

ON THE PERSON OF CHRIST



THE
CHRISTOLOGY
OF
EMPEROR
JUSTINIAN

Translated by
Kenneth P. Wesche

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Justinian

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by

KENNETH PAUL WESCHE

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Justinian

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Ἀφιερῶται
Εἰς τὴν προσφιλεστάτην σύζυγόν μου
Ἀναστασίαν

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Preface

The documents of Justinian included in this volume represent a Cyrillian interpretation of the Christology of the Council of Chalcedon upheld by Orthodox theologians even today. For that reason these documents are important as a source for understanding the philosophical principles of Orthodox theology, particularly as Orthodox and other christian theologians come together in ecumenical dialogue. The principles of Orthodox philosophy find their starting point in the confession of Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God, the Divine Logos himself. The consequences of this confession of faith as a philosophical starting point are presented in brief both in the General Introduction and in the notes scattered throughout the text.

Sixth century thought presents the student of christian doctrine with a dogmatic philosophy still in the process of attaining full clarification. The principal contribution made by sixth century thought towards a fully articulated "Christological philosophy" is the clear, unambiguous affirmation that the *hypostasis* or *prosopon* used in Chalcedon's definition of faith is not the product, but the foundation of the union between God and man in Jesus Christ: this is because the *hypostasis* of Jesus Christ is none other than the eternally existing Divine Logos, the Second *Hypostasis* of the Holy Trinity. These documents, therefore, are also of historical interest for they provide us with a glimpse of christian philosophical thought moving closer to a full articulation of its belief in Jesus Christ.

I am indebted for the completion of this project to Mr Stephen Beskid, circulation librarian of the St Vladimir's Seminary Library, who graciously allowed me full access to whatever sources I needed; to my wife whose patience and

full support have been indispensable for providing me with the peace of mind necessary to think; and above all to the Very Rev John Meyendorff who suggested I prepare the original rough translation for publication, and whose continued encouragement was instrumental in my seeing the project through to its completion.

KENNETH PAUL WESCHE
May, 1988

General Introduction

The value of these documents, and the justification for presenting them to the English reader, lies in the fact that the period in which they were composed was an extremely crucial period for the history of christian doctrine. One notable scholar has described this age as a crossroads¹ for it was during these years that the different Eastern and Western philosophical approaches to the doctrine of Christ crystallized to form the foundation on which the subsequent lines of theological thought would diverge.

The central philosophical concept which lay at the crossroads was *hypostasis*, a Greek term which in its early history was synonymous with essence or substance, but which in the fourth century was applied by the Cappadocian fathers to denote the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit of the Holy Trinity in contradistinction to the divine nature or essence.² The term *hypostasis* was next applied in Christology, first by the heresiarch Apollinaris in the late fourth century and then by the great Alexandrian doctor, Cyril (Bishop of Alexandria 412-444), to refer to the Second Person or *hypostasis* of the Holy Trinity, who was incarnate and became man. The Council of Chalcedon (451), following the teaching of St Cyril,³

¹Charles Moeller, "Textes 'Monophysites' de Léonce de Jérusalem," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 27 (1951) 471.

²See Letter 38, until recently attributed to Basil, but now believed to be by Gregory of Nyssa, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Church*, 2nd series, vol. 8, eds. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, trans. Bloomfield Jackson (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Company, 1955), pp. 137ff. On the profound impact this had for christian ontology see John Zizioulas, "Truth and Communion" in *Being as Communion* (Crestwood, New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press 1985), pp. 67-122, esp. 87-88.

³On this point see Patrick Gray, *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979), ch. 1; and John Meyendorff, *Christ in Eastern*

incorporated the term *hypostasis* in its definition of faith to refer to Christ: "The same [subject, i.e. the Son of God] . . . is acknowledged in two natures [the divine and human], . . . each nature concurring in one *prosopon* or *hypostasis*."⁴ And so, whereas in its earlier history *hypostasis* denoted the same thing as essence (*ousia*)⁵ its Trinitarian application as the particular, distinguished from nature or essence which signifies the universal class or species, was now applied in Christology.⁶

Two understandings emerge from this which are of profound importance for Orthodox philosophy in general as well as for the Christology represented by Justinian. The first is the Trinitarian foundation of the Christological application of *hypostasis*. The *hypostasis* of Christ is not a "third something" (*tertium quid*) produced by the union of the Divine Logos and a pre-existent *hypostatic* soul as in an Origenistic Christology,⁷ nor is Christ the common name, or the relational union of the Divine Logos and the man Jesus, as in Nestorian Christology. Rather, the *hypostasis* of Christ is the Divine Logos, One of the Holy Trinity. The Divine Logos in his Incarnation did not take to himself a man of human nature by the name of Jesus, but rather himself became fully man while remaining fully God; that is to say, the Divine Logos himself took the name "Jesus" (which in Hebrew means: "The Lord will save," cf. Mt 1:21) when he became man.

Christian Thought (Crestwood, New York: SVS Press, 1975), pp. 26-27. See also E. Schwartz, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* II.1.2. (Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1933), p. [277].

⁴An English translation of the Chalcedonian definition is given in E. R. Hardy, *The Christology of the Later Fathers, Library of Christian Classics* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1954), pp. 372-74. The Greek text can be found in E. Schwartz, *ACO*, II.1.1-3, pp. [325f.].

⁵As expressed by St Athanasius, *Epistola ad Afros Episcopos*, PG 26, col. 1036 B, 5-6.

⁶The definition of *hypostasis* as the particular, and nature as the universal, became common now among theologians of different theological camps; cf. for example, the Antiochene Theodoret of Cyrus of the 5th century, in *Eranistes* I (in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* vol. 3, p. 161, col. b); and the "Neochalcedonian" theologian John the Grammarian of the early 6th century in PG 86.2, col. 2948 B, 10-11.

⁷Cf. David Evans' study, *Leontius of Byzantium: An Origenist Christology* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1970), cf. the Index under "tertium quid."

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This means that "Jesus" is not some ontological entity in any way other than or in some kind of relation to the Divine Logos, but Jesus the Christ is the Divine Logos himself.

This Christological understanding leads Justinian to introduce his Christological argument in each of these works with a presentation of the Church's confession concerning the Holy Trinity. After establishing the doctrine of the Trinity, he then moves on to show that Jesus is the Second Person of the Trinity who was incarnate. This constitutes the fundamental axiom of Justinian's Christology. He seeks to stress the identity of Jesus as the Divine Logos by frequently placing these two terms in immediate juxtaposition unseparated by any conjunction, then qualifying them further by the adjectival formula "one and the same," as for example in this oft-repeated phrase which translated literally reads: "one and the same Divine Logos Lord Jesus Christ" (εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς Θεὸς Λόγος Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός).

The second understanding emerges from the Trinitarian base of the Christological application of the term *hypostasis*. *Hypostasis*, and not nature, is the foundation of being.⁸ Although *hypostasis* is conceptually detached from essence so that it now indicates the particular rather than the universal, it does not for that reason lose the ontological connotation it held as the foundation of being when attached to the concept of essence. This yields the philosophical understanding in which the foundation of all reality is not an impersonal, abstract, one, divine being or nature (as the "One" in Greek thought), but it is the *hypostasis*; to be more precise, it is the *hypostases* of the Holy Trinity. Justinian writes: "Because we perceive the same [divine] essence in each *hypostasis* we

⁸See John Meyendorff, *Christ in Eastern Christian Thought*, pp. 76-79. This is perhaps one point where the distinction between Byzantine and Latin ontology is most readily apparent. Consider, e.g., the ontology implicit in this passage from Boethius: "One thing is clear, viz., that nature is a substrate of person and that person cannot be predicated apart from nature (*est personae subiectum esse naturam, nec praeter naturam personam posse praedicari*)," in "Contra Eutychen," *Loeb Classical Library*, vol. 74, trans. H. F. Stewart, E. K. Rand, S. J. Tester (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 83. In other words, nature, not the *hypostasis* (*prosopon* or *persona* for Latin theologians), is the foundation of being.

worship one essence *in* three *hypostases*."⁹ Reality, or "truth," in other words, is not essence, but "Person."¹⁰ More precisely still, the *hypostasis* of the Father is the foundation of all being for he is the source both of the divine uncreated nature as well as the divine uncreated *hypostases* of the Son and the Holy Spirit in whom the divine nature exists. The eternally begotten *hypostasis* of the Son is the foundation of all created being for it is "through" the Son that the Father brings all things into being; and the *hypostasis* of the Holy Spirit is the "sustainer" of all things—the "Lord, the Giver of Life"—for it is "in" him that all things move and have their being: "The holy Church of God," Justinian writes, "proclaims One in Three, and Three in One: one God the Father *from* whom are all things, one Lord Jesus Christ *through* whom are all things, and one Holy Spirit *in* whom are all things."¹¹

This has the further consequence for our understanding that God, as Person "primarily," is love, and this implies a "natural" openness in God, that is to say a freedom for ecstatic movement, or the capacity to change (the supreme example being the Incarnation of the Son)¹² without changing (for the Son remains God by nature and by *hypostasis* even in becoming man; a mystery which is expressed by saying that the Divine Logos "assumed" human nature, a way of speaking which could, if divorced from the fundamental theological principle which guides it, lead to the view that the "assumed" human nature is other than the Divine Logos who is of divine nature). But this leads further to the understanding that being itself, as "primarily" *hypostasis* and therefore love, is not essentially some static thing, some *hylic* concrete stuff or specific essence underlying all things, but "communion," a reality that is experienced and known in the

⁹Against the Monophysites, p. 29. The same ontology is expressed in the fourth century by Gregory of Nazianzus, ". . . τὰ ἐν οἷς ἡ θεότης," (the divine [persons] in whom [exist] the Godhead") *Oration* 31.14, *Sources Chrétiennes* 250 (Paris: Cerf, 1978), p. 304.

¹⁰J. Zizioulas, "Personhood and Being," in *Being as Communion*, pp. 27-65.

¹¹Against the Monophysites, p. 29.

¹²See John Meyendorff, "Christ's Humanity: The Paschal Mystery," in *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 31 (1987) 5-40.

eucharistic feast of the Church.¹³ Into this understanding the thought of Dionysius (through the synthesis of Maximus the Confessor)—that created being by nature is destined to be in dynamic movement, moving in and toward God who in his love created all things out of nothing for communion with himself—is incorporated.¹⁴ Such a philosophical understanding is consistent with the Biblical view of God as utterly transcendent, as wholly Other, yet Personally involved with and concerned for us; and it is opposed to the Greek and all other monistic or pantheistic models in which "God" signifies the "One" who is ultimately all things—a concept which destroys personality by reducing distinctive identity or "personhood" to an illusion.

The Christology represented by Justinian, then, gives significantly distinctive content to the philosophical notion of *hypostasis* or *prosopon*. It is this philosophical content, rooted in the confession that Jesus Christ is himself the Divine Logos who was incarnate, that informs Justinian's polemic against both the "monophysites" and the Nestorians, both of whom are the objects of his polemic in these three documents.

Nestorius became patriarch of Constantinople in 428 and immediately provoked controversy when in one of his early sermons he proclaimed that the Blessed Virgin was not in truth "*Theotokos*" (Birth-giver of God) but rather "*Christotokos*" (Birth-giver of Christ).¹⁵ Following the thought and expression of Theodore of Mopsuestia, who had opposed Apollinaris in the late 4th century and who died in the same year Nestorius assumed the patriarchal see in Constantinople,¹⁶

¹³See John Zizioulas, "Truth and Communion," and "Christ, the Spirit, and the Church," in *Being as Communion*, pp. 67-142.

¹⁴Cf. *Divine Names* I.5ff. in *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works*, trans. Colm Luibheid, *The Classics of Western Spirituality* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press), pp. 53ff.

¹⁵The principal texts are translated into English in Richard A. Norris, *The Christological Controversy* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), *Sources of Early Christian Thought*, ed. William G. Rusch, pp. 123-40.

¹⁶Fragments of Theodore are in English, *ibid.*, pp. 113-122. Other important texts are translated into English by Gerard Etlinger, in *Jesus, Christ and Savior* (Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, 1987), pp. 165-86. For a collection of Greek and Latin texts, see H. B. Swete, ed., *Theodori Episcopi Mopsuesteni in Epistolas B. Pauli Commentarii*, 2 vols., (Cambridge: University Press, 1880), vol. 2, Appendix A, pp. 289-339.

Nestorius portrayed the human nature of Christ as an independent entity distinct from the Divine Logos. The result of this way of thinking and speaking was to conceive of Christ as composed of two separate "subjects," viz. Jesus of Nazareth, who was the human nature, and the Divine Logos who is the divine nature. The two were united in a union of good pleasure (Theodore's terminology) or relation to produce the particular (the *prosopon*) of Christ. Because Mary produced the Christ, and did not give birth to the divine nature (the Divine Logos) Nestorius insisted that she is more properly called "*Christotokos*." He accepted "*Theotokos*" only if it was understood that the Divine Logos was not actually born of Mary (for God cannot have a beginning), but only shared in the birth of Jesus because he shared the properties of Jesus through his relational union with him in the Christic *prosopon*.

Nestorius was vigorously opposed by Cyril of Alexandria¹⁷ who insisted that the one who was born of Mary, Jesus of Nazareth, was none other than the Divine Logos himself.¹⁸ For that reason, Mary must be called "*Theotokos*" for Jesus whom she bore is himself God by nature and by *hypostasis*. This is the same as Justinian's view and provides the background for understanding his frequent charges that the Nestorians call Christ a mere man. In fact, Nestorian Christology can indeed call Christ God and man, but this is because "Christ" is the meeting point of the human and divine natures, and if we look at Christ in one direction we see the Divine Logos, or the divine nature, and if we look in another direction we see Jesus, or the human nature. The crucial point, however, is that in the Nestorian way of thinking, Jesus is the human nature in Christ and is therefore not himself identical to the Divine Logos. This latter point is what Justinian

¹⁷Important doctrinal works of Cyril are translated into English in several places. In addition to collections or series cited in other notes here, one may cf. Henry Bettenson, *The Later Christian Fathers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 252-68; and John I. McEnerney, *Cyril of Alexandria, Letters 1-110*, vols. 76 & 77, *The Fathers of the Church*, ed. dir. Thomas P. Halton (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1987).

¹⁸See, for example, Cyril's "Scholia de incarnatione unigeniti," cap. XIII in PG 75, col. 1384D, in which Cyril maintains that the Divine Logos himself was called Jesus when he became man; i.e. he did not unite himself to a man or to a separate nature whose name was Jesus.

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has in mind when he makes his charge, for with St Cyril he wishes to emphasize that Jesus is not someone else than the Divine Logos but that he is one and the same Divine Logos; "Christ," in other words, is the Divine Logos *only* who as the incarnate Divine Logos is both human and divine in nature, but divine only in identity or person.

It is most important to note how this view of Christ's particularity distinguishes Justinian's "Cyrillian" Chalcedonianism from Nestorianism and from many Christologies one encounters in Western Christian thought. At issue is "who" lies inside the particular *prosopon* of Christ, and what is the starting point for determining that. Both Nestorianism and Cyrillian Chalcedonianism acknowledge that there is one Christ who is one particular or *hypostasis* or *prosopon*, and that furthermore this one Christ is divine and human in his natures. Many contemporary theologians who have sought to vindicate Nestorius from his condemnation at the Council of Ephesus in 431 base their defense of Nestorius precisely on this point: Nestorius, as also the Council of Chalcedon in 451, taught that Christ is one particular who is both God and man.¹⁹ But many of these scholars fail to grasp the significance of the fundamentally different starting points characterizing these two Christologies which lead to radically different notions of *hypostasis* and the content and identity of Christ. F. Loofs, perhaps, remains one of the most perceptive students of Nestorius, for he recognizes that if one is to uphold Nestorius' Christological understanding, one must reject Cyril's. And it is noteworthy that those who seek to reconcile Nestorius and Cyril must do so apart from Cyril's 12 Anathemas against Nestorius, which capsulize the core of Cyril's thought and were the source of conflict with the defenders of Nestorius even in the 5th century.²⁰ Loofs placed his finger on the heart

¹⁹See, for example, J. F. Bethune-Baker, *Nestorius and his Teaching* (Cambridge, 1908); Friedrich Loofs, *Nestorius and his Place in the History of Christian Doctrine* (Cambridge, 1914); and Milton V. Anastos, "Nestorius was Orthodox," in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 16 (1962) 118-140. For further bibliographical information see J. Quasten's *Patrology*, vol. 3, *The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature* (Westminster, Maryland: Christian Classics, Inc., 1983), and note 1 of Anastos' study.

²⁰The Anathemas are contained in Cyril's third letter to Nestorius, the

of the matter when he wrote:

"What does Nestorius mean when he talks about the one *prosopon* of Christ? The *undivided appearance* [my italics] of the historic Jesus Christ. For he says, very often, that Christ is the one *prosopon* of the union. And he argued with Cyril: 'You start in your account with the Creator of the natures and not with the *prosopon* of the union. It is not the Logos who has become twofold; it is the one Lord Jesus Christ who is twofold in his natures.'"²¹

In other words, as Nestorius himself observed, Cyril—and Justinian—starts from "inside" the *prosopon* of Christ, i.e. from the Divine Logos. Nestorius, on the other hand, and the theologians who share his Christological perspective, start from "outside" Christ, i.e. from that which can be visibly seen, the "undivided appearance" or *prosopon*. These different starting points yield radically different confessions concerning the philosophical content of the particular or *hypostasis* of Christ: the former understands *hypostasis* in terms of identity, i.e. the subjective core, the "self" (*autos* in Greek) or "who" of Christ, which is one, and is seen to be the Divine Logos himself so that the terms "Jesus," "Christ," and "Divine Logos" are identical, referring to one and the same subject. The *hypostasis*, then, is the foundation, not the product, of the union, for it is the eternally existing Divine Logos, the one through whom all things came into being in the first place. The latter, on the other hand, starting from the "undivided appearance" of the historical Jesus, understands *hypostasis* as the product rather than the foundation of the coming together of the two natures. These two natures, moreover, are each seen as two fully intact subjects:

text of which is translated into English in E. R. Hardy, *Christology of the Later Fathers*, pp. 353f; and also in *NPNF* 2nd series, vol. 14, pp. 206-218 (with notes).

²¹Loofs, *op. cit.*, p. 79. Loofs repeats the same point elsewhere when he defends Nestorius in this way: "Still more intelligible does the Christology of Nestorius become to us if, following his advice, we start from the one *prosopon* of the union, i.e. from the one Jesus Christ of history" (p. 93).

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Jesus is the human nature and so is a "someone other" than the Divine Logos, for the Divine Logos is the divine nature.

On the basis of this Cyrillian Christology Justinian published the condemnation of the Three Chapters in 543, which was confirmed by the Fifth Ecumenical Council in Constantinople in 553. The Three Chapters were "Nestorian" documents from the late fourth and fifth centuries. They included the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia (and Theodore himself was included in the condemnation, which proved to be so controversial that Justinian was compelled to justify posthumous condemnations, which he does in the second and third documents presented here); the letter of Ibas to Maris the Persian, which condemned Cyril and the Council of Ephesus and extolled Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius; and the writings of Theodoret of Cyrus, which were directed against Cyril of Alexandria in defense of Nestorius. These Three Chapters were very influential among certain Chalcedonians who could not accept the Christology of Cyril's 12 Anathemas, and so for Justinian their condemnation was justified in order to uphold the Cyrillian interpretation of Chalcedon, believed to be consistent with Holy Tradition as it was capsulized in the Creed of Nicea and Constantinople.

The other object of Justinian's polemic, the "monophysites" (a term which could be translated "one-nature-ites"), were those radical followers of St Cyril who rejected the "two natures" formula of Chalcedon on the ground that it was contrary to Cyril's Christological formula: "One nature of God the Word incarnate." Their outstanding leader was Severus of Antioch. The monophysites presented Justinian with a problem of a different order, viz. one that was terminological rather than theological, for as can be seen from the Cyrillian formula to which the monophysites exclusively subscribed, the monophysites shared with Justinian the fundamental Christological principle that Jesus Christ is the Divine Logos himself. At first, Justinian was optimistic about the possibility of reconciling the monophysites to his Cyrillian interpretation of Chalcedon, if only it could be shown that the Chalcedonian "two natures, one *hypostasis*" language was consistent with the meaning of St Cyril's "one nature, one

hypostasis." Towards that end he called a colloquy between Chalcedonian and monophysite theologians which was in session from 532-536. The attempt at reconciliation failed, however, for the monophysites by now had developed their own terminology from which they refused to depart.²²

What Justinian found unsatisfactory with the monophysites, apart from their stubborn insistence on accepting only the letter of Cyril's formula, was the ambiguity of their terminology. As did St Cyril, so also the monophysites used the terms nature and *hypostasis* as synonyms when referring to the particular. When referring to the universal, however, they used nature as a synonym for essence. The result was a terminology in which one term meant two things, depending on its context, which could easily lead to confusion. The ambiguous application of nature as a synonym to both *hypostasis* and essence could create in the mind the understanding that the union of the divine and human natures (essences in monophysite terms) in Christ which produced one nature (i.e. one particular) in fact produced a third nature (essence): a mixture of the divine and human natures together. Justinian saw the value of Chalcedonian terminology to lie in its philosophical precision: both Christ's unchanging, divine identity and his becoming fully man without becoming something or someone else was clearly expressed by the firm distinction established between *hypostasis* and nature in which the meaning of both terms was consistent with their Trinitarian application as fixed by the Cappadocians. *Hypostasis* refers to the one Divine Logos who becomes man, and the two natures formula refers to the mystery that he becomes fully man, possessing all the properties and attributes of human nature, without changing into a man and ceasing to be God. To show that precisely this meaning was intended in Cyril's Christological formula, "One nature of God the Word incarnate," Justinian undertakes a contextual study of Cyril's application of this formula. Justinian follows a line of interpretation common to the Chalcedonians of his camp,

²²See Roberta C. Chestnut, *Three Monophysite Christologies* (Oxford: University Press, 1976). See also J. Meyendorff, *Christ in Eastern Christian Thought* (Crestwood, New York: SVS Press, 1975), pp. 40-45.

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seeing in the term "incarnate" the indication of the human nature.²³

The same concern to maintain philosophical precision in the use of *hypostasis* and nature also informs Justinian's refutation of the monophysite application of the analogy of man, an analogy popular with all parties to support their own position. Here Justinian shows that Christ cannot be one nature, for then Christ would indicate a universal common to many "christs." But there is only one Christ, because Christ is not a union of natures to form a third nature, but he is the one Divine Logos who becomes fully man while remaining fully God.²⁴

Again, the same understanding informs Justinian's interpretation of the Chalcedonian phrase which refers to Christ existing "in" two natures. This was objected to by the monophysites on the ground that Cyril had spoken of one nature "from" or "of" two natures. Cyril's, and the monophysites', concern was to emphasize the identity of the Christ and the Divine Logos. Justinian sought to show that the same confession was in fact maintained with greater philosophical consistency and precision by Chalcedonian terminology. The preposition "in" guards against Eutychianism and teaches more clearly that the one Divine Logos exists both as man and as God, each nature retaining its complete integrity, not changing into the other, or joining with the other to produce a third, new nature.²⁵

This completes our presentation of the fundamental Christological principle informing Justinian's exposition. Starting from "inside" the *hypostasis* of Christ, Justinian follows the Nicene tradition as championed by Athanasius, the Cappadocians, and Cyril in asserting that the subject of Christ, the foundation of the union of the divine and human natures, is the Divine Logos. This means that Jesus is the Divine Logos; he is not someone other than the Divine Logos.

²³The same interpretation is proposed by Ephrem of Amid in Photius' *Bibliotheca*, vol. IV, ed. and trans. Renè Henry (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1960), codex 229, pp. 153ff.

²⁴See pp. 38ff and 171ff. (See note on p. 171.)

²⁵See pp. 32ff.

Of course, we have not noted all the subtle and intricate philosophical difficulties or questions raised by Justinian's Christological exposition; we haven't the space for that. But even though there are philosophical issues that remain vague in the Christology we find in these documents (for example, the relation of the *hypostasis* to the properties [*idiomata*], or more crucial still, to the human mind)²⁸ they are of importance, nonetheless, for they furnish us with a representative articulation of the basic Christological principle and philosophical starting point that informs Orthodox philosophy, theology, and praxis: and that is that Jesus Christ is the Divine Logos himself who became man for our salvation, while yet remaining fully God. It is from this same starting point that whatever philosophical difficulties remain in Justinian, or even in 6th century dogmatic thought in general, will be approached by subsequent Orthodox Tradition.

²⁸Cf. n. 170 on p. 97, and on p. 171f.

**JUSTINIAN'S LETTER TO
THE MONKS OF ALEXANDRIA
AGAINST
THE MONOPHYSITES**

Introduction to the Text

This document is a copy of the letter Justinian wrote to some monks of Alexandria around 542/43. After Justinian's death, a copy of the letter was made and sent to a certain lawyer monk named Timothy, who is the one addressed as "your blessedness" in the superscription. The monks who were the recipients of the original letter were formerly monophysite, and had embraced the Chalcedonian faith of the imperial Church. Justinian wrote them a letter, really a doctrinal treatise, to commend them for their action and to instruct them in the Chalcedonian definition of faith.

In the year 540, the Patriarchal seat of Alexandria had become vacant upon the death of the Chalcedonian bishop, Paul. Justinian sought a strong Chalcedonian to fill the vacancy who would counteract the influence of the large monophysite bloc in Alexandria. His choice fell on a Palestinian monk, Zoilos. Under Zoilos' patriarchate these monophysite monks returned to the catholic Church. Justinian's pleasure over Zoilos did not last long, however, for when the controversy over the Three Chapters exploded a few years later, Zoilos was the one Eastern patriarch who refused to subscribe to the condemnation; Zoilos is the one to whom Justinian refers when he writes in the Letter on the Three Chapters, "All the most blessed patriarchs are in union with one another, except the one who is possessed by madness" (p. 116).

The Text

Preface.

When Justinian was Emperor, he composed a doctrinal treatise in which he drew from the divine Scriptures and the holy fathers, and he sent it to the monks living in the 9th district of Alexandria. We believe it should be sent to your blessedness. It contains the following.

Introduction. Greetings and Exhortation.

We believe above all that the confession of the true faith is for the salvation of all men, and certainly for those who have chosen the monastic life. If they earnestly desire to discipline the body, how much more ought they to desire to instruct the soul in the faith of God through which we hope to enjoy eternal life. The Scriptures tell us that if faith is not made more perfect by being joined to practice, then the work, too, is dead for it is outside of faith; and it says that no one will win a trophy unless one competes according to the rules.¹ We understand that the source of the infirmity of our common nature is human weakness, and it affects even those who are strong in mind; but to be made sound in the knowledge of the true faith, and to embrace the unity and peace of the Church we attribute to grace. Truly do we call God "Peace," and whoever embraces the good of peace and faith manifests his nearness to God and to divine things.

We address these words to you who love God, for we have learned from what the most blessed Archbishop and Patriarch of Alexandria, Zoilos, has written to us that, be-

¹Cf. 2 Tim 2:5.

cause you embrace the peace so dear to God, you have hastened to his holy Church, having found that the doctrines she proclaims are true. Through her dogma every heresy is expelled. Both the division taught by Paul² and Nestorius³ who denied the deity of Christ because the eyes of their soul were blinded by the stupidity of the Jews, and the union, or better confusion, taught by Apollinaris⁴ and Eutyches⁵ who denied the true humanity of Christ, have been condemned and cast out.

We urge you who love God, therefore, to manifest the other fruits of the faith by leading to the truth those still under the sway of error, and to direct them to the holy Church of God, whose true and saving proclamation we will

²Paul of Samosata became Bishop of Antioch in 260, but was condemned at a Council of Antioch in 268 for teaching that Christ was "in his nature an ordinary man" (Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 7.27.2). Cf. J. Quasten's *Patrology*, vol. 2, *The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus*, pp. 140-142.

³Nestorius, also of the Antiochian tradition, became Patriarch of Constantinople in 428 and was condemned at the Council of Ephesus in 431 under the presidency of Cyril of Alexandria for denying the title "Mother of God" to Mary (*Theotokos*), for refusing to confess that the Divine Logos died on the Cross, and for rejecting the "hypostatic union" as taught by Cyril. To reject these doctrines was to imply that Jesus is an independent human subject distinguished from the Divine Logos. Portions of the acts of Ephesus, which include Cyril's Anathemas of Nestorius, are given an English translation in *Nicene Post-Nicene Fathers of the Church*, 2nd series, vol. 14, pp. 206-224. English translations of Nestorius are included in Richard A. Norris, *The Christological Controversy*, pp. 123-30 (Nestorius' First Sermon against the 'Theotokos'), & 135-139 (Nestorius' Second Letter to Cyril). See also Nestorius' *Bazaar of Heracleides*, trans. by G. R. Driver, and Leonard Hodgson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925). For a sympathetic treatment of Nestorius see J. F. Bethune-Baker, *Nestorius and his Teaching*; Friedrich Loofs, *Nestorius and His Place in the History of Christian Doctrine*; and Milton V. Anastos, "Nestorius was Orthodox," in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 16 (1962) 119-140.

⁴Apollinaris of Laodicea was condemned at the Council of Constantinople in 381 for teaching that Christ is the Logos clothed with a human flesh without a human mind, ultimately implying that Christ is not fully man for he does not assume a full human nature. See Quasten's *Patrology*, vol. 3, pp. 377-383; and Norris, *Christological Controversy*, pp. 103-112; and idem, *Manhood and Christ: A Study in the Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (Oxford: 1963), which is also a study of Apollinaris.

⁵A monk devoted to the teaching of St Cyril, but who was confused by Cyril's imprecise terminology and taught that when the human nature was assumed by the Divine Logos, it disappeared in the immensity of the Logos' Divinity. Eutyches was condemned at Chalcedon in 451.

demonstrate with the help of the divine Scriptures and the tradition of the fathers, and we will refute the wicked teachings of the godless heretics we have named.

The Trinity.

The holy Church of God proclaims One in Three, and Three in One; one God the Father, from whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and one Holy Spirit, in whom are all things. The phrases "from whom," "through whom," and "in whom" in no way divide the nature, but characterize the properties of the one, unconfused nature. So, because we perceive the same essence in each *hypostasis*, we worship one essence in three *hypostases*, and we proclaim each of the *hypostases* in the same way. But since we must count them, we do not use an unenlightened notion of number to suggest many gods, for we do not count by combining them and increasing from one to many.⁶ But we maintain the monarchy even while we confess the distinctiveness of the *hypostases*. Nor is our theology dispersed into a pluralism when it distinguishes the Godhead since we understand that one form, which is one because of the sameness of nature, is perceived in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Spirit. We confess therefore that each *hypostasis* is God. If we contemplate the inseparable Persons individually we separate them in our mind, yet we understand that the Three together are one God because of the identity of their movement and nature.⁷ The Three Persons, therefore, are truly three; yet "three" does not enumerate unequal realities, but unites equal realities identical in honor. Their name is one because they are united in nature, and they are not separated because they are not dispersed when we enumerate them separately.

⁶Cf. St Basil, "On the Holy Spirit," trans. by David Anderson, (Crestwood, New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1980) §45.

⁷Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, "On Not Three Gods," in E. R. Hardy, *Christology of the Later Fathers*, pp. 256-267.

Jesus, the Second Person of the Trinity.

Furthermore, we confess that the only-begotten Son and Word of God, who is glorified and worshipped with the Father and the Holy Spirit, who was begotten of the Father in a timeless and incorporeal manner, who is Light from Light, the Fountain of life and immortality, the very Impress of the Archetype, the immovable Seal, the true Image, Definition and Word of the Father; we confess that he did not leave man separated from God who in his mercy created him, or to the malice of the devil and the bitter taste of sin, but realizing our salvation in his own Image, he came and took flesh for the sake of my flesh, and he mixed it with a rational soul for the sake of my soul, and cleansing like by like, he became man in every respect except sin. And he who has ascended into the highest heaven is glorified through the rising of his glory in the setting of our weakness. For the greatness of heaven, the splendor of his radiance, the orderly arrangement of the universe, and the eternal care of the creatures does not demonstrate his divine and excellent power so much as his condescension to the weakness of our nature.⁸ How has it come to pass that he who exists on high has been seen in meekness and humility, without descending from the heights? For the divine was woven together⁹ with human nature, and God became man. Therefore, we confess him to be perfect God and perfect man who completely destroyed the condemnation of sin in order to grant salvation to the whole of my nature through the whole of his human nature that suffered.¹⁰ He who was full emptied himself, yet he was emptied of his glory but for a little while so that I might partake of his fullness.

Being rich, he became poor; and yet how is he poor when he is rich? This is what St Athanasius writes in his treatise, "On the Epiphany of our Salvation":

⁸Cf. St Basil, "On the Holy Spirit," §18.

⁹συμπλακεῖσα.

¹⁰Literally, "that he might grant salvation to the whole of me through the whole that suffered."

He took to himself our impoverished nature, and because he offered it in his own righteousness to suffer for the sake of man, and because his human nature was taken from man, he appeared [in it] for men and it became wholly God's so that God might truly be man, and man might truly be God. For it pleased God's Only-begotten that the archetypal man and new creation formed from his Virgin Mother should be raised up in the fullness of God through his own natural birth and indissoluble union.¹¹

Accordingly, we know that the miracles and sufferings which he freely endured in the flesh belong to the same Person.¹² The Holy Trinity did not add a fourth *prosopon* when the Divine Logos, who is One of the Trinity, was incarnate and became man;¹³ nor do we believe that the Divine Logos and Christ are different persons,¹⁴ but we confess that the Lord Jesus Christ and the Divine Logos are one and the same. Or, if one would speak concisely; the Savior is composed of two different natures, for what is visible and what is invisible, and what is temporal and what is non-temporal are not the same. And yet he is not two different persons; absolutely not!¹⁵ He is one of two, and two in one. And so, although we say there are two different natures¹⁶ in one and the same only-begotten Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, we do not propose two sons, or *hypostases*, or *prosopa*; but we understand that he exists in those natures of which he is composed. In this way, then, we affirm the difference of his divinity and flesh, denying the confusion of essence¹⁷ taught by the Eutychians; and at the same time we confess his one *hypostasis*, despising the division of Nestorius. For this is what St Cyril¹⁸ teaches in his third letter to Nestorius:

¹¹*Contra Apoll.* 2.11; PG 26, col. 1152.

¹²τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

¹³σαρκωθέντος καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντος.

¹⁴οὐκ ἄλλον τὸν θεὸν λόγον καὶ ἄλλον τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπιστάμεθα.

¹⁵Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, Ep. 101 "To Cledonius," PG 37, col. 180: for English translation see NPNF (2nd series) vol. 7, p. 439, col. b.

¹⁶ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο.

¹⁷συνουσίῳσιν.

¹⁸St Cyril (d. 444), Patriarch of Alexandria, who opposed Nestorius and

God did not cease to exist when he became like us; nor did he refuse to become man because in his nature he is unable to be like us. But just as he remained God in his humanity, so also, when he became man, his excellent divine nature was in no way made inferior. Both natures are in him, therefore, and the Immanuel is one, at the same time God and man.¹⁹

*Concerning the Prepositions "in" and "of."*²⁰

We must give careful consideration to what this father says. By the preposition "in" he teaches us to confess the two natures of divinity and humanity in which Christ is known. The heretics refuse to apply this preposition to the divinity and humanity of Christ for they allege that it introduces division. They fail to understand that this term preserves the union unconfused and undivided. Indeed, even divine Scripture uses this preposition to refer to the divinity and humanity of our great God and Savior Jesus Christ; the blessed apostle Paul, for example, says: "Let this mind be in you that was in Christ Jesus who, though he existed in the form of God, did not consider it robbery to be equal with God, but emptied himself and, taking the form of a servant, he was made in the likeness of men, and was found in appearance as a man."²¹ When the apostle says that the only-begotten Son of God

was instrumental in securing his condemnation at Ephesus in 431. Cyril taught that Jesus is the Divine Logos, and on this basis defended the title "Theotokos" and the doctrine of *theopaschism* (God suffered in the flesh).

