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Translated Texts for Historians
Volume 51

**The Acts of the Council
of Constantinople of 553**
**with related texts on the
Three Chapters Controversy**

Translated with an introduction and notes by
RICHARD PRICE

Volume One
General Introduction
Letters and Edicts
Sessions I–V

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME ONE

Preface	vii
Abbreviations	xiii
GENERAL INTRODUCTION	
I. The Road from Chalcedon 451–518	1
II. The Ecclesiastical Policy of the Emperor Justinian	8
III. The Trials of Pope Vigilius	42
IV. The Theology: Problems and Solutions	59
V. The Three Chapters	76
1. Theodore of Mopsuestia	77
2. The Controversial Writings of Theodoret	84
3. The Letter of Ibas to Mari the Persian	88
VI. The Reception of the Council	99
VII. Texts and Versions	104
LETTERS FROM AFRICA (545–6)	109
1. Bishop Pontianus to Justinian	111
2. Ferrandus, Letter 6 to the Deacons of Rome	112
JUSTINIAN, EDICT <i>ON THE ORTHODOX FAITH</i> (551)	122
LETTERS BY OR ON POPE VIGILIUS (551–2)	160
1. Letter of Excommunication to Ascidas and Menas	161
2. Letter from the Church of Milan to the Frankish Envoys	165
3. Encyclical Letter, <i>Dum in Sanctae Euphemiae</i>	170
THE ACTS OF THE COUNCIL OF 553	
Session I, 5 May	183
Session II, 8 May	205
Session III, 9 May	219
Session IV, 12 May	225
Session V, 17 May	271

VOLUME TWO

Abbreviations	vii
THE ACTS OF THE COUNCIL OF 553	
Session VI, 19 May	3
Session VII, 26 May	72
Session VIII, 2 June	102
VIGILIUS, THE TWO <i>CONSTITUTA</i> (553–4)	
1. First <i>Constitutum</i>	141
2. Second Letter to Eutychius of Constantinople	214
3. Second <i>Constitutum</i>	219
APPENDICES	
I. The Anti-Origenist Canons (543 and 553)	270
1. Canons of 543	281
2. Letter of Justinian to the Council (553)	282
3. Canons of 553	284
II. The Attendance and Subscription Lists	287
MAPS	
1. Patriarchates and Provinces	300
2. The Balkans	301
3. Western Asia Minor	302
4. Eastern Asia Minor	303
5. Syria and Palestine	304
6. Egypt	305
7. Italy and Africa	306
GLOSSARY	307
BIBLIOGRAPHY	
1. Primary Sources	316
2. Secondary Literature	320
INDICES	
1. Persons in the Texts	333
2. Documents	340
3. The Commentary	341

PREFACE

The Council of Constantinople of 553, often called Constantinople II or the Fifth Ecumenical Council, has been described in one of the best studies in the field as ‘by far the most problematic of all the councils’.¹ It has set problems for the historian, but above all for many a pious commentator who has found its decrees regrettable and its methods deplorable. The methods employed by the council, and by the emperor who dominated it, included brutality towards its opponents, both Pope Vigilius and the bravest spirits among the African clergy, and the apparent falsification of documents in the dossiers ‘proving’ the errors of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret of Cyrrhus. The work of the council included condemnation, through the doubtful procedure of posthumous anathematization, of two of the greatest biblical scholars and commentators of the patristic era – Theodore again and Origen. It is widely held that it narrowed and distorted the theological vision of the Council of Chalcedon; it is further observed that it failed in its aim to win back to the imperial church the non-Chalcedonian Christians of the east, that it perpetuated the breach with the Church of Persia (which revered Theodore of Mopsuestia), and that it damaged relations between the Chalcedonian churches in the east and the Latin churches of the west.² In contrast, I shall argue that the theology of the council was both opportune and constructive, and that its contribution to Christian unity was well-intentioned and not wholly unsuccessful. As an historian, I can at least say that the criticisms made of the council show its importance and the need for an annotated translation of its acts.

The main issue addressed by the council was the need to resolve the Three Chapters controversy. To clarify at once a basic point of terminology, by the ‘Three Chapters’ was, and is, meant not a set of decrees but the person and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428), certain writings by

1 De Vries (1974), 161.

2 For a discussion of the council in the context of modern ecumenism see Stirnemann and Wilfinger (1996), 113–53.

Theodoret of Cyrrihus (d. c. 466), and the Letter to Mari the Persian attributed to Ibas of Edessa (d. 457): to ‘condemn’ the chapters was therefore to condemn these texts and writers, and to ‘defend’ the chapters was to exculpate them. The Three Chapters controversy was more heated than fruitful, but I hope the reader will come to share my fascination with a debate that plumbed at times the depths of misplaced ingenuity.³

The documentation is exceptionally rich. We have not only the voice of the victorious party, in the acts themselves and in the writings of the emperor Justinian, but also the voice of the opposition in the west, including Facundus of Hermiane’s massive *Pro defensione trium capitulorum* and the *Breviarium* of his African compatriot Liberatus, which gives an account of the origins of the controversy that has dominated, or distorted, the historical record ever since; in this case history was written by the losers. It is also unusual to find a debate in which two of the lengthiest contributions, one in support of the chapters and the other against them, were written (or at least signed) by the same person – I refer to the two *Constituta* of the unfortunate Pope Vigilius.

The controversy deserves the attention of historians for a particular reason. The contestants – Chalcedonians, non-Chalcedonians, defenders of the chapters, opponents of the chapters – differed little in their theology but very greatly in their answer to a question that was specifically historical: what account was to be given of the Christological controversy of 428–451 and in particular of the work of Chalcedon? The material I present has been neglected by historians because it is not of prime importance for either the events of the fifth century or the innovations of the sixth. It will only reveal its significance if we approach it with a different question in mind, about how a society – in this case the imperial, Chalcedonian Church – determines its identity by mapping and interpreting its past.

Equally important for understanding these acts is a recognition of their literary character. They present not a verbatim report of spontaneous discussion, but readings of pre-prepared documents, accompanied by introductions and commentaries that will have attained their final form through a process of editing that followed the sessions. They remain a credible record of a council whose proceedings, choreographed in advance, were more akin to liturgy than to a modern parliamentary debate.

3 Gibbon dismissed it as ‘the famous dispute of the Three Chapters, which has filled more volumes than it deserves lines’ (1901, vol. 5, 137).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the great edition of the *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* initiated by Eduard Schwartz the fourth ‘tome’ is devoted to the council of 553. One cannot but note a retrenchment compared to the tomes on Ephesus I and Chalcedon, each of which consisted of many parts and included a mass of related documents. Curiously, the very first volume of *ACO* to appear (in 1914) was the second ‘volume’ of this fourth ‘tome’, consisting of a variety of fifth- and sixth-century texts with a close, or more often a loose, connection to the council; but Schwartz’s own later editions of related material, notably treatises of Justinian and letters of Vigilius, have not been reprinted as part of *ACO*. The first volume of the fourth tome, edited by Johannes Straub, consists of the acts of 553, with little in the way of supplementary material; it is, however, the authority and reliability of this edition that alone made this translation possible, while its identification of the numerous works and documents cited, which make up the greater part of the text, vastly eased the task of annotation. My work cannot but be a tribute to one of the great editing achievements of the last hundred years.¹

For the additional documents I include there are a variety of editions, which I note before each section of translation and in the bibliography. It is fortunate that Eduard Schwartz, after completing his work on the Acts of Ephesus I and Chalcedon, produced critical editions of a number of the texts by Justinian and Vigilius that I translate. Little of this additional material has been translated before.²

My annotation is indebted to a number of unpublished sources, including advice and parts of his unpublished thesis on Leontius of Byzantium from Brian Daley S.J., while Uwe Michael Lang provided me with his translation of a key text of John Philoponus, prior to publication; likewise Volker Menze gave me, prior to publication, the typescript of his *Justinian and the Making of the Syrian Orthodox Church*, which transformed my understanding of the relations between the emperor and the non-Chalcedonians. Advice on bibliography on Justinian and copies of some rare articles came from Dragoş

1 It may also be noted that there are two complete translations of the acts into modern languages, a pre-revolutionary Russian version, *Deyaniya Vselenskikh Soborov* (Kazan, 1908; Saint-Petersburg, 1996), III, 287–480 (based on an outdated text but still useful), and one into modern Greek – Metropolitan Meletius of Nicopolis, *Hê Pemptê Oikoumenikê Sunodos* (Athens, 1985).

2 I should, however, mention K.P. Wesche, *On the Person of Christ: The Christology of Emperor Justinian* (Crestwood NY, 1991), which offers a very readable translation of several of Justinian’s theological treatises.

Miršanū, Demetrios Bathrellos gave me his copy of the book on the council by Metropolitan Meletius, while I was supplied with Russian items by A.I. Sidorov and Alexey Khrapov. It has been a stimulus to discuss several of the issues with Patrick Gray, the most insightful English commentator on this material. Averil Cameron generously gave of her time to read through the introduction and annotation and make valuable comments. Slips in the translation were reduced by the selfless work of the TTH readers, Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby. Mary was as always the most encouraging, most helpful, and most patient of editors.

My chief debt, however, is to the library of Heythrop College, University of London, which provided not only the volumes of *ACO* but almost all the patristic texts and editions I needed. With the British Library also at hand, and further resources in the Warburg Institute, the Classical Institute and King's College London, truly the lot is fallen unto me in a fair ground.

PRINCIPLES OF THE TRANSLATION

My translation follows the Latin version of the acts published in *ACO* 4.1 (1971). The Greek text does not survive, apart from the Greek versions of three letters exchanged between Vigilius of Rome and Eutychius of Constantinople and of the conciliar canons, to which may be added the anti-Origenist canons of 553, which, though not formally issued by the council as such, have been associated with it ever since; all this material is printed in an appendix in *ACO* 4.1, 235–49. However, the original Greek text of many of the documents given in full or excerpted in the acts survives independently, and wherever the original Greek survives (even of a short quotation) I have noted the fact and translated from the Greek.

The Latin version, or versions, were produced in the immediate aftermath of the council.³ All the evidence (which includes the contemporary Latin translation of the Acts of Chalcedon, from the same source, where a full comparison is possible with the original Greek) points to its being literal and faithful. Its very fidelity means that a translator has to look out for phrases in 'dog' Latin, where a correct translation into English depends on recognizing the underlying Greek idiom. For example, the participle *constitutus* should mean 'agreed' or 'created' but in fact is constantly used to translate the Greek participle ὄν (from εἶμι = I am), since *sum* lacks a present participle. Likewise *talis* or *eiusmodi* translate τοιοῦτος, which usually means simply 'this'. *Colo* (I worship) is often used to translate προσβέω,

³ See pp. 104–5 below.

meaning ‘advocate’. Sometimes *tamquam* (‘as if’) translates ὡς even when it means ‘because’. Occasionally *potest* (‘it is possible’) is used to translate ἔξεστί even when it means ‘it is permissible’. Such Graecisms are at times to be met with in original Latin texts. The mutual influence of Greek and Latin bureaucratic prose in this period would make a fascinating study.

A translator soon becomes acquainted with certain habits of late antique Latin prose. *Videtur* (followed by the infinitive) is often used pleonastically, where the standard translation ‘seems’ would be misleading and it is best not to translate the word at all; the same is occasionally true of *debet*.⁴ *Invenitur*, *monstratur*, *noscitur*, *ostenditur*, *probat*, *reperitur* are equally redundant, but in their case a literal translation is not misleading and (save where the result would be clumsy) I translate them. *Mereor*, like its Greek equivalent ἀξιούμαι, is often used to mean ‘receive’ with no implication of merit.

In Greek texts and in Latin texts translated from the Greek I have regularly translated σύνοδος as ‘council’. However, in original Latin texts, where sometimes *synodus* and sometimes *concilium* is used, I have used ‘synod’ and ‘council’ respectively.

The forms and spelling of proper names are regularized. For personal names I adopt the forms given in the *ACO* index, though with the modifications standard in English, e.g. ‘John’ for *Iohannes* and ‘Theodoret’ for *Theodoretos* or *Theodoretus*. For place-names I generally adopt the forms to be found in the lists in A.H.M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*.⁵

4 These two usages are noted in Souter, *A Glossary of Later Latin*, a book whose usefulness is out of all proportion to its modest size.

5 2nd edition (1971), 522–52, ‘Appendix IV: Tables’.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABAW.PH	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung
ABAW.PPH	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und Historische Klasse
<i>ACO</i>	<i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i>
<i>AHC</i>	<i>Annuario Historiae Conciliorum</i>
BBKL	Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon
<i>ByzF</i>	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
<i>ByzZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>BZNW</i>	<i>Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
CPG	Clavis Patrum Graecorum
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
<i>DHGE</i>	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques</i>
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dunbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>DTC</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i>
<i>ep(p).</i>	<i>epistola(e)</i>
fr(s)	fragment(s)
<i>Hist. Eccl.</i>	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>
<i>JECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
<i>MEFRA</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Série 'Antiquité'</i>
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
<i>MSR</i>	<i>Mélanges de science religieuse</i>
<i>Nov.</i>	<i>Novella</i>
NPNF	A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
<i>or.</i>	<i>oratio</i>
<i>OrChr</i>	<i>Oriens Christianus</i>

Pauly-Wissowa	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , rev. Georg Wissowa
<i>PGL</i>	<i>A Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> , ed. G.W.H. Lampe
PG	Migne, <i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
PL	Migne, <i>Patrologia Latina</i>
<i>PLRE</i>	<i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , ed. J.R. Martindale
PO	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i>
Price and Gaddis	Price and Gaddis, <i>The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon</i>
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>REByz</i>	<i>Revue des études Byzantines</i>
<i>RechSR</i>	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>
<i>RevSR</i>	<i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i>
<i>RHE</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique</i>
<i>RSPPhTh</i>	<i>Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques</i>
<i>RThL</i>	<i>Revue théologique de Louvain</i>
SBAW.PH	Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
<i>SCH</i>	<i>Studies in Church History</i>
<i>StP</i>	<i>Studia Patristica</i>
StT	Studia e Teste
<i>TS</i>	<i>Theological Studies</i>
TTH	Translated Texts for Historians
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
<i>ZAC</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum</i>
[]	Editorial supplements or brief annotation within the text

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

I. THE ROAD FROM CHALCEDON 451–518

The Council of Chalcedon (451) in its Definition of the Faith declared that Christ is one person in two natures, Godhead and manhood. Intended to bring out that Christ is fully divine and yet fully human, it was understood by its critics to mean that ‘Christ’ is a mere name for two distinct entities, externally linked.¹ The Definition emphasized the authority of Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444), but held back from adopting the full Cyrillian position, with its insistence that the one who died on the cross is the divine Son, not some man connected to the Godhead.² Opponents of Chalcedon argued that the council followed the teaching of Nestorius (d. 451), charged with separating the Godhead and manhood of Christ into two distinct persons, even if it ostensibly condemned him. They insisted against Chalcedon that Christ has not two natures but one: by this they meant that the human nature was not a distinct entity but simply a new set of attributes taken on by the Divine Word at his incarnation. Insistence on ‘one nature’ in Christ led to their opponents dubbing them ‘monophysites’ (people, that is, who insist that Christ had only one nature although it is obvious to all good men and true that he had two), a term replaced in current ecumenism by the less pejorative term ‘miaphysites’, those, that is, who assert ‘one nature’ in Christ. In arguing that the Chalcedonian Definition was not to be given a sympathetic interpretation its opponents laid stress on certain attendant circumstances – first, that the council had approved the Tome of Leo, which in its rhetorical emphasis on the distinction between the two natures Christ sounded, at times, Nestorian to eastern ears, and secondly (though this criticism came to the fore later) that the council had restored to their sees Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Ibas of Edessa, both of whom had fiercely criticized Cyril and given support to Nestorius.

1 The term ‘nature’ (φύσις) was not merely generic, as in English, but could mean an individual entity.

2 For an introduction to the Christological controversy of 428–51 see Price and Gaddis, I, 56–75.

2 ACTS OF THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE OF 553

Subsequent opposition to the council was vociferous in much of the east, at first in Egypt and Palestine and later in Syria as well. Equally striking was a lack of any positive enthusiasm for what modern scholars identify as the achievements of the council: when in 457 the new emperor Leo consulted the eastern bishops about the council, the bishops outside Egypt gave it a massive endorsement in the documents collected in the so-called *Encyclia*, but this was only out of shock at the murder at Alexandria of the Chalcedonian patriarch Proterius. Their approval of Chalcedon was combined with the minimalist interpretation that the council had done no more than reassert the Nicene Creed and protect the faith against certain heresies: not one of the letters in the *Encyclia* acclaimed the ‘two natures and one hypostasis’ formula that subsequent theology was to identify as the major achievement of the council.³

It is these facts that provide the context for the *Henotikon*, drafted by Patriarch Acacius of Constantinople and issued by the emperor Zeno in 482, which attempted to restore unity to the churches by modifying the official stance towards both Cyril and Chalcedon.⁴ Firstly, of all the writings of Cyril it singled out for approbation the Twelve Chapters, Cyril’s most sharply worded statement of his teaching on the unity of Christ, a document which Chalcedon had chosen to ignore. At the same time, the *Henotikon* asserted the double consubstantiality of Christ (that Christ is of one essence with both the Father and with the human race), a doctrine advanced in the *Laetentur caeli* letter to John of Antioch, a document that was an embarrassment to the anti-Chalcedonians, since in it Cyril had been accommodating towards his opponents.⁵ The *Henotikon* affirmed *both* aspects of Cyril’s teaching, in an attempt to reconcile both the Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian heirs of Cyril.

Secondly, while attaching unique importance to the Nicene Creed (as Chalcedon itself had done), the *Henotikon* had only this to say in relation to Chalcedon:

Everyone who has held or holds any other opinion [than that of Nicaea], either at the present or another time, whether at Chalcedon or at any synod whatsoever, we anathematize, and especially Nestorius and Eutyches and those who uphold their doctrines.

³ The *Encyclia* (or *Codex Encyclius*) is in *ACO* 2.5, pp. 24–98. For a full analysis see Grillmeier (1987), 195–235.

⁴ The text comes in Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.* III. 14, trans. Whitby, 147–9.

⁵ That Christ’s humanity is consubstantial with our own – which Eutyches denied – was held by Cyril prior to the ‘union’ of 433 (see *Against Nestorius* 3.2–3) but not emphasized by him.

The intention appears to have been to affirm the Chalcedonian decrees according to a minimalist interpretation that reduced them to disciplinary canons condemning Nestorius and Eutyches. The reference to whoever had upheld heresy at Chalcedon was exploited by miaphysites as if it condemned the Definition, but this cannot have been Zeno's intention; rather, the reference must be to that small minority of bishops at Chalcedon who were accused of Nestorianizing – in particular, Theodoret of Cyrrihus and Ibas of Edessa. However, Chalcedon had reinstated Theodoret and Ibas, and to condemn them was to criticize the council. In all, the *Henotikon* was a confused and confusing document.

In the short term, however, it succeeded in restoring peace to the eastern churches.⁶ All the eastern patriarchs signed it, and the bishops were happy to follow suit. But if the *Henotikon* was widely accepted in the east, it caused great offence in the west, which insisted upon loyalty to Chalcedon as the only way of checking the miaphysite onslaught. Rome rejected the *Henotikon* and broke off communion with Acacius and everyone else who accepted it, producing the so-called 'Acacian Schism'.

The *Henotikon* remained in place as the expression of imperial policy and a document to which all bishops were required to adhere throughout the reign of Anastasius (491–518). Finally, at the death of Anastasius there was a return to Chalcedon: the *Henotikon* was abandoned, the decrees of Chalcedon were reaffirmed as essential for orthodoxy, and the see of Constantinople even agreed to the Roman demand to erase the name of Acacius and his pro-*Henotikon* successors and colleagues from the diptychs read out during the celebration of the liturgy. This change of policy can be explained, as we shall see, by the failure of the *Henotikon* to live up to its name – the 'unifier'.

Let us first identify the competing factions of the time. The extreme Chalcedonian position that rejected the *Henotikon* and refused to be in communion with those who accepted it was maintained by Rome throughout this period, and had its supporters in the east, most notably the Acoemete monks at Constantinople and many of the monasteries in Palestine. Chalcedonian patriarchs and bishops in the east were required, however, to subscribe to the *Henotikon* as a condition of holding their sees, but salved their consciences by warring against miaphysites who tried to use the *Henotikon* as a weapon against Chalcedon. There were also moderates

⁶ The following account is based on Frend (1972), Charanis (1974), Grillmeier (1987), Meyendorff (1989), Pietri (1998), and Haarer (2006).

and extremists on the anti-Chalcedonian side. The moderates remained in communion with the Chalcedonians who accepted the *Henotikon*, despite their own rejection of the Chalcedonian Definition. Finally, the extreme anti-Chalcedonians insisted that to remain in communion with Chalcedonians was a betrayal of the faith and incurred a share in their guilt; they therefore refused obedience to the miaphysite patriarchs and bishops who remained in communion with Chalcedonians who accepted the *Henotikon*. Because these irreconcilable anti-Chalcedonians had no patriarchs on their side, they were known as the *Acephali* or ‘headless’ ones.

To map the skirmishes and shifting play of forces between these factions let us take each of the patriarchates in turn. At Alexandria Peter Mongus (482–9) and his successors professed an unconditional adherence to the *Henotikon* in their communications with the emperor and their Chalcedonian colleagues in the other patriarchates, while issuing for consumption within Egypt anathemas against Chalcedon and Pope Leo, a double game that was only partially effective, since it could not be kept secret. John III (505–16), however, included an anathematization of Chalcedon in the formal declaration of loyalty to the *Henotikon* that he issued after his election. This reflected the growing confidence of the anti-Chalcedonians and their new policy of interpreting the *Henotikon* as a rejection of Chalcedon, in an attempt to turn an instrument of reconciliation into a weapon of attack.

In Constantinople the patriarchs remained loyal to Chalcedon, which, after all, had issued the canons that accorded both primacy in the east and a territorial patriarchate to their see. Patriarch Euphemius (490–96) was an outspoken, even aggressive, Chalcedonian, who put pressure on the emperor and tried to stir up opposition to miaphysitism in Egypt itself: after a few years Anastasius was able to contrive his retirement. His Chalcedonian successor Macedonius (496–511) was less abrasive: loyal to the *Henotikon*, he promoted the doubtful compromise of approving the ‘correctly formulated’ decrees of Chalcedon (as if some were not correctly formulated) but at the same time rejected the communion of those who gave a strongly anti-Chalcedonian interpretation to the *Henotikon*.

Meanwhile, the rival factions were all represented in the patriarchate of Antioch. Patriarch Palladius (490–98) kept to the middle ground, upholding the *Henotikon* and refusing to follow Euphemius of Constantinople in breaking off communion with the then patriarch of Alexandria. His successor Flavian II (498–512), while respecting the *Henotikon*, was, however, openly Chalcedonian and broke off communion with Alexandria.

Finally, in the patriarchate of Jerusalem a shift took place. Under the

emperor Zeno the patriarch Martyrius (478–86) had even anticipated the *Henotikon* by issuing a document in similar terms, attempting to accommodate both pro- and anti-Chalcedonians. But after his death the Chalcedonian monks under the leadership of St Sabas increased their influence to the point of dominance first in most of the monasteries and then in Jerusalem itself.⁷ Patriarch Elias of Jerusalem (494–516) was in a strong position to oppose those who tried to use the *Henotikon* as a weapon against Chalcedon, and it was twenty years before Anastasius finally lost patience and secured his deposition, only to find his successor, John, equally staunch in his Chalcedonianism.

Strong arm tactics by Chalcedonian monks against their anti-Chalcedonian brethren in Palestine in 509 drove the monk Severus, the leader of the miaphysites and the greatest theologian of the age, to seek refuge at the court of Constantinople, where Anastasius was already moving in a miaphysite direction. If his policy could hitherto be described as neutral and primarily aimed at keeping the peace, it now sought to promote the miaphysite cause even in places such as Constantinople and Jerusalem where local opposition was intense.

In 510, in accordance with this new policy, the *Typos* appeared: written by Severus and presented as an interpretation of the *Henotikon*, it was circulated by the emperor without being promulgated by him. It condemned both the Tome of Leo and two-nature Christology, though without naming Chalcedon. This exacerbated tensions between Chalcedonians and non-Chalcedonians, and a council held at Sidon in 511 failed to resolve the impasse. The Chalcedonian patriarchs were ready to give a minimalist interpretation of the Chalcedonian Definition that reduced it to a condemnation of Nestorius and Eutyches and passed over its positive teaching (as the *Henotikon* itself had done), but Severus rejected this compromise, on the grounds that Chalcedon had only pretended to condemn Nestorius. The Chalcedonians now appealed to the *Henotikon* itself: the document, they pointed out, did not require the condemnation of Chalcedon; not even the miaphysite Peter Mongus and his immediate successors at Alexandria had required any more of their Chalcedonian colleagues than acceptance of the *Henotikon*. The emperor had to admit the force of the argument.

In 512 the miaphysites managed to secure the election of Severus as bishop of Antioch, who promptly anathematized Chalcedon. This did not please the emperor, who, while working to strengthen the anti-Chalcedonian

⁷ This is not to forget a continuing miaphysite presence in Palestine, to which the *Plerophoriae* of Bishop John Rufus of Maiuma (written in the 510s) bear witness.

cause, did not approve of Severus' attempts to present the *Henotikon* as a condemnation of Chalcedon, since he wished it to remain a bridge between himself and the Chalcedonians. Severus' aggressively miaphysite stand proved unpopular in a region where the rival factions had to learn to coexist. Repeated attempts by Anastasius to get Palestine to recognize Severus also failed; for although the government could apply pressure on two successive patriarchs, Elias and John, local pressure from fanatical Chalcedonians was more intimidating than an imperial letter or the presence of a few imperial officials. A dramatic account in Cyril of Scythopolis of a confrontation in which high-ranking imperial officials had to flee for their personal safety before hordes of enraged monks, who swore to die rather than tolerate heresy in the Holy Places, bears vivid testimony to the ineffectiveness of central government when faced by determined and coordinated local opposition.⁸

Meanwhile in Constantinople Anastasius had already in 511 replaced the Chalcedonian Macedonius with the compliant Timothy (511–18), who accepted the communion of Severus. Anastasius now issued an edict which, in line with miaphysite teaching, added to the *Trisagion* hymn a formula that attributed the suffering of the cross directly to the divine Son; this anticipated the championing of theopaschite language (though in a Chalcedonian context) by the emperor Justinian. But the unpopularity of this new policy led in 513/4 to the revolt of the general Vitalian. Though Vitalian failed in a series of campaigns to seize the capital city, he seized control of much of the Balkans. Anastasius was unable to suppress either the revolt or the unrest the Chalcedonians stirred up in Constantinople itself. To save his throne, he had to switch to a policy of distancing himself from the miaphysites and entering into negotiations with Rome.

On the emperor's death in 518 the failure of the *Henotikon* was apparent. Issued originally as an attempt to establish a *via media* between the extremes of unqualified loyalty to Chalcedon and unqualified rejection of it, it failed to maintain its ground. The great weakness of the document was what had at first appeared its strength – its comprehensiveness. Since it relied on ambiguity about Chalcedon and addressed few of the problems, it did not define a distinctive position between the two extremes. In consequence it failed to inhibit either of the opposed factions, both of which were able to use adherence to the *Henotikon* as a cloak under which they could continue to battle against their opponents. As the historian Evagrius commented,⁹

8 Cyril of Scythopolis, *Life of Sabas* 56–7, trans. Price, 158–67.

9 Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.* III. 30, trans. Whitby, 166–7.

During this period, whereas the Synod at Chalcedon was neither openly proclaimed in the most holy churches nor indeed universally repudiated, each of the prelates conducted himself according to his belief... As a result all the churches were divided into distinct parties, and their prelates had no communion with one another. Consequently it came about that there were very many divisions both in the east and in the western regions and in Libya, since the eastern bishops were not on terms with those in the west or in Libya, nor in turn were the latter with those in east. The situation became [still] more absurd. For the prelates of the east were not even in communion with each other, nor indeed were those directing the sees of Europe or Libya, and much less so with outsiders.

It was not, therefore, surprising that Anastasius' successor Justin I (518–27) reversed his policy. Historians used to stress the new emperor's Illyrian origins to explain his support for the Roman see. Restoration of communion between Rome and the eastern churches could also be seen as preparing the way for the master plan of his nephew Justinian to recover the western provinces and reunite the Roman world, although it is more common today to see the partial reconquest of the 530s as an opportunistic response to immediate circumstances. Since the reign of Justinian saw the division of the eastern church into rival Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian communions, it could be argued that his policy sacrificed the unity of the east in order to recover unity with the west; according to this interpretation it was the *Henotikon* that, in contrast, served the true interests of the Christian east.¹⁰ We have seen, however, that the *Henotikon* failed to unite the eastern churches. There is no need to invoke Justin and Justinian's alleged western sympathies to account for their reassertion of Chalcedon.

Together with Chalcedonianism went the restoration of communion between Rome and the east, broken by the *Henotikon*, and the deposition in much of the east of the anti-Chalcedonian bishops, including Severus of Antioch; only in Egypt (to which Severus fled) did the miaphysites remain in control. But the course of Justinian's reign was to show that opposition to Chalcedon remained endemic, particularly in Syria, and restored Chalcedonian orthodoxy was to prove no stronger a unifier than the previous policy had been. This was in part the legacy of the *Henotikon*, which had fatally undermined the authority of Chalcedon in large tracts of the Greek east.

10 This is the claim of Charanis (1974).

II. THE ECCLESIASTICAL POLICY OF THE EMPEROR JUSTINIAN

Dialogue and diplomacy 518–43

The new emperor Justin I (518–27) had adopted his eldest nephew, Petrus Sabbatius, who took the name Justinianus. Born in around 483 near Naissus in the province of Dacia Mediterranea (in present-day Serbia), Justinian was already a mature man when his uncle was raised to the purple, and had received a good education at Constantinople. From the beginning of Justin's reign he will have been a strong influence, but we should not assume that his political and ecclesiastical convictions were already fully formed; they became unmistakable only after his own accession in 527. Yet the continuity is striking, and the whole period from 518 till the council of 553 may be taken as a single sequence.¹

The emperor Diocletian (284–305), whose reforms set the Roman empire on a path that Justinian was to inherit, had underpinned his regime with a new emphasis on piety and sound morals. His laws against incestuous marriage, hitherto customary and tolerated in some parts of the east, and against the new cult of Manichaeism, testify to a new kind of conservatism – not the comprehensive spirit of earlier centuries, tolerant of local and particular traditions, but a new stress on uniformity enforced by law; his edict *On Marriage* refers to 'the discipline of our times'. Justinian demonstrated the same spirit in much of his legislation, as in his savage treatment of homosexuality.² He outdid all his predecessors in his repression of non-Christian religions. Early in his reign we find the intensification of the civil disabilities imposed on pagans, Jews and Manichees, and an attempt to wipe out that ancient offshoot of Judaism, the Samaritans; the destruction of their synagogues in 529 spurred a revolt, and the attempt to impose Christianity on them was a failure.³

The miaphysite opposition to the new Chalcedonian orthodoxy of the imperial court and Church needed, however, gentler handling: the miaphysites were too numerous to be suppressed, and were generally perceived as

1 The source material for Justinian's ecclesiastical policy is multifarious and hard to synthesize. Brilliantov (2007), 432–45, though written as long ago as 1911, is a model treatment, that gives due weight to each category of evidence.

2 Cf. Malalas 18. 18 (trans. Jeffreys, 253) for the exemplary punishment of two bishops.

3 For Justinian's legislation against non-Christians and heretics see Noethlichs (1999), 739–49.

bigots but not heretics: they were criticized not for their beliefs but for their refusal to accept communion with the Chalcedonians.

On Justin's accession the first developments in ecclesiastical policy owed more to Vitalian (a powerful presence till his murder in 521) than to Justinian himself. This is true of the reassertion of Chalcedon and the restoration of communion between the eastern Chalcedonians and the Roman see. It is also true of the first major initiative to clarify the teaching of Chalcedon and bring out more clearly its accord with the Cyrillian Christology that both anti-Chalcedonians and eastern Chalcedonians adhered to. The issue was the propriety of theopaschite language – language that attributes the suffering of the cross to God the Word as the personal subject of all Christ's acts and experiences, even the human ones. It was raised by a party of Scythian monks (from modern Dobrudja) who came to Constantinople and pointed unerringly at the chief omission in the Chalcedonian Definition, the lack of an unambiguous assertion that God the Word is the subject of the Passion; they advocated the adoption of the formula 'Christ, one of the Trinity, was incarnate and suffered'.

There emerged immediately the key issue that was to divide east and west throughout Justinian's reign: did this, and similar proposals, constitute a clarification of the work of Chalcedon or its amendment, with the shocking implication that the work of the council was flawed? It could certainly be argued that the Chalcedonian Definition, with its emphasis on the Nicene Creed and Cyril's interpretation of it, implied the correctness of theopaschite expressions, even if the Definition shied away from making the acceptance of such expressions a formal criterion of orthodoxy. Unfortunately, the Scythian monks argued that Chalcedon was inadequate against Nestorianism and needed to be supplemented. This set them in opposition to Rome, which had no problems over theopaschite language but, out of fear of an undermining of Chalcedonian orthodoxy in the east, had insisted since the time of Leo the Great that the Chalcedonian decrees were irreformable.⁴ Justinian at first sympathized with the Roman position, but then adopted the position of Vitalian and the Scythians. The suddenness of the change may suggest that he was a pragmatic broker, indifferent to theological niceties but keen to propitiate miaphysite opinion; but his main motive at this stage, when his own position was not yet secure, was not to be upstaged by Vitalian. The consistency with which he subsequently defended Cyrillian

4 There was a notable theopaschite statement in Leo's Tome: 'The impassible God did not disdain to be a passible man, nor the immortal one to submit to the laws of death' (vol. 2, 53). For Leo's insistence on the finality of Chalcedon see Grillmeier (1987), 136–8.

Chalcedonianism goes against the view that in religious matters he was a mere politician.

It was all very well, however, to insist that Chalcedon had followed Cyril, but what was to be done to establish a *modus vivendi* with those who insisted it had not? Non-Chalcedonian bishops who would not agree to the imposition of Chalcedon lost their sees, and their Chalcedonian successors harried their monastic supporters, but one cannot talk of systematic persecution.⁵ Hugely revealing for the shape of the debate early in Justinian's reign, the emperor's own attitude, and the reason for his subsequent singling out of the Three Chapters are the minutes of the Conference of Constantinople of 532 between representatives (around six apiece) of both the Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian sides.⁶ When asked to specify their objections to Chalcedon, the miaphysites replied, 'Above all the innovation of two natures'; they explained that while 'from two natures' and 'one nature after the union' were orthodox formulas, the Chalcedonian 'in two natures' implied 'two natures after the union', which split Christ in two.⁷ To this they added, 'We have many more things to censure in the council, but above all else the fact that they accepted Ibas, and again that they accepted him on the basis of his Letter to Mari the Persian.'⁸ The Chalcedonian representatives appear to have tied themselves in knots over this letter (if we may trust the minutes of their opponents): pressed to condemn it, they declined to do so, even though they acknowledged that it contained doctrinal errors, and even though this refusal undermined their attempt to argue that the minutes of Chalcedon were unreliable and that the council had not given its approval to the letter. As for Theodoret, the miaphysite delegates continued, 'They [the fathers of Chalcedon] also accepted the wicked Theodoret, without his having changed from his evil belief... How are those who received him not guilty of his wickedness, since, when he anathematized Nestorius alone, they did not (go on to) require him to anathematize his wicked writings which he wrote against the holy Cyril and against the true faith?''⁹

5 See Menze (2008), ch. 3 for the actions taken by Chalcedonian bishops in Syria and Mesopotamia against dissident monks.

6 See Grillmeier (1995), 230–48 and Menze (2008), ch. 2. Of the two rival sets of minutes, the Chalcedonian (by Innocent of Maronea) are in *ACO* 4.2, pp. 169–84 and the anti-Chalcedonian in Brock (1981).

7 *ACO* 4.2, p. 171,39–172,7. In contrast, the Chalcedonian spokesman at the conference, Hypatius of Ephesus, claimed that 'from two natures' and 'in two natures' are equivalent formulae, when properly understood, and that Chalcedon had been happy with both (*ACO* 4.2, pp. 174–5).

8 Brock (1981), 98.

9 *Ibid.* 98–100.

At the end of the conference Justinian granted an audience to the miaphysite representatives, at which he conceded that they were orthodox, while they singled out as the key criterion of orthodoxy affirmation that God the Word suffered for us in the flesh. Asked by the emperor what would be required for reconciliation between the two parties, they replied that the Chalcedonians would have to ‘anathematize those who speak of two natures after the inexplicable union, as well as the Tome of Leo, and what took place at Chalcedon in opposition to the orthodox faith’. In response the emperor offered them the following terms:¹⁰

Would [the following conditions], perhaps, be acceptable to them: they might anathematize Diodore, Theodore, Theodoret, Ibas, Nestorius and Eutyches, and accept the Twelve Chapters of the holy Cyril, while anathematizing what had been written against them; they might confess one nature of God the Word incarnate, but they should refrain from anathematizing those who speak of two natures after the inexpressible union, [anathematizing] instead those who hold Nestorian views and divide up Christ into two natures... They should accept the council at Chalcedon as far as the expulsion of Eutyches was concerned, but they need not accept the definition of the faith made there; they should cease their anathema of the Tome of Leo; and the *libelli* of the Romans should not be suspended.

This amounted to an offer that the non-Chalcedonians would be accepted as members of the imperial Church if they agreed to accept the Chalcedonian Definition interpreted as simply a disciplinary act that condemned Eutyches (and Nestorius).¹¹ They would not have to abandon their ‘one nature’ formula, though they would have to concede that the ‘two nature’ formula, as employed at Chalcedon, was not heretical. They would be free to express their strong loyalty to Cyril by anathematizing his Antiochene opponents, including Theodoret and Ibas, despite their reinstatement at Chalcedon.¹² These terms were as far as a Chalcedonian could possibly go. But to expect

10 Ibid. 116–7.

11 This minimizing interpretation of Chalcedon was periodically revived in the hope of winning over the miaphysites, as by Patriarch Anthimus of Constantinople in 536 (Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* IX. 21), when Severus of Antioch dismissed it as inadequate.

12 Uthemann (1999), 30–1 (2006, 64) understands Justinian to have offered the condemnation of Theodore, Theodoret and Ibas, and the acceptance of the ‘one nature’ formula *pari passu* with Chalcedon’s two natures as terms that he and the Chalcedonians could agree to, but this is not what the text says, and no Chalcedonian could have gone so far as to accept ‘one nature’ and to condemn the persons of Theodoret and Ibas. The Chalcedonian delegates did, however, agree that Dioscorus, who had upheld the ‘one nature’ formula at Chalcedon, was not a heretic (Brock 1981, 117).

miaphysites, whose very identity had for eighty years been linked to their rejection of Chalcedon, to sign up to the Definition, even on a minimalist interpretation, was scarcely realistic, and the greatest stumbling block was in the last sentence – the acceptance of the *libellus* of Pope Hormisdas of 515, insisting on the removal from the diptychs read out in the liturgy of the names of the great anti-Chalcedonian bishops. It is not, then, surprising that they rejected the emperor's offer. Yet other sources reveal that one of their bishops (Philoxenus of Doliche) moved over to the Chalcedonian camp, and suggest that for a time the Syrian non-Chalcedonians held back from fresh ordinations. In addition, they accepted (probably around this time) the disciplinary canons of Chalcedon into their own canonical collections.¹³ Despite the failure of the conference to achieve agreement, it will have left Justinian with a sense that further negotiations with the miaphysites would admittedly not make them Chalcedonians but might ward off open schism.

So he continued his policy of seeking a compromise, while trying to make Chalcedonian Christology more palatable to its critics by adopting theopaschite expressions. In an edict of 15 March 533 he declared, 'Jesus Christ, God's Son and our God, incarnate, taking human nature and crucified, is one of the holy and consubstantial Trinity,'¹⁴ while in a letter to Patriarch Epiphanius of Constantinople of 26 March 533 it was this same doctrine of Christ being one the Trinity that he singled out as the contribution of Chalcedon.¹⁵ Into the liturgy he introduced the hymn, '[You], the only-begotten Son and Word of God..., becoming man and crucified, O Christ God, by death crushed death.'¹⁶ Finally in 534 Pope John II, under pressure from the emperor, abandoned his predecessors' reserve towards theopaschite expressions and wrote to acknowledge that 'God suffered in the flesh', quoting as authoritative the statement to this effect in the final and most controversial of Cyril's Twelve Chapters.¹⁷

At the same time fresh approaches were made to the non-Chalcedonians. Their leader Severus, formerly patriarch of Antioch, was invited to Constantinople, where the empress Theodora provided him and hundreds of his followers with shelter and welcome. In 535 Anthimus, the retired bishop of Trapezus (Trebizond), was made patriarch of Constantinople. He had been

13 See Grillmeier (1995), 246, Uthemann (1999), 31–2, and for the canons Menze (2008), 99.

14 The complete text is in the *Chronicon Paschale*, trans. Whitby and Whitby, 129–30.

15 Coleman-Norton (1966), III, 1125–31.

16 Uthemann (1999), 38–9.

17 *ACO* 4.2, pp. 206–10. For Cyril's chapter see vol. 2, 48, and for the theopaschite controversy of Justinian's time Grillmeier (1995), 317–43.

one of the Chalcedonian representatives at the conference of 532, and now pursued further a policy of rapprochement. Non-Chalcedonian sources¹⁸ preserve a correspondence between Anthimus and the non-Chalcedonian leaders Severus and Theodosius of Alexandria in which communion was restored between them on the basis of a declaration of faith by Anthimus containing the assertion that ‘each one of the natures remained without confusion in its sphere of manifestation’ but also the formula ‘out of two natures one Son, one Lord, one Christ, and one nature of the incarnate Word’, which constituted an acceptance of miaphysite expressions as no less valid than Chalcedonian ones.¹⁹ The text of the letters, transmitted in non-Chalcedonian sources, goes further, and attributes to Anthimus an explicit anathematization of Chalcedon and its teaching. This is not credible: when he was subsequently deposed, it was on the ground that he had only pretended to follow Chalcedon, while in fact ‘supposing it necessary to give the same and equal treatment to those condemned [the heretics] and those who had condemned them’.²⁰ The charge is not that he had himself rejected the council, which would have contributed nothing to what was surely his goal – the reconciliation of the non-Chalcedonians to the imperial Church.²¹ The anathematization of Chalcedon must be a miaphysite interpolation, to protect Severus and Theodosius from the charge of having accepted the communion of a Chalcedonian.

Justinian’s ingenious diplomacy fell foul, however, of the hostility to the miaphysites of the clergy and people of Constantinople, reinforced by similar voices from Syria and Palestine.²² Discontent was aroused by Anthimus’ friendly negotiations with the miaphysite leaders. When Pope Agapitus visited Constantinople in March 536, Justinian had to sacrifice Anthimus to the wave of popular feeling and to give Agapitus the glory

18 Ps.-Zachariah IX. 21–26 and Michael the Syrian IX. 25.

19 Cf. in a fragment of a tract Anthimus addressed to Justinian, ‘For us there is one hypostasis and one incarnate nature of the Word of God’ (van Roey and Allen 1994, 65).

20 *ACO* 3, p. 120, 11–21. Hypatius of Ephesus, who had led the Chalcedonian delegation at the conference of 532 and will have known Anthimus well, was harsher, accusing him of ‘criticizing the expression “in two natures”, frequently denying what the holy Council of Chalcedon defined against Eutyches, and refusing to reject those who were rightly condemned by the same holy council’ (ibid. p. 179, 26–9), but even this stops short of accusing him of anathematizing the council.

21 For Anthimus’ policy of reconciliation, as in accordance with the aims of Justinian, see Menze (2008), 196–208, ‘Anthimus: an Ecumenical Patriarch’.

22 See Ps.-Zachariah IX. 15 for the role of Patriarch Ephraem of Antioch even before Pope Agapitus’ arrival in Constantinople. Between his arrival and his death (22 April) he received anti-miaphysite petitions (*ACO* 3, pp. 136–52) from Syrian and Palestinian bishops and monks.

of deposing one patriarch of Constantinople and ordaining his successor Menas. A home synod of Constantinople was held in May to condemn Anthimus, Severus of Antioch, and other miaphysite leaders.²³ Severus and the other miaphysites whom Theodora had been housing had to scurry back to Egypt. Non-Chalcedonian sources give graphic accounts of the ensuing persecution in Syria, but it is indicative of a continuing attachment to the imperial Church that they blame not Justinian but Patriarch Ephraem of Antioch.²⁴ The attempt was even made to reclaim Egypt itself, where in 537/8 Theodosius of Alexandria was deposed and replaced by the Chalcedonian Paul. Force was used to impose Paul's mandate in Alexandria,²⁵ but most of Egypt was left in miaphysite hands.

This did not mean the end of the attempts by the emperor to build bridges with the non-Chalcedonians. Famously, his consort Theodora continued to patronize the latter till her death in 548, housing hordes of miaphysite monks in the her palace of Hormisdas and promoting miaphysite interests. Was Theodora seeking to thwart her husband's policy? The contemporary historian Procopius saw through the apparent discord between the imperial spouses: 'They were always in agreement with each other, but in appearance pretended to be in conflict, and so were able to divide their subjects and strengthen their tyranny most firmly.'²⁶ It was in Justinian's interests that the non-Chalcedonians should continue to look for patronage to the court, and it protected him from charges of duplicity if Theodora acted with apparent independence.²⁷

The prominence of Theodora's role in helping the miaphysites did not mean that Justinian kept his distance; after all, Theodora's patronage was only effective because her spouse was ready to listen to her.²⁸ The miaphysite historian John of Ephesus tells us how in around 542 Justinian and Theodora

23 Grillmeier (1995), 351–5; Millar (2008). But miaphysitism itself was not condemned as a heresy.

24 Cf. John of Ephesus in PO 17, 293–6 and PO 19, 224; Ps.-Zachariah, *Chronicle* X. 1; Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* IX. 16–24.

25 Cf. the Arabic sources, PO 1, 466 and PO 17, 605–6.

26 Procopius, *Anecdota* 10.23.

27 Evagrius suspected the same, writing that perhaps 'they had reached some sort of accommodation, so that he would support those who speak of natures in Christ our God whereas she would do the same for those who advocate one nature' (*Hist. Eccl.* IV. 10, trans. Whitby, 209). For further discussion of Theodora see Menze (2008), 208–28, 'Remembering Theodora: A "Believing Queen"?'.

28 The following discussion is indebted to Gratsianskii (2006), 58–83 and Menze (2008), 254–65.

sent rival missionaries, Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian, to Nubia, but a good case has recently been made out that the conversion of the country by non-Chalcedonians arose from Justinian's own initiative and that the Nubians accepted the missionaries on this understanding and not out of a desire to distance themselves from the imperial Church. We hear of Justinian paying respectful visits to the miaphysite monks under Theodora's protection, and like Theodora he himself provided hospitality and sustenance in Constantinople for numerous monks belonging to the same party. Most striking is his role in the great programme of missionary work conducted by John of Ephesus and other non-Chalcedonians in southern Asia Minor from around 542/3 and continuing for thirty years. According to one late source the new converts were instructed according to Chalcedonian doctrine;²⁹ this is not credible, but they will indeed have come under the jurisdiction of the local Chalcedonian bishops. All this is evidence of the emperor's recognition that he needed to be seen as indispensable by all his subjects, and also of the existence of a significant body of moderate miaphysite opinion that, however critical of the decrees of Chalcedon, had no desire to turn its back on the imperial Church.³⁰ This is the context in which it is necessary to interpret the chief component of Justinian's ecclesiastical policy from 542 to the council of 553 – the condemnation of the Three Chapters.

One other factor should be taken into account in interpreting this policy, and that is the disastrous downturn at this very juncture in the empire's fortunes. Down to 540 his reign had been amazingly, almost miraculously, successful (despite some moments of crisis such as the Nika revolt in Constantinople in early 532). An expedition sent to Africa in 533 to restore a deposed Vandal king found itself reconquering the whole region for the empire with little difficulty; the success of the first stages of the reconquest of Italy (from 536) was no less astounding, with the Goths reduced by 540 to just two northern strongholds, Ticinum (Pavia) and Verona. The 530s saw also one of Justinian's greatest achievements, the editing and publication of the Code (in its second and final version), the Digest, and the Institutes, the three supreme masterpieces of Roman jurisprudence. And as if this were not enough, the same decade saw the construction of some of his most celebrated buildings, including Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. Justinian could with justice celebrate the renewal of the Roman world (*renovatio imperii*). The theme that the empire enjoyed

29 Michael the Syrian IX. 24.

30 For John of Ephesus' good relations with Justinian and 'heartfelt respect' for him see Harvey (1990), 81–2.

the special protection of providence was a conventional one; but in view of Justinian's undoubted piety and the successes of the 530s, hardly paralleled in any previous decade since the reign of Augustus, he must have believed that he was the chosen one of the Lord.

This will have made the sudden reversal in his fortunes in the early 540s nothing less than traumatic. The great city of Antioch was in 540 captured by the Persians, plundered and burnt, its first capture for three hundred years and its most destructive. Soon afterwards the success of the war in Italy was reversed, with the Goths under their new king Totila rapidly reconquering most of the peninsula (541–3). On the top of these disasters came the first known pandemic in history – the bubonic plague that swept through the whole empire in 542–3, carrying off at its height 10,000 persons daily in Constantinople alone, and which by the end of the decade must have exterminated a significant proportion of the entire population of the empire. These catastrophes must have been seen by Justinian as evidence of divine anger with the empire for which he was responsible before God.³¹ The need to recover divine favour will have added urgency to his concern to end the religious divisions in his domains and to restore, as far as it could be restored, the communion in belief and worship of all his Christian subjects. The plague had struck Justinian himself, and he had proved to be one of the few who contracted the disease and yet recovered. For what great task had he been spared by providence? Surely the reunification of the Church – not through fudging the theological issues (not a way to win God's favour) but through a vindication of orthodoxy. This he set out to achieve by condemning the Three Chapters.

The condemnation of the Three Chapters

The 'Three Chapters' condemned in an edict issued by Justinian in 544/5 are the person and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428), the anti-Cyrrillian writings of Theodoret of Cyrhus (dating mainly to the 430s), and the Letter to Mari the Persian attributed to Ibas of Edessa (written in 433/4), all three accused of Nestorianism, the heresy condemned at Ephesus I and Chalcedon and most obnoxious to the miaphysites. The text of the edict

³¹ The account of the plague in Ps.-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, *Chronicle III* (preserving the account of John of Ephesus) tells of the 'many cities which [God's] wrath turned into, as it were, a wine-press' (trans. Witakowski, 74). The credit for bringing out how the disasters of the early 540s must have radically affected the expectations and policies of Justinian, making the rest of his reign 'another age', belongs to Meier (2003 and 2004).

does not survive, but its content is clear from references to it by its critics in the west.³² It set out the emperor's Chalcedonian faith and detailed at length the heresies contained in the Three Chapters, along the same lines as later, extant writings of Justinian and the acts of 553. It followed hard on the heels of the edict of 543 condemning Origenism.³³ What was the origin and purpose of these condemnations?

The edict against Origenism was occasioned by disputes between Origenists and their opponents in Palestine. A well-informed Palestinian monk of the time, Cyril of Scythopolis, has left a vivid account of the alarms and excursions between supporters and opponents of Origenism in the monasteries of Palestine in the period 537–43, including an attempted storming and demolition by the Origenists of the Great Lavra itself.³⁴ This led to a condemnation of the Origenists and an appeal for imperial intervention by the patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, both being staunch supporters of Chalcedon and the imperial Church. Condemning Origenism, an élite heresy with a limited following, must have seemed to Justinian an easy way to win divine favour, and he duly obliged.

It is less obvious why he should have chosen to follow up the condemnation of Origenism with a similar condemnation (in late 544 or early 545) of the Three Chapters. What were his reasons? Writing to the council of 553, Justinian claimed that a condemnation of the Three Chapters was required to counter a resurgence of Nestorianism:³⁵

When through the good will of God these measures for strengthening the holy four councils had been taken by us and prevailed in the holy Church of God, the followers of Nestorius, wishing to impose their own impiety on the holy Church of God and not being able to do this by means of Nestorius, endeavoured to introduce it by means of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the teacher of Nestorius, who had uttered far worse blasphemies than Nestorius..., and also by means of the impious writings of Theodoret, those he issued against the orthodox faith, the holy First Council of Ephesus and against Cyril of holy memory and his Twelve Chapters, and in addition through the criminal letter that Ibas is said to have

32 The fragments (largely from Facundus) are collected in Schwartz (1940), 73–81 (= Schwartz 1960, 321–8) and listed in the index of the CCSL edition of Facundus' writings, p. 458. Pontianus' response to the edict (p. 111 below) implies that it began with an exposition of the emperor's faith.

33 For an analysis of the condemnation of Origenism in 543 see Grillmeier (1995), 385–402. The edict is in *ACO* 3, pp. 189–214.

34 *Life of Sabas* 84–5, pp. 189–92. For the sixth-century Origenist controversy see vol. 2, 272–4.

35 Acts I. 7.8 (p. 192 below).

written to Mari the Persian, which is replete with all the impiety of Theodore and Nestorius.

But was there a resurgence of Nestorianism in the mid-sixth century through appeal to Theodore of Mopsuestia?³⁶ Justinian's critics dismissed his claim as a weak attempt to disguise his real motives. But there is evidence that Origenists and their allies did indeed at this time press Justinian to condemn Theodore. His chief theological adviser in the period from 536 to 553 was Theodore Ascidas, metropolitan bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, but permanently resident at the imperial court. The classic account of his supposed involvement is provided by an African defender of the chapters, Liberatus, writing twenty years later:³⁷

Theodore bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, a favourite and familiar of princes, an *Acephalus* in doctrine, a vigorous defender of Origen and an imitator of Pelagius,³⁸ when he learnt that Origen had been condemned, in distress over his condemnation and for the confusion of the church set about obtaining the condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia, for the reason that Theodore had issued many works against Origen³⁹ and was hated and held culpable by the Origenists, and particularly because the Synod of Chalcedon, as can be proved, accepted the praise of him contained in the letter of Ibas. The said Theodore brought about his condemnation through the following intrigue. When the prince wrote against the *Acephali* and in defence of the Synod of Chalcedon, the same Theodore the Cappadocian together with his followers, who gave support to the *Acephali* under a show of being catholic, gained access to the emperor through the favour of the Augusta Theodora and suggested that he need not undergo the labour of writing when he could by a short cut lead all the *Acephali* into his communion. 'For if indeed,' he said, 'they take offence at the Synod of Chalcedon because it accepted the bestowal of praise on Bishop Theodore of Mopsuestia and because the synod itself by its judgement declared orthodox the letter of Ibas, which is recognized as Nestorian through and through, yet if

36 There were disciples of Theodore of Mopsuestia in unlikely places, such as Cosmas Indicopleustes in Alexandria, writing in the late 540s; see Lemerle (1968), 7–43 and Di Bernardino (2006), 384–7. The empire was not impervious to influences from the Church of Persia: the School of Nisibis transmitted the principles of Theodore's biblical scholarship both to Cosmas and to his contemporary Junillus Africanus, for whom see Maas (2003). But this scarcely amounted to a Nestorian threat.

37 Liberatus, *Breviarium* 24, *ACO* 2.5, p. 140.

38 Liberatus ascribes to Ascidas all heresies lying to hand (by '*Acephalus*' he means monophysite), whether or not they were compatible.

39 Facundus, *Pro defensione* III. 6.13 informs us that Theodore wrote against Origen a work entitled *Allegory and history*. There is a long fragment in Vosté (1929), 544–7.

this Theodore with his statements and this letter were to be anathematized, the synod, as revised and purged, will be accepted by them totally and in all respects and they will join the catholic church without your piety having to exert itself; the whole church will rejoice and the praise of your clemency will continue for ever.' On hearing this, the emperor did not at all perceive the supreme deceit of it, but accepted their proposal willingly, promising that he would do this most promptly. But again through a cunning fraud they asked him to compose a book in condemnation of the Three Chapters; for when his book had been published and made known to the whole world, while the emperor was ashamed to revise it, the matter would become irrevocable.

The claim that the condemnation of the chapters resulted from deception and manipulation by an heretical faction is manifestly tendentious; neither Liberatus nor his sources were in a position to know what Ascidas had said to Justinian or how much it influenced him. When discussing the anti-Origenist canons, I shall give the evidence that casts serious doubt on Ascidas' alleged Origenism;⁴⁰ but it is not, however, to be doubted that he gave support to the Origenists of Palestine, and he will have resented their condemnation. Moreover, there is evidence of an Origenist campaign for Theodore's condemnation in a less biased source than Liberatus: in a surviving fragment Domitian of Ancyra, an ally of Ascidas, declares, 'Those who had proposed to defend this doctrine [Origenism] could in no way accomplish it; but abandoning this struggle, they changed over to agitate against Theodore, once bishop of Mopsuestia, and they began to bestir themselves to obtain his anathematization as well, in order to annul, as they thought, the decrees issued against Origen.'⁴¹ Add to this the evidence in Leontius of Byzantium that there was mutual and long-standing antagonism in Palestine between admirers of Origen and admirers of Theodore,⁴² and it becomes plausible to view Justinian's condemnation of both figures as an offshoot of Palestinian feuding.⁴³

It remains unsatisfactory, however, to reduce the condemnation of the Three Chapters to this level. A policy of seeking to win over the non-Chalcedonians was no novelty for Justinian, and it was obvious that they would welcome the condemnation of Theodore; none of this need be attributed to

40 See vol. 2, 273–4.

41 Facundus, IV. 4.15.

42 See vol. 2, 275.

43 Justinian may also have been influenced by Cyril of Alexandria's claim in the 430s that Nestorians were spreading their doctrine under the cloak of Theodore of Mopsuestia; see the letter of Cyril's read out at Acts V. 18.

Origenist lobbying. Moreover, there must have been more weighty grounds for a policy that Justinian not only adopted but pursued doggedly for a whole decade, despite the indifference or hostility with which it was greeted. We know from the minutes of the conference in 532, from Procopius and other sources that he took a huge interest in theological questions and that in all spheres of activity he liked to make his own decisions; the notion that he simply let himself be manipulated by his advisers is contrary to our whole picture of his character and policies. That the defenders of the chapters tried to lay the blame on the emperor's advisers is understandable enough – it was more discrete than criticizing the emperor directly –, but modern historians, while they do not discount Ascidas' role entirely, do not see in it the real explanation for Justinian's new policy.

To account for this they prefer to take up the other element in Liberatus' story – that the emperor saw it as a means of reactivating his earlier plan to win over the non-Chalcedonians. This view of his motives was widely held at the time as well, and led defenders of the chapters to accuse the emperor of favouring miaphysitism above the decrees of Chalcedon, which so far from condemning Theodoret and Ibas had acquitted and reinstated them.⁴⁴ We need, however, to press the question of why precisely winning over the non-Chalcedonians should have been a goal of the emperor. Was his aim merely pragmatic – to remove a cause of discord that weakened the unity of the empire? But it was not as if the non-Chalcedonians threatened the well-being of the empire in such obvious ways as supporting rebellion or not paying their taxes. And this notion misses the extent to which his new policy caused more problems than it solved: if Justinian had really been a pragmatic politician who shaped his church policy according to political expediency, he would never have chosen to alienate the Catholics of Italy and Africa by condemning the Three Chapters (particularly at a time when the military situation in Italy was so precarious) nor would he have stuck to his policy so obstinately even after 546–8, when the intensity of opposition in the west became unmistakable. It remains probable that he was motivated by a sense of duty before God to work for a reconciliation between the imperial, Chalcedonian Church and the miaphysites, but this should not be reduced to mere 'politics'.

What exactly is meant in this context by 'winning over the miaphysites'? The common presumption of historians has been that Justinian hoped to persuade the miaphysites to accept the decrees of Chalcedon: if the Chalce-

44 Cf. Facundus, II. 1.7–12.

donians condemned the Three Chapters, it would cease to be at all plausible to accuse them of Nestorianism, and the miaphysites might be inclined to join their number. But surely a man of Justinian's intelligence must have realized that the miaphysites would be bound to interpret the condemnation of the Three Chapters as a tacit admission that the decrees of Chalcedon were a botched job, something that would only confirm them in their opposition to the council. After the failure of the diplomatic initiatives of the 530s it must have been clear to the emperor that the miaphysites would never accept Chalcedon and that it would be pointless to try to persuade them.⁴⁵

The only plausible suggestion is that Justinian was reviving the policy he had followed from 532 to 536 of urging the miaphysites not indeed to accept the decrees of Chalcedon but to make their peace with the imperial Church: if they could be made to realise that, whatever their opinion of the Chalcedonian Definition, they had been unjust in condemning Chalcedonians as Nestorians, they might feel able in good conscience to return to communion with the Chalcedonian bishops, and then the danger of a permanent schism, with separate Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian hierarchies, would be averted. The matter was particularly urgent because 542/3 saw the first episcopal consecrations in what was to develop into a rival non-Chalcedonian church, including that of Jacob Baradaeus as bishop of Edessa.⁴⁶ Jacob was himself to carry out numerous ordinations till his death in 578 in Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt: his contemporary John of Ephesus (writing a decade before Jacob's death) gives the figures of 2 patriarchs (of Antioch), 27 bishops and innumerable clergy.⁴⁷ It is true that the number of episcopal consecrations (which only started in 553) was very modest. It would be a mistake to suppose that the miaphysites were already set on creating a schismatic church: the purpose of their ordinations was to meet an immediate pastoral need, providing clergy for those of the faithful who refused to receive the sacraments from Chalcedonian priests. But the danger of this leading to the creation of a rival church was real enough. Apart from this desire to avert schism, we may also suppose that Justinian hoped

45 All this justifies Schwartz (1960), 301, Uthemann (2006), 78 and Meier (2003), 285 and 2004, 88 in questioning whether Justinian's aim was, in the most obvious sense of the words, to 'win back' the miaphysites; but it does not exclude the possibility, even probability, that he hoped to achieve some more modest accommodation with them.

