'Hist. ecclés.*, t. ix. P. 687]).

"And he gives his reason:"

"That Nestorius was deposed because he spoke of 'two natures' in the one

Christ is evident to anyone who is ready and willing to speak the truth" (Sellers, p. 261, quoting *Refutation of the Synod of Chalcedon*...[ed. Nau, *op. cit.*, p. 231]. Timothy here quotes two passages from Nestorius, as he claims that this 'heretic' was condemned because he had used the phrase 'two natures').

Pope Timothy II most definitely insists that Godhead and flesh remained without change and without confusion in the one person of Jesus Christ, and ridicules the idea that there were "two natures before", but "one after the union"; for him as he says, there was only one nature of the *Logos*, the flesh being non-existent, "before the union". Thus he is most explicit:

"No one, whose heart is sound in the faith has ever taught or upheld two natures either before or after the union. For the divine *Logos*, not [yet] incarnate, was conceived in the womb of the holy Virgin, and was then incarnate of the flesh of the holy Virgin, in a manner which he alone knew, while remaining without change and without conversion as God; and he is one with his flesh. In fact the flesh had neither *hypostasis* nor *ousia* before the conception of God the *Logos*, that it equally could be called a nature, separate and [existing] by itself" (*Refutation of the Synod of Chalcedon*... [ed. Nau, *op. cit.*, pp. 228f.], as quoted in Sellers, p. 262).

> [We may note that the Miaphysites took the view that the bishops at Chalcedon were striking a blow against St. Cyril when, in the *Definitio*, they denounced those who conceived "two before" but "one after the union", and ridiculed them for entertaining such an outrageous idea. St. Cyril did not say that "before the union" there were two natures, which "after the union" became one. Again and again he affirms that "before the union" the *Logos* existed "yet sole and by himself" (*Commentary on the Gospel of John* vi. 62); he was yet "bare *Logos*" before assuming the servant's form (*Adv. Nestor.* iii.3), he was "of old, without flesh" (*Ep. ii ad Succen.*, *PG* lxxvii. 240B). St. Cyril's teaching is, then, that "before the union there was only the nature of the Divine *Logos* (ἡ φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου), not yet incarnate (σεσαρκωμένη); and at the union, for recognizing the two elements in Christ, he uses the expression "after the union one nature" – which, as he is careful to say, is an "incarnate" nature – his point is that after embarking on this process and "seeing" the two elements in their reality, one must return to the cardinal truth of the unity of the *Logos* incarnate. "After the union", says St. Cyril, "the duality has been abolished and we believe the Son's nature to be one, since he is one Son, yet become man and incarnate" (*Ep.* 40, to Acacius of Melitene, parag. 12; see also Sellers, p. 155 & n. 3)].

Grillmeier (*CCT*, vol. II, part 4, pp. 31ff.) studied the writings of St. Timothy so as to provide an answer to the question: **"Why does Timothy energetically reject the application of the word and concept *physis* to the 'complete humanity' of Christ?** He seems to have various reasons for this, and they cannot all be reduced to a common denominator:"

"(1) **To speak of *nature* means to assert of a subject what belongs to it necessarily and unrelinquishably from birth.** To the divine *Logos*, however, belongs from eternity necessarily and unrelinquishably only the divine essence. **To assert of him**

a second 'nature' would mean that being human belongs to the one and only Son of God just as originally and necessarily as being divine. The incarnation is rather a deed of the '*oikonomia*', that is, of the free assumption of human form in time:"

"... **he remained entirely God, consubstantial with the Father who begot him; because of the *oikonomia* [God's free arrangement of salvation] and not because of his nature, he became human for us and our salvation"** (*ibid.*, p. 32, quoting Timothy Ael., *Contra eos qui dicunt duas naturas* (*CPG* 5475): Br. L. Add. 12156, fol. 25vb; French translation by J. Lebon, *RHE* 9 (1908), 691).

"(2) If one must apply to the humanity of Christ the designation 'second nature of the God *Logos*', then one would have to make the same assertions about it as about the divine essence of Christ; what cannot be said of the divine nature must also be withheld from the human nature:"

"It is impossible to call the life-giving flesh of our Lord the second nature of the God *Logos* or his second essence. Indeed, it is written that he who was crucified, the Lord of glory [cf. *1Corinthians* 2:8], suffered in his flesh. No one can say that the Lord of glory suffered in his nature or essence [i.e., in his divinity]. But if the God *Logos* appropriated himself another nature, that is, united himself with a perfect human being, and if Christ is of two natures, as he seems to be for those who speak of two natures, then it follows that they say that he suffered in his nature [i.e., in his divinity] – which is a godless assertion – and that they assert that the divine nature is capable of suffering. For the nature of Christ is only divinity, which also became flesh without transformation for our salvation and so that he might appear in the flesh, according to the scriptures [cf. *1Timothy* 3:16b]..." (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, quoting Timothy Ael., *op. cit.*, fol. 19vb; French translation by J. Lebon, *RHE* 9 (1908), 691-92).

St. Timothy asserts that "**the 'nature' of the incarnate *Logos* can mean only what belongs to him from eternity as the Son of the Father. To have humanity as a 'second nature' would mean that Christ would also have to have been pre-existent as a human being, and indeed in the form of God.** This, however, would make humbling and exalting, as described in *Philippians* 2, impossible:"

"If those who assume two natures say that the voluntary *kenosis*, the humbling and the exalting belong to the human nature [of Christ], then how can it be that he was in the form of God [*Philippians* 2:6] and renounced his greatness, he who is worshipped by all in the glory appropriate to God [cf. *Philippians* 2:11]? How can one say that he took on the form of a slave if he already was one? How has he become like human beings and been found in human form [*Philippians* 2:7], this human being who was already this by nature, according to the statements of those who speak of two natures? Then he would have become like God through robbery. But he humbled himself [*Philippians* 2:8]..." (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33, quoting Timothy Ael., *op. cit.*, fol. 18vc, quoted by Lebon, p. 689).

"**This original meaning of *physis***, which the **Syriac *kyana*** also contains, is thus to be considered: it **means 'innate essence'. For the *Logos* of the Father, creaturely**

humanity can never be 'innate', that is, 'nature'. There is absolutely no place for a 'duality', for the nature of the *Logos* is simple. And to a 'simple' being one cannot accord a 'natural duality'. Timothy's rejection of the nature concept for the humanity of Christ is best understood on the basis of this fundamental idea of his" (cf. Timothy Ael., *op. cit.*, fol. 19rb, where St. Timothy declares it impossible to accord 'two natures to simple beings' [see Lebon, p. 692]).

"Following this immediately, yet secondarily, is a further determination of nature: it is entirely, completely, with all its characteristics, what Timothy interprets with the words *hypostasis* (*qenōmā*) and *person*:"

"There is no nature that is not also *hypostasis* and no *hypostasis* that is not person (*parṣōpā*). Thus if there are two natures, there are also with all necessity two persons and even two Christs, as the new teachers proclaim" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 33 & n. 100: "Thus in the 9th refutation of the definition of Chalcedon, fol. 41rc; Lebon, p. 693. Note here n. 1 with its reference to fol. 24rb").

"In order thus to escape the Nestorian division into two natures or persons, Timothy reserves the term *nature* solely for the God *Logos*, the μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου, and expresses the humanity only with the word σεσαρκωμένη. He wants to hold exclusively to the Nicaean schema, in which for him the entire doctrine of the incarnation is expressed – not in a static view, as seems to be characteristic of Chalcedon, but in the spectacle of the historical event".

Thus, in his letter to Emperor Leo I (457-474), St. Timothy writes: "But I believe that God has put it into the mind of your Serenity to set right the statements in this letter, which are a cause of stumbling to the believers; for **these statements are in accord, and agreement, and conjunction with the doctrine of Nestorius, who was condemned for cleaving asunder and dividing the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, in respect of natures, and persons, and properties, and names, and operations; who also interpreted the words of Scripture to mean two, which are not contained in the Confession of Faith of the 318.** For they declared that the only-begotten Son of God, Who is of the same Nature [*homoousios*] with the Father, came down, and became incarnate, and was made man; and suffered, and rose again, and ascended to Heaven; and shall come to judge the quick and the dead. And natures, and persons, and properties were not mentioned by them, nor did they divide them. But they confessed the divine and the human properties to be of One by the dispensation."

"Accordingly, I do not agree with the transactions of Chalcedon, because I find in them divisions and cleavage of the dispensation" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34 & n. 101: Zacharias Rh., *HE* IV 6: Brooks, *CSCO* 87, p. 123,2-15; [here according to] Hamilton-Brooks, p. 72; Land, *Anecdota Syriaca* III, p. 141, fol. 81va, lin. 14-15; cf. Michael Syr., *Chron.* IX 1: Chabot II, 120B).

"Thus the number 'two' cannot be applied at all to Christ as long as the assertion concerns Christ himself. One cannot speak of two natures or persons or characteristics or names or activities" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 34).

VI.B.4. AS STATED BY ST. PHILOXENUS OF MABBUG IN HIS CONDEMNATION OF NESTORIUS AND THE DYOPHYSITES:

Budge (*Philoxenus*, vol. II) published a treatise of twenty paragraphs against those who speak of two natures in Christ (pp. xxxix-xliv), from which we quote examples:

"XI. **There is not a nature without a Person, neither is there a Person without a nature. For if there are two natures, then there must also be two Persons and two Sons; for if the Person is One, then the nature is One, even as the Person is One.**"

"XII. Tell me now: If thou dost attribute to God the Word after His Incarnation a Divine nature and a human nature, which one is the Person of flesh, and which of Godhead?"

"XIII. Tell me: Dost thou say that the Word of God, the Son of God, was perfect before the Incarnation of nature and Person, or not?"

"XIV. In the Person which hath two natures, which redeemed, and which was redeemed? Which suffered and which did not suffer? Which died and which did not die?"

"XV. Tell me: How canst thou say that the Word after His Incarnation is two natures and One Person? Is it a Divine Person or a human Person? Or is it a Divine and human Person? If the Person be human how is it that the nature of the Word is without a Person? And if the Person be One, Divine and human, how is that He is not One nature, even as he is One Person?"

St. Philoxenus maintains that before the incarnation, the Word was incorporeal, simple, invisible and beyond all sensory perception: but in the incarnation he is corporeal, composite and united with flesh (Philoxenos, *Tractatus...op. cit.*, p. 52), and flesh means for St. Philoxenus "perfect man". "For it is written", writes St. Philoxenus, "that the Word became flesh, which means perfect man" (*ibid.*, p. 39; quoted in Samuel, *Chalcedon Re-examined*, pp. 190-191 & n. 13).

St. Philoxenus argues: "**Nestorius, he says, upheld 'two natures', and he who preaches that he who was born is of 'two natures' must mean that there are two incarnate Persons (*duos incorporatos esse*) in him, namely, a man corporeal by nature, and the incorporeal God who became incarnate (*incorporatus est*)**; and, he goes on, either one must say this—and he who does so, knows not what he says, or, if he does know, exposes himself to terrible condemnation—or admit only one incarnate *hypostasis* or nature in Jesus (*Tractatus*, ed. Vaschalde, p. 198). Moreover, for this staunch Monophysite (~Miaphysite), **to say 'two natures' is *Christum numerare*, and, ... he associates *numerus* with *dualitas* and *divisio***. He would, therefore, exclude all mention of 'two natures'. The conception of **'a union of two natures', he maintains, can have but one outcome: the dispensation in the flesh becomes no more than a mere word, since God is not truly incarnate, and we are left with the *assumptor* and the *assumptus***" (Sellers, pp. 261-262, quoting *Tractatus*, ed. Vaschalde, p. 153).

St. Philoxenus ridicules the idea that there were "two natures before", but "one after the union", for him as he says there was only one nature of the *Logos*, the flesh being non-existent "before the union". Again he says: **"as before the union there is one *hypostasis*, so after the union there is one *hypostasis*, though now it is an incarnate *hypostasis*"** (*ibid.*, p. 262, referring to *de Uno e Sancta Trinitate incorporato et passo* [ed. & trans. M Brière, *PO* t. xv, fasc. 4, p. 505). **"One cannot speak**

of 'two natures' and be in agreement with the 'holy Fathers', whose was the doctrine of, 'after the union, one nature'" (*ibid.*).

VI.B.5. AS SHOWN BY ST. JACOB BISHOP OF SARUG IN HIS CONDEMNATION OF THE NESTORIANS AND THE DYOPHYSITES:

"**Jesus is one nature and one *hypostasis.*** Jacob uses the word 'nature' to refer to a concrete being, an entity which can be counted.... One nature and *hypostasis*, then, means 'one being', 'one actual identity'. **Jacob explicitly rejects the 'two nature' christology of those whom he considers to be Nestorians because two natures has to mean two basic 'beings' in Christ, the man Jesus and the Word, and along with these two basic beings, two 'numbers' and two 'ranks', not to mention two operations"** (see Chesnut, pp. 120-121, referring to St. Jacob's *Letters* 14, p. 61; 27, pp. 137, 139; 33, p. 249. The Nestorians worship a quaternity: *Letter* 31, pp. 238-41).

Against the dyophysism, he also says: "To confess two natures means to assign the 'small things' to the man and the great things to God. **To confess two natures means to hold to such a view of the union that one must say that the Word assumed the man who is worshipped with him, as a king assumes the purple which is worshipped with him"** (*ibid.*, p. 121, referring to *Letter* 19, pp. 123-127).

"The theme of the two births is also frequent in Jacob's writings: *Letters* 2, p. 13; 3, p. 18; 6, pp. 32, 33; 13, p. 53; 14, p. 60: 29, p. 233, etc." (*ibid.*, n. 3).

"Within this context, Jacob affirms the doctrine of the *hypostatic* union—that the body of the Word came to him through his second birth, the birth from the virgin. It was his body, belonging to him as any man's body belongs to him, and it did not belong to him as the purple belongs to the king" (*ibid.*, n. 5: *Letter* 19, pp. 123-127). **"His body is not known outside him in number, and his divinity is not foreign to his embodiment... because *hypostatically*, he took the image of the servant, and not as a possession"** (*ibid.*, n. 4: cf. *Letter* 19, p. 118).

The Word did not assume a man; he became a man. "The humanity of our Lord did not come into being, but it was our Lord who became a man" (*ibid.*, n. 6, quoting *Letter* 6, p. 31).

"While the Word made flesh is one, and not two, Jacob insists that he is complete in his humanity and in his divinity:"

"He is the one who is from the Father and from us.... He is God with his Father, and the same one, with us, the son of man" (*ibid.*, n. 7: *Letter* 3, p. 19. For other similar statements, see *Homilies* 53, part 3 (ii.496); 49 (ii.348); 94 (iii.619). For the statement that he is complete both in his humanity and in his divinity, *Letters* 13, p. 56; 17, p. 86, etc.).

"Jesus' real human body belonged to him as his own. He was really born, in a miraculous fashion from a virgin, and really suffered physical pain on the cross and died" (*ibid.*, and n. 8: **"But this pain did not belong to him, in so far as his nature was unembodied: it belongs to him only as part of the economy,** *Letter* 33, p. 249. **And he was able to die, only because he was willing**: *Homilies* 49 [ii.354]; 40 [ii.190]; 94 [iii.597]; 53, part 4 [ii.505], etc.").

VI.B.6. AS SHOWN BY ST. SEVERUS PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH IN HIS CONDEMNATION OF THE DYOPHYSISM OF THE NESTORIANS, LEO'S *TOME*, AND THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON:

St. Severus of Antioch was convinced that the Chalcedonian documents as they stood contained damaging evidence that the Council of Chalcedon had made changes in the matter of faith: **the Chalcedonian blunder was the assertion of "two natures after the union"**. Following the steps of the ardent anti-Nestorians before Chalcedon, St. Severus could proclaim, as St. Dioscorus and his company had proclaimed at the Second Council of Ephesus, 449, that **"no one sound in faith would say that Jesus Christ is '"two" after the union'**—since he who is indivisible cannot be divided—and that it was Nestorius who had taught in this way. **For whence had the Council derived its 'shown forth in two natures'? It had come from that incriminating document, the *Tome* of Leo, Severus declared, and Nestorius himself had said exactly the same"** (Sellers, pp. 259-260).

To prove his point, **St. Severus** (*contra Gram.* III.i. chapters 13, 15; ed. Lebon, pp. 161f., 180f.) **"appeals to two passages in the *Tome*** (chap. 5): 'On account of **the unity of Person which is to be understood as existing in both the natures**'; and: '... that the properties of the divine and of the human nature might be recognized as remaining in him undivided'. **He also bids his readers compare these statements, and that in the *Definitio*, with what had been said by Nestorius: Jesus Christ is 'one and the same [Person], who is made known in an uncreated and a created nature'** (Loofs, *Nestoriana*, p. 330; Syriac, p. 380), **as he would show how far the Council had wandered from the true doctrine of the 'one incarnate nature' and the 'out of two'"** (Sellers, p. 260, n. 2).

St. Severus acknowledges that one can confess Christ "from two natures". **"What he will not accept is 'two natures after the union', since as he is constantly telling his adversaries, one cannot use this phrase, and pretend to be in union with 'our wise Father, Cyril'"** (*Philalethes*, ed. Sanda, p. 58). "We do not deny 'a union of two natures', he says, but **the term 'union' (*unitio*) does not allow that the two remain 'two', since it demonstrates *unum [qui est] ex duabus rebus*: therefore those who affirm 'two natures after the union' are in serious danger of dividing the one Christ, and teaching the indwelling of the divine *Logos* in a mere man"** (Sellers, pp. 262-263, referring to *contra Gram.* III.i. chap. 5 [ed. Lebon, pp. 44ff.]).

Quotations from the work of the Chalcedonian John the Grammarian in defense of the Council of Chalcedon have reached us through St. Severus from which "it is abundantly clear that the Grammarian maintains the **'*hypostatic* union'** (*C. Gramm.* II.i. chapters 1, 13, 16, ed. Lebon, pp. 6, 164, 194), and accepts the traditional formula that the one Christ is **'out of two'** (*ibid.*, ch. 13, ed. Lebon, p. 164). "Moreover, we should notice that he accepts **'one incarnate nature of the divine *Logos*'** as the formula which excluded the Nestorian heresy—though, following Cyril, he points to the importance of the word 'incarnate' in the formula, as he would emphasize that the expression, 'one nature', must not be taken in the sense of *una substantia* (*ibid.*, ch. 16, Lebon, p. 182). But he also holds that the formula of **'two natures'**—by which, he is careful to say, he means **'two *ousiai*'**—is equally necessary (*ibid.*, ch. 1, Lebon, p. 5)" (Sellers, p. 295 adding in n. 5: "The Grammarian when

he affirms 'in two undivided natures' uses the term 'nature', as he says, *secundum notionem genericam et significationem communem*. **But Severus makes fun of him: he would say that all the Trinity was incarnate in all the manhood!** See *Vie de Sév. par Jean, supérieur du monastère de Beith-Aphthonia*, ed. M.A. Kugener, *PO*, t. ii fasc. 1, p. 249").

Accordingly, he expressly anathematizes those who speak of 'two natures after the ineffable union' (Sellers, p. 263 & n. 2: "Ἀναθεματίζομεν οὖν τοὺς δύο λέγοντας ἢ εἰπόντας φύσεις μετὰ τὴν ἄφραστον ἕνωσιν τὸν ἕνα Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν—a quotation adduced by Eustathius Monachus from the synodal letter written by Severus, in 512, when he became Bishop of Antioch, to John II [Niciota] of Alexandria [*PG* lxxxvi. i. 909C]. Cf. his statement in one of his *Homiliae Cathedrales*: 'In all boldness do we say to those who in their hypocrisy say they confess one sole Christ, and then divide him into two by their "two natures after the union", **How long halt ye between two opinions? If Christ is one, confess "one incarnate nature", and if after the union you proclaim "two natures", do not make a pretence of saying he is one whom you have divided into two'** [*PO* xiii, fasc. 2, p. 247]").

St. Severus says: "**No one who is orthodox has ever spoken of 'two natures before the union'. Before the union, the divine *Logos*, co-eternal with the Father, existed *simplex* and *carnis expers*; but after the union, and without any change in respect of his Godhead, he, the divine *Logos*, became incarnate through uniting to himself flesh taken from the Virgin. The flesh, then, which subsists only in the union, came into existence only when it was *hypostatically* united to the *Logos*, from whom it cannot be severed.** For if the Child born of Mary had had a separate existence, it would indeed have been possible to speak of 'two natures after the union'—but the 'union' would have been one of good-will and homonymity" (Sellers, pp. 263-264).

Like St. Cyril, St. Severus also uses **the body-soul analogy** saying: "...we know that the soul is united to the body by nature without our being able to say how and in what way, for this surpasses our power of understanding. Thus we also know in reference to Emmanuel that the *Logos* participated in blood and flesh as we do by nature and at the same time in a supernatural way. If one wants to say 'how', this surpasses every word and every thought (*Hom.* 58: *PO* 8,219) (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 134 & n. 343: Cf. *Hom.* 44: *PO* 36, 96-98: 'We say that the human being, ours, which is composed from a soul and a body and which is in a single *hypostasis*, is a mortal, rational animal; still on the one side it is mortal through the body, on the other side rational through the soul; nevertheless it is still the whole animal which is called mortal and which as whole is characterized as rational; and the elements from which it is composed in a natural way are not mingled and it is not at all divided into two. **It is also this way with Emmanuel, because he is one from two natures, and one single *hypostasis* and one single incarnate nature of the *Logos*, without in any way the elements having to be mingled, from which the inexpressible unity comes to pass, and also, while one remains, without furnishing access to the duality from which the division arises. For he, who is really one, will never be two; and if he proceeds to become two, he has necessarily ceased to be one'**)".

A certain aid for understanding in the form of metaphors, which Severus expands explicitly in his polemical works, is found also in his sermons: the reciprocal permeation of wood and fire in **the glowing coal** (cf. *Hom.* 48: *PO* 35, 316-317, *Hom.* 90: *PO* 23, 153-154), or the picture of **the burning bush** (*Exodus* 3:2-4, cf. *Hom.* 109: *PO* 25, 752-755, as mentioned in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*).

"Key passages of Severan christology are found also in remarks about the correct understanding of the *hypostatic* union. **Severus assimilates the union of divine and human natures to the moment that the *Logos* dwelt in the Virgin and thus the body animated by a rational soul too began to exist. The arguments which had once been formed against early Christian adoptionism and Nestorianism were now applied to supporters of the two-natures teaching.**" Thus he preaches:

"Show us one instant in which, while they exist, the body, or better still the human nature with which he united himself, did not partake of the *Logos*, and I must say that there are two natures! But because they exist in an inseparable manner, I do not have the courage to destroy through duality the *hypostatic* union, which cannot be ripped asunder..... The spiritual soul is as soul something intact and perfect. For the soul receives the body not as a complement to its existence. For it exists also as separated from this in its separatedness (*isolément*) through itself... Nevertheless the soul, which is whole in its singularity and whole under its regard, proceeds to be a part of the human being when it is united to the body. Equally the body as body is something whole, which according to the definition of the body and under its particular aspect (*notion particulière*) lacks nothing. Nevertheless it is in the totality of the living being only part."

"Hence we say also **with regard to the Emmanuel that in this way the union took place, that is, from the divinity and from the humanity which under this particular aspect are entire. For these elements, which in the union have the function (*taxis*) to be parts, in order to form a single *hypostasis*, do not lose the integrity proper to them, because they are joined together without mingling and diminution** (*Hom.* 70: *PO* 12, 38-40)" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 144).

He also says: "**But if there is in reality one single *hypostasis*, there will also be one single incarnate nature of the God-*Logos*. Or, if there are two natures, there will also necessarily be two *hypostases* and two persons and the Trinity will be devised as a quaternity.** But, so say these godless ones, we hold on to two natures and a single person (*prosopon*) and unite these two natures through the appellation as Christ, Son and Lord, and through the power [hence only through a moral bond]... We say...that this distinction is insidious and deceitful and has for its goal to let us assent to what is not, and vice versa to declare as false what is real" (*Hom.* 58: *PO* 8, 225, as quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*).

"The disinclination to give the denotation *physis*, nature, to the humanity of Christ was motivated by the fear that the human being of Christ could be considered as equally eternal and equally original as the divine being. Christ, however, was not a human being 'originally', that is, by nature, but only οἰκονομικῶς, according to the plan of salvation and the free decision of God's will."

"What does the *mia-physis* formula mean, then, if the conceptual word may be applied

only to the *Logos* in his divinity? Cyril and Severus answer this question clearly. For the former let us recall *Ep.* 40 to Acacius of Melitene, where it reads: 'Understandably the *physis* of the *Logos* is a single one; we know indeed that it has become flesh and a human being. The human being of Christ, with body and soul, is thus characterized by the addition 'become flesh' (Cyril Alex., *Ep. 40 ad Acac. Melit.*: *PG* 77, 193B). Severus also explicitly affirms this in the *apologia* to no. 51 of the *FlorCyr.*": "By our saying 'become flesh' we signify the essence of the humanity [N.B. Severus explicitly names this the *ousia* and not the *physis*], admittedly not in a separate subsistence, but in unity with the *Logos*, so that no one can imagine speaking on this basis of two natures after the union" (Severus Ant., *Philal.* ch. 51: *CSCO* 134, p. 221, 14-18), (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 156). The Fathers had already given this interpretation, says St. Severus, "Because they in fact have said 'incarnate', they have indicated that the flesh did not cease to be flesh and that it is not constituted in isolation, separate from the union with the *Logos*. For this reason the nature (*physis*) of the *Logos* is rightfully described as unique" (*ibid.*, p. 157 referring in n. 378. to *Idem*, *Philal.*, on the two-natures formula: *CSCO* 134, p. 113,16-20. Similarly in *C. imp. Gram. Or.* III, ch. 36: *CSCO* 102, p. 166,20-22.....).

Here St. Severus "remained the staunch traditionalist: the great master **Cyril had never formally applied 'two' to Christ**, and this was the gospel for his pupil" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 48, & n. 77 on pp. 48-49: "Severus Ant., *Or.* 2 *ad Neph.*: *CSCO* 120, p. 21,1-5: **Cyril says in *Ep. 40* to Acacius of Melitene: 'It is absolutely certain that there is only one nature of the Son; we know, however, that it has become flesh and a human being'** (*PG* 77, 192D-193A). But: 'What would he have had to have said, if Christ were to be in two natures? "There are two natures of the Son: he has indeed become flesh and a human being".' Only with this formal affirmation of the duality would Severus have allowed himself to be convinced").

Grillmeier (*op. cit.*, p. 157) says: "If with Cyril, Timothy Aelurus and Severus the *mia-physis* formula is explained in this sense, then it would be unfair immediately to deduce from it 'monophysitism', as a confession of a mixed nature, as the Chalcedonians, with few exceptions, were accustomed to do. **For the reality (*pragma*), of which the one is first expressed, is this one *physis* of the eternal *Logos*, which also remains the one immutable, even when, according to the plan and decision of the *oikonomia* of God, the human reality as historical-earthly mode of existence appeared.** If the *mia-physis* is explained in this way, then there is expressed in it not an ontological, but a factual, historical view. **The divine *Logos* in his pre-existent nature is considered according to the schema of the 'two ages', which the Nicenes set up against the Arians, in order to attribute the statements about Christ's lowliness in the gospels not to the eternal *Logos* as such, but only to the condition of the incarnation. Admittedly this schema of the 'two ages' is only valid if the *Logos*, whose eternal existence is expressed in one and incarnation in the other, is strictly one and the same.** It would be precisely the determination of this ontological unity in the historical schema that would matter...".

St. Severus also says: "Everything really depends on the formula **'from two'**; from them both the *hypostatic* union is effected as well as (the fact) that there is only one incarnate nature of the *Logos*, and also this, that one ought understand those two (realities) **from**

which the union happens, as distinct and of a different kind **only in thought**, and that **one ought no longer speak of two after thinking of the one**" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 161, quoting St. Severus Ant., *Contra imp. Gram.*, *Or.* III, ch. 10: *CSCO* 94, p. 141, 20-25).

The Chalcedonian Nephalius "wanted to bring close together once again the two formulas which were contested at Chalcedon and seem to be in opposition to each other, viz. 'out of two natures' and 'in two natures'; this was to occur through speaking of the 'united natures' (φύσεις ἑνωθεῖσαι). 'In two united natures' should signify as much as 'out of two one' (ἐκ δύο εἷς). We can recognize these trains of thought from Severus' refutation. **He argues not unskillfully with the acts of Chalcedon. There the Fathers had rejected the first suggested proposal for a *horos*, a proposal composed by Patriarch Anatolius of Constantinople, precisely because it contained the formula 'out of two natures'. At the forefront of this action were the two Roman legates of Pope Leo I who had threatened their departure should the 'out of two' continue to be retained. In its place the new *horos* with its profession of 'in two natures' was then composed and accepted**" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 49 & n. 79: See *ACO* II 1,2, p. 128, no. 34; p. 129,30-130,3. Cf. *JdChr* I[3], 753-4; *CCT* I[2], 543-4; *Chalkedon* I, 396-8).

For St. Severus **"not even (the Chalcedonian) 'in two united natures' is sufficient to achieve in efficacy his preferred 'out of two'"** (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 50 & n. 81: Similarly in *Or.* 2 *ad Nephalius*: *CSCO* 120, p. 35,22-7 as a summary of a patristic argument, which Severus characterizes as manipulated: "This is thus the sum of your authorities. While you ruin them and explain them according to your whim, and deceive the simple by mentioning the natures out of which the one Christ is, you say insidiously: 'If two natures are brought together and united, we must say that this one Christ is recognized as being two natures'").

In his concluding words to Nephalius on this topic, St. Severus says: **"'If you consider all this so you will cease to say: the two natures and the two forms are one Christ after you have professed the union'. That that does not suffice is apparent with Theodoret and Andrew of Samosata, who also speak of the union of natures and yet split up the mystery of the *oikonomia*"** (*ibid.*, quoting St. Severus Ant., *Or.* 2 *ad Neph.*: *CSCO* 120, p. 45,28-34). "Hence according to Severus **even the 'two united natures' cannot compete with the expressiveness of the *mia-physis* formula**" (*ibid.*, quoting St. Severus, *ibid.*, p. 46,10-12. Cf. also p. 49, 21-34). "It sounds like the judgement after a judicial process when he says: **'Should we thus declare as innocent those [i.e. the 'Antiochenes' Theodoret and Andrew of Samosata and naturally Chalcedon] because they call the union undivided (*individuam*) and (characterize) it at the same time as highest and indissoluble and eternal, or should we not turn our face away from them (as from the convicted) who speak of two natures also after the union and contradict their own utterances and sway towards both sides?'"** (*ibid.*, quoting St. Severus, *ibid.*, p. 47,6-10).