¹⁹Against Nestorius. 3.2; *ACO* I 1.6, p. 60, 39.

²⁰At the Council of Chalcedon in 451 it was hotly contested whether Christ is "one of two natures," or "one in two natures." The so-called "monophysites," radical followers of Cyril of Alexandria, insisted on "of" two natures to protect against Nestorianism. The Council, however, adopted the formula, "in" two natures to guard against Eutychianism. This provided another reason for the monophysites to charge that Chalcedon had betrayed the faith to Nestorius. Justinian here tries his hand at showing that the formula, "in" two natures, is faithful to the meaning of Cyril's language. On the history of this debate over the prepositions "in" and "of" see Aloys Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 1, *From the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1975) pp. 510-550.

²¹Phil 2.5-7.

existed in the form of God, and when he adds that he who took the form of a servant was found in appearance as a man and was made in the likeness of men, he teaches us nothing other than that the Lord is in each form, that is divinity and humanity.

St Cyril interprets the same passage in his letter to Theodosius in this way:

The Divine Word, who is co-eternal with God the Father, and who took the form of a servant, is perfect in divinity just as he is perfect in humanity. He is not composed simply of divinity and flesh to form one Christ, and Lord, and Son; but he is composed of two complete natures, I mean of divinity and humanity, wondrously uniting them both in one and the same Person.²²

Note that the father once more clearly confesses that the Christ exists in divinity and humanity, for just as to say "of divinity and humanity" means "of" two natures, so also to say "in divinity and humanity" means that Christ is known to exist "in" two natures. Moreover, in what he writes against the "Synousiasts," St Cyril clearly establishes that something which is said to be composed "of" certain elements produces a confusion and destroys what has come together, unless it is also understood to exist "in" those things "of" which it is composed. He says this:

If they maintain that the flesh and the Word are mixed together, as in the category of moist elements, surely they know that when moist elements are mixed together—say, wine and honey—they are no longer exactly what they used to be, for when the properties of the different species are combined they are changed into something else. So if they say that the flesh has been mixed with the Word, then they must also say that since each of these elements has been completely changed from what it was, therefore a nature that is

²²ACO I. 1. 1., p. 57, 15-8.

something in between has been produced from the two, completely different from what each of its original elements were by themselves.

Having shown that confusion results when elements are not preserved after their coming together, it is obvious that if there is neither a confusion nor a destruction of elements that have come together, then whatever is composed "of" something is also known "in" its various elements. So, as has been shown already, if anyone confesses that our one Lord Jesus Christ is constituted "of" two natures, namely of divinity and humanity, while saying that the essences which have come together in him are not confused, then he must also confess that he is known "in" the two natures of divinity and humanity "of" which he is composed. In this way we both maintain the difference of the natures in Christ, and preserve their inseparable union. If they do not concede that the natures constituting Christ are preserved in him, then how can they say they are different?

St Cyril, however, writes this in the 24th chapter of the "Thesaurus":

Some things he says as man and some as God, for he has authority in both natures. As man he says, "Now is my soul troubled,"²³ but as God he says, "I have power to lay down my life and to take it up again."²⁴ To be troubled, then, pertains to the passion of his flesh, but to possess power to lay down his soul and to take it up again is an act belonging to the power of the Logos.²⁵

And in his commentary on the Gospel of John St Cyril writes this:

Though he assumed the form of a servant and became man, he spoke with a freedom perfectly be-

²³Jn 12.27.

²⁴Jn 10.18.

²⁵PG 75, col. 400B, 4-11.

fitting his deity, for it was neither removed nor lost because of his union with the flesh. And in his Incarnation, he said whatever was befitting his deity and humanity, for he was truly both at once.²⁶

Now, when St Cyril says that Christ is both natures at once, and that he has authority in both natures, he means nothing other than that he is known to exist "in" two natures; for to say that God and man are in Christ is to refer to his essences.

*Concerning Cyril's Formula, "One Nature of God the Word Incarnate."*²⁷

Nevertheless, these enemies of the truth, by going beyond all the teachings of the fathers, but particularly those teachings ratified at the Council [of Ephesus] and set forth by St Cyril in his condemnation of the blasphemy of Nestorius, interpret the formula found in St Cyril's letter to Succensus, "One nature of God the Word incarnate," out of context and in accordance with their own opinions; and not only this, but, like all heretics, they also explain the analogy of man and certain passages of holy Scripture to fit their error. But we will demonstrate the futility of their understanding on this matter from Cyril's own words.

These men overlook what comes before and after this formula because they are so anxious to establish their erroneous opinions. The father, for example, has written: "We neither divide the natures from one another after the union, nor do we separate the one and inseparable Christ into two sons, but we say there is one Son."²⁸ Although he shows that

²⁶Book II.6, PG 73, col. 357C, 8-14.

²⁷This formula was at the heart of the controversy between those Chalcedonians and non-Chalcedonians who were both disciples of Cyril. Chalcedonians sought to demonstrate the affinity between Cyril's formula and Chalcedon's, "one *hypostasis* in two natures," by arguing that the term "incarnate" refers to the human nature of Christ. Cf., for example, Ephrem of Antioch, in Photius' *Bibliotheca*, vol. IV, ed. and trans. René Henry, *Sources Chrétiennes* 250 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1960), Codex 229, pp. 153ff.

²⁸Ep. Ad Succ. 1 [ACO I.1.6, p. 153, 21-23].

one should not divide the natures after the union, but confess that they have been united in Christ, the heretics overlook this and invent one nature composed of flesh and divinity. But the holy father did not say one nature composed of flesh and divinity as they imagine; for having said the nature of the Word is one when contemplated without the flesh, he did not stop there, but he added the term "incarnate," to show us by this word the other, human nature.

However, obviously unsatisfied with this phrase, and wishing to reveal his thought more clearly, he immediately added this, which again the heretics overlook: "So then, insofar as the manner by which the Only-begotten became man pertains to the mind, and to seeing with the eyes of the soul alone, we say there are two natures, but one Christ, Son, and Lord, who is the Word of God, and who became man and was incarnate."²⁹

What could be more clear than these things, and how could anyone of sound mind still be in doubt concerning the confession of the two natures in Christ when the father has given us this teaching? But these heretics are so eager to distort in every way the orthodox teaching that they add this to their empty arguments; they say that what is perceived with the mind and the eyes of the soul alone need not be confessed with the mouth. But nothing is more ridiculous than these absurdities of theirs! According to this madness, then, they will not even confess God with their mouth since we know him only with the mind and the eyes of our soul. But even this father [St Cyril] himself spoke with his mouth—he even wrote with his pen—what he perceived with the eyes of his soul; and had he not spoken and wrote we could never have understood what he perceived!

But if, according to these mindless heretics, it is improper to confess what we perceive with the mind only, how will they confess what belongs to the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, for though his Incarnation is visible, his divinity is perceived only with the mind? If "With the heart one believes unto righteousness, and with the mouth one confesses unto salva-

²⁹Ibid., pp. 153.23-154.3.

tion,"³⁰ as the blessed apostle teaches us, then it is already clear that what is perceived with the mind is also confessed with the mouth; and as Gregory the Theologian says: "A mind that cannot express its thoughts is dead."³¹ It must be granted that unless one can be made holy with one's mouth, it is quite shameful and senseless for men who are spiritually perishing to haggle over a word as though they begrudged others its hidden meaning! Therefore, all men of piety who receive the profound mystery of our great God and Savior Jesus Christ must confess with their mouth the two natures of Christ: the divine and the human.

Again, when in his second letter to Succensus St Cyril grants the orthodoxy of Succensus' faith concerning the Incarnation, at the same time he goes on to show his own opinion more clearly when he instructs him on these matters and says:

Your perfection has set forth the account of our Savior's Passion in a most true and altogether reasonable manner. The only-begotten Son of God, in that we know he is God, could not himself suffer the things of the body in his own nature, but he suffered them in his earthly nature. We must maintain of him who is the one, true Son both the impassibility of his divine nature and the passibility of his human nature, for his flesh was what suffered.³²

These words reveal clearly that there are two natures, the divine and the human, preserved in one *hypostasis*, which is the one *prosopon* of the only-begotten Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, for St Cyril says that both must be maintained in the one, true Son. Now, there can be no denying that in adding these words, he clearly reveals to us how he understands this dogma, for the term "both" indicates not one nature, but two. And when this father teaches that he suffered not in his divine nature, but in his earthly nature, no one

³⁰Rm 10:10.

³¹Oration 43.XIII; PG 36, col. 512.

³²ACO I.1.6, p. 161.4-8.

would be so foolish as to suppose that he is one nature; and so we are taught to confess that to suffer and not to suffer belong not to the same nature, but to one and the same *hypostasis* of our Lord Jesus Christ, for things that are contrary to each other cannot occur simultaneously in one and the same nature.

Christ and the Analogy of Human Nature.

But because these enemies of the truth are opposed to the teachings of the fathers they are unable to discern these matters, and so they fall into yet another absurdity: they maintain that those who confess that Christ is God and man, but not one nature as is man, are therefore compelled to say that there are in Christ not simply two natures, but three. The nature of the Word is one, that of the soul is another, and that of the body a third. Very well; if this is what these impious innovators believe, can they explain to us what they mean by this if they confess with us that Christ is "from" two natures? Did he assume the soul apart from the body, or the body apart from the soul? They must admit one of these absurdities. But if they shy away from such nonsense, and say that the Lord assumed both soul and body, they will find themselves ensnared in their own trap for they themselves will be compelled to say that the Christ is "from" three natures.

Obviously they are unaware that when the term "man" is used without reference to properties, it means the universal; i.e. it indicates essence or nature, and refers to many *hypostases*. But when properties are added to the universal, then the *hypostasis* comes into view, and one can perceive the difference of soul and body.³³ But the apostolic tradition teaches us to speak of both [soul and body when speaking of human nature]. When St Paul wishes to speak of soul and body individually, he refers to the one as "the inner man,"

³³On the relationship between *hypostasis* and individuating properties, see n. 170 on p. 97.

and to the other as "the outer man."³⁴ And James indicates the common essence of humanity when he says: "Every nature of beasts, and of birds, and of reptiles, and of creatures of the sea is tamed and has been tamed by human nature."³⁵ The name "Christ," however, does not indicate essence for it refers neither to a universal, nor to many *hypostases*, nor is it known without its properties.³⁶

St Cyril teaches us this also in his "Scholia on the Incarnation." He says: "The name 'Christ' does not carry the force of a definition, nor is it the essence of something which indicates 'what' that something is, as do the names 'man,' 'horse,' and 'ox.' "³⁷

Now if the name "Christ," according to the blasphemy of the heretics, indicates an essence as does the term "man," then, as they would have it, there will be many Christs to whom the universal essence "Christ" refers. But if this is impious and altogether alien to the Christian faith (since there is one Lord Jesus Christ), then the name "Christ" clearly refers not to nature, but to a *prosopon* or *hypostasis*.

But let us consider another way in which the mystery of the Economy differs from the analogy of man. Man is composed of soul and body, both of which are created; but, although our Lord Jesus Christ is himself God and man, in his divinity he is uncreated, existing before the ages, while in his humanity he is created and subject to time. The same One, therefore, is uncreated and created, outside of time and in time. And for this reason, we ascribe some things to his divine nature and some things to his human nature; yet we confess that they all belong to the same One.

We learn the same things from what St Proclus teaches us in his treatise on the Theotokos. He writes: "O wondrous birth! The beginning, and yet not the beginning of him who

³⁴ 2 Cor 4:16.

³⁵ Js 3:7.

³⁶ I.e., since Christ is not a nature or essence but an *hypostasis*, we cannot contemplate the name Christ without at the same time bringing to mind the properties belonging to the divine and human natures of Christ.

³⁷ ACO I. 5. p. 219,9.

was born! For while there was a beginning of his humanity, his deity remained without beginning."³⁸

So then, these men who draw from the analogy of man the bizarre conclusion that Christ is one essence should deceive neither themselves nor others; analogies are not identical in every respect to what they are intended to illustrate. Obviously, if they were absolutely identical they would be the prototypes themselves and not illustrations. Accordingly, St Cyril used the analogy of man for no other reason than to refute the blasphemy of Paul and Nestorius who divided the natures from one another and thought they were two *prosopa* or *hypostases*, and then went on to say that there are two sons and two Christs: one who is the Son of God the Father, and the other who was created from the Holy Virgin and Theotokos Mary. Based on this, they denied that she is Theotokos, and they called her offspring a mere man who was considered worthy of adoption because of his advancement in grace, and his affinity and relationship to the natural Son.

Conviction of Paul of Samosata and Nestorius from Their Own Words.

In order to prove that Paul and Nestorius did indeed say such blasphemous things, and to publicly display their folly to all christians, we will set forth a few passages taken from their impious writings.

In the acts of the impious Paul these words of his are recorded:

The Word came together with the one born of David, that is Jesus Christ who was born of the Holy Spirit. The Virgin brought forth Jesus through the Holy Spirit, but the Word was begotten by God apart from the Virgin or anyone else, since he is none other than God, and in this way does the Word subsist.³⁹

³⁸Or. 3; PG 65, col. 705.

³⁹ὁπρόσθη.

Elsewhere the wicked Paul says: "The Word was greater than the Christ; Christ became great through wisdom and we cannot remove the honor of wisdom." And in another place, this heretic says: "The Lord was in the prophets, to a greater degree in Moses and others, but to an even greater degree in Christ as in a temple, for Jesus Christ and the Word are different persons."⁴⁰

The wicked Nestorius says: "Nowhere do the divine Scriptures state that God was born of the Virgin *Christotokos*."⁴¹ In another place, this man-worshipper says: "[The Scripture says], 'He arose and took the child and his mother.'⁴² It does not say, 'He arose and took God and his mother.'⁴³ Elsewhere the impious Nestorius says:

He who is with the one born and he who was born are not the same, for it says, "That which is conceived in her is of the Holy Spirit."⁴⁴ This means that the Holy Spirit created that which was in her. Therefore, the fathers, because they knew the divine Scriptures, saw that if in place of the one who was incarnate, we set one who was begotten, the Divine Logos will become the son of the Holy Spirit and will therefore have two Fathers. And if he now exists through the Holy Spirit, he will become a creature of the Spirit.⁴⁵

In another place, this wicked man says:

Just as we call the creator of all things God, and just as we call Moses "God" (for the Scripture says, "I have made you as a god to Pharaoh . . ."⁴⁶); and just as Israel is called the Son of God (for the Scrip-

⁴⁰ ἄλλος . . . καὶ ἄλλος.

⁴¹ *Christotokos* = Birthgiver of Christ, a term Nestorius preferred to the traditional "Theotokos," or "Birthgiver of God." The citation is found in "Exc. Ephes." III (*ACO* I. 1. 2. p. 45, 5.6.).

⁴² Mt 2:13.

⁴³ Exc. Ephes. III (*ACO* I.1.2. p. 46, 9.10.).

⁴⁴ Mt 1:20.

⁴⁵ Exc. Eph. IV (*ACO* I. 1.2. p. 46, 15-20.).

⁴⁶ Ex 7:1.

ture says, "You are Israel, my first-born son . . ." ⁴⁷; and just as we say that Saul is a christ (for the Scripture says, "I will not lay my hand on him for he is the Lord's Christ" ⁴⁸); and Cyrus as well (for it says, "Thus saith the Lord to Cyrus my 'Christ' . . ." ⁴⁹); and just as Babylon is called holy (for it says, "I will command them, they will be holy and I will lead them" ⁵⁰); so also the lord Christ we call, "God," "Son," "Holy," and "Christ." ⁵¹

The same wicked Nestorius also says this:

I revere the one who is born because of the one who bears him. I worship him who is made manifest because of him who is hidden. God has become inseparable from him who was made manifest; for this reason, I do not separate the honor from what is now inseparable; I separate the natures, but I unite their worship. ⁵²

Again, he says: "The Divine Logos is named Christ because he maintains an everlasting conjunction with the Christ." ⁵³ And in another place he says: "The blessed Virgin did not give birth to the Son of God, but to his humanity, which is 'son' because of the Son to whom he is joined." ⁵⁴

In these matters the godless Paul and Nestorius surpass even the impiety of the pagans and Jews. They were condemned because they refused to confess the two generations of our Lord Jesus Christ who is one and the same our True God; that is, his divine generation from the Father before the ages, and his human generation in these last days from the holy, all-venerable Virgin Mary the Theotokos. Instead,

⁴⁷Ex 4:22.

⁴⁸1 Kgs 24:7.

⁴⁹Is 45:1.

⁵⁰Cf. Is. 13:3.

⁵¹Exc. Eph. VI; *ACO* *ibid.*, p. 47, 7-14.

⁵²Exc. Eph. VIII, *ibid.*, p. 47, 26-28, 2.

⁵³Exc. Eph. IX, *ibid.*, p. 48, 9.10.

⁵⁴Exc. Eph. 1, *ibid.*, p. 45, 20.21.

they taught two sons: one the Divine Logos begotten of God the Father, and the other a mere man begotten of the Holy Virgin. For this reason they refused to follow the prophets, the evangelists, and the preaching of the apostles in acknowledging the Holy Virgin as Theotokos. Let us therefore bring forward the testimony of Scripture to refute their impious doctrines.

Refutation of Paul and Nestorius from the Scriptures.

Jeremiah prophesied concerning the Christ and said: "He is our God; none other compares with him. He has comprehended the whole way of knowledge, and he has confided it to his servant Jacob, to Israel his beloved, so causing it to appear on earth and to move among men."⁵⁵

Now, how did this godless Nestorius dare to maintain that the divine Scriptures nowhere teach that God should be born of a Virgin? Does he not stand in awe of the terrible sound of Isaiah who proclaims: "Behold, a Virgin shall conceive, and she will bear a son, and she will call his name Immanuel, which means, God is with us?"⁵⁶ The same prophet calls out in another place: "For unto us a child is born, unto us a Son is given, and the government will be upon his shoulders, and his name will be called Wonderful Counselor, Mighty God, Eternal Father, Prince of Peace."⁵⁷

Are these men not afraid at the voice of John the Evangelist which causes fear even among the godless heathen? "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and the Word was God; and the Word became flesh and dwelt among us."⁵⁸ And in his catholic epistle he writes:

That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we beheld and which our hands handled, concerning

⁵⁵Baruch 3:36-38.

⁵⁶Is 7:14; Mt 1:23.

⁵⁷Is 9:6.

⁵⁸Jn 1:1 & 14.

the Word of Life, and the Life appeared and we have seen and we have heard and we bear witness and we proclaim also to you the Eternal Life which was with the Father and which appeared to us.⁵⁹

Of the Lord he says: "He is the True God and Life Everlasting."⁶⁰

What will these men say to the apostle Paul? In one passage he says: "According to the appearance of the glory of our great God and Savior Christ Jesus."⁶¹ And in another passage he writes: "Whose are the fathers, and from whom is the Christ according to the flesh, who is over all, God blessed forever. Amen."⁶²

*That Christ is One in Two Distinct Natures.*⁶³

Having shown that Christ is the True God, let us also show that he is one. Attend to the apostle Paul who says: "One God the Father from whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ through whom are all things."⁶⁴

⁵⁹ I Jn 1:1-2.

⁶⁰ I Jn 5:20.

⁶¹ Tit 2:13.

⁶² Rm 9:5.

⁶³ Nestorius did indeed confess that Christ is God because of the Divine Logos who was in Christ. The thrust of this particular polemic, that Christ is one, however, is intended to show that Christ is one because Jesus of Nazareth, who in Nestorius' mind is the name given to the human nature in Christ and hence distinguishable from the Divine Logos, is himself the Divine Logos. If Nestorianism, as Loofs has observed (*Nestorius and His Place*, p. 79), starts with the "undivided appearance of the historic Jesus Christ," the Christology of Justinian represents starts with the undivided identity of the Divine Logos who himself becomes man. To explain the matter with less sophistication that may at the same time be more clear, if Nestorianism starts with what is observed of Christ on the outside, the Christology of Justinian starts with what is known, through faith, of Christ on the inside. Hence Nestorius sees two ontologically independent realities, Jesus and the Divine Logos, united together in a tight conjunction to form one undivided appearance; whereas the Christology of Justinian sees one, identical subject, one "I Am" in Christ who is the Divine Logos, so that the source of Christ's unity is found not in his undivided appearance, but in his inner identity which is the Divine Logos.

⁶⁴ I Cor 8:6.

Against the Monophysites

We have produced these texts from the divine Scriptures in order to refute the impiety of those who follow Paul and Nestorius and who deny the Economy of our great God and Savior Jesus Christ by placing in him two separate natures so as to produce two *hypostases*, two sons, and two Christs. As we said, St Cyril overturned their godless division in the way he used the analogy of man to teach us that just as in man the two natures of soul and body produce one man and not two, so also in the wondrous Dispensation, the two natures of divinity and humanity produced not two sons or Christs, but one Jesus Christ, our Lord.⁶⁵

In his first epistle to Succensus, St Cyril presents the analogy of man and says this:

If you wish, let us take as an example our own constitution whereby we are human beings. We are composed of soul and body, and we perceive two natures: one of the soul, the other of the body. And yet, though we are composed of two natures, we are not two men, but one "man" composed, as I said, of soul and body.⁶⁶

In his second epistle to Succensus, he uses the analogy of man to teach us the following:

⁶⁵The term "produce" (ἀποτελέω) may appear puzzling in connection with Justinian's presentation elsewhere in which he clearly indicates that the *hypostasis* of Christ is the eternally existing Second *Hypostasis* of the Divine Trinity. This would mean that the *hypostasis* is the foundation of the union, but to speak of "production" would seem to mean that the *hypostasis* of Christ is the result or product of the union, which would further imply that the *hypostasis* of Christ is not the Divine Logos, since the Divine Logos eternally exists. In the context of the whole of Justinian's thought, however, since he maintains that Jesus Christ is the Second *Hypostasis* of the Divine Logos, the use of the verb "produce" would seem to refer to the activity of the mind, rather than to an ontological phenomenon. That is to say, as we contemplate the union it is in our mind (not in reality) that there is produced the one *hypostasis*. This language, in fact, refutes both Nestorianism and monophysitism, for as we contemplate the union, there is not produced in our mind two *hypostases*, nor a confusion of the two natures, but rather we see the one single eternally existing *hypostasis* of the Divine Logos existing now in both divine and human natures. One will find the same language again in "The Edict," pp. 169ff.

⁶⁶ACO I. 1. 6., p. 154, 3-8.

Let us again take man as our example. We see in him two natures: one of soul, the other of body. But we separate them in thought only, and because we admit their difference in theory only, or by the contemplation of our mind, we do not separate the natures, nor do we believe they can be separated from one another, but we understand that they are one.⁶⁷

Note that when the father says, "We separate the natures in thought only," he rejects those who introduce a confusion of natures and deny their difference. On the other hand, by saying, "We do not separate the natures, nor do we believe they can be separated," he refutes the blasphemy of the Nestorians who separate the natures in the Incarnation and produce two sons and two Christs. And he goes on to say, "But we understand that they are one, so that the natures are no longer two," and this means that though they are distinguished, they are nevertheless united. Therefore, he says, "from both [natures]"—i.e. soul and body—"one being is produced," that is, one man and not two. He writes concerning the same thing in his first treatise to Succensus, where he says: "It is agreed that to be composed of two natures does not mean there are two men, but one man, as I said, composed of soul and body."

But if, as the heretics slanderously maintain, the father says that the two natures of soul and body are no longer two because they exist as though they were one, then, if we follow their view, man will disappear altogether for he will necessarily be either without a soul or a body, which of course is impossible since man does not exist except as both. So then, it is quite clear that when the father used the analogy of man, he meant to show, as we have said, that just as soul and body do not produce two men but one, so also in the Incarnation the two natures, the divine and the human, do not produce two sons or two Christs, but one Jesus Christ our Lord.

In connection with this, St Cyril says the following in his commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews:

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 162, 4-8.

Very well then, what do those who affirm that Christ is the name of the union, yet who in reality deny the genuine union of the elements, say to this? As it is written, "Though they profess to be wise, they are fools,"⁶⁸ for having severed the two natures from one another, and showing us each one separated from the other, they then say that the union has taken place in individual *prosopa*, and [that the union consists] merely in the fact that they were in complete agreement in what they desired and in the outcome of their wills.⁶⁹

As we have said before, note how the father clearly confesses that the number of natures in the one, same Jesus Christ our Lord and our God is two, and that he rejects those who separate them from one another saying there are two *prosopa* in a union of relation. By condemning those who separate the natures from one another, he clearly affirms that they are united and, as he says in his treatise to Theodosius, he clearly rejects those who say two sons or two Christs: "We certainly do not worship two sons, nor do we say two Christs, though we believe that the temple united to the Logos was endowed with a rational soul."⁷⁰

He indicates this even more clearly in his commentary on the epistle of Paul to the Hebrews:

The Lord Jesus Christ then is one; the humanity cannot be conceived apart from the Logos after the corporeal birth from the Holy Virgin, nor does his union with God cease when he is in the flesh. For although we recognize that the different natures which have been united are unequal to one another, I refer of course to God and the flesh, nonetheless, from both natures there is in truth one, single Son, who is in most intimate relation to us because the temple to whom the Logos is united is endowed with a rational

⁶⁸Rm 1:22.

⁶⁹PG 74 col. 1004AB.

⁷⁰ACO I. 1. 1, p. 53, 20.21.

soul. And even though we may say the only-begotten Logos of God is united to the flesh *hypostatically*, we do not mean that this has been accomplished through the expansion of one nature into the other; but rather, we understand that the Logos has been united to the flesh, while each nature remains what it is.⁷¹

The reader should give careful attention to what the father is saying. When he says that [the union] has not taken place by the expansion of one nature into the other, but rather that in the union each one remains what it is, he plainly teaches that the two natures of divinity and humanity must be maintained and confessed in the one *prosopon* of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The Meaning of the Term 'Nature.'

When the heretics are hard-pressed by these arguments, they conceive yet another impiety, being determined therefore to overlook what preceded these words. When they construct their one composite nature,⁷² they do not know, as was shown in the teachings of the fathers, and as we ourselves said earlier, that the term "nature" refers to the universal reality; it indicates something indeterminate and is predicated of

⁷¹I cannot find the full fragment; a portion of it is in PG 74 col. 1005 C, 1ff.

⁷²Justinian here refers to the terminology of the monophysites who used nature synonymously with *hypostasis* to indicate a particular individual as opposed to the genus or species. Accordingly, the "composite nature" of the best representatives of monophysite Christology does not refer to the mixing of divinity and humanity, but rather to the union of the Divine Logos with a complete human nature so that the Divine Logos (his *hypostasis* in Justinian's terminology, his *hypostasis* or nature in monophysitic terminology) is now composite in that he is composed of both divinity and humanity. Justinian, therefore, is not faithful to the meaning intended by the chief representatives of the monophysites, and indeed will himself use terminology similar in meaning when he speaks of Christ's "composite hypostasis." Cf. Roberta C. Chestnut, *Three Monophysite Christologies*; and J. Lebon, "La Christologie du monophysisme syrien," in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 1, ed. by A. Grillmeier and H. Bacht (Würzburg, 1951) pp. 425-580.

many *hypostases*. So, if, as they would have it, the two natures of divinity and humanity have become one composite nature, this means that something universal and indeterminate has been produced. We must ask them: to which universal, or to how many *hypostases*, would they say this nature refers?

But such a notion is contrary to the mystery of Christ, for "Christ" is not the term of some universal, nor is it predicated of many *hypostases*, but it refers to one *prosopon* known in the different essences of divinity and humanity. Moreover, because we say there are two essences in Christ, we know that in his divinity he is consubstantial to the Father and to the Holy Spirit, and in his humanity we know that he is consubstantial to all men. But if they say that the two essences produce one composite nature, which is one, they must concede that it is a universal shared by many individuals, for, according to their view, something in between has been produced consisting of a nature that is different from what each nature was originally by itself.

But their nonsense is refuted by the following. If it is agreed that the nature of the Holy Trinity is simple and not composite, yet they bring in the composite nature of the Son, then, if we follow their view, we find that the nature of the Son is different from that of the Father, and of the Holy Spirit.

Apollinaris the Inventor of the Term "One Composite Nature."

In fact, the inventor of this composite nature is none other than Apollinaris, the teacher of their error. It was he who at one time said, "one composite nature," and at another time, "one [nature] is produced from divinity and humanity." Precisely these words can be found in what this heretic has written. For instance, in the treatise he wrote against those who maintain that a man was assumed by the Logos he stated: "Christ the man is one, just as God the Father is one. Being man belongs to nature just as being one belongs to his composite nature which is in between God and man."⁷³

⁷³Cf. frg. 111 in Hans Lietzmann, *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule*, (Tübingen, 1904), p. 233.

The same impious Apollinaris says again in the thirteenth chapter of his treatise "On the Divine Incarnation":

The flesh is moved altogether by another, by some mover or controller of whatever sort this may be. By itself it is not a complete living being, but it becomes so when it comes together with its ruling principle to form a unity. [In Christ] the flesh has been joined to the heavenly ruling principle, and when it is appropriated by the heavenly ruling principle, and when it has received the divine in accordance with its passive character, it is directed in accordance with the active character [of the divine ruling principle]. And so, one living being is constituted, and not two, from mover and moved, rather than from two complete, self-moving elements. Man is therefore a living being distinct from God; he is not God, but the servant of God, and the same is true of any of the heavenly powers. But the flesh which has become the flesh of God is a living being that has been combined with him to form one nature.⁷⁴

The same heretic Apollinaris says this in his treatise "Against Diodore": "The instrument and its mover naturally produce one energy; and if the energy is one, the essence is one also. Wherefore, there has been produced one essence of the Logos and the flesh."⁷⁵ In his treatise "On the Incarnation," he proclaims: "O wondrous creation! O divine mingling! God and flesh have produced one and the same nature!"⁷⁶ And in a letter to Peter he writes: "We say the Lord is man by nature and God by nature, but in one nature composed of the flesh and the divine."⁷⁷

Now to these passages we may add Apollinaris' disciple, Polemon, who plainly stated that the new formation of the composite nature belongs to one individual and is called one

⁷⁴Cf. frg. 107, Lietzmann, p. 232.

⁷⁵Fr. 117, Lietzmann, p. 235f.

⁷⁶Fr. 10, Lietzmann, p. 207.

⁷⁷Fr. 149, Lietzmann, p. 247.

nature of flesh and divinity. In a treatise to his fellow disciple, Timothy, he says:

What can be worse than to think in this manner: they assert the same is God and man, and are not embarrassed to confess one incarnate nature of the Word as though one composite [nature]. But according to the innovation proposed by the Cappadocians, the opinion of Athanasius, or the delusion of the Italians, if the same one is perfect God and perfect man, the same is two natures. What then; if our people are trained to think the thoughts of our holy father Apollinaris, will they preach the duality of natures as do the Gregories? But they, so it seems, desire nothing else than the corruptible glory of this life, having been enticed by their desire for the episcopate. So what have we in common with them? Why do they pretend to agree with this most sacred formula, or why do they pretend to be disciples of the divine Apollinaris? He gave us this formula precisely to destroy the duality of natures.⁷⁸

Cyril's Teaching on Two Natures in the One Christ.

This clearly confirms that those who believe that the phrase "one nature of God the Word incarnate" refers to a composite [nature] follow the error of Apollinaris. As we said before, St Cyril did not explain the formula "one nature of the Word incarnate" except in the sense of two natures, for he went on to add: "We assert there are two natures." That is to say, as the father himself taught, the nature of the Logos is one [nature], and that of the flesh is another. We will prove from his own words that St Cyril opposed those who speak of a composite nature and who constructed one nature of flesh and divinity.

In his treatise against the Synousiasts, he says the following:

⁷⁸Fr. 174, Lietzmann, p. 274.

We ought to believe that even though his holy and all-venerable body was of the same nature as our bodies, nevertheless, it is august and divine and of a measure altogether beyond ours because it has become his own and was moved by him. Therefore, it is called the "Bread of Life"; indeed, it is said to have come down from heaven and to give life to the world because of the Word who came down from heaven above and who made the flesh his own. Therefore, as I said, it is most certainly divine; yet no one who is of sound mind and well-trained in the science of dogmatics would believe it is transformed into the nature of divinity, for the nature which lies above all things must preserve its simplicity completely; it cannot be mixed with anything else. Nor should one think that it is joined to anything in itself, or that it is in need of any addition, or that it may enter into communion with a different reality so as to constitute one identical nature, or sameness of substance.^{78a}

By these words, the father clearly forbids us to say that the Christ is one nature composed of divinity and humanity, since the divine nature cannot be united with the human to produce one nature. And so, in overturning the ridiculous ideas of those who are of opposite views, we have clearly established that the two natures which came together did not produce one composite nature, but one composite Christ,⁷⁹ since the same one is confessed to be God by nature and man by nature.

The Monophysites and Apollinaris.

But these enemies of the truth have no desire to follow the teachings of the fathers, but with their other absurd doc-

^{78a}Cf. PG 76, col. 1429 C7-D3.

⁷⁹For Justinian "Christ" is the one *hypostasis* of the Divine Logos. It is the *hypostasis* of the Divine Logos who becomes composite, that is to say, who becomes incarnate, not the divine nature. See note 170, p. 97.

trines they venerate the teaching of Apollinaris and overlook no absurdity whereby they might corrupt innocent souls. For purposes of deception, they reject the appellation of Apollinaris since this by itself would be a plain refutation of their wickedness, and they attach the names of the holy fathers to the writings of Apollinaris and to their own forgeries as well. In this fashion they steal away the more simple-minded, and flee from the way of truth.

They have procured two letters which in fact are forgeries; they claim that one was written by Julius, Bishop of Rome, to the presbyter Dionysius. It contains the following:

"To my lord and most dear fellow server Dionysius from Julius, Bishop of Rome: greetings in the Lord!" Then, a bit later it continues:

Those who say there are two natures must worship the one, and not worship the other; they must say they were baptized by the divine nature, but not by the human nature. But if we are baptized in the death of our Lord, we must confess one nature composed of impassible divinity and passible humanity.⁸⁰

The other forgery to Jovian the King is presented as though written by St Athanasius. It contains this:

We confess that the Son of God was eternally begotten of the Father before the ages, and that in these last days he was born in the flesh of the Holy Virgin Mary for our salvation, as the blessed Apostle teaches us when he says, "But when the fullness of time had come, God sent forth his Son, born of a woman."⁸¹ He is the Son of God; in his spirit he is God, and in his flesh he is Son of Man. The one Son is not two natures, the one worthy of adoration, the other not, but there is one nature of God the Word incarnate, worshipped with his flesh in one worship.⁸²

⁸⁰"Ad Dionysium," 6., Lietzmann, p. 258.

⁸¹Gal 4:4.

⁸²"Ad Jovianum," Lietzmann, p. 250.

The Acephaloi⁸³ have brought these documents forward, but the Wisdom of God from above has destroyed their wickedness and has not allowed their fraud to go unrefuted; it has granted us to know the writings of Apollinaris so that when we compare them to the documents brought in by these people, we are able to prove beyond doubt that these letters come from the Apollinarian writings.

Apollinaris himself writes in his letter against Diodore:

Two different essences, that is [the essence] of the Creator and the created, of God and man, cannot have one and the same worship. But there is one worship of Christ, and consequently, God and man are known by one name. So God and man are not two different essences, but one produced by the union of God with human flesh.⁸⁴

In the same letter, he also says this: "Surely it is most wicked that the created essence which is a servant should possess one and the same worship with the Creator and Lord!"⁸⁵ And again, the impious Apollinaris writes in his treatise "On the Incarnation": "The same [person] cannot at the same time know that he is an object of worship. And so the same cannot be both God and perfect man; but rather, he is one in the unity of the divine incarnate nature which is mixed together [with the flesh]."⁸⁶

No one with a sound mind would doubt that these words are in harmony with the forged letters brought in by the Acephaloi, which they claim were written by our holy fathers Julius and Athanasius. For it is the same thing, both in word and in meaning, to deny on the one hand the two natures and

⁸³The name given to a group of monophysites who separated from Peter Mongus, Patriarch of Alexandria, when in 482, upon his accession to the patriarchal chair, he refused to condemn Chalcedon. This group included such notable figures as Philoxenus of Mabbugh, and Severus of Antioch. See Evagrius' *Ecclesiastical History* III.xxxi, English translation published by Samuel Bagster and Sons in London, 1846.