46 Honigmann (1951), 157–63 and Bundy (1978), esp. 78–83. Hitherto there had been a sufficient supply of miaphysite bishops surviving from the reign of Anastasius. The Syrian miaphysite bishop John of Tella had already ordained thousands of priests and deacons (Menze 2006, 44), but it was episcopal consecrations that threatened permanent schism.

47 John of Ephesus in PO 19, 158.

that his condemnation of the chapters would lead those hesitating between Chalcedon and miaphysitism to follow the former and to place themselves under the bishops of the imperial Church.

There remains for consideration one feature of Justinian's activity in the ecclesiastical sphere that was unprecedented for an emperor – his production of a whole series of theological treatises, particularly in the decade 543–53. These works attempt to win support for the emperor's condemnation of opponents – Origenists, miaphysites, and defenders of the Three Chapters – and to interpret and proclaim the Chalcedonian faith; they represent an impressive contribution to the theological literature of the age, while their inclusion of anathemas gives them the stamp of official pronouncements of church teaching. The question we need to ask is what they can contribute to a historian's understanding of the emperor's ecclesiastical policy.

If his principal purpose had been to curry favour with the miaphysites, as has so often been asserted, we would expect in these treatises an emphasis on the common ground between the two sides, and a claim that Chalcedonians and non-Chalcedonians shared the same faith but expressed it in different terminology. To some extent this was indeed the emperor's message, in his exposition of Chalcedon in terms of the strongly Cyrillian Christology that he shared with the miaphysites. But far from trying to blur the distinction between dyophysitism and miaphysitism, he showed a constant concern to reassert it. It was only shortly before the edict on the Three Chapters that he wrote his long treatise *Against the monophysites*, addressed to a group of Chalcedonian monks in Alexandria.⁴⁸ While acknowledging that the formula 'one incarnate nature' was capable of an orthodox interpretation – since Cyril of Alexandria had championed it, this could not be denied –, he continued to argue that it was a grave error to assert 'one nature' in Christ.⁴⁹

If he had been a mere politician, keen to manipulate church teaching in order to win over the non-Chalcedonians, he would not have written in this way. It is clear that his response to the crisis of the early 540s and the apparent loss of divine favour was to recognize a duty to counteract the influences making for schism and yet at the same time to maintain the Chalcedonian faith. The defenders of the Three Chapters accused him of betraying the Council of Chalcedon; and despite his arguments to the contrary it could scarcely be denied that in condemning that which the council had chosen not to condemn he was tacitly admitting that it had done an imperfect job. But

48 Greek text in Schwartz (1939), 7–43; trans. Wesche (1991), 27–107. For the date and contents of the treatise see Uthemann (1999), 50–8 and (2006), 75–8.

49 See my analysis of Justinian, *On the orthodox faith*, pp. 125–6 below.

he could reasonably argue that, by doing what the council had left undone in its judgements on individuals, he was clarifying and strengthening its witness to the true, dyophysite faith; this would perfect the council's work and make clear to all, and supremely to the Almighty, the orthodoxy of the Christian empire.

The reception of the condemnation

To assure adhesion to the condemnation of the Three Chapters in the edict of 544/5 Justinian secured the signatures of both the patriarchs and the bishops under them. Patriarch Menas of Constantinople prevaricated, claiming that he had to wait for the pope's decision, and when he finally signed told the deacon Stephen, Pope Vigilius' *apocrisiarius* (nuncio) at Constantinople, that he had done so on the understanding that, if Vigilius refused to sign, he could withdraw his signature. The bishops under him signed likewise, while writing to Rome to attribute their submission to their patriarch's *Diktat*. Patriarchs Ephraem of Antioch and Zoilus of Alexandria likewise signed, while explaining privately that they had done so only under duress. Peter of Jerusalem protested publicly against the edict before an audience of strongly pro-Chalcedonian monks, but signed all the same.⁵⁰ To some extent this constituted no more than an insurance policy: the patriarchs were clearly afraid that, if they alienated Rome and the emperor then changed tack, they might be sacrificed as Anthimus had been. But it is still evidence of a lack of enthusiasm for the emperor's new policy, and of an awareness even at this early stage that Rome would be hostile. The western response, however, came later, during the months Pope Vigilius spent at Syracuse in 546, when he consulted the western churches. Vigilius had been raised to the see of Peter through the machinations of Justinian's agents, and the emperor must have expected his support in return. But what Vigilius and Justinian discovered was the strength of opposition in the west. This must have come as a considerable surprise to the emperor, since the west was as hostile to Nestorianism as the east; but what shocked the western churches was the way in which the edict, by condemning what Chalcedon had chosen not to condemn, implied that the decrees of the great council were open to revision.

The emperor's response was to summon Vigilius to Constantinople, where a combination of persuasion and threats might win his support and, through him, the submission of the other bishops, of both east and west, who still withheld their signatures. On arriving at Constantinople Vigilius

⁵⁰ This information is all from Facundus, IV. 4.2–9.

disappointed his imperial host by promptly breaking off communion with Menas of Constantinople and his bishops because they maintained their adherence to the edict. After a few months, however, of imperial pressure, he withdrew his excommunication of Menas; it was probably at this juncture that he signed two secret declarations, one of which he gave to Justinian and the other to the empress Theodora, in which he anathematized the Three Chapters.⁵¹ In the following year (548) he was induced to issue his *Iudicatum*, in which he publicly and formally condemned the chapters; this excited a storm of opposition in the western provinces. It was perhaps at this juncture that Justinian issued his 'Letter on the Three Chapters', responding to a rejection of their condemnation by a synod of bishops, most probably in eastern Illyricum.⁵² Realizing that the *Iudicatum* had been counterproductive, he allowed Vigilius to withdraw it. In its place it was agreed to hold a council at which eastern and western bishops would meet together to attain a common mind on the issue; Justinian was doubtless confident that, once the bishops met together and examined the evidence, they would come round to his own position on the matter. At this juncture (15 August 550) Vigilius took a secret oath in the presence of Theodore Ascidas to do all in his power to secure the condemnation of the chapters.⁵³ His oath included a promise to inform the emperor of anyone who tried to persuade Vigilius to oppose the emperor's policy, in exchange for an assurance that he would not 'incur danger of death' for listening to such talk; the implication is that Justinian regarded opposition to his policy as treasonable. The response of the western bishops to the proposed council was hostile, with most provinces declining to send representatives, pointing to unsettled conditions at home. Reparatus of Carthage was brought to Constantinople with other leading African bishops, and proved so unamenable that he was deposed on a charge relating to the murder of the general Areobindus back in 546, and the prefect of Africa was given the task of finding more amenable, or corruptible, bishops to send to the capital.⁵⁴

In July 551, without waiting any longer for a council, Justinian issued his edict *On the orthodox faith*.⁵⁵ In relation to Theodore of Mopsuestia it

51 These documents were later read out at the seventh session of the council of 553 (VII. 6–7).

52 See Schwartz (1939), 115 and Wesche (1991), 113.

53 The document was likewise read out at the seventh session (VII. 11). The emperor's representative made the improbable claim that the oath had been Vigilius' idea and that the emperor had accepted it with reluctance (VII. 4.4).

54 Cf. the Letter of the Church of Milan, pp. 20–1 (pp. 165–7 below).

55 See the text and commentary given below, pp. 122–59.

did not repeat the detailed exposition of his heresies given in the edict of 544/5, but concentrated on what had become the key issue, the propriety of posthumous anathematization. It added for the first time a full and positive exposition of the doctrine on Christ, concluding with thirteen anathemas, which were to be approved in an expanded form at the council of 553; the position adopted was both strongly Cyrillian and yet unambiguously dyophysite. Why did Justinian issue an edict at this juncture, despite having given Vigilius an assurance that nothing further would be uttered on the subject of the chapters until the opening of a council?⁵⁶ The answer is perhaps to be found in fresh negotiations with the non-Chalcedonians that took place around this time.

The twelfth-century non-Chalcedonian chronicle of Michael the Syrian gives a brief account of four hundred representatives of the Syrian non-Chalcedonians who accepted the emperor's invitation to come to Constantinople and stayed there for a whole year before he accepted that they were irreconcilable and let them depart; Michael dates these negotiations to the period (not precisely defined) that followed the death of the empress Theodora in 548. Then, after mentioning the death of Patriarch Menas (in the summer of 552), he proceeds to narrate how Justinian summoned to Constantinople the venerable Constantine of Laodicea in Syria (a survivor of the pre-518 hierarchy): he was subjected to intense pressure to sign some document (unspecified), but died before he could do so.⁵⁷ Our faith in Michael's chronology is undermined, however, when he links Constantine's death with that of Theosebius of Ephesus in similar circumstances, that had occurred back in 518.⁵⁸ A more precise date and occasion is suggested by a surviving letter to Justinian from the Alexandrian miaphysite philosopher and lay theologian John Philoponus, in which he responds critically to the edict *On the orthodox faith*, and at the same time declines the emperor's invitation to come to Constantinople;⁵⁹ it is tempting to assign Constantine's invitation to the same juncture, and to identify the document he was pressed to sign with the edict of 551.⁶⁰ What gives support to linking all

56 This was certainly Vigilius' understanding. See his encyclical *Dum in sanctae Euphemiae*, p. 2 (p. 171 below).

57 Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* IX. 30. The same story is told, without any chronological indication, in Ps.-Dionysius, *Chronicle*, trans. Witakowski, p. 100.

58 See Michael the Syrian, trans. Chabot, II, 172, 250–1 and Honigmann (1951), 119–23.

59 Surviving in Syriac and translated in Lang (2005).

60 Honigmann (1951), 36–7 places Constantine's death in 553, and suggests that the document he was pressed to sign was the acts of the council, but it surely more plausible to place these events in the period that preceded the council.

these negotiations with the edict, both those that preceded it and those that followed it, is the way in which the edict shows no concern to demand subscription to Chalcedon (and there is indeed no mention of Chalcedon in Philoponus' letter).⁶¹ While the edict argues that the duality of the natures must be recognized, its emphasis is on their unity and on the propriety of the new formula 'one composite hypostasis'. One may conclude that Justinian's hope was that his new formula could form the basis for reunion and by-pass disagreement over the Chalcedonian Definition itself. It is striking that the Syrian non-Chalcedonians were ready to come to Constantinople to negotiate.⁶²

Mention should be made of one particular factor that hampered a positive response to the emperor's proposals, as also to the original edict of 544/5, and that is division within the non-Chalcedonian ranks. From around 520 fierce dissension broke out between those who held that Christ's body attained perfection only at the resurrection and those who argued that it had been immune from corruption from the moment of its creation; the advocates of the former position became known as Hesitants, Severans (after Severus of Antioch) or Theodosians (after Theodosius of Alexandria), the advocates of the latter as Julianists (after Julian of Halicarnassus), Gaianites (after Gaianus of Alexandria) or Aphthartodocetists ('docetists' who by teaching that Christ's body had always been incorruptible – *aphtharton* – denied the full reality of his manhood).⁶³ Both sides claimed that they were the true heirs of the great miaphysite tradition and sought to prove this by outdoing each other in condemnation of Chalcedon. The non-Chalcedonians still hoped against hope that the emperor, or some future emperor, might embrace their own position and restore unity in the east on that basis, and some of them (such as John of Ephesus) benefited immediately from imperial patronage. They were therefore willing to negotiate. But each faction on the non-Chalcedonian side was inhibited from accepting a compromise by the fear that it would only discredit itself and give a boost to its rivals. Whatever the immediate cause of failure, the renewed negotiations that occurred around the time of the issuing of the edict of 551 were unsuccessful, and with them foundered the last serious attempt of Justinian's reign to reunite

61 Michael the Syrian (p. 248) asserts that the 400 'bishops' were pressed to subscribe to Chalcedon, but this is typical of his constant simplification of the issues.

62 Gratsianskii (2007), 9 dates Justinian's edict against the *Agnoetae* to this period, and sees it as part of the same policy of seeking favour with the main miaphysite groups; see vol. 2, 194, n. 150.

63 Di Berardino (1992), I, 458, and Grillmeier (1995), 79–111. For a fuller treatment of divisions within the anti-Chalcedonian movement see Dyakonov (1908), 121–65.

the Christians of the eastern provinces.

Whatever the motive for the issuing of the edict, it was immediately perceived by Vigilius as the betrayal of a solemn agreement; his reaction was to threaten anyone who subscribed to it with excommunication. A month later (August 551) he signed a degree that declared Theodore Ascidas deposed, as the mind behind the edict, and Menas of Constantinople excommunicate. At the same time he took refuge in a church (St Peter in Hormisdas); he returned to his residence in the Placidia Palace only after receiving oaths guaranteeing his safety. There he found himself imprisoned and maltreated. He again took refuge with his clergy, this time in the Church of St Euphemia where the Council of Chalcedon had been held. After receiving a particularly threatening letter from Justinian, he issued his encyclical *Dum in sanctae Euphemiae*, an appeal to the Christian world. The emperor retaliated by having Vigilius' deacons and secretaries forcibly removed from the Church, at which Vigilius had his decree condemning Theodore Ascidas and Menas posted round the city. However, pope and emperor came again to an agreement, and Vigilius felt able to return to the Placidia Palace. The restoration of outwardly harmonious relations was completed when on 26 June 552 Vigilius was received at court by 'our pious master who had repented,' in the words of an almost contemporary source.⁶⁴ It has been said that 'from the conflict of emperor and pope Vigilius emerged the victor'.⁶⁵ The provocative edict of 551 had in effect been withdrawn, and it was not referred to in the acts of the council of 553. Yet the council's own canons essentially reproduced those of the edict; if the accord of 552 does indeed represent a retreat on Justinian's part, it was a case of *reculer pour mieux sauter*.

The project of holding a general council was now revived. It was again the emperor's hope that at such a gathering the eastern bishops, the pope, and representative western bishops would confirm the condemnation of the Three Chapters, with a weight and finality that would cow the rebellious spirits in the west. After months of negotiations Vigilius signed a letter agreeing (or so it appeared) to take part in the council.⁶⁶ Eventually 170 bishops had gathered in Constantinople, of whom 152 were to attend the council; of the 170 twelve were from Illyricum (and so subject, at least nominally, to papal jurisdiction), eleven from Italy (in addition to Vigilius himself), and

⁶⁴ *Fragmenta Tusculana* 4 (PG 85. 1821B = Malalas 18. 111), which dates the event to the same year as Narses' despatch to Italy, that is, to 552, though the indiction year given (13 = 549–50) is wrong.

⁶⁵ Chrysos (1969), 203.

⁶⁶ This letter is given at Acts I. 11.

eight from Africa.⁶⁷ The number of western bishops was scarcely impressive, which meant that the attitude of the pope would be crucial. The opening of the council was delayed, probably because of further procrastination on the part of Vigilius, who in the event was to absent himself totally from the council. In the meantime Justinian got the bishops to approve a fresh condemnation of Origenism, in response to a request from Palestine, where one particular Origenist group, the so-called Isochrists, had excited an alarmed opposition from other Origenists as well as from the supporters of the condemnation of 543. Since Origenism of this variety could be read as akin to Nestorianism, this condemnation was an appropriate prelude to a council whose task would be to condemn the Three Chapters.⁶⁸

As a result of these various developments the situation had greatly changed since the issuing of the first edict against the chapters in 544/5. At that time the emperor's concern had been to restore peace to the divided churches of the eastern provinces, and he sought to accomplish this by singling out a soft target – the discredited and isolated 'Nestorians'. But by the time we come to the council of 553 reunion or even accommodation with the non-Chalcedonians could no longer be the goal, which is doubtless why no miaphysites were invited. Instead the concern was now over relations with the Latin west. Justinian's attempt to impose the edict on all the churches loyal to Chalcedon had stirred up a mighty movement in the western churches in support of the chapters – not through sympathy with Nestorianism,⁶⁹ but because the condemnations were thought to undermine the authority of Chalcedon. The critics to be overcome formed a substantial part of the imperial Church, which is why an ecumenical council was called for. The council, as is clear from the acts, had two tasks – to reaffirm the condemnation of the chapters on the basis of a full presentation of the case for the prosecution, and to secure through the cooperation of Pope Vigilius an ecumenical decree that would cow the hostile voices in the west. Adherence to Chalcedon, which had not been a theme of the edict *On the orthodox faith*, was to be stressed at the council,⁷⁰ intended primarily to impress the western churches.

67 I add together the 152 bishops who eventually took part in the council and the 17 who chose to meet with Vigilius instead (listed as signatories at the end of his first *Constitutum*).

68 See vol. 2, 278–9.

69 The thesis of Meletios (1985), that the purpose of the council was to counter a movement towards Nestorianism in the western Church, finds no support in the texts.

70 E.g. in Justinian's letter to the council (Acts I. 7.14) and the conciliar decree containing the canons (VIII. 4.27).

Justinian's role at the council of 553

The emperor attended none of the sessions of the council in person, which was unusual in the case of an ecumenical council meeting in or near Constantinople. It would, of course, have been contrary to his rank and dignity to attend the ordinary sessions, but he could have chosen to attend a special session for the formal adoption of the council's decrees, as his predecessor Marcian had done in 451.⁷¹ Also striking is the way in which lay officials played little part in the council chamber itself. The presidency and management of the council was left to the patriarchs, especially Eutychius, Menas' successor in the see of Constantinople, a competent critic of the Three Chapters.⁷² This was not, however, part of some pretence that the council was free and independent: at the very first session the emperor's envoy gave the bishops exact instructions on what questions they were to explore, what evidence they were to examine, and which conclusions they were to draw (Acts I. 7.15–17).

The council proceeded to follow the emperor's instructions to the letter. The acts show a maximum of stage-management and a total lack of spontaneity. Even the few recorded interventions from the floor followed an approved script. So, in the discussion of the propriety of posthumous anathematization Bishop Sextilian of Tunis, representing the Bishop of Carthage, presented a series of helpful citations from Augustine and an African synod. But this was not an original African contribution: the passages had already been cited in earlier writings of Justinian, and Sextilian was simply serving as the emperor's mouthpiece.⁷³ After the opening three sessions, dominated by fruitless negotiations with Vigilius and other bishops who were firmly absenting themselves, the work of the council was conducted in a series of sessions in which the chapters were examined in turn. The examination took the form of a reading out of long florilegia, accompanied by commentary.⁷⁴ The texts adduced and the arguments employed show a strong similarity to those already used in Justinian's writings against the Three Chapters, since the time of the first edict. Justinian had long had churchmen as advisers, and we may presume that his secretaries for ecclesiastical business were clerics.

71 For Marcian and Pulcheria's attendance at Session VI of Chalcedon see Price and Gaddis, II, 205.

72 The praise he received in this respect from his biographer Eustratius (PG 86B. 2297–300) is confirmed by the conciliar acts.

73 Cf. Acts V. 56–63; Justinian, Letter on the Three Chapters, ed. Schwartz, p. 68; Edict *On the orthodox faith*, p. 108.

74 As Alexakis (1996), 15 observes, 'This was the first ecumenical council in which florilegia played such an important role.'

But Patriarch Eutychius was a recent appointment at the time of the council, and his role was simply to be the executor of a solution to the controversy that in its details as well as its main lines had been perfected before his appearance on the scene.

The only unpredictable element in the proceedings lay in the relations of council and emperor with Pope Vigilius. Negotiations with him during the first week of the council were not left to the bishops: imperial officials took part, and reported back to the council in person (Acts II. 6–8). Finally on 25 May Vigilius attempted to present his first *Constitutum*, in which he rejected any condemnation of the chapters, in the hope of anticipating and sabotaging the council's work. Knowing well who was in control of proceedings, he tried (without success) to get the emperor to receive the document (Acts VII. 4.2). Justinian retaliated on the following day by sending the quaestor Constantine to the council, who presented for reading a series of documents dating from 547 to 550, some of them secret, in which Vigilius had condemned the chapters; the purpose of the reading was to prove that he was really in favour of the condemnation and that the first *Constitutum* could be ignored. Justinian pressed the bishops to issue a formal decree against the chapters without delay. During the reading of the dossier a decree was received from the emperor, which ordered the removal of Vigilius' name from the sacred diptychs read out at the eucharist (Acts VII. 14–16). The council reacted obediently.

On 2 June the bishops concluded their proceedings by approving a set of fourteen canons, based on the anathemas contained in Justinian's edict *On the orthodox faith* (Acts VIII. 5). Three of them (12–14) condemned the Three Chapters. The rest had not even been discussed at the council.

Papal and western reaction to the council

We may presume that, according to normal procedure, Justinian published the decrees of the council in an imperial edict, although no such text survives. How did the churches react? Since the council's prime purpose had been to induce Pope Vigilius and the western churches to accept the condemnation of the Three Chapters, let us start from there. It is clear that Pope Vigilius was held in Constantinople under house arrest and separated from his more courageous advisers (including the deacon Pelagius), until, under threat of deposition, he capitulated. His surrender was made known to the world in his brief letter to Patriarch Eutychius of 8 December and the interminable second *Constitutum* of 23 February 554. This humiliating U-turn was force-

fully pilloried in Deacon Pelagius' *In defence of the Three Chapters*; yet on the pope's death it was Pelagius who was chosen by Justinian to be his successor. An infamous bargain must have been struck, but Pelagius was allowed to take his time over fulfilling his part of it. On returning to Rome he issued a profession of faith in which he acknowledged Theodoret and Ibas to be orthodox;⁷⁵ this was not formally in contradiction with the council, which had condemned certain writings of Theodoret and a letter attributed to Ibas but not their persons. In the same profession of faith he acclaimed the four great councils but said nothing of the one that had just been taken place. But once his position in Rome was secure, he worked to suppress opposition to the council's decrees.

The Church in Africa had long lost the habit of opposing Rome on doctrinal matters; the capitulation of Vigilius and his successors took the wind out of its sails. What opposition was left was weakened by the imprisonment, exile or flight of its leaders,⁷⁶ of whom a number left writings that have come down to us and have blackened the reputation of the council ever since. Bishop Facundus of Hermiane (the author of the great *Defence of the Three Chapters*) went into hiding, while Deacon Liberatus (who a few years later was to write the masterly *Breviarium*) describes himself as putting pen to paper 'when exhausted by the pressure of travel',⁷⁷ which suggests voluntary exile. The deposed bishop of Carthage, Reparatus, was in less voluntary exile at Euchaita in Helenopontus, while Abbot Felix of Gillitanum was sent to Sinope in Helenopontus. Bishops Victor of Tunnuna and Theodore of Cebarsussi were moved from one prison to another, first in the Balearic Isles and later in Egypt. What, meanwhile, was happening in Africa itself? The same Victor in his *Chronicle* admits that almost all the bishops of Proconsularis and Numidia yielded to the government, in the person of Primosus, its appointee to replace Reparatus. In Byzacena the new primate was Primasius of Hadrumetum, who had shown courage in supporting Vigilius when he was still resisting Justinian, but now imitated the pope's capitulation and campaigned energetically in support of the council. Liberatus referred with disgust to the bishops whose opposition melted before imperial bribery.⁷⁸ One of the last entries in Victor's *Chronicle* is the information that in 564/5 both Theodore and himself and also four bishops still in Africa were carted

75 Caspar (1933), 289.

76 The chief source for the following account is Victor of Tunnuna, *Chronicle* 152–69 (*annis* 555–65).

77 Liberatus, *Breviarium* 1, *ACO* 2.5, p. 98, 32.

78 *Ibid.* 24, *ACO* 2.5, p. 141, 4–5.

off to Constantinople, where, when they proved resistant to pleas from both Patriarch Eutychius and Justinian in person, were separated from each other and incarcerated in various monasteries in the city. The debate was not quite extinguished, since Facundus was to write his final treatise in defence of the chapters in 568/9, but resistance was by now marginal. The main reason for this collapse of the opposition in Africa was probably a reluctance to stand in isolation against the world, a stance too similar to that of the Donatist schismatics who had for so long been the principal thorn in the side of the African Church.⁷⁹

Opposition was also short lived, or local, in Illyricum. Writing to Gaul at the end of the 550s Pope Pelagius felt able to claim that the whole region had accepted the council.⁸⁰ This was a far cry from the situation in 549 when the whole of Dacian diocese had risen against their archbishop, Benenatus, for accepting the *Iudicatum*. In Dalmatia, however, Frontinus, the metropolitan of Salona, had to be exiled to the Thebaid, and a small local schism resulted that was still in existence at the end of the century.⁸¹

Far more serious and prolonged was the schism that resulted in northern Italy.⁸² Central and southern Italy were directly under papal authority and the few dissidents were soon suppressed. But the position was very different in the autonomous region of Italia Annonaria, centred on the two metropolitan cities of Milan and Aquileia:⁸³ all the churches in this region went into schism, defying pope, council and emperor. Pelagius appealed to the imperial administration for support in suppressing the schism, but the authorities were reluctant to impose an unpopular policy on an exhausted region desperately in need of a period of recovery. Because of the Lombard invasion in 568 recovery never came. In 572 the bishop of Milan (in refuge at Genoa) abandoned the schism, and in 607 a pro-Roman bishop was elected at Grado, where the bishops of Aquileia had similarly taken refuge, but schism (the so-called 'Istrian Schism') continued in areas controlled by

79 For the collapse of opposition in Africa see also Stein (1949), 682, who speculates that the remaining defenders of the Three Chapters may have joined the Donatists (who re-emerge in the following half century) and Modéran (2007), esp. 72–80, who invokes as contributory causes rivalry between the African provinces and dependence on Constantinople for defence against the Berbers.

80 Pelagius I, Letter to Sapaudus of Arles, MGH, *Epistolae* 3 (Berlin, 1892), 443–4.

81 Victor of Tunnuna, *Chronicle* 149 (anno 554). See Chazelle and Cubitt (2007), 267.

82 See Sotinel (2007).

83 Note the reference by Datus of Milan in 551 to 'the region to which my church belongs, that is, Gaul, Burgundy, Spain, Liguria, Aemilia and Venetia' (p. 168 below), where he links his province to Gaul rather than to the rest of Italy.

the Lombards till as late as 695.⁸⁴ It was kept going by local particularism rather than concern for the theological issues, which had become garbled by the early seventh century when St Columbanus, on the basis of information available at the Lombard court, wrote to Pope Boniface IV his own astonishingly ill-informed contribution to the debate.⁸⁵

The collapse of effective opposition in Africa and the purely local character of the Istrian Schism testify, however, to the success of Justinian's policy. The edict of 544/5 had proved counter-productive because of western opposition, leading to a virtual schism between the Chalcedonian east and the Latin west. In the following decade this division engaged Justinian's attention more consistently than the divisions in the east. Averting a permanent schism in the east was not materially assisted by holding an ecumenical council to confirm the condemnations already pronounced in the edict: the authority of a council would not overawe those who had already rejected the authority of Chalcedon. If in 553 as in 544/5 Justinian's main anxiety had been over the situation in the east, he would have felt no need to summon a council; but in fact his prime aim in 553 was to achieve what Vigilius' *Iudicatum* of 548 had failed to achieve – the submission of the Latin west to the will of the emperor. Here the stance of the papacy proved decisive: Vigilius' capitulation was confirmed by the continuing loyalty to the council of his astute successors, from Pelagius I to Gregory the Great. In consequence, Justinian and the council of 553 succeeded in their aim of reuniting the Chalcedonian churches.

Eastern reaction to the council

Meanwhile in the east Justinian circulated the conciliar decrees for confirmation. As Cyril of Scythopolis informs us, 'when our divinely protected emperor sent to Jerusalem the acts of the council, all the bishops of Palestine confirmed and approved them orally and in writing, except Alexander of Abila, who was therefore expelled from the episcopate and was finally buried by an earthquake in Byzantium.'⁸⁶ This implies that the acts, or at least the canons, of the council were sent to each ecclesiastical province and that all the bishops were required to sign them. Since Alexander of Abila was a supporter of the Origenists who had refused to sign the edict of 543,⁸⁷

84 Chazelle and Cubitt (2007), 271–4.

85 Columbanus, *ep. 5* (MGH *Ep.* 3, pp. 170–7).

86 Cyril, *Life of Sabas*, ed. Schwartz, p. 199, 6–11.

87 *Ibid.* 192, 16.

it also implies that the acts which Justinian circulated included the new set of anathemas against Origenism.

I have argued that by 553 hopes of an accommodation with the miaphysites had (albeit very recently) died a death. Certainly the slight and detached mentions of the council in non-Chalcedonian sources show that the miaphysites did not feel that the council directly concerned them. The one weighty response from this quarter is John Philoponus' *Four Tmēmata against Chalcedon*.⁸⁸ In this work he hails several of the canons of the council of 553 as condemning the heresies of Chalcedon. Taking the assertion in Canon 3 that both the miracles and sufferings of Christ are to be ascribed to God the Word and the rejection in Canon 5 of two hypostases or persons in Christ, he reads into them a condemnation of the Tome of Pope Leo (formally approved at Chalcedon) with its talk of two operations in Christ. Taking the insistence in Canon 7 that two natures are to be professed 'in perception alone' and the condemnation in Canon 9 of 'worshipping Christ in two natures', he asserts that they constitute a rejection of Chalcedon's 'in two natures' formula. Taking the condemnation in Canons 13 and 14 of the anti-Cyrrillian writings of Theodoret and the Letter of Ibas to Mari the Persian, he claims that they are irreconcilable with the favourable reception accorded to Theodoret and Ibas at Chalcedon.⁸⁹ Does this mean that in Philoponus' view the Chalcedonians had repented of their errors and reconciliation was now possible? Sadly, the conclusion he draws is not that the Chalcedonians are now orthodox but that by adopting the new canons (composed in the form of anathemas) they have anathematized themselves.⁹⁰ He twists the emperor's olive-branch into a weapon of attack to serve his own purposes.

The *De sectis*, a perceptive and comparatively impartial history of the ecclesiastical controversies of the age, composed at the end of the sixth century, sums up the failure of the council of 553 as follows:⁹¹

Justinian, seeing that the Hesitants⁹² inveighed against Theodoret and Ibas and rejected the council [of Chalcedon] because of them, anathematized them. The Hesitants ask us, 'Why do you anathematize them? They are either good or evil.

88 Preserved in epitome in Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, trans. Chabot, II, 92–121.

89 Ibid. 109–10 and 117–21.

90 Michael the Syrian IX. 30 records a somewhat different miaphysite judgement: the Canons of 553 were contradictory in that some praised Chalcedon while others contradicted it.

91 Leontius Scholasticus, *De sectis*, PG 86A. 1237CD. For the reserved attitude of Leontius towards the condemnation of the Three Chapters see Speigl (1970), 221–30.

92 The 'Hesitants' (διᾶκρινομένοι) was a name given to the moderate non-Chalcedonians, in the tradition of Severus of Antioch.

If they are good, why do you anathematize them? If they are evil, why did the council accept them? If you now anathematize them as evil, what does that imply about the Council of Chalcedon, which accepted them and which you accept? To this we reply that Justinian did this out of accommodation. For when, as we have said, he saw the Hesitants rejecting the council because of these men, he thought that, if he anathematized them, he would get the council accepted; and therefore he thought it appropriate to anathematize two individuals (even if they ought not to have been anathematized) so that he might bring about the reunion of all. This is why he anathematized them. Nevertheless, not even so did the Hesitants accept the council.

This passage brings out not only the failure of the policy attributed to Justinian of converting the miaphysites to Chalcedon, but also the inevitability of that failure: the condemnation of deceased fathers whom Chalcedon had chosen not to condemn was bound to be seen by its opponents as an acknowledgement that Chalcedon had blundered. How could the decrees of 553 be expected to induce the miaphysites to accept the authority of the council? But was this the emperor's aim? Not, I have argued, in the immediate context of 553; and even back in 544 he can scarcely have hoped that the miaphysites would actually subscribe to Chalcedon. We may still surmise that the principal objective of the long campaign against the Three Chapters was to demonstrate that the imperial Church was not Nestorian and that therefore the miaphysites had no grounds for setting up their own episcopate and going into permanent schism. In this too Justinian may be said to have failed. But his failure was not inevitable: schism developed slowly and piecemeal, and it was only the Muslim conquests of a century later that destroyed any prospect of a reunited church. He can scarcely be criticized for attempting to avert this tragic denouement.

The story of the eastern churches during Justinian's reign has often been told in terms of persecution of the dissidents, productive of lasting resentment and a loss of loyalty to the empire, or in terms of miaphysite intransigence, an obstinate insistence that Chalcedon had been Nestorian. The non-Chalcedonians were certainly embittered by the persecution they suffered in Syria and Alexandria, but they blamed the Chalcedonian patriarchs rather than the emperor; and we have seen that the two sides continued for a long time to negotiate in the hope of averting a schism that neither desired. Why were these negotiations never successful? A number of answers may be offered. The emperor's concern for union was frequently frustrated by bishops with their own agenda – Chalcedonians keen to win the immediate battle in their own provinces, or non-Chalcedonians afraid of appearing to their brethren

to sacrifice truth to expediency. If one were to give priority to a single factor, it would not be *odium theologicum*, the notorious inability of theologians to agree, and still less regional separatism: it would be better to attend to a concrete liturgical fact, and that is the selection of names for inclusion in the diptychs, lists of living and dead hierarchs that were read out at every liturgy to express the identity and continuity of the worshipping community. Already in the 510s Pope Hormisdas had insisted as a condition for a mending of the Acacian schism between east and west that the eastern churches had to exclude from the diptychs the great miaphysite bishops of the post-Chalcedonian era and even a number of Chalcedonian bishops who had accepted the *Henotikon*. This seemed a reasonable requirement from the Chalcedonian and particularly the Roman point of view, but for the miaphysites of the east a purging of the diptychs would have involved renouncing their post-Chalcedonian past, the past through which they were linked to the apostles and the Nicene Church: as their representatives had declared during the conference of 532, it would be ‘to anathematize ourselves and those who were our fathers’.⁹³ This was the decisive obstruction that frustrated reunion between the Christians of the east and created a permanent gulf after the dismemberment of the empire in the following century.⁹⁴

The role of emperors at church councils

Modern Christians generally take for granted the separation of Church and State, and indeed beguile themselves into supposing that this is of benefit to religion. It is particularly noticeable in the Catholic Church that a version of church history has become common currency in which the role of the papacy is given pride of place and the contributions of Christian kings down the centuries are marginalized. Serious historians present a more balanced picture, but one in which the role of kings can appear an historical accident, alien to the nature of the Church as such. This represents an ignorance of the authentic tradition within Catholicism itself. In preparation for the convocation of the Council of Trent in 1545 Cardinal Jacobatius produced in 1538 his *Tractatus de Concilio*, dedicated to Pope Paul III.⁹⁵ In it he raises the question whether secular rulers should have a role in church councils, and replies that they should when the faith is at issue, since ‘the cause of the faith

⁹³ Brock (1981), 114.

⁹⁴ I owe this point to Menze (2008), 100–04.

⁹⁵ The edition I have used is a reprint by the Vatican congregation *de propaganda fide* as late as 1870, during the First Vatican Council.

is a universal cause, and concerns not only the clergy but also the laity'. This, he continues, is supremely true of the emperor, who is 'the master of the universe and the prince and head of the laity' and also 'the advocate of the Church'. He adds that, if at a council the pope himself were to be suspected of heresy, it would fall to the emperor to require from him a statement of faith.⁹⁶ Justinian's treatment of Vigilius should be viewed in this light.

The clericalism that Church-State separation has generated in so many of the churches today makes it difficult for us to comprehend, let alone treat fairly, the role of the late Roman emperors in ecclesiastical politics and particularly in the proceedings of church councils.⁹⁷ It is obvious that the early ecumenical councils only took place because emperors summoned them, and that the enforcement of their decrees required imperial confirmation; but it is easy to slip into a description of the guiding role that emperors often played as if it were intrusive.⁹⁸ In contrast, the declarations of Theodosius II before Ephesus I (431) and of Constantine IV before Constantinople III (680–1) that the decisions should be taken by the bishops alone can appear to have a natural rightness and to require no explanation.

Particularly unhelpful is the notion of 'Caesaropapism' – an eighteenth-century Catholic term which presumes that the Church should be run by the pope and that a dominant emperor was usurping the pope's role. This 'usurpation' is then explained by some peculiar accident of history, such as the legacy of pagan Rome, where the emperor was *pontifex maximus* or chief priest.⁹⁹ As so often, appeals to pagan precedents can distract attention from the realities of the late antique period, where a new situation led to new solutions. From the conversion of Constantine the Great till the 390s Christianity was not the religion of the Roman people nor the religion of the state, but rather the cult patronized by the imperial family. A shift occurred in the course of the fifth century as pagans were excluded from government service; during the same period infant baptism became a rite of passage for the great majority of the population. From then on there was no demarcation line between the Church and civil society, and we can appropriately talk of 'Christendom', a society that has a shared Christian commitment as its

96 Jacobatius (1870), 59–60.

97 See Dagron (2003), esp. 282–312. He writes (p. 2), 'The Church-State opposition and its derivatives, incautiously applied to the Christian middle ages, have led to no end of confusion, anachronism and error.'

98 For example, Price and Gaddis, II, 190 refers to 'the lack of episcopal freedom' in Session V of Chalcedon. Such language implies that 'episcopal freedom' is what one would expect and desire. This presumption does not assist understanding.

99 See for example Capizzi (1994), 35–6.

moral core and whose rulers saw every aspect of their role as a commission from God. They did not forget the special functions and competence of the clergy, but they did not view the Church as a separate organization that lay outside their own sphere of responsibility.

At the same time the role of the emperors remained singularly ill-defined. Did the authority of the emperor in church affairs mean that he was, in some sense, a bishop or priest? The question was raised periodically throughout the centuries of the Byzantine empire, and two answers were possible. It was easy to point out that the emperor did not officiate in the sacraments or exercise the disciplinary powers of a bishop over admittance to communion. It was equally obvious, however, that, as the one to whom God had entrusted all earthly affairs, he was not a 'mere' layman,¹⁰⁰ and there was weighty symbolic significance in his receiving communion on major feast days in the sanctuary of Hagia Sophia, from which the laity were excluded.¹⁰¹ At Ephesus II (449) Theodosius II was acclaimed by the bishops as 'the emperor and high priest',¹⁰² while Pope Leo the Great attributed to the emperor Marcian both 'regal dignity' and 'priestly assiduity'.¹⁰³

Both modern and medieval advocates of church independence have made much of the occasional protests against imperial interference in church affairs on the part of some of the most esteemed of the Church Fathers (Athanasius, Ambrose, Maximus the Confessor) when they found themselves in opposition to imperial policy. But the Fathers were supportive when emperors exercised the same powers in defence of orthodoxy. In 380 the new emperor Theodosius I promptly decreed that all Christians were to espouse Nicene orthodoxy as propounded at Rome and Alexandria;¹⁰⁴ several councils were to confirm this, but Theodosius did not wait for a council, nor did anyone expect him to. Likewise, in 450 the new emperor Marcian promptly deposed and exiled Eutyches despite his reinstatement a year earlier at Ephesus II; no one stood up for the unfortunate archimandrite. The nuances of the situation would be trivialized if we were to reduce it to approval for imperial intervention by those who benefited from it and disapproval by those on the losing

100 Cf. Agapitus, *Exposition of Admonitory Chapters* (written between 527 and 548), PG 86. 1164A, 'God 'has given you [Justinian] the sceptre of earthly power according to the likeness of the heavenly kingdom.'

101 Dagron (2003), 110–11. For the story of the empress Pulcheria receiving communion in the sanctuary in the 420s, until Nestorius drove her out, see Price (2004), 32–3.

102 Acts of Chalcedon I. 469 (Price and Gaddis, I, 216).

103 Leo, *ep.* 115, in Price and Gaddis, III, 151. For the normality of this use of *sacerdotalis* (priestly) see Dagron (2003), 305.

104 *Codex Theodosianus* XVI. 1.2, trans. Stevenson-Frend (1989), 150.

side: instead, the point to be grasped is that the emperor's 'priesthood' was conceived not as an office but as a high vocation to which he might prove unequal – a calling to protect and vindicate orthodoxy.¹⁰⁵

It is important to bear in mind that functions in the Church were to a large extent based on Old Testament precedents. The notion of priesthood, as applied to bishops and in a secondary capacity to presbyters, derived from the adoption in the third century of the notion that the Christian ministerial priesthood was in continuity with the Levitical priesthood of the Temple of Jerusalem.¹⁰⁶ Likewise, Christian emperors were seen as the successors of the kings of Israel and Judah.¹⁰⁷ The language of divine sonship attributed to kings in the Psalms¹⁰⁸ was paralleled by the use of the epithet 'divine' in late antiquity to mean 'imperial'. The kings of Israel had published and enforced ordinances relating to the worship in the Temple; King Josiah initiated and carried through a radical reform that cleansed it of polytheism.¹⁰⁹ As the good kings of ancient Israel had suppressed idolatry, so good emperors suppressed heresy.

In theory it might have been possible to draw a distinction between decisions on matters of doctrine, to be made by the bishops alone, and the enforcement of those decisions by imperial decree. In practice imperial intervention was often required to get the bishops to come to a common mind.¹¹⁰ In any case the distinction was unsustainable: certainly no one supposed that emperors could impose new doctrinal tests on their own authority, but not even councils of bishops would admit to imposing *new* doctrinal tests. Innovation was a dirty word, and new formularies, such as the Chalcedonian Definition, always claimed to be utterly traditional.¹¹¹ Even when new errors necessitated new definitions it was a constant theme that apparent

105 See Dagron (2003), 159–62.

106 This may be found both in Cyprian in the west and in the Syriac *Didascalia* in the east.

107 Cf. the bishops' acclamation at Acts of Chalcedon VI. 11: 'To Marcian..., the new David! The years of David to the emperor!'

108 E.g. Ps 2:7 and 44:7 ('Your throne, O God, is for ever', addressed to the king).

109 See de Vaux (1961), 111–14 and for Josiah 2 Kgs 23.

110 For example, Theodosius II instructed his representative at Ephesus I to leave doctrine to the bishops (*ACO* 1.1.1, p. 120), but at the end of the day it was Theodosius who had to bring about the 'union' between Antioch and Alexandria by compelling the two sides to agree to a compromise.

111 Note Canon 7 of Ephesus I (431), which forbade the use of new creeds (Acts of Chalcedon I. 943), the condemnation of Flavian of Constantinople for infringing this canon (Acts I. 962), the appeal to this canon at Chalcedon by bishops reluctant to agree to a new definition (Acts II. 7), and the incorporation of this canon into the Chalcedonian Definition as a way of asserting that it introduced no novelties (Acts V. 34 *fin.*).

novelties were but a revival of the great heresies (Adoptionism, Arianism, Apollinarianism) condemned long before. Emperors did not have to wait for a council before reasserting what they presented as traditional orthodoxy. It is in this context that we must judge the novelty of the doctrinal edicts issued by Justinian. He was the first Christian emperor to be a competent theologian and to publish a whole series of reasoned and solemn pronouncements on matters of doctrine. But he could fairly claim that he was simply reasserting against Origenists and Nestorians the truths of the Creed and of the conciliar definitions. His issuing of the edict *On the orthodox faith* before the council of 553 had met reduced the role of the bishops to that of confirming an imperial decree, but the same had been true of the councils of 381–3 (including the Council of Constantinople of 381, later considered ecumenical) that condemned Arianism in accord with Theodosius I's *Cunctos populos* decree of February 380.

Above all, the leading role of emperors in the Church was necessary to preserve its unity. The west was a special case, with the disappearance of a single political power and the ability of the papacy to take on, gradually, the mantle of imperial Rome. But since the arrival of Constantine in the east in 324 at the height of the Arian controversy the unity of the eastern churches was symbolized by the Christian emperor and preserved only by his active involvement. This could be counter-productive: the production of the Chalcedonian Definition, which proved so divisive, was forced on the bishops by what was arguably a misjudgement on Marcian's part, his desire to be a second Constantine. But at the same council it was his leadership that made Dioscorus the sole episcopal victim and that prevented a new schism between Rome and the east.

Justinian inherited a bitterly divided church in the east, where divisions had been exacerbated by the policy of his predecessors. His initial policy, as expressed in the conference at Constantinople of 532, was to seek reconciliation between Chalcedonians and non-Chalcedonians on the basis of a mutual recognition that adherents of the other side were not heretical. Part of the exercise was a development of Chalcedonian Christology in a direction that made clear its loyalty to the teaching of Cyril of Alexandria, to which the non-Chalcedonians professed equal devotion; the formal adoption of theopaschite formulas at Constantinople and at Rome served this purpose. The miaphysites, however, continued to insist that the dyophysite Christology of Chalcedon was irremediably heretical, and as a counter-attack Justinian in his subsequent theological writings, while admitting common ground, stressed the seriousness of miaphysite error.

There followed the condemnation of the Three Chapters, which, in the form it took in the edict *On the orthodox faith* and in the canons of 553, presented a positive Christology as well as condemning error. One of the emperor's aims was to avert a permanent schism between the Chalcedonians and their opponents; this was not achieved. But he had another aim in which we may judge him to have been more successful – to give orthodoxy a sharper definition. It was the emperor's hope that this would lead to a recovery of the divine favour that had been so conspicuously present in the 530s and so conspicuously absent in the years that followed. This work of clarifying the Chalcedonian decrees was misunderstood in the west as a craven compromise with the enemies of Chalcedon. Justinian knew the injustice of the charge and worked with determination to overawe the opposition he had incited. The council of 553 represented the climax of his endeavour and in several respects the achievement of his goal.

The Chalcedonian character of the imperial Church had taken time to establish. In the aftermath of Chalcedon the bishops had accepted the council as a reaffirmation of Nicaea, but did not appreciate its originality. Then during the period of the *Henotikon* adherence to the council was demoted to an optional extra. It was under Justinian that Chalcedon and its Definition moved to centre stage; and at the council of 553, under the emperor's guidance, clarification of Chalcedonian orthodoxy bestowed on the imperial Church a clear identity.

III. THE TRIALS OF POPE VIGILIUS¹

Since Justinian was able to impose his view of the Three Chapters on the eastern Chalcedonian bishops, and the bishops who attended the council of 553 were selected and submissive, drama and confrontation were not to be found in the sessions of the council but instead, and in abundance, in the relations between Justinian and Pope Vigilius, from the moment of the pope's arrival in Constantinople in 547 till his departure in 555. It is the story of this extraordinary and memorable episode that now demands our attention.

Vigilius 'heretic' and 'murderer'

Pope Vigilius' ascent to the throne of Peter, as narrated in two early accounts (*Liberatus' Brevarium* and the *Liber Pontificalis*)² and repeated by subsequent historians, is one of the most disgraceful episodes in the annals of the papacy. It may be summarized as follows.

A high point in the authority of the Roman see was reached in March 536 when Pope Agapitus, on a visit to Constantinople as an envoy of the Ostrogoths, secured the deposition of Anthimus, patriarch of Constantinople, accused of secret opposition to the decrees of Chalcedon. On Agapitus' sudden death a month later the empress Theodora approached Vigilius, a deacon of the Roman Church of aristocratic origins who had accompanied (or possibly preceded) Agapitus to Constantinople.³ Back in 531 he had been nominated by Boniface II to succeed him on the throne of St Peter, only to find the nomination revoked when this breach of the rights of the electors produced a storm of protest. But all good things come to those who wait: Theodora now promised to make him pope if he would agree to reinstate Anthimus, annul the decrees of Chalcedon, and 'confirm the faith' of Anthimus and the two leading miaphysites of the time, Patriarch Theodosius of Alexandria and Severus of Antioch.⁴

1 Outstanding treatments of Vigilius are Duchesne (1925), 176–218, Caspar (1933), 221–86, and Eck (1974). Sotinel (1992) allows herself 'to play the game of defence in a case where there are only accusers' (p. 440).

2 *Liberatus, Brevarium* 22 (*ACO* 2.5, pp. 136–7), and the *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Mommsen, 146–52; trans. Davis, 56–9), which offers an inferior but largely corroborative account.

3 The statement in the *Liber Pontificalis* (p. 146, 5–6) that he was *apocrisiarius* is not to be relied upon; see Stein (1949), 388 and Sotinel (1992), 443.

4 Victor of Tunnuna commits the anachronism of making Vigilius secure the Roman see by promising Theodora to condemn the Three Chapters (*Chronicle* 130, *anno* 542).

Hastening back to Rome, he found himself anticipated by the Goths, who had hastily placed their protégé Silverius on the papal throne.⁵ Six months later, however, in the early and glorious phase of the Byzantine reconquest of Italy, Rome was liberated (in December 536), and within a few months (in March 537) Silverius had been deposed by the Byzantine general Belisarius and exiled to the distant province of Lycia, on the charge of supporting the Gothic cause. Now at last Vigilius was able to take possession of the apostolic see. Silverius appealed successfully to Constantinople, and was allowed to return to Rome for a fair trial, where, however, Belisarius had him immediately arrested. The entry in the *Liber Pontificalis* continues: ‘Vigilius received him as if into his protection and sent him into exile on the Pontine Islands, and sustained him with the bread of tribulation and the water of affliction; he grew weak and died.’⁶ As for Vigilius’ promise to Theodora, he failed to keep it. Liberatus, however, provides us with the text of a profession of faith that Vigilius supposedly sent the empress in which he rejected Chalcedon’s ‘two natures’ in favour of ‘from two natures’ and condemned several statements in the Tome of Leo.⁷ According, however, to our other source, the *Liber Pontificalis*, he wrote to Theodora declaring, with an incongruous access of virtue, that he could not reinstate a heretic (Anthimus) condemned by his two immediate predecessors.

This story has generally been accepted down the centuries, even by pious papists. It was possible, of course, to claim that Vigilius, as soon as he became legitimate pope on Silverius’ death, was a changed character. Cardinal Baronius (or Baronio), author of the hugely learned *Ecclesiastical Annals* (1588–1607), wrote of him:

By a miraculous transformation those who were wicked at the time when she [the Roman see] accepted them [as pope] she is wont to turn soon into saints, with the result that they, by adhering firmly to that holy rock on which Christ founded his Church, take on its colour, like a polyp,⁸ and, what is more, attain its strength and firmness. Events were to prove that he who hitherto had been

5 So Liberatus p. 136, 23–5, although according to the *Liber Pontificalis* (p. 146, 8–16) he knew of Silverius’ election before his departure from Constantinople.

6 *Liber Pontificalis*, p. 147, 16–17. Cp. Liberatus, *ACO* 2.5, p. 137, 23–5, ‘Silverius was handed over to two officials and servants of Vigilius; taken to the island of Palmaria under their custody, he died of starvation.’ Palmaria (modern Palmerola) was a small, scarcely inhabitable island among the Pontine Islands in the Gulf of Gaeta. Silverius’ grave on the island became a shrine and place of pilgrimage.

7 *ACO* 2.5, p. 138, 8–18.

8 Cf. Acts V. 105 for a use of the same elegant metaphor by Theodoret.

a sterile reed, moved in every direction by the shifting of the winds, was transformed into a firm and stable rock.⁹

As we follow the course of his pontificate we shall soon discover the strange forms that this ‘firmness’ and ‘stability’ took. Our immediate task, however, is to distinguish between what in the account of Vigilius’ elevation in Liberatus and the *Liber Pontificalis* will have been common knowledge and what constitutes malicious surmise. The story of how Vigilius was an active accomplice in Silverius’ deposition and bore at least moral responsibility for his death can only be accepted.¹⁰ But the alleged intrigue involving Theodora is less credible. The following points tell against it:

(1) Even if there had been a secret compact between Theodora and Vigilius, its terms and indeed its very existence would have remained secret.

(2) The *Liber Pontificalis* purports to quote the actual text of Theodora’s secret messages. This is pure fiction, as is the miaphysite profession of faith which Liberatus attributes to Vigilius.¹¹

(3) The story misrepresents the aims of Theodora and Anthimus, who (in cooperation with Justinian himself) were hoping to reconcile Chalcedonians and miaphysites, which could not possibly be achieved on the basis of a condemnation of Chalcedon.¹²

(4) The notion that Anthimus’ deposition, confirmed by the Synod of Constantinople of May 536 and an imperial edict of 6 August 536, could have been reversed by papal decree is preposterous.

It is surely manifest that the story of Vigilius promising Theodora that he would restore Anthimus and form an alliance with the enemies of Chalcedon is an invention by the pope’s later critics, who interpreted his condemnation of the Three Chapters as proof of miaphysite leanings. The probability must be that he upheld the stance of Agapitus, as indeed he declared in 540 in letters to Justinian and Patriarch Menas of Constantinople.¹³

9 Baronio (1602), 240. Cf. Gregory VII, *Dictatus papae* (AD 1075) 23, ‘The Roman pontiff, if he has been canonically ordained, is undoubtedly made a saint by the merits of St Peter.’

10 Procopius, *Anecdota* I. 27 relates that Silverius was murdered by Eugenius, a servant of Antonina, the wife of Belisarius and an intimate friend of the empress Theodora. No one is likely to have known the exact circumstances of his death, reported as being on 2 December 537.

11 As Schwartz comments *ad loc.*, ‘That the excerpts on the faith are spurious will be obvious to any expert reader.’ Particularly incredible is the attribution to Vigilius of criticism of Leo the Great. Pelagius, *In defensione*, p. 53, 27, on Vigilius ‘secretly anathematizing his [Leo’s] doctrines’, provides no real support since the reference is more probably to his alleged betrayal of Chalcedonian Christology in his second *Constitutum*.

12 See p. 13 above.

13 Caspar (1933), 239–41.

Vigilius and the Three Chapters (544–52)

Whatever the exact circumstances of his elevation, the early years of Vigilius' pontificate followed a respectable course; we hear of restoration work in the Roman catacombs and fruitful embassies to Gaul and Spain. A happy event was the public reading in Rome in 544 under the pope's patronage of a verse paraphrase of the Acts of the Apostles by the subdeacon Arator, an occasion in which (in the words of a modern historian)¹⁴ 'one can witness at the same time affirmation of the apostolic dignity of the Roman see, a desire to maintain the cultural traditions of the city, and the accord of pope, clergy, people and aristocracy.' But this was but the lull before the storm.

In 543 Vigilius signed Justinian's edict condemning Origen, who had no friends in the west.¹⁵ But when a year later (544/5) the emperor issued his edict condemning the Three Chapters, the pope let his hand be forced by the intense opposition to the edict in Italy and refused his signature. The resistance of Patriarch Peter of Jerusalem was broken when, summoned to Constantinople, he was forced to sign as the price of retaining his see. In what will at first have looked like a similar case Vigilius was seized in Rome by imperial agents in November 545 and put on board ship. The *Liber Pontificalis* recounts that 'when the Roman people saw that the ship on which Vigilius was sitting was on the move they started to throw stones, branches and cooking-pots after him, and to say . . . , "You treated the Romans badly, may you meet evil where you are going."' ¹⁶ Instead, however, of being rushed off to Constantinople, he spent the greater part of a year in Sicily; indeed Procopius informs us that he was there for a considerable time *before* being summoned to Constantinople.¹⁷ One may surmise that his true motive for going to Sicily was to avoid falling into the hands of the Goths, who were pressing hard on Rome and regarded him as their enemy after his treatment of their protégé Silverius, and that his seizure by imperial agents in Rome had been a pretence to enable him to escape from the city without obviously taking flight.¹⁸ In Sicily he had time to confer with envoys of the western churches, who reported on the strong opposition throughout the west to Justinian's policy; he was also visited by Bishop Datius of Milan, who until his death in 552 was to be the pope's weightiest and most outspoken ally in Constantinople in defending the Three Chapters.

14 Sotinel (1992), 454–5.

15 Liberatus, *Breviarium* 23, *ACO* 2.4, p. 140, 8–10.

16 *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Mommsen, p. 152, 3–6, trans. Davis, p. 59.

17 Procopius, *History of the Wars* VII. 16.1.

18 Chrysos (1969), 44–57 exposes the 'myth' of Vigilius' forcible abduction.

Vigilius finally arrived in the imperial capital on 25 January 547, taking up residence in the Placidia Palace, the home of his permanent *apocrisarius*.¹⁹ We should not assume that he came to Constantinople reluctantly: he may have hoped to achieve a victory comparable to that of his predecessor Agapitus. He promptly declared excommunicate all bishops who had signed the edict, including Patriarch Menas of Constantinople, unless they withdrew their signatures. The emperor exerted all his influence on Vigilius, honouring him with personal audiences, presenting him with documentation to prove the heresy of the chapters, and adding threats to his freedom, to the extent that on one occasion the pope exclaimed, 'I protest that, even if you keep me a prisoner, you cannot make the blessed apostle Peter a prisoner.'²⁰ By the end of June, however, he was overpersuaded and withdrew his excommunication of Menas. It was probably at this juncture that he signed two secret declarations, one of which he gave to Justinian and the other to the empress Theodora, in which he anathematized the Three Chapters.²¹ This was but the first of several zigzags in his stance on the chapters. Baronius attributed them to a sound and shrewd judgement, shifting with the changing circumstances, as to whether the greater good of the Church required him to side with the western churches or with the eastern ones.²² Another possible interpretation is to see him as a sincere but weak character who was worn down by whoever's voice was the more trenchant at the time, whether that of Justinian or of his own clergy. His moments of real courage, narrated below, exclude the view that he was at all times a weathervane without moral or intellectual principles.

Eager to preserve the dignity of the Roman see, he was not prepared, however, simply to sign on the dotted line as so many other bishops had done. Instead, he initiated his own consultation. At a gathering of around seventy bishops who had not yet signed the condemnation of the chapters Facundus of Hermiane made a powerful presentation of the evidence contained in the Acts of Chalcedon that appeared to show that the council had approved Ibas' Letter to Mari the Persian. Vigilius, alarmed at the direction the discussion

19 The Placidia Palace was in the first district, near to the Great Palace and Hagia Sophia.

20 The Letter of the Church of Milan, p. 166 below.

21 These documents were later read out at the seventh session of the council (VII. 6–7). To serve any purpose, they would have had either to precede the composition of the *Judicatum* or follow its withdrawal, and the latter is excluded by the death of Theodora in June 548.

22 Baronio (1602), 346. He sees this as entirely proper, since, as he argues, there were no substantive theological differences between the opponents and the supporters of the Three Chapters.

was taking, brought it abruptly to an end, and asked each bishop to express his view in writing.²³ The bishops, thus isolated, put up no resistance.

Finally on 11 April 548 Vigilius sent to Menas his *Iudicatum*, in which he condemned the Three Chapters.²⁴ Aware that the document was tinder, he tried in vain to limit its circulation, refusing to provide copies and telling inquirers to apply to Menas. The western reaction was indeed stormy, and Vigilius' authority counted for nothing. There could be no question of any of the provincial assemblies of bishops in Italy, Illyricum, Gaul or Africa approving the condemnation; when in 549 Bishop Benenatus of Justiniana Prima, the capital of the Dacian diocese, recommended the *Iudicatum* to the bishops of his region, they promptly deposed him, while the African bishops who assembled at Carthage early in 550 went so far as to declare the pope excommunicate.²⁵ Vigilius felt obliged to write round to the bishops, protesting his loyalty to Chalcedon. He found that even his own entourage could not be trusted: the deacons Rusticus and Sebastian, who had professed enthusiasm for the *Iudicatum* when speaking to the pope himself, were now discovered to be among its keenest critics behind his back; he was reduced to deposing the two deacons, and others of his minor clergy, in a long, rather pitiable, document intended to discredit them but incidentally revealing that he had lost control, and the respect, of his own subordinates.²⁶ He now regretted issuing the unfortunate document; even the emperor had to concede that its publication had been premature. Allowed to withdraw it but not to recover his independence, Vigilius took an oath over the gospels and a nail of the passion (15 August 550) to do all in his power to secure the condemnation of the chapters.²⁷

What could now be done? At a meeting attended by bishops from east and west and officials representing the emperor it was agreed to hold a council at which the eastern bishops would be joined (for almost the first time in the history of councils) by a substantial number of their western

23 Facundus, *Pro defensione, Praef. 2*, and *Contra Mocianum* 36. The 70 bishops must have included a majority of eastern ones, since even in 553 only 30 western bishops were present in Constantinople.

24 Of this lost text there are extracts in Acts I. 7.11 and the first *Constitutum* 299–302.

25 Victor of Tunnuna, *Chronicle* 139–41 (*annis* 549–50).

26 Cf. the letters to Rusticus and Sebastian, Valentinus of Tomi, and Aurelian of Arles read out at the seventh session, Acts VII. 8–10.