Grillmeier (*op. cit.*, p. 139) writes: "Severus' depiction of **the passion and crucifixion** comprises a fundamental discussion with the basic contemporary christological positions, in the centre of which stood the problem of the suffering of Jesus. **The style and content**

of his argumentation are shaped by his endeavor on the one side to entangle the two-natures formula in contradictions, and on the other side to show that in his understanding of the *hypostatic* union such problems do not even arise". Thus, in his *Homily* 22 (*PO* 37,88), St. Severus says:

"Perhaps some of those, who after the inexpressible union divide our single Lord and God Jesus Christ into the duality of natures, will ask themselves...: 'Who is it that cries out on the cross: My God, my God, why have you forsaken me (*Matthew* 27:46 par)?' **For us it is the God-*Logos*, who without alteration has become flesh, who has cried that out, who has voluntarily become poor for us and who, insofar as he has become a human being, has called his God Father. For he was nailed on the cross, insofar as that body was nailed on it with which he is united in a *hypostatic* manner. For he has remained impassible, insofar as he is God, but he is not a stranger to suffering: the body which has suffered belongs to him and to no one else; hence it occurs rightfully if one believes that the suffering indeed belongs to him. You, however, when you say that there is a difficulty here, in your stupidity take away from his flesh that which is united with it"** (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*).

Again in his *Homily* 109 (*PO* 25,758-760) St. Severus says:

"Therefore **godless are those, who with regard to Christ teach two natures which act; for it is necessary that each nature has an action which is proper to it and different, that is, an acting movement/motion. If we confess Christ as one from two..., and as one person, one *hypostasis* and one single incarnate nature of the *Logos*, consequently it will be one who acts and one movement which bears him in action, although the works are different**, that is, the completely performed deeds which come from the action. For some fit God, others the human being; **but they are performed by one and the same, by God who without alteration has become flesh and a human being. And this is not surprising, (but) similar to the works of a human being**, of which some are intellectual, the others visible and corporeal... It is, however, a single human being, composed of a body and a soul, who does this and that, and there is only one single working movement. Hence, when Christ is concerned, we recognize a change of words. Some suit God, others the human being... But on this account we do not say that there they belong to that nature and here to this nature. For they were expressed undistinguished of the one and the same Christ."

"But some conduct themselves in an ungodly way, at the same time they suffer from a final ignorance with regard to the alteration [change] of deeds and words; they have set up two that act and speak, when very significantly they have named the persons 'natures' and have concealed two sons and two Christs under the lion's skin" (quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-146).

"One nature, one *hypostasis*, one Christ, one *energeia*, one activity – **duality only in the effects, lying outside Christ**, on the one action!" (*ibid.*, p. 146).

VI.B.7. AS SHOWN BY POPE THEODOSIUS I OF ALEXANDRIA IN HIS EXPLANATION OF CHRIST'S KNOWLEDGE:

For St. Theodosius I, the thirty-third Pope of Alexandria (535-566), everything is concentrated in the *Logos* and proceeds from him. "**Christ's knowledge** thus has a special position. It **is classified as 'activity', as *energeia*, and is distinguished from the πάθη, the passions. In the domain of the *energeia* there is for Theodosius not *in alio et in alio* in Christ**" (*OLA* 56, pp. 55, 497-56, 503, as quoted in Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 372).

St. Theodosius applies to the domain of the *energeia* precisely St. Cyril's and St. Severus's linguistic rules with regard to *physis*: as **one can speak of two natures before the union in *theoria*, and after the union, however, only of one, so too this holds true with regard to Christ's knowledge**. It is only in *theoria*, says St. Theodosius, that I may speak simultaneously of Christ's omniscience and ignorance, as long as I consider the natures in themselves:

"But when you still say, after thinking of the union, that God the *Logos* knows the future, but that the rational, intellectual soul which is consubstantial with us and united to him does not perceive it, how do they escape the danger of division and separation? How do they avoid saying that there are two sons and two natures?" (*OLA* 56, p. 56, 515-519) (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 373).

The one divine light of omniscience and God's infinite knowledge thus flows into Christ's human soul with the *henosis*, and allows no shadows of the human limitations of knowledge to return to it (*ibid.*).

According to St. Theodosius the actions (*actiones*) or activities (*activitates*) have to be distinguished from the natural passions (*passiones naturales*). Thus he says: "But in relation to the natural passions (*passiones naturales*) it is permissible to speak of 'in one – in the other'; **one and the same is mortal in the humanity and immortal in the divinity; the same is passible in the humanity and impassible in the divinity**" (*OLA* 56, p. 55, 493-495) (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 374).

VI.C. The Nestorianizing Dyophysite Christology of the Council of Chalcedon Leads to a Quaternity Instead of the Holy Trinity:

This topic was treated in great detail in **Part One** of the present work under section I.E.2.d. "The Christology of Chalcedon, as Represented by its Antiochene Supporters, Leads to a Quaternity", (q.v.).

VI.D. The Increasing Nestorianizing Tendency Among the Contemporary Roman Catholic Theologians Who Defend Nestorius as a Precursor of the Council of Chalcedon:

The Roman Catholic Cardinal Walter Kasper represents an increasing Nestorianizing tendency among Catholic theologians who consider Nestorius a precursor of the Council of Chalcedon anticipating its formula. Thus, **Kasper writes: "Nestorius of the Antiochene school, who at once became a stumbling-block, found his way even before**

Chalcedon to the distinction between nature and person, and anticipated the Chalcedon formula of the one person in two natures. After long being accused in the history of dogma and theology of the gravest heresies, and having even been called a new Judas by the Council of Ephesus, he is now to a large extent being rehabilitated by historical scholarship. The pre-eminence of the *Logos* which was Cyril's view, never, indeed, occurred to Nestorius; the unity of one person was, according to him, the result of the mutual penetration of the two natures" (Kasper, *Jesus the Christ*, p.235).

Therefore, **A. Nichols of the Blackfriars** raises "the question of the current tendency towards a low Christology in the contemporary Western Catholic church. Even leaving aside those writings which are manifestly abusive in their failure to meet the standard set by Nicene Orthodoxy, namely, in affirming the full Godhead of Jesus Christ, **some of the most respected Christological treatises in the Latin church today are heavily Antiochene in approach. Thus for example Walter Kasper's *Jesus der Christus* maintains that there are two persons within the total reality of the Word Incarnate... But the conversations between the Chalcedonian and Non-Chalcedonian Orthodox sometimes throw up the suggestion that Western Catholic Christology is increasingly Nestorian, and that this is the dead end to which the *Tome* of Leo leads**" (A. Nichols, *Rome and the Eastern Churches*, Edinburgh 1992, p. 101).

Kasper (now Cardinal) relates the historical developments of the two-natures Christology since Chalcedon and throughout the medieval ages saying:

"Chalcedon and Constantinople (553) had spoken rather abstractly of two natures, not going so far as Pope Leo who in addition spoke of each nature performing what is proper to it in communion with the other (*'agit enim utraque forma cum alterius communione quod proprium est'*) (DS 294; NR 177). This conclusion from the two-natures doctrine was contested by the successors of Monophysitism, Monotheletism and Monoenergism, which assumed only one will and one operation in Christ. Accordingly, the Lateran Synod of 649 (DS 500 ff) and the Sixth General Council, Constantinople III (680-681) had to declare, in logical continuation of the Chalcedon two-natures doctrine, that in Jesus Christ there are two wills and two operations, even though Jesus' human will is wholly subject to the divine will (DS 556 f)" (Kasper, *Jesus the Christ*, p. 239).

Kasper goes on saying: "Even with this elucidation, the problem of unity and duality in Jesus Christ did not cease to agitate men's minds. Whenever one aspect of the problem was clarified, the other aspect came up for discussion again in an ever more complicated form. The dialectical movement from Ephesus to Chalcedon, from Chalcedon to Constantinople and from one Council of Constantinople to the next, was now repeated once again. Once the duality of wills had been clarified, **it was inevitable that the question would recur in the more subtle form of whether we can therefore assume that there are two subjects in Christ. The Spanish Adoptianism of the eighth and ninth centuries** (not to be confused with the Ebionite Adoptianism of the early Church) **represented that kind of subtle conception of two subjects, teaching that within the *hypostatic* union the man Jesus is assumed by God as his adopted son, whereas the *Logos* alone is the natural Son of God.** In this way Godhead and humanity were distinguished

not only as *aliud et aliud*, but also as *alius et alius*. After the Seventh General Council, Nicaea II (787) (DS 610 f), the Frankish plenary council in Frankfurt in 794 declared in logical continuation of tradition, that Jesus even as man is the natural Son of God (DS 612-615)" (Kasper, *op. cit.*).

"The question did not rest even during the whole of early Scholasticism. **Peter Lombard lists three opinions**, the third of which, however, **the *Habitus* theory**, according to which Jesus' body and soul – separate in themselves – were each assumed by the *Logos*, was soon dropped, especially after its condemnation by Pope Alexander III in 1177 (DS 750) as incompatible with the doctrine of Jesus' true humanity. More important is **the first-mentioned *Assumptus* theory**, about which there is still some controversy even today. This holds that the *Logos* assumed not just a complete human nature, but a complete human being. Aquinas was the first, in his later works, to declare this doctrine to be in contradiction to the Church's teaching, and a heresy. He thus contributed to the acceptance of **the subsistence theory**, which now became the common opinion of theologians in the form that Jesus' human nature possesses no human *hypostasis* of its own, but subsists in the *hypostasis* of the *Logos*. With this theory, despite all precautions, the danger still remained either of the human nature being diminished or of the *Logos* being made a cosmic principle. As a result, **the *Assumptus* theory in the more moderate form of *Assumptus-homo* theology** still found adherents even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially among theologians of Scotist tendencies. They were far from wanting to affirm two subjects in Christ. The essential question was, rather, whether the designation 'this man' or the title 'Christ' refers directly to the human nature and only indirectly to its bearer, the person of the *Logos*, or whether the concrete designation 'this human being' ('this man') in the proper sense can only be made of the one concrete subject, the person of the *Logos*, and only indirectly of the human nature. As long as we hold that the person of the *Logos* is the one and only ontological subject in Christ, this is more a question of theological usage and the ontology that it presupposes, and of Christological approach, than a question of the binding doctrine of faith. Consequently, the Church's magisterium has come to no decision in the matter. While traditional scholastic theology in the overwhelming majority of its representatives has rejected the *Assumptus-homo* Christology, there is a certain tendency in that direction today in line with attempts at formulating **a Christology 'from below'**..." (Kasper, *op. cit.*., pp. 239-240).

After discussing the theories of the modern writers about the personality, **Kasper gives his own view of a human personality of Jesus united with the *Logos* which is, of course, a frank Nestorian theory, by which he understands the *hypostatic* union as a unity between what belongs to the human person with the person of the *Logos***. The following is Kasper's view in his own words:

"Starting from our concrete and relational concept of person, we can take a step beyond these formal statements. We cannot merely say that nothing is lacking to Jesus' humanity because through the person of the *Logos* it is a human person. We must also say that the indeterminate and open aspect that belongs to the human person is determined definitively by the unity of person with the *Logos*, so that in Jesus through his unity of person with the *Logos*, the human personality comes to its absolutely unique and underivable fulfillment.

With this, we have reached the concept of the *hypostatic* union" (Kasper, *op. cit.*, p. 248).

Therefore, the dyophysitism of Nestorius and the Chalcedonian Definition, together with the *Tome* of Leo, and the above-mentioned frank Nestorian theory expressing Cardinal Kasper's own view, proclaim a Quaternity, i.e. the addition of a fourth Person in the Trinity (see Part One, sections I.E.2.a., b., & d.).

VII. THE CONDEMNATION OF THE *TOME* OF LEO AND THE CHALCEDONIAN DEFINITION AS BEING JEWISH:

Since 451 A.D., the Fathers and Synods of the anti-Chalcedonian Churches never ceased to anathematize the *Tome* of Leo and the Council of Chalcedon (see Part Six of the present work). This is because they always viewed the *Tome* and the Council as a revival of Nestorianism. In spite of the anathema pronounced against Nestorius in that Council, it agreed with his teaching (see Part One, sections I.E.2.a., b. & d. and Part One, section III.B.1.i-xv., and Part Five, section V. of the present work) and also when it made mention of St. Cyril's letters, it did so for the purpose of deceiving and seducing the simple (St. Severus, *Contra impium Grammaticum*, *CSCO* 45, p. 251).

We have already discussed the danger of the Dyophysite (two-nature) Christology (see Part Five, section VI.), where the two elements take on a greater independence from each other as in Leo's *Tome* of the Chalcedonian definition (see Part Five, section IV.) which taints it with the smear of the Nestorian Judaism since it means that he who was crucified was not God, but man.

VII.A. St. Cyril of Alexandria and His Anti-Nestorian Friends Warn of the Jewish Nestorian Heresy:

VII.A.1. ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA WARNS OF THE NESTORIAN TEACHING THAT THE JEWS DID NOT CRUCIFY THE LORD OF GLORY BUT A MERE MAN:

Early in 429, Nestorius's teaching spread and reached Egypt. Some of the monks subject to St. Cyril's jurisdiction asked him for direction and his reply. At Easter of 429, he wrote his famous *Letter* I to the monks of Egypt which soon found its way to Constantinople as St. Cyril intended it should.

In parag. 39 of *Ep.* I, St. Cyril says: "Because, therefore, he is truly God and king according to nature, and because the one crucified has been called the Lord of glory, how could anyone hesitate to call the Holy Virgin the Mother of God? Adore him as one, without dividing him into two after the union. Then, **the senseless Jew shall laugh in vain**; then, in truth, he shall be the one who slew the Lord, and he shall be convicted as the one who has sinned, not against one of those who are like us, but against God himself, the Savior of all".

"Nestorius is really guilty of a Jewish interpretation of Christ", says St. Cyril, "for he does not recognize how different Christ is from others. The Jews sever Christ from God and make of him a mere man. Therefore, St. Cyril exhorts Nestorius saying: 'Why do you let yourself fall into the pedantries of the Jews?... Confess with us one Christ and do not sever him into two again'. Jesus had to rebuke the Jews for not recognizing that he was the Son

come from God (*John* 10:34-36)..." (*Adv. Nest.* iii.3. as quoted in Wilken, *JECM*, p. 213).

The Nestorians, therefore, because of their interpretation of Christ, were considered as "Jews".

That is why in the first session of the Council of Chalcedon (8 October, 451), when Theodoret of Cyrrhus was admitted because Leo had restored to him his episcopate and the emperor Marcian had ordered him to attend (I:26), the bishops of Egypt, Illyricum and Palestine shouted, "...Drive out the teacher of Nestorius!" (I:27). Then Pope Dioscorus asked, "Why should Cyril be ejected?" (i.e. virtually by the admission of Theodoret, I:29). And when Theodoret was seated, "the most devout Egyptian bishops and those with them exclaimed, '...He is not a bishop. Drive out the enemy of God, **Drive out the Jew**'" (I:37). Of course, he is a "Jew" in the sense of denying the divinity of Christ (*ACC*, vol. 1, pp. 134-135).

VII.A.2. ACACIUS OF MELITENE WARNS THE ARMENIANS OF THE JEWISH DISEASE OF NESTORIANISM:

Acacius, bishop of Melitene from before 430, wrote to the Armenian Patriarch Sahak (*B.L.*, pp. 14-15) soon after the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, most probably in 432, concerning the unity. The letter "opens with an assertion that in Christ all peoples are made one. That unity, was shaken by **the malicious heresy of Nestorius**, who was the bishop of the city of Constantine; when he was found a heretic he was deprived of his dignity (i.e. episcopacy); so we became aware that **this fierce wolf had attacked the holy Churches, and in some places had won the simple-minded to his ill-will (i.e. malignity)**. Caught by the fear that a stain [of the heresy] might have gained space also in your Churches, and having in mind the common good **we deemed it good to advise you that these people are moulded in no other [disease] than in the Jewish disease**; for they are mistaken about the descent (i.e. Incarnation) of the Lord [that is to say] about his passing like a man through all suffering except sin" (Sarkissian, pp. 113-114).

Indeed **"the christological teaching of Nestorius or of the Antiochene School as a whole was characterized by their opponents as 'Jewish', because the Jews did not recognize in Christ the Godhead and regarded him simply as a man. Therefore those who separated Christ in two were likened to the Jews"** (*ibid.*, n. 5 on pp. 113f.).

In his answer to the letter of Acacius, "**Sahak** thanks his colleague, bishop Acacius, for his care for the preservation of the orthodox faith in Armenia..... Then he blames and deplores those who go astray from the truth and fall into various heresies. He adds:"

"But I myself wonder how some people try and strive, beyond the limits of the law, to comprehend the incomprehensible; besides, I think that the **men like these do not know at all the Scriptures and their power, but have regard only to the Jewish dregs**" (*ibid.*, p. 115, quoting *B.L.*, pp. 16-17).

VII.A.3. PROCLUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE WARNS THE ARMENIANS OF THE MALICIOUS NOVELTIES OF NESTORIANISM WHICH EXCEEDED THE DENIAL OF THE JEWS:

Proclus Archbishop of Constantinople (434-446) wrote his famous *Tome* to the Armenians (437 A.D.) from which we quote the following paragraph missing in the Greek text but preserved in the Armenian translation, in which he says: "**Now, hold [together] steadfastly in one spirit and as one person; be, by faith, athletes of the Gospel and not stricken by anathema and condemnation with Nestorius and Theodore who had been his teacher and who showed forth the evil plant and the malicious novelties which exceeded the denial of the Jews** and, like the heresy of the Arians and others who deviated from the glory of the holiness and from the right faith; they were anathematized by all the peoples, and their books [containing] perverse ideas were burnt before all the people. You, too, keep yourselves safe from them and do the same as the assembly of the bishops did,..." (Sarkissian, p. 124).

VII.B. Ibas of Edessa Proclaims the Same Jewish Nestorian Heresy:

It was Ibas of Edessa, a partisan of Nestorius – who was condemned at the Second Council of Ephesus, 449, but restored by Chalcedon – who preached that the Jews crucified a mere man. Ibas's accusers from the Tyre-Berytus hearings in February 449, reproduced at Chalcedon (session X, parag. 81): "alleged that he had once said to his assembled clergy, 'I don't envy Christ becoming God, for inasmuch as he became God, so also have I'" (*ACC*, vol. 2, pp. 266, 287). Price (*ibid.*, n. 6, in pp. 266-267) says: "The remark is given in a slightly different form in the testimonial from Ibas' clergy (141): 'I don't envy Christ having become God, since I too, if I want, can become like him'. A fuller form of the remark appears in the *Syriac Acts* (trans. Perry, 97-103): 'I do not envy Christ becoming God; for in so far as he has become [God] I have become so, for he is of the same nature as myself.' These Acts (in their record of the hearing in April 449 before the governor of Osrhoene) preserve other choice plums of Ibas' alleged preaching, such as '**The Jews should not boast, for they only crucified a mere man**', and 'If God were dead, who [was] there to raise him to life?' (Perry, 105-8)".

The following more detailed statements of Ibas (published by Perry *op. cit.*) illustrate his Nestorianism and "determination to 'separate the natures' against the notion that in Jesus Christ there is *una substantia*: 'Is not the former [text] (*John* 1:1) one thing, and the latter (*Matthew* 1:1) quite another?' (*ibid.*, p. 104); 'It is today that Christ became immortal (from his sermon on Easter Day: *ibid.*); 'We must discreetly make a distinction between God and man, and make a separation between him who was assumed by grace, and him who assumed him by grace' (*ibid.*, p. 105); 'It was one Person who died, and Another who was in heaven—one Person without beginning, and Another subject to a beginning—one Person of the Father, Another of the Virgin' (*ibid.*, pp. 105f); '**The Jews could not boast that they crucified God; they did not crucify God**' (*ibid.*, p. 107)" (Sellers, p. 56, n. 1).

See also Ibas's heretical comment—like the Jewish Sadducees—about "Hell being only a threat" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 35).

VII.C. The Jewish Delight in the Chalcedonian Definition:

"The long-term popular verdict was expressed by Zacharias of Mitylene (*HE* III.I) in the next century, namely 'that under the pretext of suppressing the heresy of Eutyches, Chalcedon had established and increased that of Nestorius, and that by substituting one heresy for another it had divided and confused the whole Christian world'. The immediate popular reaction was one of scandalized shock. **Chalcedon had vindicated Nestorius' 'two natures' and was not scriptural: it taught that he who was crucified was not God but man. The Jews were delighted with the news**, it was said. The upshot was a series of outbursts of indignation in Egypt, Syria and Asia Minor" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 148).

"**Note the letter allegedly drawn up by Jews and sent to Marcian**, reproduced in Michael, *Chron.* VIII. 12 (ed. Chabot, II, 91): **'To the merciful Emperor Marcian: the people of the Hebrews—for a long time we have been regarded as though our fathers had crucified a God and not a man. Since the Synod of Chalcedon has assembled and demonstrated that he who was crucified was a man and not a God we request that we should be pardoned this fault and that our synagogues should be returned to us'"** (Frend, *RMM*, p. 148, n. 4).

VII.D. Juvenal of Jerusalem's Earlier Condemnation of Leo's *Tome* as Jewish:

Popular anger against Chalcedon was concentrated at its fiercest in Jerusalem. Bishop Juvenal was driven out of Jerusalem and forced to seek refuge at Constantinople. He was "regarded as a traitor, for he had not only been an ardent aide of Dioscorus at Ephesus (449 A.D.) but allegedly had told a concourse of clergy before he left for the Council (of Chalcedon), '**The *Tome* is Jewish**, and the ideas it contains are those of Simon Magus. **Anyone who accepts it deserves to be made a Jew**'" (*ibid.*, p. 149 & n. 3, quoting John Rufus, *Vita Petri Iberi*, written *circa* 500 [ed. Raabe, p. 53]. Compare Zacharias Rhetor, *HE* III.3, and John Rufus, *Plerophoria* 25). "Now, he had actually helped to draw up the obnoxious Definition. His conduct was motivated by ambition, and he has been treated by chroniclers with the contempt he deserved" (*ibid.*, quoting Zacharias Rhetor, *HE* III.3 and *Plerophoria* 17-19).

VII.E. The Jewish Support to the Aristocratic "Blue" or Pro-Chalcedonian Party in Antioch:

"Traditionally, Antioch had always been the home of a flourishing Jewish community..... **The Jews** had continued to prosper. In the fifth century **they could be found supporting the 'Blue' or pro-Chalcedonian party in the city**, a fact which gave point to **the smear of 'Judaism' attached to any Chalcedonian patriarch** of the city. Their influence at least in the background of the theological controversies is not to be underestimated" (*ibid.*, p. 87 & n. 4, quoting John Malalas, *Chron.* XV. 103 [ed. Dindorf, p. 389]; see also *ibid.*, p. 158).

"In Antioch...there was something like anarchy. Peter the Fuller was in exile, but the anti-Chalcedonians remained in control. Both there and in Alexandria the populace

was firmly anti-Chalcedonian. The people supported Peter the Fuller, and Pope Gelasius included in his requisitory against Acacius in 494 the charge that Martyrius of Antioch had been expelled in favour of Peter in 469.... The situation was complicated because **the Jews supported the more aristocratic Blue faction against the popular anti-Chalcedonian Green, and were massacred by them**" (*ibid.*, p. 175, quoting John Malalas, *Chron.* XV. 103 [ed. Dindorf, p. 389]. See also Grégoire/Manojlovic, 'Le Peuple de Constantinople', p. 646).

VII.F. St. Philoxenus of Mabbug Condemns the Chalcedonian Dyophysitism as Jewish:

In the eighth of his ten Anathemas against Chalcedon, St. Philoxenus says: "VIII. And we anathematize the Council of Chalcedon also because it distinguisheth in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God, natures, and attributes, and functions, and celestial and terrestrial qualities, and Divine and human properties. **And it considereth Him [to be] Two, and it introduceth an idea of Four, and it worshippeth an ordinary man, and in every particular it findeth Him to be a creature, even as do the Jews and heathen,** and it agreeth with the wicked Nestorius who is accursed and doomed to perdition" (Budge, *Philoxenus*, vol. II, pp. xxxv-xxxvi).

VII.G. St. Severus of Antioch Condemns the Jewish Character of the Teachings of Nestorius, Leo, the Council of Chalcedon and All Their Followers:

In the *Philalethés* or "Friend of Truth" by which he meant St. Cyril, St. Severus defends the Fathers of the Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D., and commends them for deposing Nestorius after setting out his poisonous doctrines in public and demonstrating their Jewish character saying: "When the holy synod was assembled in Ephesus the metropolis, and demanded of Nestorius recantation of his unclean doctrines, and he was summoned three times and did not obey; he persisted in his presumption,... At that point the blessed meeting of all these bishops – when they set out his poisonous doctrines in public, and **demonstrated to everyone their Jewish character**, and tested as it were in a crucible his discourses which he had delivered in the church to those under his authority, and had shown up their abomination through the rational fire of investigation – passed a just sentence against his atheistic language, and dismissed the rogue from the honour of pastoral superintendence" (*Philalethes, florilegium* chap. 8, trans. from *CSCO* 68, p. 198, in Allen & Hayward, *Severus of Antioch*, p. 71).

St. Severus's election to the see of Antioch took place early in November 512, "followed by the ceremony of consecration in the Great Church on 16 November, at which twelve bishops, including Philoxenus, assisted. During the ceremony, Severus delivered the first of his 125 Cathedral Homilies, so-called because they were delivered from the *cathedra* or episcopal throne in his role as bishop. This homily survives in Syriac fragments and in a complete Coptic version (*PO* 38/2: 254-69),... The title of the homily as preserved in the Syriac version reveals that the main topic was the necessity of confessing 'Christ out of two natures, a single Lord, a single Son, and not two natures after the ineffable union' (*PO* 38/2:

255)" (Allen & Hayward, *Severus of Antioch*, p. 12).

He anathematizes all heretics, "especially Nestorius and Eutyches, Chalcedon, Leo's *Tome* and all supporters of the 'two natures after the union', and every distribution of activities and properties in the one incarnate *Logos* to 'two' (natures), which meant for Severus the profession of two persons. **Chalcedon** had stirred up an even more furious storm than Nestorius had (Coptic §10, p. 258). **At this Council the new Jews assembled** (Coptic §14, pp. 260-261)" (Grillmeier *CCT*, vol. II, part I, pp. 281-282).

At the Oriental Synod of 513, St. Severus along with all the bishops of the East expressed the same sentiment as he describes: "And, when all the bishops of the East were present at Antioch, and anathematized the synod in writing, and we addressed a synodical letter to Timothy the prelate of the royal city, **we anathematized what was done at Chalcedon against the orthodox faith, and the Jewish *Tome* of Leo, and those who call our one Lord and God Jesus Christ two natures after the incomprehensible union**" (Severus, *Letter to Hippocrates*: *PO* 12 nr. 46, 321; quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part I, p. 283).

"In expressions which would become familiar to his new congregations, to his readers and to opponents, the new patriarch denounced **the madness of the new Jews; that is, those who joined the Council of Chalcedon, and who divided the indivisible into two natures** – for the word 'two' dissolves unity and destroys the economy of salvation (*PO* 38/2: 261-2). At the conclusion of the ceremony of consecration, Severus signed a declaration of faith, which was witnessed by thirteen bishops" (Allen & Hayward, *Severus of Antioch*, p. 12).

A hymn (*ibid.*, p. 172) by St. Severus and the anti-Chalcedonians reads: "...**know that we will never agree to say in a Jewish way 'two natures' about this one Christ**, but as we have learned, so we declare, that there is (only) one nature in the incarnate Word. We confess One out of the Trinity who suffered for us in the flesh".

From his exile in Egypt, St. Severus wrote his *Contra impium Grammaticum* saying: "These slanders against St. Cyril—who used to acknowledge Emmanuel as out of two natures and who used to proclaim one nature of God the Word incarnate – **Nestorius and supporters of Judaism** and of his filthy opinions had devised: 'change; confusion; he made the very Word of God passible; in fact he adds two natures before the union; but he makes one nature after the union by co-mingling, and mixes and confuses the natures'. The Synod of Chalcedon as well added these invectives to the same words when it openly refused to accept that Christ should be truly declared as 'out of two natures'; and in no way upheld writing 'one nature of God the Word incarnate' in its definition. In fact, it shares in the slander with those people, inasmuch as it openly wrote down their objections in the matters which were published by it; but it estranged itself from the perfect confession of St. Cyril which set aside the vacuity of their objections. And when it refused the formula 'out of two natures', and when it tore away, and also when it made mention of St. Cyril's letters, it did so for the purpose of deceiving and seducing the simple, a matter indeed of amazing cunning, and something especially fitting for censure by the wise" (Allen & Hayward, *Severus of Antioch*, p. 92, quoting *Or* III.14, tr. from *CSCO* 45, p. 251).

In the same book St. Severus writes: "the absurd Grammarian would forsooth cross swords with the mighty Cyril. Rather, he should observe that in this letter **Cyril refuted**

those who, in dividing the natures, divided the one Christ—and it was the same error which the Grammarian, the 'divider' who was 'affixed to the Jewish wall of partition', was only too ready to make his own. Nay, he went farther, and dared to tell those faithful to Cyril that they were blind if they could not perceive that for him 'two natures *hypostatically* united' was not contrary to 'one incarnate nature'. What audacity! Not, 'two natures after the union', but, 'after the union, one incarnate nature', was the confession of that divinely-inspired teacher" (Sellers, p. 300, quoting St. Severus Ant., *Contra Impium Grammaticum* III.i.c.16, ed. Lebon, pp. 184f.).

In his Synodical letter to St. Theodosius Archbishop of Alexandria, written July 26th, 535, **St. Severus anathematizes the profane teachers of Jewish anthropolatry whom he mentions by name together with the Synod of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of the impious Leo.** Thus he writes:

"...Now these things represent (as I suppose) the divine teaching of the twelve apostles, from which the Twelve Chapters of the wise Cyril send forth breeze like a sweet-smelling ointment. **Therefore we, too, anathematize with all our authority those who have boasted and spoken against them, and those who cast forth before them the seeds (that is, the tares) of Jewish anthropolatry** – Paul of Samosata and Artemon who preceded him, and Photinus and Diodore and Theodore and Nestorius who openly displayed the impiety of these men and therefore himself provided a name for the heresy; and Theodore and Andrew and Ibas of Edessa and Alexander of Hierapolis, and Eutherius of Tyana and Irenaeus the bigamist (that is, the one who had two wives) and Cyrus and John who came from Aigiai in Cilicia, and Barsauma the Persian....and if there be anyone else like these persons – these the divine Chapters of our father Cyril refute: these are the things which are proclaimed by the whole church of the orthodox which is in the whole world and strengthen the soul of the faithful...."