⁸⁴Frg. 119, Lietzmann, p. 236.

⁸⁵Frg. 120, Lietzmann, p. 236.

⁸⁶Frg. 9, Lietzmann, p. 206, 25-28.

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to say on the other that one is worthy of worship and one is not, or that two different essences cannot have one and the same worship, or that it is unlawful for the created essence, which is a servant, to possess one and the same worship with the Creator and Lord.

Refutation of the Monophysites by exposing their Forgeries.

But now that we have demonstrated that these two letters brought in by the heretics derive wholly from the error of Apollinaris and that they are contrary to the catholic Church, let us go on to show that the forgeries produced by the Acephaloi are contrary to what has been set forth by our holy fathers.

First, we set against their forgeries the very St Athanasius whom they have slandered. In his treatise, "On the Epiphany of our Salvation," he writes this:

When he said, "Sit at my right hand and glorify me, Father, with everlasting glory,"⁸⁷ he said it not because he was in need of glory, but because he was in a body that was not glorified, and to show that the form of a servant was not separated from the divine glory, but was revealed with it. And so he also said, "I have glorified you, and I will glorify you again,"⁸⁸ to show that the glory prior to his assumption of the body, was also in the body.⁸⁹

In his letter to Adelphios, St Athanasius says:

Most assuredly we do not worship a creature! This error belongs with the pagans and the Arians. We, however, worship the Lord of Glory, the Word of God who was incarnate. For even if the flesh is itself a part of the creation, even so it has become the body

⁸⁷Ps 109:1; Jn 17:5.

⁸⁸Jn 12:28.

⁸⁹*Contra Apollinaris* 2.15, PG 26, col. 1137.

of God, and we neither worship this body by itself—even though we distinguish it from the Logos—nor do we remove the Logos from his flesh when we wish to worship him. But, as we said, knowing that the Logos became flesh,⁹⁰ we know that even when he was in the flesh he was God. Who then would be so foolish as to say to the Lord, please remove yourself from your flesh that I may worship you? Or who, because of his body, would be so godless as to say to him with the senseless Jews, "Why do you, a man, make yourself God?"⁹¹ But the leper was not so foolish for he worshipped the Lord when he was in the body, and he knew that he was God, for he said: "Lord, if you wish, you can make me clean."⁹² The leper did not consider the Logos of God to be a creature because of the flesh, nor did he deny the flesh with which he was clothed because the Logos was the Creator of all creation, but he worshipped the Creator of all things in his created temple, and so he was cleansed.⁹³

Later on, Athanasius continues:

Now where will these godless men actually find the flesh which the Savior took by itself so that one might dare to say: we do not worship the Lord with his flesh, but we separate his body [from him] and worship only the Logos? For the blessed Stephen saw Jesus standing in heaven;⁹⁴ and the angels said to the disciples, "Just as you saw him ascend to heaven, in the same manner he will come again";⁹⁵ and the Lord himself cried out to his Father and said, "Father, I would that wherever I am, these also may always be with me."⁹⁶ In short, if the flesh is not separated

⁹⁰Jn 1:14.

⁹¹Jn 10:33.

⁹²Mt 8:2.

⁹³*Ad Adelphios* 3; PG 26, col. 1073.

⁹⁴Acts 7:55.

⁹⁵Acts 1:11.

⁹⁶Jn 17:24.

from the Logos, surely they must either put away their error and from now on worship the Father in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord; or, if they do not worship or serve the Logos who was in the flesh, they should be cast out from every quarter, and no longer be called christians, but they should be numbered now with the pagans or the Jews.⁹⁷

Further on, Athanasius says:

We would that your reverence ask this of them: when the sons of Israel were commanded to go up to Jerusalem and worship in the temple of the Lord where the ark was located, and above it, over the mercy seat, the cherubim of glory spread their wings, did they do rightly or not? If they did wickedly, why did those who neglect this law fall under condemnation, since it is written: "Whoever despises [the temple] and does not go up will be stricken from among his people"? But if they did well and in this were pleasing to God, are not these loathsome Arians, the most abominable of heretics, deserving of destruction many times over? For although the people of long ago honored the temple and were accepted, these Arians do not even wish to worship the Lord in his flesh as in a temple! Of course, the temple of old, built with stone and gold, was only a shadow, but now the Truth has come and the type exists no longer. Moreover, as the Lord himself said, not one stone has remained that was not destroyed.⁹⁸ Now when they saw the temple built of stones, they did not think that the Lord who spoke in it was a creature, nor did they scorn the temple by leaving it to worship from afar, but they entered it and worshipped God who spoke to them from the temple in accordance with their law. Since this is so, surely the body of the Lord is truly glorious! For it was announced by the Archangel Gabriel, it was

⁹⁷*Ad Adelph.* 5; PG 26, col. 1077.

⁹⁸Mt 24:2.

formed by the Holy Spirit, and it became the Logos' own vestment and temple and inseparable instrument.⁹⁹

Since St Athanasius' teaching is so clear, who would be so mindless as to say that the letters brought in by these heretics belong to St Athanasius, or to think that he wrote things opposed to the holy fathers?

St Cyril also teaches us the same things. For instance, in his address to Theodosius he says: "He who spoke to the woman was the one and only Lord Jesus Christ. He is truly called God and man, for he has in himself humanity that worships and deity that is worshipped."¹⁰⁰

In his *Scholia*, in the nineteenth chapter, St Cyril writes the following:

He is said to be sanctified by the Spirit, yet he himself sanctifies those who come to him. He is baptized in the flesh, and he baptizes in the Holy Spirit. How can the same one sanctify and be sanctified, baptize and be baptized? By virtue of his different natures. In his humanity he is sanctified and baptized; in his divinity he sanctifies, and he baptizes by his Holy Spirit. The same One who raises the dead is raised from the dead, and he who is Life by nature is said to have been given life. And how is this? Again, by virtue of his different natures; for the same One has been raised, and is said to have been given life in reference to his flesh, but he gives life and he raises the dead as God. He suffers and does not suffer by virtue of his different natures. In his humanity he suffers in the flesh as man, but in his divinity he is impassible as God. He worshipped with us, for he says, "You worship what you do not know, but we worship what we know";¹⁰¹ but he is also the object of worship for every knee will bow to him.¹⁰² Again

⁹⁹*Ad Adelpb.* 7, PG 26, col. 1080.

¹⁰⁰Act. Conc. I. 1. 1., p. 63, 15-17.

¹⁰¹Jn 4:22.

¹⁰²Phil 2:10.

this is by virtue of his different natures. He worships since he took the nature that worships, but the same One is worshipped since he is God who exists in the nature that is worthy of worship, and which is beyond conception.¹⁰³

St Cyril says in his commentary on the Gospel of John: "He is God by nature even with the flesh, for we know that he possesses the flesh both as his own and as something other than his nature; and so he is worshipped both in and with his flesh."¹⁰⁴

I think we have clearly shown from all that has been said that the letters which the heretics have produced are contrary to the teachings of the holy fathers and alien to the christian faith. St Athanasius and St Cyril both plainly confess the two natures of Christ, the divinity and the humanity; they maintain that one is uncreated and the other created, and they teach that our Lord Jesus Christ is worshipped in one worship. This should be enough to refute the wicked teachings of the Acephaloi.

But we can easily refute their wickedness and prove by means of a different demonstration that the second letter they have presented to us, which they claim is written by Julius the Bishop of Rome, is also a forgery. The priests of the elder Rome have always followed the apostolic tradition. In no way have they disagreed with one another, but they have preserved the right and true teaching even to the present day. Since it therefore is not the custom of the Patriarch of the elder Rome to make use of this letter which these heretics have brought forth, we assert that it was sent neither to the presbyters, as they falsely state, nor to the bishops, nor even to the patriarchs. More than that, we have searched the archives of the Bishop of the elder Rome, and we find that Julius of blessed memory never wrote anything of this sort.

Now we can prove that the one letter they have produced, the one written by St Athanasius to Jovian, is a forgery in several ways. For one thing, it does not have the character

¹⁰³ACO I. 5, p. 229, 35-230, 11.

¹⁰⁴PG 73, col. 160f.

of a letter, nor does it befit a reply submitted to a king. Moreover, in the time of Jovian no one had instigated a controversy over the Incarnation of the Lord, but the Church at that time was vexed by the Arian madmen and the controversy was over the consubstantiality of the Holy Trinity. Now this is exactly what the real letter written by St Athanasius to Jovian deals with, as Gregory the Theologian testifies in his epitaph to St Athanasius.

In addition, Timothy, the disciple of Apollinaris, has included the entire letter in his History, which contains the following:

To the most pious and merciful Jovian, August Conqueror, from Athanasius and the other bishops who have come together as representatives of all the bishops of Egypt, Thebes, and Libya. To desire eagerly and incline towards knowledge of heavenly things is most befitting a God-fearing king. Thus, you will truly hold your heart in the hand of God and preserve the kingdom in peace for many years.¹⁰⁵ Therefore, when your piety desired to learn from us the faith of the catholic Church, we gave thanks to the Lord. More than all else, we would that your godly piety remember the faith confessed by the fathers in Nicea. For there are some who have rejected it, and they plot against us in various ways that we might not prevail over the Arian heresy. They are responsible for this heresy and the schisms which exist in the catholic Church. For the true faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, which one can learn and come to know from the divine Scriptures, has been made manifest to all, for the saints were made perfect by it, and for it they became martyrs, and now they have been redeemed with Christ.

Now the faith would remain altogether unharmed were it not for the wickedness of certain heretics who have sought to pervert it. For a certain Arius, along with his colleagues, sought to corrupt it and to introduce his own godlessness which teaches that the Son

¹⁰⁵Prov 21:1.

of God comes from "not-being," that he is created and something made, and that he is mutable. By these words they have deceived many so that even those of repute have been carried away by their blasphemy. And so our fathers quickly came together in the Synod of Nicea as we said, and they anathematized the Arian heresy, setting down in writing the catholic Church's confession of faith so that by being proclaimed in every place, it might extinguish this perverse heresy.

Now this was made known and proclaimed in every church. But because some wished to renew the Arian heresy, they rebelled against the faith confessed by the fathers in Nicea, while others only appeared to confess it, whereas in truth they denied it. These misinterpreted *homoousion* and blasphemed against the Holy Spirit saying that he was a creature created by the Son. And so, seeing the harm that has befallen the laity as a result of this blasphemy, we must needs make haste and give to you who love God the faith that was confessed in Nicea, so that your piety may know exactly what was set down in writing, and how far those who teach another faith have strayed. For you know, O God-fearing Augustus, that this faith has been proclaimed from the beginning, and the fathers who came together in Nicea confessed it, as well as all the churches throughout the world: those in Spain, in Britain, in Gaul, and in all of Italy, Dalmatia Dacia, Mysia Macedonia, throughout Greece, and all the churches in Africa, Sardinia, Cyprus, Crete, Pamphylia, Lycia, Isauria, Pisidia; the churches throughout Egypt, Libya, Pontus, Cappadocia and the surrounding regions, and the churches in the East. They all were in agreement, except for the few who followed the teachings of Arius.

We have learned their opinion and we have the writings of all those we have mentioned. And you know, O God-fearing Augustus, that even if a few may be in opposition to the faith for a time, they cannot bring about the condemnation of the whole

world. For in the course of time, those who were misled by the Arian heresy are now even more opposed to genuine piety. And so that your God-fearing piety might know, even though you already know it, we are anxious to set forth the faith confessed by the 300 bishops in Nicea. All must remain in this faith, O God-fearing Augustus; it is of God and the apostles, and no one may alter it through specious arguments or disputations which the Arian madmen have done from the beginning, saying that the Son of God is from "not-being," that there was a time when he was not, that he is a creature, that he was made, and that he is mutable.

Therefore, as we said before, the Synod in Nicea anathematized this heresy and confessed the faith of the Church. It did not say that the Son is simply "like" the Father, lest he simply be "like" God, but it believed that he is truly God from God, and it subscribed to the term *homoousios*, which means that he is by nature the genuine and true Son of the true Father. Nor did the Synod estrange the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, but they glorified him with the Father and the Son in the one faith of the Holy Trinity because there is one Godhead in the Holy Trinity. Now this is the faith that was laid down in Nicea:

"We believe in one God the Father almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ the only-begotten Son of God, begotten from the Father, that is from the essence of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, True God of True God, begotten and not made, of one essence with the Father, by whom all things were made in heaven and on earth; who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven and was incarnate and became man; he suffered and rose again on the third day and ascended into heaven and he will come again to judge the living and the dead; and in the Holy Spirit. Whoever says that there was a time when the Son of God was not, and that before he was begotten he was not,

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and that he was made from "not-being," or who say that he is of another *hypostasis* or essence, or that he is mutable or changeable, these the catholic and apostolic Church anathematizes."¹⁰⁸

Gregory the Theologian also bears witness to this letter, as we said before. He says:

Then another king rose up, not shameless in countenance like the former, nor an oppressor of Israel with cruel tasks and taskmasters, but most pious and gentle. In order to lay the best of foundations for his empire, he began as is right by an act of justice, and recalled from exile all the bishops, but primarily him who stood first in virtue and had most conspicuously championed the cause of piety. Further, he inquired into the truth of our faith which had been torn asunder, confused, and distributed into various opinions and portions by many; with the intention, if it were possible, of reducing the whole world to harmony and union by the co-operation of the Spirit: and, should he fail in this, of attaching himself to the best party, so as to aid and be aided by it, thus giving token of the exceeding loftiness and magnificence of his ideas on questions of the greatest moment. Here too was shown in a very high degree the simple-mindedness of Athanasius, and the steadfastness of his faith in Christ. For, when all the rest who sympathized with us were divided into three parties, and many were faltering in their conception of the Son, and still more in that of the Holy Spirit (a point on which to be only slightly in error was to be orthodox), and few indeed were sound upon both points, he was the first and only one, or with the concurrence of but a few, to venture to confess in writing, with entire clearness and distinctness, the unity of Godhead and essence of the Three Persons, and thus to attain in later days, under the influence of inspiration, to the

¹⁰⁸PG 26, col. 813.

same faith in regard to the Holy Spirit, as had been bestowed at an earlier time on most of the fathers in regard to the Son. This confession, a truly royal and magnificent gift, he presented to the emperor, opposing to the unwritten innovation, a written account of the orthodox faith, so that an emperor might be overcome by an emperor, reason by reason, treatise by treatise.¹⁰⁷

Now that we have exposed the enemies of the truth they should no longer hold on to the opinions of the heretics and slander our holy fathers. Or else let them openly deny the fathers and bring forth their own as heretics.

For they should know that Manichaeus was the first to propose the expression "one nature of Christ composed of divinity and humanity," and after him Apollinaris whom the Acephaloi have received. For example, in his letter to Addas, Manichaeus said the following:

We scorn the Galileans who say that the Christ has two natures for they do not know that the essence of light cannot be mixed with anything material; indeed, because of its purity it cannot be joined to another essence, even though it may appear united to it. Now, the term "Christ" is a name misapplied, indicating the existence neither of aspect nor of essence. But the highest light, being consubstantial with things deriving from itself, manifests itself as body in material bodies while the whole [Christ] in itself is one nature.

The same impious Manichaeus writes in his letter to Scythianos: "Now on the mountain the Son of eternal light revealed his own essence, for he does not have two natures, but one which is manifested both visibly and invisibly."

In his letter to Cyndorus Saracenus the same godless Manichaeus writes:

¹⁰⁷PG 35, col. 1121; for the English translation cf. *NPNF* (second series), vol. 7, "On the Great Athanasius," p. 279, col. a.

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When the Jews wished to stone Christ, and their recklessness led to an act of transgression, the Son of the Light from above clearly displayed his essence by passing from their midst unseen.¹⁰⁸ For the immaterial form, though it was formed in the appearance of flesh, was invisible, and in no way was he touched for the material has nothing in common with the immaterial. And so the whole is one nature, even though its form became that of the flesh.

So then, in that Apollinaris and Manichaeus deny the truth of the two natures in Christ, i.e. of his divinity and his humanity, it is clearly confirmed that those who have earned the name "Acephaloi" are of the same mind as these godless men, even though they may resist being called "Apollinarian" or "Manichaeus" so that they may continue their deception. Following from this, it is also clearly confirmed that Dioscorus¹⁰⁹ and Timothy Aelurus,¹¹⁰ to whom the Acephaloi subscribe as fathers and teachers, follow the evil teachings of Apollinaris and Manichaeus, and believe and teach what is contrary to the teachings of Athanasius and Cyril, which we will now show.

For instance, in the letter he sent from Gangros to Alexandria, Dioscorus says this:

Unless the blood of Christ is by nature the blood of God and not of man, how will it differ from the blood of he-goats, young bulls, and heifers? These are earthly and corruptible, and the blood of men is also earthly and corruptible by nature. But as for the blood of Christ, we will never say that it belongs to one of those who is [earthly and corruptible] by nature.

¹⁰⁸Jn 8:59.

¹⁰⁹Nephew of St Cyril who became Patriarch of Alexandria upon the death of Cyril in 444. Dioscorus presided over the "Robber Synod" of 449 which condemned Theodoret of Cyrus and Flavian of Constantinople, and exonerated Eutyches.

¹¹⁰One of the leading monophysites who opposed the Council of Chalcedon; he died in 477.

What could be harder to bear than this blasphemy of Dioscorus? For in denying that the blood of Christ is of the same essence as human nature, it is discovered that he does not confess the flesh of our Lord to be of the same essence as we, and he nullifies the salvation of man because he says that [the Logos'] body is of the same essence as the Logos' divinity. But let us show that what he says is opposed to the divine Scriptures and to the tradition of the fathers by bringing forward the prophet Hosea who says: "Woe to them! My flesh is from them!"¹¹¹ And let us also set forth the teaching of St Athanasius [who says] in his letter to Epictetus:

How can you say, gentlemen, that the body is consubstantial to the deity of the Logos? We do well to begin with this [question] so that when we have shown that this is unsound, all that follows will likewise be shown as such. To begin with, we do not find this in the Scriptures for the [Scriptures] say that God was in a human body. And the fathers assembled in Nicea did not say that the body, but the Son, is consubstantial to the Father, and they confessed in accordance with the Scriptures that the body was taken from Mary.

Further on he says:

But if the Logos is consubstantial to the body whose nature is from earth, and the Logos is consubstantial to the Father according to the confession of the fathers, then the Father himself will be consubstantial to the body which is from the earth. Now how will they censure the Arians who say the Son is a creature, when they themselves say that the Father is consubstantial to creatures?

St Cyril, in his letter to Acacius, says: "How would we consider him to be consubstantial to us in his humanity and yet begotten of the Father—I mean of course in his divinity—

¹¹¹A free rendition of Hos 9:12 LXX.

unless we say that the same One is understood to be both God and man?"¹¹² And St Cyril says in the twelfth chapter of his "Thesaurus": "If he who is in the form of God took the form that is consubstantial to us because it belongs to us, and the Son is the form of God, then he is consubstantial to God whose form he is."

These passages show that Dioscorus is opposed to the divine Scriptures and to what the holy fathers have said, particularly Athanasius and Cyril. In the same way we will show that Timothy Aelurus also agrees with Manichaeus, and that he is of a different mind than our holy fathers Athanasius and Cyril.

For instance, this Timothy says in the eighth chapter of the third book which he wrote when [exiled] in Cherson: "The nature of Christ is divine only even though it was incarnate." Manichaeus writes the same thing in his letter to Cyndorus saying: "The whole is one nature although his form was seen as flesh."

To this we say that if, according to the nonsense of Timothy, the nature of Christ is divine only, then the Father and the Holy Spirit also are Christ for there is one nature of the Godhead which we attribute to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Moreover, this man's stupidity would mean that [Christ's] Passion is common [to all Three Persons].

St Athanasius, however, writes this in his treatise against Apollinaris which also serves as a refutation of Timothy's blasphemy: "The term 'Christ' is not understood in one way only, but in this one name the characteristics of divinity and humanity are displayed."

St Cyril says something similar to St Athanasius in this passage in which he says that the Son is consubstantial to the Father. He teaches us in this way:

What is meant when Christ says: "Now is my soul troubled and deeply grieved"?¹¹³ Shall we grant that the nature of God was grieved and troubled and

¹¹²ACO I. 1. 4., p. 25,11-13.

¹¹³Cf. Jn 12:27 and Mt 26:38.

seized by the fear of death? And how will we understand his being crucified? Shall we allow that the divinity of Christ suffered this also as though it were human, or should we reject such a shameful thing? Well then, we should keep what belongs to each nature as is appropriate and fitting.

However, this blasphemer Timothy, as though not satisfied with the futility of his earlier arguments, discloses his thought more clearly when he says in the second of his controversial books:

The Incarnation of the Divine Logos does not belong to the principle of nature, but it was accomplished by God beyond nature [according to the principle] of the Economy, from our common human nature or essence. Wherefore he is said to be of the same nature, and of the same race, and of the same essence as we according to the principle of the Economy, or the birth of the Virgin. But neither the nature nor the essence of a common ordinary man was ever called the immaculate body of the Divine Logos which is from the same race as we.

These words clearly establish that Timothy denies that the Incarnation of the Divine Logos belongs to the principle of nature; but if it does not belong to the principle of nature, then he must say that it appeared as an illusion only. Now, he says that the Divine Logos came to be from our common human nature or essence, i.e. from the Virgin. But it is only inasmuch as he was born of the Virgin that he is said to be of the same nature, race and essence as we. He says that he is consubstantial to us, and yet in terms of his nature or essence the same Lord shares nothing in common with men, for he goes on to say, "Neither the nature nor the essence of a common ordinary man was ever called the immaculate body of the Divine Logos which is from the same race as we."

Since he denies, therefore, that the body of the Lord partakes of our nature, it is quite obvious that he uses the phrase

"of the same race" only to deceive, and that by this phrase he means nothing other than that it was in illusion that he was born as man, and that he revealed himself as man in appearance but not in nature. But if we hold ideas such as these that agree with Timothy's nonsense, then we will surely maintain that the Lord's Passion, Cross, Death and Resurrection occurred in illusion only, and this is exactly what Manichaeus said, as we find in St Athanasius' writings against those whose opinions were the same as Timothy's.

For example, St Athanasius says in his letter to Epictetus:

If, according to their account, he was in the body "by position," and the term "by position" means "in illusion," then, according to this most godless Manichaeus, the salvation and resurrection of mankind is found to be an illusion. But our salvation most certainly is not an illusion, and he truly accomplished our salvation not simply of the body, but of the whole man, soul and body. The humanity, then, that was by nature taken from Mary in accordance with the divine Scriptures was also truly the body of our Savior. And it was truly [his body] because it was the same as ours, for Mary is our sister inasmuch as we are all from Adam.

On top of these blasphemies, Timothy piles on more that are even worse. He says in the fourth chapter of the aforementioned book: "Let these dyophysites¹¹⁴ show us the difference of the two natures of Christ, as they say, if they are able."

Note that he unambiguously denies the difference of the natures in Christ, thereby opposing himself to all the other holy fathers, in particular Athanasius and Cyril. St Cyril, for example, says in his second letter to Nestorius: "The natures that have come together in genuine union are different, and from the two there is one Son and Lord, since the differences of the natures are not denied because of the union."¹¹⁵ And

¹¹⁴Dyophysites = those who confessed Christ "in two natures." For the monophysites, these included Nestorians and Chalcedonians.

¹¹⁵ACO I.1.1, p. 27, 1-3.

he says in the thirteenth chapter of his "Scholia": "While recognizing the difference of the natures and preserving them with each other without confusion, we maintain that Jesus Christ is one and the same."¹¹⁶ Now, what will the followers of Timothy say to these things, since St Cyril not only confessed the difference of the natures in Christ, but also taught that they are to be maintained without confusion?

And yet, this heretic Timothy conceived a still greater blasphemy, presenting the prophecy that says: "Who is He who sends his Christ to men? The Lord God Almighty is his name."¹¹⁷ Then, after bringing this in, he continues impiously:

Through himself he has announced to mankind: "When the sun beholds him, it will go down at noon."¹¹⁸ But we do not believe that this event could take place through a man or through human nature, for human nature would completely dissolve virginity. If he was man according to the law of nature, then the man conceived in the womb of the Virgin could not have come forth from her without her virginity being dissolved first.

But such ideas fall back on the heads of Timothy and his disciples, for he blasphemes against the divine Scriptures and sets himself in opposition to the holy fathers since he does not perceive that the great wonder of this sacred mystery is precisely in this, that the only-begotten Son and Word of God, though he is God by nature, was incarnate in the womb of the Virgin, and becoming man by nature, was born of her and yet preserved the virginity of his Mother.

This is how St Athanasius understands these truths, for he writes in his treatise on the Incarnation:

So the body, inasmuch as it possessed the nature common to all bodies, was a human body. Even though it had been constituted by a new miracle from a virgin

¹¹⁶ACO I. 5, p. 222,32-33.

¹¹⁷Amos 4:13.

¹¹⁸Amos 8:9.

only, nevertheless it was mortal and died in the same way as those like it. But when the Word entered into it, no longer would it perish because of his nature.¹¹⁹

St Athanasius also says this in his letter to Epictetus:

For if the Logos is consubstantial to the body then we need not commemorate Mary. For why would she be needed if—as you say, he is consubstantial to his body—the body was capable even before Mary of being eternal as the Logos himself? And why would the Logos need to sojourn in the body in order to clothe himself with what was consubstantial to him, or to become a body by being changed from his own nature? For the Deity did not take something from itself in order to be clothed with what was already consubstantial to itself, nor did the Logos, who washed away the sins of others, himself sin in order that, having changed himself into body, he might offer the sacrifice for himself and redeem himself. Absolutely not! But he took from the seed of Abraham as the Apostle said.¹²⁰ Wherefore, he must needs be like his brethren in every respect and take a body like ours. And so for this reason Mary is truly needed so that he might take his body from her and offer it as his own for us.

Further on, he says this:

Gabriel announced it in a way we can trust: he did not say simply, "That which is begotten in you," lest we think the body entered her from without, but he said, "from you,"¹²¹ so that we would believe that what she begat belonged to her by nature. And it is clear that this pertains to the principle of nature for a virgin cannot produce milk if she has not given birth,

¹¹⁹*De Incarnatione* 20; cf. the English translation of Robert W. Thompson, *Athanasius: Contra Gentes and De Incarnatione* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), *Oxford Early Christian Texts*, p. 183.

¹²⁰Heb 2:16.

¹²¹Lk 1:35.

and a body cannot be nourished by milk, nor be wrapped in swaddling clothes, unless it has first been born according to the principle of nature.

And St Cyril, in his letter concerning the necessity of confessing the virginity of the Theotokos, says:

We know that Christ is Lord and God, for the Logos of God became a man as we are, sharing our human nature, and through the ineffable mercy [of God] he was begotten in his human nature of the holy and unwedded Virgin. And so, he is therefore called man and he is also called God, one and the same Christ existing in both names.¹²²

*That Christ is Two Natures since his Body is not
Consubstantial to the Logos.*

We submit these things, therefore, from the divine Scriptures and the holy fathers in order to refute the heretics, so that all christians might know that Dioscorus and Timothy Aelurus are heretics for they have been shown to share the opinions of Manichaeus and Apollinaris. In this connection, those who speak of one nature of Christ, constituted of divinity and humanity, also deny that the flesh of our Lord is of the same nature as ours, and suggest instead that it is consubstantial to the divinity of the Logos. But this is unheard of in the divine Scriptures and the holy fathers.

Listen to St Athanasius who says this in his letter to Epictetus:

Who has ever heard of such a thing! Who has ever taught or been taught such a thing? "For the Law will come out of Zion, and the Word of the Lord out of Jerusalem."¹²³ But where has this thing come from? What discharge from hell has said that the body

¹²²ACO I. 1. 7, p. 24, 34-38.

¹²³Is 2:3.

taken from Mary is consubstantial to the divinity of the Logos?

And St Ambrose writes in his treatise on the divine Incarnation:

Some have maintained that the flesh of the Lord and the divinity are of one nature. What manner of hell has disgorged such blasphemy? The Arians are more easily tolerated than these; the stem of their error grows from lack of faith so that out of contentiousness they firmly maintain that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are not of one essence. These [Apollinarians], on the other hand, seek to maintain that the divinity and flesh of the Lord are of one essence.¹²⁴

What we have presented from the holy fathers demonstrates that those who speak of one nature of Christ constituted of divinity and humanity lie outside the christian faith. We are taught from both the divine Scriptures and the holy fathers that just as there are two generations of one and the same only-begotten Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, so also we must confess his two natures of divinity and humanity.

Let us now attend to the words of the Lord: "Who do men say that I, the Son of Man, am?" And Peter said to him: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God."¹²⁵ St Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, gives a commentary on this passage in his first book against Eunomius.¹²⁶ He says:

The name "Son" shows that the community of nature is equal in both cases. For as he is called "Son of Man" by reason of the kinship of his flesh to her of whom he was begotten, so also he is certainly known to be Son of God by reason of the union of his essence with that of his Father. And in other places the Lord

¹²⁴*De Incarnatione* 6; PL 16, col. 831.

¹²⁵Mt 16:13, 16.

¹²⁶In fact, the first part of the following citation is from the Third Book, section 4; for English translation cf. *NPNF* (2nd series), vol. 5, p. 145, col. b.

says, "I and the Father are one," and "My Father is greater than me."¹²⁷

So then, following what this father says, it should be obvious to anyone of sound mind that to be both equal with God, who is Spirit, and inferior cannot be affirmed of one and the same essence. So the saying, "I and the Father are one," indicates the identity of essence which he has with the Father, and the saying, "He is greater than me," shows his inferiority which he has by virtue of his human nature.

St Athanasius, in his fourth book against Arius, gives us a clear teaching on the same point:

When they hear the words, "I and the Father are one," they should see the one divine essence which belongs to the Father, and when they hear it said that "He wept," and things like this, they must see the essence of the body; we will correctly understand the reason for these two kinds of expressions if we understand that the one is written because of his divine [nature], and the other is said because it pertains to his human body.¹²⁸

The apostle also alludes to this: "Whose are the fathers and from whom is the Christ according to the flesh, who is God over all, blessed forever. Amen."¹²⁹

But hear the clear explanation on this point given by St Cyril in his letter in which he maintains that we must confess the Holy Virgin to be Theotokos. He says:

Now, most assuredly do we believe that if the divine apostle had not known the Christ to be both God and man, he would not have said, "according to the flesh," for this obviously pertains not only to the manhood, but even to the other essence as well, since to the words "God over all" he adds "He who is."

¹²⁷Jn 10:30.

¹²⁸*Contra Arian.* 3.56; PG 26, col. 440.

¹²⁹Rm 9:5.

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Thus he has handed down to us a two-fold confession of the Savior, having both indicated what is "according to the flesh" and proclaimed him as "God."¹³⁰

The apostle also says in his letter to Timothy: One God and one mediator of God and man, the man Christ Jesus who gave himself as a ransom for many."¹³¹ St Gregory interprets these words in this way:

"The mediator of God and man," so the great apostle called him since the name of Son is equally applicable to both natures, divine and human. For the same is Son of God and has become Son of Man according to the Economy, in order that by his communion with each nature, he might join together through himself those that were divided by nature.¹³²

The Lord says in the Gospel, "'Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up.' Then the Jews said to him, 'This temple was built in 46 years, and you will raise it up in three days?' But he spoke to them about the temple of his body."¹³³ St Ambrose has interpreted this passage in this manner:

Even though the Divine Logos did not take his beginning from the Virgin since he exists eternally with His Father, nevertheless, because of his great love, he deigned to unite to himself the first-fruits of our nature without confusion, one and the same appearing in both essences in accordance with what was written; "Destroy this temple and I will raise it up." For Jesus Christ was destroyed in my essence which he assumed, but he raised up the temple that had been destroyed by his divine essence, according to which he is the Creator of all things.

¹³⁰ACO I. 1. 7, p. 25, 6-10.

¹³¹Tim 2:5,6.

¹³²*Against Eunomius* III.4; English translation, *NPNF* (2nd series), vol. 5, p. 145, col. b.

¹³³Jn 2:19-21.

Again the Lord says in the Gospel of John: "I ascend to my Father and your Father, my God and your God."¹³⁴ Hear the explanation of this Gospel passage given by Gregory the Theologian in his Second Theological Oration. He writes:

The name "God" would be used not in respect of the Logos, but of the visible Logos. For how could there be a God of him who is properly God? In the same way he is Father not of the visible, but of the Logos; for our Lord was of two natures so that the one expression is used properly, the other improperly in each of the two cases; but exactly the opposite way to their use in respect of us. For with respect to us God is properly our God, but not properly our Father. And this is the cause of the error of the heretics, namely, that they join these two names which are interchanged because of the union [of the two natures]. And an indication of this is found in the fact that wherever the natures are distinguished in our thoughts from one another, the names are also distinguished, as you hear in Paul's words, "The God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of Glory."¹³⁵ The God of Christ, but the Father of Glory. For although these two terms express but one [person], yet this is not by [a unity] of nature, but by a coming together [of the two]. What could be more clear?¹³⁶

In the Gospel of St Matthew the Lord says to the one who betrayed him, "Would you betray the Son of Man with a kiss?"¹³⁷ Now Peter the martyr and archbishop of Alexandria explains these words something like this: "All the signs and mighty deeds that he performed show that he was God become man. Therefore, both of these together show he was God by nature and that he became man by nature."

¹³⁴Jn 20:17.

¹³⁵Eph 1:17.

¹³⁶Oration 30.8, which is the Fourth Theological Oration. For English translation cf. Hardy, *Christology of the Later Fathers*, p. 182.

¹³⁷The reference, in fact, is to Lk 22:48.

John the evangelist says: "The Word became flesh and dwelt among us."¹³⁸ This is how St Cyril interprets these words:

The evangelist explains very well what he has said, and he adds the meaning of his thought for a more precise understanding; for when he says that the Logos of God became flesh, in order that someone who is excessively foolish might not think that his own nature came to an end or that he was truly transformed into flesh and suffered—which would be impossible (for certainly, according to the principle of the manner of the divine existence, the Divine Logos is far away from any alteration or transformation into something else)—the Theologian immediately goes on to say "He dwelt among us" so that you might discern the two natures he is indicating: the one who dwells, and the other in which the dwelling takes place. Not that you might think he has been transformed into flesh, but rather that he dwelt in the flesh as making use of his own body which was taken from the temple of the Holy Virgin.¹³⁹

Now how will they answer the apostle who clearly proclaims two natures in the one *hypostasis* or one *prosopon* of Christ when he says: "Let this mind be in you that was also in Christ Jesus; who, while existing in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied himself and took the form of a servant."^{139a} Our mind must give heed to the fact that in the way he speaks the apostle shows that the *hypostasis* of the Logos existed in the form of God; that is in the essence of the Father. He does not say that he took what existed in the form of a servant for he wanted to show that the manhood did not have a prior subsistence, according to the folly of Nestorius, but he said, "he took the form of a servant," that is the essence of man, to

¹³⁸Jn 1:14.

¹³⁹PG 73, col. 161.

^{139a}Phil 2.5-7.

show that the flesh received its existence in the *hypostasis* of the Logos so that one and the same, who exists in one *hypostasis* in each form or nature, might be known both as God and man. For it is clear that the Divine Logos, having been begotten of the Father before all ages, is not of the same *hypostasis* as the Father but of the same essence according to which he is God; he has his own *hypostasis*, according to which he is the Logos. In the same way, he who was born in these last days according to the flesh of the holy, glorious Virgin and Theotokos Mary is not of the same *hypostasis* as his Mother but of the same essence.

That Christ is One Hypostasis in Two Natures.