27 The oath was recorded in a secret document that was first made public at the seventh session of the council of 553 (VII. 11). Justinian's representative at the council made the improbable claim that the oath had been Vigilius' idea and that the emperor had accepted it only with reluctance (VII. 4.4).

colleagues, doubtless in the hope that this opportunity for discussion would placate the western bishops and that attendance at a council would open their eyes to the need to condemn the chapters; it was agreed that no one was to prejudge the issue by pronouncing upon it before the council assembled.²⁸ The calling of an ecumenical council must have been the emperor's rather than the pope's idea. Once he had broached it, the pope was in no position to reject it, in view of the failure of the *Iudicatum* to win acceptance; and in an attempt to protect himself from being steamrolled by some fresh imperial initiative he was subsequently to stress the need for waiting for the council. But, as was to be revealed when a council eventually met, he had no wish to entrust the matter to an assembly outside his control. But that would be a future headache; the prospect of a council at least gave him a ground for doing nothing in the meantime.

The plan to hold a council with substantial western participation ran into difficulties when Justinian sent out summonses. The letter of the Church of Milan of late 551 reports on the reluctance of western bishops to attend; the Illyrian bishops refused to take part, while the Gallic bishops were prevented by the unsettled state of affairs in Gaul. These difficulties must have been welcome to Vigilius; Justinian, however, proved less patient, and in July 551 issued his edict *On the orthodox faith*, which formally condemned the Three Chapters and added substantial dogmatic canons for good measure. When at a large meeting of western and eastern bishops in the Placidia Palace the edict was formally presented to the pope, he responded, as he recounted later,²⁹ by saying, 'Ask the most pious prince to deign to remove his edict, which he ordered to be posted, and [remind him] that he is obliged to wait for a common resolution,' and declaring excommunicate all who accepted the edict. The Greek bishops, led by the emperor's chief ecclesiastical adviser, Bishop Theodore Ascidas, treated the pope's admonitions with contempt, ostentatiously celebrating the liturgy on the same day in Hagia Sophia, where the edict had been posted. Thirty days later, on 14 August 551, Vigilius signed a decree declaring Ascidas deposed from priesthood and breaking off communion with Menas of Constantinople and all bishops who approved the edict.³⁰ Although this document placed all the blame on Ascidas and did not criticize the emperor directly, it was in effect a challenge to imperial authority. By the time it was signed, Vigilius had taken refuge,

28 Vigilius, *Letter of excommunication to Theodore Ascidas*, p. 12 (p. 162 below).

29 Vigilius, *Dum in sanctae Euphemiae*, p. 2 (p. 171 below).

30 This decree is given on pp. 161–5 below.

in fear of arrest, in the Church of St Peter in the Hormisdas Palace.³¹ The choice of church was doubtless determined partly by proximity to his own residence and partly by the symbolic value of seeking refuge under the patronage of St Peter.

There now followed an amazing episode that Vigilius was soon to recount to the world.³² A detachment of soldiers entered the church and tugged at the pope as he clung to the altar, which almost collapsed on top of him. He refused to leave the church without an oath ensuring his safety from the emperor himself; when this was refused, he had to be content with an oath taken on the altar by imperial officials. When he duly returned to the Placidia Palace, he found himself under virtual house arrest; his servants were made to maltreat him or replaced if they refused, and the conduct of his guards became more and more menacing. His correspondence was subjected to censorship, while fictitious letters were sent to Italy in his name, in an attempt to discredit him. Finally on the night of 23 December 551, taking advantage of a gap in a wall due to building work, he fled again from the palace and sought refuge in the church of St Euphemia in Chalcedon, which had huge symbolic significance as the building where the great council had been held; here an assault on the pope would look to the world like an assault on the council itself. Here he insisted he would remain until the emperor accepted his decree deposing Ascidas and excommunicating the bishops who had followed his lead. Justinian replied on 31 January 552 with a message so threatening that he decided to appeal to the world, penning an encyclical (*Dum in sanctae Euphemiae*) that describes in vivid detail the treatment to which he had been subjected and affirming his Chalcedonian orthodoxy. The document mentioned the emperor's menacing message, but pretended to think it so incredible as to be a forgery. By the time the encyclical was published (5 February), Vigilius was able to add that in reply to a further embassy from officials representing the emperor he had asked the emperor to receive a delegation of western clergy, including Datius of Milan, and to provide oaths guaranteeing their safety; there was clearly a danger that they would be arrested and trundled off into exile. And indeed at this juncture several Italian and African bishops too loyal to the pope were placed under arrest, while the Roman deacons Pelagius and Tullianus (active as papal secretaries) were forcibly removed from St Euphemia's, doubtless because of their role in the composition of the encyclical. In retaliation the letter declaring Ascidas deposed and Menas excommunicate, hitherto kept

31 This palace was adjacent to the emperor's own residence.

32 Cf. *Dum in sanctae Euphemiae* and the Letter of the Church of Milan.

private, was posted in the churches and public places of the capital.³³

Confrontation between Vigilius and the court dragged on for a few months before pope and palace achieved an accommodation. He was induced to withdraw his letter of deposition and excommunication in return for a signing in St Euphemia's by Theodore Ascidas, Menas and other bishops of a formal written commitment to remain faithful to the four ecumenical councils (in effect, to Chalcedon) 'without any addition or change', to follow the teaching of Pope Leo and the other popes who had confirmed the conciliar decrees, and to submit for the pope's scrutiny any fresh documents relating to the Three Chapters controversy; this was completed by an apology (though without any acknowledgement of guilt) for the treatment to which Vigilius had been subjected.³⁴ Now finally he felt able to return to the Placidia Palace. The restoration of outwardly harmonious relations was completed when on 26 June he was received at court by 'our pious master who had repented', in the words of an almost contemporary source.³⁵ The deaths around this time of both Menas and the uncompromising Datius of Milan contributed further to a normalization of relations.³⁶

Vigilius and the council of 553

The situation was now much as it had been before the issuing of the edict *On the orthodox faith*. The hope of the emperor was that it would finally be possible to hold a council where the eastern bishops, the pope, and representative western bishops would confirm the condemnation of the Three Chapters with a weight and finality that would cow the rebellious spirits in the west. Vigilius was in no hurry to commit himself finally to one side or the other, and had no wish to take part in a council whose decisions would be outside his control. As a result he adopted a policy of procrastination, responding to proposals as slowly as possible, dragging out negotiations (whenever a decision seemed dangerously near) by means of impracticable or unattractive counter-proposals, such as a council in Italy, or a council in Constantinople in which the number of eastern bishops would not exceed the

33 Cf. the fragmentary letter from Vigilius' clergy, dating to February 552, in Mansi, IX, 56–8.

34 This document is contained in Vigilius' first *Constitutum* 3–9 (vol. 2, 145–6).

35 *Fragmenta Tusculana* 4 (PG 85. 1821B), which dates the event to the same year as Narses' despatch to Italy, that is, to 552, though the indiction year given (the thirteenth, 549–50) is wrong.

36 Menas died on 24 August. For the date of Datius' death see Stein (1949), 653, n. 3.

number of western ones, or claiming ill health.³⁷ He also resisted renewed imperial demands that he should pronounce on the chapters even before the council met, while still insisting that no one else should do so before he did. These tactics he continued even after the ecumenical council opened in May 553.³⁸

In the first week of January 553 the new patriarch of Constantinople, Eutychius, and other leading bishops signed a declaration similar to that which Ascidas and Menas had signed previously, closing with a request to Vigilius to preside over a council to settle the issue of the Three Chapters. Vigilius replied agreeing to ‘conduct a discussion together with the brethren in union’ to settle the matter.³⁹ After the interruption caused by Justinian’s edict *On the orthodox faith* and the resulting alarms and excursions the original plan of 550 for an ecumenical council of bishops of both east and west appeared now to be back on course. The bizarre drama of the fifth ecumenical council was about to unfold.

Vigilius had agreed to provide names of suitable western bishops for Justinian to summon to the council. But what bishops from the western provinces actually made it to Constantinople? When the council finally met in May 553, it was attended by a mere seven African bishops and nine from Illyricum (nominally subject to the Roman see). At the same juncture an almost identical number of bishops met with the pope in what was in effect a rival synod: it was made up of eleven Italian bishops, one from Africa, three from Illyricum, and also two metropolitans from Asia Minor of western origin.⁴⁰ Seven of the bishops in this group had been with Vigilius in Constantinople for at least two years – since they had taken part in his excommunication of Theodore Ascidas and Menas.⁴¹ The fact that the bishops at the main council summoned (unavailingly) the African and Illyrian bishops with Vigilius to come to their council⁴² but not the Italians shows that the

37 According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Mommsen, p. 154, 9 he suffered from stones.

38 The first *Constitutum* 20–26. Acts I. 7.13, 13. Acts II. 5–10.

39 These letters were read out at the first session of the council of 553: Acts I, 10–11.

40 These are the signatories to Vigilius’ first *Constitutum* 308–13. Primasius of Hadrumetum is the African (311). The three Illyrians are listed at 310. The two Anatolian metropolitans are Pastor of Iconium and Vincentius of Claudiopolis; the purely Latin name ‘Pastor’ points to western origin, while Vincentius had been a Roman subdeacon only three years before (Acts VII. 8.24); they must have owed their elevation to the favour of the court of Constantinople (like Theodore Ascidas and contrary to the provision for local election in Canon 28 of Chalcedon) at a time when Vigilius and his followers were cooperating with the emperor.

41 Letter of excommunication 14.

42 Acts II. 12–19.

latter were in Constantinople to attend the pope and were not expected to take part in the council unless he himself were to do so.

Vigilius can never genuinely have wanted a council. The prospect will now have appeared less attractive than ever, since the western representation was utterly swamped by the eastern one and half of them loyal to the emperor rather than to him; his ‘presidency’ over such a council would have been a charade. Accordingly, he backtracked: when the council opened on 5 May 553, he absented himself.⁴³ He asked the emperor for twenty days’ grace during which he could prepare his own response on the matter of the Three Chapters; Justinian does not appear to have responded to this request, and the bishops’ reaction was to declare that, if Vigilius would not cooperate with the council, they would conduct the business of the council without him.⁴⁴ Finally at the fourth session of 12 May they embarked on a detailed examination of the Three Chapters, which continued through the fifth and sixth sessions of 17 and 19 May. These sessions consisted of a one-sided presentation of the case against the chapters; though the final verdict was utterly predictable, the bishops held back from pronouncing it immediately, presumably in the hope that Vigilius might even now be induced to take part.

Meanwhile Vigilius had been conferring with his own group of supportive bishops and clergy (including his future successor, the deacon Pelagius), and on 14 May they all signed a long document, the first *Constitutum*, a decree on the chapters that claimed to be final and definitive, excluding any further discussion of the subject. It was distinctive in that on the one hand, unlike other defences of the chapters, it condemned as heretical a long sequence of extracts attributed to Theodore of Mopsuestia (whose authenticity it neither affirmed nor denied), while on the other hand it forbade condemning Theodore by name and offered a defence of the orthodoxy of both Theodoret and the Letter of Ibas to Mari the Persian. It was concerned to protect Vigilius from any possible charge of heresy, and to persuade its readers that his refusal to condemn the Three Chapters in no way compromised his firm adhesion to the strongly Cyrillian Christology affirmed by Justinian and his bishops. But if a Cyrillian Christology was taken for granted, the refusal to condemn the anti-Cyrrillian writings of Theodore, Theodoret and Ibas could only appear perverse. What Vigilius needed to emphasize was that the condemnation of the chapters was so unpopular in the west that it threatened the unity of the Church. As Engelbert Zetl commented –

43 He did, however, confirm the condemnation of Origenism by the bishops prior to the formal opening of the council, according to Acts V. 87.

44 Acts II. 5. 6.

Why did he say nothing about the real and final grounds for his opposition? Why did he not openly explain that the condemnation of the Three Chapters was in no way necessary, or at least not so necessary as on their account to justify risking a schism?⁴⁵

The surrender of Vigilius

The first *Constitutum* was a direct challenge to the authority of both Justinian and the council he had summoned. It was not in Vigilius' character to issue such a challenge, but he was clearly overborne by the Italian clergy in his entourage, conscious that the churches of Italy and Africa were solidly behind them. Once the document had been signed, on 14 May, he was in no hurry to publish it, despite its relevance for the work in progress at the ecumenical council. He waited till the expiry of the twenty days' grace he had demanded; not till 25 May did he attempt to deliver the document formally to the emperor's representatives, who, however, refused to receive it.⁴⁶

The emperor's response was firm and immediate. On the very next day (26 May) he interrupted the proceedings of the council to present for reading aloud at its seventh session a whole dossier of documents, some of them deeply secret, in which Vigilius, in the period 547 to 550, had given expression, or even solemnly committed himself, to a policy of condemning the Three Chapters. These were intended as damning proof of the pope's duplicity – though on a fairer reading they evidence the intense pressure to which he had been subjected by the emperor again and again. Before the end of the session a fresh document from Justinian arrived – a decree enacting that, because of the pope's defence of the Three Chapters, his name was to be removed from the diptychs read out at each celebration of the liturgy, though without a breach of communion with the Roman Church. Speaking in acceptance of the decree, Eutychius again avoided criticizing Vigilius, and emphasized that the churches were to remain in communion. Such a distinction between the see, still in communion with the other churches, and the holder of the see, excluded from that communion, implied that Vigilius was suspended from office.⁴⁷

The decree was not published, however, till 14 July (the date it bears), presumably in the hope that Vigilius might crack in the meantime. Though our sources provide no details, we may presume that he was separated from

45 Zetl (1974), 13.

46 Acts VII. 4.2.

47 For the decree and the council's reaction see Acts VII. 16–17 (vol. 2, 99–101).

his chief assistants, notably Deacon Pelagius, who had no part in Vigilius' change of stance at the end of the year and reacted to it with indignation in his own *Defence of the Three Chapters* written in early 554. Vigilius is likely to have been held in strict confinement⁴⁸ and subjected to treatment at least as harsh as that which had driven him on two earlier occasions to seek sanctuary. He was doubtless threatened with deposition from the throne of Peter and even the clerical state if he failed to yield. In these circumstances he must have agonized over whether he was confident of being in the right: the zigzags in his attitude to the chapters are evidence of vacillating judgement, and the issue of the Three Chapters was a singularly knotty one. To suffer martyrdom for the truth requires courage; to be martyred for a cause of whose rightness one is uncertain would require a rare degree of obstinacy. What is surprising in these circumstances is not that Vigilius gave way but that it was six months before he did so.⁴⁹

On 8 December 553 he signed a slight document, addressed to Patriarch Eutychius, in which he capitulated, condemning the Three Chapters in words taken from the council's own canons (though without explicitly citing them). The letter was, however, too short and too derivative to carry conviction as a counterweight to the first *Constitutum*. Doubtless in response to instructions from his imperial jailer and taskmaster he proceeded on 23 February 554 to put his signature to a much longer document, the second *Constitutum*. Deacon Pelagius, who wrote an immediate attack on the document, refers repeatedly to 'a paper sent from the palace' on which it appears to have been based,⁵⁰ but he also accuses Tullianus, now the pope's principal secretary, of elaborating the arguments purporting to prove that Ibas denied authorship of the Letter to Mari the Persian.⁵¹ The document is exceptionally well-informed about the Tome of Pope Damasus,⁵² which shows that it did not merely reproduce a draft received from the emperor; it was produced in circumstances not conducive to research, but is likely to have drawn on the lost *Iudicatum*.

The second *Constitutum* offers an exhaustive (and exhausting) presentation of the case against the Letter to Mari the Persian, but deals with the

48 The reference in the *Liber Pontificalis* (p. 154, 4–8) to his being sent into distant exile seems based on mere presumption.

49 Meletios (1985), 129 charmingly imagines that Vigilius capitulated out of conviction: 'After studying the acts of the council with humility he recognized his mistake.'

50 Devreesse collects the references to the 'charta de palatio missa' in Pelagius, *In defensione*, Introduction, xli, n. 1.

51 Pelagius, *In defensione*, pp. 64–5.

52 See Galtier (1936), 388–91.

other two chapters only cursorily. The brevity of this part of the discussion and its repetition of most of the earlier letter to Eutychius give the impression of a rushed job. Was Vigilius hoping for immediate permission to return to Rome? The Roman Church, in need of leadership in a crucial stage in the war between the Goths and the imperial troops in Italy, was petitioning for his return.⁵³

At the same time, however, Vigilius pressed for fresh privileges for the Roman see and improvements in the administration and provisioning of the city of Rome; after an absence of nine years he could not return empty-handed. Negotiations over these postponed his departure, and even after their granting (in August 554)⁵⁴ there were further delays. It was not in the interests of Constantinople that he should return to Rome alive: given the history of his tergiversations in the past, it was all too likely that, once back in Rome and surrounded by defenders of the chapters, he would go back on his word. He died on the return journey on 7 June 555 at Syracuse. For Constantinople this was providential; had providence on this occasion been given a helping hand? His successor was widely believed in Rome to have speeded his demise, and felt obliged to appear before a great throng in St Peter's, holding up a cross and the book of the gospels, to protest his innocence.⁵⁵

This successor turned out to be Pelagius, which may seem a startling choice on the part of the court of Constantinople in view of his consistent defence of the Three Chapters. But he had long been an influential voice which Justinian respected,⁵⁶ and clearly a bargain must have been struck: Pelagius, as the event proved, accepted the condemnation of the chapters but was left to judge the right moment for imposing the decisions of 553–4 on the Italian Church. On the surface there was no sudden volte-face: to gain acceptance in Rome he solemnly declared his adherence to the four councils, Chalcedon and its predecessors, and his acceptance as orthodox of the bishops who had been accepted by his predecessors, including Theodoret and Ibas. But once his position was secure, he revealed his acceptance of the chapters' condemnation. Then like Vigilius he appealed to the precedent of Augustine's *Retractions* to justify his change of stance, and stressed the authority of the decrees of the Council of Constantinople of 553 as 'a

53 *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Mommsen), p. 154, 3–5, trans. Davis, 58. The Romans cannot yet have heard of Vigilius' capitulation over the Three Chapters.

54 The edict (or 'pragmatic sanction') is in Justinian, *Nov.*, Appendix 7 (ed. Schoell and Kroll, 799–802). See Stein (1949), 613–7.

55 *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Mommsen), p. 155, 4–11, trans. Davis, 61.

56 See Caspar (1933), 241–2.

general council's verdict, accepted by the whole world'.⁵⁷ From then on the Roman see upheld the decrees of Constantinople, as those of an ecumenical council, though never with a status equal to that of Chalcedon itself.

Vigilius and Roman authority

Modern writers repeat again and again that Vigilius finally confirmed the decrees of Constantinople II. But what was his view, and that of his predecessors, as to the comparative weight of conciliar and Roman decrees? Before the Council of Chalcedon, Pope Leo had claimed that an ecumenical council to discuss the faith was uncalled for since his own Tome had settled the question at issue.⁵⁸ After the council his letter to the emperor Marcian of 21 March 453 confirmed its dogmatic decrees, but without any flourishing of trumpets, since he was still deeply offended by the adoption of Canon 28 on the privileges of the see of Constantinople.⁵⁹ Only towards the end of his pontificate, in reaction to eastern opposition to the council, did he lay stress on its authority.

Vigilius' intention when in 548 he issued his *Iudicatum*, condemning the Three Chapters, was to settle the issue for good, but when the authority of this document was rejected in those western provinces that traditionally had heeded the voice of Rome, he agreed, most reluctantly, to a council of western and eastern bishops. When the council finally met, in May 553, he refused to take any part in it, and conferred with his own small group of loyal clergy. On 14 May he signed the first *Constitutum*, which issued an apparently final ruling on the chapters, concluding with the words (305):

Now that this had been determined by ourselves with all and every care and caution..., we enact and decree that no one with ecclesiastical dignity and rank is permitted to hold or write or produce or compose or teach anything about the oft-mentioned Three Chapters contrary to what we have declared and enacted in this present decree, or to raise any further inquiry subsequent to the present definition.

He could not have stated more unambiguously that his decree was final and left no room for discussion. Since at the very same time an ecumenical council was in process of discussing the very same questions, he implied that his own authority surpassed that of any council.

⁵⁷ Pelagius, *ep.* 6, PL Supplementum 4. 1288.

⁵⁸ Cf. Leo, *ep.* 82 (Price and Gaddis, I, 96–8) and de Vries (1974), 104–7.

⁵⁹ Leo, *ep.* 115 (Price and Gaddis, I, 151–2).

When he capitulated to imperial pressure and came to sign his Second Letter to Eutychius and the second *Constitutum*, he in no way lessened his claims. He confirmed the decrees of the council, but he did not confirm its authority; indeed he made no mention of it at all. Instead, he took over its decrees and issued them in his own name. Again, it is his own voice that is presented as definitive (165):

We therefore anathematize and condemn the aforesaid three impious chapters, that is, the letter said to be from Ibas to Mari the Persian, which contains the wicked blasphemies cited above, and the impious Theodore of Mopsuestia with his wicked writings, and what Theodoret wrote impiously. Whosoever at any time believes that these ought to be accepted or defended, or ever tries to rescind the present condemnation, we condemn with an equal anathema.

The pope's contempt for councils was not lost on the miaphysite John Philoponus, who wrote immediately after the council:

No ecclesiastical canon has instituted and no imperial law has enacted that the bishop of Rome is autocrat over the whole world. The arrogance of the Romans has been manifested in our days, in the council that met at Constantinople for the examination of the Three Chapters... Vigilius of Rome had been in Constantinople for a long time and was invited to the council, but did not go to it. His predecessors as bishops of Rome had not attended the councils because of distance; but for this one, who was present, the motive was pride, hateful to God.⁶⁰

It is unusual to have a debate in which two of the lengthiest contributions, arguing for diametrically opposed positions, are written by the same person. It is stranger still when both contributions claim to give the final and definitive ruling, closing the debate for all time.⁶¹ But evidently the two were never intended to be read as a sequence. They were transmitted independently in the manuscript tradition. The names 'first' and 'second' *Constituta* are modern and potentially misleading, for the second *Constitutum* was written not to supplement the first but hopefully to expunge it from the memory of man; at the same date a new edition of the conciliar acts was produced in which reference to the first *Constitutum* was removed.⁶² As a result it was now the second *Constitutum* rather than the first that was

60 Philoponus, *Four Tmēmata*, in Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, trans. Chabot, II, 102.

61 Which of the two should be accepted as authoritative by Roman Catholics today? See de Vries (1974), 161–94 for recent debate among Catholic scholars, torn between a preference for the first *Constitutum* and a recognition that the subsequent tradition followed the second.

62 See p. 104 below for the second edition of the acts.

treated as fulfilling the pope's promise to issue his own judgement on the chapters. This enabled Eustratius in his *Life of Eutychius* to enthuse about the perfect cooperation at the council, unique in history, between the pope and the eastern patriarchs.⁶³

Vigilius suffered the posthumous humiliation of being the only pope of the sixth century not to be buried in St Peter's, and since then he has excited more contempt down the centuries than any of his predecessors on the papal throne. A more distant and more charitable look may recognize in him a man who was not by nature duplicitous and unprincipled but who was placed in circumstances that required gifts he did not possess – self-confidence, a thick skin, and an iron will. It is possible to prefer his humility and sensitivity.⁶⁴ May we not accept, with pious generosity, the observation of Cardinal Baronius that those who knew him best recognized him, despite all his failings, as 'a truly Catholic man'?⁶⁵

63 PG 86B. 2308B-2309C. Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* IX. 30 records a similar claim: 'Since all the four were in the city, it was said to be the most glorious of all the councils.'

64 His letter to the deacons Rusticus and Sebastian (Acts VII. 8), depriving them of their office because of their betrayal, is a touching expression of a genuine personal hurt, exacerbated by the fact that Rusticus was his nephew.

65 Baronio (1602), 240. His comment adds a new nuance to the word 'Catholic'.

IV. THE THEOLOGY: PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

The chief matter to be resolved at the council of 553 was the controversy over the Three Chapters – the person and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the anti-Cyrrillian writings of Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and the Letter to Mari the Persian attributed to Ibas of Edessa. These were all accused of the extreme dualist Christology attributed to their contemporary Nestorius, which separated his Godhead from his manhood. Condemning them was a way of expressing fidelity to the memory of Nestorius' chief opponent, Cyril of Alexandria, and to his teaching that in Christ Godhead and manhood come together in a 'hypostatic' or real union.

This section of the introduction will place the Christological controversy in the broad context of early Christian thought. Proceeding to Cyril's contribution, with particular attention to the changing status of the Twelve Chapters, it will examine the council's debt to Cyril and to the Cyrillian Christology of the sixth century that modern scholars have called 'neo-Chalcedonianism'. It will conclude with defining the positive theological achievement of the council.

Christ in the Gospels and the early tradition

The boat was in the midst of the sea, and he was alone on the land. And seeing them in difficulties in rowing, for the wind was against them, about the fourth hour of the night he came to them walking on the sea, and made as if to pass by them. But they, seeing him walking on the sea, thought, 'It is an apparition,' and cried out, for they all saw him and were shaken. But he at once spoke with them, and said to them, 'Be of good heart, I am; be not afraid.' And he went to them in the boat, and the wind ceased.

Jesus, releasing a great cry, breathed his last. And the veil of the temple was rent in two from top to bottom. The centurion who was standing at hand facing him, seeing that he had thus breathed his last, said, 'Truly this man was the Son of God.'

These two passages from the Gospel of Mark¹ are concerned to bring out Jesus' true identity. In the first, he is likened to the Lord God of the Old Testament, who 'trampled the waves of the sea' (Job 9:8b), and who said through Isaiah, 'When you pass through the waters I will be with you; and through the rivers, they shall not overwhelm you' (Is 43:2), and to Moses,

¹ Mk 6:47–51 and 15:37–9.

'I am who I am' (Exod 3:14).² In the second, where Jesus' death on the cross could be perceived as a moment of utter powerlessness, the centurion realizes that Jesus is the Son of God from his very manner of death. The implication is that Jesus' great cry was the revelation of a power to lay down his life when he chose to do so: 'No one takes it [my life] from me, but I lay it down of myself; I have power to lay it down and power to take it again' (Jn 10:18).

In the context of the Christological debates of the fourth to seventh centuries, one is struck by the fusion in such passages between embodiment and divine power.³ The Gospels know of only one subject in Christ, who exhibits in conjunction both divine and human attributes; his divinity is manifested through his humanity, and his humanity is transformed by his divinity. Christian devotion in the second century is summed up in words which the Acts of Peter put into St Peter's mouth during his martyrdom: 'Jesus Christ, I thank you... You are to me father, mother, brother, friend, servant, steward. You are all, and all is in you; and you are Being, and there is nothing that is except you.'⁴ To echo the language of the Chalcedonian Definition, it is one and the same Christ who is 'mother, brother, friend' and 'Being' itself (echoing the 'I am who I am' of Exodus).

How did such a unitary Christology develop into the Chalcedonian formula of 'two natures' (or realities) in Christ, Godhead and manhood? The reality of Christ had to be described in terms of a theology, inherited from Judaism, that stressed the radical difference between God and man, between Creator and creature. God is described in the First Letter to Timothy as 'the king of the ages, imperishable, invisible' and 'he who alone has immortality, dwelling in unapproachable light, whom no man has seen or can see'.⁵ As for mankind, 'All flesh is grass, and all its beauty is like the flower of the field; the grass withers, the flower fades' (Isaiah 40:6–7).⁶ At the same time the need to prove the reality and fullness both of Christ's Godhead

2 This is the force of Jesus' 'I am' (ἐγώ εἰμι), obscured in the common translation 'It is I'. The words are a statement of divine identity, not a mere 'Don't worry, it's only me.' See Redford (2004), 212–16.

3 Sanders (1995), 134 claims that according to Chalcedon 'it is heretical to say that his divinity buoyed him up while his human feet lightly grazed the water.' But the council approved the Tome of Leo, in which we read, 'To walk on the surface of the sea without one's feet sinking is without doubt divine' (in vol. 2, 54).

4 Acts of Peter 39 (Elliott 1993, 425–6).

5 1 Tim 1:17, 6:16.

6 The equally biblical language of the creation of mankind 'in the image and likeness of God' (Gen 1:26) provided only a partial counterweight to this emphasis.

(against adoptionism) and of his manhood (against docetism) accentuated the tendency to contrast them.

A nascent Christological dualism was powerfully reinforced by the implications of the Nicene Creed, issued by the first ecumenical council in 325, which defined that the Father and the Son are of the same essence. The Arian doctrine of unlikeness between Father and Son appealed to biblical texts that express the Son's inferiority: 'The Lord created me at the beginning of his works,'⁷ 'The Father is greater than I,'⁸ 'Then the Son himself will be subjected to the one who has subjected all things,'⁹ 'We have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.'¹⁰ The reply of the champions of Nicene Christianity, such as Gregory Nazianzen, was to take all these to refer to Christ in his manhood, not to his Godhead, in which he is equal to the Father.¹¹ A two-nature Christology resulted. In the words of Gregory, 'He did not become two, but assented to become one from the two..., two natures coming together into one entity, not two Sons.'¹² A union of Godhead and manhood, defined in opposition to each other, could only be described in terms of two entities, radically separate in their nature and origin, coming together to form a single entity. This is what we find in the Chalcedonian Definition, with its talk of the two natures 'coming together into one person and one hypostasis'. This way of describing the Son could never wholly overcome the dualism that was its basis and presupposition. Union is not unity.¹³

'Antioch' versus 'Alexandria'

The development of a dualist Christology reached its apogee in the so-called 'School of Antioch', a misleading term if we imagine an institution of any kind or a theological tradition of long standing, or if we imagine that all the Christians of Antioch, let alone of all Syria, were its adherents. The phrase is no more than a way of referring to two fourth-century theologians, Diodore of Tarsus (d. before 394) and Theodore of Mopsuestia (c. 350–428),

7 Prov 8:22.

8 Jn 14:28.

9 1 Cor 15:28.

10 1 Jn 2:1.

11 Gregory Nazianzen, *Or.* 30 (*Fourth Theological Oration*), 2–14.

12 *Or.* 37.2.

13 Note the acute criticism of Chalcedon in Bouyer (1974), 400: 'Since that time even the Christologies that can be called orthodox, in so far as they do not question the conciliar definitions, betray an unease, an insurmountable duality.'

and their followers in the fifth century, including Nestorius (d. 451), Ibas of Edessa (d. 457) and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (d. c. 460).¹⁴ Motivated in part by a desire to allow Christ a complete manhood, including freedom of the will and the ability to merit, and in part by a desire to protect the immutability and impassibility of the Godhead, these bishops and theologians insisted on the ontological distinction between the two natures and on the proper and full functioning of each, to the extent that they postulated the presence in Christ of two distinct subjects to whom qualities or actions could be attributed – God the Word, the pre-existent creator, and Jesus the man, who was born, died and rose again. In developing the dualist Christology that had developed in reaction to Arianism, these theologians stressed an abiding distinction between the natures, and avoided terms such as ‘coming together’ which might suggest that distinction and difference were blurred in the union. Despite the allegations of their critics, they insisted that Christ was still ‘one Son’, in that his manhood represents his Godhead and enjoys the same honour and status. Modern commentators have sometimes described Antiochene Christology as arising from fidelity to the human figure supposedly presented in the Gospels; but, as I argued above, the Gospels attribute both human and divine attributes to Christ, and the Antiochenes stressed the reality and fullness of his Godhead just as much as that of his manhood.

It was in reaction to the teaching of the Antiochenes, particularly in the aggressive form it took in the mouth of Nestorius when bishop of Constantinople (428–31), that Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444) honed and sharpened his own very different doctrine of Christ. Inheriting likewise the dualist Christology that had developed in reaction to Arianism, with its talk of a union of natures in Christ, he favoured expressions that brought out that the union was one not of the static ‘conjunction’ described by the Antiochenes but of sharing and interpenetration – expressions such as ‘from two natures’, ‘one out of two’, ‘concurrence into unity’. He wrote of ‘hypostatic union’, meaning a ‘real’ union on the level of what exists, in contrast to a mere ‘relational’ concept of union, where Jesus is said to represent God and share in his status. His most controversial formula was to describe Christ as ‘one incarnate nature’, meaning that there is but a single entity in Christ – God the Word, who has made his own and taken up into his own being the manhood

¹⁴ The best introduction to these figures is Young (1983), 191–213 and 265–89. John Chrysostom could also be included, in view of his debt to his teacher Diodore of Tarsus; but he was not influenced by Theodoret of Mopsuestia and in terms of the Nestorian debate is closer to Cyril of Alexandria (Grillmeier 1975, 418–21).

created at the incarnation. The trouble with this part of Cyril's Christology is that he could not escape from the Scylla and Charybdis that arises from taking the two natures of Godhead and manhood as one's starting point: either the union between the two remains incomplete and unconvincing or, through the adoption of stronger terminology, it sounds like a merger or fusion, in which the two elements change or disappear in order to form some third and novel reality. It is a conviction that this is the implication of Cyril's language that led to the attacks on him from such Antiochenes as Theodoret and Ibas, attacks that were themselves to be condemned at the council of 553.

Much more satisfactory was the other model that Cyril employed,¹⁵ one that has been called the 'narrative' model, where, instead of analysing Christ into two constituents, the story is told of how God the Word 'became flesh and dwelt among us' (Jn 1:14), in such a way that, although his Godhead was neither shed nor changed, he took on human attributes and a human history, culminating in death on the cross and the resurrection. There were, of course, problems even here: what does it mean to attribute death to the eternal Word, when as God he is immutable and immortal? To assert, as Cyril did repeatedly, that the Word 'suffered impassibly' (that is, without suffering) was to state the paradox, not explain it. The nearest he came to an account was to say that the Word knew the suffering to be truly his own.¹⁶ What gave substance to this assertion was his teaching that the effect of the union was to communicate to Christ's body, in the passion and in the eucharist, the salvific power of God.¹⁷

Cyril could fairly claim that this account of Christ had the support of the Nicene Creed, universally recognized in the east as the prime doctrinal pronouncement of Christianity, in which all Christ's experiences, including death on the cross, are attributed to 'one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten from the Father as only-begotten..., true God from true God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father'. This attribution of the human experiences to the Godhead, as likewise any attribution of divine qualities to the manhood, is called *communicatio idiomatum*, that is, the sharing or exchange of distinctive expressions or characteristics. Cyril's classic exposition of this mode of speaking comes in his Second Letter to Nestorius (written in February 430), in which he showed politic moderation by treating it as primarily a way of speaking (e.g. 'He himself is said to have suffered death on our behalf'), serving to express a union best defined in

15 For the 'two models' in Cyril's Christology see Norris (1975).

16 Cyril, *Scholia on the Incarnation* 33 (trans. McGuckin 1994, 327).

17 See Meunier (1997), 264–82.

terms of *appropriation*, of God the Word making the flesh and the things of the flesh ‘his own’ in the incarnation.¹⁸ This Second Letter, which was treated at Chalcedon as the most important of all Christological statements after the creed, could claim to express the teaching not merely of the so-called ‘Alexandrian School’ but of the mainstream Christian tradition.¹⁹

Later in the same year, Cyril restated his position in far more aggressive terms in his Third Letter to Nestorius, closing with the Twelve Chapters, which summarized his teaching in the form of anathemas.²⁰ The letter contained several new features additional to the language of the Second Letter, notably the following: (1) the formula ‘one incarnate hypostasis of the Word’ (where ‘hypostasis’ means a concrete, individual entity), (2) the related formula ‘physical union’, (3) insistence that the sayings in scripture relating to Christ must never be assigned to Godhead and manhood as separate subjects but always to the Word incarnate, and in particular that God the Word ‘suffered in the flesh for us,’ (4) criticism of the traditional description of the union in Christ in terms of an indwelling in the manhood by the Word, (5) insistence that in the eucharist it is the very flesh of the Lord that gives life. All of this was capable of an orthodox interpretation, but it was unfortunate and nearly disastrous that all these expressions were indebted to Apollinarius,²¹ a fourth-century heretic who had attempted to preserve the unity of Christ by docking his manhood of a rational soul in order to reduce it to an incomplete set of human attributes that could only exist in dependence on the Word. However much Cyril stated that, unlike Apollinarius, he recognized the completeness of Christ’s human nature, many of his assertions sounded Apollinarian.

The result was that, far from Nestorius being cornered, the issue of Cyril’s own orthodoxy came to the fore, and the Syrian bishops mounted a sustained campaign against it; systematic rebuttals of the Twelve Chapters were penned by two Syrian bishops, Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Andrew of Samosata, to which Cyril in his turn sent replies in a veritable pamphlet war.²² One example may serve to illustrate the gulf that separated the two sides. Against Cyril’s insistence, in his Tenth Chapter, that it is the Word, and not some man conjoined to him, who acted as our high priest and

18 The Second Letter to Nestorius is contained in the Acts of Constantinople VI. 12 (vol. 2, 21–3).

19 This important point is well made in Louth (2009).

20 For the text of this letter see Acts VI. 15.21 (vol. 2, 38–48).

21 See Galtier (1956).

22 See Young (1983), 213–29.

apostle, Theodoret cited Hebrews 5 on Christ's being perfected and learning obedience through suffering and commented:²³

'Who is this who is perfected by the works of virtue and is not perfect by nature, who learns obedience through experience, which implies previous ignorance, who lives with pious fear and offers supplications with loud cries and tears, who cannot save himself but entreats the one who can save him and begs for release from death? It is not God the Word, immortal, impassible, and bodiless..., but what he took from the seed of David, mortal, passible, and fearing death, even if after this the same dissolved the power of death through union with the God who assumed him.

To this Cyril replied:²⁴

Perhaps someone will say that it was demeaning for God the Word to weep, fear death, reject the cup, and exercise priesthood... But we behold in them the poverty he endured for our sake... He wept as a man in order to staunch your tears. He allowed his flesh to shake with fear and at times to suffer what is proper to it out of accommodation, in order to make us more courageous... To him is ascribed human weakness in order to end your weakness. He offered up prayers and supplications in order to make your prayers reach the hearing of the Father... Do you exceed all impiety to the extent of saying that through labours he was perfected in virtue and attained the honour of high priest through progress little by little? If he progressed, how can he be said to have emptied himself and become poor?

For Theodoret and the Syrians we are saved through the free and perfect obedience of Christ the man (enabled by his union with God the Word), which atones for the disobedience of Adam. For Cyril, in contrast, we are saved not through human achievement but through divine condescension: the Word makes human weakness his own in order to endow it with his own strength. Cyril stressed again and again the words of St Paul which describe the 'self-emptying' of the one who was equal with God the Father (Phil 2:5–11). This was how he did justice to the human limitations that Christ adopted: he took them on so that human beings in their turn might share the life of God, in a process for which the word 'deification' was not too strong.²⁵ For the Antiochenes, in contrast, ultimate human perfection may indeed have a certain likeness to divine perfection and through the poverty of our language share some of the same terms, such as immortality, but the gulf between manhood and Godhead can never be truly bridged. The

23 *ACO* 1.1.6, pp. 136,22–137,3.

24 *Ibid.*, 139, 12–23; 141, 10–12.

25 See Russell (2004), esp. 191–204.

dualism of Antiochene Christology went together with a very sober view of human potential and human destiny.²⁶

But let us return to the events of the 430s. To settle the dispute the emperor Theodosius II summoned a general council to Ephesus in 431. The ultimate outcome of the council was the deposition of Nestorius, but at the time the most important and most contentious issue was the orthodoxy of Cyril's Twelve Chapters. Aware that both the imperial family and many of the churches were against him, Cyril attempted to turn the tables on his opponents by starting the council before the Syrian bishops reached Ephesus. The resulting saga is too well known to need recounting here. Cyril and his supporters met and condemned Nestorius; the Syrians on their arrival a few days later condemned Cyril. The resolution of his crisis took the greater part of two years. Finally in April 433 Cyril wrote to Bishop John of Antioch his *Laetentur caeli* letter accepting the 'Formula of Reunion' (or 'Formulary of Union'), a tactfully ambiguous statement of the Antiochene position, and rejoicing that the two parties were now reconciled.²⁷

Was the Formula of Reunion compatible with the Twelve Chapters? Cyril wrote a whole dossier of letters to his allies assuring them that it was,²⁸ while his erstwhile opponents wrote to each other claiming that it was not, and that by accepting the formula he had withdrawn his chapters. This was asserted by Ibas of Edessa in his Letter to Mari the Persian, which was for this very reason to be condemned by the council of 553. This was not a malicious invention of Ibas' own, but was argued by John of Antioch and Theodoret of Cyrhus in letters that attempted to reassure those of their Syrian allies who felt that Cyril had been let off too lightly.²⁹

The changing status of Cyril's Twelve Chapters

What was the status of the Twelve Chapters at the Council of Chalcedon? According to the Definition, 'The council has accepted as in keeping [with the creeds] the conciliar letters of the blessed Cyril, then shepherd of the church of Alexandria, to Nestorius and to those of the Orient, for the

26 Note Dewart (1971), 149, 'Theodore refuses to acknowledge ontological *theosis* [deification] in man – even on effected by grace. He says explicitly in the baptismal homilies that the grace of the Spirit, given in baptism, confers on man another human nature. Never will he assign man to even the fringes of divinity.'

27 This letter is in the Acts of Chalcedon I. 246.

28 Cyril, *Select Letters*, ed. Wickham, pp. 34–93.

29 E.g. *ACO* 1.4, p. 101, 25–9 (Theodoret to Acacius of Beroea), p. 104, 14–16 (Theodoret to Alexander of Hierapolis), and p. 113, 5–6 (John of Antioch to Alexander of Hierapolis).

refutation of the madness of Nestorius and for the instruction of those who with pious zeal seek the meaning of the saving creed.³⁰ Which were these conciliar letters – letters, that is, with the authority of the First Council of Ephesus? Certainly the Second Letter to Nestorius, which was read out and solemnly approved at the first session of the council; certainly also (as the text makes plain) the *Laetentur caeli* letter to John of Antioch in which Cyril accepted the Formula of Reunion.³¹

But what of the Third Letter to Nestorius, containing the Twelve Chapters? The Third Letter to Nestorius was included in the acts of the first session of the Council of Ephesus at which Nestorius was tried and deposed. De Halleux has demonstrated that at the precise point where it comes in the acts of the council it is an interpolation, but one that dates from the immediate composition of the minutes, before, as enacting Nestorius' deposition, they were signed by the participating bishops.³² Certainly, the Syrian bishops when they arrived a few days later thought that the Third Letter had received formal approval; this indeed was the main ground for their attacks on Cyril and the bishops who had met under his chairmanship. No one at Chalcedon could have doubted that the Third Letter with its chapters had been approved at this first session of the Council of Ephesus. How then could it be denied that it was one of Cyril's 'conciliar' letters? The answer is that the term 'conciliar' meant something stronger than simply 'approved at a council': it was understood to include the note of permanently authoritative status; the word 'canonical' was sometimes used as a synonym (e.g. Acts of Chalcedon I. 264). The Syrians in the Antiochene tradition had always argued that in the union of 433 the Third Letter with its chapters had been not supplemented but actually replaced and supplanted by the Letter to John of Antioch containing the Formula of Reunion.

What was the status of the Third Letter and its chapters at the Council of Chalcedon? It was not read out at the council, while the other two letters were read and applauded at the second session (II. 16–20). The only reference to the Third Letter to Nestorius in the acts is in this same second session, where Atticus of Nicopolis urged that, when the Tome of Leo was examined, it should be compared to 'the letter of the blessed Cyril written to Nestorius in which he urged him to assent to the Twelve Chapters' (II. 29). Yet when in the Fourth Session 160 bishops in turn commented on the perfect accord between

30 Price and Gaddis, II, 203.

31 Since the letter was written almost two years after the end of the council, this may seem strange, but it was regarded, quite reasonably, as its true fruit and resolution.

32 De Halleux (1992), 447–50. See now Graumann (2009), 36–41.

the Tome, Cyril, and Nicaea, there was no reference to the chapters, and it was the Second Letter to Nestorius that was treated as the test of orthodoxy (IV. 9). The Definition took as the basis for its profession of faith the Formula of Reunion, and was careful not to include any of Cyril's controverted tenets or expressions, such as his insistence on theopaschite language. How then could the council fathers in composing and approving the Definition have formally received the Twelve Chapters as an authoritative text? It is to be noted that the approved documents listed in the Definition are the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Creeds, the conciliar letters of Cyril to Nestorius and the Syrian bishops, and the Tome of Leo: it is precisely these documents, but without the Third Letter to Nestorius, that had been read out, and in the same order, at the second session of the council.

The exclusion of the Third Letter greatly facilitated the reinstatement at Chalcedon of two of its sharpest critics, Bishops Theodoret and Ibas, deposed at the Council of Ephesus of 449. It went together with giving weight to Cyril's *Laetentur caeli* letter to John of Antioch, in which he had not only accepted the Formula of Reunion but also made peace with the Antiochenes without raising the question of the status of his chapters or requiring the Antiochenes to withdraw their attacks upon them. This stress on Cyril at his most irenic also assisted the council in making no mention of Theodore of Mopsuestia. The 'Three Chapters' of sixth-century debate – Theodore and the attacks on the Twelve Chapters by Theodoret and Ibas – were not yet an issue.

When we move on to the 540s and 550s, however, the status of the Twelve Chapters has been transformed. This had been a gradual process. When the emperor Leo in 457 asked the bishops of the east about the status of the Chalcedonian Definition, none of them mentioned the Twelve Chapters. But the *Henotikon* of 482, after asserting the unique authority of the Nicene Creed, added, 'We accept at the same time the Twelve Chapters which were pronounced by Cyril of pious memory,' while in contrast the two conciliar letters recognized at Chalcedon are not even mentioned. The status of the chapters was one of the subjects in dispute at the conference of Constantinople of 532, at which Chalcedon's failure to approve the Third Letter to Nestorius was raised by the non-Chalcedonian delegates: Hypatius of Ephesus, the chief spokesman on the Chalcedonian side, acknowledged this fact, and claimed that the reason for it was that the letter speaks of two hypostases in Christ, meaning of course two natures but still contrary to correct formulation.³³ During the Three Chapters controversy, however, none

³³ *ACO* 4.2, p. 173, 21–9. The reference is to the third of the chapters: 'If anyone in respect of the one Christ separates the hypostases after the union...'

of the controversialists on either side expressed doubt as to the inclusion of the Third Letter among the writings of Cyril approved at the Councils of Ephesus I and Chalcedon; Justinian roundly (and falsely) asserted that both Chalcedon and Pope Leo had received and confirmed the Twelve Chapters, while the defenders of the Three Chapters were not behind in acknowledging their authority.³⁴ This concession played into the hands of those who condemned Ibas' and Theodoret's writings against the Twelve Chapters, and Chalcedon's failure to censure them became glaring.

The new status of the Third Letter had consequences for the standing of Theodore of Mopsuestia. There had been a lively debate in the middle and late 430s over whether he deserved condemnation, which generated a quantity of letters between John of Antioch, Proclus of Constantinople, Cyril of Alexandria and the emperor Theodosius II.³⁵ The attitude of Cyril towards Theodore had not been consistent: on the one hand there were letters in which he condemned Theodore as even worse than Nestorius; on the other there were letters that appeared to commend him or at least to spare him, above all a letter in which Cyril had deprecated the campaign against him, writing, 'I yield to those who think it a serious matter to revile the dead, even if they are laymen, and all the more if they departed from this life in the episcopacy.'³⁶ Here was a contrast between an irenic and diplomatic Cyril, keen to preserve the peace of the Church, and Cyril the heresy-hunter, comparable to the contrast between his *Laetentur caeli* letter to John of Antioch and his Third Letter to Nestorius. The new emphasis on the Third Letter gave priority to the heresy-hunter, and encouraged a reading of the letters about Theodore which emphasized Cyril's desire to see him condemned and dismissed the irenic letters as the product of tactical accommodation or even of forgery.

What difference did the new status of the Third Letter and its chapters make to the interpretation of the Chalcedonian Definition? The phrase in the Third Letter 'one incarnate hypostasis of the Word'³⁷ clarified Chalcedon's own formula of 'one person and one hypostasis', making it clear

34 Justinian, Letter on the Three Chapters, Schwartz (1939), p. 61, 32–6, trans. Wesche (1991), 144, Facundus, *Pro defensione* II. 4.8 (which dismisses Pope Gelasius' criticism of the Twelve Chapters), and Vigilius' first *Constitutum* 225. The writings of Cyril whose standing were still controverted by strict Chalcedonians were those that spoke of 'one nature' in Christ (Facundus, *Pro defensione* I. 5.23–5), but the tendency in the east was to canonize all Cyril's writings (Gray 1989).

35 Much of this material was presented at Session V of the council of 553.

36 *Ep.* 91, in vol. 2, 247.

37 Acts VI. 15.21.8 (vol. 2, 44).

that this one hypostasis is the divine subject of the union (God the Word, who took flesh) and not merely its product (the ‘God-man’ who did not exist before the union); this, I would argue, was a most useful clarification but not a change of meaning.³⁸ Secondly, the affirmation in Cyril’s Twelfth Chapter that it was the divine Word that ‘suffered in the flesh’ was one that the Chalcedonian Definition had avoided making. It can be argued that the reserve Chalcedon expressed over anything that threatens divine impassibility related purely to Eutychianism, and that its formal approval of Cyril’s Second Letter to Nestorius (which ascribes the passion to the Word since ‘the impassible one was in the suffering body’) implied a recognition that theopaschite expressions are acceptable. There remains, however, a significant difference between merely allowing theopaschite expressions and treating them as essential for orthodoxy, as was now asserted.

In 551 Justinian issued his most important doctrinal pronouncement, his edict *On the orthodox faith*. This document presented an interpretation of Chalcedonian Christology along the same lines: it is again stressed that the divine Word is the one subject in Christ and that the passion is to be attributed to him and not to the manhood alone. In addition, the edict’s adoption of the formula ‘one composite hypostasis’ of God the Word (meaning a true union in which the elements are not fused or merged) echoes ‘the one incarnate hypostasis’ of Cyril’s Third Letter. These same Cyrillian features find their place both in the anathemas contained in the edict and in those endorsed by the council of 553 at its eighth session. In all, an important part of the work of the council was a reassertion of Chalcedonian Christology in the light of the new status enjoyed by the Twelve Chapters of Cyril.

The fact that even the defenders of the Three Chapters did not criticize the respect now accorded to the Twelve Chapters means that it is a mistake to interpret their stance as the advocacy of a strongly dyophysite (or western) reading of Chalcedon against a Cyrillian one.³⁹ The defenders of the Three Chapters were spurred by a different anxiety, namely that a partial revision of the Chalcedon, through altering its judgement on Theodoret and Ibas and dropping its silence over Theodore, would weaken the authority of

38 See Price and Gaddis, I, 70–1. It was a piece of singular good fortune that the Third Letter had not spoken of ‘one incarnate nature’ in Christ but of ‘one incarnate hypostasis’: for Cyril the two expressions were equivalent, and it was an accident that the letter uses only the latter.

39 I therefore differ from Meletios (1985), 95–9 and Uthemann (2007), 494. Note how western objections to the anathemas of 551 and 553 concentrated on the issue of persons and did not question the doctrine.

the Chalcedonian Definition and leave it defenceless against miaphysite attack.

The council of 553 and neo-Chalcedonianism

The development of an interpretation of Chalcedon that brought it into line with Cyril's Twelve Chapters was the work not only of Justinian and the council of 553 but also of a whole group of theologians working in the first half of the sixth century, including John the Grammarian, Ephrem of Antioch and Leontius of Jerusalem, while the chief publicists were a group of Scythian monks (including John Maxentius) who came to Constantinople at the beginning of Justin's reign.⁴⁰ This movement has been called 'neo-Chalcedonianism'.⁴¹ Let us list a number of features of neo-Chalcedonian terminology and ask whether they found a place in the decrees of 553 and the related documents.

(1) 'One nature' and 'two natures'. It has been asserted that it is characteristic of neo-Chalcedonianism that it places the miaphysite formula 'one incarnate nature' on a par with Chalcedon's formula of two natures in one person and hypostasis. This is not true of Justinian, who in his edict of 551 felt obliged to pass the formula 'one incarnate nature' since Cyril had repeatedly used it, but stressed the danger of miaphysite expressions and the superior correctness of dyophysite language (pp. 78–86). Canon 8 of 553 likewise warns of the danger of interpreting 'one incarnate nature' to mean 'one nature or essence of the Godhead and flesh of Christ'. Instead, the Chalcedonians preferred to claim that 'one incarnate nature' meant not one nature but one divine nature plus the flesh (or manhood), that is, two natures.

(2) Treating 'in two natures' and 'from two natures' as equivalent or equipollent formulas, in contrast to Chalcedon's adoption of 'in two natures'

40 See the full and lucid treatment in Grillmeier (1995). I always refer, for convenience sake, to this English edition, but it is not wholly reliable as a translation of the German; see my review in *Heythrop Journal* 37 (1996), 468–9. For a briefer survey see Meyendorff (1975), 69–89.

41 The exact definition of neo-Chalcedonianism is open to debate; Grillmeier (1995), 429–34 seeks to accommodate the different definitions by distinguishing between 'moderate' and 'extreme' Neo-Chalcedonians. Louth (1996), 11 says that neo-Chalcedonianism is 'now more commonly called "Cyrilline Chalcedonianism"', but this could be taken to imply that the original Chalcedonianism was not Cyrillian. Uthemann (1997), 377–8 sensibly proposes keeping 'neo-Chalcedonianism' as a term for developments in the sixth century that were new, yet based on a Cyrillianism already present in the Chalcedonian Definition.

to the exclusion of 'from two natures'. Certainly 'from two natures' (or the like) occurs repeatedly both in Justinian's edict of *On the orthodox faith* of 551 (e.g. p. 74) and in Canons 7 and 8 of the council of 553, not to exclude but to supplement the 'in two natures' formula. It should be noted, however, that it was the lay chairman at Chalcedon (a friend of Theodoret's) and not any of the bishops who objected to 'from two natures', an expression that had been used in the profession of faith of Flavian of Constantinople, whom the council was keen to vindicate;⁴² it can also be argued that the clause in the Definition that talks of the two natures 'coming together into one person and one hypostasis' implies 'from two natures', even if the latter expression is not used. What continued, however, to distinguish Chalcedonian from non-Chalcedonian use of the 'from two natures' formula was the insistence that it does not imply one nature after the union.

(3) Designation of the union as involving 'composition' (σύνθεσις), an originally miaphysite usage. Justinian gives prominence to the expression 'one composite hypostasis' (p. 86 and Anathema 4), and it occurs in Canon 4 of 553. The term enabled a clear statement of the union of natures, while protecting them from any suggestion of fusion.

(4) Distinction between 'nature' and 'person/hypostasis' in terms of the difference between the universal and the particular. In the Nestorian controversy 'nature' and 'hypostasis' were used by both Antiochenes and Alexandrians as virtual synonyms. Chalcedon spoke of 'two natures' and 'one hypostasis' in Christ not in virtue of an acknowledged difference in the meaning of the terms but simply as a way of giving equal stress to duality and unity in Christ. The miaphysites constantly mocked the Chalcedonians for advancing an unreal distinction, and accused the 'two natures' formula of dividing Christ into two distinct beings. The neo-Chalcedonians sought to distinguish the terms by defining nature as universal or generic (e.g. 'man') and hypostasis as individual (e.g. 'Peter' or 'Paul'): what creates an hypostasis is the addition to a nature of individualizing characteristics that distinguish one member of a class from others.⁴³ This brought the Christological terminology into line with the Trinitarian, where the divine 'nature' is possessed equally by the three 'persons' or 'hypostases'. It is true that the 'two natures' of Christ are not generic but individual: it was not Godhead and manhood *in globo* that were united in the incarnation but specifically

⁴² Price and Gaddis, II, 187 and 198.

⁴³ This way of distinguishing 'nature' and 'hypostasis' is common in Chalcedonian writers of the age of Justinian, not only professional theologians such as John Grammaticus and the two Leontii but also Cyril of Scythopolis, *Life of Euthymius* 26 and 40.25. See Daley (1976), 363.

God the Word (the Second Person of the Trinity) and the man Jesus Christ. But natures exist only in hypostases, that is, in their instantiation in individuals. As was pointed out by Leontius of Jerusalem, even an individualized nature, such as Christ's manhood, exists only in an individual subject, and in Christ this subject is God the Word; we are to view his human nature not as an entity in its own right but as an additional set of attributes added at the incarnation to those already inhering in God the Word, with the result that his hypostasis became 'more composite'.⁴⁴ Justinian adopts this definition of nature as generic and of hypostasis or person as individual (p. 86), and points out that 'the human nature of Christ... did not possess its own hypostasis or person, but received the beginning of existence in the hypostasis of the Word' (p. 88).⁴⁵

In all, Justinian's *On the orthodox faith* is clearly neo-Chalcedonian,⁴⁶ and neo-Chalcedonianism was endorsed by the canons of 553.⁴⁷ The purpose was not to introduce a new Christology but simply to clarify the authentic Chalcedonian understanding that Christ is a single being who possesses the fullness of Godhead and the fullness of manhood, the two natures being truly united yet preserving their distinctive qualities.

The council's achievement

The term 'neo-Chalcedonianism' is useful to refer to sixth-century developments in Christology, but it has been used to suggest that there was a contrast between the form of Chalcedonianism dominant in the sixth century and the original meaning of Chalcedon itself. Many, perhaps most, western scholars hold that the original teaching of 451 contained, under the influence of Rome and Antioch, an emphasis on duality in Christ; the Cyrillian Chalcedonianism of the sixth century with its stress on unity and its rejection of the Antiochene tradition represented, in this view, an alteration and a narrowing of the original vision of Chalcedon. My own interpretation, however, shared by most Eastern Orthodox scholars and some western ones, is that the Chalcedonian Definition, despite its non-Cyrrillian assertion of

44 Gray (1979), 130–3. Grillmeier (1995), 280–2.

45 In the words of Bruckmann (2004), 122–3, 'This means that God the Word is the hypostasis of the complete human nature of Christ... and that God the Word is the existential basis of the human nature and makes it hypostatic' (that is, actual and individual).

46 In Grillmeier's terminology it represents 'moderate' neo-Chalcedonianism, since it continues to give a clear preference to the Chalcedonian formulas.

47 For a fuller and more technical analysis see Grillmeier (1995), 443–62 and Bruckmann (2004).

two natures after the union, expresses an essentially Cyrillian Christology;⁴⁸ I therefore see the unambiguously Cyrillian Christology of neo-Chalcedonianism as a valid clarification of Chalcedon, involving a certain shift of emphasis but no change of meaning. The miaphysite rejection of Chalcedon as Nestorian showed that the Definition was open to misinterpretation, and it was evasive on one major issue, the propriety of theopaschite expressions. I would therefore argue that the canons of 553, so far from narrowing or distorting the vision of Chalcedon, imported a welcome clarification, and one that the great majority of the fathers of Chalcedon, Cyrillian in their loyalties, would have applauded.⁴⁹

It should also be noted that one cannot talk of a Chalcedonian Church in the full sense of the phrase in the immediate aftermath of 451, since the bishops who upheld the council when consulted by the emperor Leo in 457 gave the Definition a minimalist interpretation which stressed its confirmation of Nicaea and ignored its original features.⁵⁰ There followed the period of the *Henotikon* and the Acacian schism, when adherence to Chalcedon was optional. It was only under Justinian that the two-nature, one-person doctrine of the council became the bedrock of orthodoxy. To accuse Justinian and the council of 553 of betraying Chalcedon is an inversion of history.

One final point may be offered on the council's contribution to the expression of the Christian faith. At the beginning of this section I pointed out a fundamental problem in early Christology: the Christ of the Gospels is a single agent, but the early Christian emphasis on the gulf between Godhead and manhood made the notion of a God-man problematic in the extreme. Within the limitations this imposed, the neo-Chalcedonian theologians, the emperor Justinian, and the council fathers of 553 did what they could to express the unity of Christ. Their work is encapsulated in the council's Canon 2:

If anyone does not profess that God the Word had two births, one before the ages from the Father timelessly and incorporeally, and the other, in the last days, of the same who came down from heaven and was incarnate from the holy and glorious *Theotokos* and ever-virgin Mary and was born from her, let him be anathema.

48 I have set out my view in Price and Gaddis, I, 65–73.

49 For a positive but nuanced answer to the question of whether the council of 553 advanced Chalcedonian Christology see Grillmeier (1995), 461–2 and Hausammann (2004), 98–9 and 107–8.

50 Grillmeier (1987), 195–235.

If we start with the distinction between the two natures, it is to be doubted whether we shall ever succeed in truly uniting them. A similar problem arises when in anthropology we try to relate body and soul.⁵¹ In both cases a better starting point is the concept of person and the idea of a realization, or expression, of a person on a variety of ontological levels. In the canon of 553 just quoted the distinction between two natures is redefined in terms of two aspects of the history of a single person – the Second Person of the Trinity, God the Word. This achieved a successful synthesis between the dyophysite recognition of composition in Christ and the unity of the Word made flesh proclaimed in the Fourth Gospel and the Nicene Creed.

51 See Strawson (1974), 172–3, with his criticism of a Cartesian ‘reduction of person-predicates to a mental component and a bodily component,’ and argument that talk of minds and bodies is ‘logically derivative from the concept of an individual person.’

V. THE THREE CHAPTERS

Historians of Christian doctrine continue to ask whether the council of 553 was faithful to the vision of 451. They concentrate on Canons 1–10 of 553, which present, albeit in the form of anathemas, a positive Christology. But in 553 this Christology was neither contested nor even debated. Where controversy raged was over the condemnation of the Three Chapters originally enacted by the emperor Justinian in 544/5 and reaffirmed in Canons 12–14 of 553, which sought to intensify the anti-Nestorian and anti-dualist emphasis in Chalcedonian Christology by condemning one theologian accused of being a Nestorian before Nestorius, namely Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428), and also certain writings critical of Cyril of Alexandria and (allegedly) supportive of Nestorius by two other members of the Antiochene school, Theodoret of Cyrrhus (d. not before 460)¹ and Ibas of Edessa (d. 457).