"Now along with these afore-mentioned profane teachers of anthropolatry we must number and anathematize also the Synod of Chalcedon and the blasphemous *Tome* of the impious Leo of the church of the Romans, whom the same Synod called 'the pillar of orthodoxy': for outside the canon of the divinely inspired Fathers, it established a definition of the faith, and after the inexpressible union divided the divine and indivisible Incarnation into a duality of natures along with their activities and their particular properties, as the *Tome* itself also indicates to those who read it – since openly and at length it expounds what it means that the one, our Lord Jesus Christ, should be acknowledged as existing in two natures. But we receive and declare praiseworthy the upright confession of the *Henotikon* document, which the worthy Emperor Zeno of blessed memory uttered" (Allen & Hayward, *Severus of Antioch*, pp. 166-167, quoting from a tr. of the text in *CSCO* 17:pp. 30-31).

VII.H. The Armenian Catholicos Babgēn With His Bishops, the Princes, and Nobles Condemn the Council of Chalcedon as Jewish:

The Armenian Catholicos Babgēn (490-516 A.D.) with his bishops together with the princes and nobles wrote their second "*Letter from the Armenians to the Orthodox in Persia*" whose opponents, "the Nestorians, renewed their attack and once more troubled the holy

Church this time 'being strengthened by the Council of Chalcedon' (*B.L.*, p. 48)". In that letter the Armenians say: "...**We flee from and deny the false teaching (lit. 'the lies') of Nestorius and of others like him [which teaching was confirmed] in Chalcedon; we know these people as having departed [only] feignedly from both the Gentile and Jewish errors, for they confess the same Gentile and Jewish doctrines** and seduce into error the minds of the innocents, that is to say, of the ignorant; they make the blind deviate from the road; their reward was assigned by the Holy Spirit through the prophet..." (*ibid.*, pp. 48-49, quoted in Sarkissian, pp. 202-203).

VII.İ. Pope Simon I of Alexandria Condemns the Chalcedonian Melkites as Jews:

Pope Simon I, the forty-second Patriarch of Alexandria (691-700) was interviewed by the Moslem Amir Abd al-Aziz in front of a great multitude concerning Theodore bishop of the Gaianites, Theophylact bishop of the Chalcedonian Melkites and George bishop of the headless separatist Barsanuphians who stated that they are nearest to him. When Abd al-Aziz "turned lastly to the father, Abba Simon, the preacher of the truth, and said : 'Which of these is the nearest to thee, and the one whom thy soul loves?' So he answered and proclaimed in the assembly in a loud voice, saying: **'Not one of these is near to me, nor do I love one of them, but I excommunicate by writing and by word of mouth them and their vile doctrine and their fellowship; and those who favour them and those who communicate with them I contemn as Jews'**. Then the people cried with a great voice, saying: 'Abba Simon confesses the truth without error'. Thereupon those men were overwhelmed with shame" (Sawirus Ash., *HP*, *PO* V:1, pp. 35-36).

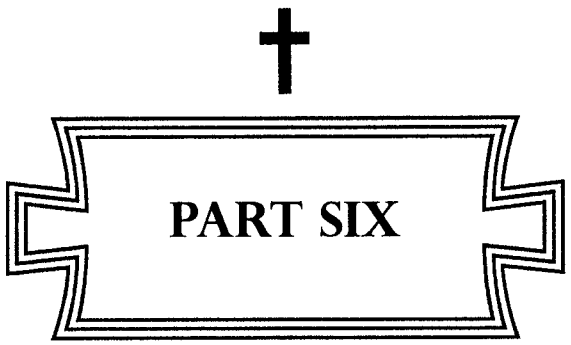
VII.J. Constantine, the Chalcedonian Melkite Bishop of Misr (Old Cairo), Becomes a Miaphysite After Rejecting His Previous Side as Being Jewish:

In the dialogue between the representative of the Coptic Orthodox Pope Kha'il I, the forty-sixth Patriarch of Alexandria (743-767), and Constantine the Chalcedonian Melchite bishop of Misr (Old Cairo) and his patriarch, Constantine left the Chalcedonian side and accepted the true Orthodox Miaphysite Christology, saying: "This was my faith before today, and I will hold it to my last breath: one Union, one God, one Lord, one Nature, namely the Lord Jesus Christ. **He who does not believe thus is a Jew; and he who says that there are Two Natures in the One Christ, after the Union, is a stranger to the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, and his lot will be with Judas the Traitor.** This then is my creed" (Sawirus Ash., *HP*, *PO*, t. V, Fascicule I, p. 127).

VII.K. Pope Mark II of Alexandria Renounces All Schism and All Heretics and the Impure Council of Chalcedon and Abjures the Sect of Nestorius, Composed of the New Jews:

In his synodical letter to Mar Cyriacus the Syrian Patriarch of Antioch, Pope Mark II, the forty-ninth Patriarch of Alexandria (799-819 A.D.), "**reminded Abba Cyriacus of**

all the heretics, and of the war waged by our fathers for the true Faith, and renounced all schism and all heretics and the impure council of Chalcedon, as being the cause of doubt throughout the world, and abjured the sect of Nestorius, composed of the new Jews. And Abba Mark declared the concord of the two sees, and called Cyriacus Father and Partner in the ministry" (Sawirus Ash., *HP*, *PO*, t. X, fasc. 5, pp. 408-409).



PART SIX

ANATHEMAS AND CONDEMNATIONS AGAINST THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO

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Almost all the anathemas and condemnations pronounced by the Oriental Orthodox Councils and Fathers are directed against the Council of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo as shown in the following examples:

I. ST. DIOSCORUS OF ALEXANDRIA ANATHEMATIZES LEO OF ROME:

St. Dioscorus, "when on his way to Chalcedon, no sooner had he reached the Asiatic coast than he, with ten of his suffragans, boldly excommunicated Leo, being convinced that the *Tome* of this leader of the 'dyophysites' was clearly infected with the teaching of the accursed Nestorius. Though he well knew what lay in store for him, it was to be a fight to a finish, so far as the Bishop of Alexandria was concerned" (Sellers, p. 103).

In fact, it was Pope Leo of Rome who began with the aggression against St. Dioscorus who after he had increased support of his *Tome*, particularly the signature of Anatolius bishop of Constantinople, writes to Anatolius his *Ep.* 80 prior to the Council of Chalcedon (13 April 451) from which we quote: "Concerning the reading out of the names of Dioscorus, Juvenal, and Eustathius at the holy altar, it beseems you, beloved, to observe that which our friends who were there present said ought to be done, and which is consistent with the honourable memory of S. Flavian, and will not turn the minds of the laity away from you. For it is wrong and unbecoming that those who have harassed innocent catholics with their attacks, should be mingled indiscriminately with the names of the saints, seeing that by not forsaking their condemned heresy, they condemn themselves by their perversity: such men should either be chastised for their unfaithfulness, or strive hard after forgiveness" (*NPNF*, second series, vol. 12, p. 66). "... The 'reading out of their names at the altar' alludes to the practice in the early Church of keeping registers (called 'diptychs') of the members (alive and dead) of the Church, from which one or two of the more prominent names (clerical and lay) were read out at the celebration of the Holy mysteries..." (*ibid.*, n. 8).

St. Dioscorus's "excommunication of Pope Leo just before Chalcedon was mentioned by Paschasinus and in the letter to Marcian" (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 32). Price further comments on this point that: "Dioscorus declared Leo excommunicate while the bishops were gathering at Nicaea, before the council moved to Chalcedon. Since Leo had excluded Dioscorus from commemoration in the liturgy months earlier (see *Ep.* 80, *ACO* 2.4 pp. 38-40, 13 April 451), this might seem a less than outrageous quid pro quo. One may surmise that it was stimulated by the exertion of pressure on the bishops assembled at Nicaea to sign Leo's *Tome*" (*ACC*, vol. 2, p. 32, n. 8).

In Sawirus Ash., *Refutation*, there is some more detail given to confirm that not only had St. Dioscorus rejected the *Tome* of Leo, but he also suffered for the true faith at the hands of Emperor Marcian and his wife Pulcheria. According to this document, prior to the bishops gathering at Chalcedon, Emperor Marcian had invited St. Dioscorus of Alexandria, Anatolius patriarch of Constantinople, Maximus patriarch of Antioch, Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem, Mark bishop of Ephesus, and three other of the leading bishops to a private meeting with him in Constantinople. The purpose of this meeting was to force St. Dioscorus and the other patriarchs and bishops supporting him to accept the *Tome* of Leo after St. Dioscorus had already led the majority of bishops to reject it and remain on the true faith of St. Cyril

of Alexandria and the Fathers. Pulcheria was also present at this meeting hearing the entire discussion, but hidden behind a curtain. When St. Dioscorus had refused to accept the *Tome* of Leo, both Emperor Marcian and Pulcheria were furious. The empress spoke from behind the curtain and began to rebuke St. Dioscorus verbally. When he refused to recant his confession of the true faith, she hit him so hard that two of his teeth came out. She also had the hair of his beard pulled out in order to humiliate him. St. Dioscorus took the two teeth and the hair pulled out from his beard and sent them to Alexandria with a letter saying to his flock there: "This is the fruit of my labors for the true faith, so keep it" (cf. Sawirus, *Refutation*, pp. 174-177). This story is also mentioned in the *Coptic Synaxarium* under the entry of the 7th of Tut, the commemoration of the departure of St. Dioscorus, the 25th Pope of Alexandria.

This story is also documented by the 10th-century Chalcedonian historian Agapius, bishop of Mabbug, in his *Historia Universalis*. The details of the story are almost identical to those written in Sawirus Ash., *Refutation*. Unfortunately, the manuscript is cut off at the point when Pulcheria emerges from behind the curtain and begins to rebuke St. Dioscorus verbally. The rest of the dialogue and physical trauma given to St. Dioscorus are missing (cf. Agapius Episcopus Mabbugensis, *Historia Universalis*, ed. Cheikho, P.L., in *CSCO*, Scriptores Arabici, Textus, series tertia, T. V, p. 231).

In the *History of Dioscorus* [discussed in further detail under the following section (Part Six, section II)], St. Dioscorus writes to Emperor Marcian condemning Leo saying: **"How can the rebellious Leo have dared to open his mouth and blaspheme the Most High by saying: we must confess in the Messiah two natures and two characteristics and [two] activities, since the holy church confesses one nature of the incarnate God without mixing or change**; [even in death] the divinity of my master was not separated from his humanity, not even for a moment; but this horrible, this stupid, this accursed Leo, who wanted to separate the soul from the body of our Lord, must immediately and without delay be thrown into utter darkness" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 34; quoting F. Nau, *Journal Asiatique*, X (1903), 1, p. 254).

Prof. Romanides (1993) of the Byzantine Orthodox Church writes from his own point of view as a Chalcedonian defending the action of St. Dioscorus in excommunicating Leo of Rome. We will quote a great deal of this defense hereafter for its importance. Romanides says:

"Leo rejected the condemnations by Ephesus 449 of not only Flavian of Constantinople and Eusebius of Dorylaeum, but also of the Nestorian Theodoret of Cyrus. Failing to distinguish between the two Orthodox bishops and the Nestorian Theodoret, Leo seems to have used the occasion to assert the authority of his see. But by doing this he reduced doctrine to a lesser level than the papal authority of Rome. Dioscorus in like manner also asserted the papal authority of Alexandria."

Romanides (*ibid.*) goes on saying: "It is important to note that Theodoret's profession of the faith of Cyril and the Third Ecumenical Council at session VIII of the Council of Chalcedon was accompanied by much hesitation on his part and episcopal cries of 'Nestorian' against him. This is a clear proof that had Dioscorus accepted to appear before the Council and face Theodoret his accuser, he would have certainly been cleared in his fight against this Nestorian enemy of Cyril. He would have been found at least doctrinally, if not canonically, excusable for his excommunication of Leo for his support of this Nestorian. Dioscorus and his bishops excommunicated Leo upon approaching Chalcedon and learning that the legates

of Pope Leo were insisting that Theodoret must participate as a member of the Council. Leo insisted upon this in spite of the fact that Theodoret had never yet accepted the Third Ecumenical Council, the Twelve Chapters of Cyril, the condemnation of Nestorius, nor the re-conciliation of 433 between John of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria. It seems that the Chalcedonian Orthodox must let these facts sink into their heads and take them seriously."

Then he adds saying: "This is why the Council of Chalcedon upheld the excommunication of Theodoret by the Ephesine Council of 449. Therefore, Dioscorus was legally and canonically correct by excommunicating Leo for his support of Theodoret before the Council of Chalcedon. Ephesus 449 was still before the Council of Chalcedon a part of Roman Law in spite of Leo of Rome. From a purely doctrinal viewpoint the Pope of Rome was guilty of supporting a Nestorian and a vigorous enemy of the Twelve Chapters, which were the basis of the doctrinal decision of the Third Ecumenical Council. John of Antioch and his own Third Ecumenical Council of 431 had condemned and excommunicated the Cyrillian Third Ecumenical Council because its doctrinal decisions were summarized in Cyril's Twelve Chapters. But then in 433 John and his bishops accepted the Third Ecumenical Council with the Twelve Chapters and condemned Nestorius. Therefore, before the Council of Chalcedon in 451, Theodoret was under condemnation by the Roman Laws of both Ephesus 431 and 449. Ephesus 449 was not yet in the process of being repealed or accepted as was finally done item by item. Thus Chalcedon did not repeal the condemnations of Theodoret and Ibas by Ephesus 449. On the contrary Chalcedon enforced these decisions against both and required that both must repent for their actions against Cyril and the Third Ecumenical Council, accept Ephesus 431 and their own condemnation by Ephesus 449, and to ask forgiveness. In other words Chalcedon completely supported Dioscorus on these questions."

"However, Dioscorus could not be exonerated from his condemnations of Flavian of Constantinople New Rome and Eusebius of Dorylaeum for not accepting in Christ 'from two natures one nature' which was the 'Orthodox' tradition of Alexandria, but not that of all the Churches as Cyril himself explained in his letters to his friends when explaining that by speaking of two natures in Christ one may distinguish them in thought alone. In any case both Flavian and Eusebius were finally justified in their actions against Eutyches by Dioscorus, his bishops and all Oriental Orthodox."

Romanides then concludes his defense saying: "The question is now raised whether there were substantial grounds for Dioscorus' excommunication of Leo of Rome. It would further seem possible to argue that this excommunication was somewhat like that of Cyril's excommunication of Nestorius when the latter refused to subscribe to the Twelve Chapters. Cyril did this with the full support of the Pope Celestine of Rome. But in the case before us in 451 we have Pope Leo of Rome himself who is being excommunicated by Pope Dioscorus of Alexandria. The reason behind this is the simple fact that Pope Leo was in reality repudiating his predecessor's support of Cyril's Twelve Chapters by supporting a fanatic enemy of Cyril and his Twelve Chapters."

II. ST. DIOSCORUS ANATHEMATIZES THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON (451 A.D.):

Even in exile, St. Dioscorus, this "orthodox guardian of the faith", ...

remained convinced that the so-called Fathers at Chalcedon had forsaken the way of orthodoxy, and never ceased to anathematize "the Council of Oppressors".

"The *Historia Dioscuri*, written by his disciple Theopistus (pub. and trans., F. Nau, *Journal Asiatique*, X (1903), I, pp. 1-108; 241-310), contains a series of six anathematisms against Chalcedon. J. Lebon, *Le Monophysisme sévérien*, pp. 86ff, suggests that, since these appear in the *Confession of faith of Jacobus Baradaeus* (pub. and trans., C.H. Cornhill, *Zeitschrift der deut, morgendl, Gesellschaft, t.* xxx. 1876) and are akin to the ten anathematisms against the Council to be found in the writings of Philoxenus (pub. E. A. W. Budge, *The Discourses of Philoxenus*, II pp. xcviii f; *E.T.*, pp. xxxiii ff), it is probable that Dioscorus composed the anathematisms which are contained in the work of Theopistus, and that they were used by the Monophysites (~Miaphysites), who required their opponents, on entering their communion, to condemn Chalcedon in this form. It seems likely, then, that, as Lebon argues, Dioscorus was responsible for a 'formula type', which was developed by the later Monophysites" (Sellers, p. 113 and n.1).

In this document, St. Dioscorus addresses Juvenal of Jerusalem, still at Chalcedon, saying: **"Cursed be anyone who assumes two natures in the Messiah after the indivisible unity...! Cursed be anyone who assumes in the Messiah two properties and two activities"** (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 34; quoting F. Nau, *Journal Asiatique*, X (1903), I, p. 278).

III. CHALCEDON AS TIMES OF APOSTASY AND CHALCEDONIAN CLERICS AS APOSTATES:

The reminiscenses of the popular anger at the decisions of Chalcedon put on record by John Rufus, who succeeded St. Peter the Iberian as bishop of Maiuma in 488, were impressive in unanimity.

"John was an anti-Chalcedonian, but even so, the series of ninety-three prophecies after the event and narrative accounts known as the *Plerophoria* (Witnesses) may convey something of the spirit of the moment" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 150, adding in n. 1: Reproduced in full in *PO* 8. I (ed. F. Nau) and in an abridged form in Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* VIII. 11-12). "There were visions of Marcian roasting in hell (*Plerophoria* 27), along with Juvenal and other traitors. Disillusion was matched by anger. Congregations in Isauria, where the Encratite and monastic traditions were both strong, found it incredible that their monastic bishops such as Basil of Seleucia could restore Ibas and Theodoret and condemn Dioscorus a bare two years after having condemned to the flames the doctrine of the two natures and its adherents" (*Plerophoria* 21&22: vision of Pamprepius bishop of a monastic congregation under Basil of Seleucia who saw a paper extending from heaven to earth in which is written on both sides and in shining letters: **"Anathema to the Council of Chalcedon, it denied me, it denied me, the bishops are anathematized, [the bishops] are anathematized"). "Monks saw visions of Christ cursing Chalcedon as Chalcedon had denied him, or of Satan taunting them by saying that as the bishops now worshipped him why should not they?"** (Frend, *RMM*, p. 150, referring to *Plerophoria* 9). "Some bolder spirits wrote to the emperor telling him that 'the world has perished, demons are dancing

in the churches and people are dying without baptism'..." (*ibid.*, referring to Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* VIII:12, ed. Chabot, II, 91).

"All over the east churches, friends and families were divided" (*ibid.*, referring to *Plerophoria* 38&39). "No greetings were exchanged in the streets between the two sides" (*ibid.*, referring to *Plerophoria* 61, cited from Michael, *Chron.*, VIII:11, ed. Chabot, II, 85), "and often no words were exchanged" (*ibid.*, referring to *Plerophoria* 40: Boniface a "Roman priest" and a Miaphysite).

Those who opted for the anti-Chalcedonian side did so after profound heartsearchings, as, e.g., St. Peter the Iberian himself: "'We have communion with our fathers' became the watchword of those who refused the ministry of apostate Chalcedonian clerics" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 151 & n. 2, referring to *Plerophoria* 62, cited from Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* VIII:11, ed. Chabot II, 85 and adding: "For Chalcedon as 'times of apostasy', see *Vita Petri Iberi*, ed. Raabe, p. 52).

Schism was breaking out spontaneously all over the East (*ibid.*).

Under the biography of Pope Michael I of Alexandria (743-767), the *History of the Patriarchs of the Church of Alexandria* relates the story of Abba Harmanus who took martyrdom at the hands of Emperor Marcian (450-457) as follows:

"And there was in Palestine a clean and decent monastery, which entertained thousands of travelers, and contained a thousand monks; and it was called *Dair Mût*, and in Coptic, the Monastery of Abba Harmanus. Maximus and his brother Domitius were first received here; and it was Abba Harmanus who took the *Tome* of Leo, and went to the tombs of his fathers, accompanied by the soldiers of the prince, and cried over their tombs with a loud voice, saying: 'Think not that you are asleep, and that this does not concern you! As the Lord lives, if you answer me not, I will take out your bones and burn them with fire. **Tell me what you think. Shall I receive the *Tome* of Leo, or the Faith of Nicaea?** Tell me plainly and speedily.' **Then they all answered with one voice, crying and saying: 'Cursed be Leo, the misbeliever, the soul-devouring lion, and his foul *Tome*! And cursed be Marcian, the misbeliever, and the vile Pulcheria! And cursed be the Council of Chalcedon, the six hundred and thirty heretical bishops; and cursed be all that receive them. And cursed be those that make Christ the Son of God into Two Natures after the Union.'** So, when the blessed Abba Harmanus heard this, he fell upon the ground. And when the noble who brought the *Tome* saw him, and heard their words addressed to him, he shaved his head, and became a monk with many others. Afterwards **this saint was counted worthy of martyrdom; for when Marcian, the prince, was informed of what he had done, he sent and put him to death**. And since that time there has been a body of the orthodox remaining in that glorious monastery" (Sawirus Ash., *HP*, in *PO* V, fascicule 1, pp. 154-155).

IV. ST. THEODOSIUS OF JERUSALEM CONDEMNS THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AS NESTORIAN, REPLACES JUVENAL AS BISHOP OF JERUSALEM (451-457 A.D.) AND SUFFERS MARTYRDOM:

Juvenal the Archbishop of Jerusalem (422-451), who had formerly always been on the side of the Alexandrian party, at Chalcedon went over to the winning side and

voted for St. Dioscorus's condemnation. "Before his departure for Chalcedon Juvenal still refused to add his signature to the *Tome* of Leo, '...had ridiculed the ungodliness which it contained, and testified before all clergymen and monks that the doctrine expressed in it was Jewish and worthy of Simon Magus, and that those who consented to it deserved to be excommunicated'" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part I, p. 99, n. 16, quoting E. Honigmann, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 5 (1950), p. 240).

The impulse towards a greater movement against Chalcedon came from the monks in and around Jerusalem, whose leader was the monk Theodosius. Even before the Council had ended, this man, who had already provoked major protests at the scene of the Council, rushed back to Palestine, to announce there that the Council had declared itself for Nestorianism (Zacharias, *HE*, III. 3, ed. Brooks, *CSCO* 87.1, 107-108).

Juvenal "had been accosted on his return to Caesarea by an excited crowd of monks and laymen calling on him to revoke his assent to Chalcedon. Even during the course of the Council (apparently after the decisive session of 25 October, 451), when Juvenal had put his signature to the new formula of faith, a form of abjuration, containing anathemas on the Council, on Leo of Rome, and on Juvenal himself, was handed around to be signed. According to Zacharias Rhetor (*HE* III:3), Juvenal cried out to the monks: '*Quod scripsi, scripsi*'. To which they replied: 'Then we repudiate you, because you have broken your oath and your promises'. Juvenal then went back to the Emperor, while the monks made their way to Jerusalem where they set up Theodosius as bishop" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part I, p. 99).

Theodosius was one of the most zealous followers of St. Barsauma the Syrian archimandrite. In addition to his struggle for orthodoxy against the Nestorianism of Chalcedon, he later incited the population of Alexandria to revolt for struggle, for which he was captured by the authorities, whipped and then dragged through the streets of the city. "He found a great protectress in the person of Eudoxia, widow of Theodosius II, who lived at Jerusalem far from the imperial court, and could thus act as 'a pillar of orthodoxy'. After having roused the population, Theodosius forced patriarch Juvenal, just back from Chalcedon, to denounce the council's decisions; Juvenal refused but, after an attempt to kill him, fled to Constantinople. Theodosius was then ordained in the church of the Anastasis" (Ber. *EEC*, p. 828).

Sellers writes (p. 255, n. 1): "Theodosius,...at once degraded the bishops who had accepted the Chalcedonian decisions, and in their place set up keen supporters of the 'one nature'; among these was Peter the Iberian, a staunch Monophysite. Juvenal returned with an armed guard under the Count Dorotheus; but, since all attempts to reconcile the monks were without avail, it became necessary to use force, and the soldiers, aided by a Samaritan mob, smote with the sword, while the monks chanted, 'O Lord, the heathen are come into thine inheritance'. So serious was the revolt that both Marcian and Pulcheria wrote to the monks, justifying the Chalcedonian transactions (Mansi, vii, pp. 487ff, 509ff), and Juvenal himself called together the Palestinian bishops with the object of removing mistrust and restoring peace (*ibid.* 520). Leo of Rome also intervened, and sent an explanation of his *Tome* (Leo, *Ep.* cxxiv)".

"Juvenal was eventually restored by force in 453 to live out his life in the silent contempt of the monks (till his death in 458)" (see Frend, *RMM*, p. 151).

"The rebellion collapsed. Theodosius accepted a sentence of exile and advised his opponents to submit" (*ibid.* & n. 7, quoting *Vita Petri Iberi*: 'the king [Marcian] issued against

him that which is called a *forma*. At that time all of them submitted and went away, this being what Patriarch Theodosius counseled...' (ed. Raabe, p. 58).").

"But Sellers (*op. cit.*) referring to Evagrius, (*HE*, ii:5) and Zacharias Rhetor (*Chron.* iii:3-9), says: 'The situation was eased when Theodosius, who had been going about "confirming" the faithful, was captured by the imperial police; he was sent to Constantinople, there to be guarded by Chalcedonian monks till he died (457). Even so, the anti-Chalcedonians in Palestine continued to use every opportunity to further the cause of the 'one nature'".

More details are given by Patriarch Michael the Syrian (*Chron.* VIII:11:1, Ar. tr. vol. 1, p. 359) who quotes Zacharias Rhetor saying that St. Theodosius of Jerusalem continued to strengthen the faithful going from place to place, disguised in a soldier's dress, until he was eventually captured in the suburbs of Sidon (*c.* 457) and kept in one of the monasteries imprisoned in a small cell in which there was burning quick lime. They disputed with him trying hardly to change his mind, but he was steadfast in faith till the last breath and he died there with suffocation. Hence, the list of the bishops of Jerusalem appended to the *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian (Ar. trans., vol. 3, p. 467) gives his name as follows: "St. Theodosius, whom the Chalcedonians choked to death" (i.e. "suffocated" or even "strangulated").

V. ANASTASIUS PRIEST OF JERUSALEM, LATER PATRIARCH OF JERUSALEM (458-478), ANATHEMATIZES THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO:

"It is preserved in monophysite texts which F. Nau edited from Syriac manuscripts: *PO* 13, 237-238: **'I, Anastasius, priest of Jerusalem, anathematize the ungodly creed that comes from that ungodly Council which is presently (maintenant) gathered at Chalcedon on the ground of its ungodly and foreign teachings which are opposed to apostolic faith but are found there; likewise those who support them or signed them and participated there [at the Council]; [I anathematize] too the ungodly letter of Leo, the Bishop of Rome, and the teachings which it contains—they are also foreign to catholic faith, and the renegade Juvenal because he adheres to these [teachings] and added his signature to them; [I anathematize] as well those who are in community with him and think like him and the ordinations which he has performed since his offence. I anathematize anyone who acknowledges (reçoit) Bishop Juvenal on account of his thought about God. Without being constrained to do so, I have signed with my own hand'**. This formula no doubt stems from the time of Juvenal. For after his death it would have hardly any sense in this form. According to Honigmann, *Dumbarton Oak Papers*, (Cambridge Mass., 1941), 5 (1950), 251, n. 24, the presbyter Anastasius is mentioned by Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 30: Schwartz 49, 3; he later became patriarch (458-478)" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part I, p. 99, n. 17).

VI. ST. PETER THE IBERIAN BISHOP OF MAIUMA (*c.* 451-491 A.D.) EXPLICITLY CONDEMNS THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO:

St. Peter the Iberian, so called as a native of Georgia (i.e. Iberia), is one of the

outstanding figures of the first Miaphysite generation, a son of King Bosmyrios (his real name was Nabarnugi) who was sent aged twelve as a hostage to Constantinople. Seized by ascetic zeal, in 437-438 he fled to Jerusalem where Melania Junior and Gerontius welcomed him, clothed him in the monastic habit and gave him the Christian name Peter. In 445 he settled in Maiuma near Gaza, where he was ordained priest. Then, on 7 August 452, he was consecrated bishop of Maiuma by the Miaphysite Patriarch Theodosius of Jerusalem during the Palestinian rebellion at the Council of Chalcedon (451). In 453 he was exiled to Egypt, where he later shared in the consecration of Pope Timothy II (Aelurus) in 457.

"Back in Palestine, he consolidated the monophysite (=Miaphysite) presence there. Linked with Isaiah of Gaza, with him he avoided demands to adhere to the *Henoticon*. Despite his intransigent rejection of Chalcedon, Peter was not a radical monophysite, as his condemnation of the Eutychian theories of John the Rhetor shows. He exercised great attraction over the intellectual circles from which Severus of Antioch issued. His qualities as a visionary, attested esp. by the *Plerophoriae* of John of Maiuma (Rufus), have led some to identify him with Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite" (Perrone in Ber. *EEC*, p. 679).

As we have seen, St. Timothy Aelurus before the *Henoticon* and **St. Peter the Iberian, during the time of Pope Peter Mongus, explicitly anathematized Chalcedon,** but both were not of the pastorally extreme party. St. Severus refers to and acknowledges the influence on him of Pope Timothy Aelurus and St. Peter the Iberian. Both of these men condemned Eutychianism as explicitly as they condemned Nestorianism. Their monophysitism was thus Cyrillian, and as will become clear in the examination of his letters to Sergius, Severus follows them in this (see Torrance, pp. 12-13).

VII. THE SYNOD OF ALEXANDRIA, 457 A.D., CONDEMNS CHALCEDON:

This synod was held in 457 A.D. under the presidency of Pope Timothy II, in which the Council of Chalcedon was condemned (*DCA*, vol. I, p. 48).

VIII. THIRTY THOUSAND ALEXANDRIAN ORTHODOX MIAPHYSITES SUFFER MARTYRDOM FOR REJECTING AND ANATHEMATIZING CHALCEDON AFTER THE ASSASSINATION OF THE INTRUDER CHALCEDONIAN BISHOP PROTERIUS THE NEW JUDAS:

At Alexandria, after the Council of Chalcedon, popular anger was at its fiercest. With the Alexandrian Pope St. Dioscorus in exile, the civil authorities selected and intruded as the new patriarch Proterius, the archpriest to whom St. Dioscorus had entrusted the administration of the church in his absence at Chalcedon and proleptically warned against covetous aspiration to the see. When St. Macarius bishop of Tkoou reminded Proterius with the warning words of Pope Dioscorus, to prevent him from subscribing to the decisions of Chalcedon, he hesitated at first and St. Macarius was killed. Then Proterius subscribed and became intruder to the see. "The city broke out in revolt at this news. The government responded by interdicting food supplies and closing the baths and theatres. Even under military occupation the mass of the people resolutely refused to accept Proterius. At the death of Dioscorus in exile three years later, riots broke out again, and even the dispatch of

an imperial ambassador could not reconcile the populace" (Davis, *FSEC*, p. 195).