So why do the Acephaloi teach a union of two *hypostases* when in fact the union according to *hypostasis* does not allow for two *hypostases*?¹⁴⁰ Perhaps they are unaware that the error for which Nestorius was condemned was introducing two *hypostases* into [Christ's] Dispensation. But rather than give in to the truth, these Acephaloi would rather hold on to doctrines more abominable even than the errors of Nestorius and all heresies.

We, however, respond with the words of St Ambrose. In his book against Apollinaris he explains this same passage in this way:

Most excellently has the apostle proclaimed our Lord Jesus Christ with these words: "Who, while existing in the form of God thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied himself and took on the form of a servant." What is in the form of God if it is not that reflection of the divine perfection in the fullness of the Godhead? Therefore, being in the perfection of the Godhead, he emptied himself

¹⁴⁰Justinian's point is obscure; he may be referring to the teaching of Severus of Antioch who taught that the *hypostatic* union in Christ was a union of two *hypostases*: the self-subsistent *hypostasis* of the Divine Logos and the non-self-subsisting *hypostasis* of his human nature. See Roberta Chestnut, *Three Monophysite Christologies*, pp. 10-11.

Against the Monophysites

and took what is perfect from the whole of human nature, and just as nothing is lacking in God, so also nothing is lacking in the completeness of his manhood so that he might be perfect in each nature.

We would add the words of St Athanasius who says in his treatise, "Concerning the Epiphany of our Salvation":

The holy Scriptures marvelously proclaim the Divine Logos who in these last days was born of a Virgin as man, that God may not prove faithless or the birth denied. Wherever there is the name of flesh, there is the order of the whole [human] composition, except for sin. And the [Scriptures] place the passion within the name of the manhood, and they do not go beyond that, as has been written throughout the holy Scriptures, but they confess the immutability and ineffability of the Logos' divinity. Therefore, the Logos [as God] pertains to the doctrine of God, and the same, as man, follows the laws of birth, in order that the same might be naturally and truly in each [nature].¹⁴¹

St Athanasius says again in his treatise against Apollinaris:

But if you believe, as is taught from the divine Scriptures, that though the Logos was God, he became the Son of Man, then you know that the one Christ is both God and man, one and the same, in order that the two-fold proclamation concerning his [earthly] sojourn might easily demonstrate the faith both of his passion and his impassibility.¹⁴²

St Cyril says the following in his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew: "Therefore, the true and intellectual stater¹⁴³ reveals, as in a type taken from matter, that our Lord Jesus Christ who is of two-fold character is the same [Per-

¹⁴¹C. *Apollin.* 2.18; PG 26, col. 1164.

¹⁴²C. *Apollin.* 1.11; PG 26, col. 1112.

¹⁴³A silver coin of the period.

son].” He says again in the second book of his commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews:

Certainly we do not mean that the natures have come together by a kind of confusion, so that the nature of the Logos is changed into that of a man; nor, on the other hand, is the human nature changed into the nature of the Logos. Rather, we say that the union has been accomplished while we conceive each of the two natures existing within the boundaries of its own nature.

And in the fourth book of his commentary on the Gospel of St John, he says this:

It would seem especially fitting to marvel in this, that the holy evangelist expressly cried out: “The Word became flesh.” For he was not so foolish as to say, “he came to be *in* flesh,” but, “he *became* flesh,” in order to demonstrate the union. And we certainly do not say that the Logos of God the Father was changed into the nature of flesh, or that the flesh was changed into the nature of the Logos; for each remains what it is by nature.¹⁴⁴

St Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, says this in his fourth book against Eunomius:

And that no one might attribute the suffering of the Cross to the imperishable nature, he gives in other words a fairly distinct correction of such an error, when he calls him “mediator between God and men,” and “man,” and “God,” and from the fact that both are predicated of the one Being, the fit conception might be entertained concerning each nature: concerning the divine nature, impassibility, and concerning the human nature the dispensation of the Passion.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴PG 73, col. 580.

¹⁴⁵The reference is from *c. Eunomius* VI.2; English translation cf. *NPNF* (2nd series), vol. 5, p. 184, col. a.

Against the Monophysites

St Ambrose teaches us these things in his treatise on the divine Incarnation:

Those who say that Christ is a mere man, or that God is passible, or that he was changed into flesh, or that he was consubstantial to the body, or that he brought it down from heaven, or that it was an illusion, or who say that the Divine Logos was mortal and needed to be raised by the Father, or that his body was without a soul, or that he assumed a man without a mind, or that the two essences of Christ were confused through their being mixed and becoming one essence, and who do not confess that our Lord Jesus Christ is two essences, without confusion, and one *prosopon* according to which there is one Christ, one Son; these the catholic and apostolic Church anathematizes.

The Erroneous Opinion of Severus of Antioch.

Though we have selected only a small portion from the many writings available in the divine Scriptures and the holy fathers so as not to produce an overly long list of citations, what we have set forth is sufficient in our opinion to demonstrate that our Lord Jesus Christ is one *hypostasis* or *prosopon* known in two natures, viz. in divinity and humanity. However, since it is the case that sometimes the truth is revealed even by our enemies—for example, we hear that the demons confessed Christ to be the Son of God—we will show that even Severus, heir to Apollinaris and deceiver from the Acephaloi, admits that all the holy fathers have said that there are two natures in Christ without incurring condemnation.

In his treatise called, "An Exposition of the Faith," he says this: "To say that there are two natures in Christ is to incur every accusation, even if it has been said in innocence by most of the holy fathers." Further on, he says:

Now, on the other hand, you ought not to say that

some of the fathers used the formula of the two natures. For they used it blamelessly, as we said, in the time of St Cyril when the Church was being assaulted by the disease of Nestorius' innovations in order that this very formula might be repelled; for the antidote must be prescribed according to the disease. So then, we ought not to introduce this way of speaking, even though the fathers used this terminology without blame. St Cyril also used this terminology, but specifically for the purpose of healing the afflicting malady; yet even though St Cyril used this expression for this purpose, we still ought to stay away from it.

Even though he claims to adhere to the fathers, nonetheless he goes on to say that we ought not to bring in those terms which the fathers used without blame, even though St Cyril himself used these terms for the purpose indicated. If all the holy fathers, and especially St Cyril, used the [two-natures] formula without blame—and Severus himself admits this—well, who holds such authority that he may reject the teachings of the holy fathers? On what basis does Severus specify those fathers whose teachings are to be rejected?

But he already shows that he cannot flee from the truth, for he has to admit that the holy fathers used this formula. He argues, however, that the teachings of the holy fathers are to be rejected on account of their use against the blasphemy of Nestorius only because he wants to defend his own sickness. Such an argument merits nothing but scorn. With such arguments he endeavors to nullify [the doctrines] of the holy fathers; he does not even shrink from slandering St Cyril as though Cyril is opposed to the holy fathers and even to what he himself said before.

Refutation of Severus from the Teachings of the Fathers.

Therefore, since he maintains that the holy fathers used this expression blamelessly prior to the time of Nestorius, we will show that St Cyril not only used the "two natures"

formula to refer to the Dispensation of the Savior before he condemned Nestorius, but that he also taught the same things after Nestorius was condemned. In fact, it seems that Severus understands neither the holy fathers nor the reason for which Nestorius was condemned. For while the holy fathers confessed that the two natures of divinity and humanity were united in Christ, they forbade anyone to say that there are in him two *hypostases* or two *prosopa* or two sons. Nestorius, however, confessed that "nature," "*hypostasis*," and "*proso-pon*" are the same thing; he therefore denied the *hypostatic* union of the two natures and said that each nature had its own *hypostasis* separate from the other, thereby producing two Christs and two Sons. It was for this blasphemy of his that he was condemned by the holy fathers. St Cyril refuted this Judaizing madman at the Council of Ephesus by bringing forth the holy fathers who forbid speaking of two sons, but rather proclaim two natures and one son.

Gregory proclaims two natures and one Son in his letter to Cledonius, wherein he says these things:

If anyone introduces two sons, one from God the Father, and the other from the Mother, and does not say that they are one and the same, let him be banished from the adoption as sons which is promised to those who believe rightly. For God and man are two natures, as also soul and body; but there are not two sons or two Gods. Neither are there two manhoods in this life, even though Paul refers to the inner and outer man.¹⁴⁶

Ambrose of Milan teaches these things:

Let those foolish men who inquire after words keep silence for the wisdom of God is not in persuasive arguments, but in the manifestation of power.¹⁴⁷
We preserve the difference of divinity and flesh, for

¹⁴⁶PG 37, col. 180; English translation cf. *NPNF* (2nd series), vol. 7, p. 439, col. b.

¹⁴⁷1 Cor 2:4.

the Son of God is said to be one in each, for each nature is in him. The same speaks, and yet does not always speak in the same manner. For at one time you see in him the glory of God, and at another time the suffering of man. As God he speaks divine things since he is the Logos, and as man he speaks human things since he is said to be in my essence.¹⁴⁸

*Refutation of Severus from the Writings of Cyril:
That Christ is Two Different Natures.*

The following comes from the time of St Cyril's condemnation of Nestorius; we will show, both from his synodal letter to the Orientals and his writings to Eulogius, that even after Nestorius' condemnation his teaching on the confession concerning the two natures in Christ is the same, and he receives those who are of the same mind.

He says this in his letter to Eulogius:

There are some who receive the definition of faith drawn up by the Orientals and say; why does the Alexandrian uphold and commend those who say two natures? For those who are of the opinion of Nestorius say that they, too, believe this. But those [who say this] are being carried away by things they don't accurately understand. We must say this to those who condemn us: it is not necessary to flee from, or to avoid, everything that the heretics say, for they confess many things which we also confess. Whenever the Arians say that the Father is the Creator and Lord of all things, will we therefore no longer hold to this confession? The same is true in the case of Nestorius; although he said that there are two natures and understood that the flesh and the Divine Logos are different—for the nature of the Logos is different from the nature of the flesh—yet he did not confess with us the union.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸*De Fide* 2.77.

¹⁴⁹*ACO* I. 1. 4, p. 35, 4-13.

Notice that the father clearly teaches us that Nestorius was not condemned because he said two natures, but because he denied the *hypostatic* union of the two natures, thereby producing two sons. And so, wishing to put an end to such impiety, St Cyril said, "One nature of the Son," and he added the term "incarnate" to indicate that the nature of the divinity is one [nature], and the nature of the flesh is another, out of which the Christ is one, the same Son of God and Son of Man, and there are not two Christs or two Sons. And the holy Church of God rightly receives all the words spoken by St Cyril, including the formula, "One nature of God the Word incarnate," since it indicates that the nature of the divinity is one nature, and the nature of the flesh is another, out of which the one single Christ is produced.¹⁵⁰

But the heretics focus on this phrase by itself and do not take into account everything this father said, and so they understand the phrase wrongly and believe that the father intended to speak of one nature constituted of divinity and flesh. But just as St Cyril condemned the godless Nestorius for saying that the natures are separate from one another so that each one has its own *hypostasis*, thereby introducing two sons, so also he denounces those who say that there is one nature of divinity and flesh in our Lord Jesus Christ. He shows that those who say this must also confess that the flesh is consubstantial to the Godhead, even if they claim to deny it.

In his letter to Eulogius he opposes those who say one nature of Godhead and flesh, and those who censure him for receiving the Orientals who speak of two natures in Christ. He says:

Tell them to pay attention to the reading of the letter of the blessed Pope Athanasius. In that letter, because certain contentious persons were saying that

¹⁵⁰This statement is directed against those who received Chalcedon but only certain writings of St Cyril, rejecting in particular his 12 Anathemas against Nestorius, in which he proclaimed the *hypostatic* union, and his Letter to Succensus in which he maintained the formula, "One Nature of God the Word incarnate." Because these crucial writings of St Cyril were rejected by certain leading defenders of Chalcedon, the monophysites made their charge that Chalcedon had betrayed St Cyril to Nestorianism.

the Divine Logos changed his nature into that of the body, he asserts that neither in heaven nor on earth is the body consubstantial to the Logos. But if the [body] is not consubstantial [to the Logos] then these two, from which we see the one single Christ, are different natures altogether. But now in this regard let us understand that whenever we speak of union, we refer to the coming together, not of one element, but of two or more that by nature are different from each other. So then, when we speak of the union [in Christ], we confess that it is a union of flesh endowed with soul and mind, and of the Logos; and this is how those who speak of two natures think. And since we confess the union, the elements that are united are no longer separated from one another.¹⁵¹

When we read the teachings of this father we must therefore give heed to the fact that he teaches one nature of divinity, and one nature of flesh, and that one Christ, not one nature, has been produced. Indeed, nowhere will we find him speaking of one nature of *Christ*; but rather, whenever he says one nature he defines it as of the *Logos*, or of the *Son*, and adds the term "incarnate" to show that our one Lord and God Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God exists not only in the divine, but also in the human nature. Indeed, how could St Cyril have spoken of one nature constituted of divinity and flesh when in his many writings he insists that he does not deny the difference of the natures because of the union? Well, if he does not deny [their difference], then there is not one nature of Christ.

St Cyril goes on in the same letter to the Orientals, in which he testifies that their teaching on the Economy of our great God and Savior Jesus Christ is orthodox, to elaborate on this point and adds this:

How will those who confess that the only-begotten Word of God was begotten of the Father and that the same was begotten of the Virgin in the flesh, and that

¹⁵¹ACO I. 1. 4, p. 36, 3-11.

the Holy Virgin is Theotokos, and that his *prosopon* is one, and that there are not two Sons, nor two Christs, but one, be in harmony with the teachings of Nestorius? For Nestorius, in his expositions [of the faith], pretends to say one Lord but he attributes the Sonship and Lordship to the Divine Logos alone; but on the other hand, whenever he refers to the Economy he says that the Lord is other than the man born of the woman, who is joined to his own [lordship] by reason of his dignity, or by participating in his honor. Now it should be clear that to say the Divine Logos is named the Christ because he is conjoined to the Christ is also to say that there are two Christs, since Christ is conjoined to Christ as one to another. But the Orientals have said nothing like this; rather, they divide the names only, and in this manner: some are spoken as befits God, and others as befits his humanity. But the names that befit the divinity and the humanity are regarded as common since they are held together by the fact that they refer to one and the same [person]. Nestorius, however, assigned some names to the Divine Logos alone, and others to the son born of the woman as though he were other [than the Logos]. It is one thing to recognize that the names are distinct, it is something else to separate them into two different *prosopa*.^{151a}

This should be enough to shame the Acephaloi who follow the error of Severus. Yet we will show from other sources still that St Cyril maintained these same doctrines even after his condemnation of Nestorius.

John of blessed memory, Archbishop of Antioch, at the synod over which he presided, composed a synodal letter to St Cyril and the entire Egyptian synod over which St Cyril was presiding. This same letter was taken to Paul of blessed memory, bishop of the city of Emesa, where it was received by St Cyril. When he found in it the orthodox teachings of

^{151a} Ibid.

the Church, he welcomed communion with the Orientals and composed a synodal letter to them. We have considered it appropriate to include a portion of it here in this treatise. It contains the following:

We have been fully assured that the separation of the churches was superfluous and had not real occasion, since the God-beloved bishop Paul was presented a document containing a sincere confession of the faith and has certified that it was drawn up by your holiness and the most pious bishops of that place. This is what the document says, and it is inserted in our letter word for word:

"Without making any addition at all to the faith set forth by the holy fathers at Nicea, we must say in brief how we think and speak concerning the Virgin Mother of God and the manner in which the only-begotten Son of God became a human being; not by way of supplement but in the form of a full exposition, as we have always possessed it, having received it from the divine Scriptures and the tradition of the holy fathers. As we have just said, it is sufficient both for the knowledge of the whole of true religion and for the exclusion of all heretical wrong thinking, and we will state it, not hazarding impossibilities but with confession of our own weakness, shutting out those who wish to charge that we are looking into matters beyond human understanding.

"Therefore, we confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, is complete God and complete man of a rational soul and body. He was born before all ages from the Father according to his divinity, but at the end of days the same one was born, for our sake and the sake of our salvation, from Mary the Virgin, as to his humanity. This same one is consubstantial to the Father in his deity, and consubstantial to us in his humanity, for there has come to be a union of two natures, wherefore we confess one Christ, one Son, one Lord. In accordance with this

concept of the unconfused union, we confess that the Holy Virgin is Theotokos, because the Divine Logos was made flesh and became man and from the moment of conception itself united to himself the temple which he took from her.

"And as to the things said about the Lord in the Gospels and apostolic writings, we know that theologians make some common as applying to one person, and divide others as applying to the two natures, and teach that some are appropriate to God in accordance with Christ's deity, while others are lowly in accordance with his humanity."

Having read these your holy words, and finding that we ourselves think in the same way, for there is "one Lord, one faith, one baptism,"¹⁵² we gave glory to God the Savior of all, and we rejoiced with one another that your churches and ours have a faith in agreement with that of the inspired Scriptures and the tradition of the holy fathers.¹⁵³

This is what St Cyril says in his synodal letter to the Orientals; but desiring to make the doctrines which were the basis of his union with the Oriental churches clear to the entire synod over which he was presiding and to the laity of Alexandria, he persuaded the holy Paul to address the great church of Alexandria on the true faith. The following is taken from Paul's address:

He who is co-eternal with the Father, and Lord and Creator of all things, humbled himself for us and for our salvation and became flesh, in order that he might show the surpassing mercies of God for us through the weaker parts of our nature. And so it says that "the Logos became flesh." Yet [the evangelist] did not stop here but added, "and he dwelt among us."¹⁵⁴ Now the second phrase explains the first. What

¹⁵²Eph 4:5.

¹⁵³Cyril's letter to John of Antioch; English translation cf. Richard A. Norris, Jr., *The Christological Controversy*, pp. 141ff.

¹⁵⁴Jn 1:14.

does this mean that "The Logos became flesh"? It means he dwelt among us, that is in our nature. Consider that this John also proclaims two natures and one Son. For the tabernacle and the one who dwells [in the tabernacle] are different from each other. The temple and God who dwells in the temple are different from each other. Pay attention to what is being said: he did not say they are different in the sense of being two *prosopa*, or two Christs, or two Sons, but they are different in the sense of being two natures. Therefore, when he says, "And he dwelt among us," he proclaimed the two natures, then he added, "And we beheld his glory, glory as of the Only-begotten."¹⁵⁵ He did not say, "as of two sons," but, "as of the Only-begotten." Isaiah then proclaimed the Immanuel, that is God become man.¹⁵⁶ Peter said, "You are the Christ, the Son of God,"¹⁵⁷ indicating the two-fold nature and the one *prosopon* of the Son. John the Theologian says, "And he dwelt among us," indicating the two natures and the one *prosopon* of the Only-begotten.¹⁵⁸

When [Paul] finished saying these things, the people were so pleased that they burst into applause, and St Cyril confirmed what Paul had said, saying this:

The blessed prophet Isaiah eloquently proclaimed the doctrine of Christ saying, "You will joyously draw water from the springs of salvation."¹⁵⁹ Behold then, from you we have drawn water from the holy fount, from your teaching we have just received. It has flashed forth in the brilliant splendor of the Spirit and has declared to us with all clarity the great and holy mystery of our Savior, through whom we are saved through believing in him.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵Ibid.

¹⁵⁶Cf. Is 7:14.

¹⁵⁷Mt 16:16.

¹⁵⁸ACO I. 1. 4, p. 13, 6-21.

¹⁵⁹Is 12:3.

¹⁶⁰ACO I. 1. 4, p. 14, 26-15, 3.

All these words show that before his condemnation of Nestorius, and even during the time of the condemnation itself, and after the condemnation, St Cyril ceaselessly proclaimed the confession of the two natures in the one Christ. But this Severus who is hostile to the truth understands none of this, for while he calls the fathers "fathers" he disavows the orthodox doctrines they have passed on to the Church. He fails to understand that Nestorius was condemned for his own impiety and not because he abrogates the teaching of the fathers. If Severus follows through with his foolishness and drops the terms which the holy fathers used in an orthodox sense simply because the heretics have taken them in an improper sense, then he will have to drop the divine Scriptures as well for all heretics believe they can support their sickness from them. This clearly exposes the consequences of Severus' nonsense: the rejection of both the patristic tradition and the divine Scriptures.

The Identity of Christ: His One Hypostasis and Two Natures.

This is how we respond to these heretics who would nullify the teachings of the fathers. The holy Church of God turns away from the vain arguments of the heretics and preserves the tradition of the Lord, the holy apostles and fathers, and proclaims that the only-begotten Logos of God is one and the same Lord Jesus Christ known in both essences, in the [essence] of God the Father, and in the [essence] of his Virgin Mother. Those who do not confess this deny either the generation of the only-begotten Son of God and our Lord Jesus Christ from God the Father, or his generation from the holy, glorious, and ever-Virgin Theotokos Mary. For the one whose essence Christ does not possess, then, as they would have it, he is not that one's Son.

But perhaps, because hard-pressed by the divine Scriptures and the teachings of the fathers, they will confess with us that Christ is truly Son of God the Father and the same One is truly the Son of his Virgin Mother. But then they must also confess that just as one and the same [*prosopon*] has two

generations, so also he has two essences. For if, as the fathers teach, the nature of Christ's Godhead is not changed into the nature of his flesh, and the nature of his flesh is not changed into the nature of his Godhead, and the difference of the natures is not denied because of the union, but each one remains what it is by nature, and the proclamation of him is two-fold, and he is known in each of his essences, that is in divinity and humanity, then how can those who speak in such bizarre fashion of the one nature of Christ, who blasphemously affirm the dissolution of his natures, and who grant to Christ divinity and humanity in name only, not see their error?

Patristic Testimony Concerning the Meaning of Hypostasis and Nature.

But they disregard every orthodox teaching and give their mind only to the belief that "nature," "essence," and "form" mean the same thing as "*hypostasis*" and "*prosopon*," which is the very error that lies at the root of all heresies. Now the issues pertaining to this matter have already been sufficiently demonstrated in the treatise we wrote to Zoilos, the most blessed Archbishop and Patriarch of Alexandria. There we showed that nature, essence, and form mean the same thing and signify what is common; but *prosopon* and *hypostasis* refer to those things that are particular. We will show the same thing here as well, drawing from other testimonies of the holy fathers.

For instance, St Athanasius says this in his book on the "Epiphany of our Salvation": "Just as the form of God is considered to be the fullness of the deity of the Logos, so also the form of the servant, which is the intellectual nature of man's constitution, is confessed with his organic state."¹⁶¹

St John, the Bishop of Constantinople, teaches us the same thing in his commentary on the letter to the Philippians, where he says:

¹⁶¹C. Apollin. 2.1; PG 21, col. 1133.

"Let this mind be in you that was also in Christ Jesus who, while existing in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied himself and took the form of a servant."¹⁶² He says that the form of God took the form of a servant. Is the form of the servant the activity of a servant, or the nature of a servant? Most certainly it is the nature of a servant. Therefore, the term "form" indicates also the nature of God, not the activity of God.¹⁶³

And the great Basil says this in his treatise against Eunomius: "The phrase, 'in the form of God,' is the same thing as the phrase, 'in the essence of God.' For the form and essence of God are not different from one another, lest he be composite. And so, whatever is equal in form is also equal in essence."¹⁶⁴

And St Cyril says this in the ninth chapter of his "Thesaurus": "Wherever there is identity of nature, there will always be sameness of essence as well. And everything that comes forth from something by nature, must also be identical to it in essence."¹⁶⁵ Again, he says in the twelfth chapter: "The name will be common to those whose nature is one, and whatever exists in something by nature, obviously this will be present in those things that partake of the same essence."¹⁶⁶

The Meaning of Hypostasis and Nature as Revealed from Theology.

We have said these things then to show that essence, nature and form mean the same thing. But that essence and *hypostasis* are not the same thing, as the heretics erroneously believe, we can learn from the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. When we say God, we signify the one essence of the Holy Trinity. But when we say Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, then

¹⁶²Phil 2:5-7.

¹⁶³Homily 6..1.

¹⁶⁴PG 29, col. 673.

¹⁶⁵PG 75, col. 124.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., col. 200.

we set forth the three *hypostases*, or the three *prosopa*, that are known in the one nature of the Godhead. The divine Voice taught us when it said, "Let us make man according to our image and according to our likeness."¹⁸⁷ Now the phrase, "Let us make," does not signify one *prosopon* according to the foolishness of Sabellius, for it is obvious that this saying discloses the Holy Trinity. And the phrase, "according to our image," indicates the one essence of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; for it did not say, "according to our images," lest we should conceive a difference of essence in the Trinity according to the foolishness of Arius, but it said "according to our image" to show that the Holy Trinity is of one essence and consubstantial. Thus, when it said "according to our image" in reference to man, it signified man's intellectual nature, according to which we are images of God. For it did not say "Let us make such and such a one" lest it be taken as a reference to *prosopon*, but it said "Let us make man" in order to reveal the intellectual nature of man. But whenever the [Scripture] wishes to indicate the *hypostases* it calls the male and female "Adam" and "Eve" who are *prosopa* or hypostases.

Now let us draw from the holy fathers to show that nature and *hypostasis* do not mean the same thing. First we will present St Cyril who, in his treatise on the Trinity, overthrows this folly in particular of theirs. He says this, giving his instruction in the form of question and answer:

Cyril: "We say that the Son is united with the Father both in his being like us, and in his being superior to us. He is most assuredly, of course, consubstantial to the one who begot him since as his true Son he is of him. But he exists in his own *hypostasis* by which he is believed to exist completely in his own right. However, even though he is distinguished from the Father, he is not separate from him as we are separate from each other through the principle of corporeality, for even in his otherness, i.e. his particularity, he possesses a natural, ineffable union with the Father, although the *hypostases* do not admit any kind

¹⁸⁷Gen 1:26.

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of confusion with one another as is believed by some as though the Father and the Son were the same. But they are united because of their identity of essence even while we say that each one truly is and subsists and possesses his own existence."

Interlocuter: "Are you then saying that the Son exists in his own essence that is different from the Father's?"

Cyril: "He does not exist in an essence different from the essence of God, but he exists as Son in his own *hypostasis*."

Interlocuter: "So, is essence different from *hypostasis*?"

C: "Yes, there is a significant difference between them since essence encompasses all the particulars."

I: "How do you mean? It seems that I am slow in these things."

C: "And do you suppose that I am well-versed in these matters? At any rate, let us proceed to a careful examination [of these things] insofar as possible so that we might ascend as through an icon to the uppermost heights of the divine splendor. Essence refers to some common reality, whereas *hypostasis* is a term referring to the particular of which the universal is predicated. Now, consider with me what this means. How shall we define man?"

I: "As a rational and mortal being."

C: "Now we regard reason to be his most fitting characteristic, and we say that this is the definition of his essence which applies to all the individually subsisting particulars. And so we understand that Thomas and Mark or Peter and Paul fall under this universal classification of 'man' and fit the definition of man. Essence, therefore, can be predicated of any of the particulars. However, we have yet to explain clearly the definition of those who are considered as particulars. No particular is simply 'man'; it is Peter or Paul. And when we say Thomas or Peter we are not properly referring to the definition of the essence (for

either one is 'man' just as much as the other), but by so distinguishing them we are referring to a particular *hypostasis* who happens to exist in this species. Therefore, essence brings to mind the principle common to the whole race and to every individual man, whereas *hypostasis* is understood more properly of the individual and its definition should not be confused with the universal, nor does it merge and mingle to produce some obscure mass, but is always something particular and individual."¹⁶⁸

These words of St Cyril clearly show that essence and *hypostasis* do not mean the same thing, but essence signifies the universal, and *hypostasis* the particular. However, we can also show that the holy fathers teach that *hypostasis* signifies the same thing as *prosopon*. For example, Gregory the Theologian teaches us that essence is not the same thing as *hypostasis*, and that *hypostasis* signifies nothing other than the *prosopon*. He says:

We believe in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, of one substance and glory; in whom also baptism has its perfection, both nominally and really (you know who has been initiated!); being a denial of atheism and a confession of Godhead; and thus we are regenerated, acknowledging the unity in the essence and in the undivided worship, and the Trinity in the *hypostases*, or in *prosopa*, whichever term you prefer. And let not those who are contentious on these points utter their scandalous taunts as if our faith depended on terms and not on realities. For what do you mean who assert the three *hypostases*? Do you imply three essences by that term? I am assured that you would loudly shout against those who do so. For you teach that the essence of the Three is One and the same. What do you mean, who assert the three *prosopa*? Do you imagine a single compound sort of being, with three faces, or of an entirely human form? Perish the

thought. You too will loudly reply that he who thinks in this way will never see the face of God, whatever it may be. What then do you mean by the *prosopa* (for I will persist in this question)? That they are three, and they are distinguished not by natures but by properties. Excellent. How could men agree and harmonize better than you do, even if there be a difference between the syllables you use?¹⁶⁹

St Gregory of Nyssa says this in his second book against Eunomius:

The property of the *hypostases* clearly shows that the *prosopa* are different and unconfused. But the fact that we use one name when explaining the faith clearly teaches us that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in whom we believe are one in essence. These names do not teach a difference of nature, but rather the properties by which the *hypostases* are known.

These selections from the fathers demonstrate that nature and essence signify the universal, and *prosopon* and *hypostasis* refer to particulars.¹⁷⁰ The folly of the heretics is therefore

¹⁶⁹*Or.* 42.16; English translation cf. *NPNF* (2nd series) vol. 7, p. 391, col. a.

¹⁷⁰The content of the florilegia Justinian has just produced considered in the context of the whole of his thought suggests that the relationship of the *hypostasis* and individuating properties is not understood "philosophically" but "theologically." If the *hypostasis* is the particular with properties, then "philosophically" (i.e. rationally), if there is no human *hypostasis* in Christ, there are no human properties, and therefore the human nature disappears (cf. Charles Moeller, "Textes 'Monophysites' de Léonce de Jérusalem," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 27 (1951) 469; and also "Le Chalcedonisme et le néo-Chalcedonisme en Orient de 451 à la fin du VI^e siècle," in Grillmeier and Bacht, *Das Konzil von Chalkedon I* (Würzburg, 1951) p. 698). But Justinian, I believe, understands the relationship between the *hypostasis* and its individuating properties "theologically," that is to say, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are distinguished from one another not in nature but in their *hypostatic*, or individuating, properties. This is the Trinitarian context in which to understand also Justinian's Christological use of the phrase "composite Christ": "composite" refers to the divine and human natural properties coming together to exist in the one Christ or hypostasis of the Divine Logos, the foundation of their existence (cf. my "Leontius of Jerusalem: Monophysite or Chalcedonian?" *SVS Quarterly* 31 (1987) 65-95).

quite amazing; they say they confess the union of different natures in Christ, and yet they refuse to indicate the difference of the united elements by the category of number. Clearly, this reveals that they are stricken with the madness of Apollinaris. Apollinaris himself said this in his syllogisms:

Whenever different properties come together to form one being, there is produced a being that is in between. For example, from the property of ass and horse a mule is produced; from the property of white and dark, the color grey; and from hot and cold air, the property of cool air. Now, the being that stands in between does not possess all the properties of the beings produced, for these beings have been partially mixed together. Now, we find the mediator of God and man in Christ; so he is neither wholly God nor wholly man, but he is a mixture of God and man.¹⁷¹

Then, in the writing in which he asserts that Christ is God in the flesh, structuring the discussion in the form of question and answer, he asks: " 'Surely the Christ is not both God and man, or do you say that he is man and deny that Christ is God?' He answered, '[He is God and man] not in two essences, but in one.' "¹⁷²

We present this to show that the Acephaloi follow the wicked teachings of Apollinaris because they confess that Christ is known to exist not in two essences, but in one. But when our holy fathers handed down to us the teaching on the ineffable union of Christ's divinity and humanity, they did not teach us to confess one nature but the number of natures that were united. St Cyril, for example, in his treatise which shows that Christ is one refutes those who say that there is one nature of divinity and humanity in Christ:

Surely such nonsense is clear proof of a foolish mind! How could anyone believe that things distinguished from one another by natural definition are of

¹⁷¹Frsg. 113, Lietzmann, p. 234.

¹⁷²Frsg. 158, Lietzmann, p. 249.

the same essence? Divinity and humanity are different from one another. Otherwise, why would we speak of a union taking place? No one says that only one element is united, but two or more.¹⁷³

Again, in his letter to Eulogius he says this: "Wherever one speaks of union, one indicates the union not of one element, but of two or more, all of which are distinguished from one another by nature."¹⁷⁴

The teaching of this holy father clearly establishes the fact that when the heretics refuse to count the elements that have been united, they deny the union and say that Christ is God and man only to deceive the more simple-minded. If they say that Christ is in truth perfect God and perfect man, then they clearly confess that two essences are preserved in him. But if they refuse to count the elements that have been united, they expose their view that there is nothing perfect in Christ.

This in fact is what the teacher of their error, Apollinaris, has written in his treatise "On the Divine Incarnation," in which he says: "If perfect God were indeed joined to perfect man, there would be two; therefore the imperfect has been combined with the perfect so that he is not seen in a duality."¹⁷⁵

Gregory of Nyssa refutes such ideas by saying:

Perhaps this eminent gentleman who confuses smaller with greater has not seen children counting the fingers on their hand. He calls the inferior and the superior two different things, and yet he must understand that if he considers them both together, they are still two things. Every number represents a composition of individual units; it represents the sum of these things that have been combined. If whatever we are counting is placed next to what we are counting with it, the sum will increase even if one of the things being counted is inferior; even though the inferior may

¹⁷³PG 75, col. 1289.

¹⁷⁴ACO I. 1. 4., p. 36, 7-9.

¹⁷⁵Frg. 81; Lietzmann, p. 224.

be smaller in size, it still counts as one unit. Now, when we count two entities equal in size, we say that there are two complete entities. But even if we are counting imperfect and perfect objects together, we still say there are two even though the one is defective and the other is perfect. But now according to this learned gentleman's mathematical method, if each object is perfect in its own nature, we may say there are two parts. But if a defective part comes together with a perfect part so that the two are one, I do not know how the inferior coalesces with the superior or how he contrives a union of different parts when they are incompatible. For it is easier to join parts that are either both perfect, or both imperfect because of their similarity. But I wish that this man who lays down these universal mathematical principles would explain the mode of this union of two incompatible elements, I mean of imperfect and perfect parts.¹⁷⁶

Apollinaris does not even believe that a human mind is befitting the only-begotten God because, he says, the human mind is mutable.¹⁷⁷ Very well then, for the same reason we should not mix the flesh and the divine, for not even this writer would deny that the flesh is mutable; it grows from youth to maturity as it clothes itself with the raiment of manhood. Surely this is mutability: it begins cradled in the arms of its mother, then becomes a toddler, then a young lad, and so on until little by little it arrives at maturity and enters into the full measure of manhood. So if he rejects the mind because it is mutable, then for the same reason he should not mix the flesh [with the Logos]. And thus, if we follow his views, the Gospel will be proven false, our preaching will be in vain, and our faith futile. But if he does not challenge the fact that even to appear in the flesh is to be subject to this same mutability, then obviously, he should not reject the mind for the same reason; but just as the Logos was not defiled when

¹⁷⁶PG 45, cols. 1212-1216.

¹⁷⁷Cf. Frg. 76; Lietzmann, p. 222: English translation cf. Norris, *The Christological Controversy*, p. 109.

he became flesh, so also he was not changed in any way when he assumed the mind.

But let me show this in Apollinaris' own words. Here is a passage taken from the same book: "For this reason," he says, "the human race is saved not by the assumption of the mind and of the whole man, but through the assumption of the flesh, whose nature it is to be ruled. What was needed was an unchangeable mind that did not fall under the domination of the flesh on account of its weakness of understanding, but which adapted the flesh to itself without force."¹⁷⁸

Anyone knows that whatever is dependent differs completely in nature from something that is independent, and that what by nature is subject to rule is also essentially different from that which by nature rules, as irrational animals, for example, are by nature subject to the nature of man. Man does not acquire this authority over the irrational animals; he possesses it by nature. So if it is the nature of flesh to be ruled and of the divine to rule, as Apollinaris says, how can he distinguish these two parts according to their nature if he maintains that they are one from the beginning when it is abundantly clear to everyone that [the flesh] that is ruled and the Logos who rules are different from each other, as are the nature that follows and the nature that leads? So if we discern properties that differentiate the nature of flesh and of divinity, how can these two natures be one?