What made this condemnation controversial was not any lingering sympathy with Antiochene Christology but the fact that it appeared to undo some of the work of the Council of Chalcedon. For Chalcedon had restored Theodoret and Ibas to their sees, after their deposition on charges of Nestorianism at the Second Council of Ephesus of 449; and when it acquitted Ibas of the charges against him, it had apparently accepted the orthodoxy of his Letter to Mari the Persian, which contained fulsome praise of Theodore of Mopsuestia. To condemn the chapters was therefore, it appeared, to rescind, or at least amend, the decrees of Chalcedon. Was this not a threat to the status of the Chalcedonian Definition itself? Was it not a capitulation before the miaphysites, who had long pointed to Chalcedon's lenient treatment of Theodore, Theodoret and Ibas as evidence of Nestorian sympathies?

In the immediate aftermath of Chalcedon, however, the critics had concentrated their fire not on what were to become the Three Chapters but on the more central issues of the orthodoxy of the Definition and of Leo's Tome (which had been formally approved at Session IV of Chalcedon). We may, however, recognize a reference to two of the future chapters in the anathematization by the emperor Zeno in the Henotikon of 482 of 'everyone who has held or holds any other opinion [than that of the Nicene Creed and Cyril's Twelve Chapters], either now or at any time, whether at Chalcedon or at any synod whatsoever': this appears to refer to Nestorian sympathizers at Chalcedon, namely Theodoret and Ibas. In 507–8, at the beginning of the miaphysite ascendancy in the latter part of the reign of Anastasius,

1 The exact date of Theodoret's death is unknown. See Clayton (2007), 31–2. Glubokovsky (1890), I, 300–3 points out the lack of solid grounds for the 466 date often given.

synods at Constantinople and Antioch issued posthumous condemnations of a whole series of members of the old Antiochene school, including Theodore, Theodoret and Ibas. Theodore was subjected to particular attack by the Scythian monks (from modern Dubrudja) who from 519 were a dominant influence at Constantinople, representing the strongly Cyrillian end of the Chalcedonian spectrum; their spokesman John Maxentius was particularly fond of linking Theodore to Nestorius as his alleged teacher.² The remaining two chapters, as they were to become, were prominent in the criticism of Chalcedon expressed by the miaphysite delegates at the conference of Constantinople of 532, who criticized the council for not requiring Theodoret to anathematize his writings against Cyril and for approving the Letter of Ibas to Mari the Persian.³ Condemnation of Theodore, of the anti-Cyrillian writings of Cyril, and of the Letter to Mari was therefore in the air from the beginning of Justinian's reign. But the singling out of these three for condemnation as the 'Three Chapters' was Justinian's own decision and appeared first in his edict of 544/5.⁴ Let us examine these chapters in turn.

1. Theodore of Mopsuestia

Theodore of Mopsuestia (c. 350–428) was born in Antioch and studied rhetoric under the great Libanius and the scriptures under Diodore of Tarsus. He and John Chrysostom lived together in a quasi-monastic community of Diodore's pupils; at one stage Theodore returned to the world, but was called back by an eloquent letter from John. Towards the end of his life, John, as deposed and exiled bishop of Constantinople, was to thank Theodore for his stintless support.⁵ In 392 Theodore was sent to the minor Cilician see of Mopsuestia as its bishop, where he remained till his death in 428, making periodic visits to Antioch.

Theodore's prime distinction was as a biblical commentator. He produced commentaries on most of the books of the Bible, of which several survive intact, occasionally in Greek but more often in Syriac or Latin translation, notably those on the Gospel of John and the minor epistles of St Paul. He counts as the outstanding exegete of the so-called Antiochene school. It has often been said that Theodore and the Antiochenes, with their greater

2 E.g. *ACO* 4.2, p. 8, 20 and 43.

3 Brock (1981), 100.

4 It is notable that Leontius of Byzantium, writing his *Deprehensio et Triumphus super Nestorianos* as late as 543 (Daley 1978, lii–liv), concentrates on Theodore and makes no mention of Theodoret and Ibas.

5 See p. 338 (with nn. 308–9) below.

closeness to Semitic culture, concentrated on salvation history and morality as taught in the scriptures according to the literal sense of the texts, while the rival school of Alexandria, until Platonic influence, treated the historical as important not in itself but as a rich source of symbols of heavenly realities and the progress of the soul in the spiritual life. This categorization corresponds to a difference of emphasis which, if you contrast Theodore to Origen, is quite undeniable. But both these figures are extreme examples of their respective schools: if one compares more representative figures such as Theodoret of Cyrillus and Cyril of Alexandria, the difference is reduced to vanishing point. Both Theodoret and Cyril, for example, in their treatment of the prophetic books of the Old Testament attend to the historical context of composition and to the fulfilment of biblical prophecy in subsequent history, in particular that of the Roman Empire.⁶

It is essential to grasp that the comparative restraint of the Antiochenes in their exploration of the spiritual meaning arose not from a dislike of spiritual exegesis in itself but from scrupulous attention to literary context. Theodore reduced the number of psalms that must be taken as referring to Christ to a mere four (2, 8, 44/45, 109/110). The reason for this was his insistence that each psalm must be read as a whole: an individual verse, however familiar its Christological application in liturgy or preaching, should not be understood to refer directly to Christ unless the whole psalm allows such an interpretation. A good example of this is given in his interpretation of Psalm 21:19 in an extract read out at the council of 553 (Acts IV. 28):

There is the same meaning in the text 'They divided my garments between them and over my clothing they cast lots.' For it is beyond doubt that the psalm does not at all fit the Lord. For it was not for Christ the Lord, who 'did not commit sin nor was deceit found in his mouth,'⁷ to say, 'Far from my salvation are the words of my offences' (Ps 21:2b)... The words 'They divided my garments between them and over my clothing they cast lots' were manifestly applied to him by the apostles⁸ because what had first been said hyperbolically by David on account of ills inflicted on him happened in actuality to Christ the Lord, whose garments they divided and whose tunic they subjected to lots.

Theodore could scarcely deny the appropriateness of referring the verse to Christ himself, since the Gospels themselves do so, but insisted that this is pious accommodation rather than strict exegesis.

⁶ See Theodoret, *Commentary on Daniel* (trans. Hill). For Cyril see Kerrigan (1952), esp. 294–345, and Young (1983), 248–9.

⁷ 1 Pt 2:22 citing Is 53:9.

⁸ Mt 27:35, Mk 15:24, Lk 23:34b.

The ‘chapters’, or shocking passages, from his writings that fill much of the fourth session of the council, conclude with curious extracts from his discussions of the Book of Job and the Song of Songs, which give evidence of critical acumen but also of narrowness and arrogance (Acts IV. 72–80). He noted, as a modern reader does, the singular contrast between the prose frame of the Job story, which tells with classic simplicity a tale of virtue and endurance, and the long poetic inset with its startling intensity and wildness of imagery, in which Job’s legendary patience is conspicuous by its absence. Both the moral and the literary sense of Theodore were outraged. Meanwhile, in his treatment of the Song of Songs, he rejected the spiritual interpretation standard in Christian exegetes since Origen that read the book as an expression of the love between Christ and his Church or between Christ and the individual soul; for how, he argued, could a book that is purely secular and makes no mention of God have a religious meaning? Accepting the traditional Solomonic authorship, he read the spousal innocence of the poem, delightful to the modern reader, as an attempt by an embarrassed Solomon to justify the promiscuous character of his harem. Even his devoted disciple Theodoret thought this interpretation went too far, and dismissed it as ‘fables one would not attribute even to deranged old women’.⁹

It was not, however, Theodore’s biblical exegesis that led to his posthumous condemnation but his doctrine, in particular his Christology.¹⁰ Though not primarily a theologian, he wrote a number of controversial works in response to the errors of Arianism and Apollinarianism. The Arians treated the ‘lowly’ sayings of the Gospels, where Christ displays creaturely limitations or is placed on a lower level than the Father, as evidence that even prior to the incarnation the Son was inferior in nature to the Father. In reaction the Nicene Creed had defined Christ as sharing the same nature as the Father, and its champions throughout the fourth and fifth centuries protected the full divinity of the Son by attributing the lowly sayings to his manhood. By this both Gregory of Nazianzus in the late fourth century and Cyril of Alexandria in the fifth understood the divine Son to be the personal subject in the human nature he had made his own. Theodore, however, reacted with particular energy to the heresy of Apollinarianism, which secured unity in Christ by making the divine mind of the eternal Word take the place of the rational soul in the assumed humanity. Against Apollinarius he insisted that the human nature of Christ is not only complete, with a created rational soul,

⁹ Theodoret, *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, Preface, PG 81. 29A.

¹⁰ On his Christology see Sullivan (1956), Norris (1963), and for a comparison with Cyril of Alexandria Keating (2004), 206–27.

but is itself the subject of attribution to whom, and not to the divine nature, all the human acts and experiences, including birth from Mary and death on the cross, are to be attributed. This served both to secure the full manhood of Christ and to protect his Godhead from any appearance of undergoing diminishment or change through the incarnation. Unfortunately, the effect of this was to make Christ appear to be a distinct person, as separate from the Godhead as any other holy man or woman.¹¹ Very soon after Theodore's death his disciple Nestorius was accused of precisely this error – that of 'psilanthropism', treating Christ as a mere man – and before long the same charge was applied to Theodore himself.

This charge is the main concern of the collection of extracts from his writings that was read out at the fourth session of the council and addressed by Pope Vigilius in his first *Constitutum*. Chapter XIX (XX in Vigilius) is typical. Commenting on Psalm 8 ('I see the heavens, the work of your fingers, the moon and stars, which you founded. What is man that you remember him?'), Theodore writes:

The psalm shows us how great is the difference between God the Word and the man taken up. This distinction is found in the New Testament, where the Lord applies the first part of the psalm to himself, where it says he is the maker of creation, has a magnificence raised above the heavens, and is marvelled at throughout the world (Mt 21:16), while the second part, which is about the man who was deemed worthy of so great a benefit, is applied by the apostle to Jesus (Heb 2:6–8). It is surely clear that divine scripture is teaching us plainly that God the Word is quite other than the man.

On this Vigilius comments (first *Constitutum* 93):

[Here] Christ is asserted to be a mere man, as has already been said elsewhere, and is shown separated from God the Word, and duality of persons is introduced.

That Theodore sharply distinguished the divine and human natures is clear enough; the key question becomes whether, having done so, he was able to unite them convincingly. Facundus, using quotations that had appeared in Theodoret's defence of him, has no difficulty in rebutting the grosser charges: Theodore himself recognized and attacked psilanthropism, as associated with the third-century bishop of Antioch Paul of Samosata; he did not hold that at the incarnation the Word was united, in a form of adoption, to a man who already existed; he did not teach that God the Word

¹¹ Particularly disconcerting is Theodore's habit of making Christ address God the Word or refer to him in the third person; see Price and Gaddis, I, 61.

and the man Jesus are distinct Sons of God.¹² More positively, Facundus quotes passages of Theodore which speak of a union of the distinguishing properties of the natures (IX. 3.29), which liken the union of natures in Christ to the union within a single human being of both body and soul (IX. 4.4–8), which insist that the union in Christ is indissoluble (IX. 4.9).

It was harder to tie down precisely how Theodore prevented his emphasis on the distinction between the natures from implying the heresies he condemned. Here particular importance attaches to his fifteen books *On the incarnation*. The full text is lost, but many fragments survive, selected by friends as well as foes.¹³ It certainly talked of ‘one person’ (*prósôpon* in Greek) in Christ, but this word was extremely loose in late antique usage: in an anonymous fourth-century sermon Adam and Christ (as indwelling in Adam) are said to constitute ‘a single and indivisible person’ (PG 43. 461B). The Syriac version of *On the incarnation*, dating to the late fifth century and lost before publication only a century ago, is reported to have used the formula ‘one hypostasis and one person’, in suspicious similarity to Chalcedon, but this can scarcely be authentic, since we do not find the same in either the Greek fragments (edited, admittedly, by opponents) or the extracts given in Latin by Theodore’s defender Facundus of Hermiane, nor in Theodore’s disciples Nestorius and Theodoret. Particularly indicative is a Syriac fragment of indubitable authenticity from another of his lost works:¹⁴

‘Prosopon’ is used in a twofold manner: either it signifies the hypostasis and what each of us is, or it is applied to honour and greatness and worship, in the following way: ‘Paul’ and ‘Peter’ signify the hypostasis and prosopon of each of them; but the prosopon of our Lord Jesus Christ indicates honour and greatness and worship.

Here Theodore is explicit that the ontological language of hypostasis is not applicable to the union in Christ, and that the unity of ‘person’ consists instead in a sharing by the manhood in the status and dignity of the Godhead. This does not anticipate the ‘one person and one hypostasis’ formula of the Chalcedonian Definition.

Christ received a share, as Theodore recognized, in the role and authority of God the Word. In a fragment of *On the incarnation* he writes that the indwelling of the Word took place in Christ ‘as in a son’, and continues:¹⁵

¹² Facundus, *Pro defensione* III. 2.

¹³ See the analysis in Devreesse (1948), 44–8.

¹⁴ From Theodore, *Against Eunomius*, in Abramowski (1992b), 1.

¹⁵ Theodore, *On the incarnation*, Bk 7, fr. 2, PG 66. 976BC.

But what is meant by ‘as in a son’? That by indwelling he united the one assumed as a whole to himself and made him share with himself in all the honour in which the one indwelling, being Son by nature, participates, so as to be counted one person in virtue of the union with him and to share with him all his authority, and thus to accomplish all things in him.

This is typical of how Theodore expresses the union, by reference to Christ’s exercise of divine authority. He stresses even more the unity of honour: Christ’s manhood is owed the same worship as that paid to his Godhead. Christ is two in his inner being, but we are related to him as to single person: we do not worship the Godhead and honour the manhood, but render to both one and the same worship.¹⁶

Typical also in the last passage quoted is the stress on ‘indwelling’. Theodore’s sixth-century critics made much of his fondness for this language – of God the Word being ‘in’ the man, and the man being the ‘temple’ in which the Godhead dwelt. Did this not treat Christ as akin to the prophets and apostles, since St Paul had called ordinary Christians ‘God’s temple’ (1 Cor 3:16–17; 2 Cor 6:16)? But had not Athanasius himself, whose high Christology anticipated that of Cyril, talked (in the *Letter to Epictetus* 10) of God being ‘in’ Christ’s body and of that body being the temple of the Word?¹⁷ Was it suspicious that in interpreting John 1:14 (‘The Word became flesh and dwelt among us’) Theodore insisted that only the second half could be taken literally?¹⁸ Or was he simply following the teaching of Athanasius (*To Epictetus* 2) that the incarnation involved no change in the Godhead and that the manhood was taken from Mary and not brought down from heaven? A favourite response by the critics of Theodore was to say that it was customary for heretics to ape the language of orthodoxy, but that what was orthodox in the Fathers became heretical in their mouths. Theodore, like others before and after him, was to be allowed no defence.

The text of *On the incarnation* is lost, but it is unlikely that it contained a developed doctrine of the Christological union. Facundus (X. 1.20–1) quotes a fragment from a later work of Theodore’s that states that *On the incarnation* was written to rebut Arianism and Apollinarianism, which suggests that it was concerned to prove the distinction of the natures rather than define their mode of union. It is striking that Facundus, when citing passages of Theodore selected by Theodoret to prove his orthodoxy, produces nothing more telling than the following (from *On the incarnation* Bk XIII):¹⁹

16 See Uthemann (2007), 477–9.

17 At Chalcedon Theodoret quoted Cyril using the language of indwelling (Acts II. 26).

18 Theodore *apud* Facundus, IX. 5.21.

19 Facundus, III. 2.13.

It is good to conclude with the force of the expressions used, whether ‘living among men’ or ‘being baptized’ or ‘being crucified’ or ‘dying’ or ‘being buried’ and ‘rising again’. We utter these, not applying them to some mere man; we do not hesitate to add this whenever we exhibit the terms, in order to leave slanderers with no opportunity for evil speech. But [what is in question is] an indwelling by God the Word from the very formation in his mother’s womb, and an indwelling not according to common indwelling nor according to that grace which is conceived in the many, but in accordance with a surpassing one, according to which we say that both natures have been united and that in accordance with the union one person has been constituted.

Theodore’s belief in Christ’s uniqueness is clear enough, and the charge of psilanthropism is manifestly unjust. But no evidence suggests that his positive Christological formulas achieved any advance on the ambiguous language of ‘indwelling’ and ‘one person’.

It was easy for his opponents to tar him with the brush of Nestorianism. His defenders in modern times also doubt the justice of Nestorius’ condemnation, which was not an option for Chalcedonian Christians in the sixth century. How did his ancient defenders seek to exonerate him? Deacon Pelagius, writing immediately after the council of 553, cast doubt on the authenticity of the dogmatic excerpts for which he had been condemned.²⁰ He cited a letter from John of Antioch claiming that of the excerpts from Theodore some were unambiguous and wholly orthodox, and others ambiguous but similar to many admired patristic texts.²¹ Meanwhile, Facundus of Hermiane pressed one particularly telling point. Theodore was a contemporary of such luminaries of orthodoxy as Athanasius, the Cappadocian Fathers and John Chrysostom; yet no one attacked him in his lifetime, and he died in the peace of the Church. To condemn him posthumously was to accuse the greatest of the Church Fathers of being either heretical or naïve or negligent.²²

Perhaps the most balanced treatment of Theodore in a sixth-century text is that in Leontius Scholasticus, *De sectis*:²³

²⁰ *In defensione*, p. 12, 31–4. He exploited Proclus of Constantinople’s tactical pretence in the 430s of uncertainty as to the authorship of the excerpts (p. 25, 18–21) and cited Theodore’s own complaint that Apollinarians had altered the text of his *De incarnatione* (p. 9, 4–6).

²¹ *In defensione*, pp. 20, 8–12 and 21, 4–10. John was discussing the excerpts circulated by Proclus rather than the florilegium used in the sixth century, but doubtless the two had much material in common.

²² Facundus, VIII. 7.6–17.

²³ PG 86A. 1221AB. For this Leontius, writing between 581 and 608, see Grillmeier (1995), 493–502.

At this time there were two great men, Bishop Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, who campaigned against the Arians, Macedonius and Apollinarius, and wrote commentaries on holy scripture²⁴ and were held in great honour when they died. Neither of them was criticized in his lifetime, but many wrote encomia of them, including Basil and John Chrysostom. Later, when the Nestorian doctrine arose, Cyril, who earlier had praised them, was compelled to write against their writings, since Nestorius appealed to them in defence of his doctrine. For when they wrote commentaries on holy scripture, they did not stop where they should but, because of their intention to distribute the sayings in holy scripture some to the Godhead and some to the manhood, they were found to be introducing two hypostases and division in Christ. And therefore Cyril was compelled to write against them, since Nestorius appealed to them in defence of his doctrine.

After the condemnation of Nestorius and the steady glorification of Cyril of Alexandria, Theodore's reputation could not but enter a steep decline. Within the empire his writings ceased to be widely read, which accounts for the dependence of the attacks on him in the age of Justinian on an anthology of 'heretical' excerpts from his works compiled a century earlier.²⁵ Only outside the empire was his star not merely undimmed but burning ever more brightly: the Church of the East (the Persian Church) was to acclaim him at successive councils in 585, 596, and 605 as, in their view, the greatest and most authoritative of all the Church Fathers.²⁶

2. The controversial writings of Theodoret

The second²⁷ of the Three Chapters, the writings of Theodoret of Cyrillus against Cyril of Alexandria, received far less attention than the other two. Justinian's *Letter on the Three Chapters* devotes but half a page to Theodoret, and his edict *On the orthodox faith* nothing at all. Facundus devotes no part of the twelve books of his *Defence of the Three Chapters*

24 The text in PG reads the meaningless 'the other scripture'.

25 See below, vol. 1, 227–9. The influence of his biblical scholarship reached some writers within the empire, however, via the School of Nisibis, notably Cosmas Indicopleustes and Junillus Africanus.

26 Chabot (1902), pp. 398–400, 456–9, 463, 475. It is clear from these texts that this repeated assertion of Theodore's status was in reaction not to the condemnation of the Three Chapters but to criticism of Theodore within the Church of the East itself by Henana of Adiabene (for whom see Di Bernardino (1992), I, 374).

27 It is the second according to the sequence adopted in Justinian, *On the orthodox faith* and the canons of Constantinople II, but features as the third in Justinian's earlier treatise, *Letter on the Three Chapters* (Schwartz 1939, 47).

to Theodoret in particular, while Ferrandus does not mention him at all; in Vigilius' first *Constitutum* (drafted by his deacon Pelagius) and Pelagius' own *Defence of the Three Chapters* far less space is devoted to him than to Ibas. Even though the condemnation of a few of his writings was mild compared to the condemnation of Theodore and raised fewer problems than the Letter of Ibas, this disproportion scarcely did justice to his importance as the greatest Antiochene theologian of the generation of Nestorius and as a weighty presence at the Council of Chalcedon.²⁸

Theodoret was born and educated at Antioch, and came heavily under the influence of Theodore of Mopsuestia, though there is no direct evidence that he was ever his pupil. He was from the first, however, a moderate and critical disciple: he did not follow Theodore in drastically reducing the number of passages in the prophets and psalms that were to be interpreted as referring to Christ. During the Nestorian controversy he was the leading pamphleteer for the Syrian party. On the appearance of Cyril's aggressive Third Letter to Nestorius with its Twelve Chapters, he responded immediately with his *Refutation of the Twelve Anathemas of Cyril*, which are preserved within Cyril's reply.²⁹ After the Council of Ephesus he produced with equal rapidity *Five Books against Cyril and the Council of Ephesus*,³⁰ of which a few fragments survive. Some years later, in around 438, Cyril wrote *Against Diodore and Theodore*, to which Theodoret soon responded with the tract (likewise surviving only in fragments) *In defence of Diodore and Theodore*.³¹ These three works of Theodoret were the principal targets of the condemnation of his anti-Cyrrillian writings in Canon 13 of 553.

This canon referred imprecisely to 'the impious writings of Theodoret, those against the orthodox faith, against the holy first council at Ephesus and against the sainted Cyril and his Twelve Chapters, and everything that he wrote in support of the impious Theodore and Nestorius and of the others who held the same tenets as the aforesaid Theodore and Nestorius and who accept them and their impiety'. It therefore covered shorter miscellaneous

28 Theodoret was a friend of the lay chairman, the patrician Anatolius, and we may suspect his influence in the rejection by him and the Roman delegates of the first draft of the Definition (see Price and Whitby 2009, 79). He was also the probable author of the 'Address to Marcian' appended to the acts (see Price and Gaddis, III, 105–7).

29 Theodoret, *Impugnatio xii anathematismorum Cyrilli* (CPG 6214), preserved in Cyril's reply (CPG 5222). Extracts of Theodoret's work occur in the Acts of 553, Session V. 94–9.

30 *Libri V contra Cyrillum et concilium Ephesinum (Pentalogos)* (CPG 6215).

31 *Pro Diodoro et Theodoro* (CPG 6220). A few fragments are to be found in the Acts of 553, Session V. 31–4; further passages occur in the Syriac Acts of Ephesus II (Perry 1881, 241–51).

writings as well, among which were obviously included the sources of the extracts read out for execration at Session V, including the Letter to the Monks of Syria, letters to Andrew of Samosata, Nestorius and John of Antioch after the union of 433, and ungenerous expressions of delight at Cyril's demise in 444 (Acts V. 100–9). It is clear from the passages chosen that Theodoret was being pilloried not simply for attacking and defending the wrong people but also for expressing unorthodox opinions.³² So ill-defined a condemnation cast a cloud over all his writings that could seem to fall under it, and as a result most of his doctrinal works were not preserved. Treatises on the Trinity and the incarnation survive only because, ironically, they were attributed to Cyril himself, while two works, his *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* and *Questions and Replies to the Orthodox*, survive through attribution to the second-century apologist Justin Martyr. The only major dogmatic work to survive under his own name was the *Eranistes*, a treatise against Eutychianism that contained substantial florilegia that proved useful in subsequent controversy with miaphysites.

The reason for the inclusion of Theodoret's controversial writings in the Three Chapters is made clear by a criticism of the fathers of Chalcedon made by the non-Chalcedonian delegates at the conference at Constantinople of 532: 'How are those who received him not guilty of his wickedness, since, when he had anathematized Nestorius alone, they did not require him to anathematize his wicked writings which he wrote against the holy Cyril and against the true faith?'³³ Theodoret, deposed from his see of Cyrrhus in northern Syria at the Second Council of Ephesus (449), was reinstated at Session VIII of Chalcedon (26 October 451), after he had anathematized Nestorius. But the bishops at Chalcedon did not require him to withdraw his attacks on Cyril. Did this not demonstrate that they paid only lip-service to Cyril's authority?

In fact, Theodoret's treatment at Session VIII had been far from courteous. He was spared the indignity to which Ibas was subjected in Session X of having to listen to the minutes of a previous trial, but only because his sole previous trial had been at the now discredited Ephesus II. For this very reason the bishops had no choice but to reinstate him, but they did so with singularly ill grace. He requested the opportunity to prove his orthodoxy from two documents he presented, but the bishops refused to hear them. Then, when he attempted to prove his orthodoxy by anathematizing Nesto-

32 Clayton (2007), 283–8 offers a negative assessment of Theodoret's Christology, bringing out his closeness to Theodore and Nestorius.

33 Brock (1981), 100.

rius and Eutyches jointly, he was repeatedly interrupted. To conciliate the council fathers, he was obliged to add a further anathema directed at Nestorius alone, thereby acknowledging that the charge of Nestorianism that had been brought against him had to be taken seriously. Justinian commented that he had been received by the fathers of Chalcedon not as a teacher but as a repentant heretic.³⁴ The occasion was particularly bitter for Theodoret because up to this date he had consistently avoided anathematizing Nestorius by name. He had written to Nestorius after the union of 433 explaining that he had accepted the union because he could find no heresy in Cyril's Letter to John of Antioch, but that he would never accept the unjust treatment to which Nestorius himself had been subjected 'even if someone were to cut off both my hands'.³⁵ It is not surprising that after he had been made to anathematize Nestorius three times, he concluded with the bitter sarcasm, 'After all this, good health to you!'³⁶ The non-Chalcedonian representatives at the Conference of Constantinople of 532 cited this remark as evidence that he was not genuinely repentant.³⁷

Even though little was said about Theodoret in the debate on the Three Chapters, that little should be summarized. Justinian claimed that Theodoret had defended Nestorius and was for this reason made to acknowledge that the Virgin Mary is *Theotokos* (Mother of God) before he could be reinstated;³⁸ but there is nothing of this in the minutes of Chalcedon, doubtless because the *Theotokos* title, which Theodoret had long accepted and had indeed included in the Formula of Reunion, was not in dispute. But the charge most stressed in the age of Justinian was that he had attacked the Twelve Chapters, a text that had by now been included among Cyril's 'conciliar' or 'canonical' letters.

How did Vigilius defend Theodoret in his first *Constitutum* (221–7)? He drew attention to his signing Leo's Tome, and to the fact that he had showed respect for Cyril by citing him at Chalcedon to counter criticisms of the Tome. Above all Vigilius stressed his anathematization of Nestorius at Session VIII: this was all that the fathers of Chalcedon had demanded of him,

34 Justinian, *Letter on the Three Chapters*, Schwartz (1939), p. 66, 28–9. It is true that the Acts (particularly in the Latin version) preserve acclamations in which Theodoret was hailed as an 'orthodox teacher' (VIII. 15), but it is manifest from the rest of the session that this represented a minority view.

35 This letter was read out at the council of 553, Acts V. 105.

36 Acts of Chalcedon VIII. 13.

37 Brock (1981), 98; *ACO* 4.2, p. 180, 27–9.

38 Justinian in Schwartz (1939), p. 66, 24–7 (trans. Wesche, 152).

and to treat this as insufficient was to imply that Chalcedon had let him off too lightly and even, what was palpably absurd, that the council was secretly sympathetic to Nestorianism. Vigilius also appealed, as did the defenders of Ibas (as we shall see below), to the example of Cyril, who in 433 made peace with the Syrians without requiring Theodoret to withdraw his attacks on him. Pelagius in his *Defence of the Three Chapters* pressed the argument with particular force: to say that Theodoret's writings against Cyril needed to be anathematized was to imply criticism not only of Chalcedon but even of Cyril himself for passing them over; it was to side with Dioscorus and his followers, who were the only people at Chalcedon to draw attention to the fact that Theodoret had attacked Cyril.³⁹

3. The Letter of Ibas to Mari the Persian

The most intricate and most bizarre part of the debate over the Three Chapters related to the letter of Ibas of Edessa to Mari the Persian.⁴⁰

The 'union' or reconciliation between Antioch and Alexandria in 433 was a compromise imposed by the government at Constantinople. Cyril of Alexandria got the better of the bargain in that Nestorius' condemnation was confirmed, while he (Cyril) was not obliged to withdraw his contentious Twelve Chapters; but he had to accept, and acclaim as orthodox, a statement of belief drawn up by his Antiochene opponents, a statement that was manifestly Antiochene in its emphases, though just capable of a Cyrillian interpretation. Ibas, a priest of Edessa, wrote a brief account of the whole affair, supposedly a letter addressed to a Persian correspondent, whose real name and place of abode are not given, though in reality a pamphlet for wider circulation.⁴¹ The full text of the letter was known from the Acts of Chalcedon and reappears in the Acts of Constantinople (at VI. 5). The following are the chief points it makes:

(1) The controversy was ignited by Nestorius' denial that Mary is *Theotokos* (Mother of God), which led to accusations that he held Christ to be a mere man.

³⁹ Pelagius, *In defensione*, pp. 30–1. He is referring to a moment in the first session of Chalcedon when Dioscorus' supporters cried out, 'Theodoret accused Cyril. We exclude Cyril if we admit Theodoret' (Acts I. 43).

⁴⁰ For the text of the letter see vol. 2, 6–10.

⁴¹ 'Mari' is probably a title ('Lord', literally 'my Lord') rather than the genuine name of an addressee. The original language of the letter was Syriac, but it is likely to have circulated from the first in a Greek version as well.

(2) In reacting to Nestorius, Cyril fell into the opposite heresy of Apollinarianism, fusing the divine and human natures of Christ.

(3) At the Council of Ephesus, before the Syrian bishops arrived, Cyril pre-empted a proper conciliar judgement by condemning Nestorius ‘without there being a trial and investigation’ and having his own Twelve Chapters approved by the bishops in his faction.

(4) After the council it was impossible for Nestorius to return to Constantinople, while in Edessa Bishop Rabbula, ‘the tyrant of our city’, initiated a campaign against the memory and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia.

(5) The emperor intervened to restore peace to the churches. Cyril and his allies had to assent to the ‘true’ faith and anathematize their former errors, contained in the Twelve Chapters. In consequence ‘no one now dares to say that there is one nature of Godhead and manhood, but they profess belief in the temple and the one who dwells in it, who is the one Son Jesus Christ.’

This tract cannot be understood without reference to the disputes that followed the union of 433. A number of Syrian bishops from the provinces of Cilicia and Euphratensis rejected the compromise, on the grounds that Nestorius had been unjustly deposed and that the Twelve Chapters had not been condemned; some of them went so far as to break off communion with their primate John of Antioch. Meanwhile, the Church of Persia likewise refused to accept Nestorius’ condemnation; the rift this caused between the Persian Church and the imperial Church was never healed. The letter of Ibas reads like a tract to reassure these critics of the settlement of 433. It points out to them that, setting aside Nestorius’ condemnation, he was too unpopular in Constantinople to be able to return there, and it interprets Cyril’s acceptance of the Formula of Reunion⁴² as a withdrawal of his chapters and an acknowledgement that they were heretical.

Were the Twelve Chapters and the Formula of Reunion compatible or incompatible? After the Council of Ephesus Cyril had promised a ‘clarification’ of the chapters, which the Syrians subsequently understood to have been provided by his acceptance of the Formula of Reunion. John of Antioch, writing to the bishops of the east, observed, ‘There were, there were indeed among our opponents those who wavered over the exposition of the faith, whose understanding held the truth but whose zealous tongue produced things that were opposite to what they thought.’⁴³ In other words,

⁴² Contained in Cyril’s *Laetentur caeli* letter to John of Antioch, Price and Gaddis, I, 179–80.

⁴³ *ACO* 1.1.7, p. 156, 23–6.

Cyril had always been orthodox, but had expressed himself badly. But when writing to those who accused him of letting Cyril off too lightly, he asserted that Cyril's recent letters were contrary to the Twelve Chapters and that by accepting the Formula of Reunion he had withdrawn them, as was likewise argued by Theodoret.⁴⁴ Ibas' interpretation of the union of 433 as Cyril's abandonment of his previous heretical position was, therefore, in line with the assertions of other Syrian bishops.

Ibas' bishop, Rabbula of Edessa, had originally admired Theodore and supported John of Antioch, but immediately after the Council of Ephesus he moved across to Cyril's side, creating a trend that by the time of the Council of Chalcedon left the advocates of 'Antiochene' theology in a minority even in Syria and Mesopotamia. On his death in 435 Ibas was elected as his successor, and must have found his position threatened from the first by the admirers of Rabbula. When he circulated a collection of excerpts from Theodore of Mopsuestia (originally attached to Proclus of Constantinople's *Tome to the Armenians*), a group of his presbyters wrote to Proclus (in 438) denouncing him.⁴⁵ In the 440s the same group brought charges against him, principally of Nestorianism, at a series of Syrian synods. Failing to gain satisfaction in Syria, they appealed to Constantinople. Theodosius II issued a mandate ordering that the case be heard by an episcopal commission chaired by Photius of Tyre. Hearings followed in February 449 at Tyre and Berytus; the Acts of Chalcedon reproduce a substantial part of the minutes.⁴⁶ The plaintiffs accused Ibas of heresy, in particular of having said at a meeting of his clergy, 'I don't envy Christ becoming God, for inasmuch as he became God, so also have I.' At Chalcedon he produced a testimonial from sixty-five of his clergy to the effect that he had never made such a remark.

He was also accused of having said, 'I considered the late Cyril a heretic, and until he anathematized the chapters, I did not accept him.' To this he replied, 'Until he explained himself, since the council of the Orient called him a heretic and had deposed him for heresy, I too considered him a heretic; but after the union of the churches, when the blessed Paul went to Alexandria taking the creed of the Orientals and received from him an explanation of the chapters, we all held him to be in communion and orthodox, and no one called him a heretic.'⁴⁷ Important in the sixth-century controversy

44 Cf. a letter from John to Alexander of Hierapolis (*ACO* 1.4, p. 113, 5–6) and letters of Theodoret to Acacius of Beroea (p. 101, 25–9) and Alexander (p. 104, 14–16).

45 Acts VI. 7.3 and 9.1. For the following narrative see Price and Gaddis, II, 265–70.

46 Acts of Chalcedon X. 28–138.

47 *Ibid.* X. 123, 130.

was the difference between holding Cyril to have been a heretic who later abandoned his own teaching (the view of which Ibas stood accused) and Ibas' own conciliatory explanation that no one thought Cyril a heretic once he had 'explained' his teaching. The minutes we have of the hearing at Berytus close abruptly with a reading of the Letter to Mari the Persian.

Photius of Tyre and his colleague Eustathius of Berytus declined to deliver a formal verdict but (back in Tyre on 25 February) presented a compromise, requiring Ibas, though not condemned, to mend his ways: in particular, it stated that he had 'volunteered' to anathematize Nestorius at a public ceremony back in Edessa, to recognize the authority of the Council of Ephesus, and to embrace the accord of 433. The compromise was accepted by both parties, but broke down almost immediately: hostility towards Ibas in Edessa remained so intense that he could not fulfil his promise, and as early as 12–18 April his accusers again pressed their charges before Chaereas the governor of Osrhoene resident at Edessa.⁴⁸ The report of the latter to Constantinople was critical of the bishop, and on 27 June he was deposed by imperial mandate. This was confirmed by a decree of the Second Council of Ephesus of 22 August 449, condemning him *in absentia*.

The accession of Marcian in 450 enabled him to appeal with effect against his deposition, and the emperor entrusted the case to the Council of Chalcedon. Some of his clergy were allowed to come before the council as his accusers; they obtained a reading of the minutes of the inconclusive hearing at Berytus, including the Letter to Mari. After a discussion of Ibas' condemnation at the Second Council of Ephesus, which it was decided to treat as null and void, the bishops delivered their verdicts. The first three have particular importance, since they relate to the Letter to Mari:⁴⁹

161. Paschasinus and Lucentius the most devout bishops and Boniface the presbyter, representing the apostolic see, said through Paschasinus: 'Now that the documents have been read, we know from the verdict of the most devout bishops'⁵⁰

48 Most historians have presumed that Ibas must have returned to Edessa to celebrate Easter on 27 March 449, as was explicitly requested in the testimonial on his behalf sent by some of his clergy (Acts of Chalcedon X. 141). But the acts of the hearing before Chaereas make plain the intense opposition to his return and surely imply that it had been frustrated (see Doran 2006, esp. 143–7). The Chronicle of Edessa (see Perry 1881, 29) implies that there was no bishop in the city between Ibas' departure, which it dates to 1 January, and the election of Nonnus as his successor in July.

49 For the full text of these and the following verdicts, as included in Vigilius' first *Constitutum*, see vol. 2, 195–6.

50 The verdict of Photius and Eustathius at Tyre in 449, given in the Acts of Chalcedon IX. 7.

that the most devout Ibas has been proved innocent, and from the reading of his letter we have found him to be orthodox. We therefore decree that both the honour of the episcopate and the church from which he was unjustly ejected in his absence should be restored to him...'

162. Anatolius the most devout bishop of Constantinople Rome said: 'The good faith of the most God-beloved bishops who sat in judgment and the reading of all the accompanying material prove the most devout Ibas innocent of the accusations brought against him...'

163. Maximus the most devout bishop of the city of Antioch said: 'From what has just been read it has become clear that the most devout Ibas is guiltless of everything charged against him; and from the reading of the transcript of the letter produced by his adversary his writing has been seen to be orthodox. I therefore decree that he is to recover the dignity of the episcopate and his own city...'⁵¹

The other verdicts drew attention to Ibas' promise to Photius and Eustathius to give public proof of his orthodoxy, without asking whether he had in fact done so. Finally the bishops in acclamation demanded that now at Chalcedon he should explicitly anathematize both Nestorius and Eutyches, which he promptly did. He was then restored to his see.

What is one to make of this episode? His reinstatement was inevitable, once the rejection of the decrees of the Second Council of Ephesus had left the compromise worked out by Photius in possession of the field. But the Letter to Mari must have been found acutely embarrassing by bishops who professed unreserved admiration for Cyril, and the questions it raised about the status of the Twelve Chapters were not ones they wished to address. Why then was it singled out for praise by the Roman representatives and Maximus of Antioch? Why did Anatolius speak of Ibas' vindication by 'all the accompanying material'? The Roman Church took no interest in Cyril's Twelve Chapters, but Leo's representatives had been keen to stress that the teaching of Leo and that of Cyril were in perfect harmony, while both Anatolius and Maximus were firm Cyrillians and hostile to what we call the 'Antiochene school'. We must suppose that they wished to scotch the issue. If they had left the matter open, other bishops might have raised it; but after

51 A fourth verdict that was sometimes claimed to refer to the letter was that of Eunomius of Nicomedia: 'Now indeed the most devout Ibas has been proved innocent from what has been read. For as regards the statements in which he seemed to accuse the most blessed Cyril by speaking ill of him, he made a correct profession in his final statements and rebutted those in which he had accused him' (Acts X. 173). But Justinian's argument (Schwartz 1939, pp. 65,25–66,3) that this referred not to the letter but to the minutes from the hearing at Berytus is convincing, and the same interpretation is to be found even in Vigilius' first *Constitutum* 269–75.

the three senior bishops had made it clear that the Letter to Mari was not to be used against Ibas, their colleagues were inhibited from mentioning it. Striking is the judgement by Juvenal of Jerusalem that followed: a committed Cyrillian, he described Ibas as a repentant heretic who had to be treated with leniency because of his age, but even he felt it improper to question the orthodoxy of the letter.

Chalcedon's silence over the Twelve Chapters could not be maintained, and by the time of the Three Chapters controversy their authoritative status was acknowledged by all parties in the debate. It was this that made the defence of Ibas' letter a lost cause, and stimulated the condemnation of the Three Chapters. Already at the conference held at Constantinople of 532 the Chalcedonian representatives were on the defensive over Chalcedon's reinstatement of the controversial bishop. They pointed out that he had only been accepted after he anathematized Nestorius, but their opponents insisted that the Letter to Mari had been crucial, and (at least according to the non-Chalcedonian version of the minutes) the Chalcedonians were reduced to the desperate expedient of casting doubt on the reliability of the acts.⁵²

Once Justinian decided to condemn the Letter to Mari, while insisting on the full authority of the Council of Chalcedon, he was landed with the formidable task of condemning the letter without criticizing the fathers of Chalcedon for restoring Ibas to his see after it had been read out. He attempted to reduce the problem to manageable proportions by ignoring his reinstatement: he simply reported that, after he had anathematized Nestorius, he was received back into communion.⁵³ But was it not a major embarrassment that two of the bishops had actually cited the letter as proof of Ibas' orthodoxy? Justinian and his henchmen argued that the isolated voices of a mere two judges before final sentence had been passed did not express a general opinion.⁵⁴ This line of defence had the advantage of truth on its side, and the disadvantage of conceding that the bishops had failed to speak up for orthodoxy, whether through misjudgement or pusillanimity.

In consequence Justinian decided to adopt a bolder and more imaginative solution.⁵⁵ The first stage was to blacken the letter – to claim that not only

52 Brock (1981), 98–104.

53 Justinian, *Letter on the Three Chapters* (Schwartz 1939, 65–6, trans. Wesche, 150–3), and *On the orthodox faith* (ibid. p. 96). That Chalcedon restored Ibas to his see also went without mention at the council of 553; see Acts VI. 9.9–15.

54 Justinian in Facundus, V. 1.17–18, 21 and *On the orthodox faith*, p. 100; Theodore Ascidas in Acts VI. 9.8, 30.

55 Key texts are Justinian, *Letter on the Three Chapters* and *On the orthodox faith*, Acts VI. 9 and VIII. 4 (22–6), and Vigilius' second *Constitutum*.

did it treat Cyril as a heretic and criticize the Council of Ephesus (which was undeniable) but that in addition it defended Nestorius, decrying his condemnation and acquitting him of the charge of heresy. Ibas' account of Nestorius' fall, which stressed the injudiciousness of his criticism of the *Theotokos* title, which led 'most people' to consider him a heretic and made it impossible for him to return to Constantinople, was oddly detached; I suggested above that the reason was his desire to lead outraged Oriental bishops into a resigned acceptance of Nestorius' downfall. The contrast with the letter's forthright condemnation of Cyril's chapters was marked. It was also easy to make the specious claim that Ibas' statement that Nestorius had been condemned 'without trial or investigation' implied that he regarded the charges against him as groundless.

It was also claimed that the letter taught Nestorian doctrine. Ibas had written, comparing Cyril to Apollinarius, 'Like him he also wrote that the very God the Word became man in such a way that there is no distinction between the temple and the one who dwells in it.' Did this not imply that Ibas denied the incarnation and regarded the presence of God in Christ as akin to his presence in the prophets and saints? It was forgotten that describing the incarnation as a form of indwelling had been standard in anti-Apollinarian polemic. Ibas' formula of 'two natures, one power, one person, who is the one Son and Lord Jesus Christ' was also pilloried as Nestorian; it was true that the same formula could be found in Theodore and Nestorius, as Justinian pointed out,⁵⁶ but it was manifestly ungenerous to condemn a formula that was close to Chalcedon, while treating the anti-Chalcedonians with far more understanding, as Justinian did throughout his reign.

Having proved to their own satisfaction that the Letter to Mari was Nestorian and abhorrent to pious ears, Justinian and his henchmen deduced that the fathers of Chalcedon cannot conceivably have approved the letter or accepted its author as orthodox. Yet they *had* accepted Ibas. The implication was clear: there must have been doubts as to whether the letter was by Ibas or expressed his views. Throughout the controversy the opponents of the chapters referred to the letter as 'the letter *said* to have been written by Ibas to Mari the Persian'. There is no evidence that prior to the reign of Justinian

⁵⁶ Justinian, *On the orthodox faith*, p. 98. Cf. Theodore, 'The union of the natures according to good pleasure makes one the will, operation, sovereignty, rule, mastery, dignity and authority' (*ep. ad Domnum*, PG 66. 1012C), and Nestorius, 'We regard the will, operation and mastery as one' (*ACO* ser. 2, 1, p. 332, 36). Antiochenes had just as much reason as later monenergists and monotheletes to stress oneness of operation and will, in order to minimize the duality suggested by asserting two natures.

anyone had seriously doubted the authenticity of the letter. Justinian and his assistants tried to shift the *onus probandi* by claiming that Ibas had not dared to claim the letter as his; even this, however, was questionable.⁵⁷ But here they thought up a further argument. One of the charges Ibas had to answer at Berytus was that he had continued to call Cyril a heretic after the union of 433; he was recorded as averring, ‘After the union of the churches, when the blessed Paul went to Alexandria taking the creed of the Orientals and received from him an explanation of the chapters, we all held him to be in communion and orthodox, and no one called him a heretic’ (X. 130). Now the Letter to Mari had been written after (admittedly, not long after) the union, and yet attacked Cyril’s doctrines as heretical: it followed that Ibas’ averment constituted a denial of having written the letter.

At this point the references to the letter in the verdicts of Paschasinus and Maximus caused fresh embarrassment, for their statements that the letter proved Ibas orthodox implied that they regarded the letter as authentic. To exclude this argument it was claimed that they had not been referring to the Letter to Mari but to a different document – namely, the testimonial from the Edessene clergy that had been read out at Chalcedon immediately after the letter (Acts X. 141). The point is made with particular energy in Vigilius’ second *Constitutum* (126–36), which repeats again and again: ‘Which letter would those most holy judges consider rather to be that of Ibas whom they were acquitting?... Is it the Letter to Mari the Persian which, when cited against him, Ibas himself denied, as has abundantly been shown, or that of the Edessenes, which he required to be read out in order to impugn the Letter to Mari and prove the orthodoxy of his own faith?’ The argument was not new: Facundus had met it a decade before in Justinian’s first edict against the Three Chapters.⁵⁸ Modern commentators have no patience with this attempt to cast doubt on the authenticity of the letter; but to do it justice, once it had come to be believed that Cyril’s chapters had been declared canonical at Chalcedon, Ibas’ acquittal immediately after the reading of the letter could not but appear extremely puzzling. In any case, the final plank in Justinian’s position had independent force: whatever the bishops thought about the authorship of the letter, they made Ibas repudiate its contents by

⁵⁷ Justinian, *On the orthodox faith*, p. 96. According to witnesses at the hearing before Chaereas, Ibas acknowledged the letter as his when it was read out at Berytus (Perry 1881, 120–3). There had probably been evidence to this effect in the Acts of Chalcedon, but it had been expunged in the edition available to readers in the mid-sixth century (Price and Gaddis, II, 271–2).

⁵⁸ Facundus, V. 1.8,22 and 2.17–18.

anathematizing Nestorius. That they themselves abhorred the letter was not, then, open to doubt.

Let us now examine the other side in the debate – the defence of the Letter to Mari by those defending the Three Chapters. Part of their task was easy enough: they pointed out that no one hitherto had questioned the authenticity of the letter. But where in their turn they faced an uphill task was in maintaining its orthodoxy and justifying the tolerant attitude adopted towards it at Chalcedon. Certainly they could argue that the critics of the letter had overstated their case. Facundus argued soundly enough that the language of temple and dweller in the temple was orthodox, and observed that Paul of Emesa had used it in a sermon that Cyril had praised.⁵⁹ It was also pointed out that the letter stopped short of defending Nestorius. But how could its treatment of Cyril be defended? Vigilius in his first *Constitutum* (269–83) interpreted the letter in the light of Ibas' statement at Berytus that he no longer held Cyril to be a heretic once he had 'explained' his Twelve Chapters. We find the same interpretation in Ferrandus, who claimed that Ibas presented his criticisms of Cyril as past history, now that Cyril had produced 'a sound interpretation of his chapters'.⁶⁰ This 'sound interpretation' was simply his acceptance of the Formula of Reunion, which the Letter to Mari had taken as an abandonment of his chapters. To interpret this as a realization, once Cyril had 'explained' his chapters, that he was not a heretic after all was an irenic but hardly convincing reading of the letter.

More plausible was an argument we find in Facundus: he admitted that Ibas believed that Cyril had once been a heretic, but pointed out that orthodoxy is a matter of doctrine and not of judgements on individuals.⁶¹ Ibas had indeed inveighed against Cyril for teaching, as he supposed, one nature after the union; but to say that this constituted an attack on Cyril's actual beliefs would be to agree with the Eutychians that Cyril was a miaphysite. What mattered was not that Ibas had maligned Cyril as a result of misunderstanding his chapters, but that, all the time that he thought he was attacking Cyril, he had in fact been in agreement with him.⁶² Cyril himself had appreciated this point, which is why in the union of 433 he had not required the Antiochenes to withdraw the criticisms they had made of him and his chapters. Chalcedon in approving the letter was adopting the

⁵⁹ Ibid. VII. 7.7.

⁶⁰ Ferrandus, *ep.* 6.4 (below, p. 115).

⁶¹ Facundus, I. 19–20. He goes so far as to say that, even if Ibas had defended Nestorius (which he did not), this would not have proved that he was a heretic, but simply that the heresiarch had deceived him (VII. 3.1–8).

⁶² Ibid. VI. 4.18–25. Cf. also Vigilius' first *Constitutum* 276–9.

same attitude in a parallel case: to have adopted a more severe attitude would have been to go against the example set by Cyril himself.⁶³ With this amiable though not wholly convincing picture of a tolerant Cyril, reluctant to hound his opponents, let us end this summary of the debate.

These were the main arguments advanced by the two contending parties, varying from the plausible to the absurd. The whole debate was marred, however, by a distortion: both sides were so obsessed with the Letter to Mari that they failed to notice that it had been of only secondary importance in the original dispute. At the hearing at Berytus in February 449, at the hearings at Edessa before the governor Chaereas in April 449, at the Second Council of Ephesus in August 449 and at Chalcedon itself Ibas' Letter to Mari featured as evidence to support a charge of heresy and blasphemy but received less attention than statements remembered from his sermons and addresses, notably his notorious affirmation, 'I don't envy Christ becoming God.'⁶⁴ It was this statement and not the letter that the testimonial from the clergy of Edessa was concerned to deny. Only later, when there were no longer living witnesses to his spoken words, did the letter take centre stage. Yet in the debate over the Three Chapters the verdicts at Chalcedon that had largely ignored the letter were read as a commentary upon it, with the defenders of the chapters arguing that the bishops' reinstatement of Ibas showed that they regarded the letter as orthodox, while their opponents claimed that the bishops' insistence on his anathematizing Nestorius revealed serious alarm at the Nestorianism of the letter.

A more general observation may also be made. We may detect in the debate over the Letter to Mari a tendency to attribute authority not just to the decrees of Chalcedon but to whatever was to be found in its acts, thereby making even *obiter dicta* the subject of impassioned debate. Highly indicative are the following words in Justinian's edict of 551:⁶⁵

They [Ibas' defenders] claim that the impious letter ought not to be subjected to criticism because it is included in some documents. But if one were to accept this according to their folly, it would be necessary to accept Nestorius and Eutyches, since much about them as well is included in conciliar proceedings. But no one right-minded will attend to these claims of theirs. For information about heretics that is cited at councils and becomes part of the minutes is accepted not to absolve them but to convict them and for the stronger condemnation both of them and of those who hold the same tenets as they do.

63 Ibid. VI. 1.15–16, 5.3–7.

64 See Price and Gaddis, II, 266 with n. 6.

65 *On the orthodox faith*, pp. 98,36–100,4.

That Justinian felt it necessary to make this crassly obvious point illustrates how documents found in conciliar acts had come to be accorded conciliar authority. This tendency had not yet developed by the time of Chalcedon, as may be shown from the attitude of the council fathers to the First Council of Ephesus of 431. When they referred to the ‘proceedings’ or ‘decrees’ of Ephesus I (as in the discussion of Leo’s Tome in Session IV), they included two ‘conciliar’ letters of Cyril, his Second Letter to Nestorius and his *Laetentur caeli* letter to John of Antioch; yet at the same time they felt free to ignore his Twelve Chapters, despite their inclusion in the acts of the first session of the council.

This new conciliar fundamentalism, as we may call it, where all the acts and not just the decrees were treated with exaggerated respect, found eloquent expression in Ferrandus of Carthage’s letter in defence of the Three Chapters:⁶⁶

If there is disapproval of any part of the Council of Chalcedon, the approval of the whole is in danger of becoming disapproval... But the whole Council of Chalcedon, since the whole of it is the Council of Chalcedon, is true; no part of it is open to criticism. Whatever we know to have been uttered, transacted, decreed and confirmed there was worked by the ineffable and secret power of the Holy Spirit.

Whence came this failure to distinguish adequately between conciliar decrees and conciliar debates? The explanation lies in the likening of conciliar acts to the books of Holy Scripture: as Ferrandus wrote in the same letter, ‘General councils, particularly those that have gained the assent of the Roman church, hold a place of authority second only to the canonical books.’⁶⁷ Of course not everything in conciliar acts was accorded equal weight, and they manifestly contained utterances by heretics, such as Nestorius and Eutyches; but not everything in Scripture was of equal weight, and Scripture likewise contained utterances by the ungodly, such as Pharaoh of Egypt and King Herod. This treatment of conciliar acts as akin to canonical Scripture greatly complicated the sixth-century debate.

⁶⁶ Ferrandus, *ep.* 6.3 (pp. 114–5 below).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 6.7.

VI. THE RECEPTION OF THE COUNCIL

The purpose of holding a council in 553 was to secure a condemnation of the Three Chapters at a representative gathering of eastern and western bishops, including the pope. The pope's absence threatened, therefore, to nullify its work. However, six months after the council he gave way before intense imperial pressure and confirmed the condemnation of the Three Chapters. What he did not, however, confirm was the authority of the council, of which he made no mention; he stuck to the position he had adopted when he issued the first *Constitutum* (14 May 553), that the supreme voice of orthodoxy in the post-Chalcedonian era¹ was that not of councils but of popes. This position was not, however, maintained by his successors: when repeating the condemnations, they made no appeal to the authority of the discredited Vigilius but instead recognized the authority of the council as an ecumenical assembly.

The stance adopted by the popes from Pelagius I (556–61) to Gregory the Great (590–604) may be illustrated from the three letters of Pelagius II (579–90) to the schismatic bishops of Istria.² In the first letter he proves his orthodoxy by insisting on the supreme authority of the four ecumenical councils from Nicaea to Chalcedon, without mentioning the council of 553. This is typical of the Roman stance throughout this period: the council of 553 was accepted but not placed on a par with its predecessors. The schismatics who had broken off communion with Rome had to be condemned; but apart from this, no one in this period was forced to recognize the decrees of 553.

In his second and third letters³ Pelagius II argued with copious quotation that Pope Leo the Great had confirmed only the dogmatic decrees of Chalcedon, not the ones relating to individuals, and that this left subsequent councils free to revise the latter.⁴ The argument took advantage of the fact that, in expressing his rejection of Chalcedon's Canon 28 (which accorded new privileges to the see of Constantinople), Leo had said repeatedly that

1 This qualification is necessary: Vigilius accorded full authority to the first four ecumenical councils, from Nicaea to Chalcedon.

2 For the Istrian Schism see above, pp. 32–3. The three letters are in *ACO* 4.2, pp. 105–32.

3 It is now agreed that the third letter (though not the first or second) was composed by the future Gregory the Great; see Markus (1997), 128, n. 13; it is treated as length in Straw (2007).

4 *Ibid.* pp. 109, 23–45 and 114, 24–118, 9. This claim was already being made in the 540s: see Facundus, *Pro defensione* V. 4.

he confirmed only those decrees of Chalcedon that related to the faith.⁵ The argument was specious: Leo had approved the other decrees of Chalcedon through the votes of his legates during the council; if later he did not explicitly confirm the decisions relating to Ibas and Theodoret, it was because he took no particular interest in the case of Ibas (whom he never mentions in his letters) and had himself reinstated Theodoret even before the council; of Chalcedon's decree on Theodoret he made no mention even in a long letter he wrote to him in 453.⁶ It is interesting to note that Pope Pelagius' argument that Chalcedon's decrees on individuals were open to revision implied an abandonment of the emperor Justinian's argument that condemning the Three Chapters did not alter the decrees of Chalcedon. It was an argument that the schismatics, wedded to the authority of Chalcedon, were bound to find singularly offensive. It is not surprising that the schism dragged on for 150 years.

The claim made by Pelagius II and the other popes of the later sixth century to the effect that the council of 553 had simply judged individuals without touching the faith, plus the fact that Pope Vigilius himself had confirmed no more than the condemnation of the Three Chapters, has enabled a whole galaxy of modern Catholic theologians to argue that the dogmatic canons of 553 – Canons 1–10, with their strongly Cyrillian and neo-Chalcedonian Christology – were never formally accepted in the west.⁷ The motive for this claim is hostility towards neo-Chalcedonianism and a preference in most modern Christology for what in the sixth century would have been regarded as neo-Nestorianism.⁸ But the argument is specious: the reason for the silence over the dogmatic canons in papal documents of the later sixth century was simply that they were not under attack; the popes after Vigilius accepted the authority of the council of 553, and this implied an acceptance of all its canons. The status of the dogmatic canons

5 See Price and Gaddis, III, 151–4.

6 Leo, *ep.* 120, *ACO* 2.4, pp. 78–81. Leo's reinstatement of Theodoret was acknowledged at Chalcedon (Acts I. 35; VIII. 14).

7 See de Vries (1974), 175–7, who also brings out Roman Catholic resentment at the way in which the council censured Pope Vigilius and ignored his doctrinal authority. The claim of non-recognition has been extended by admirers of Origen to Canon 11, which includes him in a list of heretics.

8 A preference for an Antiochene over a Cyrillian presentation of Christ's manhood has also led to a stress on the supposedly Antiochene elements in the Chalcedonian Definition; for the link between a non-Cyrillian reading of the Definition and a rejection of the authority of the council of 553 see Baxter (1989). Note, however, that modern western Christology is non-Nestorian in its affirmation of theopaschitism, for which Moltmann (1974) and Galot (1976) may be named as two very different representatives.

in the west is shown by their presence in the Acts of the Lateran Council of 649, and by the echoing of their content in the new canons approved by this council.⁹ The acts of 649 also contain a reading of Patriarch Eutychius' declaration of faith at Session III of 553, which it upgrades to the status of a conciliar decree.¹⁰

The acts of 649 represent, however, a high point in western interest in the acts of 553, and after the end of the Istrian Schism in 695 they fade from view. Unexpectedly, the Carolingian renaissance of the early ninth century witnessed a revival of interest in the theological contribution of the age of Justinian, and led to the production of eight extant Latin manuscripts (dating mainly to the ninth and tenth centuries) of Justinian's *On the orthodox faith*.¹¹ This suggests a greater interest in the edict than in the acts of 553, of which we have only two extant Latin manuscripts. This should be balanced, however, with the fact that at the Council of Aachen of 809 Arn of Salzburg produced a florilegium in defence of the addition of the *Filioque* to the creed that included three extracts from the acts of 553; what is particularly striking is his appeal to them as conferring authority on Cyril, Leo of Rome, and other Fathers of the Church, as if these acts carried more weight than the Fathers themselves.¹² The predominant picture, however, during the following centuries is the same as that in the second half of the sixth: the council of 553 is not placed on the same level as its predecessors. To take one local example, a surviving church order from Rouen dating to the second half of the eleventh century includes a profession of faith in the decrees of the first four councils but makes no mention of that of 553, and we find the same pattern in the Acts of the Councils of Rouen of 1072 and 1074.¹³

In the east, as one would expect, the status of the council was consistently higher and more secure. Since the eastern bishops had already signed the edict condemning the Three Chapters of 544/5, it was greeted with neither hostility nor enthusiasm, but the Chalcedonian churches did not question its ecumenical status. Because Origenism was more alive at the time than

9 See Price (2007), 36, citing *ACO*, ser. 2, vol. 1, 234–45 and 368–73.

10 *ACO*, ser. 2, vol. 1, 254–7, quoting the acts of 553, III. 4.2–4.

11 See Schieffer (1972).

12 The Acts of Aachen (809), 265–7. The passages cited from the acts of 553 are I. 7.14, VI. 15.21.5, and VI. 22.2 (all from documents read out at the council). Contrast the tendency in the east to treat councils as simply one of the sources for the teaching of the Fathers, as noted by Gray (1989), 32–3.

13 *Ordines de celebrando concilio*, 572. Mansi, XX, 35 and 397.