Resistant, the faithful people gathered around the presbyter Timothy whose enemies the Chalcedonians named *Aelurus* (i.e. cat or weasel) and the deacon Peter *Mongos* (i.e. the 'Hoarse').

From his exile, the confessor Pope Dioscorus continued his pastoral care, *in absentia*, through sending letters to his flock in Alexandria until his departure in 454. "After the death of the exiled Dioscorus in 454, Coptic resistance to the ecclesiastical policy of the imperial church soon crystallized around the figure of Timothy II Aelurus (457-477).... He has enjoyed a considerably more robust stature in the eyes of the Copts. Formerly a monk and presbyter under Cyril, and a member of Dioscorus' retinue at the Second Council of Ephesus in 449, he had been exiled from Alexandria along with Dioscorus in 451. Their physical absence cleared the ecclesiastical landscape for the Chalcedonians' election and insertion of Proterius that same year."

"Riots and protests broke out immediately following Proterius' election in 451, and local unrest continued throughout the latter's time in office. And yet, for three years after Dioscorus' death in 454, with his principal rivals still in exile, Proterius was able to maintain his position in Alexandria, largely because he enjoyed the political patronage of the emperor Marcian. With Marcian's death in 457, the situation changed: the Chalcedonian hegemony over Alexandrian ecclesiastical politics began to weaken. Within two years (or three, following the death of St. Dioscorus), Timothy 'the Cat' had been smuggled into Alexandria by anti-Chalcedonian monks and was ordained as Dioscorus' successor (457). Timothy's installation in one of the large Alexandrian churches ('the great church from which he had been forcibly removed') established him publicly as a rival to Proterius and as a rallying point for renewed unrest over the presence of the Chalcedonian bishop. Within the span of a month, this unrest boiled over into violence. Proterius was murdered, the victim either of mob action or of a military coup" (Davis, *ECP*, pp. 88-89, & n. 18 on p. 218: "Pro-Chalcedonian historians place the blame for Proterius' murder on an unruly mob of Alexandrian citizens who supported Timothy: Evagrius, *HE* 2.8 (ed. Bidez and Parmentier, 56; trans. Whitby, 85); Theophanes, *Chronicle*, AM 5950 (ed. C. de Boor, vol. 1, 110-111; trans. C. Mango and R. Scott, 170). Their anti-Chalcedonian counterparts attribute the crime to a Roman soldier who had become angered by Proterius' equivocation in his support for imperial policy: Zachariah Rhetor, *HE* 4.2 (ed. E.W. Brooks, *CSCO* 83, 171 [Syriac] and *CSCO* 87, 119 [Latin]); trans. F.J. Hamilton and E.W. Brooks, 66; Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* (trans. J.B. Chabot, II, 124-125). Evagrius (*op. cit.*) himself acknowledges this alternative explanation for Proterius' death, citing the earlier *Life of Peter the Iberian* as his source").

The Chalcedonian writers say that "order was only restored after the dispatch of 2,000 fresh troops from Constantinople" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 149 & n. 2, citing: Evagrius, *HE* II.5, quoting Priscus of Paniou as an eyewitness account. The principal rioters were members of the Alexandrian guilds who since Athanasius's time had thrown their influence behind the patriarch).

They slaughtered thirty thousand Alexandrian Miaphysite Orthodox.

Kosma, the Chalcedonian Melkite Patriarch of Alexandria in the eighth century, had a litigation with the Coptic Orthodox Patriarch, Pope Kha'il I of Alexandria (743-767).

The Melkite patriarch testified in front of the Moslem judge named Abu al-Ḥusain saying: "I hold the faith of Marcian the prince.....God speedily raised up Marcian and the patriarch Leo, who agreed with Nestorius and his followers, and everywhere took possession of the churches, over which bishops have ruled up to this day. But our bishop at Alexandria, Proterius, was slain by the Alexandrians; and therefore the prince commanded that an army should be collected, and sent it to Alexandria, and bade the soldiers slay with the sword; and so **they killed thirty thousand** in one hour" (Sawirus Ash., *HP*, *PO*, T. V, Fascicule I, pp. 124-125).

The Coptic Orthodox Church commemorates the martyrdom of those thirty thousand in Alexandria in the Synaxarion to be read after the lesson from the *Acts* of the Apostles during the celebration of the liturgy on the twenty-third day of the Coptic month of Misra (= August 16th Julian calendar = August 29th modern Gregorian calendar). The Synaxarion reads: "On this day is **the commemoration of the martyrdom of the thirty thousand Christians in the city of Alexandria**. When Emperor Marcianus banished Pope Dioscorus to the island of Gangra, he appointed Proterius a patriarch in his place. The bishops of Egypt refused to have fellowship with him. They assembled a council against him, against the Council of Chalcedon, and the *Tome* of Leo. Proterius became enraged and with the aid of the government forces he attacked and plundered the monasteries and churches. Then he confiscated all their endowments for himself and he became wealthy. Thieves attacked him during the night, killed him, and plundered what he had. His friends sent to the Emperor saying, 'The followers of Dioscorus were the ones that killed the patriarch that was appointed by the emperor.'"

"The emperor became furious and sent a number of his soldiers, who killed about thirty thousand Christians in the city of Alexandria.....**Abba Timothy the new Pope assembled a council and excommunicated the Council of Chalcedon**. The heretics informed the emperor saying, 'Those who killed Proterius ordained for themselves a Patriarch without permission from the emperor'. The emperor was enraged and he exiled Abba Timothy and his brother Anatolius to the island of Gangra....".

For more details on the events which preceded Pope Timothy's exile, see Meyendorff (*IUCD*, p. 189 & n. 36) who writes: "When emperor Marcian also died (457), a popular rebellion broke out leading to the murder of Proterius... two anti-Chalcedonian bishops, Eusebius of Peluse and Peter of Maiuma... consecrated a new archbishop Timothy.... Other Monophysite (i.e. anti-Chalcedonian Miaphysite) bishops were ordained throughout Egypt. The new emperor Leo I (457-474) was thus faced with an all-out challenge to his authority in Egypt.... However emperor Leo wanted to avoid an immediate use of force in Egypt to install a Chalcedonian archbishop, as Marcian did in Jerusalem. For a moment he even envisaged holding a new council[36]". "*ibid.*, n. 36 Pope Leo expresses his fear that at such an assembly the Chalcedonian definition would be questioned and a policy of theological compromise be initiated; cf. *Ep.* 162, dated March 21, 458, *PL* 54, col. 1144 BC (cf. also *Ep.* 161 to the clergy of Constantinople)."

"Instead, he took the rather unusual step of polling the entire episcopate of the empire, asking opinions concerning the legitimacy of Timothy's consecration and the validity of the council of Chalcedon. Significantly, the emperor also approached St. Symeon the Stylite, and other respected representatives of Syrian monasticism, on the same issue" (Meyendorff,

IUCD, p. 189). The numerous replies from the clerics were later collected in a single volume, known as the *Codex Encyclicus* (Schwartz, 1936, pp. 24-79, 84-98; nos. 12-39, 41-48).

Evagrius gives us important information concerning this episode, as exhibited and discussed by Pauline Allen in her book on *Evagrius* (pp. 108-109):

"II,9 Evagrius now deals with the encyclical letters which the emperor Leo addressed to the eastern bishops, and to Simeon Stylites, Jacob and Baradatus, the most eminent ascetics of the east,....".

"II,10 The next chapter records the replies to the encyclical, which were compiled with the emperor's letter..."

"Thus Evagrius is our only Greek source for the texts of the letters... For reasons of space or ideology, **a later western compiler omitted several of the letters, notably that of Amphilochius, the dissenting bishop of Side, and of Simeon Stylites and Jacob, the ascetics**. The letter of Amphilochius was preserved in the *HE* of Zachariah, as Evagrius tells us (61,30-32),.... **An extract from Amphilochius' reply** was, however, made by Michael the Syrian, **from which is clear the bishop's vehement rejection of the formula of two natures as an innovation, and heretical**. He considers it sufficient to keep to the words of John the Evangelist – 'the Word was made flesh'".

"Apart from the significance of Evagrius' quotation of the documents in the *codex*, there is another importance to his description of the collection, which has been remarked on by Schwartz. Evagrius mentions (61,14-22) that **Leo of Rome wrote to the emperor** in defence of Chalcedon, rejecting also the ordination of Timothy Aelurus as invalid, and that **this letter was sent by the emperor to Timothy, who replied censuring Chalcedon and the *Tome***" (Allen, *Evagrius*, pp. 108-109).

St. Timothy "was banished to Gangra in Paphlagonia, where Dioscorus had also spent his exile... Timothy spent four years in Gangra (460-464/465). Because of his generosity and piety in Gangra, he won the jealousy of both the local bishop and Gennadius, patriarch of Constantinople, and he was sent to Cherson in the Crimea, where he spent the next eleven years" (*Cop. E*, vol. 7, p. 2265).

"Throughout his exile, Timothy continued to write against the conciliar decisions of Chalcedon, the *Tome* of Leo, the Eutychians, and the Nestorians. Zacharias (4,12) preserves a very long letter directed against two Egyptian clerics, Isaiah, bishop of Hermopolis, and Theophilus, presbyter of Alexandria, whom he excommunicated for their Eutychian beliefs. This letter is also found in another Syriac manuscript" (*ibid.*).

Following his Chalcedonian sources, **Meyendorff** (*IUCD*, pp. 189-190) writes: "Almost unanimously the responses went against Timothy and in favor of Chalcedon. The Alexandrian pope was approached personally and called upon to follow the majority of the episcopate, but **he remained adamant in his rejection of Chalcedon. He was then arrested, in the midst of open popular insurrection. Roman troops put down the opposition at the cost of 10,000 victims**. Timothy was exiled to Gangra, then to Cherson in the Crimea."...

"Emperor Leo's skillful handling of the bishops and his energetic use of force in Egypt maintained a semblance of unity in the East until the emperor's death in 474. However, this unity did not reflect a general and organic 'reception' of the council of Chalcedon..." (*ibid.*, p. 190).

IX. ST. TIMOTHY II OF ALEXANDRIA ANATHEMATIZES CHALCEDON:

St. Timothy II, the twenty-sixth patriarch of Alexandria (whose enemies called Aelurus, i.e. "cat or "weasel"), had pronounced an anathema against Chalcedon soon after his consecration (Sellers, p. 274, n. 5).

He praised the martyrs for the sake of the faith, counted blessed those who "have not worshipped this idol of gold, or consented to associate themselves with it, but have anathematized it before princes and judges, and have been sent to their deaths for Christ's sake" (*ibid.*, p. 268 and n. 3).

X. ST. TIMOTHY II CONDEMNS LEO'S SECOND *TOME*:

In 458 A.D., Pope Leo of Rome "sent into the East an explanation of the doctrine of 'two natures' in his letter known as the 'Second *Tome*' [*Ep.* clxv; at least six of the nine chapters of this letter are almost identical with what Leo had said in his letter (*Ep.* cxxiv) to the Monks of Palestine."] **The Emperor (Leo) sent to Timothy Leo's 'Second *Tome*', but he roundly condemned the document on account of its 'Nestorianism'** (*Chron. Z.M.* iv. 6), and was banished to Gangra and later to Cherson. See Evagrius, *H.E.* ii. 8-10. Liberatus, *Brev.* 15; *Chron. Z.M.* iv. 1-5. (Sellers, n. 5 on pp. 274f.).

"The writings and letters of the first anti-Chalcedonian patriarch after Dioscorus are, of course, as good as lost in the original language; his final and most voluminous work survives in complete form only in an Armenian translation. It was written during exile in the Crimea. In an abridged form or excerpt it appears in a Syriac translation in Br. L. Add. 12156, fol. 1ra-29vc with the title (on fol. 1), 'the Book Written by Mar Timothy, Bishop of Alexandria, against the (Godless) Synod of Chalcedon'. The mutual relationship between longer and shorter form has been sufficiently clarified. The title of the work preserved in Armenian, translated back into Greek by E. Schwartz, gives us the intention of Timothy's writings as a whole, as will be shown below. It reads:"

"'On the fact that one must assert as *one* our Lord and God Jesus Christ with his flesh and must assign everything to him, what is divine and what is human, and that he became consubstantial with us according to the body but also remained God, and that it is godless to separate him into two [natures]' (with an addendum, p. 316: 'wherein also is **the refutation of the blasphemies contained in Leo's *Tome* and of the godlessness of the definition of the synod held at Chalcedon**')" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. 2, part 4, pp. 12-13).

"In the Syriac ms. Br. L. Add. 12156, along with the first tractate (fol. 1-29 – an abridgement of the Armenian work), there is yet another: 'Treatise of Timothy Aelurus against the Definition of the Council of Chalcedon and against the *Tome* of Leo'" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 13).

"One of the things that strikes the modern reader about Timothy's writing during this period is its profoundly theological character. Large portions of his treatise *Against Chalcedon* and his letters to churches consist of *florilegia* from the church fathers. These collections or chains of quotations were utilized systematically to refute detailed points of Chalcedonian doctrine.... It is especially noteworthy that Timothy, in assembling his *florilegia*, quotes most liberally from his predecessors Athanasius, Theophilus, and Cyril. In doing so, he

links his own theological resistance against Chalcedon to a long and illustrious lineage of Alexandrian Christological reflection" (Davis, *ECP*, p. 90).

Again this is explicit in Timothy's treatise *Against Chalcedon*. After repeatedly citing Cyril in order to refute Leo's *Tome*, Timothy goes on to extol Cyril's successor (and his own predecessor) Dioscorus as "the mighty guardian of the faith and the canons of the fathers" (*ibid.*, quoting the source on p. 219, n. 28: "Timothy Aelurus, *Against Chalcedon*, fol. 51v; ed. and trans. R.Y. Ebied and L.R. Wickham, in *After Chalcedon*, 138 [text] and 163 [translation]").

XI. ST. TIMOTHY'S COMMENT ON THE LETTER OF LEO:

St. Timothy II of Alexandria, in his *Refutation of the Synod of Chalcedon...* (ed. Nau, *op. cit.*, p. 226): **"...the letter of Leo, which with good reason has been called a '*tomos*', since it has divided the Church against herself"** (Sellers, p. 265, n. 4).

XII. THE *ENCYCLICAL* OF BASILISCUS ANATHEMATIZES THE *TOME* OF LEO AND THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON:

"Basiliscus (Jan. 475 - August 476 A.D.) published his *Encyclical*, declaring that 'the *Tome* of Leo and all the things said and done at Chalcedon in innovation of the holy Symbol of the Three Hundred and Eighteen holy Fathers' should everywhere be anathematized; for then some five hundred bishops, including Timothy Aelurus and the Monophysite patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, Peter the Fuller and Anastasius, willingly subscribed. Only Acacius of Constantinople uttered his protests – but, as the anti-Chalcedonians said, he cared more for the preservation of the honours granted to his see than for the establishment of true belief" (Sellers, p. 275). "The *Encyclical* of Basiliscus (Evagrius, *H.E.* iii. 4; *Chron. Z.M.* v. 2) was drafted by Timothy and Peter the Fuller, the Monophysite (~Miaphysite) patriarch of Antioch" (Sellers, p. 275, n. 1).

The short text of the *Encyclical* of Basiliscus as quoted by Evagrius (*HE* iii:4) was published in an English translation by Kidd (*Documents*, vol. II, pp. 327-330), from which we quote the following paragraphs:

"But the proceedings which have disturbed the unity and order of the holy churches of God; and the peace of the whole world, that is to say, the so-called *Tome* of Leo, and all things said and done at Chalcedon in innovation upon the before-mentioned holy symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers whether by way of definition of faith, or setting forth of symbols, or of interpretation, or instruction, or discourse; we ordain that these shall be anathematized both here and everywhere by the most holy bishops in every church, and shall be committed to the flames whenever they shall be found, inasmuch as it was so enjoined respecting all heretical doctrines by our predecessors, of pious and blessed memory, Constantine, and Theodosius the younger; and that, having thus been rendered null, they shall be utterly expelled from the one and only Catholic and Apostolic Orthodox Church, as superseding the everlasting and saving definitions of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers, and those of the blessed Fathers who, by the Holy Spirit, made their decision at Ephesus; **that no one, in short, either of the priesthood**

or of the laity, shall be allowed to deviate from that most sacred constitution of the holy symbol; and that together with all the innovations upon the sacred symbol which were enacted at Chalcedon there be also anathematized the heresy of those who do not confess that the only begotten Son of God was truly incarnate, and made man of the Holy Spirit, and of the holy and ever-virgin Mary, Mother of God, but, according to their strange conceit, either from heaven or in mere phantasy and seeming; and, in short, every heresy, and whatever other innovation,....."

"We ordain that the most holy bishops in every place shall subscribe to this our Sacred Circular Epistle when exhibited to them, as a distinct declaration that they are indeed ruled by the sacred symbol of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers alone—which the hundred and fifty holy Fathers confirmed; as it was also defined by the most holy Fathers who subsequently assembled in the Metropolitan city of the Ephesians, that the sacred symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers ought to be the only rule—while they anathematize every stumbling block erected at Chalcedon to the faith of the orthodox people and utterly eject them from the churches, as an impediment to the general happiness and our own..." (Kidd, *Documents*, vol. II, pp. 328-329).

"Zacharias tells us that Acacius, the bishop of Constantinople, was impressed with Timothy's doctrinal arguments, but that he hesitated to sign the *Encyclical* which anathematized Chalcedon, and so diminished the jurisdiction of his see (*The Syriac Chronicle* 5:1). However, Peter the Fuller of Antioch signed, as did Paul of Ephesus, Anastasius of Jerusalem and five hundred other bishops (cf. Evagrius *HE* 3:5; Zachariah puts the number of bishops at seven hundred).

XIII. THE THIRD COUNCIL OF EPHESUS (476 A.D.) CONDEMNS THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO:

"A large synod of bishops from the provinces of Asia Minor, Ephesus III was presided over by Timothy II Aelurus in 476, on his way from Constantinople to Alexandria, during the latter stages of the usurpation of Basiliscus (475-476). The convening of the synod was Timothy's final effort to gain the empire's acceptance of the anti-Chalcedonian views of the see of Alexandria" (*Cop. E*, vol. 3, p. 962).

"The synod, allegedly of 600 bishops, which he held there repudiated Chalcedon 'as having turned the world upside down', and restored Ephesus to patriarchal dignity" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 171 & n. 4 quoting Evagrius, *HE*, III.5; Zacharias, *HE* V:3).

Having reached Ephesus, St. Timothy II of Alexandria and St. Peter the Fuller **"assembled a large number of the bishops of Asia, and there anathematized Chalcedon**, excommunicated Acacius and (against Canon xxviii of Chalcedon) solemnly recognized the autonomy of Ephesus, restoring to Bishop Paul the former rights of the see. **In their Petition to the Emperor (Evagrius, *HE*, III. 5), they say: 'We have anathematized and do anathematize the *Tome* of Leo and the decrees of Chalcedon, which have been the cause of much blood-shedding**

and confusion, and tumult, and division and strifes in all the world. For we are satisfied with the doctrine and faith of the Apostles and the holy Fathers, the Three Hundred and Eighteen; to which also the illustrious Council of the One Hundred and Fifty in the royal city, and the two other holy Synods at Ephesus adhered, and which they confirmed'" (Sellers, p. 275, n. 1). Frend (*Cop. E*, vol. 3, p. 962) also says: **"The council petition...did, however, request Basiliscus to stand firm in his condemnation of the *Tome* of Pope Leo the Great and the Council of Chalcedon, as set out in the encyclical published the previous year. Chalcedon, it was declared, had caused 'deaths and slaughters' and 'the blood of the orthodox', and should remain condemned** (Evagrius *HE*, 3.5)". We may note, too, that "'by the King's command', the bones of Dioscorus were now brought back from Gangra; and he was 'buried in the place of the bishops, and honoured as a confessor'... See esp. Evagrius, *HE*, II. 17, iii. 1-6; *Chron. Z.M.* v. 1-4" (Sellers, p. 275, n. 1).

[For more details on the *Encyclical* of Basiliscus and the Third Council of Ephesus see Part Two of the present work, under sections I.A.2.f.-h.].

It is noteworthy that Acacius patriarch of Constantinople was in two minds. "On the one hand, as a presbyter of Anatolius he disliked the teaching of the *Tome* and Chalcedon and sympathized with the outlook of Timothy the Cat. On the other hand, he was as determined as his predecessors had been to uphold the rights of his see against all comers" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 170).

XIV. A SYNOD IN ALEXANDRIA CONDEMNS CHALCEDON:

This Synod of Alexandria was held at 477 A.D. under the presidency of St. Timothy II of Alexandria in which the Council of Chalcedon was condemned (*DCA*, vol. I, p. 48).

XV. POPE PETER MONGUS (477-489) ON HIS ENTHRONEMENT GATHERS AN ALEXANDRIAN SYNOD AND ANATHEMATIZES THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON:

The Alexandrian Pope "Peter III Mongus entered office with a long pedigree of anti-Chalcedonian resistance: according to sixth-century sources, he is supposed to have been exiled to Gangra with Dioscorus himself after the Council of Chalcedon, and to have headed up an underground resistance with Timothy II Aelurus ('the Cat') during the Chalcedonian episcopacy of Proterius. Having served for over twenty years as Timothy's archdeacon, Peter would have been viewed as the natural choice to succeed him as bishop."

"With the return of Timothy Salofaciolus from his retirement in 477 after the death of the Cat (a return sponsored by the emperor Zeno), the newly-consecrated Peter was forced once again to go underground in his leadership of the anti-Chalcedonian majority" (Davis, *ECP*, pp. 93-94).

The *Libellus synodicus* reports that **right after the appointment of Pope Peter Mongus he called a synod and anathematized Chalcedon** (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 40, n. 34, quoting Hardouin, Coll. concil. V. 1527; Mansi vii, 1023, 1178; cf. Hefele-Leclercq, II/2, p. 919).

XVI. THE PALESTINIAN *HENOSIS* INDIRECTLY CONDEMNS THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND IGNORES THE *TOME* OF LEO:

With the death of Basiliscus (476) and the return of Emperor Zeno to power (August 476), "the Chalcedonian restoration seemed to be in sight, especially as Timothy Aelurus died on 31 July, 477..."

"But Peter Mongus, who was of like mind, had already been consecrated in secret. Obviously no longer was a purely Chalcedonian policy able to prevail as the imperial Church's profession of unity. Hence in 478 the necessary conditions were fulfilled which allowed this goal (i.e. the imperial Church's profession of unity) to be steered for by means of a compromise. Preliminary work for this had already been performed in Jerusalem. At the beginning of July, 478, the anti-Chalcedonian patriarch, Anastasius (458-478), died there. He had subscribed to the *Encyclical* of Basiliscus and was opposed to its retraction in the *Antencyclical.* But he had not made the first document the 'criterion of orthodoxy', nor had he made it the absolute criterion for communion with those bishops who made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Jerusalem was to be an 'open city' for the whole of Christendom, at least externally, even if internally a certain effort was needed to keep the agitation of monophysite groups under control. The successor of Anastasius, Patriarch Martyrius (478-486), could reap the benefits of this attitude. On the occasion of a synod of the Palestinian bishops he created, with the special assistance of the monophysite monk Marcian, a new (second) union, whose formula of faith would become the model for the document that was to overcome the division between Chalcedonians and anti-Chalcedonians and guarantee unity in the sense of the imperial Church. The fundamental ideas on this subject were to be culled from an address which Patriarch Martyrius delivered in the Anastasis church in Jerusalem to the clergy, monks and people shortly after the union had been achieved. Zacharias Rhetor has transmitted this address, even if only in excerpts" (Zacharias, *HE*, V:6: Brooks I: *CSCO* 87. 153: Hamilton-Brooks 115-116).

It reads as follows: "Everybody should be convinced of the fact 'that we have no other true definition of the faith but that into which we have been and are being baptized. For thus have they been baptized, and believe as we do."

"Whosoever, then, holds or has held or learned doctrine contrary to this definition of the faith which was framed by the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers, the bishops assembled at Nicaea; to which definition the one hundred and fifty believing and true bishops, assembled in the royal city, adhered, ratifying and confirming the same, as did also the Synod held in Ephesus: **whosoever (I say) holds or has held or learned what is contrary to this definition, let him be accursed, if he have any other teaching or doctrine defined elsewhere, whether in Rimini, or in Sardica, or in Chalcedon, or in any other place whatsoever**, according to the saying of the apostle, 'If any man preaches to you more than what we have preached to you, let him be accursed'" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part I, pp. 250-251).

"(And he continued in the following terms):"

"'If any man teaches, or brings in as new, or thinks or interprets, or holds any other definition or faith contrary to this approved and orthodox doctrine of faith of the three hundred and eighteen holy bishops and the one hundred and fifty, and them of Ephesus, he is an alien to the holy Church... But the confession, signed with your own signatures, lo,

it is recorded in Heaven above! And you shall give account before the fearful and righteous Judgement-Seat, if you accept anything more or less than the true faith. I am clear from your blood; I have not desisted from speaking unto you'" (*ibid.*, p. 251).

"Here a compromise was traced out 'on the basis of a formula which, like the Second Council of Ephesus, **recognized only three synods**, and **which did not curse the Council of Chalcedon, but sterilized it'. The condemnation of the letter of Leo I was also dispensed with. Admittedly, one could have completely negative thoughts about the Council (and the *Tome*) when Chalcedon is named together with Rimini, Sardica and 'any other teaching or doctrine defined elsewhere'**. A model of union had thus already been devised when Patriarch Acacius set to work at Constantinople to compose that document which would go down in history first as 'Zeno's edict', and later as the '*Henoticon*'. One can justly conjecture that he had the Palestinian *Henosis* as his model. The difference between the two projects lies in the fact that the union of Jerusalem was purely ecclesiastical, while the document from Constantinople was an instrument of the imperial Church, to which Acacius could contribute as the instigator (or even partly as author), but not in a formal legal sense as an ecclesiastical authority. One must notice first of all that the new edict was addressed to the Churches of Egypt and that it received its universal significance (significance for the imperial church) only through the ecclesiastical policy of emperor Anastasius I" (*ibid.*, pp. 251-252).

XVII. THE *HENOTIKON* (482) CONDEMNS THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON INDIRECTLY:

Emperor "Zeno revealed precisely the same attitude in the *Henoticon*, or edict of union, which he published in 482. He insisted that the only symbol which should be professed was that of the 318 fathers, 'which the 150 assembled at Constantinople confirmed' (Evagrius, *Hist. eccl.* 3:14). Even the *Henoticon* itself is not set forth as a new form of faith. The susceptibilities of the Monophysites (~Miaphysites) regarding the Ephesine Decree are taken into account in the *Henoticon* which says: 'These things were written not as setting forth a new form of faith but for your assurance: and **everyone who has held or holds any other opinion either at the present or another time, whether at Chalcedon or in any synod whatever, we anathematize**" (Sellers, p. 277 and note 1).

It is noteworthy that the anathema here is indirect and is not restricted to Chalcedon but to any person who holds any other opinion.

It is significant that in the *Henoticon* no use is made of the phrase "two natures"....the notion of "two Sons" is most emphatically rejected and "the Twelve Chapters (Anathemas) of Cyril of holy memory" are received. The formal confession of faith in the *Henoticon* is stated as follows:

"We confess that the only-begotten Son of God, himself God, who truly became man, our Lord Jesus Christ, who, *homoousios* with the Father according to Godhead and the Same *homoousios* with us according to manhood, came down and was incarnate of the Holy Spirit and of Mary the Virgin and '*Theotokos*', is one and not two; for we affirm that both the miracles and the sufferings which he voluntarily endured in the flesh are those of one Person. We altogether reject those who divide or confuse or introduce a phantom, since this

true incarnation which was without sin of the '*Theotokos*' did not bring about an addition of a Son; for the Trinity remained a Trinity even when One of the Trinity, the divine *Logos*, became incarnate..." (see Sellers, pp. 276-277).

In the same year (482) a local council at Constantinople presided over by Acacius accepted Zeno's *Henoticon* (Ber. *EEC*, p. 197).

XVIII. POPE PETER III MONGUS (477-489) ACCEPTS ZENO'S *HENOTICON* AFTER SOME HESITATION, THEN INTERPRETS IT AS A CONDEMNATION OF CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO AND HE PUBLICLY ANATHEMATIZES CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO:

The Alexandrian Pope "Peter Mongus, the 'most significant follower' of Timothy Aelurus, was secretly consecrated as his successor after his death but had to flee before Timothy Salophaciolus and go into hiding. Ultimately, however, the ... politics of John Talaia did not prevent Peter's reign as anti-Chalcedonian patriarch of Alexandria (482-489). Emperor Zeno installed him in order to create unity in the Alexandrian church within the framework and conditions of the *Henoticon*. Although his position vis-à-vis the Council of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo was indeed one of rejection, it was not as uncompromisingly stringent as that demanded of him by the 'ultras' among the monks, who during his time in office separated from him (as ἀποσχισταί, 'separatists')" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 38).

"Clearly, the *prima facie* purpose of the *Henoticon* was to create peace in Egypt between the Monophysites (= Miaphysites) and the Proterians, and to provide a reconciliation between Constantinople and Alexandria. However, after some hesitation as it contained no explicit anathema on Chalcedon and the *Tome*, Peter Mongus subscribed to it" (Torrance, p. 11, quoting *The Syriac Chronicle*, Book 5, chap. 7).

Patriarch Peter the Fuller of Antioch also signed the *Henoticon* (and "was replaced in his see after the expulsion of Calendio, the Chalcedonian bishop of Antioch who refused to sign and complained to Zeno), and the bishops of Ephesus and Jerusalem. The *Henoticon* thus quickly became not just a test for Peter Mongus, but something of a government creed" (Torrance, p. 11, quoting *The Syriac Chronicle*, Book 6, chap. 1).

"Caught between his desire to ameliorate relations with Constantinople and the need to placate outbreaks of unrest among the Egyptian populace, Peter Mongus suddenly found himself 'forced to balance on the tautest of tight-ropes'. In the face of accusations of betrayal lodged by the so-called Separatists, Peter publicly interpreted the *Henoticon* agreement as one that (1) overruled or usurped the decisions taken at Chalcedon and (2) was consistent with the theological aspirations of the anti-Chalcedonian resistance of his Alexandrian predecesssors. Thus, shortly after his return to Egypt, before a large gathering of civic leaders, clergy, monastics, and laypersons, he explained that 'this document further cancels and condemns the whole doctrine of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo, because Dioscorus and Timothy the Great also thought and expounded similarly" (Davis, *ECP*, p. 95 & n. 51 on p. 221 quoting: Zacharias Rhetor, *HE* 5.7, ed. E.W. Brooks, *CSCO* 83, 226 [Syriac] and *CSCO* 87, 156 [Latin]; trans. F.J. Hamilton and E.W. Brooks, 119).