The Teaching of the Trisagion.

So this clearly establishes the fact that when we conceive a union of different elements we also acknowledge the number of elements that have been united. But the enemies of the truth are continually devising ever worse notions to accompany their godlessness. Not only do they sin against the economy of One of the Holy Trinity, but they also blaspheme against the consubstantial Trinity itself. This Severus dared to say that the trisagion hymn is offered to the Son alone, as though he does not share in the glory of his Father and the Holy

¹⁷⁸Frg. 76; Lietzmann, p. 222: English translation cf. Norris, p. 109.

Spirit. But this is to separate the Son from the essence of the Father and the Holy Spirit and to suggest either that he is of a different essence, which is simply Arian nonsense, or if not this, then it is the same as denying that Christ is God and One of the Holy Trinity. But this is to offer the hymn to a fourth *prosopon*, which is to fall into the foolish blasphemy of Nestorius. They fail to understand that to separate him from the worship he receives together with the Father and the Holy Spirit is to dishonor him, even if they ascribe honor to him as Son.

However, they are at least smart enough that they don't even follow themselves when they say these things, for having sung the hymn for the third time, we immediately add: "Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit." What will we say; that they are disobedient to themselves? Then the Seraphim do not direct this doxology to the Holy Trinity through the trisagion as the holy fathers have taught us. Athanasius, for example, said this in his treatise against Arius on the Holy Spirit:

When the cherubim sing their doxology, saying, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth," they glorify the Father, and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Therefore, just as we are baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son, so also we are baptized in the name of the Holy Spirit, and we become sons of God, not sons of Gods. The Lord of Sabaoth is the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. There is one deity, one God; in Isaiah the Father spoke, whereas John says that the Son spoke,¹⁷⁹ and in the Acts, Paul said that the Holy Spirit spoke.¹⁸⁰

Gregory the Theologian says in his oration on the Theophany of Christ: "This then is the holy of holies which is hidden even from the Seraphim and is glorified with the thrice holy, known in one lordship and deity as one of our

¹⁷⁹Cf. Jn 12:41.

¹⁸⁰Acts 28:25.

predecessors demonstrated with great beauty and sublimity."¹⁸¹

The great Basil teaches this in his treatise on the Holy Spirit:

The Holy Spirit is the fount of sanctification, and just as the Father and the Son are holy by nature, so also the Spirit of Truth is holy by nature. Wherefore, he is especially and particularly deserving of the appellation "holy." If then it is his nature, just as it is the nature of the Father and the Son, to be the sanctifier, how is he a third nature alien from the other two? Therefore, the Seraphim cry out at the same time the thrice "holy" recorded by Isaiah,¹⁸² because he who is naturally holy is beheld in three *hypostases*.¹⁸³

St John, Bishop of Constantinople, also gives a commentary on Isaiah the prophet and says this:

The Seraphim forever stand before God and are always with him and never leave his presence, for it has been granted to them to be continually in his presence which makes them constantly sing out in worship; for he did not say that they cried out, but rather, they were crying out, meaning that they performed this deed forever saying to each other, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth." This shows their harmonious symphony for they sing with one accord. This hymn is not simply a song of worship, but it is also the accurate interpretation of the blessed doctrines which lead to an understanding of the Economy.^{183a}

St Cyril interprets this prophecy of Isaiah in the fourth chapter of his first book, saying this:

¹⁸¹Oration 38.8, "On the Theophany, or Birthday of Christ." PG 36, col. 320; English translation cf. *NPNF* (2nd series), vol. 7, p. 347, cols. ab.

¹⁸²Is 6:3.

¹⁸³The reference is to *Adv. Eunomius* 3.3; PG 29, col. 661.

^{183a}John Chrysostom, *Interpretatio in Isaiam Prophetam*, VI 3, PG 56, col. 71 lines 21 following.

Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full of your glory." When they sing the thrice "holy," they conclude the doxology by placing the Holy Trinity in one nature of deity through the words, "Lord of Sabaoth." And so we say that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit truly exist. In no way does this account separate each name into its own distinct nature, but one Godhead is conceived in three *hypostases* and the Seraphim have borne us testimony of this through their [thrice] "holy" [hymn].¹⁸⁴

Conclusion: A Concise Summation of the Orthodox Faith.

The fathers have handed down the orthodox confession of the Church setting it forth to destroy the blasphemy of heretics. They have taught us to confess one Godhead, one power, one essence of the Holy Trinity and to offer the same doxology and worship to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, and to confess that one *prosopon* of the Holy, Consubstantial Trinity, our Lord Jesus Christ, is true God and true man, the same consubstantial to the Father in his divinity, and the same consubstantial to us in his humanity. He is not consubstantial to the Father in the essence according to which he is the same as we, nor [is he consubstantial] to us in the [essence] according to which he is the same as the Father. It is impossible that one essence or nature should be consubstantial both to God and to men; but the two natures are known in one *hypostasis* which is in communion with the Father and with us. And so that you might have a clear understanding of the confession we uphold in accordance with the catholic and apostolic Church, we have set it down in concise chapters for you who have chosen the monastic life and for those with you in and around Alexandria.

i. If anyone does not confess one essence of the Holy Trinity, that is to say [one] nature of the Godhead, worshipped in three *hypostases* or *prosopa*, that is, in the Father,

¹⁸⁴PG 70, col. 169.

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and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, let him be anathema.

ii. If anyone says that the Divine Logos or the Holy Spirit is a creature, or of another essence than the Father, let him be anathema.

iii. If anyone says that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are the same, believing them to be one *prosopon* with different names or one *hypostasis* carrying three names, we consider such a one like the Jews and anathematize him.

iv. If anyone denies that there are two generations of the one *prosopon* of our Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God—the one [generation] of the Father before the ages in his divinity, the other of the same [*prosopon*] in these last days of the holy Virgin and Theotokos Mary in his humanity—and that he is one of the Holy Trinity, one *hypostasis* of three *hypostases*, let him be anathema.

v. If anyone does not confess that the holy, glorious, and ever-Virgin Mary is Theotokos, let him be anathema.

vi. If anyone introduces two Sons, one of God the Father, the other of the Mother, or says that the man Jesus was acted upon [by the Logos] and was united [to the Logos] through the good pleasure of the Only-begotten as though he were different from him as Paul of Samosata and Nestorius blasphemously taught, and does not confess that the one Lord Jesus Christ is the same only-begotten Son and Word of God, let him be expelled from the company of christians.

vii. If anyone says that the Logos passed through the Virgin as through a channel, and that he was not fashioned in her in a divine and human manner, divinely because he was [conceived in the womb] apart from man, and humanly in that he followed the law of birth, this one also is godless.

viii. If anyone divides the expressions in the Gospels and the apostolic writings referring to Christ, spoken either by the saints or by Christ himself concerning himself, into two *prosopa* or *hypostases*, let him be anathema.

ix. If anyone does not confess that there is one *hypostasis* or one *prosopon* of Christ, constituted of divinity and humanity, let him be anathema.

x. If anyone says that before the union there were two natures of the Only-begotten, and after the union there is produced one nature of divinity and his flesh, let him be anathema.

xi. If anyone does not confess that the two natures of divinity and humanity are united in one *hypostasis*, and that they produce one Christ, and that he is known in both natures without confusion and without division, whereby we confess that the same is perfect in Godhead and perfect in humanity, and believe that the miracles and the Passion are of one and the same, let him be anathema.

This is what we have been taught from the divine Scriptures; this is the teaching of the catholic Church; this is the tradition of the fathers who in critical periods shone forth in the holy Church of God and who assembled in the four holy Councils: that of the 318 [fathers] in Nicea, of the 150 in Constantinople, of the 200 in the first Council of Ephesus, of the 630 in Chalcedon. These Councils are the Law of the Church. Through the co-operation of the Holy Spirit of the Church these Councils expel the heretics and their abominable teachings that spring up at sundry times. But these enemies of piety—because they clutch the posterity of the evil one's tares and do not wish to adhere to the good seed, but are forever offering excuses for their sins, so that in this they are in want of all reason—seek to escape by saying that they possess the teaching of the patristic tradition. But those who are of Nestorius cannot get away from the fact that they have as their fathers Paul, Photinus, and Marcellus and those who share their opinion. And the Acephaloi [have as their fathers] Eutyches, Dioscorus, Timothy Aelurus, and those who share their opinion, who all taught in accordance with the madness of Apollinaris, Manichaeus, and Valentinus. How will those who say such things lead Jews and Greeks to the christian faith when they propose teachings similar to theirs, and say that their wickedness has been acquired not only from the patristic tradition, but also from teachings even more ancient than these?

Wherefore, we urge all you who love God to attest your-

selves as men who fear the Lord and who await the judgment of God, and that you not allow yourselves to be diverted by various strange teachings, but that you instruct yourselves in the true and pure faith and that you hasten to the holy, catholic, and apostolic Church of God, in which the apostolic teaching of the whole Economy is proclaimed with one voice by the priests of God.



A LETTER ON THE THREE CHAPTERS

Introduction to the Text

When Justinian appointed two noted Origenists, Domitian and Theodore Askidas, to the sees of Ancyra and Caesarea Cappadocia, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Peter, and the apocri-sary Pelagius—who later became Pope—became alarmed and led an effort to bring about the condemnation of Origenism to minimize the influence of Domitian and Theodore. Their efforts succeeded and Justinian published his Edict against Origenism in 543.

Certain historians have seen this as the provocation for the Origenists' retaliation seeking condemnation of the Three Chapters; both to divert the Emperor's attention from them and to regain his confidence.¹ One must keep in mind, however, that Justinian had devoted the first nine years of his reign to proving the harmony between Cyril and Chalcedon in order to reconcile the monophysites to Chalcedon. This proved to be difficult, however, and it was made more difficult by the fact that Chalcedon had not anathematized Nestorius' supposed teacher, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and it had received into communion Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas, both of whom had been friends of Nestorius and had slandered Cyril.² Many of the defenders of Chalcedon, moreover, rejected Cyril's 12 Anathemas contained in his Third Letter to Nestorius, while they were sympathetic to the thought and writings of these three men. These facts were used by the monophysites to support their charge that Chalcedon was in

¹See Richard, "Léonce de Byzance, était-il origéniste?" *Revue des Études Byzantines* 5 (1947) 50. On the Three Chapters see in particular, E. Amann, "Trois-chapitres (Affaire des)," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* XV, 2; and Diepen *Les Trois Chapitres au concile de Chalcedoine* (Oosterhout, 1953).

²See Patrick Gray, *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East*, p. 64; and J. Meyendorff, *Christ in Eastern Christian Thought*, p. 59.

fact a Nestorianizing Council. The condemnation of the Three Chapters, published in 544/45, then, was consistent with Justinian's own theological views and was a natural extension of his earlier policies in which he sought to demonstrate the genuine Cyrillianism of Chalcedon.

The condemnation of the Three Chapters was not well-received particularly by the Latin speaking provinces for several reasons. Besides the affinity between the theological outlook and terminology of Pope Leo the Great and the Antiochene tradition, the condemnation of the Three Chapters was probably seen in the same light as the *Henoticon* of the 5th century which provoked the Acacian Schism. The *Henoticon* was the instrument of Emperor Zeno used in an effort to reconcile the supporters and monophysite opponents of Chalcedon in the Eastern provinces; while it did not condemn Chalcedon outright, it mentioned Chalcedon only in a negative context.³ Since Chalcedon had not condemned these men—it only enjoined them to anathematize Nestorius⁴—and had not explicitly rejected their writings, the condemnation was viewed by many as an indirect attack on Chalcedon as the *Henoticon* had been.⁵

The controversy over the Three Chapters continued even beyond the Fifth Ecumenical Council in 553. In various parts of the empire numerous synods were convened to deal with the Emperor's decree. The African synods directed themselves primarily against Vigilius who finally accepted the condemna-

³The text of the *Henoticon* is in Evagrius' *Ecclesiastical History* III.xiv, ed. by J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, a reprinting of the 1898 London edition of Methuen, (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1964).

⁴See the proceedings against Theodoret in *ACO* II.1.3, pp. 9 [368]ff.

⁵This was the concern of Pope Vigilius. In his "Constitutum Vigili papae de tribus capitulis," he refuses to condemn Theodore since he is dead, and he refuses to reject Theodoret and Ibas since they were accepted by the Council as orthodox. He reveals the real fear many held in the face of the condemnation when he says that the Council must not be challenged or altered in any way (See J. Tixeront, *History of Dogmas* vol. 3, *The End of the Patristic Age (430-800)* (St. Louis, Missouri: B. Herder, 1916) pp. 130ff. In other words, opposition to the condemnation, particularly in the West, was primarily concerned to preserve the authority of Chalcedon and the dignity of the Roman See, for in the eyes of the West, the *Tome* of St Leo had played the major role in overthrowing Eutyches and Dioscorus (cf. Facundus' "Pro defensione III capitulorum," PL 67, cols. 527-854).

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tion in his *Judicatum* of 547 (only to reject it again during the time of the Fifth Council, before finally accepting it again—see the introduction to “The Edict”). Of the four eastern patriarchs, all but Zoilos of Alexandria agreed, though under strong pressure from Justinian, to sign the Edict against the Three Chapters, to which Justinian refers in the introduction of the letter presented here: “All the most blessed patriarchs are in union with one another, except the one who is possessed by madness.”

The exact date and destination of this particular treatise on the Three Chapters is difficult to determine. It was provoked by a letter sent probably by some Western synod to Justinian protesting the Edict and containing certain “chapters” compiled by an “impious teacher”; a Western synod is indicated in the words: “You should be ashamed when you say that the Eastern bishops support Nestorius.” Schwartz believes the synod was of the so-called Eastern Illyricum, held around the year 549. The Illyricum in Schwartz’s view best fits the region to which Justinian refers when he says, “We were very grieved that men who live in a region where the true faith has always been held in purity before you should have fallen into such an error.” He suggests as a date for this response of Justinian to the Illyrican bishops the year 549/550.⁶

A. Gerostergios, however, suggests the treatise was written as late as several years after the Fifth Council on the evidence suggested by the words: “For this reason, although the heresy of the Three Chapters was apparent, we have asked the priests of the Church of God for their opinion on them.”⁷ This points to the Council of 553 when Justinian, believing that acceptance of the condemnation would be easier to secure if it was confirmed by an ecumenical gathering of bishops, stayed away from the Council’s proceedings so as to avoid any appearance of imposing his will on the bishops.

⁶Schwartz, *Drei dogmatische Schriften Iustinians*, p. 115.

⁷See A. Gerostergios, *Justinian the Great: the Emperor and Saint* (Massachusetts: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1982), p. 45.

The Text

A copy of the Letter written by the most pious christian King Justinian against those who have written in defense of the impious Theodore's evil dogmas, the so-called Letter of Ibas, and those writings of Theodoret that oppose the true faith.

Introduction: The Error of Upholding the Three Chapters.

We have received your letters, and when we read them we were surprised that you do not understand the teaching of our Lord who said, "Learn from me for I am meek and lowly in heart."⁸ Instead you have raised yourselves to such arrogance that you hold all the priests of the Church of God in contempt, and consider only yourselves to be righteous among them all. You are like that Pharisee who remained unjustified because he condemned the publican.⁹ And though we had hoped you were of the same mind as the other priests, we found against that hope that you defend the [Three Chapters] which are opposed to God and to the orthodox faith.

In defending the impiety [of these Three Chapters], you even consider yourselves equal to the apostles because you say that no one should revile you as rustics since God also commanded rustics to preach the Gospel. Well now, if we have called you rustics as you say, we have described you in this way for this reason: you defend such impiety because of your ignorance concerning the ecclesiastical ordinance and

⁸Mt 11:29.

⁹Lk 18:19.

the tradition of the orthodox faith. But God chose for himself the apostles—rustics as you call them—and he filled them with his own Spirit, with grace and wisdom; and thus equipped he sent them out in order to lead the nations who were ignorant of God to the way of truth. Accordingly, he said to the apostles alone [and not to you], "You are the light of the world."¹⁰

But you show that you are exactly as the apostle described, "You know neither what you say, nor the matters concerning which you make confident assertions;"¹¹ and because you dare to place yourselves on a level with the apostles, you dare to do what is never done by christians: you look upon the patriarchs and all the priests with disdain, and so you fail to preserve the ecclesiastical ordinance. Even though all the most blessed patriarchs are in union with one another, and none have separated themselves from the catholic Church—except the one who is obviously possessed by heretical madness¹²—precisely this you have hastened to do in the present state of affairs. But even though you have done this we will not cease writing or doing all that is necessary to correct your [error].

Now then, you have written and said that we were so anxious to condemn these Three Chapters—i.e. Theodore and his writings, the so-called letter of Ibas, and the writings of Theodoret—because we wished to satisfy the desire of those who had separated themselves from the catholic Church.¹³ Understand, we have not done this to please them, but because of the heresy these Chapters contained, and also because there are some secretly attached to the name of Nestorius who have sought by means of these Chapters to introduce Nestorius himself into the catholic Church and to attach to her the heresy contained in these Chapters. Nonetheless,

¹⁰Mt 5:14.

¹¹1 Tm 1:7.

¹²A reference to the Alexandrian patriarch Zoilos who alone of the five patriarchs refused to sign the Edict against the Three Chapters.

¹³That is, the monophysites who believed that in adhering to Chalcedon, the Great Church had betrayed the Nicene faith to Nestorianism. The monophysites supported their charge on the ground that the Three Chapters were never condemned, even if they were not accepted, at the Council of Chalcedon.

even though the heresy of these Chapters was obvious, we still sought the opinion of the priests of the Church of God in this matter. In their desire to show that the catholic Church has never at any time maintained such heresy, they condemned its wickedness just as the holy fathers have condemned it from the beginning.

Indeed, not even those who have left the catholic Church argue on behalf of these Chapters because they know that no one who bears the name of christian can defend them. Instead, they oppose the definition of faith drawn up by the holy Synod at Chalcedon which condemned Nestorius and Eutyches as well as their impiety. Those who are opposed to the true dogmas of the Church would rather defend these impious Chapters than the holy Church of God so that they might deceive the more simple minded and separate the christian people from the Church.

The Heresies Contained in the Letter of Ibas.

Now, you have written that there are two parts to this impious letter [of Ibas]. The one, you say, contends against Apollinaris in an orthodox manner while in the other, even though the writer of the letter seemed to slander St Cyril, he nonetheless retracted this taint of slander in the letter's conclusion. For this reason, you say this impious letter should be judged orthodox. In so saying you have made it clear that you know neither the text nor the meaning of this impious letter for it contains nothing against Apollinaris. In fact, it calls St Cyril himself an Apollinarian. Nor does the impious letter retract its statements against St Cyril in its conclusion. Indeed, we will prove that its conclusion says even worse things against him. We will also expose the whole impiety of the so-called letter of Ibas as well as the empty ideas of the chapters you sent.

Now, after we read all that you had written we were grieved indeed that men, who live in a region where, at least before you, the true faith has always been held in purity, should have fallen into such an error. And so, we deem it

necessary to write against the chapters you sent us and to urge you to remove yourselves from their impiety and from the impious teacher who compiled them. Because he wishes to deceive you, he has taken certain texts from the divine Scripture which he understands in a perverted sense, and has sought to harmonize them with certain words in this impious letter [of Ibas]. This is precisely what all heretics do: they alter the meaning of certain texts from the divine Scripture to make them conform to their own distorted understanding.

It seems to us that either this impious teacher of yours has not read this abominable letter [of Ibas], or, if he has read it, he has irresponsibly given only certain passages, while ignoring those that are most detestable. This letter says that the blessed Cyril and the impious Nestorius wrote harsh letters against each other. Whereas Nestorius said the blessed Mary is not the Birth-giver of God, since many would see this as belonging to the heresy of Paul of Samosata, Cyril, in his desire to refute Nestorius' statements, slipped and fell into the teaching of Apollinaris. The author of this letter clearly reveals that he has become possessed by the madness of Nestorius for he says that this same Nestorius who denied that the Holy Virgin Mary is Birth-giver of God fell under the suspicion of only a few, but certainly did not appear as a heretic from this. And yet, he maintains that St Cyril, the teacher of the Church, slipped and fell into the teaching of Apollinaris because he affirmed that the Divine Logos himself was incarnate and became man.

Your teacher, however, omits these passages, as we said, because he knows that whoever says St Cyril slipped and fell, and calls his teachings heretical, condemns the entire Church which rightly regards St Cyril as its father and teacher. Who would not shudder at the idea that because St Cyril affirmed the Divine Logos himself became man, he is a heretic; and that because he said this, he therefore does not confess the difference of the temple and of the One who dwells in it! Not only will one condemn St Cyril because of these teachings of his, but also the Gospel which says, "The Logos became

flesh,"¹⁴ as well as all the prophets who proclaimed the sojourning of the Divine Logos himself in the flesh; in particular Jeremiah, who said, "This is our God, none other compares with him; and after these things he appeared on the earth and dwelt among men;"¹⁵ and Isaiah, who says that the Child [will be called] almighty God.¹⁶ One will even condemn the apostle Paul who speaks about this in his letter to the Ephesians, "He who descended is also he who ascended high above the heavens, in order that he might fulfill all things"!¹⁷

Indeed, as your deranged teacher says, the saints and the prophets and the evangelists and the apostles ought to be condemned for saying that the Divine Logos himself became man, since by these words they are saying that the mode of divinity was changed into the humanity. But those who say that Christ was only a man and that he was called Son of God by grace, as the wicked doctrines of Nestorius and his teacher Theodore state, clearly demonstrate that they do not confess that the Divine Logos himself became man. But both the divine Scriptures and the holy fathers who are in harmony with the teaching of Scripture say that the invisible, incorporeal Divine Logos himself was timelessly begotten of the Father before all ages, Light of Light, and that he came down, was incarnate and became man. For example St Gregory says in his Oration on the Theophany:

The Word of God himself, who is before all ages, the Invisible, the Incomprehensible, the Bodiless, Beginning of Beginning, the Light of Light, the Source of Life and Immortality, the Image of the archetypal Beauty, the immovable Seal, the unchangeable Image, the Father's Definition and Word, came to his own image and took on him flesh for the sake of our flesh, and mingled himself with an intelligent soul for my soul's sake, purifying like by like; and in all points

¹⁴Jn 1:14.

¹⁵Bar 3:36 & 38.

¹⁶Is 9:6.

¹⁷Eph 4:10.

except sin was made man, being conceived by the Virgin who first in body and soul was purified by the Holy Spirit (for it was necessary that childbearing should be honored, and that virginity should receive a higher honor).¹⁸

St Athanasius, in his treatise on the Holy Spirit, speaks against Arius in the same way: "He who was born from above of the Father, ineffably, inexpressibly, incomprehensibly, the same in time was begotten here below from the Virgin Mary."¹⁹

St Basil, writing to Amphilochius says in the eighth chapter:

No heaven, or earth, or the great oceans, or all creatures living in the waters and on dry land, or plants, stars, air, and seasons, or the vast expanse of the universe, can illustrate the surpassing greatness of God's might so well as he has himself. The infinite God, remaining changeless, assumed flesh and fought with death, freeing us from suffering by his own suffering!²⁰

St Augustine, Bishop of the district of Africa, says this in his commentary on the Creed:

You, too, Habbakuk the prophet bear witness concerning the Christ: "Lord," you said, "I have heard the report about Thee and I fear. O God, I have observed your work and I am amazed."²¹ What deed of God has caused him to marvel? Is it the creation of the world? No, but consider this amazing thing: "He is revealed," he says, "in the midst of two living

¹⁸Oration 38.13; English translation cf. *NPNF* (2nd series), vol. 7, p. 349, col. a; Greek text cf. PG 36, col. 325.

¹⁹PG 26, col. 996.

²⁰"On the Holy Spirit" 18; English translation cf. *St Basil the Great On The Holy Spirit*, trans. David Anderson, p. 36.

²¹Hab 3:1.

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beings."²² The deed is that you, the Divine Logos, became flesh. "He is revealed in the midst of two living beings." To whom have you come down? I marvel because the Logos through whom all things came into existence was laid in a manger!²³

St Leo, Pope of Rome, says something similar in his letter to Flavian, the Archbishop of Constantinople; he speaks in this manner: "The impassible God did not consider it unworthy to exist as passible man, and the Immortal One subjected himself to the laws of death."²⁴

So, both the divine Scriptures and the holy fathers have said these things. But according to your reasoning—by which you have said that because St Cyril affirmed that the Divine Logos became man he thereby proposed a confusion [of natures]—they, too, should be charged with introducing a confusion of flesh and divinity since they have also said that the Divine Logos became man.

Now, that the author of this letter was possessed by the madness of Theodore who denied that the Divine Logos became man we will prove from this heretic Theodore's own writings against the impious Apollinaris. In his fourth book Theodore writes this:

Some among us have given into you and have said what should never be granted by anyone who adheres to those who have studied the opinion of the Church. For we inquired if they confess that the Divine Logos became man. They answered that they did. But what intelligent person would say that the Divine Logos became man, as you say, unless he was first stricken with your madness? Now we also assert that the Divine Logos assumed humanity, but we would never maintain as you do that he became man.

Now then, from these statements made by Theodore we

²²Cf. Hab 3:2.

²³PL 42, col. 1124.

²⁴ACO II. 1., p. 14, 18-19.

have shown that this letter's impiety is in harmony with Theodore's own heretical nonsense. Surely, anyone who maintains hope in the Divine Logos who was incarnate and became man, is justified in condemning both Theodore and this impious letter! But since you commend this impious letter which asserts that to say the Divine Logos himself took flesh and became man is to destroy the difference between the temple and the one who dwelled in the temple, you should understand that the holy Church of God rightly proclaims the difference of natures out of which the one Christ, our Lord and our God, is composed. But none of the holy fathers ever taught that the temple and the one who dwells in it are different [persons]; only the impious Nestorius and Theodore have said this because they wanted to introduce two *prosopa*.

Now, the divine Scriptures and the holy fathers used the word "temple" to indicate the body of the only-begotten Son of God as is related, for example, by the evangelist: "But he said this concerning the temple of his body."²⁵ No one said that there is a difference with respect to the one *prosopon* of Christ, as though there were one [*prosopon*] in another, but only [that there is a difference] of natures from which the one Christ is produced without confusion and without division.

So then, you who defend the impiety of this letter which denies that the Divine Logos himself became man have already clearly shown that you introduce two *prosopa* and that you conceive these in such a way that Christ is a mere man, even though the apostle said of the faithful: "You are the temple of God and the Holy Spirit of God dwells in you."²⁶ So, according to your error there is no difference between us men and Christ. The heretic Theodore, the teacher of this letter's author, says the same thing concerning the *prosopon* of Christ in his third chapter against the demented Apollinaris:

"For I, whom you see, am able to do nothing by

²⁵Jn 2:21.

²⁶1 Cor 3:16.

my own nature which is human, but I am able to act because the Father who made all things abides in me. For since I am in the Father and the Father is in me, and the only-begotten Divine Logos of God is in me, this means that the Father who is with him [the Divine Logos], also abides in me and performs the works [that I do]." It is not strange to think this of Christ, who clearly says he is as other men. "The one who loves me, will keep my Word [i.e. the Divine Logos] and My Father will love him and we will come to him and make our abode with him."²⁷ Now, if the Father and the Son make their abode with each individual, what is so strange if both [the Father and the Son] are thought to dwell in the same way in the Christ, who is the Lord in the flesh, when we admit the fellowship of essence, as is fitting, together with the joint ownership of the abode?²⁸

So then, if this impious Theodore has spoken like this, it is no surprise that one who has fallen away from God should be yoked together with Theodore's godless nonsense. The prophet Isaiah said concerning the godless: "The fool speaks foolishness and his heart imagines vain things."²⁹ For if Theodore affirms that the Father and the Son abide in Christ as in other men, and does not confess that Christ is the Divine Logos incarnate and that he became man, how can he say "according to the flesh" in reference to Christ? But the holy fathers, because they confessed that Christ is the Divine Logos incarnate and that he has become man, whenever they spoke of his humility properly added, "according to the flesh."

Even though the defenders of Theodore and his godlessness would do well to turn away from his great blasphemy, they have no shame, and so we will present other blasphemies of his in which he introduces two *prosopa*. He says this in

²⁷Jn 14:23.

²⁸*Against Apollinaris*, Book III.9; Latin and Greek text in H. B. Swete, *Theodori Episcopi Mopsuesteni in Epistolas B. Pauli Commentarii*, vol. 2, p. 317.

²⁹Is 32:6.

the fourth chapter of his treatise against Apollinaris where he condemns those who say that the Divine Logos who was before the ages in these last days became man:

"He who was before the ages," says [Apollinaris], "began to exist in these last days." However, contrary to the way in which these [followers of Apollinaris] have taken and explained this saying, no one who is a student of pious doctrine would be so demented as to say that he who was before the ages has begun to exist in these last days.³⁰

Further on, he says:

So then, if we obey the principle of conversion which you have so shrewdly constructed—which is more like a principle of subversion—then let us mix everything together so that they are the same and let no difference remain: neither the form of God nor the form of a servant; neither the temple that was assumed, nor the one who dwelled in the temple; neither the one who died, nor the one who raised him up; neither the one who was perfected by suffering, nor the one who perfected; neither the one who is remembered, nor the one who remembers; neither the one who was visited, nor the one who visited; neither the one who was made a little lower than the angels, nor the one who makes inferior; neither the one who has been crowned with glory and with honor, nor the one who crowns; neither the one who was constituted by the works of God's hand nor the one who constituted him; neither the one who received these things in subjection, nor the one who put [all things] in subjection [to him].³¹

Those who defend Theodore and this impious letter should be ashamed of the impieties and blasphemies we

³⁰*Against Apollinaris*, Book IV.3; Swete, p. 319.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 320.

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have exposed. Theodore shamelessly states many times that the Divine Logos and the Christ are different from one another: that the benefactor and the beneficiary are not the same, for the one saves and the other is saved. Clearly, he denies the salvation that has been granted to us by our great God and Savior Jesus Christ for how can the one who is himself the beneficiary or is himself saved by another, himself save [others]?

So then, whose body and blood do the defenders of such blasphemies think they receive: the beneficiary's or the benefactor's? But if it is that of the Divine Logos, the benefactor, how can they deny that he took flesh and became man? But if it is that of the beneficiary, then their hope is in vain since they worship a mere man: "For they have worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator."³² But all of us in the catholic Church confess that the Divine Logos, who is one of the Holy Trinity, was himself incarnate and became man; and we receive his body and blood for the forgiveness of our sins and for life everlasting as the Lord Himself said:

He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood will have life everlasting and I will raise him up on the last day. For my flesh is food indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me and I in him. Just as the Living Father sent me, and I live through the Father, so also he who eats me will live through me.³³

This is the confession of our faith.

Moreover, what this impious letter says of St Cyril's Twelve Chapters is full of lies. The [author] accuses him [St Cyril] of saying in his [Twelve] Chapters that there is one nature constituted of divinity and humanity in Christ, and for this reason, says the author, these [Twelve] Chapters are full of wickedness. When your teacher says, however, that this letter is full of impiety not because of the Twelve Chapters it contains, but because it speaks of one nature of

³²Rm 1:25.

³³Jn 6:54-57.

divinity and humanity, he is irresponsible, for this is an outright lie. One can demonstrate that St Cyril never said one nature of divinity and humanity, neither in his other writings, nor in this letter in which he submitted his Twelve Chapters, nor in the Twelve Chapters themselves. On the contrary, he taught that there is one *hypostasis* or *prosopon* of divinity and humanity in Christ.

This is what the holy Church of God proclaims and all the fathers have taught; they anathematized those who speak of one nature in Christ composed of divinity and humanity. Nature is different from *hypostasis* or *prosopon*: nature indicates what is commonly and generically predicated of all *prosopa*, whereas *hypostasis* or *prosopon* indicates the particular. Consequently, one never observes one *prosopon* in another.

But that this abominable letter says that the Twelve Chapters of St Cyril are full of impiety you can see for yourselves from its subsequent statements which clearly assert that these Twelve Chapters are contrary to the orthodox faith. In that this impious letter, allegedly written by Ibas, censures St Cyril as though he rejected any distinction of terms, you should understand that in this matter, too, both this letter's author and your teacher are liars.

When St Cyril taught us of our Lord Jesus Christ in his various works, he maintained the distinction of terms, both the exalted expressions that refer to the divinity, and the lowly expressions that refer to his humanity, and yet he referred all these expressions to the one Divine Logos who himself was incarnate. Moreover, St Cyril forbids that these terms be divided into different *prosopa*. But because you obviously wish to divide these terms into two *prosopa*, you therefore say that St Cyril denied any distinction of terms.

Your teacher also wishes to deceive you in this: he says that this same impious letter of Ibas is written against Apollinaris and should therefore be considered orthodox. Understand, however, that in this respect, too, he has lied. For, this letter was not written against Apollinaris, as we said before—on the other hand, even if what you say were true, this letter still could not be rescued from condemnation. Just because

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one heretic speaks against another heretic does not prove he is orthodox. Arius spoke against Sabellius, Apollinaris against Arius, and Eutyches against Nestorius. And yet, though they all held to a different error, none of them is considered orthodox simply because they refuted one another, but all alike are expelled from the catholic Church.

Be that as it may, it is clear that the author of this impious letter has introduced two *prosopa*, for he said: "How can the Logos who was in the beginning be assumed in the temple born of Mary?" These words clearly prove that he denies that the Divine Logos was incarnate and was born of the Holy Virgin Mary. Instead, he says the Christ was a mere man, calling him the temple. It is obvious, furthermore, that this abominable letter's author received his impiety from the teachings of Theodore, as is clear from what this impious Theodore has written in his third book against the heretic Apollinaris. He says:

But my friend, he who is God, and from God, and consubstantial to the Father, was united to him who was begotten of the Virgin, and to him who according to the divine Scriptures was formed by the Holy Spirit, and to him who received his constitution in the womb of the woman, as is fitting, since the temple of God received its being at the same time it was fashioned. But we should not be led to believe that God was born of the Virgin, unless we consider him who was begotten together with him who was in the one who was begotten: i.e., the temple and the Divine Logos who was in the temple.

Indeed, following your assertion, in no way should one declare that he who is God from God and consubstantial to the Father was begotten of the Virgin. For, if he is not man, as you say, then, even though he who was assumed was begotten of the Virgin, and God was incarnate, how is the one who was begotten declared to be God of God and consubstantial to the Father since we do not confess that the flesh is included in the term [consubstantial]? It

is madness to say that God was begotten of the Virgin, for this is to say nothing other than that he is of the seed of David, that he was born from the essence of the Virgin and that he was formed in her, since we say that what is of the seed of David and constituted of the essence of the Virgin and formed in the womb of his Mother by the power of the Holy Spirit was begotten of the Virgin.³⁴

Since Theodore blasphemes by affirming many times that he who is God from God and consubstantial to the Father could not be incarnate and begotten of the Virgin since the flesh is not consubstantial to the Father, surely those who defend this heretic should be ashamed! Whoever would promote this loathsome teaching opposes both the divine Scriptures and the holy fathers. It is clearly attested by all that from the beginning, when God established the Church in the true confession, all the priests of God have proclaimed that the Divine Logos of God was incarnate of the holy, glorious Virgin Mary, and that he took flesh endowed with a reasonable and intelligent soul, and he became man and was born of her. And yet, in teaching this they have not introduced the notion that divinity was changed into flesh nor have they denied that the Logos is consubstantial to the Father because of his flesh, as Theodore foolishly says, but they have taught that our Lord and God Jesus Christ is one and the same, consubstantial to the Father according to his divinity, and the same one consubstantial to us according to his humanity.

In the treatise we referred to above, this godless Theodore asserts this blasphemy:

The Divine nature was not begotten of the Virgin, but he who was constituted from the essence of the Virgin was born of the Virgin. The Divine Logos was not born of Mary, but he who is of the seed of David was born of Mary. The Divine Logos was not born of a woman, but he who was formed in her by the power of the Holy Spirit was born of the woman.