Nestorianism, the anti-Origenist canons associated with the council received more attention than the canons recorded in the acts.¹⁴ The potential in the condemnation of the Three Chapters for a rapprochement between Chalcedonians and miaphysites was realized in the accord between the two parties at a synod at Alexandria in 633 under the leadership of Patriarch Cyrus, which took the form of a series of anathemas closely based on those of 553, but with the addition of the attribution to Christ of ‘one theandric [divine-human] operation’, a formula of miaphysite inspiration.¹⁵ Cyrus, writing to Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople, claimed that the clergy and laity of Alexandria belonging to the moderate miaphysite faction of the Theodosians had been glad to accept communion from him on this basis.¹⁶ Sergius wrote round in extravagant terms hailing Cyrus’ success in bringing the miaphysites of Alexandria and of ‘almost the whole’ of the rest of Egypt back into the imperial church.¹⁷ But the truth is that Cyrus used persecution to compel miaphysite compliance and that his success was probably limited to Alexandria; once Byzantine authority in Egypt was ended by the Arab conquest the union evaporated.¹⁸

Those who see the council of 553 as narrowing the supposedly more comprehensive vision of Chalcedon have seen the defeat of monotheletism (the doctrine of one will in Christ) and the definition of two operations and two wills in Christ at the Council of Constantinople of 680–1 as a correction of 553 and a return to the more ‘balanced’ Christology of 451. But Maximus the Confessor, the greatest champion of two wills in Christ, had no sense of departing from 553, as is shown by the prominence of its canons (as already noted) in the Acts of the Lateran Council of 649, which appear to have been compiled (perhaps before the council even met!) under the direction of Maximus himself.¹⁹ The dyothelete Christology of Maximus, in its insistence that all Christ’s particular decisions were made by the divine will (with the assent of the human will) and its preservation of the unity of the

14 This is true both of Cyril of Scythopolis (see vol. 2, 270) and of two late sixth-century texts, Evagius, *Hist. Eccl.* IV. 38 and Eulogius of Alexandria, PG 86B. 2944B, as well as of several seventh-century sources, including Anastasius Sinaita, *Hodegos* (CCSG 8, 92); see Diekamp (1899), 107–15. Contrast the late sixth-century *Life of Eutychius* by Eustratius, which concentrates on the council’s condemnation of the Three Chapters (PG 86B. 2296D–2297A). For later Byzantine treatments see Devreesse (1946), 3.

15 Cyrus of Alexandria, *Plerophoria*, ACO, Series 2, vol. 2.2, 594–600.

16 *Ibid.* 592–4.

17 *Ibid.* 536–8.

18 Meyendorff (1989), 345–6.

19 Riedinger (1982). Cubitt (2009).

person of Christ in willing and acting, was not a rejection but a continuation of the strongly Cyrillian Chalcedonianism (or 'neo-Chalcedonianism') that had found expression in the edicts of Justinian and the canons of 553.²⁰

In all, the decrees of 553 shaped the subsequent development of Eastern Orthodox Christology.²¹ In contrast the Latin west, particularly in the high middle ages, developed a more pronouncedly dyophysite Christology in which stress is laid on the human psychology that Christ shared with the rest of our race rather than on his divinized humanity as the manifestation in creaturely form of the mystery of the Godhead.²² In retrospect the Council of Constantinople of 553 can be seen to mark a parting of the ways.

20 For the Cyrillian, and therefore neo-Chalcedonian, emphasis in Maximus on the Word incarnate as the one subject in Christ see Bathrellos (2004), 185–9.

21 Papadakis and Meyendorff (1994), 178–96 show how the canons of 553 against Origen and against the Three Chapters played a significant role in the condemnation of heresy in Byzantium from 1077 to 1170.

22 See the trenchant remarks by John McGuckin in *Sobornost* 23:2 (2001), 88–91.

VII. TEXTS AND VERSIONS

The Greek text of the acts of 553 has been lost, and we are dependent on the Latin version.¹ This has come down to us in two editions, the first preserved in a single ninth- or tenth-century manuscript (Codex Parisinus Lat. 16832), and the second primarily in the *editio princeps* produced by Laurentius Surius in 1567, based on a now lost manuscript. One incomplete manuscript of this second edition (the ninth-century Codex Sangallensis 672) survives independently and confirms the authenticity of Surius' version. The first of these two editions is the original one, the one adopted in *ACO*, and the one translated here.

The second edition (of which the *apparatus criticus* of *ACO* 4.1 gives the variants from the first edition) is an early revision that reveals that some parts of the original text were soon found inopportune and embarrassing. The chief difference is that it omits a substantial part of Session VII (which was devoted to proving the duplicity of Pope Vigilius), namely, three secret documents in which Vigilius had assured Justinian and Theodora of his condemnation of the Three Chapters (VII. 6,7,11) and also the text of the last part of the session in which there was read out and accepted by the bishops a decree of Justinian deleting Vigilius' name from the diptychs, as a penalty for his issuing the first *Constitutum*, forbidding the condemnation of the chapters (14–17). Another alteration in the text is an abridgement of the introductory address by the quaestor Constantine, explaining his presentation to the council of the documents relating to Vigilius: in the abridged version the reference to the first *Constitutum* (the only one in the entire acts) is deleted.² One may deduce that these changes were made after Vigilius had confirmed the condemnation of the chapters in his Second Letter to Eutychius of Constantinople and his second *Constitutum*; his first *Constitutum* could now be consigned to oblivion and his exclusion from the diptychs annulled.³ This was a tactful rewriting of the history of the council, to remove traces of the conflict between the pope and the council fathers. The most probable date for the production of this second edition is soon after the issuing of the second *Constitutum*, when the attitude of Vigilius to the work of the council was still of prime importance, which it ceased to be after

1 See *ACO* 4.1, pp. vi–xxiii.

2 The abridged version is given *ad loc.* in *ACO* 4.1, p. 184.

3 The other changes in the revised edition (including abridgement of I. 7.11–13 and II. 5) fit in with this analysis and are discussed in *ACO* 4.1, pp. xiii–xvii and more fully in Chrysos (1969), 155–99.

his death in 555, since his successors stressed the authority of the council rather than the belated consent of a now discredited pope.

A *terminus ante quem* for the production of the Latin versions is provided by subsequent citation: Vigilius' second *Constitutum* shows knowledge of the Latin version of the council's canons condemning the Three Chapters, while the first citation of the Latin version of other parts of the text occurs in Pelagius II's Third Letter to the bishops of Istria, dating to the 580s.⁴ But one may surely argue that once the second edition had appeared there would have been no motive to translate the first, in which case the original Latin translation can be brought back to the immediate aftermath of the council; to this one may add that in style and competence it is so close to the Latin versions of the Acts of Chalcedon, produced under Justinian, that it is plausible to date it no later.⁵ The production of the Latin version of the second edition is also likely to have followed hard on the appearance of the Greek.⁶

The original Greek text is not, however, entirely lost. A short selection of excerpts survives, made up of the exchange of letters between Eutychius of Constantinople and Pope Vigilius that preceded the council (Acts I. 10–11), the opening of the conciliar verdict that sums up the work of the council and introduces the canons (VIII. 4.1), the canons themselves (VIII. 5), and also the Second Letter of Vigilius to Eutychius of 8 December 553 in which he confirmed the condemnation of the Chapters. The editor of *ACO* does not attempt to date this collection, noting simply that it must predate the twelfth-century manuscript in which it first appears.⁷ However, it is to be noted that its version of the canons, while displaying certain differences from that in the original acts as preserved in the Latin versions, agrees with that contained in the Acts of the Lateran Council of 649.⁸ This suggests an early date for the collection.

Evidence for the transmission of the Greek acts is to be found in the Acts of the Council of Constantinople of 680–1, convened to condemn the

4 Cf. *ACO* 4.1, p. xxiii and the marginal annotations in 4.2, pp. 112–32. The citation is of parts of the fourth and fifth sessions.

5 See Price and Gaddis, I, 83–5. The translator was able to use the same Latin version of the excerpts from Theodore of Mopsuestia in Acts IV as appears in Vigilius' first *Constitutum*, another pointer to the early date of his work.

6 Since the second edition, unlike the first, shows knowledge of the correct Latin honorifics for the emperor, Chryso (1969), 196–7 suggests that the first edition was produced by the patriarchal secretariat and the second by the imperial one.

7 *ACO* 4.1, pp. xxiii–iv.

8 See vol. 2, 105.

monenergist and monothelete heresies of asserting one energy (or operation) and one will in Christ. In its Session III of 13 November 680 a copy of the acts of 553 was read out and found to contain three monenergist or monothelete documents: inserted at the very beginning of the acts was a document entitled 'A discourse by the sainted Archbishop Menas of Constantinople addressed to the most blessed Pope Vigilius of Rome on Christ's possession of a single will', while the acts of Session VII of 553 were found to contain two declarations of faith by Vigilius, one addressed to Justinian and the other to his consort Theodora, which professed belief that 'Christ is one hypostasis and one person and one operation'. The manuscript was immediately examined by the emperor Constantine IV (chairing the council), his officials and the bishops, who found that the discourse of Menas came on pages that had simply been stuck into the manuscript; it was agreed that a fuller examination of the latter would be carried out at an appropriate time.⁹ This further examination did not take place till Session XIV of 6 April 681, when it was found that the two declarations by Vigilius were likewise crude insertions into the manuscript read out in Session III; it was also revealed that on a scroll containing the acts solely of Session VII of 553 the offending additions to the text had been 'written crosswise' – that is, they were an addition written at right angles to the original text, presumably in the margin. As additional evidence of the spuriousness of all three inserted documents, a number of additional manuscripts were now produced that contained none of them.¹⁰

What are we to make of all this?¹¹ The discourse by Menas, whether genuine or a forgery,¹² had no proper place in the acts of 553. But the evidence that the two declarations by Vigilius had likewise been clumsily stuck into the manuscript is more suspect: if this were so, why was the examination of the manuscript delayed for five months? It looks as if the evidence needed time to be concocted – by the simple device, it appears, of replacing a copy of the first edition, where the two declarations were integral

9 *ACO*, Series 2, vol. 2.1, pp. 40–4.

10 *Ibid.* vol. 2.2, pp. 638–49.

11 The following discussion was stimulated by a similar analysis presented by Patrick Gray at the Oxford Patristic Conference of 2007.

12 Of this lost document, arguing for one operation and one will in Christ, three short fragments survive (Brock 1985, 37–8; John of Nikiu, *Chronicle* 94.14). Competent modern scholars accept the authenticity of the work, which was circulated as authentic by Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople (610–38), but the polemical emphasis suggests a later date, when operation and will were at the centre of Christological debate. See the evidence in Winkelmann 2001, 45–9.

parts of the text, by a copy of the second edition in which the two letters were indeed late insertions. And in fact, course, the two declarations were not spurious: they come in the first edition of the acts of 553 as preserved in our best Latin manuscript.¹³ On the other hand, the additions ‘written crosswise’ on the scroll¹⁴ must have been brief ones, which suggests that in this manuscript the two declarations were part of the original text but with the offending words ‘and one operation’ not in the main body of the text but in marginal annotation. But even if in this manuscript the phrase was an addition, this does not prove that it was absent from Vigilius’ original text, since a merely incidental use of monenergist language is perfectly credible in the mid-sixth century.¹⁵ The manuscripts that did not contain any of the offensive documents prove nothing, of course: they were clearly copies of the expurgated second edition discussed above. Taken together, the evidence suggests that the text produced and read out in November 680 was an authentic copy of the now lost first Greek edition of the acts of 553, in which, however, a monenergist-monothelete profession attributed to Menas had been inserted. That there was delay before evidence could be produced to ‘prove’ the monenergist version of Vigilius’ declarations a forgery, plus the preservation of this version independently in the extant Latin manuscript of the first edition, and also the confusion over whether the evidence was supposed to prove total forgery or simply interpolation, all suggests that Vigilius’ assertion of ‘one operation’ was original and authentic.

What emerges from this story about the fate of the acts of 553 in the Byzantine capital? It appears that copies of both editions were still extant late in the seventh century, though the first edition was a rarity. The examination of the manuscripts in Session XIV of 681 led, however, to a formal anathematization of the offending documents and of those who had ‘falsified’ the acts of 553.¹⁶ After this the fate of the few remaining copies of the first edition of the Greek text was sealed; it is sheer luck that the Latin version of the text survived in the west, to be recopied in the Carolingian period. What of the disappearance in the east of the inoffensive second edition? At this same Session XIV witnesses testified to the insertion of the offensive

13 Session VII. 6–7 (in vol. 2, 79–81). Note also the reference to these documents at VII. 4.3.

14 *ACO*, Ser. 2, vol. 2.2, pp. 646, 18–648, 2.

15 See Lampe, *PGL* 471–2 and Hovorun (2008), ch. 1. The one suspicious point in the text is the syntactical clumsiness of ‘Christ is one hypostasis and one person *and one operation*’. But the presence of this final phrase in the Latin version makes interpolation improbable.

16 *ACO*, Ser. 2, vol. 2.2, p. 654, 12–16.

documents into copies of this edition by monotheletes:¹⁷ this is credible, and it could have led to a discrediting of the manuscript tradition as a whole.¹⁸ But since the Acts of Chalcedon, a more celebrated document, survive in numerous Latin manuscripts but in only two Greek ones, the survival of the acts of 553 in Latin but not in Greek could be seen as part of the same pattern and does not imperatively require a more particular explanation. Indeed at least one set of the Greek acts survived as late as the fifteenth century, to be cited at the Council of Ferrara (1438) in a document compiled by the Byzantine delegates.¹⁹ It was the catastrophe of 1453 that finally sealed the fate of the Greek text.

¹⁷ Ibid. 648–54.

¹⁸ As suggested by Chrysos (1969), 199.

¹⁹ Acts of Ferrara, pp. 66 (24–6) and 77–80. The first item cited as from ‘the fifth ecumenical council’, part of an address by John II of Constantinople in 518, is in fact from the Acts of the Council of Constantinople of 536 (*ACO* 3, p. 75, 15–27), which was sometimes called in manuscripts ‘the holy fifth council’, and whose acts appear to have circulated as ‘Volume One’ of the acts of 553; see Chrysos (1969), 150. The second item cited at Ferrara is part of the First Letter of Vigilius to Eutychius, taken from the acts of 553 (I. 11.2.1, from ‘for this reason’ to ‘apart from the aforesaid’). It could have been taken from the Greek selection of excerpts, mentioned above, but the full text is the more likely companion of the acts of 536.

LETTERS FROM AFRICA (545–6)

INTRODUCTION

The immediate reaction of the churches of Africa to Justinian's first edict against the Three Chapters of 544/5 was expressed in two short but impressive documents – a letter from Bishop Pontianus and one from the deacon Fulgentius Ferrandus. Pontianus has been identified with both the Ponticianus (of an unspecified see in Byzacena) recorded as attending a local synod in 523 and the Pontianus of Thenae in Byzacena vouchsafed a vision in 533 determining the choice of a successor to Fulgentius of Ruspe; this suggests that he was a senior bishop whose letter will have constituted his province's formal response to the edict.¹ His letter shows the good sense not to deny that there might be traces of heresy in the Three Chapters but to press the impropriety of posthumous condemnations. This anticipated the arguments of Vigilius' first *Constitutum* of a decade later.

Deacon Ferrandus of Carthage was a figure of equal standing, despite his inferior rank, a theological authority who wrote a number of letters in response to consultation, including two letters (in around 534) on the theopaschite controversy.² On the composition of the letter translated here Facundus of Hermiane informs us: 'The venerable Pelagius and Anatolius, Roman deacons, exercising a solicitude for the church of God that was due to their office and city, wrote to Deacon Ferrandus of Carthage of praiseworthy memory in Christ that, after a diligent discussion of this case [the Three Chapters] with the most reverent bishop of Carthage and others whom he knew to have zeal for the faith and knowledge of divine Scripture, he should reply to their consultation as to what course it appeared that all in common should adopt.'³ This was part of the consultation of western churches conducted during Pope Vigilius' stay in Sicily in the first half of 546, and

1 Modéran (2007), 45. Di Berardino (1992), II, 702.

2 Di Berardino (1992), I, 322.

3 Facundus, *Pro defensione* IV. 3.7.

Ferrandus was writing on behalf of the primatial see of Carthage.⁴

Ferrandus' letter concentrates on the Letter of Ibas to Mari the Persian and ignores the other two chapters. The most forceful point he makes relates to the authority of Chalcedon, and of ecumenical councils generally. They have, he claims, an authority second only to that of Scripture, and to revise their decrees is unthinkable. The development of this reverential attitude towards Chalcedon can be traced in the letters of Pope Leo the Great. Before Chalcedon met, he showed no enthusiasm for the summoning of a council, and even after the council he continued for a time to assert that the work of the council was secondary since the doctrinal issue had been settled by his own Tome. As he wrote to the Gallic bishops on 27 January 452, shortly after the end of the council, 'Through the exertions (with the help of God's grace) of our brethren and legates, and of not only the priests of Christ but also Christian princes and authorities and all the orders of clergy and people, it became fully and evidently plain that the truly apostolic and catholic faith, flowing from the fount of divine piety, is that which we preach.'⁵ In other words, the greatest glory of the council was to have confirmed his own teaching. But in the course of the 450s, in reaction to miaphysite rejection of the council and aware that his own word carried little weight in the east, he came to attribute more authority to the council's decrees and indeed to stress their final and immutable character. In a letter to the emperor Leo of 21 March 458, replying to his consultation over the council, he argued that to question the decrees of Chalcedon was to undermine the authority of the Council of Nicaea itself.⁶ It is in line with this that Ferrandus asserts, 'General councils, particularly those that have gained the assent of the Roman church, hold a place of authority second only to the canonical books' (§7).⁷ Chalcedon had chosen not to condemn the Letter to Mari the Persian; in Ferrandus' view this settled the matter for all time. It was this belief in the need to uphold the infallibility of general councils that made the churches of Italy and Africa so resistant to Justinian's religious policy.

4 That Ferrandus professes anxiety over 'speaking prematurely when the African churches are still silent' (§1) is a conventional expression of humility.

5 *ACO* 2.4, pp. 53,33–54,5.

6 Leo, *ep.* 162, *ACO* 2.4, pp. 105,30–106,4.

7 For this 'conciliar fundamentalism' see pp. 97–8 above.

1. PONTIANUS, A BISHOP OF AFRICA, TO THE EMPEROR JUSTINIAN⁸

To my most clement and most pious son the emperor Justinian, Bishop Pontianus sends greetings in the Lord.

[995] You received your name in its origin from the very cradle of justice.⁹ Just indeed is the Lord who so ordained that he first bestowed the name of justice on the one to whom he afterwards entrusted the government of the empire. The graciousness of the Creator pertains not only to the name but also to the merit of the one whose life is exalted by imperial rule and whose rule is exalted [996] by just living. You have deigned in a letter to remind those of us who dwell in the parts of Africa what quality of faith you keep and defend. We know that the Lord decreed to Peter, ‘On this rock I shall build my church, and the gates of hell will not prevail against it, and I shall give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven.’¹⁰ Our spirit has rejoiced, most pious emperor, that you are firmly what the apostolic faith declares, and we believe that you do not stray from the path of right belief. For this is what an emperor ought to be, pious, just, and faithful, as we know that you are.

At the end of your letter we find, [997] which disturbs us not a little, that we are supposed to condemn Theodore, writings of Theodoret, and the letter of Ibas. Their words have not reached us at all up till now.¹¹ But if they were indeed to do so and we were to read there some apocrypha contrary to the rule of faith, we could examine the words, but not subject to a precipitate condemnation the authors of those words, who are already dead. If they were still living and, when corrected, would not condemn their own error, they would most justly be condemned. But as things are, to whom will our verdict of condemnation be read? There is nothing in them that could now be set right.

I am afraid, most pious emperor, that under the pretext of condemning them [998] the Eutychian heresy is being revived,¹² and that, while we fail

⁸ PL 67. 995–8.

⁹ Pontianus is playing with the similarity between ‘Justinianus’ and ‘iustitia.’

¹⁰ Mt 16:18–19.

¹¹ Schwartz (1940, p. 55, n. 1) understands this to mean that the text that had reached the African bishops was not the edict, which appears to have contained many citations from the writers condemned, but a letter of more general import. But what Pontianus is surely saying is that their writings had not circulated in Africa; he is clearly unwilling to judge them on the basis of the extracts in the edict.

¹² That the attack on the Three Chapters was really a Eutychian (or monophysite) ploy was also urged by Facundus, I. 2.

to dismiss insignificant charges, we may fall into far greater heresy and violation. And why should we declare war on the dead, where there is no victory to be won by combat? They are now in the hands of the true judge, from whom there is no appeal. Through him, in whom you honour and love us, we beseech your clemency that peace may endure in your times, lest while you seek to condemn persons already dead you cause the deaths of many disobedient people who are alive,¹³ and lest you be compelled in consequence to render account to the one who will come to judge the living and the dead.

2. FULGENTIUS FERRANDUS, *LETTER 6, TO PELAGIUS AND ANATOLIUS DEACONS OF THE CITY OF ROME*¹⁴

(1) [921] The insignificant Ferrandus to the most blessed lords, meet to be honourably treated with devoted obedience, my holy brothers and fellow deacons Pelagius and Anatolius.

[922] I suffered great anguish when we¹⁵ received your letter; an indication of my distress has been my long silence. For if you deign to reflect how speedy I am always wont to be in obeying your commands, you will not attribute the delay in this reply to diminished devotion. For why should I long remain silent, if it were not because I am in fear – not of saying the truth about the issue that has recently arisen, but of speaking prematurely when the African churches are still silent? Nevertheless, since your command compels us, we shall utter frankly what we believe, so that you may deign to know that we are with you in heart, with you in faith, with you in good hope, and with you in unfeigned love. For whatever it is that you express wisely, concisely and truly, we believe the same, we think the same, we utter the same.

(2) To exhort the glorious ministers of the apostolic see let me use apostolic words: ‘Stand firm and hold fast to the traditions you were

¹³ Those who find themselves compelled in conscience to reject the emperor’s edict.

¹⁴ PL 67. 921–8.

¹⁵ The use of the plural ‘we’ in place of ‘I’ is common in writing of this period. Used by a superior, it was ‘the royal we’ expressive of authority, but in other contexts, as less assertive of the individual, it conveyed to ancient sensibilities the note of humility. But as a result of this ambiguity and of overuse it often lacked any particular nuance, whence the frequency with which ‘I’ and ‘we’ were used indiscriminately in the same paragraph or even, as here, in the same sentence.

taught.’¹⁶ Regarding the ancient fathers who are known to have attended the Council of Chalcedon, it is not fitting for their deliberations to be defamed, their judgement revised, and their verdict altered.¹⁷ Beware lest a venerable synod, confirmed for so many years in all the churches of east and west without doubts being raised, should suddenly lose its respect. Inflexible firmness could not be maintained in definitions of the faith if it began in any part to prove fragile or worthy of censure; whatever is once decreed in a council and assembly of holy fathers ought to possess perpetual validity forever. For how shall we have the effrontery to sing, ‘What we have heard and know, what our fathers told us,’¹⁸ if we allow ourselves to rescind their decrees as often as we like? Through those most wise judges the catholic church declared what the catholic church should uphold, or rather what it has upheld till now. Why now in repeated discussions today should we censure a letter that was not at all censured then? The catholic church is a fountain sealed, and James the apostle exclaims, ‘Can a fountain pour forth from the same aperture both sweet and bitter water?’¹⁹ If indeed in definitions of the faith there flowed forth sweet water from the mouth of the priests of old, how could it have been that from their very mouths, not those of others, there should flow forth in the affair of the venerable bishop Ibas, channelled through them, water that is not sweet but more bitter than gall? I speak with fear and trembling, and yet I speak: if at that time over any matter the laudable deliberations of the Council of Chalcedon gave a bitter taste to the faithful, let us surrender to the heretics, and allow them to accuse the draught of a healing antidote of being lethal, ourselves providing the opportunity, ‘while there is fighting over words, while there is debate over novelties, while there is opportunism over things doubtful, while there is criticism of what is heard, while there is contention in partisanship, and while there is difficulty in reaching agreement.’²⁰ That these words are not mine but those of the blessed Hilary, and are contained in the second book that he wrote to the emperor Constantius, your beatitude is fully aware. Gauge, therefore, my brothers, between what rocks the ship of gospel teaching is drifting.

16 2 Thess 2:15.

17 Cp. Leo, *ep.* 162, *ACO* 2.4, p. 105, 26–8, ‘To search for what has been revealed, to revise what has been perfected, and to annul what has been defined, what is this but to refuse thanks for what has been achieved and to extend the wicked appetites of fatal greed to the fruit of the forbidden tree?’

18 Ps 43:2.

19 Jam 3:11.

20 Hilary, *Ad Constantium* II, PL 10.566C-567A.

Isaiah exclaims, ‘Woe to those who think darkness light,’²¹ [923] and do we have the presumption to assert that our fathers called darkness light when they refused to condemn a letter supporting Nestorius and indeed resolved to accept it? Or is it then to our fathers that the prophet’s curse will apply, ‘Woe to those who think darkness light’? But were they not like luminaries in the world, receptacles of the word of life, whose faith silenced the faithless, and in whose orthodox belief the whole world has believed?

(3) Or is it asserted, ‘Their beliefs were sound, but they were wrong to accept the letter of the venerable Ibas; they were truthful in their own confession, but gave imprudent assent to a false confession’? Who could bear tortuous argument over useless questions? If there is disapproval of any part of the Council of Chalcedon, the approval of the whole is in danger of becoming disapproval. That vessel of election the most holy Paul openly declares, ‘A small amount of yeast corrupts the whole mass.’²² If in that mass of holy definitions there can be found the sour admixture of even a little yeast, the whole mass will be judged pernicious, or at least (to use understatement) useless to make the bread that strengthens the heart of man. In this case, what good was it that there Nestorius and there Eutyches were anathematized? For observe how those who condemned Nestorius and Eutyches are accused of having accepted a letter in support of the blasphemies of Nestorius, whether doubtful or manifest. What then? If they accepted it unknowingly, they will have incurred a black mark for ignorance (perish the thought!), with the result that their authority will be reduced to naught; and if they accepted it knowingly, thinking perhaps one thing while they decreed another, they will not escape a charge of deceit. But those who oppose their teaching will exclaim in derision all the more, ‘Look at the synod that met at Chalcedon, to which you have no hesitation in assigning²³ a great weight of authority: at one and the same time it both condemned Nestorius and renewed the heresy of Nestorius, by accepting a letter that is clean contrary to the catholic faith, as you have now begun to appreciate, realising, albeit belatedly, how all those bishops refused to recognize the truth. Let us pray with groans that such an error may swiftly be erased and cease, may be rejected and vanish away, and be buried in everlasting silence.’ But the whole Council of Chalcedon, since the whole of it is the Council of Chalcedon, is true; no part of it is open to criticism. Whatever we know to have been uttered, transacted, decreed and confirmed there was

21 Is 5:20.

22 1 Cor 5:6.

23 I follow the emendation of *sidera* to *cui dare* proposed in a footnote in PL *ad loc.*

worked by the ineffable and secret power of the Holy Spirit. Why by sudden contradiction should we defame the memory of so many righteous men, when Solomon, full of the Holy Spirit, explicitly declares, ‘The righteous man is remembered with praise’?²⁴

(4) What if those religious men, coming forth from their tombs, before God for whom they are alive and with whom they are faithfully at rest, were to say at the final resurrection,²⁵ ‘Why did you censure the letter whose composition²⁶ we believed, declared and decreed to be catholic, and confirmed our judgement with our signatures? Is it because the venerable Ibas reviled the holy Cyril, pontiff of the church of Alexandria? But he stated that he afterwards entered into communion with the holy Cyril. [924] If he deserved blame for reviling the blessed Cyril, he deserved great favour for restoring communion. That together with the eastern bishops, through defective understanding, he blamed the chapters of the holy Cyril for ambiguity and obscurity of expression was due to human weakness; that he readily believed and most willingly assented to him when he gave a sound interpretation to his statements was wholly due to priestly love, without any sacrifice of the truth. Why should we condemn a letter in which both [accusations] were recounted as things past by reference to the holy Cyril’s faithful interpretations? It was the holy Cyril himself who hastened to relieve not [only] the venerable Ibas but many of the eastern bishops of the obstacle of a false understanding by providing a sound interpretation of his chapters; and should we censure for reviling Cyril a letter that sets out what happened in the form of a history? If the venerable bishop Ibas is claimed to have uttered in that letter things contrary to the rules of true faith because of certain ambiguities or obscure statements that make this appear so, our sentence ought to be more fair, since we were able to investigate the meaning of the words out of the mouth of the very person who composed the letter. Finally, why should we think that the letter supports Nestorius, when in our presence, at our injunction, and in our hearing its author did not hesitate to anathematize Nestorius with his own voice, as well as accepting the Tome of Pope Leo and joining us in confirming with his signature the confession of the true faith?’ – Hearing this, what answer are we going to

24 Prov 10:7.

25 For the debate over the letter of Ibas see pp. 88–97 above.

26 PL gives *dictio* (diction, style), but this should probably be *dictatio*: cf. ‘cuius catholica esse dictatio claruit’ (ch. 6). Both passages appear to echo a sentence in Maximus of Antioch’s verdict on Ibas as rendered in the *versio antiqua*, ‘catholica est declarata eius dictatio’ (‘whose writing has been shown to be catholic’); cf. vol. 2, 196.

give to so many illustrious rectors and teachers of the churches, especially when the just King will be seated on his throne?

(5) Let us beware, brethren, of the wiles of the devil. Even if the criminal heresy of Nestorius is thought to lurk in this letter of the venerable bishop Ibas, which the fathers received, this is harmful to neither great nor small, for Nestorius' heresy was, of course, publicly condemned at the Council of Chalcedon. Even if the reviling of Cyril of most holy memory creates a temptation to reject the letter that the fathers received, he was praised there, very much praised, at the point where the interpretation of his statements is shown to have removed the occasion for negative suspicion, when the eastern bishops were reconciled to peace with him,²⁷ a peace in which all [the fathers of Chalcedon] went to their rest in communion with one another, and declared that the letter that recounts this should not be criticized even lightly. All the priests who at that time in the merited presence of the religious emperor Marcian²⁸ terminated a council of peace initiated by minds set on peace with corresponding decrees of ecclesiastical peace returned in brotherly peace to the places of their congregations without hatred, without envy, without dissension, in agreement, in unanimity, giving a common testimony. Present there in its legates was the apostolic see that holds the primacy of the universal church; present there were the pontiffs of other venerable sees, 'wise as serpents and simple as doves';²⁹ present there was a great multitude of pastors from lesser cities, governing the folds of the Lord's flock with pastoral solicitude. No one there condemned anyone against the will of others, no one acquitted anyone against the will of others; all agreed with one another [925] and readily fulfilled the words of the teacher of the Gentiles, heeding his words, 'I beseech you, brethren, that you all say the same and that there be not divisions among you.'³⁰ Therefore their judgement has endured and has perdured in its fixity, totally immutable, because the dignity of the priests who exercised judgement was not lowly, nor their number small, nor their authority slight, nor ignoble their chosen part, nor excessive their assurance, nor foolish their deliberation, nor crass their assent, nor fruitless their labour, nor inimical their conclusion to the

27 Ibas claimed at Chalcedon (Price and Gaddis, II, 293–4) that, once Cyril had 'explained' his chapters by accepting the Formula of Reunion, he and the other Syrian bishops 'held him to be in communion and orthodox.'

28 Marcian attended the sixth session, at which the Chalcedonian Definition was proclaimed and approved (ibid. 212–7).

29 Mt 10:16.

30 1 Cor 1:10.

tranquillity of the churches. They came to resolve past disputes, they terminated present ones, they even pacified future ones. To add anything after their decrees, to alter or reduce them, is nothing other than to sow fresh dissension. May no one be eager to criticize what was successfully resolved; may no one be eager to set right what was right already. What will be secure, if what was decreed by the Council of Chalcedon is called into doubt?

(6) At this point I could tearfully lament many things with mournful complaints as if in some tragedy; but sufficient, I think, is the well-reasoned decree of the church of Justinian Carthage,³¹ by the tongue of its glorious pontiff Capreolus of blessed memory, writing to the most clement prince Theodosius, which runs: ‘Nothing in divine and human acts, nothing in either sacred or public affairs will be able to attain any fixity, if after periods of years and whatever revolutions of ages posterity, as if amending the fathers as their teacher, were to presume to amend what is closed by the due termination of a judicial sentence.’³² And in another letter to the Council of Ephesus conveyed by the deacon Bessula:³³ ‘Whatever, perchance, newly arises is in need of discussion, so that what is proved can be accepted and what is condemned can be rejected. But if anyone allows to be recalled for reconsideration matters on which judgement has already been pronounced before, he will appear himself to be in doubt over the faith that he held until now.’³⁴ Mark how the memorable teacher of the church of Carthage declares it exceedingly culpable to call back for examination not only decrees of synods but judgements declared by virtually anyone. How then will judgements once made be subjected now to judgement? If at that time any accuser of the letter whose composition was shown to be catholic were to have appealed to a greater judgement, there would possibly have been scope for an appeal according to custom, but where could he go? Where would he have found greater judges in the church, when he had in front of him in its legates the apostolic see itself, whose assent gave to whatever the synod defined invincible strength? Once its voice is silenced by those unwilling to defend what they received, how will it be restored again? After so many

31 Carthage was renamed ‘Colonia Iustiniana Carthago’ after the reconquest of 533; see Justinian, *Nov.* 37 and Procopius, *De aedificiis* VI. 5.8.

32 This was in response to the letter of invitation to Ephesus I from the emperor Theodosius II. This is the sole extant fragment. See the note in PL 53. 841–2.

33 This name appears in PL 67 in the form ‘Versula’. The correct spelling is given by his signature to the acts of the first session of Ephesus I (*ACO* 1.1.7, p. 117, §191).

34 The whole letter was read out at the first session of Ephesus I and as such survives in its acts (*ACO* 1.1.2, pp. 52–4). The Latin version in *ACO* 1.2, pp. 64–5 is a retroversion from the Greek.

and so great pontiffs who will be a new and competent judge of a case that has already been concluded? From what parts of the world, from what cities, will there be assembled bishops superior to the ancient bishops, and to whom power could be given to amend the sentence of the majority? Or with what hope would they have the confidence to decree anything, when they see the judgements of such men being suddenly quashed? How will our proceedings be able to satisfy our successors, if they are taught by us [926] to annul the transactions of their predecessors? What is the basis of this new wariness? After Pope Leo, Anatolius, Maximus, Juvenal and other priests of that time, has there been anyone among their successors who could read more attentively, so as to perceive that the letter of the venerable bishop Ibas had been wrongly included by the synod?³⁵ It is the complaints of heretics that have now begun to prompt Catholics to think of criticizing this letter.³⁶

(7) I have to say: if the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon are to be revised, let us take thought for the Synod of Nicaea, lest it incur the same danger. General councils, particularly those that have gained the assent of the Roman church, hold a place of authority second only to the canonical books. Readers of the divinely inspired scripture are not permitted to criticize anything, however much they misunderstand the sublimity of the heavenly oracle, but the pious reader believes even what he does not understand, in order that he may deserve to understand what he believes: likewise, in entirely the same way and not otherwise, the councils that antiquity confirmed and devout posterity has preserved demand obedience from us and leave no need for doubt. Quite other are the things of which the apostle said, 'Test everything; cleave to what is good; keep yourselves from every kind of evil.'³⁷ What has been concluded by the judgement of holy bishops and most carefully tested and confirmed by being taken to the *memoria* of the blessed {Peter}³⁸ must be followed and must be embraced; they ought not to be subjected to revision through any pretext of piety, least of all by posterity, when those who pronounced judgement are deceased in respect of the flesh and are now in the place where, according to the gospel, 'the

35 Cf. Facundus' argument that Chalcedon by approving the Letter to Mari had proved its orthodoxy, and that therefore there was no room for arguing that the letter was heretical and could not have been approved at Chalcedon (*Pro defensione* V. 5.3–5).

36 At the Conference of Constantinople of 532 the non-Chalcedonian delegates made much of the letter as evidence of the allegedly Nestorian sympathies of the fathers of the Chalcedon (Brock 1981, 98–102).

37 1 Thess 5:21–2.

38 'Peter' is a supplement suggested by PL *ad loc.* The *memoria* of Peter was his shrine on the Vatican Hill.

Father does not judge anyone but has entrusted all judgement to the Son.³⁹ What benefit is there in contending with those who are asleep, or in unsettling the church over those who are asleep? If anyone who was arraigned and condemned while still in the body of this death is snatched from the world before he obtains acquittal, it is no longer possible for him to be acquitted by a human tribunal; and if anyone arraigned and acquitted has gone to the Lord in the peace of the church, he cannot be condemned by a human tribunal. If anyone arraigned is anticipated by a sudden call before the day of priestly scrutiny, being within the bosom of mother church, it is to be understood that he is reserved for divine judgement; no human being is able to pronounce a public sentence upon him. If God has shown him mercy, he is not harmed by our severity; if God has stored up punishment, he is not benefited by our lenience.

(8) The apostle forbids us ‘to be wiser than one ought to be wise.’⁴⁰ Therefore whoever has a different opinion and thinks his opinion to be correct should speak, write and argue subject to this pious humility, especially in the matter of religion, in such a way that he does not force submission to his words on the unwilling; he should not suppose that the opinion of one man should have such weight as to create a presumption against those with different opinions. Every person who proclaims orthodoxy is free to put his opinion in writing, but not to press others to subscribe what he himself has written.⁴¹ [927] How great were the labours in the proclamation of the word, after the apostles, of those most holy and illustrious teachers who were authorized by the Lord through the Spirit of wisdom and knowledge to teach Catholics and overcome heretics? Nevertheless they left their books to posterity subscribed by no one. Let us ponder on the admonition of the blessed apostle, ‘Let two or three prophets speak and the others scrutinize.’⁴² Surely he did not say, ‘Let them subscribe or be forced to subscribe’? He bids what was spoken to be carefully scrutinized, lest easy assent lead to error: let each person be free, after he has read what one man composed, not to accept his words as if they were canonical scripture, but to ponder what

39 Jn 5:22.

40 Rom 12:3.

41 Justinian required the patriarchs and other senior bishops both to sign his edict condemning the chapters and to extract signatures from the bishops under them. In the words of Liberatus, ‘The bishops who assented to the condemnation of the Three Chapters were enriched with gifts, and those who did not were deposed and sent into exile’ (*ACO* 2.5, p. 141, 4–5). This was true in the east, but resistance in the west was so strong that the opponents had to be tolerated (see Hefele-Leclercq 1909, 17–20).

42 1 Cor 14:29.

to select, what to reject, what to follow at once, and what he thinks needs to be discussed with wiser brethren. Let there be no compulsion to commit oneself to a premature judgement by subscribing, lest afterwards one's opinion changes, if the need to hold another opinion is subsequently made clear by a revelation of the truth. Let the pious writer bear with patience the pious anxiety of those who seek the truth; let him not hasten to force the hand of his readers, but let him be ready through gentle good sense to concur with those with preferable opinions.

(9) An example of this humility is given in Christian charity to virtually all the teachers of the catholic church by the blessed pontiff Augustine: 'Do not be reluctant,' he says, 'to ask me when I hesitate, and do not be ashamed to speak if I err. In the same way, whoever reads this, where he is equally certain, let him go along with me; where he is equally hesitant, let him inquire with me; where he recognizes his error, let him return to me; where he recognizes mine, let him call me back. Let us in this way tread the path of charity together, on our way to him of whom it was said, "Seek always his face."⁴³ This is pleasing, pious and right before the Lord our God. In the meantime, with all who read what I write... ' – and the rest.⁴⁴ For, as we have already said repeatedly above, it is only the divine precepts in the canonical books and the decrees of the fathers in general synods that are to be neither opposed nor rejected but preserved and embraced, as holy scripture enjoins, 'Hear, my son, the law of your father, and do not spurn the advice of your mother.'⁴⁵ For the law of the Father, as it seems to me, shines forth in the canonical books, and the advice of the mother [the church] is contained in the general councils, where such priests who come together sign their decrees so that those who have held a debate leave nothing in doubt. But apart from those who decree what has to be decreed no one compels further subscriptions; for it is considered sufficient for full confirmation if the decrees when brought to the notice of the whole church cause no offence or scandal to the brethren, but are shown to agree with the apostolic faith when confirmed by the assent of the apostolic see.

(10) May therefore your beatitude deign to note with attention the following three rules, communicated in the sequence and expression within our power, and, if you approve our humble urging, to observe them: that no revision of the Council of Chalcedon or of similar councils is to be approved, but what has once been decreed is to be kept intact; that no occasions of

43 Cf. Ps 26:8.

44 Augustine, *De trinitate* I. 2.4–3.5 (CCSL 50, p. 32).

45 Prov 1:8, 6:20.

offence are to be created among the living over brethren who are deceased; and that [928] no one is to wish through numerous subscriptions to claim for his own book an authority that the catholic church has attributed only to the canonical books. This also will contribute to the tranquillity of the churches, if everyone seeks not to lay down what the church should follow, but to hold what the church teaches; for this is what the Lord says through Moses in the canticle of Deuteronomy: ‘Ask your father and he will teach you, your seniors and they will tell you everything.’⁴⁶ Then, indeed, will also be fulfilled the sweet instruction of the teacher of the Gentiles, where he admonishes the Corinthians and says to them, ‘When you assemble, each of you has a psalm, has a teaching, has an interpretation. Let all things contribute to edification.’⁴⁷

Note how, having once been asked, out of obedience I could not keep silence, replying as a pupil to his masters, as one unlearned to the learned, as a junior to his seniors. Examine, we beseech you, for the sake of charity if this short response has succeeded in grasping the truth, and if you so please, may your judgement weigh whether it ought to be communicated to the brethren.

46 Deut 32:7.

47 1 Cor 14:26.

JUSTINIAN, EDICT ON THE ORTHODOX FAITH

INTRODUCTION

Some years after the edict of 544/5 Justinian issued a second edict against the Three Chapters, entitled *On the orthodox faith*. Its date is not given but can be deduced from the reaction of Pope Vigilius, who on 14 August 551 signed a letter deposing Bishop Theodore Ascidas and stating that he had excommunicated him thirty days previously for ostentatiously welcoming the edict on its appearance, despite the pope's known disapproval.¹ These details date the edict's publication to mid-July 551. The context was an agreement between Justinian and Vigilius (late in 550) to hold an ecumenical council with full representation of both eastern and western bishops at which the Three Chapters would be condemned by a conciliar act which, it was hoped, would overawe the critics of Justinian's edict of 544/5 and of Vigilius' *Iudicatum* of 548.² But getting a council together took longer than expected, and in the meantime, to keep the initiative, Justinian issued a ruling of his own – this edict *On the orthodox faith*, outstanding for fullness and maturity of theological reflection.

Some commentators have claimed that this text has the character of a personal profession of faith rather than an imperial law (even though at the beginning Justinian calls it an 'edict'); they draw attention to the fact that its final paragraph threatens those who disregard it with divine wrath but not with legal penalties. But its inclusion of a series of anathemas is a claim to authoritative status as ecclesiastical legislation. Its thirteen anathemas were duly reproduced, with some expansion but no real change, in the canons issued by the council when it finally met. The acts of 553 contain full documentation to support the condemnation of the Three Chapters (Canons 12–14), but contain no discussion of the other canons. It is this that makes the edict, which explains their meaning and purpose, a document of prime

1 'Letter of excommunication to Theodore Ascidas', pp. 161–5 below.

2 See pp. 23–4 above.

importance. The canons of 553 simply sum up the message of the edict, and thereby endow it with ecumenical authority.³

The citations in this document from the Fathers of the Church derive in the main from Justinian's earlier *Against the Monophysites* (dating to around 542/3) and contain much in common with citations in two contemporary theologians, Leontius of Byzantium (*Against the Nestorians and Eutychians*) and Leontius of Jerusalem (*Against the Monophysites*). Variations in where quotations begin or end show that all three must go back to a common source. The number of places where Justinian provides a more accurate citation, as also his use of a different translation of Latin texts from Ambrose of Milan, suggest that he had the texts he took from the common source checked and corrected.⁴

One may presume that in the composition of the document Justinian was assisted by secretaries and theological advisers, but it would have been out of character for him to take a merely passive role, leaving the details to others.⁵ That he was an avid student of theology we know from Procopius, who describes him in 549 as 'spending most of his time on the doctrines of the Christians, striving and exerting himself to the utmost to achieve a satisfactory settlement of the matters in dispute among them', and puts into the mouth of one of the emperor's critics a description of him 'always sitting up at dead of night, eagerly unrolling the Christian scriptures together with extremely aged bishops'.⁶ He was certainly the last person to leave technical matters to the experts: we hear from Procopius of two occasions during the building of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople when he provided the solution to engineering problems reported by the architects.⁷ After twenty years and more of dealing with theological problems he will have developed, and felt confident to employ, genuine theological expertise.

3 Riedinger (1976), 20 notes that half of the *Ekthesis* of Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople (638) follows Justinian's edict closely, testifying to its authority.

4 Macdonald (1995), 174–7.

5 The edict does not exhibit the linguistic features that Honoré (1975) detects as characteristic of Justinian's own composition, but what he discovered is less a personal style than a stylistic register that occurs in Justinian's letters but would have been inappropriate in a theological treatise.

6 Procopius, *History of the Wars* VII. 35.11 and 32.9.

7 Procopius, *De aedificiis* I. 1.67–78.

The theological stance of the edict

The Chalcedonian Definition fell short of a full and unambiguous expression of the Christology of Cyril of Alexandria. It stressed that all the attributes of Christ, both human and divine, are to assigned to 'one and the same Son our Lord Jesus Christ', but was this one subject the divine Word, albeit in his incarnate state, or a novel entity formed by the conjunction and full cooperation of the two natures, each with some degree of autonomy? The answer was not obvious. Above all, it avoided a direct reply to the question, 'Who suffered on the cross, the divine Word or a man connected to the divine Word?' Miaphysites were not reassured by the definition that Christ is 'one person and one hypostasis', since 'one person' was a loose expression, welcome to the Nestorians (and quite without the modern note of a single subjectivity), and even though Chalcedonians claimed that the addition of 'one hypostasis' gave it strength (since the phrase implied real unity) it could equally be suggested that the stronger meaning of 'hypostasis' was diluted by the juxtaposition of 'person'. Miaphysites insisted that the only way to remove the ambiguities was by affirming 'one nature' (that is, one reality) in Christ, without of course denying that this one nature possessed both divine and human attributes.

It is in this context that a number of the arguments and assertions of the edict take on particular significance:

(1) Justinian adopts the formula 'one composite Christ' (p. 74). The use of 'composite' in this context had originally been miaphysite, but he firmly rejects the miaphysite 'one composite nature', preferring 'composite hypostasis' (Anathema 4, p. 90). He acutely perceived the value of the word: 'for as regards the mystery of Christ the union by composition excludes both merger and division, and protects the specific character of each nature, and presents one hypostasis or person of God the Word even with the flesh' (p. 76).⁸

(2) The danger of a Nestorianizing interpretation of Chalcedon's 'two natures' is further countered by the reply made to the miaphysite claim that God and manhood should not be added up as two elements in Christ: 'Let them know that number, when predicated of different persons or hypostases,

⁸ For 'composite' (σύνθετος) and 'composition' (σύνθεσις) see Lampe, *PGL*, 1328–30, and Bruckmann (2004), 154. These terms had been introduced into Chalcedonian Christology in the early sixth century by John Grammaticus (e.g. CCG 1, p. 63). It is notable that Leontius of Jerusalem rejected 'composite hypostasis' as suggesting 'from two hypostases' and preferred to speak of the one hypostasis becoming 'more composite' (PG 86A. 1485D and 86B. 1792D).

implies a division into parts of the realities themselves, as in the case of two or more men; but when predicated of united realities, in this case in thought and perception alone, it in no way implies a division of the realities themselves, just as in the case of the one hypostasis of man, composed from soul and body' (p. 82). As the analogy of the union of body and soul makes clear, the statement that duality is predicated of Christ 'in thought and perception (θεωρήσιμα) alone' in no way denies a real distinction between the natures, but simply excludes division: we *think* of Christ in terms of two separate entities, for the sake of conceptual clarity, but we know that in reality they are not separate. The same had been true of the use of 'in perception alone' in Cyril of Alexandria, who likewise applied it to the difference between body and soul.⁹

(3) Nevertheless, Justinian shows acute awareness of the potential dangers of the anthropological model, which Cyril had so emphasized.¹⁰ The miaphysites constantly argued that, just as human nature, though compounded of soul and body, is yet one nature, so Christ God and man should be termed one nature. But, as Justinian points out, 'every creature, even if it is composed from different elements is nevertheless said to possess that one nature according to which it was created by God; but Christ is not so. For he does not exhibit one nature or essence predicated in common of many hypostases or persons, as man does, for if this was the case, many Christs will be found, of whom is predicated what is common to one nature, to say which is impious' (p. 80). This critical attitude towards the anthropological model places Justinian in clear opposition to even the moderate miaphysites (those in the tradition of Severus of Antioch), who, in the words of the *De sectis*, 'want to apply in all respects the anthropological model (το παράδειγμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου) to Christ.'¹¹

(4) Justinian cannot deny that Cyril had frequently termed Christ 'one nature', but he insists that this does not set him against Chalcedon: for he had also spoke of 'two natures' (pp. 78–84) and typically qualified 'one nature' by speaking of 'one incarnate nature' (pp. 78–82). This usage, Justinian insists, does not reduce 'nature' and 'hypostasis' into two equivalent terms: 'it is not possible to affirm one nature in Christ in the way that we affirm one

9 E.g., Cyril, Second Letter to Succensus 5, in *Select Letters*, ed. Wickham, p. 92, 12–15.

10 Cf. Cyril, *That Christ is One* (a late work written in the mid 430s) 735E–736E (*Deux dialogues Christologiques*, 374–7), and Weinandy and Keating (2003a), 36–7. Cyril's 'one incarnate nature' formula likewise derived from the analogy of human nature (Meunier 1997, 258).

11 Leontius, *De sectis*, PG 86A. 1245C.

hypostasis of Godhead and manhood in Christ, since nature and hypostasis are not the same' (p. 86). It was specifically the Second Hypostasis of the Trinity, not the divine nature, that took on manhood in Christ. It is therefore an error to affirm that Godhead and manhood in Christ constitute one nature (Anathema 9, p. 92).¹²

(5) But how is one properly to speak of 'two natures' in Christ, while avoiding any suggestion of Nestorianism? In the Chalcedonian Definition the phrase 'in two natures' had been adopted as a replacement of 'from two natures', used in the original draft, once the chairman had pointed out that the latter was acceptable to Dioscorus.¹³ It is striking that in this edict Justinian recurrently uses the two formulae in combination (e.g., p. 88, 'the elements from which Christ is and in which he is acknowledged'). This may look like a dilution of the Chalcedonian expression to appease the miaphysites, but surely what it constitutes is a ruling that 'from two natures' can indeed be used, but only in combination with 'in two natures', in order to make clear that even 'after' the union the two natures remain distinct.

(6) The edict seeks to exclude the danger of treating the two natures as two distinct entities or subjects by pointing out, in accordance with the teaching on the Trinity of the fourth-century Cappadocian Fathers, that 'nature or essence and form is one thing and hypostasis or person another, and that nature or essence and form indicate the universal, while hypostasis or person indicate the individual' (p. 86). Accordingly there is a distinction in Christ between his one hypostasis and his two natures – the divine nature which he shares with Father and Spirit and the human nature which he shares with us men. It is true that the manhood of Jesus Christ was individual, but it was not a separate individual standing over against the Word: 'it did not possess its own hypostasis or person but received the beginning of existence in the hypostasis of the Word' (p. 88).

(7) Accordingly, the one hypostasis of the Chalcedonian Definition is unambiguously identified with the divine Word, the second hypostasis of the Trinity: 'Hypostatic union means that God the Word, that is, one hypostasis from the three hypostases of the Godhead, was not united to a previously existent man, but in the womb of the holy Virgin fashioned for himself from her in his own hypostasis flesh ensouled by a rational and intelligent soul,

¹² It is a misreading to suppose that Anathema 9, with its reference to an orthodox interpretation of 'one incarnate nature', represents a concession to the miaphysites. It is simply that Justinian cannot deny that Cyril had used the expression. Subsequently Justinian continued to insist on two natures and to condemn miaphysitism: see Lang (2005), 417 on the edict of 562.

¹³ Price and Gaddis, II, 186.

which is human nature' (p. 74).¹⁴ I have argued elsewhere that this was the meaning intended by the framers of the Chalcedonian Definition,¹⁵ but Chalcedon's language of two natures 'coming together into one person and hypostasis'¹⁶ has often been understood to mean that the one hypostasis is the product rather than the subject of the union. The exclusion of this misconception represents an important clarification of the Chalcedonian formula.

(8) But Justinian's chief point is simply the following: 'There is not someone other besides the Logos who accepted suffering and death, but the impassible and eternal Word of God himself endured the birth of the human flesh and accomplished all things' (p. 74). It is God the Word who *became* man (p. 76); he is therefore the sole personal subject of everything to be attributed to Christ, as Anathemas 2, 3, 5, 6 (pp. 90–2) are all concerned to bring out.

(9) This means that the duality in Christ is best conceived not as a union of essences but as the possession by God the Word of attributes both divine and human. The Chalcedonian Definition affirms 'Jesus Christ..., truly God and the same truly man..., begotten from the Father before the ages in respect of the Godhead, and the same in the last days... from the Virgin Mary the *Theotokos* in respect of the manhood.' Despite the evident intention of the Definition to attribute all Christ's experiences to the incarnate Word, in accordance with the Nicene Creed, this language suggests two parallel stories – the birth of the Word from God the Father and the birth of his manhood from Mary. But the edict recasts this as a single story: 'God the Word, born from the Father before the ages and timelessly, in the last days came down from heaven, was incarnate from the holy and glorious *Theotokos* and ever-virgin Mary, became man, and was born from her' (Anathema 2). There is indeed a duality, but it does not set Godhead and manhood over against each other, for the two elements are but two aspects of the fullness of God the Word.¹⁷

Taken together, these points constitute a re-reading of Chalcedon in the light of Cyril. Since Cyril had been the main influence behind Chalcedon,¹⁸ this did not lead to distortion. Nor was it a mere return to the confirmation

14 Page numbers are those in Schwartz (1939), and are included in the translation below.

15 Price and Gaddis, I, 70–1.

16 For the full text see vol. 2, 64.

17 Grillmeier (1995), 438 comments, 'In Justinian we find for the first time the sketch of a complete interpretation of Christ's person and its union of divine and human natures in the one divine hypostasis of the Logos.'

18 See de Halleux (1976), and Price and Gaddis, I, 65–73.

of Cyril's teaching at Ephesus I: for the doctrine it enunciated had developed since Cyril's time and corrected some of his weaknesses, notably his overuse of the anthropological model and the confusion of his terminology.¹⁹ The result was a Christology that was arguably faithful to both Cyril and Chalcedon, yet clearer than both.²⁰

The edict and the Three Chapters

The constructive part of the edict which we have been analysing was concerned to prove the superiority of Chalcedonian Christianity over the miaphysite convictions of its critics, at a time of renewed negotiations between the two parties.²¹ In contrast, the second half of the work (pp. 92–110), beginning with its Anathemas 11–13, was addressed to Chalcedonian defenders of the Three Chapters. It is concerned to argue for the following propositions in particular: that Ibas' supposed letter to Mari the Persian is heretical and was not accepted by the fathers of Chalcedon, that the posthumous condemnation of heretics like Theodore of Mopsuestia is in accord with Christian tradition, and that it was not true that Theodore had received complimentary letters from Gregory Nazianzen, John Chrysostom, and Cyril of Alexandria. All these issues were to be explored at greater length at the council of 553.²²

What was the relation of this edict to the earlier edict of 544/5 (of which the text is not preserved)? It is clear from the reply to the first edict by Bishop Pontianus that the two documents shared the same structure – an orthodox exposition of the faith, followed by a condemnation of the Three Chapters.²³ The edict of 551 may also be compared to Justinian's Letter on the Three Chapters,²⁴ a response to critics of the edict of 544/5 that cannot be precisely

19 Naturally Cyril was not directly criticized: Justinian, like his miaphysite opponents, claimed that he was simply interpreting Cyril correctly (Uthemann 2006, 74–9).

20 As Louth (1996), 12 observes, 'Justinian's "Cyrilline Chalcedonianism" was more than a tactical compromise: it represented to him and many others a necessary clarification of Chalcedon.' For a strikingly high assessment of Justinian as a theologian see Coman (1953).

21 See pp. 25–6 above.

22 For the discussion of the Letter to Mari see Acts VI, esp. 9 and 29. For the rightness of posthumous condemnation of heretics see V. 50–93. For the supposed letters of Gregory Nazianzen to Theodore see V. 39–50. For the letters of Chrysostom to Theodore see V. 87. For Cyril's compliment to Theodore in a letter of disputed authenticity see V. 66–67. For an analysis of the debate over the Letter to Mari see vol. 1, 88–98.

23 See p. 111 above.

24 Text in Schwartz (1939), 47–69. Trans. in Wesche (1991), 115–58.

dated but is likely to have preceded the edict of 551.²⁵ The letter lacks the positive development in Christology that occupies the first half of the edict of 551, and was manifestly spurred by the emperor's exasperation at the charge that he had condemned the Three Chapters in order to curry favour with the miaphysites.²⁶ Although in the edict of 551 he still feels the need to justify the condemnation in detail, the tone is less defensive and more confident. Setting himself simultaneously against both the miaphysites and the defenders of the chapters, he is able to lay claim not only to the middle ground but also to the authentic inheritance from the great Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, of whose teaching he offers a masterly synthesis.

EDICT

[72]²⁷ In the name of God the Father and his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord and the Holy Spirit. The Christ-loving Emperor and Caesar Flavius Justinianus Alamanicus, Gothicus, Francicus, Germanicus, Anticus, Alanicus, Vandalicus, Africanus,²⁸ pious, fortunate, glorious, triumphant victor, ever-venerable Augustus, to the whole totality of the catholic and apostolic church.

Knowing that nothing so pleases God in his love of mankind as all Christians holding one and same belief about the orthodox and unimpeachable faith and an absence of divisions in the holy church of God, we have deemed it necessary, removing every excuse from those who take or cause offence, to make known through the present edict the profession of the orthodox faith that is proclaimed in the holy church of God, so that those who profess the orthodox faith may keep it securely and that those who enjoy contending against it may learn the truth and hasten to be united to the holy church of God.²⁹

25 Gerostergios (1983), 45 suggests a date after the council of 553 because of the reference to a condemnation of the chapters by the bishops (Schwartz 1939, p. 47, 33–5), but this simply refers to the episcopal subscriptions to the edict of 544/5.

26 Schwartz (1939), p. 47, 26–33.

27 The page references are to the Greek text in Schwartz's edition, the one I translate (Schwartz 1939, 72–110), in which the odd-numbered pages contain the Latin version.

28 Victor over the Alamani (of southern Germany), the Goths (of Italy and Spain), the Franks and Germans (of Gaul), the Antae (north of the Danube), and the Alans, Vandals and Africans (all in Africa).

29 Note that, while Justinian was keen to reunite the Church, the means specified is not doctrinal compromise but the clear enunciation of orthodoxy.

We therefore profess belief in Father and Son and Holy Spirit, giving glory to the consubstantial Trinity, one Godhead or nature and essence and power and authority in three hypostases or persons, in whom we were baptized, in whom we have believed, and to whom we have sworn allegiance, dividing the properties but uniting the divinity. For we worship unity in trinity and trinity in unity, possessing a mysterious division and union, a monad in respect of essence or Godhead and a trinity in respect of the properties or hypostases or persons (for they are separated inseparably, so to speak, and are conjoined separably, for the Godhead is one in three, and one are the three in which is the Godhead or, to speak more precisely, which are the Godhead).³⁰ [We acknowledge that] each is God, if it is considered on its own³¹ with the mind dividing the indivisible, while the three are God when they are contemplated with each other in their identity of movement and nature, since it is necessary both to profess the one God and to proclaim the three hypostases or three persons, each with its property. We neither make the union a merger in accordance with Sabellius who said that the Trinity is one person with three names, and the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are the same, nor by separation do we alienate the Son or the Holy Spirit from the essence of God the Father in accordance with the madness of Arius who split the Godhead into three different essences. There is therefore 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.³²

We profess the only-begotten Son of God, God the Word who before the ages and timelessly was born from the Father and not made, who in the last days for us and for our salvation came down from heaven, was incarnate from the Holy Spirit and the holy and glorious *Theotokos* and ever-virgin Mary and was born from her, and who is the Lord Jesus Christ, one of the Holy Trinity, consubstantial with God the Father in respect of the Godhead and the same consubstantial [74] with us in respect of the manhood, passible in the flesh and the same impassible in the Godhead. For there is not someone other apart from the Logos who accepted suffering and death, but the impassible and eternal Word of God himself endured the birth of the human flesh and accomplished all things. Consequently we do not accept that God the

30 This parenthesis is a quotation from Gregory Nazianzen, *or.* 39.11 (SC 358, 170–2). The best concise account of the Trinitarian doctrine of the Greek Fathers is Louth (2002), 89–116.

31 In the Latin version this sentence begins, ‘The Father is God, the Son is God, the Holy Spirit is God, when each person is understood on its own...’