"Peter would feel compelled to defend his anti-Chalcedonian credentials on numerous other occasions, including an address supposedly delivered before 30,000 people at the

Martyr Church of Saint Euphemia in Alexandria. Such public reiterations of his opposition to Chalcedon were motivated by a desire to win back the allegiance of the Separatists and other more radical constituencies of the Coptic Church" (*ibid.*, p. 96, & n. 53 on p. 221 quoting Zachariah Rhetor, *HE* 6.1-2, ed. E.W. Brooks, *CSCO* 84, 2-6 [Syriac] and *CSCO* 88, 1-4 [Latin]; trans. F.J. Hamilton and E.W. Brooks, 133-136).

"To pacify this faction, **Peter explicitly anathematized both Chalcedon and the *Tome***, which provoked the wrath of Constantinople and Rome, but because he entered into communion with those who had uttered no anathema, the extremists withdrew from him into their monasteries" (Torrance, p. 11).

"Peter berated (*vituperaverat*) the council in justification. Thereupon Acacius had the matter investigated. The verdict of the proceedings was that Peter had not expressly condemned the council ('*non expresse anathematizatam*'). Afterwards Peter, upon examination by Peter the Iberian and others, **finally signed something in which he condemned the council and the *Tome*** (Zacharias, *HE* VI, 1, Hamilton-Brook, p. 134). **Under pressure of the separatist monks he condemned the council publicly in the presence of the imperial envoy Cosmas and the leaders of the separatists** (*HE* VI 2:Hamilton-Brooks, p. 135) **and declared that the *Henoticon* had nullified Chalcedon** (*ibid.*, p. 136)" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 39, n. 22).

"Severus took offence against Peter Mongus because he 'embraced the communion of those who did not write the same things as he did'. He reproached him, however, not because his condemnation of Chalcedon and Leo's *Tome* was too mild, but because he acquiesced in the *Henoticon* without also expressly demanding that the 'impious things done at Chalcedon or the impious *Tome* of Leo' be addressed" (*ibid.*, p. 39, quoting Severus *Ep. ad Ammon presbyter of Alexandria*, Brooks *SL*, p. 255).

"Tradition records an address of Peter Mongus that he delivered to the people in order to win them over to the *Henoticon*. In it he says that Zeno wanted to destroy what was introduced in Chalcedon as innovations and additions. He says that in this writing Zeno confesses the true faith, the twelve *capita* of Cyril, condemns Nestorius and Eutyches, proclaims that the incarnate God-*Logos* was *one* nature in suffering and miracles, and rejects the opinion of the Diphysites, since their teaching and the *Tome* were opposed to this; and that Dioscorus and Timothy fought against them as martyrs. Thus Peter asserted before the people that the *Henoticon* rejected (*respuit*) Chalcedon" (*ibid.*, quoting in n. 27: Peter Mongus, *Allocutio* [*CPG* 5497]: Zacharias Rh., *HE* V 7: Brooks, *CSCO* 87, pp. 156-57; Hamilton-Brooks, pp. 119-21).

"Zachariah's evidence that **they found four homilies of Mongus in which he expressly anathematized the *Tome* and council supports**...the intention of the monophysite historian was no doubt rather to show that Mongus had outwitted Acacius, and, in the eyes of the faithful, had maintained the true faith" (Allen, *Evagrius*, p. 134).

"In the end, the persistent pressure that the Separatists exerted may have had some effect: **Peter Mongus' last surviving correspondence, a letter to the newly elected patriarch Fravitta of Constantinople (489-490 A.D.) written in the year of Peter's death, shows a marked increase in anti-Chalcedonian rhetoric. In the letter, Peter rejects the idea that the *Henoticon* stood in continuity with the Council of Chalcedon, instead stressing that it in fact 'anathematized all the**

rash thoughts and words of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo'" (Davis, *ECP*, p. 96 & n. 57, on p. 221f. quoting Zachariah Rhetor, *HE* 6.6, ed. E.W. Brooks, *CSCO* 84, 11-14 [Syriac] and *CSCO* 88, 7-9 [Latin]; trans. F.J. Hamilton and E.W. Brooks, 142-144, esp. 144. Peter may also have felt free to sharpen his rhetoric because he knew that the church leadership at Constantinople was growing increasingly distracted by a theological rift of its own, a disagreement with Rome over the validity of the *Henoticon* that came to be known as the Acacian Schism [A.D. 484-519]).

XIX. AN ALEXANDRIAN SYNOD IN 482 A.D. CONDEMNS CHALCEDON:

This Synod was held in Alexandria in 482 A.D. under the presidency of St. Peter Mongus. It condemned the 4th Council, having first caused a schism among his own followers by subscribing to the *Henotikon* (*DCA*, vol. I, p. 48). This schism was because the *Henotikon* did not condemn Chalcedon directly.

XX. THEODOTUS BISHOP OF JOPPA IN PALESTINE TOGETHER WITH MORE THAN 30,000 MONKS IN EGYPT DEMANDED UNCONDITIONAL CONDEMNATION OF THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO:

After signing the *Henoticon*, Pope Peter Mongus of Alexandria (477- *c.* 489) had his troubles. "In Egypt there were thousands of monks who were not satisfied, since the document contained no explicit condemnation of the Chalcedonian impiety. Though their Patriarch, Peter Mongus (477-490) might anathematize the Council, they refused to be won over, and became known as the *Acephali* ('Headless'), since, though a distinct community, they never appointed a bishop of their own" (Sellers, pp. 278-279, see n. 3on pp. 278f.).

Rifts were beginning to appear in the ranks of the anti-Chalcedonians in Egypt and Palestine. Zacharias (*HE*, V.4) "refers to a certain **Theodotus, bishop of Joppa**, who had been consecrated originally by Theodosius of Jerusalem. **This man was... demanding unconditional condemnation of the *Tome* and Chalcedon, and he was being supported allegedly by no less than 30,000 monks in Egypt.** These dissenters even now deserved the title of *aposchistae* (separatists). On the other hand, the former Proterian cause was visibly breaking up, and its members were seeking how to make their peace with Peter" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 176).

But "the Separatists were not all extremists in the Eutychian sense, though without doubt they were intransigently conservative. They were supported, it would seem, in their demand for an anathema on Chalcedon, by Peter the Iberian, who, as we saw at the time of Timothy Aelurus, was not of the pastorally extreme party. We can argue that some were simply following the Alexandrian tradition which Timothy Aelurus laid down, that converted Proterians would be accepted if they explicitly anathematized the Synod and the *Tome*" (Torrance, p. 12).

In Alexandria, all that was required of members of the Proterian party was that they should anathematize the Chalcedonian Synod and the *Tome* (*ibid.*, p. 9, quoting *The Syriac Chronicle*, Book 5, chap. 4). But Theodotus bishop of Joppa apparently wanted a much

more severe attitude to be taken to the converted Proterians, accepting them through re-anointing (*ibid.*, p. 9 & n. 72 in p. 24, referring to *The Syriac Chronicle*, Book 5, chap. 4; Evagrius, Book 3, chap. 6).

XXI. A SYNOD IN ANTIOCH, 485 A.D., CONDEMNS CHALCEDON:

After the *Henoticon*, Acacius broke with Pope Felix III, who deposed him. He in turn deposed Calendio and reinstalled the Miaphysite St. Peter the Fuller, who called a council which condemned Chalcedon and added "*Qui crucifixus est pro nobis*" to the *Trisagion* (Mansi 7, 1165. R. Devreese, *op. cit.*, 67; Ber. *EEC*, p. 49; cf. *DCA*, vol. I, p. 92).

XXII. A COUNCIL HELD AT CONSTANTINOPLE, 498 A.D., CONDEMNS CHALCEDON:

This Council was held "by order of the Emperor Anastasius I, in which Flavian, the second bishop of Antioch of that name, and Philoxenus of Hierapolis, took the lead: **condemning the Council of Chalcedon and all who opposed the Monophysite (~Miaphysite) doctrine, or would not accept the interpolated clause 'Who was crucified for us' in the *Trisagion***. But it seems probable that this council took place a year later; and that another had met a year earlier, under Macedonius, less hostile to the Council of Chalcedon than this, and of which this was the reaction (Mansi, viii. 197-200)" (*DCA*, vol. I, p. 441).

It is reported by Theodore Lector that at the synod which met a year earlier under Macedonius (i.e. the *synodos endemousa* of 497), **"the Patriarch condemned even the supporters of Chalcedon, and not only the defenders of Nestorius and Eutyches"** (Theodore Lector, *HE*, frag. 46 [Victor Tunn.]: Hansen 129, as quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 267 & n. 114).

XXIII. A HOME SYNOD OF CONSTANTINOPLE (IN 507 A.D.) CONDEMNS THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO:

"On the suggestion of Philoxenus Emperor Anastasius I ordered that a synod (*synodos endemousa*) be summoned by Patriarch Macedonius. We are correct in relegating an event which Victor of Tunnuna recorded for 499-507. Whether the Bishop of Mabbog himself still took part in it cannot be clearly established. In any case a confession of faith was read out in his name before the assembly, as, according to the continuator of Zacharias Rhetor, the presbyter Symeon reported in a letter. Together with the report of Victor of Tunnuna, from this there emerges a uniform picture: the same names are condemned, viz. Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Nestorius (omitted by Victor of Tunnuna), Theodoret, Ibas of Edessa, Andrew of Samosata, John of Aigai, Eutherius of Tyana (Victor of Tunnuna: Eucherius). Their *fault* is: preparing for (setting up) the Council of Chalcedon, accepting Leo's *Tome*, dividing the unity of the Word Incarnate into two natures (and into two forms, i.e. splitting or apportioning the properties, as Victor and Zacharias say, supplementing each other), refusing the formula 'one of the Trinity was crucified' (Victor of Tunnuna). All this was to be understood as interpreting the *Henoticon*, as Zacharias Rhetor explicitly

says. In short, it was a question of **condemning the whole Antiochene and Leonine tradition as this had passed into Chalcedon**, even if it were in no way the sole determining tradition" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part I, p. 270, quoting Zacharias Rh. cont., *HE*, VII:8, ed. Brooks 2: *CSCO* 88. 33. 3-18, Hamilton-Brooks 176-177).

"The response of Patriarch Macedonius is summed as follows: 'When Macedonius was required to do this, he anathematized them [the names (?)] under compulsion; but after that he used secretly to celebrate their memory in the monastery of Dalmatus, as has been written above'. Whether an explicit execration of Chalcedon and the names cited was put on record at the Synod is not clear from the text" (*ibid.*, pp. 270-271, & n. 124 quoting: Letter of the presbyter Symeon etc. in Zacharias Rh. cont., *HE* VII 8: Brooks 2: *CSCO* 88. 33. 16-18; Hamilton-Brooks 177).

XXIV. THE ATTITUDE OF POPE PETER MONGUS'S SUCCESSORS TOWARDS THE INTERPRETATION OF THE *HENOTICON*:

"In the four decades following the death of Peter Mongus (489), the ambiguities and complexities of Egyptian theological resistance did not cease to complicate the life for the Alexandrian patriarchs. Peter's successors—Athanasius II (489-496), John I Hemula (496-505), John II Nicaiotes (505-516), and Dioscorus II (516-517)—maintained communion with Constantinople and continued to reap the benefits of imperial patronage. However, the available sources paint an otherwise variegated, even inconsistent, picture of patriarchal policy during this period. On the one hand, Athanasius II and John I Hemula seem to have been reluctant to make Chalcedon an issue of debate with Constantinople, a reluctance that continued to draw the ire of Separatist groups who were still active in Egypt. On the other, **John II Nicaiotes was bold enough to demand that the bishop of Constantinople condemn Chalcedon as a basis for ongoing agreement over the *Henoticon***" (Davis, *ECP*, p. 97).

"Athanasius II, who became patriarch of Alexandria after the death of Peter Mongus (489), continued his ecclesiastical policies 'with undiminished energy'; in particular, he expressed his satisfaction with the *Henoticon* as a formula for unification. This fact was used later by Emperor Anastasius to frustrate the desire of John Nicaiotes to condemn Chalcedon expressly. Also, at the Synod of Sidon this example played an important role, so that Severus (justly) speaks of the disgrace that such behaviour brought to their cause. In Alexandria the quarrel with the separatists continued under Athanasius as with his predecessor" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, pp. 40-41).

"Athanasius II found his position shared by Palladius of Antioch and Sallustius of Jerusalem, and a close relationship developed among the three patriarchates. With Sallustius he carried out the deposition of Euphemius of Constantinople: they passed on to the emperor the *synodica* of Euphemius to Pope Felix and wanted to prove in this way that Euphemius was a heretic" (*ibid.*, p. 41, n. 43, quoting Zacharias Rh., *HE* VII 1: Hamilton-Brooks, p. 150. According to Zacharias Rh. this was, of course, preceded by **the 'hatred' of Euphemius against Athanasius II, since the latter is said to 'condemn the council and the *Tome* even more openly [than Peter Mongus]'** (*ibid.*), and therefore Euphemius wanted to depose the Alexandrian with the help of Rome...etc.).

"After the death of Athanasius in 496 his policies were continued by John I Hemula (496-505), that is, John endorsed the *Henoticon* without express rejection of Chalcedon" (*ibid.*, & n. 44, quoting "Severus Ant., *Ep. ad Ammon. presb. Alex.*: Brooks, *SL*, 255; cf. Liberatus, *Brev.* 18: *ACO* II 5, p. 132. **By contrast, Zacharias Rh.**, in speaking of the Alexandrian patriarchs Peter Mongus, Athanasius II and John Hemula, tries to emphasize their condemnation of the *Tome* and the council. He **reports of John Hemula that he demanded from Flavianus of Antioch a written statement 'in which there would be an anathema of the Synod and the *Tome*'** (*HE* VI 6, p.145), **and that otherwise there was no agreement in the faith**"). [See also Davis, *ECP*, p. 222, n. 63].

However, in Seller's view: "Officially the *Henoticon* was the symbol of union, but the Monophysites (i.e. Miaphysites) held that while it contained 'a right confession of faith', 'it failed to provide the healing that was required'. **One after another, the Monophysite patriarchs of Alexandria, 'cheerfully and without fear', pronounced their anathemas against the Synod and the *Tome***; indeed, it can be said that the Monophysitism of Egypt was now an accepted fact" (Sellers, p. 279). He adds (*ibid.*, n. 2) saying: "Thus **Athanasius II (489-496), who succeeded Peter Mongus, wrote to Palladius of Antioch (*c.* 490-498), the successor of Peter the Fuller, anathematizing the Council; John Hemula (496-505) gave his anathema 'cheerfully and without fear', and John Nicaiotes (505-516) 'acted in like manner'** (*Chron. Z.M.* vi. 6; vii. I; Evagrius, *H.E.* iii. 23; Liberatus, *Brev.* 18)".

The Alexandrian Pope "John II Nicaiotes (505-516) seems to have gone somewhat further in the condemnation of Chalcedon. From Timothy of Constantinople (511-518) he demanded the formal condemnation of Chalcedon as a prerequisite to ecclesiastical communion, a demand to which Timothy ultimately acceded. This re-established the *communio* between Constantinople and Alexandria, which was interrupted during the time of Macedonius" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 41 & notes 45-46, quoting E. Schwartz *PS*, p. 238, n. 1. Cf. R. Haacke. art. cit., pp. 129 & 132).

Synodical letters from St. Severus and the fathers of the Synod of Tyre, 514, were sent to Pope John II of Alexandria (Sellers, p. 282).

Pope Dioscorus II of Alexandria (516-517), a nephew of St. Timothey Aelurus, received two letters from St. Severus urging him to follow the example of Timothy Aelurus closely in demanding the anathematization of Leo's *Tome* as a precondition for reconciliation. Parts of these two letters are quoted hereafter under XXXVII (q.v.).

To sum up we give herein below the anathemas pronounced against Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo by each of the three successors of Pope Peter Mongus.

XXV. POPE ATHANASIUS II OF ALEXANDRIA (489-496 A.D.) ANATHEMATIZES THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO:

Pope Athanasius II who became patriarch of Alexandria after the death of Pope Peter Mongus (489), continued in his ecclesiastical policies with undiminished energy. Zacharias Rh. (*HE* VII, 1: Hamilton-Brooks, p. 150) notes that **Athanasius "more openly and**

authoritatively anathematized the Synod and the *Tome*" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 40, n. 40).

He wrote to Patriarch Palladius of Antioch (*c.* 490-498 A.D.), the successor of St. Peter the Fuller (470-488 A.D.), anathematizing the Council of Chalcedon (Sellers, p. 279, n. 2, quoting *Chronicle* of Zacharias of Mitylene vi, 6).

Therefore, Pope Athanasius II of Alexandria found his position shared by Patriarch Palladius of Antioch and Patriarch Sallustius of Jerusalem (486-494), and a close relationship developed among the three patriarchates (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 41 & n. 42 referring to Liberatus, *Brev.* 18: *ACO* II 5, p. 132,9-12; Zacharias Rh., *HE* VI 6 and VII 1: Hamilton-Brooks, pp. 144, 150. Therefore, J. Lebon, *Le monophysisme sévérien*, p. 39, speaks of a union between Palladius, Athanasius and Sallustius).

With Sallustius, Pope Athanasius II of Alexandria carried out the deposition of Euphemius of Constantinople (490-496): they passed on to the emperor the *synodica* of Euphemius to Pope Felix and wanted to prove in this way that Euphemius was a heretic (Grillmeier, *op. cit.* & n. 43, quoting Zacharias Rh., *HE* VII 1:Hamilton-Brooks, p. 150. According to Zacharias Rh. this was, of course, preceded by **the 'hatred' of Euphemius against Athanasius II, since the latter is said to 'condemn the council and the *Tome* even more openly [than Peter Mongus]'** (*ibid.*), and therefore Euphemius wanted to depose the Alexandrian with the help of Rome. Cf. R. Haacke, 'Die kaiserliche Politik in den Auseinandersetzungen um Chalkedon (451-553)', in *Chalkedon* II, 95-177, here p. 128).

But "the later deposition of (Euphemius) the patriarch of Constantinople (two years after the death of Sallustius in 494) was, however, ultimately justified by the emperor politically (because of 'high treason' since Euphemius had contacts with the rebellious Isaurians)" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*).

XXVI. POPE JOHN I (HEMULA) OF ALEXANDRIA (496-505 A.D.) ANATHEMATIZES THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO:

After the death of Pope Athanasius II in 496, his policies were continued by his successor Pope John I (Hemula) who endorsed the *Henotikon*. But **to the Council of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo, he gave his anathema "cheerfully and without fear"** (Sellers, p. 279, n. 2, quoting *Chronicle* of Zacharias of Mitylene vi, 6; Evagrius *HE* iii:23 & Liberatus, *Brev.* 18).

Patriarch Palladius of Antioch continued in union with Pope John Hemula the successor of Pope Athanasius II. But after the death of Palladius (498 A.D.), his successor Flavian II of Antioch (498-512 A.D.), although he acknowledged the *Henotikon*, he "did not assume commuion with the Alexandrian patriarch, John Hemula, because the latter had anathematized Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 309).

On the other hand, **Zacharias Rh. reports of Pope John Hemula that he demanded from this Flavian II of Antioch a written statement "in which there would be an anathema of the Synod and the *Tome*"** (*HE* VI:6, p. 145) **and that otherwise there was no agreement in the faith** (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 41, n. 44). [See also Davis, *ECP*, p. 222, n. 63].

XXVII. POPE JOHN II (NICAIOTES) OF ALEXANDRIA (505-516 A.D.) ANATHEMATIZES THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO:

Pope John II Nicaiotes of Alexandria (505-516 A.D.) seems to have gone much further in the condemnation of Chalcedon (E. Schwartz, *PS*, p. 238, n. 1. Cf. R. Haacke, art. cit., p. 129). **From Patriarch Timothy of Constantinople (511-518 A.D.) "he demanded the formal condemnation of Chalcedon as a prerequisite to ecclesiastical communion, a demand to which Timothy ultimately acceded.** This re-established the communion between Constantinople and Alexandria, which was interrupted during the time of Macedonius (II, 496-511 A.D.)".

St. Severus of Antioch, in his letter to Pope Dioscorus II of Alexandria (516-517 A.D.), refers to **a synod held before in Alexandria (around the time of the Synod of Tyre, 514 A.D.), i.e., at the time of Pope John II Nicaiotes, which decreed**, in agreement with what St. Severus is prescribing to Pope Dioscorus II, **that, without an explicit anathema against Chalcedon, the *Henotikon* was to be regarded as insufficient** (Sellers, p. 282, n. 1).

XXVIII. THE ARMENIAN CHURCH, IN THE COUNCIL OF DOWIN (506/508) HEADED BY CATHOLICOS BABGĒN, OFFICIALLY CONDEMNS THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO:

The Armenian Catholicos Babgēn (490-516 A.D.) with his bishops together with the princes and nobles wrote their second "*Letter from the Armenians to the Orthodox in Persia*" whose opponents, "the Nestorians, renewed their attack and once more troubled the holy Church this time being strengthened by the Council of Chalcedon" (*B.L.*, p. 48)". In that letter the Armenians say: "...**We flee from and deny the false teaching (lit. "the lies") of Nestorius and of others like him [which teaching was confirmed] in Chalcedon; we know these people as having departed [only] feignedly from both the Gentile and Jewish errors, for they confess the same Gentile and Jewish doctrines** and seduce into error the minds of the innocents, that is to say, of the ignorant; they make the blind deviate from the road; their reward was assigned by the Holy Spirit through the prophet..." (*ibid.*, pp. 48-49, quoted in Sarkissian, pp. 202-203).

Sarkissian (pp. 212-213) stresses the importance of this second letter of Babgēn saying: "Surely we must suppose that some time elapsed between the first and the second delegations of Simon of Beit-Aršam. Therefore the second letter must have been written one or two years after the Council of Dowin (506). Was there a second council for this letter? We do not know. However, it is obvious that the decision was made as a sequel to the first letter. In this second letter appear the names of the senior bishop, Meršapuh of Taron, and of the Marzban, Vard Mamikonean. Both of them had been prominent figures in the Council of Dowin. Therefore this decision must be considered as an integral part of the work of the Council of Dowin. In fact, in this second letter we have an extension of the doctrinal position as expressed in the first letter. This time the Council of Chalcedon was openly condemned, because it had become directly involved in the controversy. Therefore **we conclude that in the Council of Dowin (506/8) there is the first official and**

formal rejection of the Council of Chalcedon by the Armenian Church".

Again Sarkissian (p. 206) adds saying: "....in the second letter is there a reference to the participation of the Georgians and Albanians in this council. This reference is confirmed by a document of the seventh century. Abraham, Catholicos of the Armenians (607-15), writing to Kiwrion, Catholicos of the Georgians, reminds him of **Babgēn's council in which, he says, Gabriel the Catholicos of the Georgians with his bishops took part and condemned the Council of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo**. He even gives the list of those Georgian bishops who, with Gabriel, were present at the Council. Therefore, we must consider the council of Babgen as an important one and in all probability directly connected with the doctrinal issues of the time".

XXIX. THE TEN ANATHEMAS PRONOUNCED BY ST. PHILOXENUS OF MABBUG (485-523) AGAINST THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON:

The document of **St. Philoxenus's Ten Anathemas** reads as follows:

"I. We anathematize the Council of Chalcedon because it anathematized the true Council of three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers."

"II. We anathematize the Council of Chalcedon because it hath acted hypocritically, and because it hath exceeded all men in wickedness—the ancients, those who come next, and those who have been in these last days; the ancients with Cyril in Ephesus, those who come next with Dioscorus in Ephesus, and those who have been in these last days in Chalcedon."

"III. And we anathematize it also because it testified concerning itself and said that the canon of the Fathers commanded that anathema should be laid upon everyone who composed another faith.

"IV. And we anathematize the Council of Chalcedon also because it anathematized Nestorius, although agreeing with him and with his doctrine."

"V. And we anathematize the Council of Chalcedon also because it received Leo the wicked, of Rome, and because it anathematized Dioscorus the confessor of the orthodox faith, who had anathematized Leo the wicked, and would not agree with him."

"VI. And we anathematize the Council of Chalcedon also because it received Ibas and Theodoret as orthodox."

"VII. And we anathematize the Council of Chalcedon also because it renewed the wicked tract and called it the true belief."

"VIII. And we anathematize the Council of Chalcedon also because it distinguisheth in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God, natures, and attributes, and functions, and celestial and terrestrial qualities, and Divine and human properties. And it considereth Him [to be] Two, and it introduceth an idea of Four, and it worshippeth an ordinary man, and in every particular it findeth Him to be a creature, even as do the Jews and heathen, and it agreeth with the wicked Nestorius who is accursed and doomed to perdition. For all these and for many other similar reasons we have anathematized and we will [always] anathematize the Council of Chalcedon."

"IX. And it shall be anathematized, and heaven, and earth, and all the Church which hath been redeemed by the Blood and Resurrection of God shall say"

"X. that there shall be a curse upon the Council of Chalcedon, and upon every one who hath agreed or agreeth therewith—except he hath already repented, or shall repent—for ever, Amen."

"Now the wicked Council of Chalcedon met in the days of the heathen Emperor Marcian, in the year seven hundred and sixty-three (A.D. 451)" (Budge, *Philoxenus*, vol. II, pp. xxxiii-xxxvi).

St. Philoxenus's Banishment and Assassination:

With the accession of Emperor Justin I to the throne (518), "the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon were ratified by imperial command, and all the bishops who had been banished by Anastasius were restored to their sees. In the following year **some fifty-four bishops who refused to accept the decrees of Chalcedon were banished, and among them were Severus of Antioch, Peter of Apamea, John of Tellâ and Philoxenus of Mabbôgh**" (*ibid.*, p. xxv).

"From a letter which Philoxenus wrote to the monks of the monastery of Sĕnûn near Edessa in 522 we learn that **his first place of banishment was Philippopolis in Thrace; in the following year he was 'sent into exile in Gangra [in Paphlagonia]**, and they shut him up in a room over the kitchen of a public inn, and there he was suffocated by smoke'" (*ibid.*, pp. xxv-xxvi, quoting the letter published in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, ii, p. 20).

"In a life of Philoxenus quoted by Assemânî the account of the manner in which he was murdered is more fully detailed, and the writer says:--'And having filled the Church with divine doctrines, and expounded the Scriptures, and laid open to disgrace the faith of the Nestorians by means of his writings against them, **they cast him forth into exile in the city of Gangra, and they suffocated him with smoke. Now they shut him up in an upper chamber, and made smoke in the room below it, and they shut the doors: in this way was he crowned, and he was suffocated by them in the true faith**'" (*ibid.*, p. xxvi, quoting *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, ii, p. 15; cf. Michael the Syrian, *Chron.*, IX:13).

XXX. THE *TYPUS* OF EMPEROR ANASTASIUS ANATHEMATIZES THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND LEO AND HIS *TOME*:

"The *Typus* of Emperor Anastasius (between Antioch [509]) and Sidon [511])"

"From 509 there was a more powerful opponent of Chalcedon than Philoxenus in Constantinople: Severus, the monk and presbyter from the school of Peter the Iberian in Palestine. The monk quickly became the real leader of the anti-Chalcedonian movement and its theology.... As he had the necessary qualities, things augured well for activity at the imperial court. The opportunity for this came through the persecution and expulsion of the monks from monasteries around Maiuma; this persecution and expulsion was instigated by the monk Nephalius and ordered by Patriarch Elias of Jerusalem (508). Severus was the ideal man, as *apocrisiarius* of the monks, to present their case to Emperor Anastasius in the imperial capital. A huge crowd of monks accompanied him.... In this context the aim of Severus and his friends had to be to check, with the assistance of the Emperor,

the persecutions in Palestine, but even more to establish the unity of the Churches in the East on the basis of an anti-Chalcedonian interpretation of the *Henoticon*. The first aim was quickly fulfilled by the Emperor. The dispossessed monks received back their monastery...." (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part I, pp. 273-274).

"There was disagreement between Severus and Philoxenus. The former was of the opinion that the *Henoticon* was undoubtedly sufficient to bring about the *general* reunion of the Church; for one's own *personal* confession one must not be content with it. The latter emphasized that the edict 'lacked nothing' and he did not want to take over the rigorism of the Isaurians, which was again something that Severus did not sanction. See the letter to the Alexandrian presbyters: *PO* 12, 297. The difference, however, is not great. Philoxenus too was convinced of the necessity of condemning explicitly the following: (a) Chalcedon (b) the *Tome* of Leo (c) the diophysites. Philoxenus championed this already at the Synod of Antioch (513): cf. the letter to the presbyter Simeon of Tele'ada, frg. 4: Lebon.... Cf. also Severus, *Letter to Hippocrates*: *PO* 12, n. 46, p. 321. Philoxenus has this attitude even under Emperor Justin; cf. the letter to all monks of the Orient, frg. 6, de Halleux, *Mus* 76 (1963) 8-9; similarly the letter to the monks of Senoun: *CSCO* 231-232, 95 (79, 5-6). The disagreement between Philoxenus and Severus arises only with regard to whether one must see the condemnation of Chalcedon's two-natures teaching already implied in the *Henoticon* or not (cf. A. de Halleux, *Philoxène* 88)" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 273, n. 132).

"With the help of powerful patrons in the capital and of like-minded local monks who had journeyed there, Severus resolutely built up opposition against Macedonius, Flavian and Elias. With regard to the Patriarch of Antioch, however, he showed, in contrast to Philoxenus, a certain moderation. A special instrument in this attack was to be a text which is called the *Typus* of Emperor Anastasius, but which was composed by Severus on the instruction of the Emperor" (*ibid.*, p. 275, & n. 140, referring to "Severus, *Letter to Bishop Constantine*: *SL* I.i, Brooks II, 3-4 [V].").