³⁴ *Against Apollinaris*, Book III.1; Swete, pp. 312-313.

He who is consubstantial to the Father was not born of the Mother, for he is without mother according to the word of the blessed Paul,³⁵ but in these last days he was formed in the womb of his Mother by the power of the Holy Spirit, and for that reason he is said to be without Father.³⁶

This impious Theodore shows in his statements a perverted understanding of the apostle's teaching. In his letter to the Hebrews the apostle says concerning the Lord: "First of all, by the translation of his name, this one is King of Righteousness, and then also King of Salem, which is King of Peace. Without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life."³⁷ Now, while the apostle speaks of one and the same who is "without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life," this impious Theodore says that he who is without Father is one [*prosopon*], and he who is without mother is another.

But let us refute the impiety of those who belong to this opinion from the doctrine of the holy fathers. St Gregory, Bishop of Nazianzus, says in his Oration on the Theophany:

Who will not worship the one who is from the beginning? Who will not glorify the one who is the last? Again the darkness is past; again Light is made; again Egypt is punished with darkness; again Israel is enlightened by a pillar. Let the people who sat in darkness of ignorance see the Great Light of full knowledge. Old things are passed away, and all things are become new. The letter gives way, the Spirit comes to the front. The shadows flee away, the truth comes in upon them. Melchizedek is concluded. He that was without mother becomes without father (without mother of his former state, without father of his second). The laws of nature are upset; the world

³⁵Cf. Heb 7:3.

³⁶*Against Apollinaris*, Book III.1; Swete, p. 313f.

³⁷Heb 7:2-3.

above must be filled. Christ commands, let us not set ourselves against him.³⁸

In his treatise concerning the Theotokos, St Proclus, Bishop of Constantinople, refers to this [same Scripture] passage, and says:

He who is by nature impassible has become passible on account of his mercy. Not from moral progress has Christ become God; assuredly not! But on account of his mercy God in whom we believe has become man. We do not preach a man who was deified, but we confess God who was incarnate. It is recorded that he who in his essence is without a mother and in his Economy without a father has made the [form of a] servant his own. How is the same one without mother and without father according to Paul? If he were a mere man he would not be without a mother for he has a mother. If he were only God he would not be without father for he has a Father. But now the same one is without mother as the Creator, and without father as created.³⁹

St Augustine says in his treatise in which he gives a commentary of the Creed:

We believe in His Son Jesus Christ who was begotten of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary. Why, O unbeliever, is this birth so amazing? Believe not if he who was begotten was only a man. But if the man was God, he was born because he desired it, since he was born as he desired. Marvel even more because the Logos took flesh and was not changed into flesh, for though he remained God, he became man. But why do you marvel that he who was born became his own creation, that the thing made begat the Maker?

³⁸Oration 38.II: English translation, cf. *NPNF* (2nd series) vol. 7, p. 345, col. a.

³⁹PG 65, col. 684.

For so the Most High preferred to be born in meekness that he might thereby demonstrate his greatness in humility.⁴⁰

These teachings come from the holy fathers. But the divine Scriptures, too, which the holy fathers followed, also clearly teach that the Divine Logos himself took flesh and was born of the Holy Virgin Mary and became man. We begin with the prophet Isaiah who says: "Behold the Virgin will conceive and she will bear a Son and they shall call his name 'Immanuel,' which translated means, 'God is with us.'" ⁴¹ David the prophet says in the 106th Psalm: "He sent forth His Word and he healed them and he delivered them from their corruptions."⁴² And the holy apostle Paul says: "But when the fullness of time had come, God sent forth His Son, born of a woman, born under the Law, in order that he might redeem those who were under the Law, in order that we might receive adoption as sons."⁴³

With such witnesses, who would be so foolish and rash as to say that a man was in the heavens and that he was sent forth in order to be born of a woman under the Law? Before the Incarnation of the Logos men were under the Law. The Divine Logos himself, however, the only-begotten Son of God, was not under the Law. Rather, he who had given the Law was sent by the Father and was born of a woman and came under the Law in order to redeem us who were under the Law that we might receive adoption as sons. So if he who was born of a woman was not truly and properly Son of God, as the author of this impious letter and the heretic Theodore vainly imagine, how could he grant to us adoption as sons?

In this regard, this impious letter contains the statement that the Scripture passage, "having made him a little lower than the angels,"⁴⁴ cannot refer to the divinity of the Only-begotten. You also have expressed your opinion that this is correctly stated, maintaining that this can be said of man, but

⁴⁰PL 42, col. 1122.

⁴¹Is 7:14.

⁴²Ps 106:20.

⁴³Gal 4:5.

⁴⁴Ps 8:6.

not of the Divine Logos who was incarnate. So, from what Theodore himself has said in the fourth book of his work against Apollinaris, we will make it clear that the author of this letter has blasphemed in this respect also, having taught the same godlessness as the heretic Theodore. [Theodore's fourth book] contains this:

Now the blessed Paul plainly reveals that the man concerning whom the prophet said these things is the man who was assumed by the Only-begotten. For after he says: "But one has testified somewhere saying, What is man that you remember him, or the son of man that you visit him? For you have made him a little lower than the angels, crowning him with glory and with honor and hast appointed him over the works of thy hands; you have put all things in subjection under his feet,"⁴⁵ he then goes on to say, "But we see him who has been made for a little while lower than the angels, namely, Jesus who because of the suffering of death was crowned with glory and honor."⁴⁶ This clearly shows that the man Jesus, concerning whom the blessed David spoke, was amazed that the divine nature would remember him, for he was a creature, and [that the divine nature] would consider him who for a little while was made a little lower than the angels worthy of his own visitation when he made him taste of death, and would clothe him with honor and with glory, so that the Lord should manifest [him] in all things through his conjunction with him.⁴⁷

This impious Theodore says again of the same passage in his commentary on the eighth Psalm:

Therefore, the Psalmist shows us this difference between God the Logos and the man who was as-

⁴⁵Heb 2:6-8.

⁴⁶Heb 2:9.

⁴⁷C. *Apoll.* IV.4; Swete, p. 320f.

sumed. And we will find them separated also in the New Covenant when the Lord refers the first part of the Psalm to himself, wherein the Psalmist says that he is the Creator of the creation, that he is glorified and exalted high above heaven, and that he is marvelled at by all the earth. But the apostle refers the latter part to the man, that is Jesus, who was deemed worthy to receive such a beneficial deed. Surely it is clear that the divine Scriptures plainly teach us that the Divine Logos and the man are not the same, since they indicate to us the great difference between them! For he who remembers, and he who is deemed worthy of being remembered are not the same, as also he who visits, and he who is deemed worthy of this blessing. Again, he who makes a little lower than the angels is one [*prosopon*], while he who is made a little lower than the angels is another; and he who crowns with glory and with honor is different from him who receives the blessing of being crowned. And the one who appoints the other over all the works of his hands and subjects all things under his feet is different from him who is deemed worthy to be ruler of those things over which he formerly did not possess authority.

The impious Theodore and this abominable letter blaspheme together in these matters, for they both clearly say that the Divine Logos and the Christ are not the same. And you who have written that the passage. "He was made for a little while lower than the angels," refers to the man and not to the Divine Logos incarnate follow them. While you ought to believe that every man is inferior to the angels, this passage refers to the only-begotten Son of God. For although he is God, he deemed it worthy to become man and to submit himself to our weakness, which the apostle teaches us when he says: "But we see Jesus who was made for a little while lower than the angels, because of the suffering of death crowned with glory and honor."⁴⁸ If then, as you say, it was Jesus who was for a little while lower than the angels and

⁴⁸Heb 2:9.

the Divine Logos is someone else who was not made lower, then surely the Christ is only a man who endured the Passion and the apostle, according to you, will be a liar when he says: "For if they had known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory."⁴⁹ For who is the Lord of glory if not the Divine Logos incarnate whom the Jews did not acknowledge as God when they said: "Why do you, a mere man, make yourself to be God?"⁵⁰ This is precisely what your teacher has said in his evil commentary, following the Jews rather than our God.

To confirm your view of [Cyril's Twelve] Chapters, you go on to assert that the apostle's words which say, "While existing in the form of God he emptied himself and assumed the form of a servant,"⁵¹ agree with your interpretation in that they refer not to the Divine Logos incarnate but to the man only. But though you have affirmed, in accordance with the error of the heretics, that the apostle was speaking of the man when he said, "He emptied himself," it is clear, at least to men of sound doctrine, that the apostle means the Divine Logos emptied himself. For, even though he was in the form of God, that is in the divine nature, he deemed it worthy to take the form of a servant; and the form of a servant means the human nature, which the Divine Logos took from the Virgin, and in her womb he united the human nature to his own *hypostasis*. He was not united to a man already in existence, as the impiety of Nestorius and Theodore which has been handed down to their followers asserts. For Nestorius said that the Divine Logos was joined to a man born of Mary, and Theodore said he was united as is fitting to the one who was born.

Other statements of the apostle teach us that the Scripture passages, "He was made a little lower than the angels," and, "He emptied himself and assumed the form of a servant," refer to the Divine Logos. For example, he says: "For you know the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that for us he who was wealthy became poor, in order that we might be

⁴⁹1 Cor 2:8.

⁵⁰Jn 10:33.

⁵¹Phil 2:6-7.

made rich by his poverty."⁵² Who would dare to say that a man was wealthy and became poor in order that we might be made rich?

But you maintain that if anyone says the incarnate Divine Logos, the only-begotten Son of God, was made inferior or emptied himself, he thereby effects a change in the divine nature in accordance with the impiety of Apollinaris, or else he introduces passibility into the divine nature in accordance with the madness of Arius. In that case, the Word of the Gospel provides us with a most suitable response to you: "You err for you do not know the Scriptures nor do you trust in the power of God."⁵³ How do you explain these words of the Lord: "No one has gone up into heaven except he who came down from heaven, the Son of Man, who is in the heavens"?⁵⁴ Will you say that a man has come down from heaven? But it has already been made clear that the Divine Logos emptied himself and came down from heaven and took flesh from the holy Theotokos and ever-Virgin Mary and became man and was born of her, and that he who came down is the same one who ascended, and that the being made inferior and the self-emptying refer to him because of his descent.

But inasmuch as the Lord also said in another Gospel passage, "My Father is greater than me,"⁵⁵ do you think that some man said this of himself, and that it was not the Divine Logos become man who said these things? Is it not clear that he who said, "My Father is greater than me," also said, "I and the Father are one"?⁵⁶ Now in saying, "I and the Father are one," he reveals the equality he has with the Father according to his divine nature; and in saying, "My Father is greater than me," he means that he became inferior for our sakes according to the Economy. Both the equality and the inferiority refer to one and the same [*prosopon*], our Lord and God Jesus Christ, the Divine Logos incarnate.

⁵²2 Cor 8:9.

⁵³Mt 22:29.

⁵⁴Jn 3:13.

⁵⁵Jn 14:28.

⁵⁶Jn 10:30.

The Arians interpreted this wickedly and denied that the Son is consubstantial to the Father because of those expressions that refer to his humility, and on this basis they maintain that he is inferior [by nature]. But you, because you do not want to admit these lowly things of the Divine Logos incarnate, add another *prosopon* to the Trinity in accordance with the godlessness of Theodore and Nestorius. Now, even though we say that both exaltation and humiliation refer to one and the same Divine Logos incarnate, our Lord Jesus Christ, we do not therefore introduce a confusion or division of natures, for which reason we confess one composite *hypostasis* of our Lord and God Jesus Christ, neither do we add a fourth *prosopon* to the Holy Trinity. But the holy fathers and teachers of the Church who have interpreted this passage have taught us that these words, "Having made him a little lower than the angels," as we have already stated, refer to the only-begotten Divine Logos incarnate. St Cyril says the following in his letter to Basilides:

Why was the One whom they worshipped made a little lower than the angels? Ah, but the reason is clear. He stooped down and entered into the restrictions of human nature and, taking a body mortal by nature, he made it his own and by his own intention suffered in it. Through his Passion he crowned [it] with the glories from above and in it he condemned death and rendered corruption impotent, and made [the human nature] to exist in Life incorruptible. Therefore, when it says that he was named Jesus and was made lower than the angels, this does not refer to a particular individual man, but we understand that the Only-begotten himself freely relinquished his superiority to the holy angels, that he was truly man, and became inferior to their splendor. For the superiority of the angels consists in their being incorporeal and immortal, whereas the Son freely emptied himself and came to exist under [human] conditions. And yet, he who for a little while was lower than the angels, existing in the restrictions of human nature,

is worshipped by them in the splendor of his Godhead, and he is established on the throne around which the angels stand, glorifying him forever, and proclaiming him the Lord of powers.⁵⁷

St Cyril asserted again that the emptying belongs to the Divine Logos incarnate when he responded to the refutations Theodoret had made against the fourth [of his Twelve] Chapter[s]. He says:

That the entire human condition belonged for a little while to the Logos, who by nature is from the divine essence, is affirmed without any hesitation. Let us examine whose was the emptying; and let us consider who endured it by his own will. If, as some say, it is the form of a servant or the one who is of the seed of David, how did he empty himself if he was taken up by God? But if it is said that the Logos, who is in the form of God and is equal to God the Father, emptied himself, again how has he emptied himself if we deny that the emptying belonged to him? But to speak of his human [attributes] as a result of his economic union with the flesh, does not mean that when the Divine Logos experienced the emptying he underwent some kind of change [in nature].⁵⁸

Again, St Cyril says in his treatise against Nestorius:

"Did the blessed Paul therefore deceive those who are sanctified through faith when he very clearly said of the Only-begotten: 'Being rich, he was made poor for our sakes'?"⁵⁹ Of course not! For certainly the preacher of truth is true. But let them examine this passage with us to ascertain who is wealthy and in what manner he made himself poor. If, according to what these have dared to think and say, it was a man

⁵⁷ACO I. 1. 5, p. 29, 31-30,9.

⁵⁸ACO I.1.6, p. 125, 14-22.

⁵⁹2 Cor 8:9.

assumed by God, how will he who is assumed be made poor and, since he has been glorified, how will he be adorned with honors beyond nature? Or, if this is not true, then they misrepresent the assumption as though the measure of humanity has been brought down to what is lower and more shameful. But away with such thoughts! Without doubt, he who was assumed was not made poor. We must maintain, therefore, that he who is rich as God became poor for us.⁶⁰

St Gregory the Theologian speaks in the same way in his Oration on the Theophany:

He came forth then as God with that which he had assumed, one [Person] in two different [natures], flesh and spirit, one which deified, the other which was deified. O new mixture, O wondrous commingling! He who is has come into being, he who is uncreated, and he who is uncontained is contained by the intervention of an intellectual soul, mediating between the Deity and the corporeity of the flesh. And he who was rich became poor; for he became poor for my cleansing, in order that I might assume the riches of his Godhead. He who is full empties himself, for he was emptied of his own glory for a little while, in order that I might partake of his fullness.⁶¹

In his commentary on the apostle's statement, "Though he existed in the form of God he emptied himself and took the form of a servant," St Athanasius says:

What could be more clear and more easily proved than this? For he did not become superior from inferiority, but rather, existing in the form of God he took the form of a servant and in this taking he did not become more superior, but he humbled himself.⁶²

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 138, 15-27.

⁶¹Oration 38.XIII; English translation also in *NPNF* (2nd series), vol. 7, p. 349, col. a.

⁶²*Contra Arian*. 1.40; PG 26, col. 93.

He continues: "And what does this mean but that the Son who is in the form of God and who is truly begotten of the Father humbled himself and became a servant in our place for our sakes?"⁶³ And further on, he says: "The Word became flesh and this man is said to be from heaven and heavenly⁶⁴ because the Word has come down from heaven."⁶⁵

St Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, also speaks like this in his third book against Eunomius:

We have believed these things concerning the one who was crucified and we do not desist on account of this from highly exalting [him] according to the measure of our ability, because He who by reason of his unspeakable and unapproachable greatness is not comprehensible by any, save by himself and the Father and the Holy Spirit, he, I say, was able even to descend to community with our weakness. But they adduce this proof of the Son's alienation in nature from the Father, that the Lord was manifested by the flesh and by the Cross, arguing on the ground that the Father's nature remained pure in impassibility, and could not in any way admit of a community which tended to passion, while the Son, by reason of the divergence of His nature by way of humiliation, was not incapable of being brought to experience the flesh and death.⁶⁶

In another place he says:

For this is why the Cross is said to be the Cross of the Lord of glory, and why every tongue confesses that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.⁶⁷ But if we are to discuss the other points in the same way, let us consider what it is that dies, and what it is that destroys death; what it is that is re-

⁶³Ibid., 43; col. 101.

⁶⁴1 Cor 15:47.

⁶⁵*Contra Arian.* 1.44; PG 26, col. 104.

⁶⁶The reference in fact is to *contra Eunomius* V.3; cf. *NPNF* (2nd series) vol. 5, p. 177, col. a.

⁶⁷1 Cor 2:8.

newed, and what it is that empties itself. 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.⁶⁸

These doctrines of the holy fathers are set forth for your edification so that you might realize that what the Arians, the Nestorians, and you have proposed slanders our Lord and God Jesus Christ. The Arians are anxious to prove that the Son is a creature and of a different essence than the Father, and they attribute the Passion and the other instances of humility to his Godhead alone. But the Nestorians wish to introduce two sons and say that the Divine Logos is separate from the Christ who is only a man and they attribute the instances of humility to his humanity alone. But this is not how the holy fathers taught. They do not say that the Godhead of the Son was changed because of the humiliation, nor do they divide the humanity from the Godhead because of his exaltation, but they have handed down to us that both the exaltation and the humiliation are of one and the same only-begotten Word of God who was incarnate and became man.

Moreover, since you have maintained in your chapters from the same letter that he [Ibas] spoke rightly of two natures, one power, and one *prosopon*, we must refute this evil, too, of the one who wrote this letter. For if he does not confess that the Divine Logos himself was incarnate of the Virgin and became man, to whom does he say the two natures belong? We have already shown that he believes the two natures correspond to *prosopa*, as Nestorius and Theodore, whom this impious letter praises, also believed. The letter seems to say one *prosopon* and one son. But Theodore and Nestorius also said this, saying that the Christ is only a man joined to the *prosopon* of the Divine Logos and that he possesses the dignity and honor of the Divine Logos, as well as the grace of adoption, and that he is worshipped in his place. And for this reason when they say one son and one *prosopon* of the Logos and of the Christ they mean that they

⁶⁸C. Eun., V.5; NPNF (2nd series) vol. 5, p. 181, col. a.

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share the Sonship in name only. This is clearly shown from the fact that the letter says one power of two natures, as you yourselves have written. It does not say one power in reference to different natures, but in reference to different *prosopa*, which we confess in reference to the Holy Trinity. And so, the holy fathers also anathematized those who say that the manhood is united to the Logos either according to power, or dignity, or authority, or relation, or honor, and who do not confess that the union of two natures has been accomplished *hypostatically*.

The impious Theodore himself shows in his fourth book against the heretic Apollinaris that those who are of the mind of Nestorius, whose unbelieving forefather is Theodore, interpret the phrase one *prosopon* to mean a moral union of *prosopa* and that they understand the term natures in a wicked manner, saying *prosopa* instead [of natures], even though the holy fathers spoke properly of the difference of the two natures. Theodore writes this:

Indeed, the difference of the natures is demonstrated to us quite sufficiently from these considerations: if the one is amazed because [the other's] surpassing mercy remembers him and visits him who is so lowly, the other [nature] considers him blessed because he is deemed worthy of these things. In this way, the divine Scripture reveals to us the division and distinction of natures that is made between the nature that assumed, and the nature that was assumed. But since it is also concerned to show us the union that takes place between the one who is assumed and the one who assumes, it often speaks of each of the natures that have come together in union separately, in order to disclose to us the union of the nature that was assumed with the nature that assumed, and the conjunction that has taken place between them.⁶⁹

However, having shown that this godless Theodore speaks of natures instead of *prosopa*, we will refute him further by

⁶⁹*Against Apollinaris* IV.5; Swete, p. 321.

presenting an even greater blasphemy of his in which he shows what sort of union he means, and this will further condemn his defenders. In his eighth chapter on the Incarnation he says this:

Moreover, it is quite evident also that the notion of union is thoroughly congruous, for by means of it the natures which are brought together produce one *prosopon* according to the union. Thus, when the Lord says of man and woman, "Wherefore they are no longer two, but one flesh"⁷⁰ we may say, in accordance with the logic of union, "They are no longer two persons but one," even though, obviously, the natures are distinct. Just as in the example of marriage the mention of unity of flesh is not contradicted by the duality of subjects, so in the case of Christ the prosopic union is not destroyed by the distinction of natures. When we distinguish the natures, we speak of the nature of God the Word as complete and of his *prosopon* as complete (for there is no *hypostasis* without its *prosopon*). Moreover, the nature of the man is complete, and likewise his *prosopon*. But when we consider the union, then we speak of one *prosopon*.⁷¹

Although it is terrible to say such things to christians, nevertheless we beseech God to show mercy on us. Because of the madness of those who defend Theodore and this impious letter we must submit these things to prove that this abominable letter is full of all Theodore's impious teachings.

We have directed all these things against the contents of your chapters in which you zealously defend this impious letter and revive the wicked notions of Theodore and Nestorius whose godlessness this letter [of Ibas] commends. But you have also omitted many things contained in this impious letter written to the heretic Maris, not daring to insert them into your own chapters lest the christian people should learn

⁷⁰Mt 19:6.

⁷¹*On the Incarnation* VIII, frg. 7; English translation also in Norris, p. 120.

from them what impiety you defend. Therefore, we find it necessary to bring forth these passages as well, which we shall do by means of a brief summary.

Among the passages you have omitted from that impious letter is the following:

Cyril cast a spell on all the bishops assembled at the Synod of Ephesus, blinding the sight of the wise, taking as a pretext his hatred of Nestorius. Consequently, the Synod at Ephesus deposed Nestorius from the episcopate without trial or examination

The same letter also contains this statement:

Although Cyril's Twelve Chapters were opposed to the orthodox faith, the bishops assembled at Ephesus submitted to them and confirmed them, and agreed that they were in harmony with the true faith. And Nestorius was unable to return to his own city because he was hated there even by the high officials.

The author of this impious letter, in addition to defending and praising the heretics throughout the letter, also censures the Orthodox. In this impious letter it says of the blessed Rabboula, Bishop of Edessa, a man of distinction among bishops whose memory causes marvel even to this day:

The Ruler of our city, whom he did not recognize, used the faith as a pretext not only to persecute those who were living with him, but also those who had just departed to the Lord. One of these was the blessed Theodore, preacher of the truth and teacher of the Church, who rebuked the heretics not only by his faith during his life, but also by his books which he left to the children of the Church as spiritual weapons, as even your piety knows since you spoke with him, and came to believe through his writings. He who dared to anathematize all the illustrious men in the Church, dared [to anathematize] even this man [i.e., Theodore].

Moreover, in order to slander St Cyril this impious letter contains this:

The heart of the Egyptian was appeased, and he consented to the orthodox faith without trouble. And because they were ashamed of having attacked the living and the dead in such a disorderly manner, they sought a defense for their blunderings and taught what was in contradiction to what they had taught before, namely that one must confess the temple and him who dwelt in it.

We hasten to set the contents of this letter before you so that, though it is late, you might still depart from this wicked teaching and choose the teachings of Orthodoxy. The impiety of this abominable letter is such that not even you have dared to incorporate the whole of its contents into the chapters you sent, and you gave a distorted interpretation to what you did put in. Who can be numbered among christians if he denies the impiety of this letter when it contains so many blasphemies? It is quite clear that he who would defend this letter, which calls St Cyril a heretic and rejects the first Synod of Ephesus, receives the impiety of Nestorius whom the letter states was expelled without trial or examination, and was forbidden to return not because of his doctrines, but because he was hated by the members of the Church.

Not only does the defender of this impious letter err in this regard, but he also censures Pope Celestine who said of Cyril: "The faith of Cyril is our faith." In addition, whoever says that the Twelve Chapters of St Cyril are contrary to the true faith condemns not only St Cyril, Celestine of blessed memory, and the first Council of Ephesus, but also the Council of Chalcedon which looked to Cyril as its father and teacher, as well as St Leo, Pope of Rome, who, when he wrote to the Synod in Chalcedon, said of St Cyril's Twelve Chapters: "Let the definition [of faith] that Cyril of holy memory sent to Nestorius stand firm."

And yet, though this abominable letter is full of impiety it cannot conceal this one fact: that this Theodore who blas-

phemed more than any heretic, whom this detestable letter calls "teacher of the Church" and "preacher of the truth," was anathematized by men of piety and sound doctrine both in the Church and after his death. We have already shown you at least some of Theodore's blasphemies in another letter, in which we also presented the things the holy fathers Cyril, Proclus, and Rabboula wrote against Theodore and his profane ideas when they condemned him together with his impious teachings. For such are the blasphemies of Theodore that not even you have dared to defend them, even though you defend their expositor for it is clear that no one who condemns these wicked writings can defend their expositor unless he has repented and left his error also, and likewise condemns them.

Along with the other slanders against St Cyril contained in this letter this too is added: that he was ashamed and repented and taught what was opposed to his original teachings. Such statements show the author of this letter to be a complete fool. Where has St Cyril presented anything in opposition to his original teaching, or where does he show a change of mind? How did the holy Synod of Chalcedon look to him as its father if, according to what this letter says, he repented of [his former teachings]? One who changes his mind is not numbered with the teachers [of the Church], but he is received as one who has turned from his error.

Finally, the one who wrote this letter states that one must confess the temple and the one who dwelt in the temple. The true faith, however, utterly renounces anything that would approach this letter's impiety and anyone who would defend it. The catholic Church confesses one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God and does not teach us to confess our faith in the temple and in the one who dwelt in the temple. This is what is given to those worthy of holy Baptism: to confess belief in one God the Father almighty, and in one Lord Jesus Christ his only-begotten Son and in one Holy Spirit; not to confess belief in two sons or two Christs. Precisely this is what the letter to Maris the Persian means when it says that one must confess the temple and

the one who dwelt in the temple, which results in the introduction of a fourth *prosopon* into the Holy Trinity.

And so, all that we have said proves that whoever commends or defends this impious letter is outside the orthodox faith. But since you say that St Cyril was received by the Orientals because he explained his Chapters, we are not surprised that you are deceived by the chapters you sent since you are ignorant also of the writings of the first Synod of Ephesus. St Celestine, the first Synod of Ephesus, St Leo and the holy Synod of Chalcedon all received and confirmed St Cyril's chapters as they were and none of them sought any explanation. The occasion for their interpretation did not arise because of those of sound doctrine, but because of the heretics who defended Nestorius who had written against them.

What you say is true: neither the holy Gospels, nor the apostles, nor the other divine Scriptures are received unless the holy fathers have explained them. However, you should be ashamed for saying that the Orientals who defended Nestorius received St Cyril when he explained his Chapters. For the facts are quite the reverse: the apostolic seat of Rome and St Cyril received into communion the Oriental bishops who had condemned Nestorius and his impious doctrines, so that St Sixtus, Pope of Rome, writing on behalf of his own synod to St Cyril, commended Cyril's efforts that had led to union with the other [bishops], and he said: "The brethren have returned to us, to us who, out of concern for the public welfare, have driven away this sickness for the healing of souls."

He went on to say:

Rejoice, beloved brethren, and exult with us over the winning of the brethren who have been restored. The Church seeks after those whom it cuts off. For if we desire that not one of the little ones should perish, how much more ought we to rejoice over the healing of their leaders? We read that one sheep causes great joy when it returns; we should therefore consider how much joy shepherds cause when they

return. We see them in the midst of each flock, and so in this instance, the affair has not so much pursued the health of one as it has accomplished the health of many.

In the same letter he says:

We rejoice in the fact that your holiness has now proclaimed the priest of the church of Antioch a most pious man and lord; and it is fitting that he should be called "lord" for he has acknowledged our common Lord and he confesses with us the mystery of his Incarnation in words befitting sound doctrine.

And again he says:

The tribulations of those who proclaim the faith are a votive offering for all. For a rich reward with the blessed has been prepared in heaven for those who are commanded to endure patiently violence, persecutions, and every evil. Falsehood endures so that you might cause the truth to conquer. And for this reason one must rise up against error, that no one may be lost to the truth.

And again: "The holy brethren with me have written these things to your piety, for they have received you in everything and have confirmed your labors which are not hard or bitter because they are laid upon him whose light burden and easy yoke we bear."

St Sixtus wrote these words to St Cyril with respect to the Orientals. But because of your lack of understanding you have said that the condemnation of the impious letter to Maris has damaged the reputation of the holy Synod of Chalcedon. We ask you, by what reasoning do you dare to write this? Do you think the definition of the holy Synod of Chalcedon contains anything similar to this impious letter? May Christians never admit such a thing! Understand that everything contained in this impious letter and in the writings of Theodore opposes the definition of faith that was given

at the Synod of Chalcedon. For Theodore and this letter say that the Divine Logos is other than the Christ, but the holy Synod of Chalcedon says that our one Lord Jesus Christ is the Divine Logos who without change was incarnate and became man. This letter and Theodore do not confess that the Divine Logos was incarnate of the holy, glorious Theotokos and ever-Virgin Mary, whereas the holy Fathers assembled in council at Chalcedon confessed that the Holy Virgin Mary is Theotokos.

The impious Theodore and this abominable letter say that there are two *prosopa* that form one *prosopon* in a moral union, while the Synod affirms the *hypostatic* union of two natures, and proclaim one *prosopon* or *hypostasis* of Christ the only-begotten Word of God. In addition, this impious letter condemns the first Synod of Ephesus and St Cyril and calls his Chapters impious, whereas it commends and defends Nestorius and Theodore. The Synod of Chalcedon, however, followed in every respect the first Synod of Ephesus and confirmed Cyril as father and teacher, and submitted to his synodal letter that contains the Twelve Chapters; but it condemned the impious Nestorius, and in connection with this it censured the judaizing symbol fabricated by Theodore that was condemned also at the first Synod of Ephesus. And at the Synod of Chalcedon itself, after [the symbol of Theodore] was presented, it condemned also the one who wrote it.

The holy Synod of Chalcedon presented these things in its definitions. It made no innovation concerning the orthodox faith, but in every respect it followed the confession of faith which our Lord gave through the holy apostles, which the holy apostles proclaimed, which the 318 fathers handed down to the churches of God, and which the 150 fathers confirmed when they plainly explained matters pertaining to the divinity of the Holy Spirit. The fathers who assembled together at the first Synod of Ephesus also adhered to it, and the holy Synod in Chalcedon anathematized anyone who should hand down a symbol or definition of the faith other than the one given by the 318 holy fathers.

And so, since we possess the Truth, you should henceforth understand who it is that rightly defends the holy Synod

at Chalcedon: whether the one who shows that it fully conforms to everything laid down in the teachings of the holy fathers, or the one who desires to attach to it the impious words of the heretics. One cannot receive with a pure conscience or sincere intent the first Synod of Ephesus, the holy fathers Celestine, Cyril, and Leo, and the definition of the Synod in Chalcedon if he also receives this abominable letter to Maris which is utterly opposed to them. For who can receive the teachers of the Church together with those who teach what is opposed to them? Or who can receive the orthodox with the heretics, or those who condemn with those who are condemned? But now, so that you might understand more perfectly the events that took place because of Ibas and Theodoret, we consider it necessary to explain the following to you.

An Account of Ibas' Trial at the Council of Chalcedon

You should know that at different times, because of the impiety of Theodore and Nestorius contained in this letter, and because of the slanders directed against St Cyril and his chapters, Ibas was denounced by the most pious King Theodosius, and by St Proclus, Archbishop of Constantinople, and by various archbishops of Antioch. Finally, the judgment that had been prompted against Ibas by Photius, Bishop of Tyre, and Eustathius, Bishop of Beirut, who accused Ibas in matters pertaining to the faith and for slanders against St Cyril, was rendered by the king himself and by Flavian who, after Proclus, was the holy Archbishop of Constantinople. But Ibas answered in his own defense that he had written nothing slanderous against him [St Cyril] after the union between St Cyril and the Orientals had taken place; but this abominable letter that was produced by his accusers itself showed clearly that it had been written after the union.

So then, by his own assertion it is proved that Ibas denied [he had written] this letter. When the bishops saw the impiety of this letter, even though Ibas did not confess it to be his own, nevertheless with one accord they published a decree

against the impieties it contained. Then they enjoined Ibas to anathematize those whom this impious letter defended, namely Nestorius and his impious teachings and those who defend him. Then they commanded him to receive the 318 holy fathers, and [to confess] that just as the 318 holy fathers had gathered together under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, so also had [the fathers of] the first Synod of Ephesus which this impious letter mocked together with St Cyril and his Twelve Chapters. But since Ibas refused to do what had been decreed by the judges, he was expelled from the episcopate.

Later, when the holy Synod of Chalcedon was convened, Ibas was neither called nor was he present as bishop, for Nonnus had already been appointed in his place and had been called to the holy Synod in Chalcedon. But after the definition of faith had been given, Ibas came in and asked that the lawsuit brought against him, on account of which he had been expelled from the episcopate, be examined and he produced the decree of Proclus and Eustathius. When this had been read, those who had accused him came in and presented the proceedings of Tyre in which was contained this same impious letter. When they began to read this letter, since Ibas knew that if he confessed it to be his own he would be condemned because of its impiety, he stopped the reading of the proceedings and said: "Order the acts of the clerics of Edessa to be read, in order that you might learn from them that I am a stranger to the charges brought against me." So, when they had read them, the bishops understood the decree of Photius and Eustathius and the accusation that had been laid against Ibas. So they demanded that he do what had been decreed by Photius and Eustathius and that he receive and subscribe to the definition which this holy Synod had published, through which he would receive the first Synod of Ephesus as well as St Cyril and his teaching, both of which, as we said, that abominable letter had slandered.

From these records it is clearly shown that the holy Synod of Chalcedon did all these things to prepare Ibas for the condemnation and refutation of that impious letter. We

A Letter on the Three Chapters

marvel, then, that you would defend this abominable letter when not even Ibas himself dared to defend it as his own, neither in Tyre, nor later at the holy Synod of Chalcedon. Indeed, he even supplied himself with the writings of the clerics of Edessa and the judgment of Photius and Eustathius in order to escape the charges brought against him on account of that impious letter.

But in addition to all of these other things which you have interpreted so perversely, you have distorted the meaning of Eunomius' discourse concerning Ibas, maintaining that it was composed on behalf of this impious letter. You state that this same discourse indicates that whereas Ibas slanders St Cyril in the beginning of the letter, he corrected himself in its conclusion. It is clear, however, that the discourse of Eunomius refers not to this impious letter, but to the statements made by Photius and Eustathius in Tyre concerning Ibas. At these proceedings Ibas clearly confessed, as we have said above, that while he and the other Eastern bishops had disparaged St Cyril before when they were separated from one another, after their union he said nothing to disparage St Cyril. On the basis of this confession Eunomius composed his discourse seeing that in the beginning Ibas slandered St Cyril, but later defended himself by maintaining that after the union he had made no insults against St Cyril. But no one will doubt that this impious so-called letter of Ibas is filled from beginning to end with all manner of irreverence and insults against Cyril.

Nor is there reason to believe that Eunomius attacked the first part of the letter as evil and commended its conclusion which is even more severe. No intelligent person would believe that one would commend and disparage [St Cyril] in the same letter. So if anyone dares to maintain that the discourse of Eunomius is based not on Ibas' statements at [the proceedings] in Tyre, but that it agrees with the text of this impious letter, he is not in conformity with the truth but as a heretic he hastens to heap abuse on the fathers.