32 This expansion of 1 Cor 8:6 (which does not mention the Holy Spirit) is taken from Gregory Nazianzen, *or.* 39.12.

Word who worked miracles is someone other than the Christ who suffered,³³ but we profess one and the same Jesus Christ our Lord, the Word of God incarnate and made man, and that his are both the miracles and the sufferings that he underwent voluntarily in the flesh. For neither did some man give himself for us, but the Word himself gave his own body for us, so that our faith and hope should not be in man, but that we should place our faith in God the Word himself. And therefore, while professing that he is God, we do not reject his being also man, and while saying that he is man, we do not deny that he is also God. For if he was only God, how did he suffer? How did he undergo crucifixion and death? For these things are alien to God. But if he was only man, how did he conquer by means of the passion? How did he save? How did he give life? For these things are beyond man. But as it is, the same suffers and saves and conquers by means of the passion; the same is God, the same is man; both are as one, yet each is as if alone.³⁴

Accordingly, when we profess one composite Christ *from* each nature, that is, from Godhead and manhood, we do not introduce merger into the union. Recognizing *in* each nature,³⁵ that is, in Godhead and manhood the one Jesus Christ our Lord, the Word of God incarnate and made man, we do not impose on his one hypostasis division into parts or scission, but we indicate the difference between the natures from which he was composed, which is not abolished by the union, since each nature is in him. For when composition is professed, the parts are in the whole and at the same time the whole is acknowledged in the parts.³⁶ For neither was the divine nature changed into the human, nor was the human nature turned into the divine; but with each instead existing and being recognized in the definition and principle of its own nature, we affirm that the union took place hypostatically. Hypostatic union means that God the Word, that is, one hypostasis from the three hypostases of the Godhead, was not united to a previously existent man, but in the womb of the holy Virgin fashioned for himself from her in his own hypostasis flesh ensouled by a rational and intelligent soul,

33 The Greek expresses this by οὐκ ἄλλον τὸν θεὸν λόγον... καὶ ἄλλον τὸν Χριστὸν. Cf. the quotation below (p. 82 fin.) from Gregory Nazianzen.

34 That is, the two natures form one concrete reality, yet each preserves its own integrity.

35 I italicise 'from' and 'in' to reflect their emphatic placing in the Greek.

36 This artfully echoes the statement in the Chalcedonian Definition that Christ is 'acknowledged in two natures', linking it to the notion of a composition of natures to create from two 'parts' a 'whole' or single entity. This language of 'parts' invited miaphysite criticism as suggestive of division (cf. John Philoponus in Lang 2001, 85–7, and 2005, 430–1), but its purpose was to emphasize that the one complete entity in Christ is the one hypostasis, which as the 'whole' excludes the possibility of any second, human hypostasis (Macdonald 1995, 247).

which is human nature.³⁷ When teaching us this hypostatic union of God the Word with the flesh, the divine apostle says, ‘Who, being in the form of God, did not think it robbery to be equal with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant.’³⁸ In saying ‘who being in the form of God,’ he showed that the hypostasis of the Word exists in the essence of God, while in saying ‘he took the form of a servant’ he signified that the Word was united to human essence and not to a hypostasis or person. For he did not say that ‘he took one existing in the form of a servant,’ lest he should indicate that the Word was united to a previously existent man, according to the blasphemy of the impious Theodore and Nestorius, who asserted that the union is relational.

But we, following divine scripture and the holy fathers, profess that God the Word became flesh, which means that he united human nature to himself hypostatically. Consequently, our Lord Jesus Christ is one, having in himself the completeness of divine nature [76] and the completeness of human nature. On the one hand he is Only-begotten and Word as born from God the Father, and on the other hand the same was ‘the first-born among many brethren’³⁹ when he became man; for the Son of God became son of man and, while remaining what he was, did not change what he became. Accordingly we profess two births of the same only-begotten God the Word, one before the ages from the Father incorporeally, and the other of the same in the last days when he was incarnate and became man from the holy and glorious *Theotokos* and ever-virgin Mary. For the one who shone forth from the Father beyond understanding came forth from his mother beyond reason, and while being true God became truly man. Therefore we validly and truly profess the holy and glorious ever-virgin Mary to be *Theotokos*, not as if God the Word took his origin from her, but because in the last days the only-begotten God the Word, existing before the ages, was incarnate from her and became man without change. ‘Being invisible in his own nature, he became visible in ours, and while being impassible God he did not think it unworthy to be passible man; and the immortal one did not think it unworthy

37 The notion of hypostatic union (ἡ καθ’ ὑπόστασιν ἕνωσις, ‘union according to hypostasis’), as developed originally by Cyril of Alexandria, meant simply that the union was ‘real’ and not a mere matter of relationship. By the time of Justinian the phrase had come to mean that there is only one individual person or subject in Christ, and that is God the Word, the second hypostasis of the Trinity. Note the clarity of Justinian’s statement that the manhood was created (and exists) *in* the Word.

38 Phil 2:6–7.

39 Rom 8:29.

to be subjected to the laws of death.⁴⁰ As regards the one who was born in Bethlehem from the seed of David in respect of the flesh and became like men and was crucified on behalf of mankind under Pontius Pilate, the holy apostles proclaimed that the same is God, the same is man, the same is the Son of God, the same is the son of man, the same from heaven, the same from earth, the same impassible and the same passible.⁴¹

For the Word was born from above from the Father ineffably, indescribably, incomprehensibly and eternally, and the same is born in time from below from the Virgin Mary, so that those once born from below may be born a second time from above, that is, from God. Therefore he has a mother only on earth, while we have a Father only in heaven. For taking the mortal father of mankind, Adam, he gave to mankind his own immortal Father, according to the saying, 'He gave them power to become children of God.'⁴² Accordingly, the Son of God tasted death in the flesh because of his fleshly father, so that the sons of man might receive a share in his life because of God their spiritual Father. So he is the Son of God by nature, while we are so by grace. And again according to the dispensation and for our sake he became a son of Adam, while we are sons of Adam by nature. For God is his Father by nature but ours by grace; and he became his God⁴³ according to the dispensation because he [the Son] became man, while by nature he is God our master. And therefore the Word, who is the Son of the Father, was united to the flesh and became flesh, so that men united to the Spirit might become one spirit.⁴⁴ Therefore the true Son of God himself puts on us all so that we may all put on the one God. Even after becoming man he is one of the holy Trinity, the only-begotten Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, composite from both natures; that Christ is composite we profess, following the teaching of the holy fathers. For as regards the mystery of Christ the union by composition excludes both merger and division, and protects the specific character of each nature, and presents one hypostasis or person of God the Word even with the flesh; he is one and the same, complete in Godhead and complete in manhood, not as in two hypostases or persons but

40 A quotation from Leo's Tome (vol. 2, 53). The Latin translation (p. 77) recognizes the quotation and gives Leo's original wording.

41 In using a repeated 'the same' to express the union Justinian is imitating the final section of the Chalcedonian Definition (vol. 2, 64).

42 Jn 1:12.

43 The reference is to those few passages where Christ addresses the Father as 'God', notably Mt 27:46 and Heb 10:7.

44 Cf. 1 Cor 6:17.

acknowledged in both divine and human nature (so that both may be one), complete God and complete man, the same Jesus Christ our Lord, glorified as one of the holy Trinity together with the Father and the Holy Spirit. For the holy Trinity did not receive the addition of a fourth person [78] when one of the holy Trinity, God the Word, was incarnate. This splendid inheritance, which we received from the holy fathers, we preserve; in it we live and conduct our lives. May we have it with us when we set out from this life⁴⁵ – profession of the Father and Christ the Son of the living God⁴⁶ and the Holy Spirit.

While professing this accordingly, and also accepting in addition to the other teachings of the sainted⁴⁷ Cyril on the orthodox faith his expression ‘one incarnate nature of God the Word’, we profess that from the divine and the human natures there was constituted one Christ and not one nature, as some people who understand this expression wrongly try to assert. And indeed the father himself, whenever he said one incarnate nature of the Word, used the term ‘nature’ in this context to stand for ‘hypostasis’. In the statements in which he uses this expression, he generally introduced after it sometimes ‘Son’ and sometimes ‘Word’ or ‘Only-begotten’, terms that indicate not nature but hypostasis or person. Now the incarnate hypostasis of the Word did not constitute one nature but one composite Christ, the same God and man; it is impious for those who profess Christ to be God and man to speak in his case of one nature or essence. For it is impossible for our Lord Jesus Christ in one and the same nature or essence to be both before the ages and in time, or both impassible and passible, as we rightly profess of his one hypostasis or person.

From the statements of the same sainted Cyril we shall show the clarity of his teaching about this expression. In the First Letter to Succensus, after speaking of ‘one incarnate nature of God the Word’, he immediately added:⁴⁸

Therefore, as regards understanding and beholding with the eyes of the soul alone in what way the Only-begotten became man, we affirm that the natures

45 I translate the Latin (‘quam ab hac vita proficiscentes oramus nobiscum habere’, Schwartz, p. 79, 3). The Greek (which is the primary text) more pithily has ἦν συνέκδημον λάβοιμεν, ‘May we take it as our travel companion’, using a word applied specially to a companion in death.

46 Cf. Mt 16:16.

47 ‘The sainted’ is my regular translation of ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις, used of someone who is not simply ‘holy’ (ἅγιος) but among the blessed dead.

48 Cyril, First Letter to Succensus 7, in *Select Letters*, ed. Wickham, p. 76, 3–7.

are two⁴⁹ but that the Word of God made man and incarnate is one Son and Christ and Lord.

The father, wishing with these words to state the manner of the incarnation and ensuring the absence of both separation and merger, indicated the number of the natures that came together and also proclaimed one Christ, but not one nature of Godhead and flesh. And in the Second Letter to the same Succensus he writes as follows, presenting the same teaching:⁵⁰

If when speaking of the one nature of the Word we had omitted and not added ‘incarnate’, as if putting the dispensation to one side, there would perhaps have been force in the argument of those who make a show of asking, ‘How does complete manhood or our essence exist in him?’ But since the completeness of his manhood and the demonstration of our essence has been conveyed through saying ‘incarnate’, may they stop leaning on that rod of reed. Anyone who removes from the Son his complete manhood would justly be charged with discarding the dispensation and denying the incarnation; but if, as I have said, talk of his being incarnate contains a clear and unimpeachable profession that he became man, there is no difficulty in conceiving that the same Christ, being the one and only Son, is God and man, as complete in manhood as he is complete in Godhead. Your perfection expounds the rationale of the saving passion most correctly and wisely [80] when you insist that the only-begotten Son of God (since he is both conceived to be and is God) did not suffer the things of the body in his own nature but suffered instead in his earthly nature. For it is absolutely necessary for both to be preserved in the one and true Son – both the absence of divine suffering and the attribution of human suffering, for his was the flesh that suffered.

And in the thirteenth chapter of the *Scholia* the same sainted Cyril, likewise rejecting both those who introduce two Sons and those who assert one nature of Christ’s Godhead and manhood, writes as follows:⁵¹

Therefore we should not divide the one Lord Jesus Christ into a man on his own and God on his own, but we affirm one and the same Lord Jesus Christ, recognizing the difference of the natures and keeping them unmerged with each other.

So if according to the teaching of the sainted Cyril our Lord Jesus Christ is one, complete in Godhead and the same complete in manhood, and did not

49 But Cyril wrote, ‘Two are the natures *that were united*,’ which does not affirm two natures *after* the union, something that Cyril avoided. As Severus of Antioch commented on an earlier use of the abbreviated text, ‘The things in the middle which have been left out are those very things which perfectly demonstrate Cyril’s teaching’ (Allen and Hayward 2004, 67).

50 Second Letter to Succensus 4, in *Select Letters*, ed. Wickham, 88–90.

51 Cyril, *Scholia on the Incarnation* 13, trans. in McGuckin (1994), 307.

suffer in his divine nature but in his earthly nature, and he recognizes the difference of the natures and their preservation unmerged with each other in one hypostasis, it is clear that the father teaches that the same is acknowledged in the divine and the human natures,⁵² and that each nature is in him, from which he was indeed compounded. One would not be so insane as to suppose that they think aright who say that there is one nature or essence of flesh and Godhead in Christ, the same essence being divine and earthly, passible and impassible.

Some people attempt to make out the oneness of the nature of the Godhead and manhood of Christ from a different angle by adducing the example of man and saying that, just as man, composed from things different in nature, soul and body, is called one nature, so, while saying that Christ is from two natures, Godhead and manhood, we ought to affirm one nature in his case. But we shall say to them that, even if man is composed from different elements,⁵³ that is, soul and body, he is nevertheless called one nature as a result, because this is predicated in common of all the hypostases or persons that fall under the same form. For even if assuredly each hypostasis or person, such as Peter and Paul, are distinguished from one another by their individuating characteristics, nevertheless they are not distinct in nature, for both are men. And again, man is neither a soul without a body nor a body without a soul, but he was created from the non-existent into existence from soul and body. Every creature, even if it is composed from different elements, is nevertheless said to possess that one nature according to which it was created by God; but Christ is not so. For he does not exhibit one nature or essence predicated in common of many hypostases or persons, as man does, for if this was the case, many Christs will be found, of whom is predicated what is common to one nature, to say which is impious. But Christ was not created from the beginning from Godhead and manhood as man is from soul and body in such a way that this is the nature of Christ; but the Word, being God before the ages and of the same nature or essence as the Father and being the creator of all things, in the last days united to himself hypostatically the nature of a man and so became man without ceasing to be God.

Therefore Christ is one hypostasis or person and possesses in himself both the completeness of the divine and uncreated nature and the

52 This echoes the famous formula in the Chalcedonian Definition 'one and the same Christ acknowledged in two natures'.

53 In translating this text I recurrently use the word 'elements' of the two natures where the Greek has no noun at all but simply an article, pronoun or adjective (as here, 'different').

completeness of the human and created nature. How then in him in whom two [82] natures are acknowledged, uncreated and created, is it possible to speak in his case of one nature or essence? For even if Christ is one hypostasis or person, but consubstantial with God the Father and the same consubstantial with us, this is not in respect of one and the same nature or essence. If Christ was one nature or essence, either he is fleshless and consubstantial only with God the Father, since there is one essence or nature of Godhead, or he is a mere man and consubstantial only with us, since there is one nature of manhood; or both of the natures are changed and have produced something that is different in nature from the ones that came together, and according to their view Christ neither remained God nor became man, and therefore the same is consubstantial neither with the Father nor with us. To hold this is chock-full of all impiety. In saying this we are not unaware that certain of the holy fathers applied the example of man to the mystery of Christ, but some of them did this to show that, just as from soul and body there is constituted one and not two men, so Christ, compounded from Godhead and manhood, is one and is not divided into two Christs or two Sons, while others used the example of man in order to introduce one nature or essence of Godhead and manhood in Christ, which we have shown to be alien to piety.

But when as a result of this they stand convicted of fashioning for themselves one nature or essence of Godhead and manhood contrary to the orthodox teaching of the fathers, they change to a different tack, saying that it is wrong to number natures in the case of Christ since number introduces division. Let them know therefore that number, when predicated of different persons or hypostases, implies a division into parts of the realities themselves, as in the case of two or more men; but when predicated of united realities, in this case in thought and perception alone, it in no way implies a division of the realities themselves, just as in the case of the one hypostasis of man, composed from soul and body. For in this case also two natures are perceived, one of soul and the other of body, but all the same there is not in consequence a division into two men, but we recognize that the man is one and his hypostasis is one. Accordingly in the case of the mystery of Christ, after the union occurred, even if the elements united are perceived to be different, nevertheless the elements from which our Lord Jesus Christ was compounded are not separated from each other in reality and as parts; but recognizing the difference and wishing to indicate it, we apply number and say that the natures in Christ are two, and yet it does not follow that the one Christ is divided into two Christs and two Sons.

What we have said is attested by the sainted Gregory the Theologian in the first address to Cledonius, where he writes as follows:⁵⁴

If someone introduces two Sons, one from God the Father and a second from the mother but not one and the same, may he lose the adoption as son promised to those with orthodox beliefs. For God and man are two natures, as are also soul and body; but there are not two Sons or Gods. For neither, to take another case, are there two men, even if Paul spoke in this way of that within a man and that outside a man.⁵⁵ To put the matter concisely, the elements that make up the Saviour are different *things*, if indeed the invisible is not the same as the visible and the timeless is not the same as that in time, but not different *persons*⁵⁶ – perish the thought!

[84] Note, therefore, how the sainted Gregory clearly teaches that as regards the mystery of Christ he who applies number to the persons is condemned as impious, while he who understands it to relate to the natures from which the one Christ is compounded makes an orthodox profession, indicating by this the difference of the natures that came together, but in no way making a division into parts. For just as the nature of the soul is different from that of the body and yet they make up one man by composition and not two, so also in Christ, even if two natures are perceived, one of Godhead and the other of manhood, it does not follow that there are introduced two Christs or two Sons. Consequently those who refuse to apply number to the natures in Christ in the way described are clearly denying their difference and introducing merger into the dispensation. If they acknowledge the difference, it follows of necessity that they must speak in this context of the number of natures that came together without merging into one hypostasis. For where difference is preserved, this certainly implies number.

To establish what we have said, let us use the witness of the holy fathers to show that they state that as regards the mystery of Christ the terms are indeed distinct in accordance with the difference of the natures (Godhead and manhood from which he was compounded), and they accordingly accept number in this case, but yet they do not make a division of natures in reality and into parts so as to produce two hypostases or persons.

⁵⁴ Gregory Nazianzen, *ep.* 101, PG 37. 180.

⁵⁵ Cf. 2 Cor 4:16, 'Even if our outer man perishes, yet the inner man is renewed day by day.'

⁵⁶ 'Different things... not different persons': literally 'something and something... not someone and someone' (ἄλλο μὲν καὶ ἄλλο..., οὐκ ἄλλος δὲ καὶ ἄλλος). The latter phrase is echoed repeatedly by Justinian.

For the sainted Cyril speaks as follows in his commentary on Leviticus:⁵⁷

Here again, in short, he analyses clearly the mystery of our Saviour and purification through holy baptism. For he orders two living and pure birds to be taken, so that you may understand by the feathered creatures the heavenly man and at the same time the Godhead, who are separated into two natures as far as pertains to the definition befitting each (for it was the Word from God the Father who shone forth in flesh from a woman) but are not sundered; for Christ is one from both.

And again the same sainted Cyril in the Second Letter to Succensus writes as follows: ‘But they did not realize that things that are customarily divided in perception alone would not at all part from one other totally and individually into an otherness involving partition.’⁵⁸

Likewise the sainted Basil in the fourth book against Eunomius, when interpreting ‘The Lord created me and before all hills he begets me,’⁵⁹ writes as follows:⁶⁰ “‘He begot’ is to be taken as relating to God the Son, and “he created” as relating to him who took the form of a servant.⁶¹ In all this we do not say two, God on his own and man on his own, for he was one, but we count the nature of each conceptually.’

Likewise the sainted Gregory the Theologian in the second book concerning the Son teaches us that it is necessary to distinguish the natures conceptually in our Saviour Jesus Christ, when he writes as follows:⁶²

Since the natures are conceptually distinct, the terms too are different. Listen to Paul saying, ‘The God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory’⁶³ – on the one hand the God of Christ and on the other the Father of glory.⁶⁴ For even if both are one, yet this is not by nature but by coming together.

Likewise the sainted Gregory bishop of Nyssa in the fourth book against Eunomius teaches us the same when he writes as follows:⁶⁵

57 PG 69. 576.

58 The correct text (*ACO* 1.1.6, p. 162, 2–4; Cyril, ed. Wickham *Select Letters*, 92, 9–11) runs: ‘But they did not realize that things that are *not* customarily divided in perception alone would part from one other...’

59 Prov 8:22,25.

60 PG 29. 704.

61 In other words, the ‘me’ of ‘he begets me’ is Christ’s Godhead, and the ‘me’ of ‘the Lord created me’ is his manhood.

62 PG 36. 113.

63 Eph 1:17.

64 The meaning is that ‘the God of Christ’ refers to the Father’s authority over Christ’s manhood, while ‘the Father of glory’ refers to the Father as the source of the glory of Christ’s Godhead.

65 Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* III. iv. 14–5 (*Opera*, ed. Jaeger, II, 2nd edition, pp. 138,28–139,17).

And so that no one should attribute the suffering on the cross to the imperishable nature, [86] he [Paul] corrects such an error quite plainly by means of other expressions, calling him ‘mediator between God and men’⁶⁶ and ‘man’ and ‘God’, so that from the two names being predicated of one person there might be conceived what is fitting for each, impassibility for the Godhead and the dispensation of suffering for the manhood. Therefore, while understanding separates what is united in love for mankind but distinguished in thought, whenever he is proclaiming the transcendent that surpasses all understanding he uses the more exalted terms, ‘God above all’, ‘great God’, ‘the power of God’, ‘wisdom’ and like terms, but whenever he is defining in thought the experience of sufferings that was of necessity undergone because of our weakness he gives to the two together terms drawn from our reality and calls him man. This expression does not make the one referred to comparable to the rest of [human] nature, but ensures that piety is preserved in respect of each [element in Christ].

Now that this has been demonstrated accordingly from the teaching of the fathers, let them cease who make numbering the natures in Christ an excuse for their own error and who by using this to deny the difference try to introduce merger. For how is number not essential, since the fathers used it to indicate the difference of the natures united in one hypostasis and not to separate them into parts?

Now therefore that it has been demonstrated in every way that it is impious to affirm one nature or essence of Godhead and flesh in Christ, we shall also say that it is not possible to affirm one nature in Christ in the way that we affirm one hypostasis of Godhead and manhood in Christ, since nature and hypostasis are not the same. For all the holy fathers in harmony teach us that nature or essence and form is one thing and hypostasis or person another, and that nature or essence and form indicate the universal, while hypostasis or person indicate the individual. If some people say that, just as one composite hypostasis is attributed to Christ, so one must attribute one composite nature, we shall show that this is alien to piety. For while affirming one nature or essence of Godhead, we give glory to three hypostases in its regard, acknowledging in each hypostasis the same nature or essence, and we piously affirm that of the three hypostases one hypostasis, that of the Word, was compounded with the flesh. For no one in the catholic church has ever dared to affirm that just as there are three hypostases so there are three natures in the holy Trinity, in such a way that it is possible to say that one nature from the three natures was compounded with flesh; for that there are three natures in the holy Trinity only Arius dared to affirm and for

66 1 Tim 2:5.

this he was condemned as blasphemous.⁶⁷

Consequently, therefore, we affirm according to the correct account a union of two natures and one hypostasis, since the Son of God, being other than the Father in hypostasis but being of the same nature as the Father, created for himself in his own hypostasis flesh ensouled by a rational and intelligent soul, which shows the Word of God to be united to human nature and not to the hypostasis or person of some individual. Accordingly the Word of God even as incarnate is acknowledged to be one hypostasis in each nature, both in the divine, in which he existed in respect of 'who exists in the form of God', and in the human in respect of 'taking on the likeness of men'.⁶⁸ Therefore one may piously speak of one composite hypostasis of God the Word [88] rather than one composite nature, since when nature is spoken of by itself without qualification, that is, without the attachment to it of some individual person, it signifies something undefined and without concrete existence, and the undefined cannot be compounded with anything.

If, however, after these words someone, aiming only at argumentativeness, were to try to oppose us, by asserting that according to the definition given of nature the human nature of Christ also must have its own hypostasis or its own person, it is clear that he would be asserting that the Word was united to a pre-existent man and that the union was a matter of relationships; for it is impossible for there to be a hypostatic union of two hypostases or persons. Consequently he who says this, seeking to evacuate the power of God by words of human wisdom, is ignorant of the great mystery of piety, which 'with the heart is believed unto righteousness and with the mouth is professed unto salvation';⁶⁹ for neither is the human nature of Christ ever spoken of on its own, nor did it possess its own hypostasis or person, but it received the beginning of existence in the hypostasis of the Word. Accordingly we profess that the God the Word himself became man without change and did not enter into some man, and that it was through God the Word himself becoming incarnate that there was the virgin birth, in consequence of which the holy and glorious ever-virgin Mary is *Theotokos*. As a result, both before the incarnation of God the Word and after his incarnation we affirm three hypostases of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, while the holy Trinity did not receive the addition of a fourth hypostasis or person.

67 In fact Arius affirmed 'three hypostases' (Stevenson/Frend 1987, 326–7), but with the meaning of three beings with different natures.

68 Cf. Phil 2:6,7.

69 Rom 10:10.

All these points refute those who assert two natures before the union, because they say that the man pre-existed and was united in this way to God the Word according to the madness of the impious Theodore and Nestorius, while those who say that it is necessary to affirm after the union not two natures in Christ but only one introduce merger and illusion according to the impious Apollinarius and Eutyches. This is what these people hold; but the holy fathers, perceiving after the incarnation of the Word the elements from which is Christ, and that the natures have remained unmerged, have affirmed most correctly that there are two natures in Christ, the divine and the human. For neither before the incarnation were there two natures of the Lord, nor after the incarnation did the two become one, even if they are acknowledged in one hypostasis.⁷⁰

Having learnt this from the divine scriptures and from the teaching of the fathers, we have appropriately written to refute those who merge or divide the mystery of the divine dispensation; but by clarifying the elements from which Christ is and in which he is acknowledged we do not introduce merger or separation into the divine dispensation. And indeed, citing the doxology and the doctrine of union, we profess and worship together with the Father and the Holy Spirit one Christ and Son and Lord, the Word of God incarnate and made man. Since therefore this is professed by the catholic church of God, we wish all Christians to know that just as we hold one God and Lord, so we hold one faith. For the definition of faith is one – the profession and orthodox glorification of the Father and of Christ the Son of God and of the Holy Spirit. This profession we maintain, in it we were baptized; it was given by our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ to his holy disciples and apostles, and it was preached by them throughout the world. The 318 holy fathers who convened [90] at Nicaea against Arius and condemned him together with his impiety handed down the same profession or symbol and teaching of the faith to the holy church of God. After them the 150 holy fathers, who convened at Constantinople against Macedonius the enemy of the Holy Spirit and against Magnus the Apollinarian⁷¹ and condemned them together with their impiety, followed in all things the same holy symbol handed down by the 318 holy fathers and clarified the Godhead of the Holy Spirit. Again, the holy fathers who convened at Ephesus for the first time

⁷⁰ This echoes the condemnation in the Chalcedonian Definition of two natures ‘before’ the union and one ‘after it’. As used by the miaphysites, however, ‘before the union’ meant not ‘temporarily prior to the union’ but ‘if for a moment we do not take the union into account’.

⁷¹ ‘Magnus the Apollinarian’ is otherwise mentioned only by Sophronius of Jerusalem (d. 638), *Synodical Letter* V. 1 and VI. 1, which must cast doubt on his prominence in 381. See Voisin (1901), 97, n. 2, who suggests that he was a Apollinarian leader of a later generation.

against the impious Nestorius and likewise the holy fathers at Chalcedon who convened against the impious Eutyches followed in all respects the said holy symbol or teaching of the faith and condemned the aforesaid heretics together with their impiety and that of those who held or hold tenets like theirs. In addition to this they anathematized those who hand down to those who come forward for holy baptism or convert from any heresy a different definition of the faith or a different symbol and teaching contrary to what was handed down, as has been said, by the 318 holy fathers and clarified by the 150 holy fathers.⁷²

This being so, we have resolved to append chapters that contain in summary the profession of the orthodox faith and the condemnation of the heretics.⁷³

1.⁷⁴ If anyone does not profess Father and Son and Holy Spirit, a consubstantial Trinity, one Godhead or nature and essence and one power and authority worshipped in three hypostases or persons, let him be anathema.

2. If anyone does not profess that God the Word, born from the Father before the ages and timelessly, in the last days came down from heaven, was incarnate from the holy and glorious *Theotokos* and ever-virgin Mary, became man and was born from her, and that therefore the same God the Word had two births, one before the ages incorporeally and the other in the last days in respect of the flesh, let him be anathema.⁷⁵

3. If anyone says that God the Word who worked miracles is someone other than the Christ who suffered,⁷⁶ or says that God the Word was with the Christ born from woman, or was in him as in someone other than himself,

72 The reference is to Canon 7 of Ephesus I (Price and Gaddis, I, 323), as reaffirmed at the end of the Chalcedonian Definition. Note how Justinian singles out for mention those aspects of the Definition – its condemnation of Nestorius and Eutyches and its stress on the unique authority of the Nicene Creed – that were acceptable to the miaphysites.

73 The following anathemas were adopted, in a slightly expanded form, as ‘canons’ at the Council of Constantinople and appear in the Acts at VIII. 5 (vol. 2, 120–6). They coincide only in part with the eleven anathemas at the end of Justinian’s earlier treatise *Against the Monophysites* (trans. Wesche, 104–6).

74 Anathemas 1–4 correspond to Canons 1–4 of the council of 553.

75 Cf. Ephrem of Antioch (d. 545), Anathema 8, ‘If anyone does not profess with soul and mouth his pre-eternal birth and the second descent of his incarnation in time..., let him be anathema’ (Macdonald 1995, 235), and John Maxentius (fl. 520s), Anathema 8, ‘If anyone does not profess two births in the one Son of God, God the Word, born before the ages from the Father and the same begotten in the last times from his mother, let him be anathema’ (ACO 4.2, p. 10). This canon directly counters a statement of Diodore of Tarsus’, mistakenly attributed to Theodore, ‘God the Word did not undergo two births, one before the ages and the other in the latter times’ (Acts IV. 54 and V. 6).

76 Contrast Theodore, ‘Divine scripture teaches us plainly that God the Word is quite other than the man’ (Acts IV. 25).

but does not say that he is one and the same our Lord Jesus Christ the Word of God incarnate and made man, and that of the same are the miracles and the sufferings that he voluntarily endured in the flesh, let him be anathema.⁷⁷

4. If anyone says it was according to grace or operation or merit or equal honour or authority or reference or relation or power that the union of God the Word with man took place, or according to homonymy, by which the Nestorians, by calling God the Word 'Christ' and separately calling the man 'Christ', say there is one Christ in name alone, or if anyone says that the union took place according to good pleasure, as the heretic Theodore states in these very words, namely that God the Word was satisfied with the man as a result of having an excellent opinion of him,⁷⁸ but does not profess that the union of God the Word with the flesh ensouled by a rational and intelligent soul was hypostatic and that as a result his composite hypostasis is one, let him be anathema.⁷⁹

5.⁸⁰ [92] If anyone says that it is by transference or catachrestically that the holy and glorious ever-virgin Mary is *Theotokos* [Mother of God], or that she is 'mother of the man' or 'mother of Christ' as if Christ was not God, and does not profess that she is really and truly *Theotokos* because God the Word, born from the Father before the ages, was in the last days incarnate and born from her, let him be anathema.⁸¹

6.⁸² If anyone does not profess that our Lord Jesus Christ, crucified in the flesh, is true God and Lord of glory and one of the holy Trinity, let him be anathema.⁸³

77 Cf. the *Henotikon* (482), 'We declare to be of one [person] both the miracles and the sufferings that he endured voluntarily in the flesh' (Evagrius, *Hist. eccl.* III. 14). Cf. also Justinian's theopaschite edict of 533 in *Chronicon Paschale*, trans. Whitby and Whitby, 129.

78 Cf. Theodore in Acts IV. 24, 37.

79 This anathema condemns various expressions used by Theodore, Nestorius and Theodoret to define the union of natures in Christ (see Bois 1908, 1243–5) in preference to talk of 'natural' or hypostatic' union, which was for them redolent of Apollinarianism. For the use of 'composite' compare John Maxentius, Anathema 9, 'If anyone does not profess that Christ is composite after the incarnation, let him be anathema' (ACO 4.2, p. 10).

80 This corresponds to Canon 6 of the council.

81 For passages of Nestorius which pointedly use 'mother of Christ' (*Christotokos* in the Greek) in place of *Theotokos* see Price and Gaddis, I, 324–5. Theodore (Acts of Constantinople IV. 52) and Theodoret (*ep.* 16, in *Correspondance*, II, p. 58, 11–25) were happy to use *Theotokos* and 'mother of the man' (*Anthropotokos*) in conjunction, in a way that minimized the force of the former.

82 This is identical to Canon 10 of the council.

83 Cf. John Maxentius, Anathema 4, 'If anyone does not consent to profess that Christ who suffered for us in the flesh is one of the Trinity even with his own flesh, even though

7.⁸⁴ If anyone saying ‘in two natures’ does not profess the one Jesus Christ our Lord the Word of God incarnate as existing in Godhead and manhood, or understands this expression concerning the mystery of Christ in terms not of signifying the difference of the natures from which he was composed but of a division into parts, with the result that the natures are separate and self-subsistent, in accordance with the blasphemy of Theodore and Nestorius, let him be anathema.

8. If anyone in respect of the one Jesus Christ our Lord, that is, the incarnate God the Word, while professing the number of natures, does not understand the difference of the elements from which he was compounded to be in perception,⁸⁵ while this difference is not destroyed by the union, but uses number for division into parts, let him be anathema.

9.⁸⁶ If anyone saying ‘one incarnate nature of God the Word’ takes it to mean not that from the divine and the human natures one Christ was constituted, consubstantial with the Father in respect of the Godhead and the same consubstantial with us in respect of the manhood, but that the Godhead and the flesh of Christ constituted one nature in accordance with the false belief of Apollinarius and Eutyches,⁸⁷ let him be anathema. For both those who divide or cleave into parts and those who merge the mystery of the divine dispensation of Christ are equally rejected and anathematized by the catholic church.⁸⁸

10.⁸⁹ If anyone does not anathematize Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Apollinarius, Nestorius, Eutyches⁹⁰ and those who held or hold tenets like theirs, let him be anathema.

11.⁹¹ If anyone defends Theodore of Mopsuestia, who said that God the

according to the flesh he is not of the substance of the Trinity but the same is from us, let him be anathema’ (*ACO* 4.2, p. 10). Even in the passion God the Word remains the one subject in Christ; cf. Cyril’s *Anathema* 12 (vol. 2, 48).

84 This and the following anathema formed the basis of Canon 7 of the council.

85 For the force of ‘in perception’ see p. 125 above.

86 This corresponds to Canon 8 of the council.

87 Justinian allows ‘one incarnate nature’ (meaning the divine nature plus the flesh) but not ‘one nature’ *tout court*.

88 Cf. the statement in the Chalcedonian Definition that the council ‘sets itself against those who attempt to dissolve the mystery of the dispensation into a duality of sons... and it opposes those who imagine a mixing or merging in the case of the two natures of Christ.’

89 This corresponds to Canon 11 of the council.

90 These names fall into three pairs – Arius and Eunomius (as exponents of the Arianism condemned at Nicaea in 325), Macedonius and Apollinarius (condemned at Constantinople I in 381), and Nestorius and Eutyches (condemned at Chalcedon in 451).

91 This corresponds to Canon 12 of the council.

Word is someone other than Christ, who was troubled by the passions of the soul and the desires of the flesh, became better by progress in works, was baptized in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, received through his baptism the grace of the Holy Spirit, was honoured with sonship, was worshipped as representing God the Word,⁹² on the level of an image of the emperor, and after his resurrection became immutable in his thoughts and totally sinless, and who again said that the union of God the Word with Christ was of the same kind as that which the apostle ascribed to man and woman, ‘The two will become one flesh,’⁹³ and who in addition to his other innumerable [94] blasphemies dared to assert that, when after the resurrection the Lord breathed on his disciples and said, ‘Receive the Holy Spirit,’⁹⁴ he did not give them the Holy Spirit but breathed on them only in semblance⁹⁵ – and as for the profession of Thomas, when he touched the Lord’s hands and side after the resurrection, namely ‘My Lord and my God,’⁹⁶ he asserted that this was not said about Christ by Thomas (for he says that Christ was not God) but that Thomas, amazed at the extraordinary character of the resurrection, was praising God for raising up Christ,⁹⁷ and what is even worse is that in his commentary on the Acts of the Apostles the same Theodore, comparing Christ to Plato, Mani, Epicurus and Marcion, says that just as each of these men, having devised his own teaching, caused his disciples to be called Platonists, Manichaeans, Epicureans and Marcionites, so in the same way when Christ had devised his teaching ‘Christians’ were called after him⁹⁸ –; if anyone therefore defends Theodore who uttered such blasphemies and does not anathematize him and his writings and those who held or hold tenets like his, let him be anathema.

12.⁹⁹ If anyone defends the writings of Theodoret that he published in support of the heretic Nestorius and against the orthodox faith and the first holy council at Ephesus and the sainted Cyril and his Twelve Chapters, in which impious writings the same Theodoret describes as relational the union of God the Word with some man, about whom he utters the blasphemy that Thomas touched the one who rose and worshipped the one who raised

92 Literally, ‘in the person of God the Word’, that is, as exercising the Word’s role as his representative.

93 Eph 5:31.

94 Jn 20:22.

95 Cf. the extract from Theodore in Acts IV. 20 (p. 242 below).

96 Jn 20:28.

97 Cf. the extract from Theodore in Acts IV. 21.

98 Cf. the extract from Theodore in Acts IV. 22.

99 This corresponds to Canon 13 of the council.

him,¹⁰⁰ and for this reason calls impious the teachers of the church who profess that the union of God the Word with the flesh was hypostatic,¹⁰¹ and in addition denies that the holy and glorious ever-virgin Mary was *Theotokos*;¹⁰² if anyone therefore praises the said 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 the episcopate and subsequently at the holy council at Chalcedon was forced to act in total opposition to his afore-mentioned writings and to profess the orthodox faith.¹⁰³

13.¹⁰⁴ If anyone defends the impious letter that is said to have been written by Ibas to the heretic Mari the Persian,¹⁰⁵ which denies that God the Word became man and says that it was not God the Word who was born incarnate from the Virgin, but that there was born from her a mere man, whom it calls the temple, making out God the Word to be someone other than the man, and in addition inveighs against the first council at Ephesus, alleging that it condemned Nestorius without examination and trial, and calls the sainted Cyril a heretic and his Twelve Chapters impious, but praises and defends Nestorius and Theodore with their impious writings; if anyone therefore in accordance with what has been said defends the said impious letter or says that it, or a part of it, is orthodox, and does not anathematize it, let him be anathema.

[96] Although this letter was justly anathematized because of the blasphemies it contains, those who hold the tenets of the impious Theodore and Nestorius attempt to assert that it was accepted by the holy council at Chalcedon. In saying this they misrepresent the holy council, eager to use this as a pretence to free from due condemnation Theodore, Nestorius, and the impious letter that Ibas, though often accused over it, did not dare to claim as his own on account of the blasphemies contained in it. Let us demonstrate this from the various transactions concerning him. For when

100 Cf. the extract from Theodoret (of dubious authenticity) in Acts V. 109.

101 For Theodoret's rejection of 'hypostatic union' see his rejoinder to Cyril's Second Anathema, *ACO* 1.1.6, p. 114, 10–13.

102 The charge was false and was dropped from the version of this anathema adopted at the council (vol. 2, 125). Even when criticizing Cyril's First Anathema, which stressed *Theotokos*, Theodoret did not deny the appropriateness of the title, while adding that Mary 'did not give birth to God naturally but to a man united to the God who created him,' *ACO* 1.1.6, p. 109, 18–19.

103 Theodoret was forced to anathematize Nestorius at Chalcedon (Acts VIII. 13) but not to withdraw the writings censured here.

104 This corresponds to Canon 14 of the council.

105 For the text of this letter see Acts VI. 5 (vol. 2, 6–10).

he was accused during the proceedings before Photius and Eustathius at Tyre, the aforesaid Ibas plainly testified concerning the abuse of the sainted Cyril that after the union of the easterners with the sainted Cyril he said nothing abusive about him;¹⁰⁶ but the letter, which is full of the said blasphemies of which Ibas was accused, contains a quantity of abuse of the sainted Cyril and states that it was produced after the union with the easterners, which proves that Ibas denied it. Consequently the afore-mentioned Photius and Eustathius, in order to satisfy the accusers, decreed in writing that the said Ibas should act in total opposition to the letter, as is shown by the judgement about him that they delivered. But Ibas, for failing to obey their judgement,¹⁰⁷ was expelled from the episcopate because of the blasphemies of the said letter, and in his place there was ordained Nonnus, who had a seat at the holy council at Chalcedon.¹⁰⁸ Accused at Chalcedon of the same things, the afore-mentioned Ibas did not dare after the reading of the impious letter to claim it as his own but immediately added in these very words, 'I am a stranger to the charges against me.'¹⁰⁹ In consequence the holy council, not satisfied with Ibas' denial of the impious letter, compelled him to act in opposition to it, that is, to profess the orthodox faith rejected in it, to accept the first holy council at Ephesus, to endorse the sainted Cyril as father and teacher, and to anathematize the abuse in the same impious letter and also Nestorius and his impious teaching, which the impious letter praises and defends. If therefore Ibas himself, when variously accused over the impious letter, did not dare to claim it as his own, but the holy council at Chalcedon made him act in total opposition to it, how could the same holy council have accepted the said letter and fallen under the condemnation of the impiety contained in it, of which it hastened to acquit Ibas?

Since the heretics, outdoing all the blasphemies contained in the letter, adduce from it only what is said by the author of the letter to deceive the more simple-minded, that is, 'two natures, one power, one person',¹¹⁰ let us

106 Acts of Chalcedon X. 130 (Price and Gaddis, II, 294).

107 In February 449 Ibas promised his judges, Photius of Tyre and Eustathius of Berytus, that on his return to Edessa he would publicly anathematize Nestorius and endorse the proceedings of the Council of Ephesus (Price and Gaddis, II, 262). The fathers of Chalcedon when they acquitted him (Acts X. 161–78; Vigilius' first *Constitutum* 238–51) did not inquire whether he had kept his promise. Justinian presumes, less generously, that he had not done so, and this is probably correct, since it appears that he was unable to return to Edessa (see above p. 91, n. 48).

108 Ibas was deposed by imperial mandate on 27 June 449 (Coleman-Norton, 1966, II, 756–7), and Nonnus elected on 21 July (according to the Chronicle of Edessa).

109 Acts of Chalcedon X. 139 (Price and Gaddis, II, 299).

110 In Acts VI. 5.3 *fn.* (vol. 2, 7).

demonstrate that in this as well he mingled his own impiety. For to whom does he assign two natures and one person, since he denies that God the Word was incarnate from the holy and glorious *Theotokos* and ever-virgin Mary and was born from her? But it is clear that he attributes to each nature its own person, as Theodore and Nestorius blasphemously expounded in their own books, whom the author of the letter defends together with their impiety. For they explicitly affirm two persons of God the Word [98] and Christ, whom they call a mere man, and assert that one person was manifested by relational conjunction and the same dignity and honour. But in affirming one power or lordship of the two natures the author of the letter is clearly here also following the aforesaid heretics – Theodore in the various books he issued impiously on the incarnation and also Nestorius in many writings, especially the letter written to the heretic Alexander of Hierapolis, both of whom say that of the two natures there is one authority and one power or lordship, and one person in virtue of one dignity and the same honour.¹¹¹ This proves that the author of the letter used the expression ‘natures’ to mean ‘persons’ in accordance with their heresy. For one authority and one power or lordship and one dignity and the same honour is said not of different natures but of different persons of the same essence, as we profess in the case of the holy Trinity. Consequently the holy fathers anathematized those who say that it was in virtue of authority or power or lordship or dignity or equality of honour that God the Word was united to Christ, whom the followers of Theodore and Nestorius call a mere man, while they do not profess that the union of the Word with the flesh ensouled by a rational and intelligent soul occurred hypostatically.

This should be sufficient to refute the impiety of those who defend this abominable letter; but at the end of the same letter its author reveals his own heresy by saying that one must believe in the temple and the one who dwells in the temple, by which he clearly introduces two persons. The author of the letter was taught this impiety by Theodore and Nestorius; but the catholic church in condemning this heresy hands down profession and belief not in the temple and the one dwelling in the temple but in one Lord Jesus Christ the Word of God incarnate and made man. There is nothing surprising if the author of this impious letter used the term ‘natures’, for it is customary for heretics to use the expressions uttered piously by the orthodox to deceive the more simple-minded and to transfer their pious understanding and exposi-

¹¹¹ Nestorius wrote to his supporter Alexander of Hierapolis, ‘Of the two natures there is one authority and one power or mastery and one person in accordance with one desert and one honour’ (*ACO*, ser. 2, vol. 1, 334, 6–10).

tion to their own impiety, since sometimes the same expressions when well expounded and understood go with piety but when wrongly interpreted and adduced by the heretics contain impiety. And indeed when Nestorius affirmed two natures and one person, while not professing their hypostatic union, the first holy council at Ephesus, which was led by Celestine and Cyril of sacred memory, did not accept but condemn him. But we, following in all respects the teaching of the holy fathers, have already clearly demonstrated union of the two natures from which our Lord Jesus Christ, one of the holy Trinity and God the Word incarnate, was compounded, and that their difference was not abolished by the union.

What we have said should be sufficient to satisfy fully those who are not contentious; but since those who have once fallen into impiety try other arguments as well, let us of necessity prove that these pleas of theirs are futile. For they claim that the impious letter ought not to be subjected to criticism because it is included in some documents. But if one were to accept this according to their folly, it would be necessary to accept Nestorius and Eutyches, since much about them as well is included in conciliar proceedings. But no one right-minded [100] will attend to these claims of theirs. For information about heretics that is cited at councils and becomes part of the minutes is accepted not to absolve them but to convict them and for the stronger condemnation both of them and of those who hold the same tenets as they do. Moreover, even if the minutes about the impious letter are found in some documents, as has been said, they are in no way to be found among the authentic documents to which the most sacred bishops put their signatures.¹¹² However, those in search of the truth ought also to attend to the fact that often at councils some things are said by some of those found at them out of partiality or disagreement or ignorance, but no one attends to what is said individually by a few, but only to what is decreed by all by common consent; for if one were to choose to attend to such disagreement in the way

112 The same claim is advanced in Justinian's *Letter on the Three Chapters* (Schwartz 1939, p. 66, 13–18, trans. Wesche 1991, 152), to rebut the claim, made for example by Ferrandus (*ep.* 6.4; p. 115 above), that the bishops who accepted the orthodoxy of the letter signed to that effect. Compare the attempt by the Chalcedonian bishops at the Conference of Constantinople of 532 to cast doubt on the reliability of the acts relating to Ibas (Brock 1981, 102–3). The loss of the original minutes, filed together with the signed decrees of the council, may be attributed to the tampering with them at some unknown date to remove comments on the Letter to Mari the Persian (Price and Gaddis, II, 271–2); the fact that Justinian himself draws attention to their loss supports Schwartz's view that the tampering took place prior to his reign (*pace* Price and Gaddis).

they do, each council will be found refuting itself.¹¹³

It is therefore incumbent on them, if they have rightly received the holy council, not to subject it to these criticisms, but to follow the teachers of the catholic church and especially the sainted Athanasius who was bishop of Alexandria and undertook many and great contests on behalf of the orthodox faith of Christians against every heresy and especially the most impious Arians. For when to deceive the congregations the same Arians included in their own faction Dionysius who had been bishop of Alexandria many years before the sainted Athanasius, and alleged that the same Dionysius had embraced tenets similar to theirs, Athanasius the great teacher of the church demonstrated in many ways in writing that Dionysius had preached the orthodox faith from the beginning and had in no way participated in the impiety of the Arians.¹¹⁴

Those who hold the tenets of the heretics endeavour to attach to it [the council] their own impiety. But the character of the condemnation and the character of the curse incurred by those who sin against the fathers is taught us by divine scripture. For if Ham the son of Noah, when he saw his own father naked and did not cover up his father's bodily nakedness but went out and recounted it to his brothers and they veiled it with a cloak, and Ham himself and his descendents fell under a curse, while those who veiled it received a great blessing,¹¹⁵ how much more are those people worthy of a greater and more heavy curse who endeavour to attach to the council through the impiety of the letter and of Theodore a dishonour that in no way belongs to it. But the impious letter and those who champion it will not by these means escape from the condemnation of their impiety, and neither will Theodore, who outdid the pagans and the Jews and all the heretics in impiety. For in addition to his other blasphemies he was not satisfied with misinterpreting the creed of the 318 holy fathers to suit his own error, but in contempt of it produced another creed full of all impiety, in which he had the presumption to anathematize those who held or transmitted other tenets, with the result, as far as his own madness was concerned, that all the holy apostles and fathers stood condemned. This impious creed of Theodore's, when produced at the first

113 The reference is to the two bishops who, in voting to restore Ibas, cited the Letter to Mari the Persian as evidence of his orthodoxy (Acts of Chalcedon X. 161, 163). But since one of them was the senior papal representative and none of the other bishops expressed dissent, their verdicts, as Pelagius pointed out (*In defensione*, p. 57), could not be dismissed so easily.

114 Cf. Athanasius, *Letter on the opinion of Dionysius bishop of Alexandria*, NPNF, 2nd series, IV, 173–87.

115 Gen 9:20–7.

council at Ephesus and when read out at Chalcedon, was itself condemned by both councils together with its author and those who received it.¹¹⁶

[102] Some of those who argue on behalf of Theodore, when his impious writings are produced, make a show of saying (on account of the blasphemy contained in them) that they are impious, but refuse to anathematize the one who vomited forth such impiety. We are astounded at their folly, because they dare to oppose the divine scripture that says plainly, ‘Equally hateful to God are the impious man and his impiety.’¹¹⁷ For what has been done will be punished together with the doer. If the impious man is as hateful to God as his impiety, it is clear that he has been separated from God and justly subjected to anathema. For anathema means nothing else than separation from God, as is shown by condemnation involving anathema in both the Old and the New Testaments.¹¹⁸ That even the Lord, conversing with the Jews in the Gospel according to John, says that those who do not abide in the word of his truth have been separated from the church, is expressed as follows: ‘Everyone who commits sin is a slave of sin. The slave does not abide in the house for ever, but the son abides for ever.’¹¹⁹ And that the divine scripture calls ‘the house’ so named by the Lord the ‘church of the living God’, the apostle testifies in the First Letter to Timothy.¹²⁰

If some people say that Theodore ought not to be anathematized after death, let those who defend this heretic know that every heretic who persevered in his error until death is justly subjected to a permanent anathema even after death. This happened in the case of many heretics both more ancient and more recent, that is, Valentinus, Basilides, Marcion, Cerinthus, Mani, Eunomius, and Bonosus;¹²¹ and the same thing happened in the case of Theodore who was both accused during his life and anathematized after death

116 A creed attributed to Theodore was read out (without Theodore himself being named) at the session of 22 July 431 of Ephesus I, which proceeded in its Canon 7 to condemn whoever composed a novel creed or imposed it on converts. The minutes of this session were included in the Acts of Chalcedon (I. 911–45), though they may not have been actually read out (Price and Gaddis, I, 112, n. 2). The bishops at Chalcedon made no comment on the matter, save in so far as the gist of Canon 7 was given at the end of the Chalcedonian Definition.

117 Wisd 14:9.

118 This is dubious as a general statement about the use of the word ‘anathema’ in the Septuagint and New Testament, but cf. Rom 9:3, ‘I would have wished that I myself was anathema from Christ on behalf of my brethren.’

119 Jn 8:34–5.

120 1 Tim 3:15.

121 A bizarre catalogue of second- to fourth-century heretics, none of whom in fact escaped condemnation in their lifetime or died in the communion of the Church.

by the holy fathers.¹²² Even if those who support him refuse, as heretics, to heed the fathers, let them at least believe the impious letter that they defend, which, even if it keenly defends Theodore, nevertheless states plainly that in the presence of the church he was anathematized by the holy fathers and that subsequently a great investigation took place concerning his writings as being manifestly full of impiety.¹²³ This was done at that time by those of the catholic church, lest the more simple on reading his impious writings might be seduced from the orthodox faith. That the impious, even if they did not receive anathematization in person during their lives, are nevertheless anathematized by the catholic church even after death can be proved from the holy councils. For while the council at Nicaea anathematized, but not by name, those who upheld the impious tenets of Arius, while that at Constantinople did the same to the most impious heresy of Macedonius, nevertheless the holy church of God anathematizes Arius and Macedonius by name even after death.¹²⁴

Convicted by many proofs of being impious, the defenders of Theodore and his impiety have recourse in vain to another futile pretence, claiming that it is wrong to anathematize him because he died in the communion of the churches. But they ought to be aware that it is those who have kept till the end the common doctrine of piety preached in the catholic church who die in the communion of the churches, while he after expiring in his impiety was expelled from every church. And indeed [104] the whole totality of the church in Mopsuestia, in which he is reported to have been bishop, on account of the blasphemies that had led him to be numbered by the holy fathers with the pagans, Jews and Sodomites, consequently erased his name from the sacred diptychs of the church, as is shown by minutes about him of the provincial synod in the same city.¹²⁵ We are therefore amazed by those who defend Theodore, adopting him and his impiety, when the church in which he was bishop ejected him as a heretic a long time ago.

That the defenders of Theodore advance this plea to their own condemnation can be known from the terrible condemnation incurred by Judas. For he, thinking he could escape the notice of the one who knows the secrets

122 In contrast, Theodore was not attacked by orthodox Christians during his lifetime.

123 This refers to the account in the Letter of Ibas to Mari the Persian (in Session V. 5.6) of the campaign against Theodore carried out (*after* his death) by Bishop Rabbula of Edessa.

124 The councils of Nicaea and Constantinople I did indeed condemn the heresies of (respectively) Arius and Macedonius but not their persons.

125 These minutes are to be found in the Acts of Constantinople II (V. 92, pp. 340–58 below).

of men, participated with the apostles in the mysteries, but his hypocritical participation availed him nothing. Not even the fact that even after his death the disciples were called ‘the Twelve’, as when John the evangelist says, ‘Thomas called the Twin, one of the Twelve, was not with them when Jesus came,’¹²⁶ either exempts Judas from condemnation or makes him numbered with the apostles. And indeed after the ascension of the Lord the apostles by their own vote condemned the same Judas even after death and put another in his place.¹²⁷ And that they are advancing a futile plea when they say that it is wrong to anathematize deceased heretics, let us prove from the very sayings of the Lord. For he calls the impious ‘dead’ while they are still alive, saying, ‘Let the dead bury their dead,’¹²⁸ just as he calls ‘living’ the just who have died; for he says concerning Abraham, Isaac and Jacob that God is not of the dead but of the living.¹²⁹ If, therefore, according to their words it is wrong to anathematize deceased heretics, neither will living heretics be condemned, whom the Lord calls dead because they have been separated from the one who said ‘I am the life.’¹³⁰ According to these people neither living nor dead heretics should be anathematized in future, and according to them the apostolic teaching has handed down in vain that those who hand down what is contrary to what we have received are to be anathematized;¹³¹ in vain did the holy councils condemn heretics, and in vain did the other holy fathers and teachers of the church anathematize heretics. Let them also criticize Jeremiah the prophet who said, ‘Accursed is he who does the deeds of the Lord negligently,’¹³² and David the prophet who said, ‘Accursed are those who wander from your commandments,’¹³³ and, to speak briefly, the whole divine scripture, which everywhere brings down such condemnation on the impious. But if those who do the deeds of the Lord negligently and sin against his commandments are subject to this condemnation, even greater surely is the justice of the condemnation and anathematization of the impious Theodore, who uttered such blasphemies against our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ himself.

These points on top of the proofs advanced above and in our other

126 Jn 20:24. Elsewhere in the Gospels and Acts the disciples are called ‘the eleven’ in the period between Judas’ betrayal and the election of Matthias.

127 Cf. Acts 1:15–26.

128 Mt 8:22.

129 Cf. Mt 22:32.

130 Cf. Jn 14:6.

131 Cf. Gal 1:9.

132 Jer 31:10 (LXX).

133 Ps 118:21.

writings¹³⁴ on the need to condemn heretics even after death ought to have been sufficient to put to shame Theodore's supporters and to bring this impiety to an end. But because of their contentious obstinacy we shall say more, namely that some of those who assembled at the holy Council of Nicaea and signed the definition or symbol of the faith that it issued [106] were revealed subsequently to have held contrary opinions; as a result, some while still alive and others after death were anathematized by Damasus of sacred memory, pope of Elder Rome, and the ecumenical council at Sardica, according to the testimony of the sainted Athanasius.¹³⁵ But also the holy council at Chalcedon condemned Domnus bishop of Antioch after his death, because he had merely dared to write that it was necessary to keep silence about the Twelve Chapters of the sainted Cyril.¹³⁶

The heretics who support Theodore, having failed in every claim and attempt, try to deceive the ignorant by saying that Cyril of sacred memory praised him in some part of a letter;¹³⁷ but it can be demonstrated by many proofs that their attempt does not agree with what was said by the sainted Cyril against the impious Theodore in various of his writings, in which he proved him more impious than all the other heretics, and then, being unable to bear the mass and magnitude of the blasphemies he had uttered against our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ, expressed himself as follows: 'Heaven was appalled at this and shook all the more vehemently, says the Lord. O wickedness past endurance! O tongue that speaks iniquity against God, and mind that lifts up its horn on high!'¹³⁸ And again:

Set, O man, a door and bolt on your tongue; cease raising your horn on high and uttering iniquity against God. How long will you abuse Christ's patience? Keep in mind what was written by the inspired Paul, 'But sinning thus against

134 Cf. Letter on the Three Chapters, Schwartz (1939), pp. 67,14–68,38 (trans. Wesche 1991, 154–7).

135 Pope Damasus held a synod in 371, which condemned the 'Arians' (Chadwick 2001, 319). Athanasius expressed his support for its decisions in his 'Synodical Letter to the Bishops of Africa' (NPNF, Series 2, IV, 489–94). Justinian confuses this Roman synod with the Council of Sardica of 342–3, likewise called 'ecumenical' by Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* II. 20.3.

136 Domnus was condemned at the Council of Ephesus of 449, and was in fact still alive during the Council of Chalcedon, which did not reinstate him, the reason being not his reserve over the Twelve Chapters but Pope Leo's recognition of his successor. See Price and Gaddis, II, 304 and 310–12.

137 This must be the allegedly 'forged' letter given in Acts V. 66, which describes Theodore as 'a man who is not only admirable but has also attained the greatest glory among you.'

138 Cf. Acts V. 7 for the full quotation in its context. Extracts from Cyril's attacks on Theodore are given at V. 5–13, 18–23, 70–81.

the brethren and wounding their weak conscience you sin against Christ,¹³⁹ and to quote something from the prophetic books as well, 'Sodom has been made righteous by you':¹⁴⁰ you have surpassed the prating of the pagans which they committed against Christ, deeming the cross foolishness, and you have shown that the crimes of Jewish madness were nothing.¹⁴¹

Therefore, since these things were said by the sainted Cyril in condemnation of the impious Theodore,¹⁴² even if one were to grant that the sainted Cyril said something in Theodore's support, as they assert, not even this exempts him from condemnation. For we find that many of the holy fathers accepted some of the heretics, as the sainted Damasus, Athanasius and Basil accepted Apollinarius,¹⁴³ and Leo of sacred memory accepted Eutyches,¹⁴⁴ and yet when their impiety became manifest, this acceptance did not free the heretics from the condemnation and anathematization that took place subsequently against their own persons and their impiety.

But such is the insanity of Theodore's defenders that they have the effrontery to make the false assertion that both Gregory the Theologian and John of Constantinople sent letters to the same Theodore full of praise, which is utterly false. For Gregory, after [108] he had combated for the truth at Constantinople, converted the congregations from the Arian heresy to the orthodox faith, and returned to his own homeland, wrote the letters that the heretics wickedly produce not to Theodore of Mopsuestia but to Bishop Theodore of Tyana, which is the metropolis of Cappadocia Secunda. In the same region are both Nazianzus, of which the same sainted Gregory was bishop, and the estate of Arianus from where he stemmed. For this is clearly shown by the letters themselves, which mention customs and meetings and the very place Arianus as well as other places in the same province and the name of a month in the local dialect of the Cappadocians, and which mention Bosporius, bishop of the city of Colonia under the jurisdiction of the same man, and other bishops, *chorepiscopi*, and monasteries under the

139 1 Cor 8:12.

140 Cf. Ezek 16:51.

141 Cf. Acts V. 9 for the full quotation in its context.

142 Likewise in Acts V the 'forged' letter is contrasted with texts in which Cyril lambasts Theodore, including (at 80–1) the two quoted here.

143 For most of his career Apollinarius was a respected champion of the Nicene cause, enjoying excellent relations with Athanasius and Basil of Caesarea; only in 376 did Basil and Damasus turn against him (Athanasius had died in 373). See Di Berardino (1992), I, 58–9.

144 Immediately after his condemnation at the Home Synod of November 448 Eutyches appealed to Pope Leo, whose initial reaction (*ep.* 23, *ACO* 2.4, pp. 4–5), before he had received details of the case, was sympathetic.

jurisdiction of the same Theodore, whose names have remained the same right up till today. What fellowship could the Cappadocians have with the people of Cilicia Secunda either then or now, since these provinces are in separate dioceses?¹⁴⁵ And what bishops could the bishop of Mopsuestia have had subject to him when he himself was under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of the same province of Cilicia Secunda?¹⁴⁶

Meanwhile John of Constantinople wrote a letter to Theodore of Mopsuestia, but not of praise, for it is full of rebuke and reproaches for his having abandoned religion; for having practised the monastic life with him in one and the same monastery, he reminds him of his stay there.¹⁴⁷ To this bear witness Sozomen, Hesychius, Socrates, and Theodoret,¹⁴⁸ although the last of these wrote many words in praise of Theodore.¹⁴⁹ But if they produce the testimonials in support of Theodore and his impiety from John of Antioch and the eastern synod under him,¹⁵⁰ they will be compelled to accept as well what John and his colleagues had the effrontery to transact, as far as in them lay, in condemnation of the sainted Cyril and the rejection of the orthodox faith, and what they wrote over a long period in vindication of Nestorius and his heresy.¹⁵¹ This is proved by the various documents and letters that they wrote to Theodosius of pious memory and a number of others.¹⁵²

So much for that; but to omit no precision we have deemed it necessary to mention also what was written by Augustine of sacred memory, who was a bishop in Africa. For when an investigation was mooted about Caecilian after his death, who was charged with having betrayed the tradition of the church, as result of which some people had separated themselves from the catholic church, the same Augustine of sacred memory wrote to Boniface

145 Cappadocia II was in the diocese of Pontica, and Cilicia II in that of Oriens.

146 That Gregory's letters to 'Theodore' were not addressed to Theodore of Mopsuestia was proved at greater length at Session V of the council of 553 (V. 39–50; pp. 315–9 below).