"This document (the *typus*), which contained a direct anathema against Chalcedon, the Antiochene Patriarch Flavian, who had already signed the *Henoticon*, refused to accept, and joining forces with Elias of Jerusalem, summoned all the bishops of the Orient to a Synod at Sidon. A special courier was sent to Philoxenus ordering him to be present at Sidon (512). See his account of the Synod—at which Severus himself was present (*Vie. de Sév. par. Z.*, ed. Kugener, *op. cit.* p. 111)—in his letter to Simeon of Toleda (ed. Lebon, *op. cit.* p. 190)" (Sellers, p. 281 & n. 3). "There, except for the ten who followed Philoxenus, all the bishops communicated with the two Patriarchs,...." (*ibid.*). A large host of anti-Chalcedonian monks came to support St. Philoxenus at that council. "It would seem that the Synod paid no attention to the petition presented by Cosmas on behalf of the monks of the East. This, under seventy-seven heads, contained quotations from the Fathers which, it was urged, confirmed their action in condemning the Synod and the *Tome* (*Chron. Z.M.* vii. 10...)" (Sellers, p. 281, n. 3).

It is worth noting that later "Flavian....offered to condemn the Council and all Nestorians. But the surrender came too late. Philoxenus had already secured an edict of deposition, and with the full approval of Anastasius, now brought Severus to Antioch (512), that this new Elijah might fall upon the altar of Baal and destroy those priests who believed not in the Lord" (*ibid.* & n. 4 referring to *The Conflict of Severus*, ed. Goodspeed, p. 601).

"The text (of the *typus*) as a whole is lost; it is preserved only in two Armenian extracts,

one in the 'Book of Letters' and the other in the 'Seal of Faith'. J. Lebon drew the attention of scholars to these fragments and made a Latin translation of them. His student, C. Moeller, has published and interpreted the shorter version (following the text of the 'Seal of Faith'). We shall give an English translation of this, but recourse must be had to the scholarly apparatus of Moeller:"

"From the letter of Emperor Anastasius against all schismatics,... 'We accept only one definition of faith, that of the 318 Fathers who gathered at Nicaea, which shows that one of the holy Trinity is our Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, which assumed flesh from the holy *theotokos* and virgin Mary and became man. That definition was maintained by the 150 holy Fathers who gathered at Constantinople through the Holy Spirit. According to that also the holy synod of those who gathered at Ephesus and anathematized the schismatic Nestorius and all those who think and believe as he did, as also does the letter which is called the *Henoticon* of Zeno, the orthodox Emperor, and as well the letter of John [of Nikiu (510-516)], the archbishop of Alexandria, which shows [these things] in the same way in which **it anathematizes Leo's *Tome* and those who transgress that definition [of Nicaea] and defined two natures after the union for the one Christ.**"

"We, as we have received from the holy Fathers, do not say two natures, but we confess the Word of God as one nature become flesh, and **we anathematize the Synod of Chalcedon and with it also Leo and his *Tome* and those who say Christ is two sons, one before the ages and the other at the end of the ages. But those who say, after professing the unity, [that there are] two natures, and two persons and two forms and two properties, and [that] the distinguishing characteristics also are the work of each of the two natures, we reject and anathematize, because [this] is found to be contrary to the twelve chapters of the blessed Cyril**" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 275).

XXXI. EMPEROR ANASTASIUS I SHOWS HIS PERSONAL COMMITMENT TO ANTI-CHALCEDONIANISM BY OFFERING TO RESIGN THE THRONE AFTER THE RIOTS AND VIOLENCE AGAINST THE MIAPHYSITES IN CONSTANTINOPLE IN 512:

Emperor Anastasius I (491-518) published in 511 a text (quoted in the previous section), which is referred to as a *typos*, which may have been drafted by St. Severus. It anathematizes Chalcedon. And Macedonius the Chalcedonian patriarch of Constantinople was deposed, exiled, and replaced by Timothy (511-518).

Then following the introduction of the interpolated "theopaschite" *Trisagion* ("Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immoral, who was crucified for us, have mercy on us") at St. Sophia in 512, "riots took place, statues of Anastasius were overthrown and violence erupted against the Monophysites. The crisis was finally overcome through a courageous gesture of the old emperor. Showing his personal commitment to anti-Chalcedonianism, he appeared before the crowds at the hippodrome dressed in mourning clothes, without his imperial crown, and offered to resign the throne. His personal popularity, pious reputation and obvious sincerity won the day. He stayed on and was even able to quench the rebellion of Vitalian (513-515) who had espoused the Chalcedonian cause" (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 204 & n. 64).

XXXII. ST. SEVERUS ANATHEMATIZES CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO IN HIS CATHEDRAL HOMILIES:

St. Severus's election to the see of Antioch took place early in November 512, "followed by the ceremony of consecration in the Great Church on 16 November, at which twelve bishops, including Philoxenus, assisted. During the ceremony, Severus delivered the first of his 125 Cathedral Homilies, so-called because they were delivered from the cathedra or episcopal throne in his role as bishop. This homily survives in Syriac fragments and in a complete Coptic version (*PO* 38/2: 254-69),... The title of the homily as preserved in the Syriac version reveals that the main topic was the necessity of confessing 'Christ out of two natures, a single Lord, a single Son, and not two natures after the ineffable union' (*PO* 38/2: 255)" (Allen & Hayward, *Severus of Antioch*, p. 12).

He anathematizes all heretics, "**especially Nestorius and Eutyches, Chalcedon, Leo's *Tome* and all supporters of the 'two natures after the union', and every distribution of activities and properties in the one incarnate *Logos* to 'two' (natures), which meant for Severus the profession of two persons. Chalcedon had stirred up an even more furious storm than Nestorius had** (Coptic §10, p. 258). **At this Council the new Jews assembled** (Coptic §14, pp. 260-261)" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, pp. 281-282).

"In expressions which would become familiar to his new congregations, to his readers and to opponents, **the new patriarch denounced the madness of the new Jews; that is, those who joined the Council of Chalcedon, and who divided the indivisible into two natures** – for the word 'two' dissolves unity and destroys the economy of salvation (*PO* 38/2: 261-2). **At the conclusion of the ceremony of consecration, Severus signed a declaration of faith, which was witnessed by thirteen bishops**" (Allen & Hayward, *Severus of Antioch*, p. 12).

XXXIII. ST. SEVERUS WRITES TO POPE JOHN II OF ALEXANDRIA (505-516) ON THE OCCASION OF HIS ELEVATION TO THE SEE OF ANTIOCH CONDEMNING THE DYOPHYSITES:

"'We anathematize those who after the ineffable union say that our Lord Jesus Christ is two natures' wrote Severus in announcing to John II of Alexandria his accession to the see of Antioch" (Hardy, E.R., *Christian Egypt, Church and People*, Oxford (1952), p. 128 quoting on p. 225 n. 27: Lebon, *Monophysitisme Severien*, p. 255 from *PG* lxxxvi, col. 909).

XXXIV. THE POPULATION OF ANTIOCH RECEIVE ST. SEVERUS AFTER HIS CONSECRATION TO THE PATRIARCHATE OF ANTIOCH WITH GREAT ENTHUSIASM DEMANDING THE ANATHEMATIZATION OF THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO:

According to St. Severus's biographer, John of Beith-Aphthonia, "the population of Antioch received him with enthusiasm. **'Anathematize the Council of Chalcedon. Anathematize the council that has turned the universe upside down.**

Anathematize the apostate council. Anathematize the council of renegades. Cursed be the council. Cursed be the *Tome* of Leo. Deliver the city from heresy. We want to participate in the holy mysteries. We want to baptize our children'..." (Frend, *RMM*, p. 221, quoting John of Beith-Aphthonia, *Vita Severi*, ed. & tr. M.A. Kugener, *PO* 2, 3 [Paris, 1907], p. 241).

A similar quotation is given in the *Chronicle* of Ps. Dionysius of Tell-Mahre as follows:

"For a long time we have wanted to partake of the Holy Mysteries."

"Set our city free from the Council of Chalcedon!"

"Anathematize now this (council) which has turned the world (upside down)!"

"Anathematize now the council of the distorters (of the faith)!"

"The cursed Council of Chalcedon!"

"The cursed *Tome* of Leo!"

"Let all the bishops anathematize (it) now!"

"Who will not do so is a wolf and not a shepherd."

(Allen and Hayward, *Severus of Antioch*, p. 11, & n. 15 citing reference on p. 176 from "Ps. Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, *Chron.*: 13-14, trans. Witakowski; line division by P. Allen. The source is no doubt JBA 241)").

XXXV. THE GREAT ORIENTAL SYNOD (513 A.D.) ANATHEMATIZES THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO:

"In April or October 513 the great Oriental Synod was held, at which (St. Severus) the new patriarch presided. Philoxenus, seconded by his supporters, demanded a vote on the following points: (1) the legitimacy of the new patriarch, Severus, and the validity of Flavian's deposition; (2) the anathema against Chalcedon and Leo's *Tome*, and—as the obverse of this—the ratification of the orthodoxy of the opponents of the Council and the *Tome*; (3) the restoration of the peace of the Church on this basis. The *Henoticon* was accepted, yet not 'hypocritically in the manner of the deposed patriarchs Flavian and Macedonius', but 'honestly'. This was accentuated by a profession of faith and the signing of a charter condemning the teaching of 'two natures'" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 282 & n. 171: "...Severus: *Letter to Hippocrates*: *PO* 12, nr. 46, p. 321; *Letter to Musonius and Alexander* (513-516 A.D.): *SL* I 27, Brooks II 88 (V): **'the whole synod of the God-loving bishops of the East is united in the right doctrines and anathematizes all the heresies', among which are included: the division of Christ into two natures after the union; Chalcedon ['the stronghold of this evil heresy'] and the *Tome* of Leo ['the cleaver of peace']").**

"The result of the Synod was communicated in synodal letters to Timothy of Constantinople and John of Nikiu" (*ibid.*, p. 282 & n. 172: "Severus, *Letter to Hippocrates*: *PO* 12, nr. 46. frg. p. 321 (synodal letter to Timothy is mentioned). *Letter to Musonius and Alexander*: *SL* I 27, Brooks II 88 [John of Nikiu]: '...we have now drawn up a synodical letter addressed to the God-loving archbishop of the Alexandrians, inviting him to unanimity and pure communion'. Further despatches are announced.").

In *Ep. to Hippocrates* (*PO* 12 nr. 46. p. 321) St. Severus recalls the Anathemas pronounced

at the Oriental Synod saying: **"And when all the bishops of the East were present at Antioch, and anathematized the synod in writing, and we addressed a synodical letter to Timothy the prelate of the royal city, we anathematized what was done at Chalcedon against the orthodox faith, and the Jewish *Tome* of Leo, and those who call our one Lord and God Jesus Christ two natures after the incomprehensible union"** (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 283).

XXXVI. THE COUNCIL OF TYRE (514 A.D.) ACCEPTS THE *HENOTICON* AS ANNULLING CHALCEDON:

"In 514 a great synod met at Tyre summoned at the emperor's order, but largely due to the energy of Philoxenus. Alexandria and Jerusalem were represented, as well as the provinces of Severus' patriarchate. There the memory of the reverse at Sidon three years before was wiped out. **The synod accepted the *Henotikon* as annulling Chalcedon"** (Frend, *RMM*, p. 227 referring to Zacharias Rhetor, *HE* VII:10, 12).

In that synod, "Severus expounded the *Henoticon* as meaning the abrogation of the transactions at Chalcedon, and openly anathematized the addition which it had made to the faith" (Sellers, p. 282).

"All the bishops assembled with Severus and Philoxenus and proclaimed the truth" (Zachariah, *HE* VII:12).

"Severus himself shows his satisfaction...by pointing to 'the sudden conversion to virtue' that had recently taken place throughout the Oriental diocese, 'where **all by divine counsel under behest from above have cast forth and banned the heresy of the duality of the natures with definite anathemas**' (*Select Letters* V. 6, p. 308)" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 228, n. 1).

"Synodal letters were sent to John II of Alexandria, Timothy of the royal city, who had succeeded Macedonius, and Elias of Jerusalem. The first two accepted what had been done at Tyre, but Elias, supported by a strong body of Chalcedonians, refused to communicate with Severus. Thereupon the governor of Palestine, Olympius, ejected him from his see (516), and set up in his place a certain John, a supporter of the Monophysite (=Miaphysite) cause" (Sellers, p. 282).

"These years were the highwater-mark of success of Severus and Philoxenus. Dioscorus and Timothy the Cat were once more restored to the diptychs" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 228).

"Indeed, at this time the Chalcedonians were so dismayed that some of them were prepared to accept the Synod and the *Tome*, 'not as a definition of faith, nor as a symbol, nor as an interpretation, but only as an anathema against Nestorius and Eutyches'. But 'the congregations of the orthodox' could not agree, since they counted this but another trick of the 'heretics'. So they continued in what they called their 'stability', till with the death of Anastasius (1 July 518), a new dynasty brought with it a new ecclesiastical policy" (Sellers, pp. 282-283).

"See also the extract from the second book of the *Ecclesiastical History of John of Ephesus*, *Patrol. Orient.* T. ii. Fasc. 3, p. 304. It illustrates the triumph of the Monophysites (= Miaphysites) that **about this time a synod was held at Alexandria at which it was decreed that, without an explicit anathema against Chalcedon, the**

***Henoticon* was to be regarded as insufficient**. See the letter of Severus to Dioscorus II of Alexandria (Brooks, *A Collection of Letters of Severus of Antioch*, *op. cit.* T. xii. Fasc. 2, pp. 323f.)" (Sellers, p. 282, n. 1).

XXXVII. ST. SEVERUS PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH PRESCRIBES AN EXPLICIT ANATHEMA AGAINST CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO JOINED WITH THE *HENOTICON*:

In his letter to Pope Dioscorus II of Alexandria (June 516–14 October 517), Patriarch Severus of Antioch refers to a synod held before in Alexandria (around the time of the Synod of Tyre, 514 A.D.), which decreed, in agreement with what St. Severus is prescribing to Pope Dioscorus II, that, without an explicit anathema against Chalcedon, the *Henoticon* was to be regarded as insufficient (Sellers, p. 282, n. 1).

The letter (*Ep.* 49) reads as follows: "But perhaps it is good to say, both to our people and to all strangers, that, if the time of concession call, **to catch one who is separated and to gain him, I prescribe a formula that does not exceed what is right**, but goes in the middle of the king's highway, **a formula which anathematizes by name the things done at Chalcedon against the orthodox faith, and against those who contended on behalf of this, and the wicked *Tome* of Leo, who became chief of the church of the Romans, and those who call our one Lord and God Jesus Christ two natures after the divine and ineffable union, there being also expressly joined with these things the right confession contained in the edict of Zeno of pious ending, for the rejection of the wicked synod at Chalcedon. If the things blasphemously and unlawfully done at that synod, and the polluted *Tome* of Leo, and those who after the union divide the one Christ into a duality of natures, are not anathematized, though the edict or *Henotikon* is taken as a rejection of these things, I do not consider this sufficient for persuasion, as was also declared in the proceedings held among you**" (Brooks, *A Collection of Letters of Severus of Antioch*, *PO* T. XII, Fascicule 2, pp. 323-324).

But the old Pope Dioscorus II was less anxious than Patriarch Severus for specific denunciation of the *Tome* and Council to be coupled with acceptance of the *Henotikon* (Frend, *RMM*, p. 229).

Therefore St. Severus sent another letter to Pope Dioscorus II (*Ep.* 50), in which he says: "But neither can I consent to the proposals that come from your religiousness, nor is it reasonable for me to form a judgment upon the things written by the other party as if something certain were in question, even if it were an angel who says these things: for can I ratify words without witnesses and without verification while we are at a distance?" (*PO* T. XII, Fascicule 2, p. 325).

XXXVIII. ST. SEVERUS'S DAILY DENUNCIATION OF LEO AND THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON:

A letter was sent by the Chalcedonian Alexander, the presbyter and archimandrite of the monastery of Maro south of Damascus and his monks "to (the Roman) Pope Hormisdas

near the end of 517. This attacked Severus, accused him of daily denouncing 'the holy synod of Chalcedon' and 'our blessed father Leo', and using violence" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 229).

XXXIX. A HYMN BY THE ANTI-CHALCEDONIANS AND ST. SEVERUS HIMSELF AT THE TIME OF LACK OF RAIN EXPRESSING STEADFASTNESS IN THE REJECTION OF THE "TWO-NATURE" DOGMA OF THE IMPURE SYNOD OF CHALCEDON:

"*Another (hymn) concerning those who spread (the opinion) that the lack of rain was because* ***the impure Synod of Chalcedon was anathematized.***"

"'You destroy all who are unfaithful to you for ever' (cf. *Psalm* 73:27)."

"We know, O Lord, that (it is) because of our transgressions and evil deeds which we have committed that you have prepared and drawn the bow of your wrath which is threatening us."

"But the followers of the error of two natures said with their lips, scoffing and mocking, and shook their heads at us and said: 'Behold, they had trusted and relied on the Lord that he would rescue them. May he deliver and save them since he delights in them' (cf. *Psalm* 22:8)."

"But let us say weeping in pain: 'There is a God in heaven whom we serve, who has the power to save and rescue us from this suffering (cf. *Daniel* 3:16-18). And even if (he does) not – know that we will never agree to say in a Jewish way "two natures" about this one Christ, but as we have learned, so we declare, that there is (only) one nature in the incarnate Word.'"

"We confess One out of the Trinity who suffered for us in the flesh, him, who also through rain and dew, which are from him (cf. *Psalm* 65:11), blesses the crown of the year by his graciousness according to the abundance of his mercy."

(Allen & Hayward, *Severus of Antioch*, p. 172 quoting Hymn 253 & n. on p. 184).

XL. ST. SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH WRITES LETTERS TO HIPPOCRATES THE ALEXANDRIAN SCHOLASTICUS CONDEMNING CHALCEDON AND THE JEWISH *TOME* OF LEO:

"*Of the same from the letter to Hippocrates the Alexandrine scholastic, the beginning of which is*, 'And I have not learned to jest at divine things as on a stage'."

"But as to the edict I have often said to your wisdom what my position is, and it seems a piece of perversity that we should sing to no purpose about the same things; for whether you remember or do not remember is the same to me. **While the things wickedly done at Chalcedon against the orthodox faith are not anathematized by name, no argument can persuade me like an interpreter of dreams to expound and forcibly understand the text of the edict as a rejection of the unlawful things.** (And again he says of the *Henotikon*.) For it contains a right confession of faith only, though by itself it be destitute of healing for what is required."

"*Of the same from the same letter.*"

"And, **when all the bishops of the East were present in Antioch, and anathematized the synod in writing, and we addressed a synodical letter**

to Timothy the prelate of the royal city, we anathematized what was done at Chalcedon against the orthodox faith, and the Jewish *Tome* of Leo, and those who call our one Lord and God Jesus Christ two natures after the incomprehensible union" (*PO*, T. XII, Fascicule 2, pp. 320-321, *Ep.* 46).

Again, St. Severus writes to the same Hippocrates (*ibid.*, p. 322f., *Ep.* 47):

"*XLVII—Of the same from another letter to the same Hippocrates, the beginning of which is*, 'That which brings your wisdom'."

"But this you may keep firmly and fixedly in your mind, **that no one shall be our fellow-communicant, nor will we consent to greet by letter any man who at the same time receives the wicked synod at Chalcedon contrary to the law, and does not anathematize the *Tome* of Leo**. But, if any concession is necessary, I will stand within the ordinances of the **holy Timothy**, considering the general benefit of a union of the holy churches, and **demanding an open anathema of the things done at Chalcedon against the orthodox faith, and of the wicked *Tome* of Leo, and of those who speak of two natures after the union, and the operations of these and their properties**. But, if these things are upset, no argument nor inducement shall persuade me to assent to the wickedness. For I say like Paul, 'It is better for me to die, than that anyone should make my boasting in vain: for, I so preach, I have no cause of boasting; for necessity is laid upon me, and woe to me unless I so preach, since so I have received' (*1Corinthians* IX, 15, 16)".

XLI. ST. SEVERUS WRITES FROM HIS EXILE CONDEMNING CHALCEDON:

From his exile in Egypt, St. Severus wrote his *Contra impium Grammaticum* saying: "These slanders against St. Cyril – who used to acknowledge Emmanuel as out of two natures and who used to proclaim one nature of God the Word incarnate – Nestorius and supporters of Judaism and of his filthy opinions had devised: 'change; confusion; he made the very Word of God passible; in fact he adds two natures before the union; but he makes one nature after the union by co-mingling, and mixes and confuses the natures'. The Synod of Chalcedon as well added these invectives to the same words when it openly refused to accept that Christ should be truly declared as 'out of two natures'; and in no way upheld writing 'one nature of God the Word incarnate' in its definition. In fact, it shares in the slander with those people, inasmuch as it openly wrote down their objections in the matters which were published by it; but it estranged itself from the perfect confession of St. Cyril which set aside the vacuity of their objections. And when it refused the formula 'out of two natures', and when it tore away, and also when it made mention of St. Cyril's letters, it did so for the purpose of deceiving and seducing the simple, a matter indeed of amazing cunning, and something especially fitting for censure by the wise" (Allen & Hayward, *Severus of Antioch*, p. 92, quoting *Or.* III.14, tr. from *CSCO* 45, p. 251).

XLII. ST. JACOB OF SARUG (*c.* 451-521) ANATHEMATIZES THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO:

St. Jacob of Sarug, one of the greatest Syrian doctors, is known as "the flute of the Holy Spirit and the harp of the Orthodox Church" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 242). In 519 A.D., the same

year that St. Philoxenus and St. Severus were removed from their sees, St. Jacob was made bishop of Batnan (also called Bathnae), the chief town of Sarug, towards the end of his life (cf. Chesnut, p. 6).

St. Jacob's *Letter* XVII to the monks of Mar Bassus, written after the elevation of St. Severus to the patriarchate of Antioch (512) and after the Oriental Synod of 513, shows clearly his position with regard to the *Henoticon*, the Council of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo. From this we shall cite paragraphs IV & V:

"IV Severus...spoke the truth openly at the great assembly of the Oriental Synod, and what was done in the document *Henoticon* with hints and enigmas he [then] said with open words before the great multitude [of the city] of the daughter of the day whom Peter betrothed to the Crucified [= Antioch]. And since then it is proper for everyone who is a believer to speak openly, without shame, while adhering to the document *Henoticon* which rejects the Council covertly and with a hint. **And [one] also adheres now to the public confession that was proclaimed at the Oriental Synod which was gathered around the great, holy and blessed Severus, when the Council [held] in Chalcedon was anathematized, which [Council] had been anathematized by the Alexandrians and the other countries from the [very] beginning, but since the document *Henoticon* onwards by the whole world.** Now, however, the meaning of the document *Henoticon* has become manifest through saintly Severus the Patriarch."

"V For myself...neither have I learned from the document *Henoticon* something I did not [already] know nor have I added anything to my faith from the confession of Severus. For **I am now what I was before, all the time anathematizing with the whole Church Nestorius and his teaching, those of his opinion and the Council of Chalcedon, because this [Council] also employed words which accord with the opinion of Nestorius, the anathematized [one]. As for Diodore, Theodore, Theodoret, Ibas and the *Tome* of Leo, they are anathematized by [the very fact] that one says: 'I anathematize Nestorius and those of his opinion'.** And because these men evidently adhere to the opinion of Nestorius, they are anathematized with him since they are of his opinion" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 287).

Grillmeier also says (*ibid.*, n. 180 in pp. 286-287) St. Jacob's "***Ep.* XIV anathematizes Nestorius and Eutyches, but Chalcedon is also intended by this (*CSCO* 110, p. 61, 14 ff.) without its being mentioned. *Ep.* XVI: anathemas against Nestorius, Eutyches, Chalcedon and Leo's *Tome***".

Chesnut gives us some better idea of St. Jacob's Miaphysite Christology saying that Jesus is "one Son, one number, one *hypostasis*, one nature, one God who was enfleshed from the holy virgin, one of the Trinity who was seen in the flesh..." (Chesnut, p. 119, quoting St. Jacob of Serug, *Letter* 3, p. 19). Therefore, in *Letter* 16, he states: "[I anathematize those] who, after the union, divide (*mphalgîn*) and name and count in the one Christ natures and their properties, and their individualities, and their operations" (*ibid.*, n. 2, quoting *Letter* 16, p. 70. For the prohibition against 'dividing' see also *Letters*, 16, pp. 65, 72; 33, pp. 247, 248; 14, pp. 60, 61; 6, p. 31).

Frend (*RMM*, p. 60) says: "If an openly 'Nestorian' definition of faith had ever been proposed, it is more doubtful whether the loyalty of the episcopate to the throne would have survived. Christ 'divided' could also have introduced schism into the concept of imperial

monarchy". He adds saying (*ibid.*, n. 1): "An interesting sidelight on this attitude comes from the anti-Chalcedonian Bishop James of Serug (d. 521) concerning Justin. James asks why, if Justin failed to believe that the crucified one was God, could he still wear a cross on top of his crown. If it were simply the cross of a man, as those pretend who wish to deceive the emperor and outrage God, the emperor would never have wished to wear the cross of a man on top of his crown. *Chronicle of Edessa* cited from A.A. Vasiliev, *Justin the First* (Harvard, 1950), p. 234. The symbol of crown and cross only made sense in the framework of Cyrilline theology. Earlier Athanasius himself (*De incarnatione* 24. 4) had argued that the Word-flesh Christology was in itself a guarantee against schism".

XLIII. ST. PHILOXENUS FROM HIS EXILE IN 521 RECOLLECTS THE *HENOTICON* OF 482 AS THE DECISIVE CONDEMNATION OF CHALCEDON:

After the turn of events of 518-519, St. Philoxenus, in a letter written in 521 from Philippopolis where he lived in exile looked back at the long development of the theme "God suffered" and determined the place of the *Henoticon* as the decisive condemnation of Chalcedon and all the heretical preparation for it. The letter is addressed to the monks of Senoun, from which we quote the following (*CSCO* 232, p. 38, 25-39, 9.): "There [then] is what blessed Cyril also wrote who follows in everything the path of the holy Fathers, his precursors, without wandering either to the left or to the right from the royal highway along which they advanced. [For] he himself also says: the virginal conception is [that] of God [is to be expressed of Jesus Christ as God]; the birth is of God; the resemblance to us in all things is of God; the passion is of God; the resurrection from the dead is of God; the ascension into heaven is of God. And [it is] because Nestorius departed from this way [in order to] show another one, new and strange, already trodden before him by the feet of heretics, I mean Diodore, Theodore [of Mopsuestia] and those of their persuasion, [that] he was anathematized with [his] doctrine, first by the holy Council held at Ephesus, then by all the bishops and archbishops who subscribed the unifying Edict [*Henoticon*]. These anathematized, apart from Nestorius, the erring Eutyches and his own heresy which is Manichaean. **And they condemned also those who had assembled at Chalcedon, who even before the *Henoticon* had fallen under the anathema through the decision taken at the holy Council held at Ephesus where these words were officially sanctioned: 'Anyone who shall produce a definition of faith other than the august and holy [definition] coming from the Fathers of Nicaea, let him be anathema'"** (quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, pp. 285-286).

"Only Canon VII of Ephesus (431) can be compared to it, because in a very real sense this canon had made Chalcedon proleptically impossible by its ban on 'presenting, compiling or composing another formula of faith other than that of the holy Fathers who gathered at Nicaea in the Holy Spirit...'. In his eyes the Council of Antioch (513) also had brought nothing new, as the same letter to the monks of Senoun testifies in a passage which offers nothing short of an ecumenical survey of the various positions on the *Henoticon*. On account of its significance we shall cite it completely, following *CSCO* 232, p. 63, 4-17:"

"Know, then, I beseech you, venerable sons, that for our part **we do not accept the [teachings] which have come from Rome and that we do not approve those who**

sent them, for all those who have occupied this see since Leo are Nestorians and work to have the cause of this heretic approved. And we no longer side with what has been invented at Jerusalem, whatever may be their pretence to confess the virgin [as] Mother of God, for they have thrown out this word as bait to catch the simple by means of it, without really accepting it.* **But we shall share completely the tradition and the communion of the Council of the diocese of Egypt† and of [those] of our [Council], that of the East, which met a short time ago in Antioch, [a tradition] which moreover all the bishops from everywhere had approved forty years [ago] by subscribing the document *Henoticon* and the anathema of the Council of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo."**

"*Philoxenus is presumably alluding to the attempt at union by Patriarch Martyrius which we have already presented."

"†What council is meant by this remains unclear. Cf. A. de Halleux, *CSCO* 232, p. 63 n. 3" (quoted in Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part I, p. 286).

XLIV. THE ARMENIAN CHURCH, IN SEVERAL OTHER COUNCILS AT DVIN (i.e. DOWIN) IN THE SIXTH CENTURY, ANATHEMATIZES THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO:

"Chalcedon was again rejected at another council at Dvin between 524 and 527, and at a more important gathering there on 14 December 552 when the calendar was reformed and the date 11 July 552 fixed the beginning of the common era" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 314).

"In fact, **Nersēs of Bagrevand (548-57)**, while answering an official letter addressed to him by the Syrian Christians in the Persian Empire, and after having consecrated their bishop in the person of Abdišoy, tells them that their faith is in accord with the faith of the Church of Armenia and that **his Church also anathematizes Nestorius, Diodore (of Tarsus), Theodore (of Mopsuestia), Barsauma, Theodoret (of Cyrus), the Council of Chalcedon, the *Tome* of Leo, Apollinarius, Eutyches,...."** (Sarkissian, pp. 214-215).

XLV. EGYPT UNITED AGAINST THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO BY EMPEROR JUSTIN I (518-527 A.D.):

The Copts' loyalty to their Orthodox Miaphysite confession, to which Frend adds (*RMM*, p. 73), "Alexandrian chauvinism and self-assertiveness and suspicion of any form of imperial intervention in their ecclesiastical affairs, made an Egyptian 'national religion' based on the teaching of Cyril and Cyril alone a reality. If this cause was threatened, as it was in Justin's reign, it could be claimed by an eye-witness that 'the whole people of Egypt are ready to strip themselves for like contests' and rise in its defense". St. Severus of Antioch describes indignation embracing every age and sex against the imposition by emperor Justin I of the Council of Chalcedon (*ibid.*, n. 3, quoting Severus of Antioch, Letter to John and the presbyters, written 520-34, *Select Letters* V. 2, ed. Brooks, p. 328). In that letter, **St.**

Severus describes the country as united against the *Tome* and the Council (Frend, *RMM*, p. 242).

"For Egypt's continued immunity from interference in Justin's reign, see Zacharias, *HE* VIII. 5... Compare also Liberatus, *Brev.* XIX (*PL* 68, col. 1033D)" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 241, n. 5).