Moreover, we marvel also that you continue to write that the Chapters of St Cyril are obscure; yet you commend this impious letter and receive it as though it were filled with the

Holy Spirit. It is clear that these statements you offer are the work of an evil spirit and do not come from the Holy Spirit for you have called the fathers and teachers of the Church obscure, and yet have perversely praised this letter's evil doctrine. It is appropriate to direct to you and those who share your opinion concerning the holy fathers the word of the holy apostle Peter who said of St Paul's letters that were understood in a perverse manner: "The untaught and unstable distort, as they do also with the rest of the Scriptures, to their own destruction."⁷² Consequently, to you who understand things in a perverse manner, whatever is set forth by the teachers of the Church and the divine Scripture seems obscure.

Now, while in some books you will find a minute account of the events surrounding Ibas and this impious letter, you should know that the acts containing this impious letter are not included in the authentic acts to which the bishops subscribed, for authentic copies have been given to the most holy churches of Rome, of Constantinople, and to our blessed Palatium. Since this impious letter is proved from every quarter to be full of every impiety, and contrary to the definitions of the holy Synod of Chalcedon, those who maintain that it was received at the holy Synod of Chalcedon are anxious not only to defend their own wicked doctrines, but also to attach insult to that holy Synod. For what was accepted and ratified in the name of the holy Synod is contained in its definition of the faith.

Theodoret at Chalcedon

Furthermore, we want you to know that after the definition of the holy Synod of Chalcedon had been drawn up, Theodoret too, in that he had written against the Twelve Chapters of St Cyril and had defended the wicked teachings of Nestorius, was ordered to anathematize Nestorius and his impiety and to confess that the holy, glorious, and ever-Virgin Mary was Theotokos before he was received. For this reason, then, neither Ibas nor Theodoret are considered as

⁷²² Pt 3:16.

teachers and fathers, but as men who repented and anathematized those wicked teachings that were the cause of their being accused. When they received the definition of the Synod of Chalcedon and subscribed to it they were received, since it is the custom in the catholic Church that when heretics have left all their error and have returned to the orthodox faith they are received into communion, but they are not reckoned by the fathers as teachers. In the same way, the other Oriental bishops who had defended Nestorius and who had spoken against the first Synod of Ephesus and St Cyril, because they subsequently anathematized Nestorius and his wicked teaching, they too were received by the Apostolic Seat in Rome and by St Cyril, and for that reason the holy Church of God also receives them.

We want you to know this as well: not only were Ibas and Theodoret expelled from the episcopate because they spoke against the Twelve Chapters of St Cyril, but Domnus, Archbishop of Antioch, was censured simply because he had written that one ought to keep silent concerning Cyril's Twelve Chapters. And the Synod in Chalcedon received and confirmed the condemnation against Domnus that had taken place even after his death. Theodoret himself testifies to the truth of this in his letter to John, the Bishop of Germanicus:

Why in the world do they openly lie and deny that any innovation has been introduced into our doctrine? On account of what murders and witchcrafts have I been expelled? What adulteries did the man commit? What tombs did the man violate? It is perfectly clear even to outsiders that it was for doctrine that I and the rest were expelled. Why, the lord Domnus, too, because he would not accept the Chapters, was deposed by these excellent persons who called them admirable and confessed that they abided by them. I had read their propositions, and they rejected me as the font of heresy.⁷³

These statements show, then, that it was on account of

⁷³Ep 147; English translation cf. *NPNF* (2nd series) vol. 3, p. 323, col. a.

St Cyril's Twelve Chapters directed against Nestorius that Domnus and Theodoret and Ibas and others were expelled. But when Theodoret and Ibas and the others had repented and received these Chapters, on account of which they had been expelled, they were received by the holy Synod of Chalcedon; but others who did not repent were not received, and Domnus' condemnation was confirmed even after his death.

*Theodore's Condemnation and the Legitimacy of
Posthumous Anathematisms.*

You wrote that you anathematize the blasphemies of Theodore that we sent you, or whoever they may be, but you hesitate to anathematize Theodore himself since before he died he was in communion with the Church, or so you say. Well now, understand that whoever would say it is improper to anathematize Theodore since he died in communion with the Church, as you say, and that he should be numbered with the bishops, should also include Judas in the list of apostles. For since he thought he could deceive God who knows the hidden things of men he received communion from him with the other disciples. Now, if we follow those who make these claims, then we should condemn the apostles who judged him and condemned him after his death, and established another in his place. Not only that, but since his name is read along with the other apostles in the holy Gospels, he should also be received as an apostle and be freed from the condemnation of the anathema!

Therefore, you should understand that he dies in communion with the Church who has preserved the orthodox faith in his life to the end. For even if a Manichaeus, or an Arius, or a Nestorius, or a Eutyches, or any other such heretic should join himself to some pagan vanity and escape notice and die in communion with the Church, then after death is judged a heretic either from his writings or from some other source, even so the orthodox faith will not for this reason suffer harm, nor will that one be free from condemnation,

even if he is said to have died in the peace of the Church. Nor will death free anyone from condemnation whose impious teachings are congenial to heretics but he will be condemned because he did not repent when he was living.

That heretics who during their life did not repent are condemned even after their death is revealed from many instances. And just as Eunomius, Apollinaris, Bonosos, and in more ancient times Valentinus, Basilides, Marcion, and Cerinthus, and many others, were not anathematized during their life, but were condemned after their death and anathematized by the catholic Church because they died in their error, so also those who during their life were unjustly condemned were recalled by the catholic Church [after their death], such as John and Flavian, the holy archbishops of Constantinople. But now, according to your understanding those heretics who died in their error would remain free, and those orthodox christians who were unjustly condemned could not be reinstated after their death. But this is utterly perverse.

These statements make it clear that it is the tradition of the Church to condemn and anathematize heretics even after their death. However, we can demonstrate this from the Apostolic Constitutions as well. After it exhorts to pray for the repose of those who have died that they might be granted mercy, it then adds: "We say these things of the pious; but of the impious, even if they should have given their worldly goods to the poor it profits them nothing. For most assuredly is the Deity set against them in death as well as in life."⁷⁴

Now, if the apostles have given such a command concerning the pious, who would dare say that heretics should be free from the condemnation of anathema, especially Theodore whose blasphemies the holy fathers considered to be worse than [those of] the Jews or the Greeks or the Sodomites and all the heretics, so that they condemned him and his wickedness?

That heretics should be anathematized even after their death St Augustine, bishop of the African region, writes and says in his letter to Boniface:

⁷⁴*Apostolic Constitution* 8.43.

Even if the charges these men raised concerning you and Cecilianus were proved true, we would still anathematize this man even if he had died. Even so, we must not forsake the Church of Christ because of some individual, for the Church is not altered by the opinions of contentious men, but is confirmed by divine testimonies.⁷⁵

These statements come from St Augustine. However, not only do the holy fathers anathematize after their death those who err in the faith, but also those bishops who bequeath anything to the heretics or to anyone outside the Church whether in their last will or testament, or even without a last will. The first canon of the 80th synod of Africa stipulates the following:

Moreover, it is decreed that if any bishop should honor as his heir anyone outside of his family, or heretics, or even his own kindred or the pagans before the Church, let him be anathematized even after his death, and let his name no longer be read among the priests of God. And he will not be removed from the condemnation even if he has died without a testament, since it is in no way fitting to his office that a bishop should disburse the assets of his substance.⁷⁶

Now if, as the ecclesiastical canons stipulate, bishops are anathematized after their death because they do not administer their surplus wealth properly, how much more ought those who sin against God himself be anathematized since it is said in the holy Scriptures: "If a man sins against a man, they will pray for him; but if anyone sins against God, who will pray for him?"⁷⁷

So having shown that in former times the holy fathers decreed that those who sinned against the faith or against the canons should be anathematized even after death, we consider it necessary to clearly establish to all what has taken

⁷⁵Ep 185; CSEL 57 p. 3,26.

⁷⁶PL 67, col. 206.

⁷⁷1 Sam 2:25.

place in our own time so as to remove every pretext of those who defend these heretics we have mentioned and their impiety. In particular, the Apostolic Seat condemned and anathematized, even after their death, Lawrence and Dioscorus who on different occasions seized the sacerdotal office of the Apostolic Seat because they wanted to be received into the circle of bishops.

But now you have also added this to your writings:

If anyone anathematizes a heresiarch and says that he includes everyone who ever shared his opinions in the condemnation of all those who think like him, therefore, since you anathematized [by name] Paul of Samosata and Photinus and Bonoson and Nestorius, you ought not to anathematize by name Theodore who was of the same mind as they.

To begin with you should understand that even those who followed the error of the heresiarchs were anathematized without being named, even though they may not have deceived others.

It is true, the Church of God anathematizes the leaders of heresies by name. But Theodore was not only the teacher of Nestorius' godless impiety, but he also deceived many others through his wicked writings. For just as the true teachers of the Church were known and exalted because of what they wrote, so conversely all the founders of wicked doctrines have been refuted and anathematized because of their impious writings. Now, since Theodore has become a heresiarch and disgorged his countless blasphemies in his books, you have no just cause for seeking to remove the anathema against him.

Conclusion.

Now concerning your account of the faith which you included in your writings we could condemn many things, but because of your ignorance and simple-mindedness we believe we should overlook this for now. For in one place you have written in a sound manner, in another place you

have included statements known neither in the divine Scriptures nor in the holy fathers, and in other places you have condemned the teachers of the Church who have attacked you. In addition to this you have overlooked certain matters that would lead directly to the orthodox faith. Accordingly, you should observe the advice of the holy fathers and speak if you understand, but keep silence if you do not so that you may open yourselves to being taught by those who know.

Now since you wrote to us how we ought to respond to the Egyptians, we marvel that you who defend this impious letter, and Theodore and Nestorius together with their wicked teaching would endeavor to tell us what we should answer others who are opposed to the Church.⁷⁸ For if anyone were to agree with what you have written, he would tell the Egyptians nothing other than to receive the heretics Theodore and Nestorius and to condemn all the holy fathers who condemned them and their unbelief, and consequently to fall from one error into another, since you have written to us to answer those opposed to the Church that this detestable letter is sound and orthodox.

Therefore, first make haste to correct yourselves, and then you may teach others. If anyone defends Theodore, or the letter allegedly written by Ibas, or the writings of Theodoret which set forth teachings contrary to the orthodox faith, he is numbered with the heretics and he sets himself outside the catholic faith whose head is the only-begotten Son of God, our Lord and God Jesus Christ. Since you separate yourselves from him when you defend this impious letter and Theodore, it is expedient, therefore, that you separate yourselves from that impious letter, and from defending Theodore who is so clearly a heretic. For if the holy apostle Paul forbids anyone to say, "I am"⁷⁹ [called by the name of Paul], he also rebukes those who say, "I am called by the name of another apostle."

⁷⁸Because of his opposition to Justinian's Edict against the Three Chapters in 543, the patriarch Zoilos of Alexandria was deposed. The Egyptian diocese apparently sent a letter of protest to Justinian championing the cause of their patriarch. The Illyrican bishops, to whom Justinian responds in this letter, obviously urged the Emperor to accept the Egyptian protest and with that, the Three Chapters. See Schwartz, p. 115.

⁷⁹1 Cor 1:12.

THE EDICT ON THE TRUE FAITH

Introduction to the Text

The stir created by the condemnation of the Three Chapters prompted another edict against the Three Chapters, published in 551 under the title, "Edict on the True Faith." This confession was extremely offensive to Pope Vigilius. On May 14, 553, Vigilius published his *Constitutum Vigili*, in which he refused to condemn the Three Chapters and forbade anyone else to do so. Justinian responded by removing Vigilius' name from the diptychs. On Dec. 8, 553, Vigilius published his Decretal Epistle in which he recanted and accepted both the Fifth Ecumenical Council and its decree condemning the Three Chapters.¹ The imperial condemnation of the Three Chapters was thus ecclesiastically endorsed by Vigilius and by every Pope after him.

The bishops of the Fifth Ecumenical Council drew from the Edict in formulating their ecclesiastical condemnation of the Three Chapters. The Edict is of value for this reason, and also because it presents the theological reasoning behind the Fifth Council's decisions. But its importance lies elsewhere as well. For, even though the acts of the Fifth Council have been officially ratified by the West, "de facto" the theological understanding informing the Fifth Council's decisions continue to be a source of controversy between theologians of the Western and Eastern traditions. The Edict is therefore an important source for studying fundamental principles that distinguish typically Latin from typically Byzantine theology.

¹The text of this letter is translated into English by Henry R. Percival, in *NPNF* (2nd series), vol. 14, pp. 321-323.

The Text

Edict of the most Pious Emperor Justinian: Containing a Confession of the true Faith and a Refutation of the Heresies Opposed by the Catholic Church of God.

Salutation:

In the name of God the Father, and of his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord, and of the Holy Spirit. The Emperor Caesar, the Christ-loving Flavius Justinian, pious, blessed, glorious, and triumphant conqueror of Alamanicus, Gothicus, Phrangkicus, Germanicus, Anticus, Alanicus, Vandalicus, and Africanus, ever-venerable and august: to all the faithful of the catholic and apostolic Church.

Seeing that nothing pleases the merciful God more than that all christians be of one mind concerning the pure orthodox faith and that there be no schisms in God's holy Church, we deem it necessary that the confession of the true faith which the holy Church of God proclaims be made clear by this edict for the purpose of removing every occasion for scandal, so that those who confess the true faith might guard it with firmness, and those who contend against it may learn the truth and hasten to unite themselves to the holy Church of God.

The Orthodox Doctrine of the Trinity.

Therefore, we confess our belief in the consubstantial Trinity: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, one God-

head, nature, essence, power, and authority, glorified in three *hypostases* or *prosopa*, in whom we have been baptized, in whom we have believed, and to whom we have been joined. We believe that in their properties they are distinct, but with respect to the Godhead they are one. For we worship One in Three and Three in One, maintaining the paradox of their division and union; one according to the principle of essence or Godhead, but three according to the properties, or *hypostases* or *prosopa* (thus we say that he is divided indivisibly, and united divisibly meaning that the Godhead is One in Three and the Three in whom is the Godhead are One, or to speak more precisely, [the Three] are [One] Godhead). Each [*hypostasis*] is God whenever it is contemplated by itself, the mind separating [the Persons] who are inseparable, and the Three, whenever they are considered together, are [one] God by virtue of the identity of their movement and nature.² For we must confess one God and proclaim the three *hypostases* or the three *prosopa*, each one with its [own] properties. We do not make the union one of confusion as did Sabellius who said that the Trinity is one *prosopon* with three names, the same [*prosopon*] being Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, nor do we separate [the three Persons] by dividing the Son or the Holy Spirit from the essence of God the Father in accordance with the madness of Arius who cut the Godhead up into three different essences. But there is one God the Father, from whom are all things, and one only-begotten Son through whom are all things, and one Holy Spirit, in whom are all things.

*The Orthodox Doctrine of the Incarnation:
One of the Holy Trinity was Incarnate.*

Moreover, we confess that the same Only-begotten Son of God, the Divine Logos who was before the ages, who was begotten, not made, of the Father in a timeless manner, in these last days for us and for our salvation came down from

²Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *On Not Three Gods*, English translation by E. R. Hardy, in *Christology of the Later Fathers*, pp. 260ff.

heaven and was incarnate of the Holy Spirit and the holy, glorious Theotokos and ever-Virgin Mary, and was born of her. He is the Lord Jesus Christ, One of the Holy Trinity, consubstantial to God the Father in his divinity, and consubstantial to us in his humanity. The same One in the flesh is passible, and in his divinity he is impassible. For he who took upon himself suffering and death is not someone other than the Logos, but the impassible and eternal Logos of God himself submitted to being born in human flesh, and he accomplished all things.

Wherefore, we do not believe that the Divine Logos who performed the miracles is one [*hypostasis* or *prosopon*] and the Christ who endured the Passion another, but we confess that our Lord Jesus Christ is one and the same Divine Logos of God who was incarnate and became man, and both the miracles and the Passion are his which he voluntarily bore in the flesh. For a man did not give himself for us, but the Logos himself gave his own body for us so that our faith and hope might not be in a man, but that we might hold our faith in the Divine Logos himself.

Confessing, therefore, that he is God we do not deny that he is also man, and when we say that he is man, we do not deny that he is also God. For if he was God alone, how could he suffer, how could he be crucified, and how could he die since these things are alien to God? But if he was a mere man, how could he conquer through suffering, how could he save, how could he bring to life since these things were accomplished for the sake of man? So then, the same has suffered; the same saves and conquers through his suffering; the same is God, the same is man, the two natures exist together as one, and yet each nature maintains its integrity.⁸ Wherefore, when we speak of one composite Christ constituted of each nature, that is of divinity and humanity, we do not introduce confusion into the union. And while we know our one Lord Jesus Christ, the Logos of God who was incarnate and became man, in each nature, that is in divinity and humanity, we do not introduce into his one *hypostasis* a

⁸Translating: "τὸ συναμφοτέρον ὡς ἓν, ἐκάτερον ὡς μόνον."

division or separation of parts, but we indicate the difference of the natures of which he is composed which is not abolished because of the union since each nature exists in him.

Now it is generally agreed that in a [union] of synthesis the parts exist in the whole, and the whole is discerned in its parts. So the divine nature is not changed into the human, nor is the human nature changed into the divine, but rather, since we understand that each [nature] exists according to the definition and principle of its own nature, we affirm that the union has taken place in the *hypostasis*. But the *hypostatic* union means that the Divine Logos, that is to say one *hypostasis* of the three divine *hypostases*, is not united to a man who has his own *hypostasis* before [the union], but that in the womb of the Holy Virgin the Divine Logos made for himself, in his own *hypostasis*, flesh that was taken from her and that was endowed with a reasonable and intellectual soul, i.e. human nature.

The divine apostle teaches us about the *hypostatic* union of the Divine Logos with the flesh when he says, "He who was in the form of God thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied himself and took the form of a servant."⁴ In saying, "He who existed in the form of God," he reveals the *hypostasis* of the Logos existing in the essence of God, and in saying, "He took the form of a servant," he indicates that the Logos is united to the essence of man, and not to a [human] *hypostasis* or *prosopon*. For he did not say that he took what existed in the form of a servant lest he were to show that the Logos was united to a man with his own *hypostasis* before [the union], as Theodore and Nestorius impiously blasphemed when they spoke of a union of relation.

But we, in company with the divine Scriptures and the holy fathers, confess that the Divine Logos became flesh, which is to say that he hypostatically united human nature to himself. Therefore, our Lord Jesus Christ is one, possessing in himself the whole of divine nature and the whole of human nature. He is the Only-begotten Logos begotten of God the Father, and when he became man he [became] the first-born

⁴Phil 2:6-7.

of many brethren; for the Son of God became Son of Man; and yet he remained what he was and did not alter what he became. Wherefore, we also confess two births of the same only-begotten Logos of God, the one incorporeally of the Father before the ages, and the other in these last days of the holy, glorious Theotokos and ever-Virgin Mary; the same one was incarnate and became man. Shining forth from the Father beyond understanding, he was conceived of his mother beyond reason, and while he was truly God, he became truly man. Therefore, we confess that the holy, glorious, and ever-Virgin Mary is properly and truly Theotokos; not that the Logos of God took his beginning from her, but that in these last days the only-begotten Divine Logos who is before the ages was incarnate from her without change and became man. And while he is invisible in his own [attributes], he became visible in those that pertain to us, and while he is God impassible he did not consider it unworthy to exist as passible man, and he who is immortal submitted himself to the laws of death.

The holy apostles proclaimed that this same one is God who was born in Bethlehem of the seed of David according to the flesh, who became like men, and who was crucified for man under Pontius Pilate; the same is man, the same is Son of God, the same is Son of Man, the same is from Heaven, the same is from earth, the same is impassible, the same is passible. For the Logos himself who was born from the Father above in a manner ineffable, marvelous, incomprehensible, and eternal, the same was born in time here below of the Virgin Mary that those who before were born from below might be born again from above, that is of God.

Therefore, he has one Mother on earth, and we have one Father in Heaven; for taking the mortal father of men, Adam, he gave to men his own immortal Father as it is said, "He gave to them power to become children of God."⁵ And so the Son of God tasted of death in the flesh through his carnal father in order that the sons of men might partake of his life through God, their Father in the Spirit. He is, therefore,

⁵Jn 1:12.

Son of God by nature, but we are [sons of God] by grace. Again he became the Son of Adam in his Dispensation and for our sakes, but we are sons of Adam by nature. For God is his Father by nature, but he is our Father by grace. And the Father became his God according to the Dispensation inasmuch as he became man, but he is our Lord and God by nature.

For this reason the Logos, who is the Son of the Father, having united himself with the flesh, became flesh in order that man, having been united to the Spirit, might become one Spirit. The true Son of God himself, then, bore all of us in order that we might all bear the one God. Even after he became man our Lord Jesus Christ is One of the Holy Trinity, the only-begotten Son of God, composed of both natures. And we confess the composite Christ in accordance with the teachings of the holy fathers. For in the mystery of Christ the composite union overthrows confusion or division and preserves the properties of each nature. It shows one *hypostasis* or *prosopon* of God the Word, even with the flesh. He is one and the same perfect in Godhead, perfect in humanity, not because he is in two *hypostases* or *prosopa*, but because he is known in the divine and human natures, in order that he might be one in both [natures], perfect God and perfect man, the same our Lord Jesus Christ, who is one of the Holy Trinity, glorified with the Father and the Holy Spirit. For the Holy Trinity does not admit the addition of a fourth *prosopon*, even though one of the Holy Trinity, namely the Divine Logos, was incarnate. This is the sound tradition that we preserve, which we have received from the holy fathers: the confession in the Father, and in Christ the Son of the Living God, and the Holy Spirit. This we would take as our companion during our life that we might be made citizens [of heaven].

Interpretation of Cyril's Formula: One Nature of God the Word Incarnate.

In confessing these things we also receive St Cyril's for-

mula "One nature of God the Word incarnate" together with his other teachings concerning the true faith, and we confess that "one Christ" is produced from the divine nature and the human [nature], and not "one nature" as some have sought to say who improperly understand this formula. For the fact of the matter is that whenever this father said "One nature of the Logos incarnate" he used the term "nature" in this formula for "*hypostasis*." In the writings in which he makes use of this formula, he frequently follows it by adding either the terms Son, or Logos, or Only-begotten, which are not [names] that indicate nature, but the *hypostasis* or *prosopon*. So then, when the *hypostasis* of the Logos was incarnate there was produced not one nature, but one composite Christ, the same God and man.⁶

But when we confess that Christ is God and man, it is impious to say that only one nature or essence exists in him for it is impossible that our Lord Jesus Christ is simultaneously and in one and the same nature both before the ages and in time, or impassible and passible; rather we correctly confess these things by referring them to his one *hypostasis* or *prosopon*.

Let us demonstrate from the writings of St Cyril himself how clear his teaching is concerning this expression. In the first epistle to Succensus, after saying "One nature of God the Word incarnate," he immediately adds: "Therefore, inasmuch as we are able to understand and to see with the eyes of our soul how the Only-begotten became man, we say that

⁶See "Against the Monophysites," n. 65, p. 45; n. 79, p. 52; and n. 170, p. 97. Particularly in the context of the argument Justinian has been pursuing up to this point, the view we suggested earlier in these notes is confirmed. The *hypostasis* of Christ is the Divine Logos, who is himself Jesus (note above how Justinian refers to the Lord Jesus as the one who possesses in himself both divine and human natures, p. 168). The *hypostasis* that is "produced," then, is the one we see in our minds when we contemplate the union; it is not the actual *hypostasis* of Christ himself for that *hypostasis* is the eternally existing Divine Logos. The term "composite Christ," moreover, refers to the Divine Logos, not to the divine nature, and is simply a way of saying that the Divine Logos becomes incarnate by adding to his previously divine "mode of existence" a human "mode of existence," taking on himself—on his *hypostasis*—all the attributes and properties of human nature without becoming a human *hypostasis*: he thereby becomes fully human, but he remains fully God both in nature and in identity.

there are two natures, but one Son, or Christ, or Lord who is the Logos of God, who became man and was incarnate."⁷

By these words the father wished to set forth the manner of the Incarnation and to maintain [that the union] is indivisible and without confusion. Therefore, he indicated the number of natures that have come together and proclaimed one Christ, but not one nature of Godhead and flesh. He teaches us the same thing in the second letter to the same Succensus; he writes:

If, when speaking of the nature of the Logos, we have not added the term "incarnate" but have set aside, as it might seem, the Economy, perhaps their statement would become credible to them when they pretend to ask: "How is he perfect in his humanity, or how has our essence subsisted in him?" But by saying "incarnate" we bring to view the completeness of his humanity and disclose his [human] essence, so they should cease supporting their arguments with their sticks of bamboo, for he who takes away from the Son his perfect humanity is justly accused of rejecting the dispensation and denying the Incarnation.

But if, as I said, to say that he was incarnate is a clear and unambiguous confession of the fact that he became man, then nothing prevents us from thinking that the Christ is only one Son and that the same is God and man; just as he is perfect in his divinity, so also he is perfect in his humanity. Now, your perfection sets forth the account of the saving Passion most rightly and prudently in maintaining that the only-begotten Son of God, insofar as he is known to be true God, did not suffer the things of the body in his own nature, but rather that he suffered them in his earthly nature. For one must necessarily preserve both [natures] in the one true Son, and one must say that he did not suffer as God, but that he suffered as man, for his flesh [is what] suffered.⁸

⁷*ACO* I.1.6; pp. 153.23-154.3.

⁸*ACO* I. 1. 6. pp. 160f.

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In the thirteenth chapter of his "Scholia," St Cyril follows the same argument in opposing those who introduce two sons and those who say one nature of Christ constituted of Godhead and flesh. He writes: "Therefore, we should not differentiate the one Lord Jesus Christ into man and God separately, but we speak of one and the same Lord Jesus Christ, recognizing the difference of the natures and holding them together without confusion."

So if our Lord Jesus Christ is one as St Cyril teaches, the same perfect in Godhead and perfect in humanity, and if the father says that he did not suffer in his divine nature, but in his earthly nature, and he also knows that the difference of the natures is preserved while they are united together without confusion in one *hypostasis*, then it is clear that he means that he is known both in his divine nature and in his human [nature], and that he is also composed of each nature that is in him. And no one would be so foolish as to think that they believe aright who say there is in Christ one nature or essence of flesh and divinity, the same [nature] being divine and earthly, passible and impassible.

The Analogy of Body and Soul in Man

There are some who take a different approach to the matter and offer the example of man in an effort to prove that there is in Christ one nature of divinity and humanity. They argue that just as man is called one nature even though he is composed of different natures, namely soul and body, so also we ought to say that there is in Christ one nature, even though we say that the Christ is of two natures, namely divinity and humanity. But we would say this to them: even though man is constituted of different [natures], soul and body, he is called one nature because this is commonly predicated of all *hypostases* or *prosopa* which are included under the same species.⁹ For of course, even though each *hypostasis*

⁹The body-soul analogy is applied here in a significantly different way than in the letter to the monks of Alexandria (pp. 38ff). There the analogy is used to show that just as body and soul come together to form one particular,

or *prosopon*, such as Peter or Paul, is distinct from the other by virtue of its individual properties, even so they are not distinct [from the other] in nature, since both are men. And again, man is not soul apart from body, nor body apart from soul, but he was created from "non-being" and brought into existence as soul and body. And every creature, even though constituted of diverse elements, nevertheless is said to possess that one nature in which God created it.

But this is not the case in Christ, for obviously there is not a common [Christic] nature or essence that is predicated of many *hypostases* or *prosopa* as in the case of man. (For if this were so, there would be many Christs of whom the one universal nature would be predicated; but to say this is impious.) Whereas man was constituted from the beginning of body and soul, Christ was not created in the beginning of divinity and humanity so that there might be a "Christic" nature. But the Logos, who is God before the ages, who exists with the Father and is of the same nature or essence [as the Father], who is the Creator of all things, and who in these last days *hypostatically* united the nature of man to himself, became man without ceasing to be God.

Therefore, the Christ is one *hypostasis* or *prosopon* and so also the divine and human natures come together to "produce" (in the mind) one *hypostasis*, not two *hypostases*, and not a confusion of natures. Here, however, body and soul come together to form not one particular but one "nature" of man which exists "in" each human *hypostasis*. The *hypostasis*, then, is seen as the foundation of being for it is that in which nature exists. This means, furthermore, that the "mind" is not the locus of the "I am" (*hypostasis*)—for it is a natural, not a *hypostatic* phenomenon—but is rather embraced and directed by the *hypostasis*. The *hypostasis* of the Divine Logos, therefore, assumes a full human nature, including a human mind, without thereby becoming a human *hypostasis* or "I am" and he remains the divine "I AM" (Jn 8:58). The Divine Logos, therefore, directs the whole of human nature which he has assumed, including the human mind, towards its "natural" destiny: communion with God (see "The Union of God and Man in Gregory Nazianzen," *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 28 (1984) 83-98). Human *hypostases* remain therefore free to receive or reject the gift of salvation (contra the doctrine of predestination) for the Divine Logos did not assume a human *hypostasis* which would have destroyed our distinctive identities, but this also means that full communion with God is a real possibility for *all* men, for the radiance of the Divine Logos' glory was not limited or "checked by" one particular human *hypostasis* but spread throughout the whole of human nature in his one divine *hypostasis*.

he has in himself the whole of the divine uncreated nature, and also the whole of the human created nature. So how can we speak of one nature or essence in him in whom we recognize two natures: one created and the other uncreated? If Christ is one *hypostasis* or *prosopon*, and the same Christ is consubstantial both to God the Father and to us, then obviously he is not consubstantial [to the Father and to us] in one and the same nature or essence. For if Christ is one nature or essence, then either, insofar as he is incorporeal, he is consubstantial only to God the Father since there is one divine nature or essence; or, insofar as he is a mere man he is consubstantial only to us since there is one human nature. Or, if one or the other of [the two] natures was changed, then some nature other than these that came together has been produced. Consequently, the Christ has neither become man, nor has he remained God, and therefore he is consubstantial neither to the Father nor to us. But such thoughts are utterly impious.

In saying these things we are not ignorant of the fact that some of the holy fathers did use the analogy of man to illustrate the mystery of Christ. However, they used the analogy of man to show that just as one man, not two, is produced from body and soul, so also Christ, though constituted of divinity and humanity, is not two Christs but one and is not divided into two sons. These [heretics], however, use the analogy to maintain that there is in Christ one nature or essence constituted of divinity and humanity. We, on the other hand, have shown that this is alien to piety.

*The Use of Number as a Legitimate Means to
Indicate the Difference of Christ's Natures.*

But when we have convicted them of constructing for themselves one nature or essence of Godhead and flesh in a manner contrary to the true teaching of the fathers, they move on to another argument and maintain that one should not speak of the number of natures in Christ since number sets up a division. Very well then, let them understand that when

number refers to different *prosopa* or *hypostases*, it indicates their division into separate particulars as when we speak of two or more men. But when it refers to things that have been united, it then refers to the fact that we conceive the division of those things in thought alone as, for example, the one *hypostasis* of man which is constituted of soul and body. For here, you see, two natures are contemplated: one the soul, the other the body. And yet, [this particular] man is not divided for this reason into two men, but we understand that he is one and his *hypostasis* is one. So then, in the case of the mystery of the union that has taken place in Christ, although we conceive the different [natures] that have been united, nevertheless, the [natures] out of which our Lord Jesus Christ is constituted are not separately divided from one another in reality. In order to understand and indicate this difference, we introduce the category of number and say that there are two natures in Christ; but we do not thereby divide the one Christ into two Christs or two sons.

St Gregory the Theologian attests to this understanding in his first letter to Cledonius where he writes:

If anyone introduces two sons, [saying that] the one is of God the Father, and the other is of his Mother, and that they are not one and the same, may he be deprived of the sonship which is promised to those who believe aright. For God and man are two natures, as are also soul and body; but there are not two sons, nor two Gods, just as there are not two manhoods, although Paul speaks of the inner and outer man.^{9a} And, if one must speak concisely, the Savior is constituted of elements which are distinct from one another, for the invisible is not identical to the visible, nor is that which is beyond time [identical] to that which is bound by time, but [he is] not two Persons, may it never be!¹⁰

^{9a}2 Cor 4:16.

¹⁰Ep. 101 *Ad Cledonium*, PG 37, col. 180. English translation, cf. *NPNF* (2nd Series) vol. 7, p. 439.

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Note well that here St Gregory clearly teaches that with respect to the mystery of Christ the one who speaks of number in reference to the *prosopa* is condemned as impious, but the one who admits it in reference to the natures from which the one Christ is constituted believes aright since in so doing one indicates the difference of the natures coming together, and yet in no way does one create a division of parts. For just as the soul and the body are different in nature and yet produce one composite man and not two, so also in Christ, although we contemplate two natures of divinity and humanity, we do not for this reason introduce two Christs or two sons. So it is clear, as already indicated, that those who refuse to speak of number in reference to the natures in Christ also deny the difference of the natures and produce confusion in Christ's Dispensation. But on the other hand, if they confess the difference [of the natures in Christ], then they must also, if they wish to be consistent, indicate the number of natures that have come together in one *hypostasis* without confusion, for obviously, if we maintain the difference [of the natures], the idea of number necessarily follows.

To confirm our argument, let us refer to the testimonies of the holy fathers to show that with respect to the mystery of Christ they have stated that the terms are distinguished in accordance with the difference of the natures of which the Christ is constituted, that is of divinity and humanity, and therefore they admit the notion of number, yet they do not in reality divide the natures so as to set up two separate *hypostases* or *prosopa*.

St Cyril speaks in this way in his commentary on Leviticus:

In short, with these words he [Moses] clearly considers the mystery of our Savior and the purification that is effected through Holy Baptism. He prescribes that two living birds be taken so that by the birds you might understand the Heavenly Man and God in two natures, insofar as it pertains to the definition befitting each, divided (for the Logos was the Splendor of God the Father in the flesh taken from the

woman) yet not sundered for the Christ is one from two.¹¹

Again, St Cyril writes in his second letter to Succensus: "They do not understand that if he wished something to be divided in thought only, he would not separate them in such a way as to set up two individual parts completely different from one another."¹²

St Basil, in his fourth book against Eunomius considers the passage, "The Lord created me and before the hills was I begotten,"^{12a} and interprets it in this way:

One must understand that the term "begotten" refers to the Son of God, but the term "created" refers to the form of the servant which he assumed. But this does not mean that we say there are two separate [persons] of God and man, for he was one [person]; rather it is in our thought that we consider the nature of each [form].¹³

St Gregory the Theologian teaches us in his Second Oration on the Son that we must distinguish the natures of our Lord Jesus Christ in our thought. He writes:

Wherever the natures are distinguished in our thoughts from one another, the names are also distinguished; as you hear in Paul's words, "The God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of Glory."^{13a} The God of Christ, but the Father of Glory. For although these two terms express but one [Person], yet this is not by [a unity of] nature, but by a union of the two.¹⁴

¹¹PG 69, col. 576.

¹²ACO I 1,6 p. 162, 2-4.

^{12a}Prov 8:22-25.

¹³PG 29, col. 704.

^{13a}Eph 1:17.

¹⁴PG 36, col. 113. "The Fourth Theological Oration" (Discourse 30). English translation in Hardy, p. 182.

St Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, also gives us the same teaching in his fourth book against Eunomius. He writes:

So that no one should attribute the suffering of the Cross to the imperishable nature, he corrects such an error with other words that are quite plain, calling him "mediator of God and men,"¹⁵ and "man" and "God," so that, from the fact that both [names] are predicated of the one [Person], he might conceive what is proper to each [nature that is indicated by each name], [conceiving] impassibility of the divinity, and the dispensation of the Passion of the humanity.

So then, while his thought divides what has been united by God's great love, this being distinguished in idea, whenever he is proclaiming that nature which transcends and surpasses all intelligence he uses the more exalted names, calling him "God over air," and "the great God," and "the Power and Wisdom of God," and names such as these, and whenever he includes the experience of suffering which was necessarily assumed by the Logos on account of our weakness, he gives to the union of natures the name that is derived from our [nature] and calls him man, not that he might place him to whom he is referring on a common level with the rest of nature, but so that piety might be preserved with respect to each nature.¹⁶

On the basis of these demonstrations taken from the teachings of the fathers, these men who use the numbering of Christ's natures as a pretext for continuing to deny the difference of the natures, thereby producing confusion [in Christ], should let go of their error. Surely we must use the category of number since the fathers used it not to divide the natures into [separate] parts, but in order to indicate the difference of the natures united in the one *hypostasis* [of Christ].