147 Also treated at length in 553 (V. 87). See my notes ad loc.

148 Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* VIII. 8.7–10. Hesychius in Acts V. 24 (p. 305 below). Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* VI. 3.4–5. Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* V. 40.1 (39 in NPNF).

149 Notably in his *In defence of Diodore and Theodore*, for which see the acts of 553, V. 31–4.

150 See pp. 274–5 below on the letters of John of Antioch and the Syrian bishops in support of Theodore during the campaign against him in the 430s promoted by Proclus of Constantinople.

151 Cyril was attacked by the Syrian bishops throughout 431 and 432. Their concern was less to defend Nestorius (whose attacks on the *Theotokos* title they did not approve) than to accuse Cyril's Twelve Chapters of Apollinarianism.

152 For letters to Theodosius II written at Ephesus by the Syrian bishops see *ACO* 1.1.5, pp. 124–35.

that there was no need for them to separate themselves from the catholic church for this reason; for if the allegations against Caecilian had been true and he had been shown to have held opinions contrary to church order, they would have subjected him to anathema even after death. In addition a canon of the holy Council of Africa decrees that bishops who leave their personal property in a will or intestate to a heretic must be anathematized even after death.¹⁵³ In addition to all this, who is unaware [110] of what happened in our own times in the church of Elder Rome over Dioscorus – that, even though he had in no way sinned over the faith, he was anathematized after death by the same most holy church of Rome simply on account of church order?¹⁵⁴ If then bishops who have committed no error as regards the faith are subjected to anathema even after death on account of church order or a financial charge, how much more is Theodore, who committed impiety against God himself?

As for the folly of those who assert that those who die in their own impiety should not be anathematized after death, then not even those fathers who were unjustly condemned should be restored after death, as happened in the case of John of sacred memory, bishop of Constantinople, who was restored after death by the catholic church,¹⁵⁵ and in the case of Flavian of sacred memory, also bishop of Constantinople, who was condemned unjustly in his lifetime and justly restored after death by Pope Leo of sacred memory and the holy council at Chalcedon.¹⁵⁶ It would follow from their reasoning that heretics should be numbered with the holy fathers because they are free and released from the condemnation due to them, while the holy fathers who were unjustly condemned should be joined to the heretics, since their unjust condemnation is not to be annulled.

But a teacher more trustworthy than all is our Lord and God Jesus Christ, who said of himself: ‘For God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, so that everyone who believes in him should not perish but have eternal life. For he did not send his Son to judge the world but so that the world might be saved through him. He who believes in him is not judged,

153 The African evidence adduced here was presented more fully at the council of 553 (V. 56–63).

154 Dioscorus and Boniface II were rival contenders for the Roman see in September 530; when Dioscorus died in October, Boniface forced his supporters to sign his condemnation. In 535 the deed of condemnation was solemnly burnt by Pope Agapitus.

155 For the stages in John Chrysostom’s rehabilitation see Kelly (1995), 286–90.

156 Flavian’s condemnation at Ephesus II was never accepted by Pope Leo and was reversed at Session I of of Chalcedon (Acts I. 272–98, 1068).

but he who does not believe in him has already been judged, because he did not believe in the name of the only-begotten Son of God.¹⁵⁷ And the Holy Spirit says through the prophet David that the impious will not rise again at the judgement.¹⁵⁸ Since this verdict of the Lord's was pronounced against everyone impious, and does not discriminate between living and dead heretics, how can they dare to oppose this verdict and to assert that those who have once fallen into impiety and therefore already stand condemned by the Lord ought not to be condemned after death? And the divine apostle, who had Christ speaking in himself, delivered this verdict not only against men but even against angels, when he said in the Letter to the Galatians, 'But even if we ourselves or an angel from heaven were to preach to you a gospel contrary to the one we preached to you, let him be anathema. As we said before, I now say again: if anyone preach to you a gospel contrary to what you received, let him be anathema.'¹⁵⁹ And who is so impious as to dare to assert that the impious writings of Theodore or a part of them was ever transmitted to the holy church of God? Was whoever dared to utter such a thing not immediately subjected to anathema by the holy fathers?

If therefore after this orthodox profession and condemnation of the heretics anyone, while preserving a pious understanding, separates himself from the holy church of God through a love of contention over terms or words or expressions, as if piety consists for us in mere terms and expressions but not in realities, such a one for delighting in schism will have to answer for himself and for those he is deceiving or will in future deceive to our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ on the day of judgement.

157 Jn 3:16–18.

158 Cf. Ps 1:5.

159 Gal 1:8–9.

LETTERS BY OR ON POPE VIGILIUS (551–2)

INTRODUCTION¹

Since the agreement in 550 had been that nothing more would be publicly pronounced on the subject of the Three Chapters until a council met to settle the matter, Justinian's edict *On the orthodox faith*, issued in mid-July 551, was received with shock and indignation by Pope Vigilius and his advisers. Their anger was directed especially at Patriarch Menas of Constantinople, Theodore Ascidas and other eastern bishops, who not only accepted the emperor's degree but did so with demonstrative alacrity. A month later, on 14 August 551, Vigilius signed a formal decree (the first document translated below), declaring Ascidas deposed from his see and breaking off communion with Menas of Constantinople and all bishops who approved the edict; this decree was not, however, immediately made public. Already by the time it was signed, Vigilius together with his clergy had taken refuge, in fear of arrest, in the Church of St Peter in Hormisdas.

There followed an abortive attempt by imperial officers to drag him bodily from the church and then negotiations that led to his return to his residence in the Placidia Palace (near the emperor's palace and Hagia Sophia). A description of the situation that resulted, together with a narrative of the dramatic events that had preceded, is given in the second of the three documents below, a letter from the Church of Milan² to Frankish envoys who were on their way to Constantinople; the purpose of the letter was to prevent their being deceived by their Byzantine hosts, and to request them to press the emperor to allow Bishop Datius of Milan, who had been in Constantinople for 'fifteen or sixteen years', to return to his see.

On 23 December 551 Vigilius and his companions again took refuge, this

1 See pp. 48–50 above for a fuller account.

2 Note Sotinel (2007), 92: 'The text is generally attributed to Milanese clergy; I think, however that it is more likely to have been composed by bishops of the region united in a more or less informal council, and from an area whose boundaries are indeterminate, north of the Po.'

time in the Church of St Euphemia at Chalcedon. Further threats from the emperor led the pope to appeal to the world on 5 February 552 in his encyclical *Dum in sanctae Euphemiae*, the third document given below, which gives a vivid account of the maltreatment he had suffered and contained a profession of faith. Justinian's reaction was to arrest several of Vigilius' leading assistants. The pope retaliated by having his decree of excommunication against Menas and Ascidas posted round the city. Further negotiations enabled the pope to return to the Placidia Palace, pope and emperor were formally reconciled, and matters returned to where they had stood before the issuing of the edict, while preparations were slowly made for the planned council.

1. LETTER OF EXCOMMUNICATION TO THEODORE ASCIDAS AND MENAS OF CONSTANTINOPLE³

[10]⁴ Vigilius bishop of the holy catholic church of the city of Rome declared:

It is a matter congruent with the divine command to show patience towards sinners, which, however, should not be extended to the point where sin is committed continually in the hope of permanent impunity and without amendment. You, Theodore bishop of the city of Caesarea in Cappadocia, [11] have from the time of your ordination till now lacked the patience to reside for the space of one year in the church whose government you undertook,⁵ yet, abusing the authority of a bishop's title, you do not cease to create causes of stumbling to the universal church. Although you have at times received a friendly rebuke from us and at others been besought by our prayers, and have sometimes been corrected by a fraternal reprimand and often indeed admonished by the authority of the divine scriptures or convicted by the examples of church custom, and are always promising in speech the amendment that you were rejecting in the depravity of your

3 This letter has the date 14 August 551, soon after Vigilius had taken refuge in the Church of St Peter in Hormisdas. It will have been delivered immediately to its two addressees, Theodore Ascidas and Menas, and the emperor was informed of its contents and pressed to recognize its authority, but otherwise it remained secret until it was announced to the world in the encyclical *Dum in sanctae Euphemiae*, of 5 February 552 (p. 172 below); and it was posted in the churches and public places of Constantinople later in the same month (see Mansi, IX, 56–8).

4 The page references are to Schwartz's edition of the Latin text (Schwartz 1940, 10–15).

5 Theodore so impressed Justinian at the Synod of Constantinople of May to June 536 that he was promptly given the metropolitan see of Caesarea in Cappadocia, but he remained in Constantinople as the emperor's ecclesiastical adviser.

actions, yet you have never abandoned your wicked purposes. Nevertheless, throughout these five years that have almost elapsed we have shown our long-suffering, granted by divine generosity, towards both yourself and the others who have been led astray by you.

First of all, in order to rein in the cause of stumbling, we showed condescension towards the minds of some who, we believed, should be calmed by a degree of accommodation because you, as a restless agitator, had already incited them for many years, and we thought it right to make certain dispositions in a remedial spirit, according to the needs of the time, on the understanding, of course, that all unrest would be quieted in future and that no one would presume to perpetrate anything further for the same reason by word or letter. But you, carried away by the insolence of your habitual depravity, were unwilling even then to stop writing or uttering novelties, with the result that you often produced the written declarations of bishops and, condemning your assent to them by your own confession, often asked us to grant you forgiveness for their and your transgressions.

Subsequently, however, when you were restrained from your habitual effrontery by neither the modesty of human shame nor priestly responsibility nor fear of divine judgement, and when we were treating your crimes with more patience than was fitting, the case reached a point where, setting aside everything on the question of the Three Chapters that had been resolved by any group of persons in any way, whether in word or writing, we held a discussion of what needed to be done on the matter [12] together with a synod assembled from the regions of Africa, Illyricum or Dalmatia, requiring particularly the presence of those whose fraternal spirit has been scandalized. In the presence also of Menas bishop of the city of Constantinople, Datus bishop of the city of Milan, and other bishops both Greek and Latin, with all of whom you too, the aforesaid Theodore, were equally in attendance, and in the presence also of officials, notables, and the entire senate, there was agreed between ourselves and the most clement emperor this in particular, that no one should attempt to transact anything about the aforesaid Three Chapters until the afore-mentioned resolution by the council. But then through your habitual incitement a book containing a condemnation of these very chapters was read out in the palace, through your assistance and contrivance, in the presence of some Greek bishops from whom you demanded with your own voice the support of their assent. After this had been done, both you and the bishops who had complied with you, even though rebuked by us more mildly than they deserved, rushed to attain forgiveness through a feigned amendment.

But who would be able to recount the misdeeds perpetrated as a result of your instigation and execution? For, to relate but a few of your great transgressions, you were the instigator of the whole cause of stumbling and you were discord itself, when, sitting in your house and using scribes hired at great cost, you composed what you had frequently promised on oath not to do before the agreed time, and under the pretence of religious duty perpetrated what would divide the church of God, as can be clearly perceived from the facts themselves. For by relaying false information you brought the mind of the most Christian prince to the point where his clemency, which has always been seen to be benevolent even towards his enemies, was seriously incited against us. However, all these good desires of ours, which served beyond doubt the peace of the church, were so [13] frustrated by your restless spirit that what had been reserved for judgement by the bishops, after calm and fraternal discussion, was suddenly condemned according to your will by an edict⁶ issued contrary to ecclesiastical custom, contrary to the traditions of the fathers, and contrary to the entire authority of the teaching of the gospels and the apostles, even though none of the faithful is ignorant as to who were ordered by our Lord and God to instruct his people in the heavenly doctrines or to whom he gave power to bind and to loose upon earth.

Then in the Placidia Palace⁷ you met with the bishops of both the Greek and these regions who were present in the imperial city and also with the presbyters and deacons of the church of Constantinople; and there, under the challenge of a great deal of shouting, both we ourselves and our brother Datus bishop of Milan forbade any of you so to despise the spirit of brotherhood as to give assent to the infringement of a common resolution. You, however, despising the authority of the apostolic see, which issued this prohibition through us, made your way, dragging the others with you, to the church where the edict had been posted, and there in addition to other transgressions celebrated the solemnity of the mass. Moreover, as if it were for you a mere nothing to have shown contempt for the pontiff of the primatial see, who was present and vetoed it, you even removed from the diptychs the bishop of the church of Alexandria, our brother Zoilus, with whose name you had up till the aforesaid day been in communion, and took into your fellowship a certain Apollinaris, an intruder into that church and adulterer,⁸

6 This is Justinian's edict *On the orthodox faith*.

7 This was Vigilus' residence; the Greek clergy must have come to present the new edict.

8 That is, not the true 'husband' of his church. Shortly before this letter was written, Patriarch Zoilus of Alexandria had been deposed for refusing to sign the edict *On the orthodox faith* and replaced by Apollinarius (Apollinaris in the Latin form).

with the result that your wickedness was made plain not only by the removal of a most honest priest but also by the acceptance of an intruder.

Let us for the time being pass over in silence the other things that are proved to have been perpetrated by you on the same day as an outrage against the apostolic see and the canons, lest, detained by the listing of faults of which [14] you are shown to have been the author and instigator, as suits you well, we delay too long. Although thirty days ago we removed you from the fellowship of apostolic communion on account of your afore-mentioned transgressions, believing that through priestly resolve you would by due penitence correct your misdeeds more readily, yet now, because you daily become more obdurate and commit yet more serious offences, we therefore – with the role and authority of the blessed Peter the apostle, whose place we occupy, despite our inadequacy, together with our brothers and fellow bishops Datius of Milan, John of the Marsi, Zacchaeus of Scyllacum, Valentinus of Silva Candida, Florentius from Matelica, Julian of Cingulum, Romulus from Numana, Dominicus from Callipolis, Primasius of Hadrumetum, Verecundus of Junca, Stephen of Ariminum, Paschasius from Altinum, and Jordanes of Croton⁹ – by this promulgation of our sentence decree that you, Theodore, formerly bishop of the city of Caesarea in Cappadocia, are stripped both of priestly dignity and catholic communion and of every episcopal office and faculty. We resolve that in future you are to be free for no business save tears of repentance, by which, after receiving forgiveness for your faults, you may recover your rank and communion, if you deserve it, through the mercifulness of either myself or, after my death, my successor.

As for you, Menas, bishop¹⁰ of the city of Constantinople, who are weighed down by a not dissimilar fault, together with all the metropolitan and suffragan bishops belonging to your diocese, and also you eastern bishops of greater and lesser cities in various provinces, who have given assent to these transgressions for which we have condemned Theodore, formerly bishop of the city of Caesarea in Cappadocia, [15] we, with a milder sentence out of thought for God, suspend you from sacred communion, until such time as each one of you recognizes the errors of his transgression and purges his guilt in our eyes by appropriate penitence.

9 This list may be compared to that of the western bishops at Constantinople who two years later signed Vigilius' first *Constitutum*, 308–13 (vol. 2, 212–3).

10 The occupant of the see of Constantinople, as of the other patriarchal sees (Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria), could be referred to indifferently as 'patriarch', 'archbishop', or 'bishop'.

And our subscription: With the help of God and through his grace, I, Vigilius, bishop of the catholic church of the city of Rome, have signed this condemnation and excommunication of Theodore of Caesarea in Cappadocia and this excommunication of Menas of the city of Constantinople and of the other afore-mentioned persons.

Issued on the nineteenth day before the Kalends of September in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of the lord Justinian perpetual Augustus and in the tenth year after the consulship of the most illustrious Basil.¹¹

2. LETTER FROM THE CHURCH OF MILAN TO THE FRANKISH ENVOYS¹²

[18] Through the work of divine grace the Christian faith is so spreading among all peoples that, however much anyone prospers in this age, he desires rather to obtain by his faith and love the things that are eternal, [19] knowing that no one can remain forever in this life but only in that one, where he will eternally either be at rest or suffer punishment. And therefore, when we heard that your gloriousness had been sent on an embassy to the imperial city, and knowing your reputation and wisdom from some people who said they have knowledge of you, we have communicated to you the following few particulars out of the many things that were perpetrated, to be passed on for information on whatever occasion; through them you can discover the persecution and violence that are endured by the catholic priests there¹³ and by whoever has chosen to observe the ecclesiastical canons.

When the most blessed pope arrived here six years go,¹⁴ or rather (to speak more truly) when he was brought almost violently, they began there to look to him to condemn some chapters, and thereby bring it about that the holy Synod of Chalcedon, which defended the catholic faith against various heresies at the insistence at that time of the most blessed Pope Leo, might be completely annulled. But when Pope Vigilius refused to give his consent in the matter, such violence was then perpetrated against him that he

¹¹ 14 August 551.

¹² Text in Schwartz (1940), 18–25; the page references are to this edition. This heading is a supplement; see p. 24 for the internal evidence from which it is derived, and n. 2 above. This undated letter was clearly composed before Vigilius' flight to St Euphemia's on 23 December 551 or, rather, before news of this reached Milan.

¹³ That is, at Constantinople.

¹⁴ The date of his arrival was five years previously, on 25 January 547.

cried out publicly at a meeting, ‘I attest that, even if you keep me a prisoner, you cannot make the blessed apostle Peter a prisoner.’ Subsequently, after a discussion, the aforesaid holy Pope Vigilius, acting under divine guidance, settled the matter by anxiously admonishing that the above-mentioned synod must not through misadventure suffer any harm;¹⁵ and although the priests of Africa, Illyricum and Dalmatia did not agree to accept even this action of the pope, yet the oft-mentioned most blessed Pope Vigilius began again to be driven to this – to issue an unqualified condemnation of the chapters without any mention of the Synod of Chalcedon. But the pope did not agree to do this and, seeing that he was being subjected to extreme pressure, said at that time to the most serene prince, ‘May five or six of our brother bishops come here from each province, and let us peaceably decree whatever seems good to all, after holding a discussion in all tranquillity, for I will in no way agree, on my own and without the consent of all, to take steps that call the Synod of Chalcedon into doubt and create a cause of offence to my brethren.’

[20] In consequence envoys were sent by the most clement prince to Africa and Illyricum to get the bishops to come. No one agreed to come from Illyricum; but since some from Africa were reported to be already drawing near to the imperial city, Pope Vigilius said to the prince that, if he [Justinian] was not satisfied with what he [Vigilius] had already decreed, he should return it, and the matter should be discussed *de novo* with these bishops who were said to be on their way. God therefore ordained that in this way the holy Pope Vigilius, publicly at a meeting, recovered the decree he had issued on the case.¹⁶ He also declared that, if any of the Greek bishops took any step over the chapters before the discussion in an ecumenical council or gave their approval to those who did so, they would be excluded from the communion of the apostolic see. This was because the Greek bishops had often in accordance with the prince’s will condemned the chapters that were at issue; yet the most blessed pope had received their signatures from the most serene emperor.¹⁷ For there are Greek bishops who have rich and opulent churches, and cannot bear even a two-month interruption in the conduct of church business; for this reason, as required by the situation and

15 The reference is to Vigilius’ issuing of the *Judicatum* after consulting the bishops and clergy in his entourage. The document condemned the chapters but reaffirmed Chalcedon.

16 This places the withdrawal of the *Judicatum* after the summoning of western bishops to a council, but the more probable sequence is that the *Judicatum* was withdrawn at the same time that a council was summoned.

17 The bishops had given a written assurance not to anticipate the judgement of the forthcoming ecumenical council.

the will of the princes, they assent without questioning to whatever is asked of them.

When the African bishops mentioned above reached the imperial city, they began to press them, now by blandishments and now by threats, to give their assent to the condemnation of the chapters. But when this pressure failed utterly, a charge was concocted against the holy Reparatus bishop of Carthage that six years before he had induced the usurper Guntarith to have the *magister militum* Areobindus murdered;¹⁸ and on this pretext he was deported into exile. Witnessing this, two others, who were pre-eminent among them for holiness of life and knowledge of the divine scriptures, fled to St Euphemia's at Chalcedon, and there to this day are lying sick in such straits that [21] they are in real danger, because, despite suffering from bodily infirmity, they cannot find a doctor.¹⁹

The prefect of Africa, if he found any bishops in Africa who had their own private interests, or were simple and ignorant, or venal and ready to be bought, summoned them and dispatched each of them from there.²⁰ One of them, however, was expelled in disgrace from the imperial city seven years ago because of his adulteries, placed on a ship and sent back to Africa. Mark the sort of men by whom in each province dissension and scandal is sown in holy church! They even sent to Carthage, and got a substitute to be ordained bishop in place of the holy bishop Reparatus against all the canons and against all the decrees of the fathers of Milevis; and this they are reported to have done with great shedding of blood and the death of many innocent men.

Meanwhile at Constantinople they began again to use compulsion on the most blessed Pope Vigilius, in order that, even if the African, Illyrian and Dalmatian bishops refused, he would join the Greek bishops in condemning the same chapters. But since the most blessed Pope Vigilius utterly refused his consent, they got an edict in the emperor's name to be posted both in the church of Constantinople and in various places, condemning the same

18 Procopius, *History of the Wars* IV. 25.22–26.33 narrates how Guntarith, the *dux* (military commander) of Numidia, murdered Areobindus in the palace at Carthage in 536 after Bishop Reparatus (a brother of Pope Vigilius) had given Areobindus an assurance of his personal safety.

19 These were two African bishops, Primasius of Hadrumetum and Verecundus of Junca, who had accompanied Reparatus to Constantinople (Victor of Tunnuna, *Chronicle* 143, *anno* 551) and signed Theodore Ascidas' excommunication and deposition in August 551 (p. 164 above). We learn from Victor of Tunnuna 145 (*anno* 552) that Verecundus died while in St Euphemia's.

20 This is Sirmond's suggested emendation ('inde unumquemque') of a corrupt text ('direxit in deum quisque').

chapters. When this happened, the most blessed pope admonished all the bishops in the following words: ‘Whoever agrees to give the edict his assent is to know that he is suspended from the communion of the apostolic see.’ The holy Datus bishop of Milan also gave his testimony before all when he exclaimed loudly, ‘Mark that both myself and all the priests of the region to which my church belongs, that is, Gaul, Burgundy, Spain, Liguria, Aemilia and Venetia, attest that whoever assents to the edict will be excluded from communion with the bishops of the above-mentioned provinces, since it is patent to me that the edict confounds the holy Synod of Chalcedon and the catholic faith.’

[22] For this reason the prince’s anger was incensed against the most blessed pope and against Bishop Datus, and they began to take such steps against them that, if they had not fled to the churches of the saints, they would have lost their lives. Even so, the most blessed pope Vigilius could not find a safe haven even in the church of St Peter, to the extent that the praetor, who deals only with thieves and murderers, was sent there, and with a host of soldiers carrying naked blades and drawn bows entered the aforesaid church. Seeing him, the holy pope grasped onto the columns of the altar; but the praetor, incited by raging anger, first had his deacons and clerics pulled by the hair and ejected from the sanctuary; and then most cruelly they tried to drag away the holy pope himself, some pulling at his feet, others at his hair and beard. But when he did not let go of the columns of the altar, the altar collapsed and some of the columns shattered, and as far as lay with them he would have been torn to pieces on the very altar. But God, who in such straits always vouchsafes his presence, moved to pity the minds of some of the soldiers themselves and of the people who had come to witness the commotion and who began to emit cries and shrieks; and so it happened that this iniquitous official, the aforesaid praetor, together with the assistants of his cruelty panicked and departed in flight. Afterwards, however, the most blessed pope, the holy bishop Datus, and all who had fled with them to the holy place, because no one was doing violence to them any more or extorting anything out of them over a church matter against their will, accepted oaths and so departed for the time being.

But daily they are causing trouble and anxiety in various ways both to them and to others in their service, bribing their clergy and servants and sending them in to stand in front of them and publicly abuse them and to eject from their residences some of those in their service. They, however, bear everything patiently with the help of God, while they give no assent to any novelties or to anything prejudicial to holy church. Some have even

been sent to the provinces of Italy to spread lies in their name, that is, [23] of the blessed pope and the holy bishop Datius, and thereby stir up, if they can, odium against them in those parts and secure the consecration in their place of other bishops who would assent to novelties. They have gone so far as to solicit at the same time a notary sprung from the servants of the most blessed pope who is reputed to imitate the hand of the holy pope, and, as we have learnt, have had some forged papers written in his name. Together with these papers they have also sent to Italy with the Gothic envoys a certain Stephen of his see and others they solicited, in order through forgery and deceit to incite the minds of some in those parts against the most blessed pope – may God not permit this to come about! In consequence we beseech and adjure your gloriousness by the coming judgement of our God, before which quails every human station of life, to communicate all this rapidly to your provinces, lest either their envoys deceive or a certain Anastasius, whom the holy bishop Aurelian of the city of Arles sent to the most blessed pope two years ago, spread lies there in Gaul; for he, when he could not leave Constantinople, contrived the scheme of promising that he would induce the minds of all the Gallic bishops to condemn the chapters over which these scandals have arisen. Giving him a substantial bribe, they made him swear them a strict oath to bring this about; and they did not allow the most blessed pope to send a letter by the same Anastasius to his brethren the Gallic bishops about what should be done in this case, but only on other matters and to the effect that he is guarding and preserving the catholic faith and the respect of the four synods according to the tradition of the fathers.

[24] Therefore may your prudence, in order to receive from almighty God a great recompense in this age and eternal life in the one to come, deign with all circumspection and speed to write to Provence, urging the bishops of those parts to send letters to the most blessed pope and the holy bishop Datius, declaring that they should refuse to accept any novelties and strengthening their spirits with fraternal encouragement. But in addition endeavour with God's help to do what you can in this matter in the imperial city and especially to give assistance to the holy bishop Datius, demanding that after fifteen or sixteen years he should at last be allowed to return to his own church, because almost all the bishops he ordained, according to custom, have died, as you well know, and a huge number of people are dying without baptism. Request also that you be permitted to visit the same holy Datius and to ask him the reason why he has not returned to his own church for such a long time.²¹ Deign to be on your guard, because those who want

21 Datius died in the early months of 552 before he could return to Italy.

the chapters to be condemned pretend that they are defending the catholic faith and share the respect of all of us for the Council of Chalcedon, with the intention that those who are ignorant of their purpose may desire something wrong.

But you, as Christian and noble men, take pains to bring the remedy and comfort you can to the priests of the Christian people, who are emitting groans from their very hearts under the burden of persecution, so that on the day of retribution God may bestow a great reward and glorious gifts in recompense. That all this has been perpetrated as described has been truly confirmed by trustworthy persons coming from Constantinople, and in addition that many cruelties have been perpetrated and are being perpetrated against various deacons and clergy of both Rome and Africa who refuse to give their consent, and that all Romans have been forbidden [25] access to the most blessed pope. About all this we have endeavoured anxiously to communicate these few particulars to your gloriousness, so that for the good of your souls you may be solicitous, above all other matters, to ponder over the cause that pertains especially to God, so that on the day of judgement, as has been said, you may find not punishment for negligence but a reward for good actions.

3. ENCYCLICAL LETTER, *DUM IN SANCTAE EUPHEMIAE* ²²

[1] Vigilius bishop of the holy catholic church of the city of Rome to the whole people of God.

While, suffering from a serious illness, we were detained in the basilica of St Euphemia, the most pious and most clement emperor on the Lord's Day five days before the Kalends of February²³ deigned to send to us his glorious officials, that is, Belisarius²⁴ and Cethegus,²⁵ ex-consuls and patricians, Peter ex-consul, patrician and *magister*,²⁶ also Justin ex-consul and

²² Latin text in Schwartz (1940), 1–10. The page references are to this edition.

²³ 28 January 552.

²⁴ Belisarius 1 in *PLRE* 3, 181–224. The most famous of Justinian's generals in Africa and Italy (533–49). Consul 535. Resident in Constantinople from 549. He frequently represented Justinian in dealings with Vigilius. Died in 565.

²⁵ *PLRE* 2, 281–2. Roman senator; consul in 504. A refugee in Constantinople from 547/8. Retired to Sicily after Vigilius' death.

²⁶ Petrus 6 in *PLRE* 3, 994–8. Master of the Offices 539–65. From 548 to 553 he frequently represented the emperor in negotiations with Vigilius and bishops from the west. See Facundus, *Pro defensione*, Pref. 3.

cura palatii,²⁷ Marcellus ex-consul and *comes excubitorum*,²⁸ and also the glorious Constantine, quaestor,²⁹ who were charged with telling us that we ought to accept their oaths and return from the church of St Euphemia to the imperial city. With God's help we gave them the following reply: 'We took refuge in this basilica with neither a financial nor a personal motive, but solely because of a cause of offence in the church that has already, for our sins, become notorious throughout the world. Accordingly, if the cause of the church is so ordered as to restore even now its peace, which the most pious prince established in the time of his uncle, I myself have no need of oaths and shall leave immediately. But if the cause of the church is not settled, I have no need of these oaths, because I intend never to leave the basilica of St Euphemia until the cause of offence has been removed from the church of God.'

For after the most pious prince had given orders for the posting of his edict and all the bishops from diverse parts and also the presbyters, [2] deacons and clergy of the church of Constantinople came to us in the Placidia Palace, before we took refuge in St Peter's Basilica, we addressed them as follows face to face: 'Ask the most pious prince to deign to remove his edict that he ordered to be posted, and [remind him] that he is obliged to wait for a common resolution, that is, that the bishops of the Latin language who have suffered from the scandal should either come to the synod or at least, free from all violence, declare their sentences in writing. But if perchance he refuses to hear your prayers, you should consent to nothing that tends to divide the church, nor should you for any reason infringe a common resolution, because if by chance you were to do this, which we do not believe, you are to know that from that very day onwards you are suspended as transgressors by the ministry of my voice from communion with the see of the blessed apostle Peter.'

After this not only were the offences committed in no way set right, but even on the same day for other reasons yet worse outrages were perpetrated in breach of the ecclesiastical canons and as an insult to the apostolic see.³⁰

27 Justinus 5 in *PLRE* 3, 754–6. Nephew of Justinian and his successor (565–78). Honorary consul. *Cura palatii* (in charge of the imperial place) till 565.

28 Marcellus 3 in *PLRE* 3, 814–6. Honorary consul. *Comes excubitorum* (commander of the palace guards) from at least 541. Described by Procopius, *History of the Wars* VII. 32.23 as austere and taciturn, but scrupulously truthful and honest.

29 Constantinus 4 in *PLRE* 3, 342–3. Quaestor of the Sacred Palace 548/9–c.564. Involved in negotiations with Vigilius from 551, he played a major role in Session VII. According to Procopius' hostile account (*Anecdota* 20. 20–3) he was arrogant and corrupt.

30 Ascidas' offences were to insert Apollinarius of Alexandria's name in the diptychs in

Consequently we did not permit them any longer to share in our communion, nor after so many transgressions did our eyes tolerate their sight. For what we had said in a public declaration about the afore-mentioned excommunication to all the bishops, presbyters, deacons and other clergy of the church of Constantinople we subsequently indeed (nineteen days before the Kalends of September lately past³¹ and in the Basilica of the Blessed Peter in Hormisdas) confirmed in a document in which we condemned and deposed from the episcopal order the one who under an episcopal appearance constantly sets the snares of a ravenous wolf on the Lord's flock and, assuming leadership of the whole cause of stumbling, has unsettled and unsettles the whole church of God; [3] and we suspended from communion the others who have been mentioned above.³² Till now, however, we have declined to make the document of condemnation public, because we trusted that the most clement prince, out of awareness of the divine judgement, would revoke what had been done, in view of such and so great a cause of stumbling, and also because it was incumbent on us, imitating the blessed Peter whose see we occupy, unworthy though we are, to allow all the afore-mentioned persons time for repentance. The actual document of excommunication and condemnation we entrusted to the keeping of a certain Christian person, in order that, if by any chance those who had transgressed utterly refused to amend, or if violence of some kind were committed against us or we were to suffer some indisposition, or if, certainly, by the lot of mankind we were to depart from this light, he should thereupon post it in the most frequented places, so that knowledge of it should reach all Christians and be preserved in future.³³

When we related this to the aforesaid officials, we asked and conjured them, invoking the judgement of God almighty, to inform in our name the most clement emperor of this also, that he ought not to communicate with those excommunicated by ourselves, among whom has been condemned the one whom we mentioned above, lest (which God forbid) he incur a grave sin.

place of Zoilus' and to celebrate the issuing of the edict with a solemn liturgy; see p. 163 above.

31 14 August 551.

32 This document is the letter excommunicating Ascidas and Menas, translated above. The ravenous wolf is Theodore.

33 According to a fragmentary document penned by Vigilius' clergy the decree was posted in the churches and public places of Constantinople soon after the composition of this letter (Mansi, IX, 56–8).

At this juncture there was brought to us on the day before the Kalends of February³⁴ by the magnificent *referendarius* Peter a letter that we could not at all believe to have been sent by the most clement prince, because it had not been signed by the hand of his piety. When we told the afore-mentioned *referendarius* to sign it and equally specify the day on which he had brought it, he totally declined to do so, a fact that openly confirmed our suspicion [4] that the most pious prince had no knowledge of the letter; for it proved to be packed with matter so removed from the truth and with such insults that the mildness of the imperial mouth could never be believed to have dictated it, least of all against the vicar of that first of the apostles to whose reverence he had formerly in frequent letters professed himself indebted. Even though the said document has no validity in itself, yet with the help of God a true and direct reply should be made to each of its points, so that its falsity, a thing that is always hateful to wise men, may be more fully rejected by the minds of all. We have now also been solicitous to inform everybody that we departed to the basilica of St Euphemia under the pressure of great fear and anxiety.

For when we took refuge in the Basilica of the Blessed Peter, built in Hormisdas,³⁵ in the month of August lately past, we trust that no one is unaware that in this very church the suite of the praetor came with a mass of armed soldiers in serried array as if for war and tried to drag us by our feet from its sacred altar; we gripped onto it, and the very table of the altar would have fallen on top of us, had it not been held up by the hands of our clergy. Afterwards when we were told that we would be dragged from there with all violence unless we consented to accept oaths, and the said officials sent by the most pious emperor wanted to make us oaths, we presented a formula with which we asked a sworn pledge to be given to our person in writing. The most clement prince, granting not the one we wished to receive but one that pleased himself, gave orders for this to be given by his officials. And when the formula was placed on the altar and on the stocks of the blessed Peter the apostle, the oft-mentioned officials took a bodily³⁶ oath over a cross that contained within it a piece of the wood of the Lord's passion and also over the keys of the blessed Peter the apostle. We then returned to the Placidia Palace according to the most pious prince's will, expecting to suffer no further maltreatment.

[5] In this place, while we frequently suffered much intolerable maltreat-

34 31 January 552.

35 The Hormisdas Palace, adjacent to the emperor's own residence.

36 That is, they touched the relics while reciting the oath.

ment, which we trust is already known to everyone, we thought it right a first, second and third time to adjure the aforesaid officials (both by word, when as often they were sent to us by the most clement prince, and in writing) to keep the oaths they had given and to request the most pious emperor that, as had been sworn to us, we should suffer no anxiety or molestation. When our frequent adjuration in word or writing achieved nothing, but each day our sufferings worsened, two days before the Lord's nativity³⁷ we discovered ourselves and heard with our ears that at every entrance of the afore-mentioned palace we were under guard, in such a way that those who laid snares for us were seen by many of our men and in the bedchamber where we were we could hear their shouting on the night of our departure. At this, in acute desperation, particularly during the night hours, and gripped by a sickening terror, we fled, in a way that all will be able to learn from the place itself: for if they examine the nature and extent of the danger that we overlooked in our fear, so that we were compelled to pass through a thin wall under construction with pain to our feet and in the darkness of night, then they will be able to ascertain how great were the pressures of the moment upon us, for the cause of the church alone, and how strict the guard that forced us to depart in conditions of such danger.

Lest, however, anyone by any chance, as is the malice of wicked men, were to tell any lies about our teaching to religious minds that fear God, we have thought it necessary to append a declaration of our faith to this short account of the maltreatment we have suffered.³⁸ Let therefore all know that we proclaim, hold and defend that faith, handed down by the apostles and kept inviolably by their successors, which the venerable synod of Nicaea with 318 fathers received by revelation from the Holy Spirit and expressed in a creed. **[6]** Subsequently three other holy synods, that of Constantinople with 150 fathers held in the time of the prince Theodosius I of pious memory, that of Ephesus I, at which our predecessor Pope Celestine and Bishop Cyril of Alexandria presided, and that of Chalcedon with 630 fathers, which convened in the time of the emperor Marcian of pious memory and at which our predecessor Pope Leo of holy memory presided through his legates and representatives, proclaimed the same faith with one and the same understanding and spirit, according to the need to condemn the opposition of various heresies, and issued it far and wide.

This is why our Lord, against the fierceness of errors of this kind, gave

³⁷ 23 December 551.

³⁸ The following profession of faith is close, and in some parts identical, to one indited by Vigilius on 25 August 551 (Mansi, IX, 57–8).

heavenly weapons to the pastoral office, commending it to the most blessed Peter the apostle in a threefold precept with the words, ‘Feed my sheep.’³⁹ The task of feeding was rightly entrusted to the one whose glorious profession of faith had been praised by the mouth of the Lord. For when he made a saving profession and said, ‘You are the Christ, the Son of the living God,’ he was repaid with perpetual blessedness, called ‘son of the dove’,⁴⁰ and given the keys of the kingdom of heaven. When the Lord asked him on this occasion who men were saying the son of man to be, he professed in a marvellous concision of question and reply that he, the same, was the Son of man and of God, ‘You are the Christ, the Son of the living God,’ revealing, of course, the mystery of his most sacred incarnation, since in a unity of person that preserved the distinctive character of both natures the same was both man and God – that which he took within time from his ever-virgin mother and that which, born from the Father before the ages, he continued to be.⁴¹

Uniting flesh to himself without mingling or division or change, and hypostatically, God the Word came as our Emmanuel,⁴² awaited because of the announcement in the law and the prophets. [7] And so ‘the Word became flesh and dwelt among us,’⁴³ complete in what is his own and complete in what is ours,⁴⁴ taking from the womb flesh with a rational and intellectual soul and, as it is written, ‘building himself a house,’⁴⁵ ‘as a spouse coming forth from his chamber’⁴⁶ in an effable and saving mystery, the one who ‘in the beginning was the Word and the Word with God and the Word was God,’⁴⁷ God the Son of God, incarnate from the holy Spirit and from the blessed Mary ever Virgin. He took on the very origin of manhood,⁴⁸ in order to make us co-heirs of his eternity; he deigned to share in our nature, so that he could make us partake of his immortality; he became poor, although he was rich, in order that by his poverty we might be enriched.⁴⁹ By cancelling

39 John 21:15–17.

40 “‘Blessed are you, Simon Bar-Jonah!’” (Mt 16:17): ‘Jonah’ in Hebrew means ‘dove.’

41 ‘Christ’ in Peter’s confession is understood to refer to his manhood, and ‘Son of the living God’ to his Godhead.

42 The title Emmanuel (‘God with us’, Mt 1:23) refers to the incarnation.

43 Jn 1:14.

44 This last clause is taken from the Tome of Leo (in vol. 2, 52).

45 Prov 9:1.

46 Ps 18:6.

47 Jn 1:1.

48 That is, birth.

49 Cf. 2 Cor 8:9.

the bond of our offences he forgave everything that was ours,⁵⁰ as the vessel of election⁵¹ taught, ‘Although he was in the form of God, he did not think it robbery to be equal with God, but emptied himself, receiving the form of a servant; being made in the likeness of men and being found in appearance as a man, he humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, even death on a cross.’⁵² This he accomplished by the secret of so inscrutable a mystery and dispensation that ‘the mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus’,⁵³ bound by the curse by which the first earthly man was held in the bonds of death, as the second heavenly man brought remission by crushing death with death.⁵⁴ The Son of God suffered for us in the flesh, was crucified in the flesh, died in the flesh, and rose on the third day, with the result that, while his divine nature remained impassible and the truth of our flesh was preserved, we ascribe both the sufferings and the miracles to one and the same Jesus Christ our Lord and God,⁵⁵ in order that the body of the whole church, looking at the glorification of our head, may await at the advent of future glory the same first-fruits in those who are his members as it beholds in our head, that is, in Christ God and Lord, [risen] from the dead.⁵⁶ Therefore he as our redeemer is seated at the right hand of the Father, and is one and the same without either a merger of the two natures [8] or a division of the person, acknowledged and abiding from two natures and in two natures,⁵⁷ whence he will come to judge the living and the dead.

Meanwhile the Father is of a nature that is one in Godhead, equal and undivided, with the same only-begotten Son and the Holy Spirit. The fullness of this faith was entrusted by our Lord after the resurrection to the apostles, when he said, ‘Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.’⁵⁸ He said ‘in the name’, not ‘in the names’, so that in those who have one power, one authority, one Godhead, one eternity, one glory, one omnipotence, one blessedness, one activity and one nature there should also be found the wholeness of a single name. Nothing indeed in the Godhead is divided, since it is only

50 Cf. Col 2:13–14.

51 St Paul.

52 Phil 2:6–8.

53 1 Tim 2:5.

54 Cf. 1 Cor 15:47, Gal 3:13, Heb 2:14.

55 Cf. Anathema 3 in Justinian’s edict *On the orthodox faith* (pp. 143–4 above).

56 Cf. 1 Cor 15:20, 23.

57 For the combination of the formulae ‘from two natures’ and ‘in two natures’, see p. 126 above.

58 Mt 28:19.

the individual property of the persons that is marked out by a clear distinction; accordingly everything that the Trinity is remains consubstantial and undivided Godhead.

This faith that I have briefly recounted, and which accords with the teaching of the prophets and apostles, was expounded more fully by the declaration of the fathers listed above, when, as we have said, they either refuted the opposition of the attacks of the heretics or proclaimed to good effect the authority of the orthodox doctrines. This faith is also contained in the praiseworthy profession of the above-mentioned four synods and likewise of our blessed predecessors, when they wrote letters on the purity of the faith, a profession that is proved to be similar in all respects, and different in none, to the teaching of the see of the first of the apostles. The heretics who deny this faith, or anything defined by our holy fathers at the above-listed four councils, we condemn, that is, Arius, Macedonius, Eunomius⁵⁹ together with their doctrines, and all who have assented or assent to their error. We also anathematize Paul of Samosata, Photinus, Bonosus, and Nestorius,⁶⁰ together with their heinous doctrines, and whoever gives or gave assent in any way or at any time to their blasphemies. Likewise we anathematize Valentinus, Mani, Apollinaris, and Eutyches, and likewise his advocate Dioscorus,⁶¹ together with their execrable [9] interpretations and declarations, and all who remained enmeshed in their errors until the day of their death. If we have omitted by name any heretics who were stained with the corruption of any error and continued so until their death, we condemn, reject and repudiate them, together with their own errors. It is solely the catholic faith, which as handed down from the apostles was accepted in the above-listed four holy councils and as expounded in their teaching was transmitted down to our times by their successors, that through the working of the Lord's grace we guard inviolate.

Because no Christian should have an uncertain knowledge of what has happened down to the present day, even after so extensive and full a report we shall recount in the same way [what now]⁶² has taken place.⁶³ Yesterday,

59 All three were credited with denying the doctrine of the Trinity.

60 All four were credited with regarding Christ as a mere man.

61 These names represent the opposite tendency, of denying the full and true manhood of Christ. The inclusion of Dioscorus in the list was controversial, since it was not clear that Chalcedon had condemned him as a heretic (Price and Gaddis, II, 33–4) and since the miaphysites regarded him as a confessor for the faith.

62 This translates Schwartz's suggested supplement ('*quae nunc*') to a short lacuna.

63 This final section is a postscript.

that is, on the Lord's Day, the day before the Nones of February,⁶⁴ the magnificent *referendarius* Peter returned to us with instructions from the most clement prince, saying: 'When do you want the officials to come and make you oaths so that you can leave this church in which you are staying and return in safety to the imperial city?' We replied to him in public as follows: 'As we said before, we sent the instructions given above through the glorious palace officials whom your magnificence accompanied to St Euphemia's; and now we ask you to make the following request yet again to the most clement prince: "Seven years ago, when we hastened to your piety, we left our city without having any private business to negotiate. Now too we make request and petition for the peace which God gave formerly to the church through your piety, that you allow it no longer to be disturbed by anyone's scheming, and that you do not permit Theodore, the originator of the whole cause of stumbling, to unsettle the catholic faith any more, because six months ago together with others he was deprived by us of sacred communion and deposed from the episcopacy because of his wickedness, through, namely, a document which in view of our perception of your mildness and our hope in his repentance we have till now, as has been said, [10] postponed publishing."⁶⁵ We convey this to his ears equally through your greatness, because on the cause of the church we are unable to give any reply through you, for the reason that you claim to be unable to convey a proposal that we tell you should be relayed to his clemency. Consequently if, sending two officials whose names we have now given you, he deigns to provide oaths that he will afterwards accept as our representatives our brother Datus bishop of Milan and others whom we send with him, without fear of danger, we are prepared to give directions that through them our instructions on the cause of the church be truthfully communicated.'

Even if in the cause of the church we make no demands that oaths be given to us, yet we shall soon hasten to his piety to convey our thanks, since there is nothing apart from the cause of offence that, with the help of God, alarms us and makes us stay longer in the basilica of St Euphemia. We entreat our God and hope with tireless prayers that he may end dissension and swiftly⁶⁶ restore to the church the peace that he himself made in the time of his uncle of pious memory. For if there is any further delay, we shall be

64 4 February 552.

65 The document excommunicating Ascidas and Menas, translated above, while dated to 14 August 551, was not published till after this encyclical had been issued, probably in mid-February.

66 I adopt Schwartz's suggested emendation of 'quam igitur' to 'velociter.'

obliged to issue a comprehensive ruling on the case, in view of the fact that we put neither those nearest to us nor other relatives nor any property above our soul and the reputation of the most pious prince.

Issued on the Nones of February in the twenty-fifth year of the emperor lord Justinian perpetual Augustus and in the tenth year after the consulship of the most illustrious Basil.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ 5 February 552.

THE ACTS OF THE COUNCIL OF 553

SESSIONS I-V

THE FIRST SESSION

INTRODUCTION

The council opened on Monday 5 May 553, with the presentation by an envoy from the emperor Justinian, the silentiary Theodore, of a letter from the emperor, addressed to the council and with the same date. The letter (7) begins with a brief history of the ecumenical councils, stressing the cooperation of emperor and council in the condemnation of heresy. This leads to a discussion of the Three Chapters, whose defenders are presented as Nestorians attempting to exploit the decrees of Chalcedon. Justinian contrasts the readiness of the eastern bishops to condemn the chapters with the tergiversations of Pope Vigilius. After a profession of faith in the four previous councils and the teaching of the Church Fathers, he proceeds to set the council's agenda – an examination of the Three Chapters, including the question of the propriety of posthumous anathematization; Justinian not only sets the matters to be examined but also informs the bishops of the conclusions to be drawn. The concluding sentence ('When someone who is asked about the orthodox faith procrastinates at length, it is nothing other than a denial of orthodox profession...') was a clear threat against Vigilius, if he continued to remain uncooperative.

The chairman, Patriarch Eutychius of Constantinople, proceeded to read out an exchange of letters between himself and Vigilius, in the first week of January, in which he had invited Vigilius to attend the council as its president,¹ and Vigilius had seemingly expressed his consent (10–11). At this point Eutychius with nineteen other senior bishops went and visited Vigilius, pressing him to come to the council, while the other bishops waited behind. They returned to report that Vigilius had declined to give them an immediate reply, alleging ill health (13).

¹ As the senior bishop Vigilius would be the nominal president. But as a western bishop in a council dominated by easterners, and hampered by depending on interpreters, he would have been in no position to control the proceedings.

Two small details may be noted. Justinian's letter is dated to the very day of the session (5 May). The letter, and the opening of the council, had been delayed in the vain hope that Vigilius would change his stance. Secondly, Vigilius in replying to Eutychius quotes the whole of Eutychius' letter; the implication is that he did not trust his correspondent not to make later changes to the letter in a way that would place him (Vigilius) in a bad light.

This profitless session brought out the flaw in the whole proceedings: as Justinian observed in his letter, the eastern bishops had already condemned the Three Chapters years before. The only reason for holding an ecumenical council was to involve Pope Vigilius, but if he refused to take part in it, or at least to authorize its proceedings, it could achieve nothing. The minutes convey the frustration of the bishops and the emperor, the courtesy of the former and the mounting exasperation of the latter.

PROCEEDINGS

1. [3] In the twenty-seventh year of our lord Justinian perpetual Augustus and in the twelfth year after the consulship of the most illustrious Basil, three days before the Nones of May in the first indiction,² there were seated in the consistory of the venerable episcopal palace of this imperial city:³ (1)⁴ Eutychius the most holy patriarch of imperial Constantinople New Rome, (2) Apollinarius the most holy archbishop of the great city of Alexandria, (3) Domninus the most holy patriarch of the great city of Theopolis [Antioch], (4–6) Stephen the most religious bishop of Raphia, George the most religious bishop of Tiberias, and Damian the most religious bishop of Sozusa, [all] representing Eustochius the most holy bishop of Jerusalem,⁵ (7) Benignus the most religious bishop of Heraclea in Pelagonia, representing Helias the most blessed bishop of Thessalonica, (8) Theodore the most religious bishop of Caesarea in the province of Cappadocia Prima, (9) Andrew the most

2 5 May 553. Surius' edition (see p. 104 above) gives the date as 'four days before the Nones of May', i.e. 4 May; this, however, was a Sunday, when the council will not have sat. See Hefele (1909), 68 for the regularity of councils beginning on Mondays.

3 This was a great hall connecting the cathedral of Hagia Sophia with the imperial palace. See Ebersolt (1910), 26.

4 In the following list the manuscripts number the bishops, inaccurately. I adopt the corrected numbering provided in *ACO*. For this and the other bishops' lists in the acts and further annotation see Appendix 2 (vol. 2, 287–97).

5 Eustochius had only just arrived in Jerusalem as the new patriarch (being appointed at Constantinople in December 552) and doubtless felt that he needed to stay in his see.

religious bishop of Ephesus, (10) Sextilian the most religious bishop of Tunis, representing Primosus the most religious bishop of Carthage,⁶ (11) Megethius the most religious bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, (12) Anastasius the most religious bishop of Tavium, representing Dorotheus the most religious bishop of Ancyra, (13) John the most devout bishop of Ilium, representing Euprepus the most religious bishop of the city of Cyzicus,⁷ (14) Eusebius the most religious bishop of Tyre, [4] (15) John the most religious bishop of Nicomedia, (16) Stephen the most religious bishop of Nicaea, (17) Constantine the most religious bishop of Chalcedon, (18) Peter the most religious bishop of Tarsus, (19) John the most devout bishop of Cucusus, representing Palladius the most religious bishop of Melitene, (20) John the most religious bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, (21) Pompeianus the most religious bishop in [the province of] Byzacena,⁸ (22) Amazonius the most religious bishop of Edessa, (23) Alexander the most religious bishop of Gangra, (24) Thomas the most religious bishop of Apamea in Syria, (25) Euphrantas the most religious bishop of Tyana, (26) Theodore the most religious bishop of Hierapolis in Syria, (27) Bosporius the most religious bishop of Neocaesarea, (28) John the most religious bishop of Bostra, (29) Philip the most religious bishop of Myra, (30) Theodore the most religious bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, (31) Julian the most religious bishop of Sardis, (32) Theodore the most religious bishop of Gortyna, (33) Eustathius the most religious bishop of Damascus, (34) Theodosius the most religious bishop of Rhodes, (35) Firmus the most religious bishop of Tipasa in the province of Africa,⁹ (36) Theodore the most religious bishop of Antioch in Pisidia, (37) Phocas the most religious bishop of Stobi, (38) Eulogius the most religious bishop of Perge, (39) Severianus the most religious bishop of Aphrodisias, (40) Cyriacus the most religious bishop of Amida, (41) Severus the most religious bishop of Synnada, (42) Peter the

⁶ Bishop Reparatus of Carthage had been deposed in 551 for refusing to condemn the Three Chapters. The pliant Primosus was imposed by the government as his successor (Victor of Tunnuna, *Chronicle*, an. 552).

⁷ Note the distinction, regular in the acts, between a metropolitan bishop, who is 'most religious' (*religiosissimus* = θεοσεβέστατος), and a suffragan bishop, who is 'most devout' (*reverentissimus* = εὐλαβέστατος). These Greek equivalents are clear from the Acts of Chalcedon, although this distinction in honorifics between metropolitans and suffragans is post-Chalcedonian.

⁸ The name of his see, Victoriana, is given at Acts VIII. 6.21.

⁹ Firmus owed his high place in the list to being the primate of the Council of Numidia (Victor of Tunnuna, *Chronicle*, anno 552. 2), a position dependent not on the see but on seniority.

most religious bishop of Side, (43) Abramius the most religious bishop of Sergiopolis, (44) Asignius the most devout bishop of Trajanopolis, representing John the most religious bishop of Laodicea in Phrygia Pacatiana, (45) John the most religious bishop of Hadrianopolis in Thrace, (46) Crescens¹⁰ the most religious bishop of Cuicul, [5] (47) Theodosius the most religious bishop of Justinianopolis in Cappadocia Secunda,¹¹ (48) Stephen the most religious bishop of Laodicea or Theodorias,¹² (49) Auxanon the most religious bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, (50) Eustathius the most religious bishop of Maximianopolis, (51) Aetherius the most religious bishop of Anazarbus, (52) Domitius the most religious bishop of Chalcis, (53) Valerian the most religious bishop of Obba in the province of Africa, (54) Dionysius the most religious bishop of Seleucia in Syria, (55) Theodore the most religious bishop of Druzipara, (56) Severus the most religious bishop of Pompeiopolis in Paphlagonia, (57) George the most religious bishop of Cypsela Justiniana [Nova], (58) Romanus the most devout bishop of Gabala, (59) George the most devout bishop of Justinianopolis in Armenia,¹³ (60) John the most devout bishop of Nyssa, (61) Basil the most devout bishop of Justiniana Nova¹⁴ Camuliana, (62) John the most devout bishop of Barcusa, (63) Cresconius the most devout bishop of Zattara in the province of Numidia, (64) Sergius the most devout bishop of Cynopolis in Aegyptus Secunda, (65) Christopher the most devout bishop of Arcadiopolis in Asia, (66) Theodosius the most devout bishop of Byblus, (67) Leontius the most devout bishop of Arca, (68) John the most devout bishop of Myrina, (69) Alexander the most devout bishop of Amphipolis, (70) Stephen the most devout bishop of Clysmas, (71) Thomas the most devout bishop of Verisa, (72) Aristodemus the most devout bishop of Philomelium, (73) Thalelaeus the most devout bishop of Hadrianopolis in Pisidia, (74) Theoclistus the most devout bishop of Erythrae, (75) Diogenianus the most devout bishop of Sozopolis, (76) Bassus the most devout bishop of Tamiathis, (77) Anatolius the most devout bishop of Cyme, (78) Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cratia, (79) Restitutus the most devout bishop of Milevum in the province of Africa, (80) Theodore the most devout bishop of Leontopolis in

10 The attendance lists give his name as 'Cresconius', but he signed the canons of the council as 'Crescens' (VIII. 6.57).

11 It was by this date the capital of the new province of Cappadocia III; see Acts V. 48–9.

12 Theodorias was the name of the province for which Laodicea was the capital, though for ecclesiastical purposes it remained part of Syria I.

13 It was still in Cappadocia I for ecclesiastical purposes.

14 I adopt the form that appears in the subscription list (Acts VIII. 6.61). In the attendance lists the name is 'Justinianopolis'.

Egypt, [6] (81) Aemilianus the most devout bishop of Antipyrgus, (82) Conon the most devout bishop of Magydus, (83) Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Prusa, (84) George the most devout bishop of Ptolemais, (85) Soterus the most devout bishop of Aulon, (86) Zosimus the most devout bishop of Antandrus, (87) Cyprian the most devout bishop of Corycus, (88) Helias the most devout bishop of Diocletianopolis, (89) Theonas the most devout bishop of Cusae, (90) Theodore the most devout bishop of Limyra, (91) Gennadius the most devout bishop of Zenonopolis, (92) Asyncretius the most devout bishop of Aradus, (93) Stephen the most devout bishop of Botrys, (94) Philip the most devout bishop of Phellus, (95) Menas the most devout bishop from Myriangeli, (96) Genethlius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum, (97) Thomas the most devout bishop of Constantia, (98) Theodore the most devout bishop of Leontopolis, (99) Severus the most devout bishop of Tabae, (100) Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Halicarnassus, (101) Cosmas the most devout bishop of Mallus, (102) Dionysius the most devout bishop of Megara, (103) Callinicus the most devout bishop of Opus, (104) Paschasius the most devout bishop of Aegium, (105) Erasimus the most devout bishop of Cibyra, (106) John the most devout bishop of Neocaesarea in Euphratensis, (107) Nonnus the most devout bishop of Dausara, (108) Stephen the most devout bishop of Balanae, (109) Thomas the most devout bishop of Circesium, (110) Anatolius the most devout bishop of Sebaste, (111) Constantine the most devout bishop of Midaeum, (112) Macarius the most devout bishop of Prymnessus, (113) Megas the most devout bishop of Meirus, (114) Thalelaeus the most devout bishop of Isinda, (115) Nicetas the most devout bishop of Epiphaneia, (116) Alexander the most devout bishop of Dionysopolis, [7] (117) Pelagius the most devout bishop of Aezani, (118) Hieron the most devout bishop of Anastasiopolis in Phrygia, (119) Glaucus the most devout bishop of Alia, (120) Procopius the most devout bishop from Antinoopolis, (121) Peter the most devout bishop of Domitiopolis, (122) John the most devout bishop of Colonia, (123) Uranius the most devout bishop of Tralles, (124) John the most devout bishop of Ceraseis, (125) Phronimus the most devout bishop of Sanaus, (126) Macedonius the most devout bishop of Justinianopolis in Bithynia, (127) Ecdicius the most devout bishop of Tenus, (128) Eulogius the most devout bishop of Danaba, (129) Theodore the most devout bishop of Coradea, (130) Helpidophorus the most devout bishop of Anastasiopolis in Caria, (131) Cyrion the most devout bishop of Dadima, (132) Theodore the most devout bishop of Laodicea, (133) Silas the most devout bishop of Tiberiopolis, (134) Diogenes the most devout bishop of Augustopolis, (135)

Theodore the most devout bishop of Ingila, (136) Julian the most devout bishop of Zeugma, (137) Dorymenius the most devout bishop of Adraa, (138) John the most devout bishop of Lerus, (139) Theodore the most devout bishop of Gargara, (140) Theodore the most devout bishop of Comana, (141) Rufinus the most devout bishop of Sebasteia in Armenia,¹⁵ (142) Conon the most devout bishop of Sennea, (143) Cyriacus the most devout bishop of Casae, (144) Sisinnius the most devout bishop of Praenetus, (145) Julian the most devout bishop of Batnae, (146) Anastasius the most devout bishop of Rachla, (147) Theodore the most devout bishop of Porthmus, (148) Paul the most devout bishop of Stectorium, (149) Stephen the most devout bishop of Amaseia, (150) Paul the most devout bishop of Adrassus, (151) Evander the most devout bishop of Cnidus, (152) Menas the most devout bishop of Carpathus.

2. [8] Diodore, archdeacon and *primicerius* of the most devout notaries, said: ‘Theodore, a *spectabilis*¹⁶ and silentiary, is outside your most religious consistory, sent by the most pious and most Christian emperor. What we propose depends on your good pleasure.’

3. The most holy archbishop and patriarch Euty chius said: ‘Let him enter.’

4. When this had been done, the most holy archbishop and patriarch Apollinarius said: ‘For what reason has your greatness come to us?’

5. Theodore, *spectabilis* and silentiary, said: ‘Our most pious and most Christian master has sent me to your beatitudes¹⁷ to give you a most pious document to be read before your holy council.’

6. The most holy archbishop and patriarch Dominus said: ‘Let the most pious document that the magnificent Theodore has mentioned be appropriately received and read.’

7. And when Stephen, deacon, notary and secretary, had received it, he read out:¹⁸

15 Both this bishop and Stephen of Amaseia (149 below) were metropolitan bishops whose names should have appeared higher up in the list; see vol. 2, 297.

16 A dignity of diminishing importance in the sixth century; see Jones (1964), 528–30.

17 The patriarchs presiding at the council (see n. 67 below).

18 The Greek of §§1–3 below can be largely recovered from Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon* (ed. de Boor), II, 633,21–635,6. But since it abridges details of the wording, I keep to the Latin, with notable variants indicated in footnotes, most of which may well preserve the original Greek text.