XLVI. THE FAITHFUL SEVERANS IN EDESSA AND THE WHOLE EAST SUFFER GREAT PERSECUTION UNDER EMPEROR JUSTIN I (518-527) THROUGH PAUL "THE NEW JUDAS" OF ANTIOCH AND THE PRO-CHALCEDONIAN BLUE PARTY:

The Chalcedonian general Vitalian had revolted against the miaphysite orthodox emperor Anastasius I in 513. "The defeat of Vitalian's attempt to take Constantinople in 516 gave the emperor a respite and to Severus far away in Antioch a cause for rejoice" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 233; see also Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, pp. 344f. & n. 124).

With the death of Anastasius at the age of 88 on 8/9 July 518, after a twenty-seven year reign, the political and religious atmosphere was changed at the eventual accession, to the throne, of Justin I (518-527), who was a Chalcedonian elderly commander of the palace guard (*ibid.*; Davis, *FSEC*, p. 220; Ber. *EEC*, p. 464).

After seizing power, Justin radically changed his predecessor's pro-Miaphysite policy, summoned Vitalian and made him *magister militum* and charged him with imposing the Definition of Chalcedon on the empire as a whole, through using the harshest measures against those who anathematize the Council of Chalcedon. **"Vitalian's action after April 519 is the worst instance of this trend**; he, however, met his death at the end of July 520 at the instigation of Justinian, the nephew of Justin I. In his way the Antiochene Patriarch Paul II (519-521) also participated in the violent proceedings..." (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 1, p. 327).

"In the early part of 519 the banishment of anti-Chalcedonian bishops began, and at first continued until 522...." (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 344 & n. 123:..... **"According to a list that was probably compiled at Constantinople, apart from Severus 52 other bishops lost their sees. The severity of the action against the Oriental monks is movingly depicted in the *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian.** Cf. IX, 14 and 15: Chabot II, 170-8; IX, 19: 185-9").

"The Chalcedonian bishops too joined in the persecution of their opponents. A notorious case was the successor of Severus of Antioch, Paul the Jew (519-521), who received this epithet from his opponents. At a synod he wanted to commit the Syrian bishops to accept Chalcedon. He could only hold out, however, until 1 May 521" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 345). **During his short rule, Paul the Jew was fiercely resisted and people clamoured for martyrdom** (Frend, *RMM*, p. 249 & n. 6, referring to Philoxenus, *Letter to the Monks of Senoun* [ed. Halleux] *CSCO*, p. 67). **Outside the city, monks were put to death when they refused to conform** (*ibid.*).

[For more details about the notorious crimes of Paul the Jew, the new Judas, see Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* IX:12, 14.]

When the emperor decreed that all the army must follow the Council of Chalcedon, some God-fearing army commanders preferred to receive the

crown of martyrdom by sword for their adherence to the Orthodox faith and rejection of the wicked council. Michael the Syrian gives the names of some of these commanders (*Chron.* IX. 16: Ar. trans., vol. 2, p. 60).

"The Edessene Chronicle speaks of a veritable purge taking place in 518-19. Paul the presbyter of Constantinople, known as 'the Jew', Severus' supplanter, was typical of these new men, and his cruelty to the Monophysites (i.e. Miaphysites) in Edessa made him notorious. Perhaps, related to the rise of Justin's nephew, the Count Justinian, to power in the course of 519-20, one can detect a slowing down of tempo, if not a change of aim. In particular throughout Justin's reign Egypt remained largely unaffected by the events in the capital. Alexandria was able to provide a refuge to the Monophysite (i.e. the Miaphysite) leaders. Severus describes the country as united against the *Tome* and council" (Frend, *RMM*, pp. 241-242).

"Over the remainder of the Oriental diocese it seems as though the authorities were prepared to watch events now that Severus and his friends were in exile. At Edessa, for instance, Justin refused to countenance the forcible removal of Bishop Paul from his see, and acquiesced in another Monophysite succeeding him (October 522). Elsewhere in Syria pro-Chalcedonians took the law into their own hands. Theophanes notes that in city after city the Blue faction, i.e. the pro-Chalcedonians, took over power and 'cowed their opponents with violence and murders'" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 242).

Nevertheless, as early as 527, after Justinian's assumption of power, numerous bishops were able to return from exile (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 345 & n. 129, referring to Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* IX. 21: Chabot II, 192b, [Ar. trans. vol. 2, pp. 78-79]: Michael then describes how the Empress accommodated more than 500 of the wanted clergy (especially monks) in a large court of the palace of Hormisdas. Severus, Theodosius and Anthimus and many wanted bishops she accommodated for years in her palace).

XLVII. THE FAITHFUL MIAPHYSITES OF THE EAST SUFFER GREAT PERSECUTION UNDER EPHRAIM, THE CHALCEDONIAN PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH (527-545) FOR REJECTING AND ANATHEMATIZING THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO:

Among the Orthodox followers of St. Severus, hatred and fears aroused by the *Tome* of Leo and Chalcedon and the persecutions in their name could not be washed away. "I do not communicate with the synod" had become the stock answer to challengers.

Ephraim, a former military commander of the east (*magister militum Orientis*) whom Justin appointed as Patriarch of Antioch in 527, never gave peace to his opponents, the Orthodox Severans, during the whole eighteen years of his rule (cf. Frend, *RMM*, pp. 249 & 252).

Ephraim persecuted the faithful of the East through Abraham bar Kaili bishop of Amida who sent executioners and gathered clergy, monks and the faithful to the number of around 1400 men and tried to force them to accept Chalcedon on the emperor's orders. Their answer was that "we have been taught to obey God more than men". And he banished them and they crossed the Euphrates to the region of Claudia, persisting in anathematizing the Council (of Chalcedon) (Michael the Syrian, *Chron.*, IX. chap. 18; Ar. tr., vol. 2, pp. 66-67).

Another "example of this attitude is the scene that took place **in Amida when Abraham bar Kaili tried to proclaim Chalcedon on the emperor's orders. 'We will never accept the synod and the *Tome*', the people cried, and rioted against the bishop and magistrates**" (Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* IX. 26, ed. Chabot, II, 222). **Through the assistance of Thomas bishop of Tella and bar John, he assaulted many till death, imprisoned around 50, crucified four, and banished a great multitude from the city** (*ibid.*). Compare John Moschos, *Pratum spirituale*, ch. 36 (*PG* 87. 3, col. 2885A) for another instance (Frend, *RMM*, p. 275, n. 3).

"By the end of the year or early 537 supporters of Severus were being hunted by police and soldiers in their strongholds in Mesopotamia on the Persian frontier. Both John of Ephesus and Zacharias report that some of those caught were burnt alive, and once again the Monophysite monks suffered the rigours of a harsh winter deprived of the shelter of their monasteries" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 274).

"For Monophysite supporters in Amida being burnt by the Chalcedonian bishop, Abraham bar Kaili, see Zacharias Rhetor, *HE* X.2 (*CSCO* III. 6, p. 120), and John of Ephesus, *History of the convents of Amida* (ed. Brooks), *PO* 17, p. 620. Also Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* IX. 18 (ed. Chabot, II, 187)" (cited in Frend, *RMM*, p. 274, n. 2).

XLVIII. ST. JOHN BISHOP OF TELLA DEMANDS DENUNCIATION OF CHALCEDON AS THE GAUGE OF ORTHODOXY:

Chalcedon had established the doctrine of "two natures after the union", which, itself an innovation, led to the Nestorian doctrine of "two sons".

"The words of St. John of Tella to Ephraim the Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch vividly illustrate the attitude of the Monophysites (i.e. Miaphysites) to Chalcedon: 'I say it in all truth: if my Patriarch, Mar Severus, had come and ordered me to ascribe to Christ "two natures after the union", I would have placed my two hands on his head and anathematized him' (*Vitae Virorum apud Monophysitas celeberrimorum*, i, trans. E.W. Brooks, *CSCO*, *Ser.* III. T. xxv, p. 57)" (Sellers, p. 269, n. 2).

St. John of Tella demanded denunciation of Chalcedon as the gauge of orthodoxy. (See Elias, *Vita Johannis episcopi Tellae*, ed. Brooks, p. 52; Frend, *RMM*, p. 277, n. 3).

"Around 530 popular loyalty, particularly in east Syria, brought a fundamental change in Monophysite strategy which was to lead directly to permanent separation from the church of the empire. The story of the events resulting in this fateful decision is told by John of Ephesus in his *Life* of John of Tella who ordained him deacon at this time with fifty-nine others: 'At the end of ten years of persecution [i.e. 529/30], the faithful who remained in diverse places began to be concerned about ordinations and consulted the faithful bishops: but these latter feared to bring down on themselves even fiercer flames of persecution, and they refused to make ordinations openly, although they had made some in secret.....' The problem had gradually become more acute as the years went by with the Chalcedonians always in control" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 260).

Faced with St. John of Tella's demand for general ordinations, St. Severus at first hesitated but finally bowed to St. John's persuasion. "The response was sensational. Hundreds of people came to him 'like a flooded river that has burst its banks'. 'Every day fifty, a hundred and sometimes as many as two or three hundred men, came to him for ordination'. Supporters in areas where John was intending to come were secretly warned of his arrival and asked to bring to him suitable candidates in their neighbourhoods. All those produced were examined in reading the Scriptures and reciting the psalms and obliged before acceptance to show some evidence of literacy. **Candidates, we are told, came from as far afield as Armenia, Phoenicia, Cappadocia and Arzanene on the Persian frontier.** Even if the number of ordinations, 170,000, is greatly exaggerated, the foundations of a Severan church extending throughout the whole of the Roman east had been laid. **John of Tella himself claimed to have admitted no less than 840 members of his monastery to the diaconate in a single year (529/30)"** (John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, ed. Brooks, *PO* 18, pp. 518, 519 & 521; quoted in Frend, *RMM*, p. 261).

"Elias' *Life* of John of Tella, written sometime after 542, claims that the success of John's mission persuaded Justinian to summon him together with eight other bishops to the capital for discussions concerning their differences over Chalcedon. This would seem to be one of the main factors in Justinian's sudden relaxation of persecution in 530 or 531 and the restoration of the scattered communities of monks to their monasteries, but not the bishops to their sees" (Frend, *RMM*, pp. 261-262; see Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* IX. 21, ed. Chabot II, 192).

"John of Tella himself was arrested in the mountains near Singara while continuing to preach the anti-Chalcedonian cause, and died in prison" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 274 & n. 3, citing Zacharias Rhetor, *HE* X.1, Elias, *Vita*, pp. 52ff., and John of Ephesus, *Life of John of Tella*, ed. Brooks, *PO* 18, pp. 524-5).

Ephraim of Antioch and his advisers who proclaimed "*unus est Deus*", claimed that they were as good Cyrillists as John of Tella, and appear to have been genuinely hurt and surprised to find that John still demanded denunciation of Chalcedon as gauge of orthodoxy. See Elias, *Vita Johannis episcopi Tellae* (ed. Brooks), p. 52. Against this sort of argument, the Monophysite monks replied, 'Well, why if Chalcedon called Mary "*Theotokos*" and condemned Nestorius and Eutyches did it uphold Ibas who declared that Christ "was only a man like me"?' The monks evidently knew their *Acta* of Ephesus II! (See Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* IX. 18, ed. Chabot, II, 188) (Frend, *RMM*, n. 3 on pp. 277f.).

XLIX. THE HOLY STYLITE MONK ZOORAS CONFRONTS EMPEROR JUSTINIANUS WITH ANATHEMA TO THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON:

Zacharias (*HE* IX:15 & 19) credits empress Theodora for the invitation of St. Severus to Constantinople. His arrival in the winter of 534/535, with Peter of Apamea, the former stylite monk Zooras and a monastic throng greatly increased the Miaphysite presence in the city (cf. Frend, *RMM*, pp. 269-270).

Zooras (Syriac: Zoᶜora i.e. "small") was of humble origin but endowed with miraculous powers. **When he heard the emperor threatening with death all who**

anathematize the Council of Chalcedon, he protested saying: "The Council which divided Christ not only we alone anathematize, but even the holy angels do". [For more on his influence and miracles, see Michael the Syrian, *Chron.*, IX. 23; Ar. tr., vol. 2, pp. 87-90].

Empress Theodora's own devotion to the Miaphysite cause had, if anything, been sharpened by her baptism by Zooras in 535 A.D. (Frend, *RMM*, pp. 271-272).

Frend (*ibid.*, n. 1) says that "Next year the Jerusalem monks at the synod that deposed Anthimus were loud in their demands that Zooras' 'cave' where allegedly he performed his 'false baptisms' should be destroyed! (*ACO* 3, p. 181, parag. 129)".

L. THE ANTI-CHALCEDONIAN SIDE IN THE RELIGIOUS CONFERENCE OF 532 IN CONSTANTINOPLE INSISTS ON DEMANDING CONDEMNATION OF CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO AS A CONDITION FOR REUNION; AND THE ANTI-CHALCEDONIAN PRAYER OF THE DEMONSTRATING CONSTANTINOPOLITAN CROWD AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE OF 533:

"In 531 A.D. Justinian relaxed the persecution of the anti-Chalcedonians and rescinded certain laws. Those who had been banished could return. Numerous bishops proceeded to Constantinople under the protection of Empress Theodora, Emperor Justinian's wife, who was of anti-Chalcedonian mind. On the Persian border Justinian himself came into contact with bishops in exile and discovered that the way which could lead to the goal of unity was not that of expulsion, but rather of discussion. It was obviously from this experience that there emerged the proposal for the religious conference of 532 in Constantinople.... Thus a *commissio mixta* was formed in which, following the idea of the Emperor, both sides were to be represented equally, each by six bishops who were selected in accord with a cleverly devised scheme.... 'The talks of the two groups of bishops had not been negotiations between people on the same footing. Rather the Emperor brought the bishops who were adverse to his imperial confession into contact with representatives of his own side, in order to find out how the dissidents could be led back to unity'....." (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part I, pp. 328-329).

"According to a Syrian report about the religious conference the Syrians had formulated their own ideas on the assumption of communion, and submitted these to the Emperor. 'They laid down the following conditions. Those who accept the two natures after the union must be anathematized. The same anathema must apply to the letter of Leo and to everything the Council of Chalcedon did against right faith. And above all the *libelli* of the Roman Popes (Hormisdas), which all the bishops are to subscribe, must be suppressed as well... After receiving the Syrian conditions, Justinian for his part made proposals with compromise formulas and solutions" (*ibid.*, p. 329).

Emperor Justinian's proposals were not accepted and his goal from the dialogue could not be achieved, namely, to lead the Severans back to unity with the imperial confession.

According to the conviction of the anti-Chalcedonians "it was the Chalcedonian side that was marked with the sign of schism:"

"We do not think that those who have specifically withdrawn themselves from

communion with the opposite party will be united, unless they anathematize those who speak of two natures after the inexplicable union, as well as the *Tome* of Leo, and what took place at Chalcedon in opposition to the orthodox faith..." (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 247).

It is worth noting that before the arrival of the Syrian anti-Chalcedonian bishops at Constantinople for the religious conference of 532, there occurred the Nika (i.e. Victory) riots in January 532 which could almost have cost Justinian his life and crown. **It demonstrated the anti-Chalcedonian spirit among a large section of the poor. And according to Procopius, in putting down the riot more than thirty thousand people of the citizen body died.** [See Part Three of the present work under section X.F.7.e.].

"With Emperor Justinian's new religious policy, the Severans recognized the chance to permeate the capital more and more with their influence, and on that basis to make **a fresh attempt to abolish Chalcedon. In November 533 they took advantage of the panic that occurred among the population because of the earthquake, to organize a demonstration by the people against the Fourth Synod**" (Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 346-347 and quoting in n. 134: *Chron. Pasch.* 629 BC: **the praying crowd called to Christ: "Take and burn the decree composed by the bishops of the Synod of Chalcedon"**. Cf. E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II, 380).

There soon appeared significant opportunities to take drastic measures. [See the following section].

LI. PATRIARCH ANTHIMUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE CONDEMNS THE *TOME* OF LEO AND THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND ACCEPTS ZENO'S *HENOTICON* INTERPRETED AS A CONDEMNATION OF CHALCEDON AND LEO:

"Anthimus of Trebizond had been one of the ... (Chalcedonian) representatives at the colloquies of 532, but he was an ascetic, one who was said to have eaten no bread, oil or wine for years, and the arguments of the Monophysite (i.e. Miaphysite) leaders must have impressed him. Soon after he had been consecrated patriarch, Theodora brought him into contact with Severus who convinced him completely both of his own orthodoxy and of the iniquity of Chalcedon" (Frend, *RMM*, pp. 270-271).

"In his letters to Severus and Theodosius, Patriarch Anthimus offered nothing other than to restore communion on the basis of the first three councils of 325, 381 and 431 and of the *Henoticon* of Emperor Zeno, the latter being interpreted as a condemnation of Chalcedon and the *Tomus* of Leo I" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 348, referring to Zacharias Rh. cont., *HE*, IX:21&25 & *CPG* 7087 & 7088).

"In his letter of reply Severus spoke of his willingness for an already 'realized conjunction' between Anthimus and himself. He intended to relay this to Patriarch Theodosius. **Anthimus asserted to Theodosius as well that the same should be accepted as the basis of communion: the first three synods, Zeno's *Henoticon* (likewise interpreted as a condemnation of Chalcedon and Leo I) and Cyril's twelve anathemas** (*ibid.*, referring to Zacharias Rh. cont. IX:25). Theodosius himself in

his reply to Anthimus accepted these conditions completely (Zacharias Rh. cont., IX:26). In a letter to Severus he had already stated that he was fully in agreement with the teaching of Anthimus (*ibid.*, IX:24).

Grillmeier (*CCT*, vol. II, part 2, p. 348, n. 140) says: "That Anthimus wished to restore the unity of the Church on this basis is also shown by his letter to Jacob Baradai, bishop of Edessa (*CPG* 7085), in F. Nau, 'Littérature canonique syriaque inédite', *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 14 (1909), 123-4, particularly at the end where Theodoret and Ibas of Edessa are then named as opponents".

"Zacharias states that the three patriarchs, meaning Severus, Anthimus and Theodosius, were now in communion, and this is confirmed by Severus himself" (Zacharias, *HE*, IX:19-20, quoted in Frend, *RMM*, p. 271).

"The Palestinian and Syrian monks first tried to get Anthimus to accept explicitly Chalcedon and the *Tome* and for good measure anathematize Dioscorus. On his refusal they sent their delegation to Rome to join that of Ephraim" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 272).

Pope Agapetus I of Rome (535-536) hastened his way to Constantinople under cover of a political mission and reached there in March 536. Agapetus had the emperor Justinian depose St. Anthimus. "And Anthimus submitted. Liberatus says he returned his pallium to the emperor and departed to a place where Theodora protected him" (*ibid.*, p. 272 & n. 3 referring to Liberatus, *Brev.* XXI. 147; cf. John of Ephesus, *Lives of Five Patriarchs*, *PO* 18, p. 686). And on 13 March Agapetus himself consecrated his successor, the Alexandrian-born Menas. In May-June 535, Menas excommunicated St. Anthimus by a synod as a heretic. "The emperor assented readily enough. On 6 August 536 an imperial edict banned Anthimus, Severus and their supporters from the capital and from all the great cities of the empire, and ordered the burning of all copies of Severus' writings. Severus himself was accused of waging 'undeclared war' in setting the churches against each other, and charged with uttering blasphemies as damnable as those of Arius and Apollinarius. Harsh penalties were decreed against any who sheltered those who had been banned. 'We forbid to all men', Justinian declared, 'that any should possess the books of Severus. And just as it was not permitted to transcribe and possess the books of Nestorius because the emperors which have preceded us have decided in their edicts to assimilate those works with the writings of Porphyry against the Christians, so in the same way no Christian shall possess either the speeches of Severus, but these from now on shall be considered as profane and contrary to the Catholic church...' Thus Severus was condemned; he left the capital and died in Egypt, an exile from his see, eighteen months later (8 February 538). His friend Anthimus had already disappeared into obscurity" (*ibid.*, p. 273). St. Anthimus seems to have survived another seven years, if not until after Theodora's death in 548 (*ibid.*, p. 272, n. 3 referring to Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* IX. 29).

LII. POPE THEODOSIUS HOLDS A SYNOD IN ALEXANDRIA, IN JUNE 535 A.D., PROCLAIMING ZENO'S *HENOTIKON* AS A WEAPON ANNULLING THE *TOME* OF LEO AND THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON:

St. Theodosius represented the Severan party in Alexandria, but soon after his consecration, he was immediately challenged by the Julianist party. They consecrated a

rival patriarch, Gaianus the archdeacon of Alexandria, who held his position for 104 days until his expulsion on 24 May (Frend, *RMM*, p. 270 & n. 3 quoting Liberatus *Brev.* XX).

Back in office, St. Theodosius of Alexandria made an immediate effort to reconsolidate his authority by convening a local synod in June 535 and proclaiming his unwavering commitment to the conciliar legacy of his Alexandrian predecessors: the Council of Nicaea and the first Council of Ephesus (against Nestorius). Cyril's Twelve Anathemas were declared to be of divine inspiration, and **Zeno's *Henoticon* which is restored to a place of honour as the weapon annulling the *Tome* and Chalcedon** (*Epistola synodica venerabilis et sancti archiepiscopi Alexandriae Theodosii ad beatum Mar Severum patriarcham Antiochae, Mense iunio: Documenta*, ed. Chabot, Document I., quoted in Frend, *RMM*, p. 270, n. 4).

"The result was communicated to Severus who replied with a long letter ..., reassuring him on the canonicity of his consecration and of his own unreserved support against the Julianists" (*ibid.*, Documents II, pp. 6-22). [See the following entrance].

LIII. THE SYNODICAL LETTER OF ST. SEVERUS TO ST. THEODOSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA CONDEMNS THE TEACHERS OF ANTHROPOLATRY AND ANATHEMATIZES THE SYNOD OF CHALCEDON AND THE BLASPHEMOUS *TOME* OF LEO:

The exiled Antiochene patriarch, St. Severus, responded to the Synodical Letter of St. Theodosius kindly by defending St. Theodosius's "divine designation of the evangelical seat" of Alexandria.

In the reply which is the Synodical Letter of St. Severus to St. Theodosius, dated 26 July 535, he says: "**We, too, anathematize with all our authority** those who have boasted and spoken against them (i.e. against the twelve chapters of St. Cyril), and **those who cast forth before them the seeds (that is, the tares) of Jewish anthropolatry** – Paul of Samosata and Artemon who preceded him, and Photinus and Diodore and Theodore and Nestorius who openly displayed the impiety of these men and therefore himself provided a name for the heresy; and Theodore and Andrew and Ibas of Edessa and Alexander of Hierapolis, and Eutherius of Tyana and Irenaeus the bigamist (that is, the one who had two wives) and Cyrus and John who came from Aigiai in Cilicia, and Barsauma the Persian... and if there be anyone else like these persons – these the divine Chapters of our father Cyril refute: these are the things which are proclaimed by the whole church of the orthodox which is in the whole world and strengthen the soul of the faithful, since those who encounter them are enlightened with the light of divine understanding:..."

"**Now along with these afore-mentioned profane teachers of anthropolatry we must number and anathematize also the Synod of Chalcedon and the blasphemous *Tome* of the impious Leo of the church of the Romans**, whom the same Synod called 'the pillar of orthodoxy': for outside the canon of the divinely inspired Fathers, it established a definition of the faith, and after the inexpressible union divided the divine and indivisible incarnation into a duality of natures along with their activities and their particular properties, as the *Tome* itself also indicates to those who read it – since openly and at length it expounds what it means that the one, our Lord Jesus Christ, should be acknowledged as existing in two natures. But we receive and declare praiseworthy the

upright confession of the *Henotikon* document, which the worthy Emperor Zeno of blessed memory uttered" (Allen & Hayward, *Severus of Antioch*, pp. 166-167, quoting the Synodical Letter to Theodosius, tr. *CSCO* 17, pp. 30&31).

LIV. POPE THEODOSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA (535-566) AFTER HIS IMPERIAL CONFIRMATION PREFERS A SECOND EXPULSION FROM ALEXANDRIA THAN TO ACCEPT CHALCEDON TOGETHER WITH THE ADDITION OF THE CIVIL GOVERNORSHIP. HE ANATHEMATIZES THE *TOME* OF LEO AND THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, AND STILL LATER (*c.* 539) HE GOES TO CONSTANTINOPLE AND REMAINS IN EXILE THERE TILL THE END OF HIS LIFE:

Anba Sawirus bishop of Ashmonein relates this episode in the *History of the Patriarchs*, speaking about Prince (i.e. Emperor) Justinian I (527-565) saying: "... his thoughts were despondent and troubled. For he thought: 'Behold, I have given up the throne of Alexandria to Theodosius; and yet, even if I bestowed upon him in addition all the provinces of Egypt and Africa and all other countries, he would never agree with me in the creed which I prefer, so that the whole Church might be of one faith'. Then the prince Justinian, after that, took thought, and wrote to the governor and officials of Alexandria, and to the Father Theodosius, with the view of attracting him by the hope of reward, praying him to receive the *Tome* of Leo, and yield to him on that point, and promising in that case that he should have the two offices, both the civil patriarchate, and the civil governorship, and that all the bishops of Africa should be under his obedience, and that he should have the command over all that territory; 'but' added the prince, 'if he will not obey nor consent, then let him be driven out of the Church, and depart whithersoever he will; for he that does not agree with me in my faith shall have no prelacy either over people or Church'..."

"But when the blessed father and patriarch Theodosius, the confessor of Christ, heard the letter and proposals of the prince, he exclaimed in the presence of the assembly, and of the governor and envoys: 'The holy Gospel says that the Devil took the Lord and Saviour, and led him to the summit of a high mountain, and shewed him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of it, and said to him: All this is mine, and if thou wilt worship me I will give it to thee. So likewise what you promise me will be the destruction of my soul, if I do as you propose, and I shall become thereby a stranger to Christ, the true king'. And he raised his hands before the envoy sent by the prince, and before the governor and that great assembly, and said: '**In truth I anathematize the *Tome* of Leo and the Council of Chalcedon; and whoever acknowledges them is anathema henceforth for ever. Amen.**' Then he said to the governor and to all the prince's troop: 'The prince has no power except over my body; but the Lord Jesus Christ, the true and great prince, has power over my soul and body together. And now behold the churches are before you with all that they contain, therefore do whatever you wish with regard to them. But as for me, I follow my fathers who have preceded me, the doctors of the apostolic Church, Athanasius and Cyril and Dioscorus and Timothy, and those who were before them, whose deputy I am, although unworthy'. Then Theodosius arose and went out, saying: 'Let those that love God follow me. For I came forth from my mother's womb naked, and I shall return to it

naked. And he that loses his life at this time for the Faith, shall save it' (Sawirus, *HP, PO*, T. I, Fascicule 4, pp. 462-464). And he went to Upper Egypt, "where he remained teaching the people and the monks in the monasteries, and confirming them in the orthodox faith, and encouraging them to endure the conflict until death" (*ibid.*, p. 464).

"Then Justinian thought within himself and said: 'If I leave him where he is, then all the people will follow his faith, and he will not allow them to accept the *Tome* of Leo'. So he wrote a letter full of assurances and promises to the patriarch Theodosius, declaring that no pain nor damage should come to him from him, but all good and kindness; and he sent this letter by a scribe, to whom he said: 'Treat him courteously until thou bringest him to me, and say to him: The prince desires to confer with thee'. So when the blessed patriarch had perused the prince's letter, he prayed for the help of the power of the Lord Christ, and took with him of the clergy certain wise men, learned and excellent; and they embarked in a ship, and journeyed until they arrived at Constantinople. There Theodosius entered to the prince and princess, who, when they saw his serenity and humility and excellence, received him kindly, and lodged him in chambers which they had prepared for him and his companions. Afterwards the prince sent for him a second time, and a third time, until the sixth time, and each time he addressed him courteously, and desired of him that he should yield to him in confirming the Council of Chalcedon, and gave him many marks of honour and priority and precedence. But Theodosius said: 'Neither life nor death nor dearth nor nakedness nor sword will turn my heart from the faith of my fathers; nor will I abandon a jot or tittle of what my fathers, the inspired doctors, wrote before me, those shepherds of the reasonable flock of Christ, from Mark the evangelist..." (*ibid.*, pp. 464-465).

Pope Theodosius never returned and spent the final twenty-eight years of his life in Constantinople (*c.* 539-566), a patriarch in perpetual exile.

LV. POPE VIGILIUS OF ROME CONDEMNS AND ANATHEMATIZES THE WORDING OF THE *TOME* OF LEO IN A SECRET LETTER IN 537 A.D.:

"In the years 536-8 a last effort was also made by the empress to have the anathemas against Severus, Anthimus and Theodosius reversed. In Agapetus' deacon and representative in the capital, Vigilius, she found a sympathizer. Vigilius was an ambitious scion of a senatorial family who shared some of the emperor's aims of re-uniting the eastern and western Roman worlds.... He agreed to the restoration of Severus and his associates to communion. The plan miscarried temporarily through the election of Silverius as Agapetus' successor (536-7) but thanks to Theodora's relations with Antonia, the equally unscrupulous wife of Belisarius, Silverius was removed from Rome and exiled on a trumped-up charge of intrigue with the Goths. Before his death in December 537 **Vigilius had succeeded him (29 March) and through Antonia sent a remarkable letter to the empress. In this he condemned the wording of the *Tome* of Leo. 'We do not confess two natures in Christ but that Christ composed out of (*ex*) two natures was one Son, one Christ, and one Lord'. He who spoke of 'two forms', or who attributed the miracles to one and the sufferings to another, was anathema. Anathemas were flung at the whole Antiochene tradition, naming in the same breath Paul of Samosata, Diodore,**

Theodore and Theodoret" (Frend, *RMM*, pp. 276-277).

Frend (*ibid.*, p. 276, n. 2) gives more details about this secret letter saying: "The text of two separate letters has survived: (*a*) that quoted by Victor of Tunnuna (*Chron.* ad ann. 542) addressed to Severus, Anthimus and Theodosius stating the writer's general agreement with their views and enjoining secrecy regarding the existence of the letter; (*b*) a more detailed letter preserved in long extracts by Liberatus (*Brev.* XXII), in which the *Tome* is criticized and the formula '*ex duabus naturis*' preferred to '*in duabus naturis*'. I find it difficult to agree that there is no foundation in fact for these letters (Schwartz, 'Zur Kirchenpolitik Justinians', p. 58, n. 3) and prefer the reconstruction of events by Krüger, 'Monophysiten', p. 395. The condemnation of the Three Chapters had traditionally been a touchstone of anti-Chalcedonian orthodoxy and the sequel was to show that it was very much on the theological *tapis* at the time".

Frend (*ibid.*, p. 277) adds saying: "This secret letter, whether or not it existed, had no immediate practical effect. The interests of the Roman see made it impossible for Vigilius to denounce the *Tome*, while equally those of the capital were wedded to Chalcedon. On 17 September 540 Vigilius accepted in a somewhat abject letter Justinian's demand that he should ratify the anti-Monophysite edict of four years before".