¹⁵1 Tim 2:5.

¹⁶Cf. *Against Eunomius*, Book VI, *NPNF* (second series), vol. 5, p. 184; PG 45 col. 716 B6-C13.

*Towards a Patristic and Trinitarian Based
Philosophy of Nature and Hypostasis.*

Having met all their arguments and proved that it is impious to say one nature or essence of Christ, of Godhead and flesh, we would now maintain that one cannot speak in the same way of one *hypostasis* of Christ, constituted of humanity and divinity, and of one nature of Christ since nature and *hypostasis* do not mean the same thing. The fathers unanimously teach us that nature, or essence, or form is one thing, and *hypostasis* or *prosopon* is another; that which is common is signified by the terms nature, or essence, or form, but that which is particular is signified by the terms *hypostasis* or *prosopon*.

But let us show that it is also alien to true piety for anyone to insist on maintaining one composite nature of Christ in the same way that we speak of one composite *hypostasis* of Christ. We say that there is one nature or essence of the Godhead, yet we glorify three *hypostases* in this [one Godhead], acknowledging the same nature or essence in each *hypostasis*, and we rightly say that one of these three *hypostases*, namely the *hypostasis* of the Logos, was united with the flesh. For no one in the catholic Church has ever dared to say that as there are three *hypostases* so are there three natures of the Holy Trinity so that one can say that one of the three natures was united with the flesh. Arius, for example, was condemned as a blasphemer simply for daring to say that there are three natures in the Holy Trinity.

In accordance with orthodox doctrine, therefore, we speak of one *hypostasis* and of a union of two natures, since the Son of God, being other than the Father with regards to his *hypostasis* but of the same nature as the Father, created for himself in his own *hypostasis* flesh endowed with a rational and intellectual soul, which means that the Logos of God was united to human nature and not to a particular [human] *hypostasis* or *prosopon*. So it is the one *hypostasis* of the Logos of God who was incarnate and who is acknowledged in each nature: both in the divine [nature] in which he existed

as [the passage]—"who existed in the form of God," teaches us, and in the human [nature] as these words teach, "who was in the likeness of men."¹⁷

In this connection one speaks properly of one composite *hypostasis* of the Divine Logos, but not of one composite nature. For when one uses the word nature by itself, not applying to it the notion of a certain, particular *prosopon*, he signifies something indeterminate without its own subsistence, and the indeterminate cannot be inferred of anything.

But now if anyone who understands such proofs continues to oppose us simply for the sake of being contentious and says that, according to our definition of nature, one must also say that the human nature of Christ possessed its own *hypostasis* or its own *prosopon*, well, we have already made it clear that if anyone says the Logos was united to a man who already existed, then the union is made relative for there can be no union of two *hypostases* or *prosopa*. Therefore, whoever says such things shows himself eager to use human words of wisdom in order to empty the power of God and he reveals his ignorance of the great mystery of the true faith which is "believed with the heart for righteousness, and confessed with the mouth for salvation."¹⁸

So we never refer to the human nature of Christ by itself, nor did it ever possess its own *hypostasis* or *prosopon*, but it began to exist in the *hypostasis* of the Logos. Wherefore, we confess that the Divine Logos himself became man without change, that he did not enter into an individual man, but the Divine Logos himself was born of the Virgin and was incarnate, and for this reason the holy, glorious, and ever-Virgin Mary is the Birth-giver of God. For this reason we say that both before and after the Incarnation of the Logos of God there are three *hypostases* of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and we do not admit a fourth *hypostasis* or *prosopon* into the Holy Trinity. So those who speak of two natures before the union follow the blasphemy of the madmen Theodore and Nestorius and imply that the man [Jesus] had his own *hypostasis* before the union, and was united to

¹⁷Phil 2:6-7.

¹⁸Rm 10:10.

God the Word [as a particular man]. But such notions are refuted by all these [proofs]. On the other hand, those who would forbid us to speak of two natures in Christ after the union, insisting that there is now only one, produce an illusion and confusion in accordance with the impious teachings of Apollinaris and Eutyches. These are the opinions of the heretics, but the holy fathers understood that the natures from which Christ is constituted maintain their integrity even after his Incarnation and are not confused, and they taught in an orthodox manner that there are two natures in Christ: the divine and the human. There were not two natures of the Lord before the Incarnation, nor have the two [natures] become one after the Incarnation, even though they are known in one *hypostasis*.

We have incorporated into our edict instruction from the divine Scriptures and the teachings of the holy fathers as appropriate in order to overthrow those who set up confusion or separation in the mystery of the divine Economy. We, however, by disclosing the [natures] *from* which Christ exists and *in* which he is known, have not introduced confusion or division into the divine Economy.

And so, presenting this doctrine of union, we confess one Christ, one Son, one Lord, who is the Logos of God, who was incarnate and became man; and we worship him together with the Father and the Holy Spirit. Since this is what the catholic Church of God confesses, it is our desire that all christians know that just as we have one God and Lord, so also we have one faith. For we confess one definition of faith and we rightly glorify the Father, and Christ the Son of God, and the Holy Spirit. This is the confession we preserve, in which we were baptized, and which was vouchsafed by our great God and Savior Jesus Christ to his holy disciples and apostles, and which they proclaimed to all the world.

This same confession or symbol, and instruction of the faith was given to the holy Church of God by the 318 holy fathers assembled at Nicea to oppose Arius after they had condemned him and his impious teachings. This same holy symbol of the 318 holy fathers was faithfully followed by the 150 holy fathers who assembled later at Constantinople

to uphold the doctrine of the Holy Spirit's divinity, and to oppose and condemn Macedonius the *pneumaticos*, and Magnus, the disciple of Apollinaris together with their impious doctrines. Yet again, this same holy symbol and instruction of the faith was followed in every respect by the holy fathers who came together at the first Council of Ephesus to oppose the blasphemies of Nestorius, and the holy fathers assembled together at Chalcedon to oppose the heretical teachings of Eutyches, and they condemned both these heretics and their impieties as well as all those who ever believed their teachings, or who may hold to their opinions even now. In this connection they also anathematized anyone who should give to those approaching Holy Baptism, or to those converting from some heresy, a definition or symbol or instruction of faith different from the one handed down by the 318 holy fathers [at Nicea] and clarified by the 150 holy fathers [at Constantinople].

The Anathemas.

This is how we understand the doctrines we hold; and in order to give concise form to the confession of the orthodox faith and the condemnation of heretics we consider it beneficial to include [the following] chapters:

(1) If anyone does not confess the consubstantial Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, worshipped as one Godhead or nature or essence, or one power or authority in three *hypostases* or *prosopa*, let him be anathema.

(2) If anyone does not confess the Divine Logos who was begotten of the Father before the ages in a timeless manner, who in these last days came down from Heaven and was incarnate of the holy, glorious Theotokos and ever-Virgin Mary, and who became man and was born of her, and that therefore there are two generations of the same Logos of God, the one incorporeally before the ages, the other in these last days in the flesh, let him be anathema.

(3) If anyone says that the Divine Logos who worked miracles and the Christ who suffered are different from one

another, or says that the Divine Logos was joined to the Christ when he came into existence in the Virgin, or that he [the Logos] is in him [the Christ] as one in another, and that our Lord Jesus Christ is not one and the same Logos of God who was incarnate and became man, and that the miracles and the Passion which he voluntarily endured in the flesh are [not] of the same [Person], let him be anathema.

(4) If anyone says that the union of the Divine Logos with man was either by grace, or by energy, or by dignity, or by equality of honor, or by authority, or by relation, or disposition, or virtue, or a sharing of the same name, according to which the Nestorians say that Christ is one because he shares the same name, giving the title Christ separately to the Divine Logos and to the man, calling them both Christ, or if anyone says that the union was according to the good pleasure [of God], in accordance with what the heretic Theodore says, viz. that the Divine Logos was pleased with the man because he [the man] was well disposed towards him [the Logos], but does not confess the *hypostatic* union of the Divine Logos with flesh animated with a rational and intellectual soul, and therefore [does not confess] his one composite *hypostasis*, let him be anathema.

(5) If anyone says that the term Theotokos is simply a means of reference, or constitutes a misuse of language, and confesses that the holy, glorious, and ever-Virgin Mary is Birth-giver of man, or Birth-giver of Christ as though Christ is not God, but that she is not properly Theotokos in reality inasmuch as the Divine Logos who was begotten of the Father before the ages was also begotten of her in these last days and was incarnate, let him be anathema.

(6) If anyone does not confess that Our Lord Jesus Christ who was crucified in the flesh is not true God, the Lord of Glory and one of the Holy Trinity, let him be anathema.

(7) If anyone confesses or says that our one Lord Jesus Christ is not the Logos of God incarnate in two natures, in divinity and humanity, and takes this expression concerning the mystery of Christ to indicate not the difference of the

natures from which he is composed, but rather their division as though each of the natures exists separately in its own *hypostasis* as Theodore and Nestorius blasphemously taught, let him be anathema.

(8) If anyone uses the number of natures in our one Lord Jesus Christ who is the Divine Logos incarnate to confess that the difference of the natures of which he is composed is not in thought, since the [notion of number] is maintained even in the union, and to divide the [natures], let him be anathema.

(9) If anyone who says, "One nature of God the Word incarnate," does not understand it to mean that one Christ is produced from the divine nature and the human nature, the same [Person] being of the same nature as the Father in his divinity, and as we in his humanity, but rather takes it to mean that the one nature or essence of Christ was produced of divinity and flesh in accordance with the heretical belief of Apollinaris and Eutyches, let him be anathema. For both those who divide and separate [Christ] as well as those who confuse the mystery of the divine Economy have turned away from Christ, and the catholic Church anathematizes [them].

(10) If anyone does not anathematize Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Apollinaris, Nestorius, and Eutyches, and those who have believed teachings like theirs, either now or in the past, let him be anathema.

(11) If anyone defends Theodore of Mopsuestia who said that the Divine Logos is other than Christ, Christ being the one who was troubled by the passions of the soul and the desires of the flesh, who was made more excellent through progress in [good] works, who was baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, who received the grace of the Holy Spirit through his baptism and was deemed worthy of adoption as son and is worshipped in the *prosopon* of the Divine Logos as in the likeness of the royal image, who became altogether sinless and steadfast in his intentions after the Resurrection; and who said that the union of the Divine Logos with the Christ was in the manner described

by the apostle concerning the [union] of man and woman, "which two are become one flesh";¹⁹ who, along with his other innumerable blasphemies, also dared to say that when the Lord had breathed on his disciples after the Resurrection and said, "Receive the Holy Spirit,"²⁰ he did not bestow upon them the Holy Spirit, but breathed only in a figurative manner; and who also taught that when Thomas handled the Lord's hands and side after his Resurrection, he confessed, "My Lord and my God!"²¹ not in reference to Christ (for he said that the Christ is not God), but rather in reference to God because he was amazed at the miracle of the Resurrection, whom he therefore glorified for having raised up Christ; and (what is worse) who compared Christ to Plato, Manichaeus, Epicurus, and Marcion in his commentary to the Acts of the Apostles, stating that just as each one of them found disciples who were called Platonists, or Manichaeans, or Epicureans, or Marcionites, because they were instructed in their teaching, in the same way those who follow the teachings of Christ are called christians; therefore, if anyone defends Theodore who blasphemously taught such things, and does not anathematize him and his writings and all those who now or ever have believed teachings like his, let him be anathema.

(12) If anyone defends the writings of Theodoret which he published in defense of the heretic Nestorius and which are opposed to the orthodox faith, the first holy Synod of Ephesus, and the Twelve Chapters of St Cyril, in which impious writings this same Theodoret stated that the union of the Divine Logos was a type of relationship he held with a particular man, which led him [Theodoret] to blasphemously state that Thomas handled [Christ] who was raised but worshipped [the Logos] who raised him, so that he called those teachers of the Church who confess the *hypostatic* union of the Divine Logos with the flesh impious, and in this regard he denied that the holy, glorious, and ever-Virgin Mary is Theotokos; therefore, if anyone defends these

¹⁹Eph 5:31.

²⁰Jn 20:22.

²¹Jn 20:28.

writings of Theodoret and does not anathematize them, let him be anathema. For it was on account of these blasphemies that he was expelled from his episcopate, and later he was compelled by the holy Synod of Chalcedon to receive all the teachings his writings had opposed, and to confess the true faith.

(13) If anyone defends the impious letter which is said to have been written by Ibas to the heretic Maris the Persian, which denies that the Logos of God became man and says that the Divine Logos was not incarnate of the Virgin, but that she gave birth only to a man, whom it calls a temple since the Divine Logos and the man are different from one another; and in regard to these [blasphemies], the letter slanders the first Synod of Ephesus because it condemned Nestorius without any investigation or examination, and calls St Cyril a heretic, and labels his Twelve Chapters impious, and praises and defends Nestorius and Theodoret along with their impious writings; therefore, as we said, if anyone defends this impious letter or says that it is orthodox, or even part of it, and does not anathematize it, let him be anathema.

*An Account of the Events Surrounding the
Letter of Ibas to Maris the Persian.*

Now, concerning this letter that was justly anathematized because of the blasphemies it contained: those who hold to the impieties of Theodore and Nestorius are seeking to argue that this letter was received by the holy Synod of Chalcedon. But when they say this they slander the holy Synod, and behind this screen they eagerly seek to free not only Theodore and Nestorius from their just condemnation, but also this impious letter for which Ibas was condemned several times—indeed, because of the blasphemies it contained Ibas would not even dare to claim it as his own. These things we will prove by tracing the events set in motion at different times on account of this letter.

The Acts of Photius and Eustathius of Tyre recount that when Ibas was accused of slanders against St Cyril he unam-

biguously testified that after the union of the Orientals and St Cyril he said nothing disparaging against St Cyril. But [the Acts] show that when this letter was presented Ibas disavowed it because it was so full of the blasphemies mentioned above and it contained so many slanders against St Cyril, both of which were the basis of the allegations against Ibas. But Photius and Eustathius were certain of their charges, and so they ordered that Ibas record in writing that he embraced all those teachings which this letter opposed, as is recorded in the judgment rendered against him. Ibas, however, would not comply with their directive, and was therefore expelled from the episcopate on the basis of the blasphemies contained in this letter. And Nonnus, who sat with [the other bishops] in the holy Synod of Chalcedon, was ordained in his place.

Now, the same charges were brought against Ibas at Chalcedon. Again this impious letter was read and again he dared not to claim it as his own, but this time he immediately added, "I am a stranger to these charges brought against me." The holy Synod, however, was not satisfied with Ibas' disavowal of this impious letter, so they constrained him to accept those teachings it opposed; in other words they ordered him to confess the orthodox faith which this letter opposed, to receive the first holy Synod of Ephesus, to subscribe to our father and teacher St Cyril whom this letter slandered, and to anathematize Nestorius and his impious doctrines which this impious letter exalted and defended.

Now, if Ibas himself dared not to claim this impious letter as his own since it was the basis of the charges brought against him at various times, and if the holy Synod of Chalcedon even compelled him to reject it, how can anyone maintain that the holy Synod admitted this infamous letter so as to fall under the same condemnation of the impieties it contains, when Ibas himself was so eager to separate himself from its impieties? But these heretics surpass even the blasphemies of this letter and, in order to deceive the more simple-minded, present only some of the terms the author of this letter uses, viz. two natures, one virtue, one *prosopon*. Therefore, we

need to show that this, too, is intimately connected with their heresy.

The Real Concepts and Heresy of the Letter to Maris the Persian Uncovered.

If the letter denies that the Divine Logos was incarnate of the holy, glorious Theotokos and ever-Virgin Mary and was born of her, then to whom does it refer the two natures and one *prosopon*? We have already shown that [this letter] assigns to each nature its own *prosopon* in accordance with the blasphemous assertions made by Theodore and Nestorius in their works, whom this letter's author defends together with their impious teachings. They clearly taught that there are two *prosopa*, one of the Divine Logos and one of Christ whom they describe as a mere man, and they stated that they are conjoined in a union of relation and produce one *prosopon* through sharing the same dignity and honor. So even though the author of this letter clearly speaks of one power or lordship of two natures, he nonetheless follows these heretics in this regard also. For Theodore said the same thing in his various works on the Incarnation, as did Nestorius in many of his writings, especially in the letter he wrote to the heretic Alexander of Hierapolis: viz. that there is one sovereignty, and one power or lordship, and one *prosopon* of two natures which share one and the same dignity and honor. This proves that the author of this letter speaks of "natures" rather than "*prosopa*" in accordance with the wicked teaching [of Theodore and Nestorius], whereas the names one sovereignty, and one power or lordship, and one dignity and honor should not refer to different natures, but to different *prosopa* who share the same essence, and this is what we confess of the Holy Trinity. This is the reason that the holy fathers also anathematized those who say that the Divine Logos was united with Christ—whom the followers of Theodore and Nestorius call a mere man—through the sharing of sovereignty or virtue or lordship or dignity or honor, and who do not confess the *hypostatic* union of the Logos with flesh endowed with a rational and intellectual soul.

This alone suffices to refute the impiety of those who defend this abominable letter; and yet towards the end of this letter, its author shows his own wickedness when he says that one must believe in the temple and in him who dwelt in the temple. With this statement he clearly introduces two *prosopa*; indeed, the author of this letter learned such impiety from Theodore and Nestorius. The catholic Church, however, condemns such wickedness and has handed down the confession and belief in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Logos of God who was incarnate and became man, not in the temple and him who dwelt in the temple.

And yet one should not be surprised if this impious letter's author uses the expression "of [two] natures," for it is the custom of heretics to use expressions which are used correctly by the orthodox, and to alter the correct understanding and explanation of these expressions in terms that fit their own impiety so that they might deceive the more simple-minded. Only when these expressions are rightly interpreted and understood are they in accordance with true belief, but when the heretics misinterpret them and put them forth in a wicked manner they contain an impious meaning. For this reason the first holy Synod of Ephesus, presided over by Celestine and Cyril of pious memory, did not receive Nestorius, condemning him because though he said two natures and one *prosopon*, he did not confess the *hypostatic* union of the [two natures]. We, however, follow the teachings of the holy fathers in every respect, having clearly shown the union of the two natures from which our Lord Jesus Christ, the Divine Logos incarnate who is one of the Holy Trinity, is composed, and that though we affirm the union of natures, we do not deny their difference.

Our argument to this point should sufficiently satisfy those who have no desire to be contentious. But those who have once turned aside to impiety will attempt to prove [their case] by other arguments, and so we must show the futility of their arguments in this regard as well.

Refutation of Other Arguments Defending the Letter to Maris the Persian.

They say that this impious letter should not be condemned because it is incorporated in certain [synodal] records. But if we were to follow their nonsense and grant this then we must also receive Nestorius and Eutyches since the synodal acts contain many things about them. No one of sound mind, would consider such arguments; for whatever is presented in the synods concerning the heretics and becomes a part of the minutes, is recorded not for their vindication, but their refutation and to provide a solid base for their condemnation and those who think like them.

So, while the minutes recorded in reference to this impious letter are incorporated in some of the [synodal] documents, at the same time this letter is not found in the authentic records to which the most pious bishops subscribed. Indeed, one who diligently inquires after the truth ought to note that quite often things are said in the synods by those assembled there either out of passionate agreement or disagreement, or even through ignorance. But no one attaches significance to what some isolated individual might say, but only to those definitions reached by the whole assembly in a common consensus. If we were to follow what they say and attach importance to such disagreements, we would find that every synod refutes itself.

This being the case, they ought not to attach such censures to the holy Synod if they would rightly receive it. Rather, they should follow the teachings of the catholic Church, and above all St Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, who undertook many and great labors for the orthodox christian faith in order to oppose every heresy, especially the heresy of the most wicked Arians. Now, these same Arians attached themselves to Dionysius, who was bishop of Alexandria many years before St Athanasius, in order to seduce the laity into their party, and they said that he [Dionysius] shared their views. Athanasius, however, the great teacher of the Church, used many arguments in his writings to prove that Dionysius

had proclaimed the true faith from the beginning and that in no sense was he in communion with the impious teachings of the Arians.

These men who believe the doctrines of the heretics, however, seek desperately to attach their impiety to this holy Synod. But we are taught by the divine Scripture what is the condemnation and curse that falls upon those who sin against the fathers. Consider Ham, the son of Noah: when he saw his father naked he did not cover his father's naked body but came out and reported it to his brothers, and they covered their father's naked body with a garment. Now if Ham and his posterity fell under a curse while those who covered their father were deemed worthy of a great blessing, surely those who are zealous to cover this Synod with dishonor by attaching to it the impiety of this letter and of Theodore are also deserving of condemnation many times over! One can be sure, therefore, that neither this impious letter and its defenders nor Theodore whose impiety surpasses even the pagans, the Jews, and all heretics will escape the condemnation for their wickedness.

*The Impiety of Theodore of Mopsuestia and a
Defense for his Posthumous Condemnation.*

Indeed, Theodore was not satisfied to hold the symbol of the 318 fathers in contempt and to pervert its meaning to make it fit his own error, but in addition to his other blasphemies he presented a different symbol bursting with impiety. In it he dared to anathematize those who think or teach differently than he so that in his madness he condemned all the holy apostles and fathers. This perverse symbol of Theodore's was presented at the first Synod of Ephesus, it was later read at Chalcedon, and both synods condemned it, its author, and its adherents.

There are some adherents to the views of Theodore, however, who, when one brings out his impious writings pretend that perhaps they are heretical after all because there is blasphemy in them. And yet they refuse to anathematize the one

who disgorged the impiety. We marvel at how empty their minds are, for they dare to oppose themselves to the divine Scripture which says quite plainly, "Both the godless and their wickedness are equally abhorrent to God."²² In other words, both the deed and the doer of the deed are punished, and if God despises both the godless man and his wickedness, then clearly this man Theodore has already been separated from God and rightly subjected to anathema. For anathema means nothing else than to be separated from God, as is plainly revealed in the administration of the anathema in both the Old and New Testaments. When in the Gospel of John the Lord refutes the Jews and says, "Everyone who sins is a slave to sin, and the slave does not remain in the house forever, but the Son remains forever,"²³ he means that those who do not abide in the Word of his Truth are separated from the Church, for, as the apostle attests in his first letter to Timothy, the divine Scripture calls the "house" to which the Lord refers the "Church of the Living God."²⁴

So if there is anyone who would maintain that it is not right to anathematize Theodore after his death, then the defender of such a heretic should be informed that justice demands that every heretic persisting in his error even to his death be subjected to eternal anathema even if he has already died. This has been done to heretics from times past as well as recently: for example, Valentinus, Basilides, Marcion, Cerinthus, Manichaeus, Eunomius, and Bonosus.

But in fact, this has already been done to Theodore for he was accused even while he lived, and anathematized by the holy fathers after he died. If, however, they choose to remain unconvinced by the facts that the defenders of Theodore are heretics, then they should at least be convinced by this godless letter they defend. For while it especially defends Theodore, it also unambiguously states that he was condemned by the holy fathers of the Church, for a major inquest was conducted concerning his writings and they were shown to be full of impiety. At the time, this was done by the

²²Wis 14:9.

²³Jn 8:34-35.

²⁴Cf. 1 Tim 3:15.

fathers of the Church lest the more simple-minded chance upon his impious writings and be misled from the true faith.

At any event, one can prove from the holy Synods that godless men can be anathematized by the catholic Church even after their death, even though they did not receive the anathema in person when they were alive. The Synod of Nicea, for example, anathematized those who held to the godless opinions of Arius without naming them, just as the Synod of Constantinople subjected to anathema the wicked heresy of Macedonius [without naming him]. The holy Church of God, however, later anathematized Arius and Macedonius by name, after they had died.

When the defenders of Theodore and his godless teachings are convicted of their impiety by all these arguments, they flee in vain to another futile argument, and maintain that he should not be anathematized because he died in communion with the Church. They need to understand, however, that those die in communion with the Church who uphold to the end the pious doctrine proclaimed in common by the catholic Church. But this man [Theodore] was expelled from the whole Church because he died in his impiety. Indeed, the whole Church of Mopsuestia, where it is said that he was bishop, removed his name from the diptychs of the priests of his Church, for because of his blasphemy the holy fathers numbered him with the pagans, the Jews, and the Sodomites: this is shown from the synodal minutes recorded of this man in the same city of that eparchy. We marvel then that the defenders of Theodore would receive him and his impiety as their own when his own Church of which he was bishop cast him out long ago as a heretic.

However, the defenders of Theodore are the cause of their own condemnation as we learn from the same terrible judgment that fell upon Judas. He thought he could escape the notice of the One who knows the secrets of men, and with the apostles he partook of the mysteries, and yet his compact with hypocrisy gained him nothing. Not even the fact that the disciples are called the twelve after his death—as John the evangelist says when he writes, "But Thomas, who is called Didymus, one of the twelve was not with them when Jesus

came"²⁵—clears Judas from condemnation, nor does it allow him to be numbered with the apostles. For after the Ascension of the Lord the apostles voted to condemn Judas even after his death and to appoint another in his place.

But let us demonstrate even further from the words of Our Lord how worthless is the argument they present us when they maintain that heretics should not be anathematized after their death. He said that the wicked are dead though they are yet alive, for he said, "Let the dead bury their own dead."²⁶ Conversely, he said that the righteous are alive though they have died, for concerning Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob he said, "He is not God of the dead, but of the living."²⁷

So then, if they are right that we cannot anathematize heretics after their death, then heretics who are living, whom the Lord described as dead because they are separated from him who said, "I am the Life,"²⁸ cannot be anathematized either; and so their view would mean that neither living nor dead heretics can be anathematized, but this would nullify the teaching of the apostles which instructs us that those whose tradition is alien to the tradition we have received are anathema. Not only this, but even the holy Synods will condemn heretics in vain, and the other holy fathers and teachers of the Church will also subject heretics to anathema in vain. But in addition to all this, they will even condemn Jeremiah the prophet who said, "A curse shall be called down upon those who fail to do the works of the Lord,"²⁹ and David the prophet who said, "A curse shall be called down upon those who turn away from your commandments."³⁰ To put it simply, they will condemn the whole of divine Scripture which throughout subjects the wicked to the same condemnation. For if those who fail to do the works of the Lord and who sin against his commandments are subjected to such condemnation, surely this godless Theodore who says such blas-

²⁵Jn 20:24.

²⁶Mt 8:22.

²⁷Mt 22:32.

²⁸Jn 14:6.

²⁹Jer 31:10.

³⁰Ps 118:21.

phemous things of our great God and Savior Jesus Christ is justly condemned and anathematized many times over!

These arguments, combined with the arguments in our other works which prove that heretics must be condemned even after their death, should be enough to confound the defenders of Theodore and bring their impiety to an end. But so contentious are they that they continue to hold on to their views; and so we must say more.

St Athanasius bears witness to the fact that Pope Damasus of blessed memory, as well as the ecumenical Synod of Sardica, anathematized certain persons assembled at the holy Synod of Nicea who subscribed to its definition or symbol of faith—some while they were still living, and others after they had died—because it was revealed that they held to this symbol in a perverted way. And in fact, the Holy Synod of Chalcedon condemned Domnus, the Bishop of Antioch, after his death simply because he dared to write that the Twelve Chapters of St Cyril should be passed over in silence.

Now, when every premise put forth by these heretics who defend Theodore has been refuted, they then try to say that Cyril of holy memory commended Theodore in a certain part of his letter: they say this to deceive those who do not know the facts. So let us take a few passages to show how their arguments are at odds with the statements St Cyril made in his different books in opposition to this godless Theodore, whom he showed to be more impious than all other heretics.

Once when he was unable to endure the magnitude of the many blasphemies Theodore had uttered against our great God and Savior Jesus Christ, Cyril expressed his opinion in unequivocal terms saying: "Be appalled at this, O Heaven, and shudder most greatly, says the Lord."³¹ "O wickedness that is not to be endured, O tongue that speaks wickedly against God, raising the horn of insolent pride!"³² And again:

O man, set a lock and key over your mouth! Cease from exalting the horn of pride and from speaking

³¹Jer 2:12.

³²Cf. LXX Ps 74:6-7 (75:4-5).

wickedly against God! How long will you assault the long-suffering Christ? Hold your mind to what is written by the divine St Paul, "Thus, by sinning against the brethren and wounding their conscience when it is weak, you sin against Christ."³³ I may speak also from the prophetic books: Sodom is justified more than you for you have surpassed the babbling of the pagans they made against Christ when they considered the foolishness of the Cross, and you have removed the basis for the mad accusations of the Jews!

So, since St Cyril condemned the impious Theodore, even if someone were to discover some place where St Cyril said something in behalf of Theodore, as they think, Theodore would still remain under condemnation. We find that many of the holy fathers received heretics: for example, St Damasus, St Athanasius, and St Basil all received Apollinaris, and Leo of holy memory received Eutyches. But even though they had been favorably received, they were nonetheless unable to escape from the condemnation and anathema directed against them and their impiety as soon as their wickedness had been exposed.

But Theodore's defenders are so mad that they dare even to slander Gregory the Theologian and John of Constantinople, for they say that these men wrote letters of commendation on Theodore's behalf. But this is absolutely false. After Gregory had fought for the truth in Constantinople and had brought people back from the error of Arius to the true faith, he then returned to his own region and these letters that the heretics have deceitfully presented were in fact written not to Theodore of Mopsuestia, but to Theodore, Bishop of Tyana, the metropolis of the second Cappadocia.

These letters originated from the region of Nazianzus where St Gregory was bishop, and from the district of Arrianus, which is indicated quite clearly in the letters for they make mention of customs and councils from the region of Arrianus and other districts of the same province, and they describe the months in the local Cappadocian dialect. More-

³³1 Cor 8:12.

over, they make mention of Bosporius, whom Theodore of Tyana made bishop of the city of Colonias, as well as other bishops, provincial bishops and monasteries that were under his jurisdiction, whose names are preserved even to this day. But how could there have ever been communion between the Cappadocians and those of the second Cilicia since that diocese has been separated from their eparchies? And which of their bishops could have been under the Bishop of Mopsuestia when he himself was established by the Metropolitan of the second Cilicia?

Now John of Constantinople wrote a letter to Theodore of Mopsuestia, not to commend him, but to rebuke and condemn him because of the impieties he had fallen into. The two had been ascetics together when they took up the solitary life in the same monastery, and he remembered him from his association with him there. There are witnesses to the truth of this in Sozomen, Hesychius, and Socrates, and even in Theodoret who offered many words of praise on behalf of Theodore.

Now if these heretics bring forth the witness of John of Antioch and the Oriental Synod over which he presided which was convened to deal with Theodore and his impious teachings, they will also have to receive the condemnation of St Cyril and the refutation of the true faith which was handed down by John and those who were with him, as well as their writings defending Nestorius and his impious teaching. This is proven from the various documents and letters they sent to the pious Theodosius and other dignitaries.

These arguments should be sufficient; but lest we omit anything, in order to be precise we need to recall what was written by Augustine of holy memory, bishop in Africa. An inquiry was instigated concerning a certain Caecilianus after his death because he had turned away from the tradition of the Church, and when some separated themselves from the catholic Church because of this man, this same Augustine of holy memory wrote to Boniface that they should not for this reason separate themselves from the catholic Church. For if the charges brought against Caecilianus were true and it was demonstrated that he was of a mind contrary to what had

been established by the Church, then he would be subjected to anathema even after death. In addition, the canons of the holy Synod of Africa decree that any bishop who disburses any of his surplus wealth to heretics whether with or without a will must be anathematized even after death.

But leaving all these things aside, surely everyone is familiar with what has taken place in our own time concerning the actions taken by the Church of the elder Rome against Dioscorus. Although he had not erred in matters pertaining to the faith, Dioscorus was anathematized by the most holy Church of Rome after his death simply on the basis of ecclesiastical ordinance. If bishops, then, who have not fallen from the faith are subject to anathema after death on the basis of ecclesiastical ordinance, or because of money, how much more ought Theodore [to be anathematized after death] since he has sinned against God himself?

But if in their stupidity they insist on maintaining that whoever has died in his impieties should not be anathematized after death, then by the same token we should not recall those fathers who were condemned after their death unjustly. Well then, what has befallen John of holy memory, Bishop of Constantinople? He was recalled by the catholic Church after his death. Or what of Flavian of holy memory, also Bishop of Constantinople? While he lived he was unjustly condemned, and it wasn't until after he died that he was justly recalled after his death by Pope Leo of holy memory and by the holy Synod of Chalcedon. If we adhere to their ideas we will find heretics being numbered with the holy fathers since they are now released from the condemnation they justly received, whereas those holy fathers who were condemned unjustly shall be united with the heretics since they are not released from the condemnation they unjustly received.

But he who is most trustworthy is our teacher Jesus Christ, our Lord and our God, who said of himself:

For God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whoever believes in him might not perish but have eternal Life; for God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the

world through him might be saved. He who believes in him is not judged, but he who does not believe in him has already been judged because he has not believed in the name of the only-begotten Son of God.³⁴

And the Holy Spirit says through the prophet David that in the Day of Judgment the wicked will not be raised.³⁵

Closing Warning.

So then, since our Lord has given such a judgment against all wicked men, and since there is no separation of heretics living or dead, how can they oppose this judgment and say that they should not be condemned after their death when they have already been condemned by our Lord for their impiety? The blessed apostle, who bears Christ in himself, extends his judgment not only against men, but also against angels when he says in his letter to the Galatians, "But even if we or an angel from heaven proclaim to you anything other than what we proclaimed to you, let him be anathema. As I said before, I will say again; if anyone preaches to you a gospel other than the one you received, let him be anathema!"³⁶ Now who would so wickedly presume to say that the godless writings of Theodore, or even a part of them, were at one time included in the tradition of the holy Church of God? Anyone who dares to affirm such a thing straightway casts himself under anathema of the holy fathers.

Therefore, if after this orthodox confession which condemns the heretics one separates oneself from the holy Church of God by disputing over names or syllables or phrases rather than preserving a pious understanding, then his piety exists in name only and not in deed, for such a one delights in schism. He will render an account of himself and of those whom he has deceived or will deceive to our great God and Savior Jesus Christ at the Day of Judgment.

³⁴Jn 3:16-17.

³⁵Cf. Ps 1:5.

³⁶Gal 1:8-9.

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ON THE PERSON OF CHRIST

The Christology of Emperor Justinian

Translated by Kenneth Paul Wesche

At the opening of the sixth century, large segments of the Roman Empire had fallen to barbarian warlords. The Churches of Rome and Constantinople were locked in a schism rooted in different attitudes towards the decrees and definitions of the Fourth Ecumenical Council held at Chalcedon in 451. The emperor Justinian (527-565) dreamed of reunifying and restoring the Empire, but to accomplish this he need a unified Church. Before Justinian ascended the throne the schism between Rome and Constantinople had been healed, largely due to Justinian's influence, but a significant segment of the Eastern population (called "monophysites") would not accept the union and the imperial Church remained divided.

Hoping to facilitate his political aims for unity, Justinian vigorously pursued a policy of reconciling the monophysites to the Council of Chalcedon by sponsoring a theological program to show that the language of Chalcedon's definition of faith was faithful to the meaning, if not to the exact terminology of Cyril's christological formulas. The three documents translated in this volume: "*Against the Monophysites*," "*Concerning the Three Chapters*" and "*On the True Faith*" are significant imperial documents reflecting the conclusions reached in that theological program. Although they failed to convince the monophysites or reconcile them to the imperial Church, they articulate the interpretation of Chalcedon's christological definition, upheld by Orthodox theologians even today, and set the stage for the christological definitions of the Fifth Ecumenical Council. They serve as an important source for setting forth fundamental philosophical principles underlying the Orthodox doctrine concerning the Person of Jesus Christ.

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Cover illustration: The emperor Justinian offering St. Sophia Cathedral to the Virgin and Child. Detail from a 10th century mosaic, gallery of St. Sophia, Constantinople. Photo: Courtesy of N. Ozolin.