LVI. A MASSACRE OF MORE THAN TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND COPTS MARTYRED BY APOLLINARIS, THE CHALCEDONIAN PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA FOR THEIR INSISTENCE ON REJECTING THE CHALCEDONIAN DEFINITION:

Apollinaris, the third Chalcedonian patriarch of Alexandria (551-570), sent by emperor Justinianus to replace St. Theodosius, the legal patriarch of Alexandria, was a patrician who had formerly served as a state official. He arrived at Alexandria with an army escort, which he would later employ to suppress religious dissent by means of the harshest violence.

One of his successors, **Eutychius, an early tenth century Chalcedonian Melkite patriarch of Alexandria relates Apollinaris's doings sketching that he was a brutal military man installed by the emperor to establish order, that is, to get the Chalcedonian confession adopted by force. For this, the robe of the patriarch appears only as a practical form of dress. When he read aloud the imperial letter and threateningly demanded Chalcedonian confession, they protested.** He claims that they pelted him with stones, but one should wonder from where they could get stones inside the church during the prayer while the troops are encircling the church from outside. **Thus he gave a sign to the troops standing by. They entered the church and a blood bath began in the church and outside and "an innumerable number of people were killed until the soldiers forded in the blood of people reaching their knees".** And a great multitude fled to the desert to the monastery of St. Macarius at Scetis. And the Melkites took all the churches of the Jacobites in the city (see the detailed presentation in Eutychius Alex., *Annales*: *PG* 111, 1069; M Breydy, *CSCO* 471 (T) and 472 (German trans.), Louvain 1985, pp. 86-87; *CSCO Scriptores Arabici, Textus*, series tertia, t. 6, p. 200). **This story of the massacre cannot be dismissed as invention, since Eutychius, as a Melkite (i.e. Chalcedonian)**

would more likely be interested in suppressing such reports.

From the Jacobite Orthodox side, **Severus, the tenth century bishop of Ashmonein, gives almost the same story** without the claim that Apollinaris was stoned. He says that **it happened on a great feast day when the citizens gathered in the church without swords or sticks according to the custom. And that when they protested insisting on the rejection of the Chalcedonian faith, they were massacred with the sword until the church became filled with the slain corpses and the soldiers forded in blood reaching their knees. And what happened in the city on that day never happened before, even at the time of the idolaters** (Sawirus Ash., *Refutation*, *PO* III, pp. 203-204).

The thirteenth century Coptic Orthodox **Peter ibn al-Rahib** (*Chron. Orientale*, ed. Cheikho, *CSCO*, *Script. Arab.* III, 1, Beirut, 1903, p. 119, [Latin tr. p. 128]) **says that more than two hundred thousand Jacobite men, women, and children were killed under Apollinaris on that day.**

LVII. POPE THEODOSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA CONDEMNS THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO IN HIS *EPISTULA SYNODICA* TO PATRIARCH PAUL OF ANTIOCH:

In his *Epistula Synodica to Patriarch Paul of Antioch*, Pope Theodosius of Alexandria condemns Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo saying: **"This perfidious and damnable synod taught unlawfully among its other blasphemies that Christ is to be known in two natures, and against the best valid *canones* it set up a different definition of faith and called the *Tome* of Leo a pillar of orthodoxy, which openly affirmed the godless teachings of Nestorius and two natures and *hypostases*, as well as [two] forms (*agit enim utraque forma!*) and activities and characteristics..."** (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 59, quoting St. Theodos. Alex., *Ep. synod. ad Paul Patr.*, *CPG* 7142: *CSCO* 103, pp. 85,26-86,7).

LVIII. THE CHRISTIAN NOBATIAN KING IN THE MID-SIXTH CENTURY CONDEMNS THE EVIL FAITH OF THE CHALCEDONIAN EMPEROR JUSTINIANUS I:

The conversion of the Nobatian court and kingdom was the work of the Miaphysite missionaries under the presbyter Julian sent by Pope Theodosius of Alexandria with the help of empress Theodora in 542. **The Nobatian king** [not Silko – as once thought (see Frend in *Cop. E.* vol. 5, p. 1675)] **was converted to the Miaphysite Orthodox faith, and defied later efforts of the Chalcedonian envoys sent by emperor Justinian to change his mind. He replied to them, "We accept the gift of the king of the Romans and we will send him a gift, but his faith we will not accept. If we deserve to be Christians we will follow after the Pope Theodosius, whom because he would not accept the evil faith of the king he expelled and ejected".** Julian had done his work well (Frend, *RMM*, p. 299 & n. 2).

LIX. MONK ATHANASIUS FROM THE ROYAL FAMILY PUBLICLY ANATHEMATIZES THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON IN THE FUNERAL OF POPE THEODOSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA AT CONSTANTINOPLE (22 JUNE 566 A.D.):

G.T. Stokes, the writer of the article about Pope Theodosius (DCB, vol. IV, p. 969), takes a bitter Chalcedonian approach saying: "He was driven out when Justinian appointed Paul as patriarch... Henceforth he lived in exile at or near Constantinople, where he infected the whole city and court with his Monophysite views".

On the accession of Justinian's nephew, emperor Justin II (565-578) who was more favorable to Severan Miaphysitism together with his wife Sophia also reputed to be an active adherent, the aged Pope Theodosius was received by Justin with the honour due to a patriarch. "And the emperor promised peace would be made and that Theodosius would be restored to Alexandria. **When he died on 22 June 566 the funeral oration pronounced by the monk Athanasius with all the pomp and circumstance of a great ecclesiastical occasion condemned Chalcedon"** (Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* X.1, ed. Chabot, II, p. 283, quoted in Frend, *RMM*, p. 317). [Monk Athanasius was a descendant from the royal family, a grandson of empress Theodora (*ibid.*)].

LX. THE SYNODICAL LETTER OF POPE DAMIAN OF ALEXANDRIA ANATHEMATIZES THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO:

On the occasion of the consecration of **Pope Damian**, who was a Syrian, for the see of St. Mark, he gathered a synod and wrote a synodical letter to Jacob Baradai and all the bishops, priests, deacons, abbots, monks and the people of the East introducing himself to them, explaining the Orthodox faith, and condemning the heresies by groups. Thus, **in the name of his synod, he says: "We anathematize the evil Council of Chalcedon and all who say 'two natures for Christ after the union'.... And we anathematize those who recommend this wicked ruse, namely, Diodorus, Theodorus, Nestorius, Theodoret, Ibas, Andrew, Irenaeus noted for his double marriage, and the malicious *Tome* of Leo and all their followers"** (Pope Damian Alex., *Epistula synodica ad Iacobum Baradaeum*, [*CPG* 7240]: Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* X, 14, Chabot II, 325-334, Ar. tr., vol. 2, pp. 214-220).

LXI. POPE DAMIAN, THE THIRTY-FIFTH JACOBITE PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA, ANATHEMATIZES THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO IN A LETTER OF CONSOLATION TO THE SYRIAN CHURCH ON THE OCCASION OF THE DEATH OF ST. JACOB BARADAI, 578 A.D.:

In his letter of consolation to the Syrian bishops, priests, abbots and all clergy, on the

occasion of the departure of St. Jacob Baradai, 578 A.D., **Pope Damian of Alexandria exhorts them to desert, ridicule and anathematize all heresies which appeared in the past or appear now, especially the filthy Council of Chalcedon, the *Tome* of Leo, and all who say "two natures" after the unutterable union and divide the great mystery of godliness** (Pope Damian Alex., *Epistula consolatoria* [*CPG* 7241]: Michael the Syrian, *Chron.*, X. 16: Chabot II, pp. 339-342, Ar. tr., vol. 2, pp. 225-228).

LXII. FOUR HUNDRED MONKS AT EDESSA SUFFER MARTYRDOM UNDER EMPEROR MAURICE (582-602) FOR THEIR INSISTENCE ON DENOUNCING CHALCEDON:

Emperor Maurice's paternal nephew, the Chalcedonian Bishop Domitian of Melitene, having seen the anti-Chalcedonian progress in the region of Melitene, took the harshest measures against them. He **was also commissioned by emperor Maurice to extend his activities into the province of Mesopotamia where monasteries and churches of "the Syrians" were seized and handed over to the Chalcedonians. At Edessa, about four hundred monks resisted his orders to accept the Council of Chalcedon and refused to take communion with him. On their insistence not to surrender to him, he ordered the soldiers to slaughter them.** And the faithful collected the corpses of the four hundred martyrs and buried them at the place of their martyrdom and built a church over the site (Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* X. 23 & Ar. tr., vol. 2, p. 262).

The Chalcedonian patriarch of Constantinople John IV, the Faster (582-595), refused to cooperate with emperor Maurice in persecuting the Miaphysites, "asking: 'What did the dissident (διακρινόμενοι) do or say, which deserves persecution? If pagans have been justified and amnestied, how can I persecute Christians, who are blameless in their Christianity and, so it seems, have more faith than we?'..." (John of Ephesus, *HE* V. 15, quoted in Meyendorff, *IUCD*, pp. 264-265). The state was better served in fighting the barbarians than its own citizens (Frend, *RMM*, p. 332 & n. 6, quoting John of Ephesus, *HE*, III. 12 [ed. Brooks, p. 101] referring to John's attitude in the time of emperor Tiberius II [578-582 A.D.]. He refused to be an instrument of "a Diocletian").

But Domitian of Melitene's harsh persecution forced the Miaphysite Syrian leaders to leave the diocese and flee to Egypt (Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* X. 25: ed. Chabot II, 381). These evil actions left emperor Maurice with the worst of popular reputations throughout the east. Commenting on an earthquake in the Antioch area, John of Nikiou wrote, "This chastisement has befallen the earth owing to the heresy of the Emperor Maurice" (*Chronicle*, chap. 101:5).

In so doing, **John of Nikiou "was giving an accurate reflection of the attitude of both the Copts and the Syrians towards the Persian and Arab conquests, regarding them as punishments for the wickedness of the Chalcedonian emperors**. With Domitian's death in January 602, it was evident that the effort to force the peoples of Syria and Egypt into an acceptance of Leo and Chalcedon had failed. At a crucial moment in Byzantine history the cleavage between the government and the inhabitants of key provinces was complete" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 335).

LXIII. THE ARMENIAN CATHOLICUS ABRAHAM I (607-615) AND HIS ARMENIAN SYNOD EXCOMMUNICATE (IN 609) KIWRION THE DEPENDENT CATHOLICUS OF THE GEORGIANS FOR HIS ACCEPTANCE OF THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON:

"The church of Georgia, till the end of the sixth century depended on the Catholicus of Armenia, as he in his turn had depended upon the Exarch of Caesarea in Cappadocia. But **the connexion ceased in 609 when Kyrion I, the Catholicus of Georgia, who accepted Chalcedon with a view, no doubt, to Byzantine favour seceded; and was excommunicated by the Armenian Patriarch, Abraham I, at the Synod of Dvin (i.e. Dowin)**" (Kidd, *HC*, vol. III, p. 416, quoting Ormanian, M., *The Church of Armenia*, 40 sq...).

It was just before this excommunication that "Abraham, Catholicos of the Armenians (607-15), writing to Kiwrion, Catholicos of the Georgians, reminds him of Babgēn's council in which, he says, Gabriel the Catholicos of the Georgians with his bishops took part and condemned the Council of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo. He even gives the list of those Georgian bishops who, with Gabriel, were present at the Council" (Sarkissian, p. 206).

LXIV. THE ARMENIAN CATHOLICUS MOSES AT DVIN IN THE EARLY SEVENTH CENTURY CONDEMNS CHALCEDON AND THE HEAVY-HANDED WAYS OF THE GREEKS IN THEIR ATTEMPT TO ENFORCE THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON:

With the restoration of the Byzantine influence in Armenia, (emperor) Maurice at once attempted to bring about the substitution of Chalcedon for the Miaphysitism in the kingdom as a whole. "A council attended by twenty-one Armenian bishops from the Roman sphere met at Constantinople and accepted Chalcedon, and a Chalcedonian patriarch was established across the River Azat from Dvin, the capital of what had been Persearmenia. This formed the new frontier. **The Armenian Catholicus Moses at Dvin, however, refused to be tempted..... Moses showed a traditional Armenian contempt for the 'Greeks' and Chalcedon, and for the heavy-handed ways in which they attempted to enforce acceptance of the council"** (Frend, *RMM*, pp. 332-333).

The persecution was very heavy also under emperor Phocas (602-610).

LXV. ISAIAH THE JACOBITE BISHOP OF EDESSA REFUSES TO GIVE COMMUNION TO EMPEROR HERACLIUS UNLESS HE ANATHEMATIZES IN WRITING THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO:

Michael the Syrian (*Chron.*, XI.3) informs us that emperor Heraclius after defeating the Persians, visited Edessa and was impressed by the large number of Jacobite anti-Chalcedonian people, priests, and monks and tried to reconcile with them. On a feast day, he went to the (Jacobite) Orthodox church, showed great respect to the people and at the

end of the liturgy proceeded to take Communion with them. But Isaiah the bishop of the city prevented him from taking Communion saying: **"Unless you anathematize the Council of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo in writing, I will not allow you to touch the Sacraments"**. Heraclius was angry and dismissed the bishop from the great church and gave it to the Chalcedonians (Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* XI.3, Ar. tr., vol. 2, p. 301).

It is to be noted that **Heraclius received communion with the Nestorians.** When the Nestorian Catholicos Isoyabh II headed an embassy from King Kawadh of Persia, son of the murdered Chosroes, to Heraclius in October 628, the Nestorian Catholicos was "greatly honored" by Heraclius. And the Nestorian Catholicos celebrated the liturgy in a Chalcedonian church, at which the emperor and his court received Communion (Meyendorff, *IUCD*, p. 342, quoting Nicephorus, *Breviarium*, 20, ed. Bonn, p. 23). Contacts of the Nestorian Catholicosate of Seleucia-Ctesiphon with Heraclius continued... (*ibid.*, pp. 342-343).

LXVI. ATHANASIUS I GAMMÂL THE JACOBITE PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH CONDEMNS THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON:

After the above-mentioned episode at Edessa, emperor Heraclius went to Mabbug/ Hierapolis where he received Athanasius I Gammâl, the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch (595-631 or 635), together with a group of a dozen bishops, for theological discussions. They were asked to put their confession in writing.

"In reply the Patriarch Athanasius wrote a long letter setting out in detail the Syrian Monophysite (i.e. Miaphysite) position, and making clearer than had often been the case exactly **why Chalcedon was to be rejected. The council laid down a definition of faith other than that of Nicaea. It had asserted Christ in two separate natures, and condemned the term used by the Fathers, 'of two natures'. It had accepted Ibas' letter condemning Cyril's Twelve Anathemas as well as the work of Theodoret and the *Tome* of Leo.** Such were the causes of the division between the churches. If they were removed then unity would be restored at once. The tone was not unconciliatory but reproduced traditional Monophysite arguments and showed that there had been little interest on the Monophysite side in the development of neo-Chalcedonian ideas" (Frend, *RMM*, p. 346, referring to Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* XI. 2). Frend further comments on this saying: "Unfortunately, neither Heraclius nor anyone else at the time was capable of dealing with the instinctive revulsion produced by the very names of Chalcedon and the *Tome* on the minds of the Monophysites [i.e. the Miaphysites]" (*ibid.*). They could not accept Heraclius' edict of two united natures in Christ with one will and one energy because its dyophysitism still agrees with Nestorius and Leo. And Heraclius began persecuting the opponents. Michael the Syrian (*Chron.* XI, 3) reports that **Heraclius wrote to all parts of the kingdom saying: "Everyone who does not accept the Council of Chalcedon, his nose and ears are to be cut and his house to be plundered". And this persecution continued for not a short period** (Ar. Trans. chap. XI, 3, vol. 2, p. 302).

LXVII. ATHANASIUS I GAMMÂL THE JACOBITE PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH IN AN ASSEMBLY OF BISHOPS DESCRIBES CHALCEDON AS DARKNESS:

When Pope Anastasius of Alexandria (605-616) heard that Athanasius Gammâl had been consecrated Patriarch of Antioch (since many years, i.e. in 595) he hastened to write to him a synodical letter full of wisdom, to which Athanasius responded joyfully "and took the synodical letter which had come to him, and assembled the bishops of his diocese, and said to them: 'Know that the world today rejoices in peace and love, because **the Chalcedonian darkness** has passed away, and there has remained this one light-giving and fruit-bearing branch of the true vine, which is the see of Mark the evangelist, and the province of Egypt'."

"So, when the fathers and bishops heard his discourse, they rejoiced greatly and agreed to accept the synodical letter, and declared that the two churches should be one, and that the two patriarchs should be of one spirit, and a lamp illuminating the orthodox."

"So the blessed Athanasius arose, and took with him five bishops, excellent and learned, and journeyed in a ship to Alexandria. But when they arrived, they were informed that the Father Anastasius was in the monasteries; and therefore they went out to him" where they resolved their differences (which return back to the time of their predecessors Pope Damian of Alexandria and Peter of Antioch) and issued a statement of reconciliation (see Sawirus Ash., *HP*, T. I, Fascicule 4, pp. 480-483 and more details in Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* X 26&27, ed. Chabot II, pp. 385ff., Ar. tr., vol. 2, pp. 272-290).

LXVIII. POPE BENJAMIN I, THE COPTIC PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA (623-662 A.D.), LISTS NESTORIUS, LEO, IBAS, THEODORE, THEODORET, AND OTHERS IN HIS CATALOGUE OF HERETICS:

There is a catalogue of heretics at the beginning of Pope Benjamin's *Sermon on the Wedding at Cana*, in which Leo is mentioned among the new "Judases". The full list reads: "**As new 'Judases'** he designated Arius, **Nestorius**, Macedonius, **Leo, Ibas, Theodore (of Mopsuestia), Theodoret, Leontius (of Byzantium)**, Julian (of Halicarnassus), George, Gregory (both rival bishops to Athanasius of Alexandria), also **Cyrus, the opponent of Benjamin, Victor of Fayyum** and Melitios of Lykopolis" (Grillmeier, *CCT*, vol. II, part 4, p. 84, quoting Müller, C.D.G., *Die Homilie über die Hochzeit zu Kana*, pp. 52-285. The quotation is from the Bohairic version, pp. 82-84).

Sawirus Ash., *HP*, mentions Cyrus, bishop of Nikiou, and Victor, bishop of Fayyum, among others who went astray, denied the Orthodox faith and entered into the Chalcedonian faith. This happened during the years of emperor Heraclius and Mukaukas (i.e. the Caucasian Cyrus bishop of Phasis, appointed by the emperor Heraclius to be the Chalcedonian patriarch of Alexandria and prefect of Egypt) who brought down great trials and straits upon the Orthodox to lead them astray, some through persecution and some by bribes and honours and some by persuasion and deceit (*PO*, T. I, Fascicule 4, pp. 226-227).

Sawirus Ash., (*HP*, *ibid.*, pp. 228-229) expresses the folk memory that there has been a total breakdown of confidence between government and the governed saying, **"And the Lord abandoned the army of the Romans...as a punishment for their corrupt**

faith, and because of the anathemas uttered against them, on account of the Council of Chalcedon by the ancient fathers".

LXIX. ST. SAMUEL OF KALAMUN (*c.* 597-695) ANATHEMATIZES THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND THE *TOME* OF LEO AND SUFFERS BRUTAL TORTURE:

The monastic *Life of Apa Samuel of Kalamun*, a work written by Apa Isaac the presbyter, preserved in a ninth-century Coptic Sahidic manuscript, but with elements that possibly trace back to the seventh century, describes the Chalcedonian patriarch Cyrus' attempts to impose his authority over the monks of Scetis and the Fayûm, and at the same time the monastic resistence against him.

[Cyrus was also called ⲡⲕⲁⲩⲭⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ or ⲡⲕⲁⲩⲭⲓⲟⲥ (i.e. 'the Caucasian', with reference to his native country, the Caucasus on the Black Sea coast, which passed into Arabic as 'Muqauqas'. He was also given the nickname ⲭⲁⲗⲭⲏⲁⲱⲛ or ⲭⲁⲗⲭⲏⲁⲱⲛⲓⲧⲏⲥ i.e. the 'Colchian' because his original bishopric of Phasis was in Colchis. (See Butler, A.J., *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, ed. Fraser, P.M., 2nd ed. Oxford 1978, p. 525. For a detailed discussion on the identity of al-Muqauqas, see *ibid.*, pp. 508-526).]

Cyrus had been invested with civil and ecclesiastical authority. With the failure of his attempts to forge a christological agreement, Cyrus increasingly turned to military force, economic disenfranchisement and social displacement as a means to suppress anti-Chalcedonian resistance in Egypt (cf. Davis, *ECP*, p. 116-118).

It was Apa Samuel the Confessor archimandrite who spear-headed the monastic resistance to Cyrus in Scetis and the mountain of Kalamun. From his Coptic biography (*The Life of Samuel of Kalamun*, edited and translated by Anthony Alcock. Warminster-England. 1983), we quote the following representative paragraphs [7&11, pp. 6-7 & 10-11 (Coptic text) & pp. 79-81 & 84-85 (English translation)]:

"7..... It happened at the time of Cyrus the criminal, when he came to the city of Alexandria in pursuit of the holy archbishop Apa Benjamin. He sought after him with false charges with the intention of killing him and sitting on his throne, but our God the Christ Jesus, who knows about everything before it happens, then saved the archbishop from the hands of the impious one; He hid him in the south of Egypt..... Later he sent a cruel *magistrianus* into the holy mountain of Scetis, his feet hastening to shed blood. He gave him **the polluted *Tome* of Chalcedon** and told him, saying, 'Let all the elders subscribe to this *Tome* from the smallest to the greatest, because it was on those elders that the entire country of Egypt depended..... And so the *magistrianus* came to Scetis with great pomp, two hundred soldiers following him, and occupied the great church of Apa Macarius. He ordered them to assemble all the elders from the smallest to the greatest..... Then when the *magistrianus* had assembled all the brothers, he caused **the polluted *Tome* of Leo** to be read out to them. He also caused a letter of the Colchian to be read out to them, teaching them with his misleading words and urging them on to **the *Tome* which was full of darkness**. Then after the reading of the letter, he caused a deacon to raise his voice in the crowd, saying, 'My holy fathers, do you believe thus according to that which is written in this *Tome*?' But they were silent. Again he spoke, as many as three times, but they made no reply. The *magistrianus*

became very angry and ordered them to be flogged, saying, 'Why have you nothing to say, but remain silent like these lifeless stones?'..... Then he said, 'Will you still not speak, infuriating monks?' And at that moment the holy Apa Samuel leaped up, ready to give his life to death and to show fortitude. He said to the *magistrianus*, 'What do you want us to do for you? **We do not accept this *Tome* or that which is written in it, nor yet do we accept the Council of Chalcedon nor do we have any archbishop but our father Apa Benjamin**'. After this the *magistrianus* became angry and ground his teeth at Samuel. He said to him, 'By the power of kings, I shall make you subscribe to this *Tome* first and you will confess all the things in it, because you have acted shamelessly and spoken evilly'. The holy Apa Samuel prepared himself to give his life to death. He said to the *magistrianus*, 'This is a mere trifle which you have adjured me to perform. Bring the *Tome* here to me, and I shall convince you'. The *magistrianus*, overjoyed, caused it to be given to him. When it was placed in his hand, Samuel held it out towards the people, saying, **'My fathers, do you accept this *Tome*? Anathema to this *Tome*. Anathema to the Council of Chalcedon. Anathema to the impious Leo. Anathema to everyone who believes according to it'. He hastily tore up the *Tome* and threw it outside the door of the church.** The *magistrianus* was filled with anger against the holy Apa Samuel; he snorted through his nose and forced his hands together. **He caused ten soldiers to flog him at once, until everyone said that he was already dead. The *magistrianus* was urging them on against him, 'Flog him with raw-hide thongs'. After this he made them bind his hands behind his back, tie a rope to one of his feet and suspend him. Then they fixed him on stakes and tortured him until his blood flowed like water. A thong which an attendant held slipped from his hand and fell on his right eye, whereupon his pupil immediately burst and spilled down upon his cheek. When the *magistrianus* saw that his eye had been displaced and that his blood was flowing like water, he immediately returned to his senses and abated a little in his anger. He made the soldiers stop flogging him and said to the holy one, 'Your eye which has been displaced has saved you from death, admirable monk'. He made twelve soldiers drive him and his monastic children out and throw him off the mountain of Scetis"** (*ibid.*, pp. 79-81).

After his explusion from Scetis, **Apa Samū'īl made his way south of Neklone (al-Naqlūn) in the Fayyum**, accompanied by four monks. Within three and a half years he had established a community of 200 *kosmikoi* (an uncertain term, perhaps meaning "lay brothers") and 120 monks. About this time **Cyrus came to the Fayyūm. Apa Samū'īl told his community to leave Neklone to avoid meeting Cyrus. For this "crime" Samū'īl was arrested and brought before Cyrus.**

"11..... **When the impious one saw the man of God, he was filled with rage against him and ordered the soldiers to flog him until his blood flowed like water. He then said to him, 'Are you Samuel, the iniquitous ascete? Who appointed you *hegumen* over this monastery? Who ordered you to teach the monks to defect from me and my faith?' The holy Apa Samuel replied, 'It is better to obey God and our father, the archbishop Benjamin, than to obey you and your demonic teaching, you son of Satan and deceiving Antichrist'. When the Colchian heard this, he ordered that Samuel be struck on the mouth, crying out and saying,**

'Samuel, the praise that men give you has destroyed your mind. But **I shall chastise you and teach [you] to speak properly; for this reason you have not honoured me as archbishop nor have you honoured my authority as civil ruler of the land of Egypt'. The holy Apa Samuel answered, saying to the Colchian, 'Mastema (a name of the devil) too is a ruler: he rules the angels, his arrogance and faithlessness having estranged [him] from God and His angels. But you, Chalcedonian heretic, your faith is defiled and you are more accursed than the devil and his demons'. When the Colchian heard this, he became extremely angry and he signaled to the soldiers to beat him to death. In a word he began to kill the righteous man, except that the magistrates of the city of Fayyum saved Samuel from him. When he saw that he had escaped from his hands, he ordered that Samuel be cast out from the mountain of Neklone....**" (*ibid.*, p. 85).

LXX. POPE BENJAMIN'S BROTHER REFUSES TO ACKNOWLEDGE CHALCEDON AND SUFFERS BRUTAL TORTURE AND MARTYRDOM:

The *History of the Patriarchs* contains a brief account of the brutal torture and martyrdom of Pope Benjamin's brother Mennas at the hands of the emperor Heraclius and Cyrus.

"And Heraclius seized the blessed Mennas, brother of the Father Benjamin, the patriarch, and brought great trials upon him, and caused lighted torches to be held to his sides until the fat of his body oozed forth and flowed upon the ground, and knocked out his teeth because he confessed the faith; and finally commanded that a sack should be filled with sand, and the holy Mennas placed within it and drowned in the sea..... For they took the sack, and conveyed him to a distance of seven bowshots from the land, and said to him: 'Say that the Council of Chalcedon is good and not otherwise, and we will release thee'. But Mennas would not do so. And they did this with him three times; and when he refused they drowned him. Thus they were unable to vanquish this champion, Mennas, but he conquered them by his Christian patience" (Sawirus, Ash., *HP*, *PO*, T. I, Fascicule 4, pp. 227-228).

LXXI. POPE MARK II OF ALEXANDRIA CONDEMNS THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON:

Pope Mark II, the forty-ninth Patriarch of Alexandria (799-819 A.D.), wrote according to custom a synodical letter to the Syrian Patriarch of Antioch Mar Cyriacus, "informing him therein of the decease of the father, Abba John, and relating how he himself had taken his seat upon the evangelical throne. **And Abba Mark in his epistle reminded Abba Cyriacus of all the heretics, and of the war waged by our fathers for the true Faith, and renounced all schism and all heretics and the impure council of Chalcedon, as being the cause of doubt throughout the world, and abjured the sect of Nestorius, composed of the new Jews.** And Abba Mark declared the concord of the two sees, and called Cyriacus Father and Partner in the ministry" (Sawirus Ash., *HP*, *PO*, t. X, fasc. 5, pp. 408-409).

LXXII. POPE JAMES OF ALEXANDRIA CONDEMNS THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON:

Pope James (Jacob), the fiftieth Patriarch of Alexandria (819-830 A.D.), "...when he was enthroned, he delivered an admonitory discourse, in which he **anathematized all the banished heresies, and the impure Council of Chalcedon, and the Phantasiasts**, that is the Gaianites, who deny the life-giving Passion of God the Word, which he accepted in the flesh" (*ibid.*, pp. 447-448).



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"He who justifies the wicked, and he who condemns the just, both of them alike are an abomination to the Lord" (Proverbs 17:15).

This book is the fruit of years of interdenominational Christian dialogue between the Oriental Orthodox Family of Churches and both the Eastern Orthodox Family of Churches and the Roman Catholic Church. The main obstacle preventing unification of these three most traditional groups of Churches is still agreeing upon their beliefs in the nature of Christ. The first schism in the Church occurred in 451 A.D. as a result of the Council of Chalcedon when afterwards Christians were divided into either Chalcedonian or non-Chalcedonian. The Oriental Orthodox Family of Churches (i.e. Coptic, Syrian, Armenian, Indian, Ethiopian, and Eritrean) are non-Chalcedonian whereas the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic are Chalcedonian. This book goes into great depth based on Biblical, historical and Patristic evidence as to why the non-Chalcedonians, i.e. Miaphysites, refused the Council of Chalcedon of 451 A.D. from the Oriental Orthodox perspective. It is comprised of six parts: I) Nestorianism; II) Eutychianism; III) Important Christological principles related to this Council; IV) History of the Council and other subsequent Chalcedonian Councils; V) Arguments against this Council; and VI) Anathemas pronounced and condemnations against those who accepted the Council of Chalcedon and/or the Tome of Leo. May God the Logos Incarnate our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ about Whom this research is concerned bless this work and make it a fruitful contribution beneficial in healing the divisions and leading to the unity of the Church on the basis of the identity of the authentic Apostolic Orthodox faith entrusted to us as expressed, confirmed and followed by the Fathers of the First Three Ecumenical Church Councils.

Fr. Shenouda Maher Ishak is a theologian in the Coptic Orthodox Church who was delegated by the late Pope Shenouda III to be involved in interdenominational Christian dialogue between the Oriental Orthodox Family of Churches and both the Eastern Orthodox Family of Churches and the Roman Catholic Church.

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