In the name of our Lord God Jesus Christ, the emperor Caesar Flavius Justinianus Alamannicus Gothicus Francicus Germanicus Anticus Alanicus Vandalicus Africanus,¹⁹ pious and fortunate, celebrated and triumphant victor, perpetual Augustus, to the most blessed bishops and patriarchs Eutychius of Constantinople, Apollinarius of Alexandria, Domninus of Theopolis, the most religious bishops Stephen, George and Damian, representing Eustochius the most blessed archbishop of Jerusalem and patriarch, and the other most religious bishops from various provinces staying in this imperial city.

(1) It was always the concern²⁰ of the orthodox and pious emperors²¹ our fathers to cut off through an assembly of most religious bishops the heresies that had arisen at the time, and through the pure proclamation of the orthodox faith to keep the holy church of God in peace. For this reason, when Arius was blaspheming and asserting that the Son is not consubstantial with God the Father but a creature made from the non-existent, Constantine of pious memory assembled at Nicaea from the various dioceses²² 318 holy fathers. He himself attended the council, assisting those who professed that the Son is consubstantial with the Father; and when the Arian impiety had been condemned, he exerted himself in securing the orthodox faith. Therefore, when the holy creed or instruction on the faith had been issued, the holy fathers professed by it [9] that the Son is consubstantial to God the Father, which until that time had been doubted by very many.²³

(2) Also, when Macedonius was denying the divinity of the Holy Spirit and when Apollinarius and his disciple Magnus²⁴ were blaspheming against the dispensation of the incarnate God the Word and asserting that God the Word did not receive a human mind but was united to flesh possessed of an irrational soul, Theodosius the Elder of pious memory assembled 150 holy fathers in the imperial city; and after he himself had taken part in the council and the aforesaid heretics had been condemned together with their impious doctrines, he had the orthodox faith proclaimed. For the same holy fathers, following the exposition of the orthodox faith by the 318 holy fathers, added

19 For the titulature see p. 127, n. 28 above.

20 This opening ('Semper studium fuit') is identified by Honoré (1975), 111 as being characteristic of letters composed by Justinian himself.

21 Greek: 'of those who reigned before us orthodoxly and piously.'

22 Groups of secular provinces.

23 Greek: 'which is celebrated and believed in till now' – manifestly a pious emendation, correcting what might otherwise be read as an anticipation of the claim by the seventeenth-century scholar Petavius that pre-Nicene theology was close to Arianism.

24 The reference to 'Magnus the Apollinarian' is problematic; see p. 142, n. 71 above.

clarification on the divinity of the Holy Spirit and issued perfect teaching on the dispensation of the incarnate God the Word.²⁵

(3) Again when the impious Nestorius asserted that God the Word is someone other than Christ and impiously put forward that the former is the Son of God the Father by nature and the latter Son by grace, denying that the holy and glorious Ever-Virgin is *Theotokos*, and when the same Nestorius had filled almost all the parts of the east with his impiety, Theodosius the Younger of pious memory assembled the holy First Council of Ephesus,²⁶ at which the holy fathers Celestine and Cyril presided, and by sending officials²⁷ who were to attend the council forced Nestorius himself to go there and judgement on his account to proceed.²⁸ When this investigation²⁹ had taken place, the same holy fathers, following in all respects the decrees on the faith issued by the earlier holy fathers, condemned Nestorius together with his impiety.³⁰ After these developments, when the followers of the impious Nestorius rose against Cyril,³¹ they endeavoured, as far as in them lay, to undo the condemnation that had been issued against Nestorius; but the aforesaid Theodosius of pious memory, defending the just judgements against Nestorius and his impiety, confirmed the force of the condemnation issued against him.³² Again after this, when the insane Eutyches gained attention by denying that the Lord's flesh is consubstantial with us, and much was transacted both at Constantinople and at Ephesus, so great were the machinations of the heretics on his behalf that Flavian of religious memory, bishop of the imperial city, was even deposed on his account.³³

(4) However, Marcian of pious memory assembled the holy fathers at

25 The reference is to the texts attributed to the Council of Constantinople of 381 – a version of the creed which on the subject of the divinity of the Holy Spirit ‘clarified’ the teaching of the original Nicene Creed (as stated in the Chalcedonian Definition) and Canon 1, which condemned the heresies of Marcellus, Photinus and Apollinarius (Stevenson/Frend 1989, 116).

26 The Greek adds: ‘of the 200 holy fathers.’

27 Garnier in PG 84. 488D thinks to detect a confusion with Ephesus II, to which Theodosius sent two officials (cf. Acts of Chalcedon I. 49, Price and Gaddis, I, 137–8), while only Candidianus was sent to Ephesus I. But Justinian's language is imprecise rather than erroneous.

28 This glosses over the divisions: the session of Ephesus that condemned Nestorius was held contrary to the instructions of the official (Candidianus) sent by the emperor to direct the proceedings, who prevented Nestorius attending. See Price and Gaddis, I, 20–2.

29 Greek: ‘a meticulous investigation.’

30 Greek: ‘together with those who shared his opinions.’

31 Greek: ‘the most sacred Cyril.’

32 This could refer to Theodosius' acceptance of Nestorius' ‘resignation’ at the end of 431 (see Chadwick 2001, 536), but more probably to the edict condemning Nestorianism of 436 (p. 369, below).

33 See Price and Gaddis, I, 25–33.

Chalcedon, and when great contention arose between the bishops he attended the council not only through his officials but also in his own person,³⁴ and led them all into agreement.³⁵ These holy fathers, following in everything the definitions on the faith issued by the aforesaid three holy councils and their verdicts on the condemnation of the heretics and on their impiety, condemned and anathematized the insane Eutyches and his impious doctrines and also Nestorius with his impious doctrines, because even then some had been eager to defend Nestorius and his impious doctrines.³⁶ In addition the same holy fathers at Chalcedon anathematized those who had handed down or hand down another creed besides the one that had been issued by the 318 holy fathers and clarified by the 150 holy fathers.³⁷

(5) So because all this had come about at various times, [10] our aforesaid holy fathers of pious memory confirmed and reinforced by their decrees the decisions made at each council, and expelled the heretics who tried to oppose the definitions of the aforesaid holy four councils and to disrupt the churches.

(6) At the decease of Marcian of divine memory, when there was contention in various places over the holy Council of Chalcedon, Leo of pious memory wrote to all priests everywhere that each of them should declare his own judgement on the same holy council; and without waiting for each other they replied to the question that had been put to them.³⁸ After a short space of time, however, the followers of Nestorius and Eutyches rose again and caused such commotion in the holy churches of God that divisions and schisms occurred in them and the churches had no communion with each other; for no one going from city to city dared to communicate, nor did a cleric going from one city to another dare to function in a church.³⁹

34 Marcian attended the sixth session of 25 October 451, at which the Definition was solemnly read and approved (Price and Gaddis, II, 206–16).

35 Of the 370 bishops (or their representatives) who attended the council, all but the 20 Egyptians were required to sign the Definition; *ibid.* 207.

36 The Definition condemned the views of Eutyches and Nestorius, though not by name. The alleged defenders of Nestorius were Theodoret and Ibas.

37 This confirmation of Canon 7 of Ephesus I (Price and Gaddis, I, 323) comes at the end of the Chalcedonian Definition (*ibid.* II, 204–5). Canon 7 was directed against a creed attributed to Theodore of Mopsuestia. Justinian's introduction of a past tense ('had handed down'), absent from the passage he is citing, is intended to imply that Theodore had fallen under Chalcedon's anathematization.

38 The replies to the consultation by the emperor Leo in 457/8 are contained in the *Codex Encyclius* (ACO 2.5, pp. 9–98). For an analysis see Grillmeier (1987), 195–235.

39 Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.* III. 30 (quoted above, p. 7) gives a similar account of the tensions in the eastern churches after the issuing of the *Henotikon* (482).

(7) When, however, according to his mercy the Lord God entrusted the government of the state to us, we made it the start and foundation of our reign to unite the divided priests of the holy churches of God from east to west, and in order to suppress all the contention that the followers of the impious Eutyches and Nestorius were stirring up against the holy Council of Chalcedon, we made the same holy council to be proclaimed in the churches of God together with the aforesaid three other holy councils, knowing for certain that its teaching on the faith accords in all respects with the three other holy councils.⁴⁰ We convinced many who had been contradicting the same holy council, while others who continued to contradict the same holy council we expelled from the holy churches of God and the venerable monasteries, with the result that, through the firm preservation of the concord and peace of the most holy churches and their priests, the one and the same faith professed by the holy four councils is preached in the holy churches of God.⁴¹

(8) When through the good will of God these measures for strengthening the holy four councils had been taken by us and prevailed in the holy church of God, the followers of Nestorius, wishing to impose their own impiety on the holy church of God and not being able to do this by means of Nestorius, endeavoured to introduce it by means of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the teacher of Nestorius,⁴² who had uttered far worse blasphemies than Nestorius and in addition to his other innumerable blasphemies against Christ our Lord had said that God the Word was someone other than Christ, and also by means of the impious writings of Theodoret, those he issued against the orthodox faith, the holy First Council of Ephesus and against Cyril of holy memory and his Twelve Chapters, and in addition through the criminal letter that Ibas is said to have written to Mari the Persian, which is replete with all the impiety of Theodore and Nestorius; for by means of this impious letter

40 Although Justinian had always been a Chalcedonian, his first edict insisting on the authority of the four councils (Nicaea to Chalcedon) is *CJ* I.1.7 (Coleman-Norton 1966, III, 1128–31), dating to 533. An earlier edict, *CJ* I.1.5 (*ibid.* 1001–3), probably of 527, had already singled out for condemnation the heresies of Nestorius, Eutyches, and Apollinarius. The ‘uniting of the divided priests of the holy churches of God from east to west’ was the ending in 518/9 of the Acacian schism between Constantinople and Rome, a precedent of obvious relevance to the situation in 553.

41 Justin and Justinian deposed the non-Chalcedonian bishops (outside Egypt). The harassment of non-Chalcedonian monks was the work primarily of Chalcedonian bishops. See Menze (2008), ch. 3.

42 The claim that Theodore needed to be condemned because Nestorians exploited his writings had first been made by Cyril of Alexandria back in the 430s; see the letter quoted at Acts V. 18.

they endeavoured to free from condemnation not only the impiety but also the very persons of Theodore and Nestorius, whom the same impious letter greatly praises and defends, claiming that it had been accepted by the holy Council of Chalcedon.⁴³ This they claim not to defend the holy council but out of an eagerness to confirm their own impiety, as they suppose, by citing it. It is certain that the impious intention of those who defend these things is that, if it should turn out well for them, it should not be proclaimed that God the Word [11] became man nor should it be proclaimed that the holy and glorious ever-virgin Mary is *Theotokos*. For this is what Theodore and Nestorius impiously expounded in their writings, and this was the subject of the blasphemy of whoever wrote the letter.

(9) We therefore, following the holy fathers, and wishing to proclaim the orthodox and immaculate faith in the churches of God and to frustrate the attempts of the impious, first of all consulted you residing in your churches about the aforesaid impious Three Chapters, and you made known to us your wishes, for which we also commended you, when without hesitation and with all alacrity you professed the orthodox faith and condemned the one that is impious.⁴⁴ But because, even after the condemnation you issued, certain persons continued on the same course, defending the same impious Three Chapters, for this reason we have summoned you to the imperial city, exhorting you as you assemble together to declare again your will in this matter.

(10) When Vigilius the most religious pope of Elder Rome came to the imperial city, everything was shown him in detail about the aforesaid impious Three Chapters, and we asked him his opinion on this case; and he not only once or twice but still more often both in writing and orally anathematized the impious Three Chapters,⁴⁵ and the autographs of this are in our possession.⁴⁶

43 Justinian consistently made the claim that his condemnation of the Three Chapters arose from a real threat of Nestorianism and not from a desire on his part to appease the miaphysites. See pp. 17–18 above.

44 The reference is the assent of most of the bishops, many reluctantly, to Justinian's first edict against the Three Chapters of 544/5. See p. 23 above.

45 From here till the end of 7.13 the second edition of the Acts (for which see p. 104 above) gives an abbreviated version of the text. The beginning of this version appears at this point in Parisinus also: 'His constant will concerning the condemnation of the three chapters he declared in many other ways and also by condemning Rusticus and Sebastian at one time deacons of Elder Rome.' These words were excised by Schwartz (*ACO ad loc.*) as manifestly intrusive.

46 This refers to two documents read out at the seventh session, Acts VII. 6–7 (vol. 2, 79–81).

(11) After this he composed what is called the *Iudicatum*,⁴⁷ which he issued and made known to all priests;⁴⁸ equally in it he anathematized the aforesaid impious chapters in these words: ‘Because the texts ascribed to Theodore of Mopsuestia that have been shown to us contain many things contrary to the orthodox faith, so we, following the admonition of Paul the apostle [12] who says “Test everything and retain what is good”,⁴⁹ accordingly anathematize Theodore at one time bishop of Mopsuestia with all his impious writings and also those who defend them. We likewise anathematize as contrary to the orthodox faith of Christians the impious letter that is said to have been written by Ibas to Mari the Persian and all who defend it or assert it to be orthodox. We also anathematize the writings of Theodoret that were written against the orthodox faith and against the Twelve Chapters of the holy Cyril.’ This statement was included in the letter called the *Iudicatum*.

(12) We think that this also has not escaped your religiousness, that he deposed his deacons Rusticus and Sebastian and other clerics who had first accepted the *Iudicatum* he composed (in which, as has been said, he anathematized the same impious chapters) but subsequently defended and upheld the same impious chapters. He not only did this but also wrote to Valentinian bishop of Scythia and Aurelian bishop of Arles, the first of the churches of Gaul, announcing his condemnation of the same chapters and instructing them to accept nothing written by the condemned deacons against the aforesaid *Iudicatum*. To speak summarily, he consistently persevered in the same intention. We have given instructions that all this be communicated to you.⁵⁰

(13) Indeed, when subsequently you came to the imperial city, there was an exchange of letters between your holinesses and Vigilius the most religious pope of Elder Rome to the effect that you should all meet together in union and that on account of those who wittingly or unwittingly defend the impiety of the chapters you should issue a judgement in accordance with the definitions on the faith of the holy four councils. Yet now the same most religious Vigilius has gone against his own intention, refusing to meet with

47 Dated 11 April 548. Apart from the passage cited here, five short passages are given in Vigilius’ first *Constitutum* 299–302.

48 Vigilius, however, in his letter to the deacons Rusticus and Sebastian referred to in the next paragraph narrates how he sent a copy to Menas of Constantinople only and refused to circulate other copies, although these two deacons did so without his permission (Acts VII. 8.2–5).

49 1 Thess 5:21.

50 These letters were duly read out at the seventh session (Acts VII. 8–10).

[you] all in accordance with the decision, but only with the three patriarchs and one other bishop so that the matter would progress through disputation, claiming that he has only three bishops, although there are many bishops from the west with him.⁵¹ Hearing this, we have often sent him instructions both through our officials and through some of you that he should meet with [you] all and discuss in common the aforesaid Three Chapters so that a judgement may be given in accordance with the orthodox faith, or that each of the patriarchs together with either five or three bishops should meet with him and his bishops, or alternatively, if he does not choose this but wishes the matter to be discussed through disputation, that judges should be provided, according to the custom of councils and as our predecessors did, with the task of weighing the contentions of both parties, since it is not possible for the same persons both to dispute and to act as judges.⁵² But when he refused to assent to any proposal, we instructed him in accordance with what we have requested in writing from your holiness and the other patriarchs⁵³ on this matter, namely that these chapters should be condemned by all as impious or, if anyone thinks them orthodox, he should express his will plainly; for it is alien to Christians to accept impiety together with the orthodox faith and not to distinguish between orthodoxy and evil.⁵⁴

(14) For we wish you to know that as regards the teaching and definitions on the one and the same faith and the canonical decrees on ecclesiastical order of the holy four councils, those of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I and Chalcedon, [13] we preserve, defend and follow them and accept and embrace everything that accords with them; but whatever does not accord with them, or is found to have been written by any person against the definitions on the one and the same faith of the holy four councils or

51 Vigilius was to repeat his proposal of a meeting of four western and four eastern bishops to a deputation of council fathers on the following day (6 May), as was then reported at the second session (Acts II. 5.4). A list of 17 bishops at Constantinople collaborating with Vigilius is provided by the subscription list at the end of the first *Constitutum*.

52 Cf. Acts II. 5.5 for these proposals being presented to Vigilius on the following day.

53 As if this letter was addressed specifically to Eutychius of Constantinople, when in fact it is addressed to all the patriarchs and all the council fathers.

54 At this point the second edition of the Acts inserts the words, 'But he communicated to us that he would provide us with his own judgement on the aforesaid three chapters; we therefore exhort you also to discuss these matters.' The judgement of Schwartz (*ACO ad loc.*) was that at least the general sense of the sentence is likely to be authentic and it is printed in the main text in *ACO* 4.1 within brackets. But it cannot be right to supplement the first edition of the text from the second, and in any case this exhortation to the bishops to discuss the issues is premature: Justinian is still setting out the facts, while his exhortation follows at §§15–17 below.

one of these councils, this we execrate as totally alien to piety. We follow in everything the holy fathers and doctors of the holy church of God, that is, Athanasius, Hilary, Basil, Gregory the Theologian and Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, Theophilus, John of Constantinople, Cyril, Augustine, Proclus and Leo,⁵⁵ and we accept everything written and taught by them on the orthodox faith and for the condemnation of heretics. Abiding by all the aforesaid, we accept those fathers and priests who preserve and profess in the holy church of God the teaching on the faith by the holy four councils and the profession of the aforesaid holy fathers.

(15) But because the heretics in their wish to defend in all respects Theodore and Nestorius and their impiety, as was said above, claim that the impious letter that is said to have been written by Ibas to Mari the Persian was accepted by the holy Council of Chalcedon,⁵⁶ we exhort you to examine what was written impiously by Theodore both in his other writings and in the Jewish creed that when produced at Ephesus and Chalcedon was anathematized by both councils together with those who believed or believe accordingly,⁵⁷ and to examine also the writings of the holy fathers and the decrees of our predecessors on him and his blasphemies, and also what writers of church history have recorded about him. From all these sources you will discover that both he and his blasphemies were condemned by the holy fathers from that time, and that on account of these blasphemies his name was removed a long time ago from the sacred diptychs of the church of which he was bishop.⁵⁸

(16) We exhort you to examine as well the vain assertion of those who say that heretics ought not to be anathematized after death,⁵⁹ and to follow

55 To this list of Church Fathers may be compared, from the Acts of Chalcedon, the *florilegia* given at I. 917 (from the Acts of Ephesus I; Price and Gaddis, I, 301–10) and in the Address to Marcian (*ibid.*, III, 117–20), and the patristic citations in Justinian's Letter on the Three Chapters, which includes several passages from Augustine (Schwartz 1939, pp. 49, 31–8; 54, 33–40; 68, 10–17), who is rarely cited in Greek texts. In the context of later controversy over the *Filioque* Aquinas was to cite this passage (*Summa contra Gentiles* 4.24) as evidence that Augustine's theology had ecumenical authority.

56 The Letter to Mari praises Theodore effusively (Acts VI. 5.6) and treats Nestorius leniently (Acts VI. 5. 2.4,6).

57 A strongly dyophysite paraphrase of the creed attributed to Theodore was read out at Ephesus I (though without mention of Theodore by name) and as such included in the Acts of Chalcedon (I. 921; Price and Gaddis, I, 313–16). Ephesus reacted by forbidding the use of new creeds in its Canon 7 (*ibid.* 323), which is echoed in the final section of the Chalcedonian Definition (*ibid.*, II, 204–5).

58 All this additional evidence against Theodore was presented at Session V.

59 This was discussed at Session V (Acts V. 50–93, pp. 319–58 below).

here too the teaching of the holy fathers who not only condemned living heretics but also anathematized after death those who died in their impiety, just as they rehabilitated after death and inscribed in the sacred diptychs those had unjustly been condemned, which happened in the cases of John and of Flavian of religious memory, bishops of Constantinople. For your reverences will know the statement by the Lord in the gospel to the effect that ‘he who believes in him is not judged, but he who does not believe in him is already judged because he does not believe in the name of the only-begotten Son of God.’⁶⁰ It is clear that this was said not only about the living but also about those who died in their impiety.

(17) In addition we urge you to inspect the impious writings of Theodoret against the orthodox faith and the holy First Council of Ephesus and against Cyril of holy memory and his Twelve Chapters, and the impious writings of the same Theodoret in defence of Theodore and Nestorius and their blasphemies in opposition to Cyril of holy memory,⁶¹ and also to examine the impious letter that is said [14] to have been written by Ibas to Mari the Persian, in which the writer denies that God the Word became man and that the holy and glorious ever-virgin Mary is *Theotokos*.⁶² The same impious letter also condemns the holy First Council of Ephesus, alleging that Nestorius was condemned without trial and examination, and calls Cyril of holy memory, a doctor of the church, a heretic and terms his Twelve Chapters impious, while it defends and praises Theodore and Nestorius and their impiety. And because, as has already been said, certain persons presume to claim that the letter containing the aforesaid impiety was accepted by the holy Council of Chalcedon, we urge you to compare the statements of the same holy council in its definition of the faith with the contents of the impious letter, so that in every way orthodoxy may be confirmed and impiety condemned.⁶³

(18) Examine all the aforesaid matters in every detail, as is fitting for priests, keeping in mind the fear of God and the future judgement, and putting nothing before piety, orthodox faith, truth, and the glory and honour of God. Keep in mind also the apostolic injunction (uttered against those who hand down what is contrary to the orthodox faith) that explicitly declares, ‘Even if we or an angel from heaven were to preach to you a gospel contrary to the one we have preached to you, let him be anathema. As we said before, so I now say again: if anyone preaches to you a gospel contrary to the one

60 Jn 3:18.

61 See Acts V. 93–110.

62 Session VI was devoted to Ibas’ letter.

63 See Acts VI. 26–30 (vol. 2, 64–70) for the comparing of the two texts.

you received, let him be anathema.’⁶⁴ Acknowledge also the precept of Peter the apostle who says, ‘Be always equipped to satisfy everyone who asks you for an account of the hope that is in you,’⁶⁵ and speedily declare your will regarding the matters about which we have consulted you. For when someone who is asked about the orthodox faith procrastinates at length, it is nothing other than a refusal to make an orthodox profession; for in questions and responses about the faith it is not the first or the second but the one who is found more prompt at orthodox profession who is acceptable before God.

May the Godhead preserve you for many years, holy and most religious fathers.

Issued three days before the Nones of May at Constantinople in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Lord Justinian perpetual Augustus and in the twelfth year after the consulship of the most illustrious Basil.⁶⁶

8. Stephen, George and Damian the most religious bishops representing Eustochius the most holy patriarch of Jerusalem⁶⁷ said through one of them, Stephen the most devout bishop of Raphia: ‘May the magnificent Theodore depart, now that he has fulfilled the command of the most pious emperor.’⁶⁸

9. When the *spectabilis silentarius* had departed, the holy council⁶⁹ said: ‘Now that the contents of the imperial document that has been read out have been made known, and because there has been correspondence between ourselves and Vigilius the most holy pope of Elder Rome that relates to the present matter, we think it necessary that before anything else it should be read and made public.’

64 Gal 1:8–9.

65 1 Pet 3:15.

66 5 May 553.

67 The first four interventions by bishops at the council are attributed in turn to the four eastern patriarchs (or their representatives) in their order of precedence: Eutychius of Constantinople (3), Apollinarius of Alexandria (4), Domninus of Antioch (6), and now the representatives of Eustochius of Jerusalem. They clearly sat together as the chairmen of the council.

68 The emperors’ envoys depart after fulfilling their mission, as at Acts II. 12. They are not his representatives at the council like the officials at Chalcedon.

69 MacMullen (2006), 87 takes the statements attributed to ‘the holy council’ in these acts to be either acclamations by the assembled bishops (as in the Acts of Chalcedon) or statements made on their behalf by their ‘coach’ or cheer-leader. But most often (as here and at 12 below) the phrase refers to the chairmen (see n. 67) and in practice to their leader and spokesman, Eutychius of Constantinople.

10. [15] When Stephen the notary and secretary had received it, he read out:

Eutychius⁷⁰ to the most holy and blessed in all respects lord brother and fellow priest Vigilus.⁷¹

(1) Knowing how many good things the peace of God brings about, guarding the hearts and thoughts of the faithful, uniting them in one and the same belief in the profession of the orthodox faith and in the fulfilment of the divine commandments, and making God propitious towards those who assent together to orthodoxy – for this reason in our zeal to maintain unity with the catholic see of your beatitude we make known that we have always maintained and maintain the faith entrusted from the beginning by our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ to the holy apostles, preached by them throughout the world, and expounded by the holy fathers, especially those who assembled at the holy four councils, whom in everything and in all respects we follow and accept, that is, the 318 holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea, issued the holy creed or instruction on the faith, and anathematized the madness of Arius and those who held or hold it. We also accept the 150 holy fathers who assembled at Constantinople, who expounded the same holy teaching, elucidated the divinity of the Holy Spirit, and condemned the heresy of Macedonius the fighter against the Spirit and also the impious Apollinarius together with those who held or hold the same tenets as theirs. We also accept the 200 holy fathers convened at the First Council at Ephesus, who followed in everything the same holy creed or instruction and condemned the impious Nestorius and his foul doctrines and those who held at any time or hold similar tenets. In addition we also accept the 630⁷² holy fathers assembled at Chalcedon: they too agreed in everything with the afore-mentioned holy three councils, followed the aforesaid creed or instruction issued by the 318 holy fathers and elucidated by the 150 holy

70 The letter was written on behalf of all the bishops and signed by many of them. See n. 73 below.

71 Of this (as of the following document) the Greek version survives (*ACO* 4.1, pp. 235–6). The Latin version of this letter from Eutychius must have been the one sent to Vigilus himself, since he quotes it in both his reply to Eutychius given below and his first *Constitutum* 11–18 and did not read Greek. In §1 the Latin ‘sanctum spiritum impugnantem’ is obviously secondary to πνευματομάχου in the Greek text; the odd infelicity in the Latin text also suggests that the writer was translating from the Greek. I therefore translate the Greek text. The Latin version (which is scrupulously faithful) is given in full in the reply from Vigilus that follows.

72 The conventional figure for the number of Chalcedonian fathers, but the true number of bishops or their representatives present was round 370 (see Price and Gaddis, III, 193–6), and if the count is reduced to actual bishops, it falls still further, as John Philoponus pointed out (Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, trans. Chabot, II, 98).

fathers, and anathematized those who dare to teach or issue or transmit to the holy churches of God any other creed apart from the aforesaid; they condemned and anathematized both Eutyches and Nestorius and their impious doctrines and those who have held or hold tenets similar to theirs.

(2) This being so, we make known that we have maintained and maintain everything decreed and defined by the aforesaid holy four councils, since, even if the said holy four councils took place at different times, they still maintained and proclaimed one and the same profession of the faith. [16] We also accept and embrace the letters of the presidents of the apostolic see at Rome, both the others and the sainted Leo, written on the subject of the orthodox faith and of the holy four councils or one of them.

(3) Since therefore we have maintained and maintain all the aforesaid and are in agreement over them with one another, it is necessary to have a discussion about the Three Chapters over which certain people have initiated an investigation. We therefore request that, with your beatitude presiding over us in tranquillity and priestly gentleness and in the presence of the holy gospels, the same chapters be placed in the midst, examined and discussed in a joint consultation, and that there be imposed on the investigation a close that is pleasing to God and in accordance with the decrees of the holy four councils, since it pertains to the increase of peace and the concord of the churches that, with all dissension removed from our midst, the decrees of the holy four councils should be maintained intact, while the venerable status of the holy councils is in all respects preserved. This I have subscribed.

And the signature: Strong in the Lord, pray for us, most holy and most blessed brother.

I Eutychius by the mercy of God bishop of Constantinople New Rome have signed all that is written above.⁷³

11. The same devout Stephen also read out:

Vigilius to the most beloved brother Eutychius and the bishops under you.⁷⁴

⁷³ The Greek version adds: 'The same petition was also sent by Apollinarius the most sacred archbishop of the great city of Alexandria and Dominus the most sacred archbishop of Theopolis and the most God-beloved bishops under them, residing in this imperial city, to the same most sacred Vigilius.' In Vigilius, first *Constitutum* 11–19 the same document is given, with the information that it was signed by Eutychius, Apollinarius, Dominus, Helias of Thessalonica and others.

⁷⁴ Again, both the Greek and Latin versions survive; for the Greek see *ACO* 4.1, pp. 237–8.

(1) ‘Our mouth is filled with joy and our tongue with exultation,’⁷⁵ because with the confusion of discord removed God has restored peace to his church, with the result that there is fulfilled the scripture, ‘Behold how good and how pleasant it is that brothers live as one.’⁷⁶ For it is indeed fitting that we should exult in the Lord, since in the writing of your charity we are offered a profession of which the tenor is as follows:

(2.1) ‘Knowing how many good things the peace of God brings about, guarding the hearts and minds of the faithful, uniting them in one and the same belief in the correct profession of the faith and in the fulfilment of the divine commandments, and making God propitious towards those who assent together to what is correct – for this reason, eager to maintain unity with the apostolic see⁷⁷ of your beatitude, we make known that we have always maintained and maintain the faith entrusted from the beginning by our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ to the holy apostles, preached by them throughout the world, and expounded by the holy fathers, especially those who assembled at the holy four synods, whom in everything and in all respects we follow and accept, that is, the 318 holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea, [17] issued the holy creed or instruction on the faith and anathematized the impiety of Arius and those who held or hold it. We also accept the 150 holy fathers assembled at Constantinople, who expounded the same holy teaching, elucidated the divinity of the Holy Spirit, and condemned the Macedonian heresy that attacked the Holy Spirit and also the impious Apollinarius together with those who held or hold the same tenets as theirs. We also accept the 200 holy fathers convened at the First Synod of Ephesus, who followed in everything the same holy creed or instruction and condemned the impious Nestorius and his criminal doctrines and those who held at any time or hold tenets similar to theirs. In addition we also accept the 630 holy fathers assembled at Chalcedon: they too agreed in everything with the aforesaid holy three synods, followed the aforesaid creed or instruction issued by the 318 holy fathers and explicated by the 150 holy fathers, and anathematized those who dare to teach or issue or transmit to the holy churches of God any other creed apart from the aforesaid; they condemned and anathematized both Eutyches and Nestorius and their impious doctrines

Vigilius will certainly have written in Latin, and the accuracy of the citations from the Latin psalter confirm that the Latin text (the one translated here) is the original and not a retroversion from the Greek.

⁷⁵ Ps 125:2.

⁷⁶ Ps 132:1.

⁷⁷ The Greek version translated above has ‘catholic see.’

and those who have held or hold tenets similar to theirs. (2.2) This being so, we make known that we have maintained and maintain everything decreed and defined by the aforesaid holy four synods, since, even if the aforesaid holy four synods were held at different times, they still maintained and proclaimed one and the same profession of faith. We also accept and embrace the letters of the presidents of the Roman apostolic see, both the others and Leo of holy memory, written on the subject of the correct faith and of the four holy councils or one of them. (2.3) Since we have maintained and maintain all the aforesaid and agree with each other over them, it is necessary to conduct a discussion about the Three Chapters over which certain people have initiated an investigation. We therefore request that, with your beatitude presiding over us in tranquillity and priestly gentleness and in the presence of the holy gospels, the same chapters be placed in the midst, discussed and examined, and that there be imposed on the investigation a close that is pleasing to God and in accord with the decrees of the holy four councils, since it pertains to the increase of peace and the concord of the churches that, with all dissension removed from our midst, the decrees of the aforesaid four holy councils should be maintained intact, while the venerable status of the holy synods is in all respects preserved. This we have signed.'

(3) Having freely embraced the clarity of this orthodox profession, we too, approving the same things in all respects and in every way, profess that through the inspiration of our God we shall preserve and maintain it inviolably. While therefore everything contained in your profession [of faith] abides in its validity forever, your fraternity asks that, with us presiding and in the presence of the holy gospels, there should in tranquillity and priestly gentleness be a discussion about the Three Chapters over which an inquiry has been initiated, and there should be imposed on the inquiry a close that is pleasing to God himself and in accordance with the decrees of the aforementioned holy four councils, so that with all dissension removed from our midst the decrees of the same four holy synods may be maintained intact while the venerable status of the same synods is in all respects preserved. This profession, [18] which is mindful and observant of the traditions of our fathers, both in your fraternity and in all who have professed or profess the like, we judge to be most full of all praiseworthiness and from this we truly recognize our brethren. Wherefore we entreat the divine clemency that all of us, remaining in this profession and in the traditions of our fathers, may be found worthy of our office and that on the day of divine judgement we may not be found guilty of any transgression of the decrees of our fathers.

(4) In view of the aforesaid, we recognize the desire of your request and grant that on the subject of the Three Chapters, over which an inquiry has been initiated, we shall hold a canonical meeting and conduct a discussion together with the brethren in union, with equity being observed⁷⁸ and with the holy gospels in the midst, so that there may be granted a close pleasing to God and in accordance with the definitions of the holy four councils, recognizing without doubt, as is stated in the witness of the common profession, that the venerable status of the afore-mentioned synods must in all respects be preserved.⁷⁹

My God keep you safe, dearest brother.

Issued on the eighth day before the Ides of January in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Lord Justinian perpetual Augustus and in the twelfth year after the consulship of the most illustrious Basil.⁸⁰

12. The holy council said: 'Although the most glorious judges and some of us, as is contained in the imperial letters, have often exhorted Vigilius the most religious pope of Elder Rome to meet together for the sake of the proposals concerning the Three Chapters, we nevertheless judge it reasonable and acceptable to God that we should now go and meet with his holiness and request him to hold a meeting with us to judge the same Three Chapters and issue together with us a formulary in accordance with the orthodox faith. So let this now proceed.'

13. As a result of the request of the holy council the most holy patriarchs Eutychius of Constantinople, Apollinarius of Alexandria and Dominus of Theopolis and the most religious bishops⁸¹ Benignus of Heraclea in Pelagonia representing Helias bishop of Thessalonica, Theodore bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Andrew of Ephesus, Megethius of Heraclea in Thrace, John of Nicomedia, Stephen of Nicaea, Constantine of Chalcedon, Eusebius of Tyre, John of Caesarea in Palestine, Amazonius of Edessa, Theodore of Seleucia in Isauria, Thomas of Apamea in Syria, Pompeianus from Byzacena, Phocas

78 While the Greek translation is the vaguer 'with justice (τοῦ δικαίου) being observed', the Latin is *servata aequitate*, which hints at Vigilius' repeated demand that there should be a fair balance between western and eastern representatives at the council.

79 The Greek version has 'signature' at this point, indicating that this is where Vigilius signed the letter.

80 6 January 553.

81 Our MSS place 'the most religious bishops' at the end of the list of bishops, which obscures the sequence of names, consisting of three patriarchs, many 'most religious bishops', and finally three bishops who (as suffragans) were merely 'most devout'.

of Stobi in the province of Praevalitana, Theodore of Leontopolis, Stephen from Clysma, and Aemilianus of Antipyrgus went in the name of the whole council to the most holy Pope Vigilius, while the other bishops stayed behind in the same venerable episcopal palace. When the same most holy patriarchs together with the most religious bishops returned, the most holy patriarchs and the most religious bishops who had gone with them to the most holy pope said: 'As had seemed good to us all, we went to Vigilius the most holy pope of Elder Rome [19] and requested his beatitude to meet with us to judge the Three Chapters in accordance with the letters that had passed between us, informing his beatitude that our most serene emperor had sent pious letters to us exhorting us to send a response on the subject of the same Three Chapters.⁸² He said immediately that he could not respond to this request because of bodily infirmity, but promised to make known his decision concerning such a meeting tomorrow. It is therefore necessary to prorogue the present session.'

82 These are the three letters given above, I. 10–11 and I. 7.

THE SECOND SESSION

INTRODUCTION

During the first session of 5 May a delegation of twenty bishops had visited Pope Vigilius to press him to attend the council, and he had asked them to return on the following day, 6 May, which they duly did. Two days later, 8 May, the second session began with a report from Eutychius of Constantinople on how that meeting had gone (5). Vigilius had made various counter-proposals to his attending the council: first, that the council be made more representative by summoning more bishops from Italy, and secondly that there should gather to discuss the Three Chapters a small and balanced group, consisting of himself, three other western bishops, and four from the east. Eutychius had criticized the latter proposal on several grounds, including the impropriety of a small number of western bishops acting as both advocates and judges, a point (made also in Justinian's letter, I. 7.13) which betrayed what would have happened if Vigilius had been so ill-advised as to attend the council: as soon as he struck out on an independent line, he would have demoted from judge to plaintiff, and soon (one suspects) from plaintiff to defendant. Vigilius then informed the episcopal delegation that he had asked the emperor for a postponement of twenty days, to give him time to produce a response in writing; his first *Constitutum* is indeed dated to 14 May and Vigilius attempted to deliver it to the emperor on 25 May, on the expiry of the twenty days' grace he had asked for and presumed. Eutychius said he would propose to the emperor the granting of a postponement, but only if Vigilius ceased to boycott the council.

Next the council heard a report from a delegation of bishops and officials whom the emperor and the council had sent to confer with Vigilius on the following day, 7 May (8–10). Vigilius had again 'asked to be granted a postponement so that he could send a response on his own.' The delegation repeated the offer of a postponement of a final decision on condition Vigilius came to the council; otherwise it would have to proceed without him. The officials departed, after instructing the bishops to bring the matter of the

Three Chapters to a speedy decision and repeating the emperor's profession of faith in the four councils (11).

Envoys were then sent to the four bishops from Africa and Dacia who were residing in the city and had absented themselves from the council (12). The envoys returned to the council to report that all four refused to attend, Primasius of Hadrumetum on the ground that the pope was absent, and the three Dacian bishops on the ground that they were under the authority of their superior, Archbishop Benenatus of Justiniana Prima¹ (13–18). Eutychius declared that the Dacians should consult their archbishop, while 'as regards Primasius let the proper decision be taken at the appropriate time according to ecclesiastical tradition,' in other words that he should be disciplined for disobeying an imperial order. In fact these bishops continued to play no part in the council.

The attempt to round up these four bishops suggests that the council was well aware that they might join Vigilius and the Italian bishops in pronouncing a rival judgement on the Three Chapters, which is exactly what happened in the production of the first *Constitutum*, which all four signed a week later (14 May).

PROCEEDINGS

1. [20] In the twenty-seventh year of the lord Justinian perpetual Augustus and in the twelfth year after the consulship of the most illustrious Basil, eight days before the Ides of May in the first indiction,² there were seated in the consistory of the venerable episcopal palace of this imperial city: (1) Eutychius the most holy patriarch of imperial Constantinople New Rome, (2) Apollinarius the most holy archbishop of the great city of Alexandria, (3) Dominus the most holy patriarch of the great city of Theopolis [Antioch], (4–6) Stephen the most religious bishop of Raphia, George the most religious bishop of Tiberias, and Damian the most religious bishop of Sozusa, [all] representing Eustochius the most holy bishop of Jerusalem, (7) Benignus the most religious bishop of Heraclea in Pelagonia, representing Helias the most blessed bishop of Thessalonica, (8) Theodore the most religious bishop of Caesarea in the province of Cappadocia Prima, (9) Andrew the most religious

¹ Justinian's birthplace, which he elevated to be the capital of the diocese of Dacia, directly under the pope and independent of Thessalonica (*Nov.* 131.3); see Markus (1979). The excuse was strained, since Benenatus had, to the fury of his suffragans, condemned the Three Chapters (Victor of Tunnuna, *Chronicle*, anno 549. 1).

² 8 May 553.

bishop of Ephesus, (10) Sextilian the most religious bishop of Tunis, representing Primosus the most religious bishop of Carthage, (11) Megethius the most religious bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, (12) Anastasius the most religious bishop of Tavium, representing Dorotheus the most religious bishop of Ancyra, (13) John the most devout bishop of Ilium, representing Euprepus the most religious bishop of the city of Cyzicus, (14) Eusebius the most religious bishop of Tyre, (15) John the most religious bishop of Nicomedia, (16) Stephen the most religious bishop of Nicaea, (17) Constantine the most religious bishop of Chalcedon, (18) Peter the most religious bishop of Tarsus, [21] (19) John the most devout bishop of Cucusus, representing Palladius the most religious bishop of Melitene, (20) John the most religious bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, (21) Pompeianus the most religious bishop of Byzacena, (22) Amazonius the most religious bishop of Edessa, (23) Alexander the most religious bishop of Gangra, (24) Thomas the most religious bishop of Apamea in Syria, (25) Euphrantas the most religious bishop of Tyana, (26) Theodore the most religious bishop of Hierapolis in Syria, (27) Bosporius the most religious bishop of Neocaesarea, (28) John the most religious bishop of Bostra, (29) Philip the most religious bishop of Myra, (30) Theodore the most religious bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, (31) Julian the most religious bishop of Sardis, (32) Theodore the most religious bishop of Gortyna, (33) Eustathius the most religious bishop of Damascus, (34) Theodosius the most religious bishop of Rhodes, (35) Firmus the most religious bishop of Tipasa in the province of Africa, (36) Theodore the most religious bishop of Antioch in Pisidia, (37) Phocas the most religious bishop of Stobi, (38) Eulogius the most religious bishop of Perge, (39) Severianus the most religious bishop of Aphrodisias, (40) Cyriacus the most religious bishop of Amida, (41) Severus the most religious bishop of Synnada, (42) Peter the most religious bishop of Side, (43) Abramius the most religious bishop of Sergiopolis, (44) Asignius the most devout bishop of Trajanopolis, representing John the most religious bishop of Laodicea in Phrygia Pacatiana, (45) John the most religious bishop of Hadrianopolis in Thrace, (46) Crescens the most religious bishop of Cuicul, (47) Theodosius the most religious bishop of Justinianopolis in Cappadocia Secunda, (48) Stephen the most religious bishop of Laodicea or Theodorias, (49) Auxanon the most religious bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, (50) Eustathius the most religious bishop of Maximianopolis, (51) Aetherius the most religious bishop of Anazarbus, (52) Domitius the most religious bishop of Chalcis, (53) Valerian the most religious bishop of Obba in the province of Africa, (54) Dionysius the most religious bishop of Seleucia in Syria, (55) Theodore the most religious bishop

of Druzipara, (56) Severus the most religious bishop of Pompeiopolis in the province of Paphlagonia, (57) George the most religious bishop of Cypsela Justiniana [Nova], [22] (58) Romanus the most devout bishop of Gabala, (59) George the most devout bishop of Justinianopolis in Armenia, (60) John the most devout bishop of Nyssa, (61) Basil the most devout bishop of Justiniana Nova Camuliana, (62) John the most devout bishop of Barcusa, (63) Cresconius the most devout bishop of Zattara in the province of Numidia, (64) Sergius the most devout bishop of Cynopolis in Aegyptus Secunda, (65) Christopher the most devout bishop of Arcadiopolis in Asia, (66) Theodosius the most devout bishop of Byblus, (67) Leontius the most devout bishop of Arca, (68) John the most devout bishop of Myrina, (69) Alexander the most devout bishop of Amphipolis, (70) Stephen the most devout bishop of Clysma, (71) Thomas the most devout bishop of Verisa, (72) Aristodemus the most devout bishop of Philomelium, (73) Thalelaeus the most devout bishop of Hadrianopolis in Pisidia, (74) Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Erythrae, (75) Diogenianus the most devout bishop of Sozopolis, (76) Bassus the most devout bishop of Tamiathis, (77) Anatolius the most devout bishop of Cyme, (78) Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cratia, (79) Restitutus the most devout bishop of Milevum in the province of Africa, (80) Theodore the most devout bishop of Leontopolis in Egypt, (81) Aemilianus the most devout bishop of Antipyrgus, (82) Conon the most devout bishop of Magydus, (83) Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Prusa, (84) George the most devout bishop of Ptolemis, (85) Soterus the most devout bishop of Aulon, (86) Zosimus the most devout bishop of Antandrus, (87) Cyprian the most devout bishop of Corycus, (88) Helias the most devout bishop of Diocletianopolis, (89) Theonas the most devout bishop of Cusae, (90) Theodore the most devout bishop of Limyra, (91) Gennadius the most devout bishop of Zenonopolis, (92) Asyncretius the most devout bishop of Aradus, (93) Stephen the most devout bishop of Botrys, (94) Philip the most devout bishop of Phellus, (95) Menas the most devout bishop from Myriangeli, (96) Genethlius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum, (97) Thomas the most devout bishop of Constantia, (98) Theodore the most devout bishop of Leontopolis, (99) Severus the most devout bishop of Tabae, [23] (100) Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Halicarnassus, (101) Cosmas the most devout bishop of Mallus, (102) Dionysius the most devout bishop of Megara, (103) Callinicus the most devout bishop of Opus, (104) Paschasius the most devout bishop of Aegium, (105) Erasmus the most devout bishop of Cibyra, (106) John the most devout bishop of Neocaesarea in Euphratensis, (107) Nonnus the most devout bishop of Dausara, (108) Stephen the most devout

bishop of Balaneae, (109) Thomas the most devout bishop of Circesium, (110) Anatolius the most devout bishop of Sebaste, (111) Constantine the most devout bishop of Midaeum, (112) Macarius the most devout bishop of Prymessus, (113) Megas the most devout bishop of Meirus, (114) Thalelaeus the most devout bishop of Isinda, (115) Nicetas the most devout bishop of Epiphaneia, (116) Alexander the most devout bishop of Dionysopolis, (117) Pelagius the most devout bishop of Aezani, (118) Hieron the most devout bishop of Anastasiopolis in Phrygia, (119) Glaucus the most devout bishop of Alia, (120) Procopius the most devout bishop from Antinoopolis, (121) Peter the most devout bishop of Domitiopolis, (122) John the most devout bishop of Colonia, (123) Uranius the most devout bishop of Tralles, (124) John the most devout bishop of Ceraseis, (125) Phronimus the most devout bishop of Sanaus, (126) Macedonius the most devout bishop of Justinianopolis in Bithynia, (127) Ecdicius the most devout bishop of Tenus, (128) Eulogius the most devout bishop of Danaba, (129) Theodore the most devout bishop of Coradea, (130) Helpidophorus the most devout bishop of Anastasiopolis in Caria, (131) Cyrion the most devout bishop of Dadima, (132) Theodore the most devout bishop of Laodicea, (133) Silas the most devout bishop of Tiberiopolis, (134) Diogenes the most devout bishop of Augustopolis, (135) Theodore the most devout bishop of Ingila, (136) Julian the most devout bishop of Zeugma, (137) Dorymenius the most devout bishop of Adraa, (138) John the most devout bishop of Lerus, (139) Theodore the most devout bishop of Gargara, (140) Theodore the most devout bishop of Comana, [24] (141) Rufinus the most devout bishop of Sebasteia in Armenia, (142) Conon the most devout bishop of Sennea, (143) Cyriacus the most devout bishop of Casae, (144) Sisinnius the most devout bishop of Praenetus, (145) Julian the most devout bishop of Batnae, (146) Anastasius the most devout bishop of Rachla, (147) Theodore the most devout bishop of Porthmus, (148) Paul the most devout bishop of Stectorium, (149) Stephen the most devout bishop of Amaseia, (150) Paul the most devout bishop of Adrassus, (151) Evander the most devout bishop of Cnidus, (152) Menas the most devout bishop of Carpathus.

2. Diodore archdeacon and *primicerius* of the most devout notaries said: ‘Your holy council remembers the proceedings that took place among you at the prompting of the sacred eminences whom our unconquered emperor sent to your beatitudes,³ and that two days ago you went again to the most

³ Cf. Acts I. 2–7 for the communication to the council of the emperor’s instructions by the silentary Theodore.

blessed pope of Elder Rome – the most holy patriarchs Eutychius, Apollinarius and Dominus, and the most religious Bishops Benignus of Heraclea in Pelagonia representing Helias the most religious bishop of Thessalonica, Theodore of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Andrew of Ephesus, Megethios of Heraclea in Thrace, John of Nicomedia, Stephen of Nicaea, Constantine of Chalcedon, Eusebius of Tyre, John of Caesarea in Palestine, Amazonius of Edessa, Theodore of Seleucia, Thomas of Apamea in Syria, Pompeianus of Byzacena, Phocas of Stobi, Theodore of Leontopolis of Alexandria,⁴ Stephen from Clysma, and Aemilianus of Antipyrgus – so that the same most religious pope according to his promise might make a statement about his coming.’

3. The holy council⁵ said: ‘For the sake of order let the proceedings in that holy [session of the] council be made known.’ And they were read.

4. Diodore archdeacon and *primicerius* of the most devout notaries said: ‘All the other most religious bishops request you the most holy patriarchs, and the most religious bishops who accompanied you to the most holy Pope Vigilius, to recount what ensued.’

5. The most holy patriarchs and the most religious bishops who had gone with them to the most holy Pope Vigilius said:

‘(1) Acting on the promise of the most blessed Vigilius pope of Elder Rome at our previous meeting,⁶ we visited him on the sixth day of the present month of May, that is, two days ago, recalling to his memory what had been agreed between us [25] in writing, and exhorting him in accordance with his promise on the preceding day to make known his will concerning the meeting he ought to hold with us to treat and discuss the Three Chapters about which the most pious emperor had consulted both us and his beatitude in writing.⁷

‘(2) He replied that he would not meet with us, asserting that many eastern bishops are here but few with him,⁸ and that for this reason he had

4 ‘Alexandria’ is used loosely to mean Egypt: Leontopolis was in the province of Augustamnica II.

5 Eutychius of Constantinople is speaking as the leader and spokesmen of the patriarchs, who chaired the council.

6 5 May, in the course of the first session; see Acts I. 13.

7 The ‘writing’ referred to is the correspondence given at I. 10–11 and I. 7.

8 The subscription list to Vigilius’ first *Constitutum* (308–13) gives the names of 15 western bishops (plus two Anatolian metropolitans of western origin) who were in Constantinople ‘with him’.

asked the most pious emperor that other bishops be brought from Italy.

‘(3) We replied to him that we had never promised to wait for the arrival of western bishops, and that we also knew from the most pious emperor that he had made no such promise: “Your beatitude knows what is contained in the agreement made between us in writing: you promised together with the bishops in union and communion with you to meet and investigate the Three Chapters.⁹ We ourselves are in communion and union with you, and the meeting ought not to be postponed to give an opportunity for other bishops to be present; nor should the western bishops be divided from the eastern ones, for they are united to each other and share the same convictions. Moreover, in the holy four councils there was never to be found a multitude of western bishops but simply two or three bishops and some clerics.¹⁰ Now, however, many bishops are present from Italy;¹¹ your beatitude is present, there are also bishops from Africa¹² and Illyricum,¹³ and nothing prevents a meeting with us according to what was agreed between us in writing.”

‘(4) He in his turn said to us, “I am not prepared to meet with many, but let us meet with equal numbers. I shall bring with me three bishops who ought to come; let the three patriarchs with one bishop also come, so that we make up four and four, so that there may be a discussion between us about the Three Chapters [to be recorded] in writing.”

‘(5) But we said to him, “A very great number of western bishops are present together with your beatitude, as we said before. And it is not fitting that the three patriarchs when they come should bring only one bishop; but if you really want this to take place, each patriarch ought to have with him as many bishops from his diocese as your beatitude brings.¹⁴ When such a multitude of bishops are present it is neither seemly nor valid for three or four to meet on their own and transact proceedings among themselves while the other bishops are absent and ignored. This is agreed in writing. For when a few meet for questioning, if you or some of those with you make

9 Cf. Acts I. 11.4.

10 Indisputable: see Kötting (1988) and Price and Gaddis, III, 202.

11 These will be the eleven Italian bishops who signed Vigilius’ first *Constitutum* (308–13).

12 Seven African bishops were present at the session (listed in vol. 2, 293). Only one African bishop loyal to Vigilius was in Constantinople – Primasius of Hardumetum (see II. 12 and the first *Constitutum* 311).

13 Five Illyrian bishops were present at the session (II. 1. 37, 85, 103, 104, 147). In addition three loyal to Vigilius were in Constantinople (II. 12 and the first *Constitutum* 310).

14 This would reduce the status of the pope to that of one patriarch among others. See O’Connell (1963).

an objection, it is not possible for the same persons to be both adversaries and judges in the matter. If, however, you do not separate yourself apart, it is necessary for joint investigations to be conducted in council; for it is not prudent for a record to be indited in secret with few bishops and without many present. [26] It is better to hold a meeting with priests meeting in love, to adopt a single will in resolving the case, and make this known to the remaining priests, so that a common verdict may then be given on the case in writing.” When, however, he agreed to none of this, we said to him, “The most pious emperor had written both to your beatitude and to ourselves inquiring after our verdict on the Three Chapters; and if you do not want to meet according to what was agreed between us in writing, may your beatitude know that we are obliged to meet together and make known our will. For it is not right that such a most Christian emperor and faithful a people should be scandalized by the postponement of a response in the midst of proceedings.”¹⁵

‘(6) In response to this he said to us, “I have asked the most pious emperor to grant me a deferment of twenty days, so that I may respond to the inquiry that his tranquillity made to me in writing. And I say the same to you, adding this, that unless I make known my will within the aforesaid days, whatever you decide about those chapters, I follow you and do not separate myself from your communion.”

‘(7) To this we replied, “In the letters that passed between us, it was agreed not that we should reply separately but that we should decree about those chapters in a joint treatment. If, however, your beatitude seeks a postponement in order to give opportunity for a discussion, this case has already been in process for seven years, from the time your beatitude arrived in this imperial city; and considering that you have been informed in detail about everything and have often both orally and in writing condemned the Three Chapters, it is not right, when the most pious emperor has sent an inquiry to both ourselves and your beatitude, for the response to be delayed by a further postponement. If, however, you want a discussion either with all or with some of us, so that a verdict may first be made known to all the other most religious bishops who are present in his imperial city and then confirmed by a joint decree and the case be brought to a close, this the most pious emperor will certainly grant, once a joint promise has been made by all of us over a settlement of the case. If, however, you want a discussion

15 The Latin ‘*ex media protractione responsi*’ is less clear than the equivalent phrase in the second edition of the Acts, ‘*ex dilatione quae in medio circa responsonem efficitur*.’

with certain other people, who do not hold the same tenets as ourselves and are not zealous for the peace of the church, it will be necessary for us, now that we have received an inquiry from the most pious emperor, to send a joint response as to what seems good to us concerning the Three Chapters. But what we ask you, however, to declare for the peace of the churches is this – that, if what you do within the above-stated days does not suffice to satisfy those who have been scandalized, you remain in our communion even after we have condemned the Three Chapters.”¹⁶

‘(8) His beatitude replied, “I shall not reply to you on this, for, as I said before, I have made myself culpable if my promises are not fulfilled and I do not make my will known within the same number of days.”

‘(9) In response to this we persisted again, saying, “We ask you to meet with us in priestly charity to decree our common will about the Three Chapters; for thus both your beatitude and we ourselves together with you will be able with justice to ask the most pious emperor to grant us a specific postponement, seeing that it arises from settling the case by a joint decision.”

‘(10) After this [27] and many such points had been made, since we saw that the discussion was being extended into indefinite prolixity and reaching no conclusion, we promised to propose this to the most Christian emperor.

‘(11) When we had done this, his tranquillity [the emperor] promised to send some of the most glorious officials together with most religious bishops to the same most religious man, so that they might exhort him again on the same matters.’

6. Diodore archdeacon and *primicerius* of the most devout notaries said: ‘The most pious emperor, as he promised, sent yesterday¹⁷ to the most religious Pope Vigilius the most glorious Liberius,¹⁸ Peter,¹⁹ Patricius²⁰ and Constantine,²¹ and there were also sent by your holy council the most religious bishops Theodore of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Benignus of Heraclea in Pelagonia, Andrew of Ephesus, Megethius of Heraclea in

¹⁶ This is a demand that Vigilius should not react with an excommunication, as he had to the issuing of Justinian’s edict ‘on the orthodox faith’ (see p. 48 above).

¹⁷ 7 May 553.

¹⁸ Liberius 3 in *PLRE* 2, 677–81. Patrician from 500, prefect under the Ostrogoths in Italy 510–34, resident in Constantinople 534–54, died in Italy 554. Praised by Procopius for his respect for the truth (*History of the Wars* V. 4.24).

¹⁹ See p. 170, n. 26 above.

²⁰ Patricius 4 in *PLRE* 3, 972. Only known from these acts.

²¹ See p. 171, n. 29 above.

Thrace, Constantine of Chalcedon, Eusebius of Tyre, John of Caesarea in Palestine, Amazonius of Edessa, Theodore of Seleucia, Phocas of Stobi, Theodore of Leontopolis, and Aemilianus of Antipyrgus. Since the aforesaid most glorious officials are present, and have been ordered by the most pious emperor to relate before the holy council what ensued in their presence, it is this that we propose to you.'

7. The holy council said: 'May the aforesaid most glorious men, according to the order of the most pious emperor, deign to relate what happened in their presence.'

8. Liberius the most glorious patrician, Peter the most glorious patrician and master of the offices, Patricius the most glorious patrician, and Constantine the most glorious quaestor of the sacred palace said through the most glorious quaestor Constantine: 'On the first day of the present month of May by order of the most pious emperor we visited the most blessed Pope Vigilius together with the most glorious patricians Belisarius, Cethegus and Rusticus; and on the seventh day of the present month of May we were again sent to the same most blessed man together with the most religious bishops Theodore of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Benignus of Heraclea in Pelagonia, Andrew of Ephesus, Megethius of Heraclea in Thrace, Constantine of Chalcedon, Eusebius of Tyre, John of Caesarea in Palestine, Amazonius of Edessa, Theodore of Seleucia, Phocas of the city of Stobi, Theodore of Leontopolis, and Aemilianus of Antipyrgus. On both days we communicated the same reply from the most pious emperor, that is, that he should either meet with you all and discuss the Three Chapters, with permission to raise objections granted to those who wished, [28] or, if he did not assent to this, meet together with the most blessed patriarchs, that is, Eutychius of Constantinople, Apollinarius of Alexandria, Domninus of Theopolis, and with other bishops, and discuss with them the verdict that ought to be pronounced on the Three Chapters, and communicate to the other bishops what seemed good to them, so that by the common consent of all a close might be imposed on the case of the Three Chapters. After much discussion of the matter, he did not agree to meet either with all the most religious bishops or with the most holy patriarchs and other bishops according to the proposal of the most pious emperor, but asked to be granted a postponement so that he could send a response on his own. We said to him, "You have often on your own condemned the Three Chapters both in writing and orally, but the most pious emperor wants you to meet together with the others so that there may be a common judgement on them. On the matter of a deferral,

however, you have already applied through others to the most pious emperor, and his majesty replied, ‘If you are willing to meet with the most blessed patriarchs and most religious bishops according to the agreement between you, so that you yourself may treat the matter and you may all issue a joint decree on the Three Chapters, I shall not only grant you the postponement you now mention but an even longer one. But because after so long a time we witness you still having recourse to deferrals, we need to be informed by the council of the will regarding the chapters of the most religious priests who have convened for this reason and are staying here for only a time; for we cannot leave the church of God in such confusion, especially when heretics are calumniating her priests as if they held the Nestorian insanity.’” After we had made this reply, we repeatedly asked him to use our offices to meet together with your holy council; but this he refused to do.’

9. The holy council said: ‘Let also the most religious bishops who together with the most glorious officials visited the most holy Pope Vigilius report what ensued.’

10. The most religious bishops said: ‘According to the order of the most pious emperor and the instructions of your holiness we visited the most holy Pope Vigilius together with Liberius the most glorious patrician, Peter the most glorious patrician and master of the offices, Patricius the most glorious patrician, and Constantine the most glorious quaestor of the sacred palace, and when we had entered the most glorious master and the most glorious quaestor presented to the most holy pope in our presence the order of the most pious emperor. Much was said to the same effect [29] as the points your holinesses²² had made even earlier to the same most holy pope on the preceding day. As for what the most glorious officials have now recounted, we too acknowledge that these points were made to his holiness.’

11. The most glorious officials said: ‘We have fulfilled the orders we received from the most pious emperor, and we shall go to his sacred palace to continue in his service; but as for yourselves, keeping the fear of God before your eyes, deign to impose a speedy close on the case in accordance with the definitions of the holy four councils on the orthodox faith. Know that the most pious emperor specially ordered us to inform your holinesses that he has maintained and maintains, and has defended and defends, the

22 Literally ‘your holiness’, with either singular reference (to Eutychius) or plural reference (to all the patriarchs). The word could also be used more loosely with reference to all the council fathers, as probably in the following paragraph.

definitions and decrees of the holy four councils on the one and the same faith, that he accepts and upholds everything that accords with the definitions on the orthodox faith of the same holy councils, and that he rejects and judges to be alien to the church of God everything contrary to their decrees on the orthodox faith. For his majesty had the holy four councils inserted and proclaimed in the sacred diptychs of the church, which prior to God's bestowal of imperial authority on him had not been done in the holy church.'²³

12. When the most glorious officials had departed, the holy council said: 'What ensued in the presence of the most blessed Pope Vigilius has been made known by the accounts of the most glorious officials and the most religious bishops. We have consistently maintained and maintain what is right, and have often asked the most holy Pope Vigilius to meet together with us and to issue a decree together with us on the matters under discussion. Out of the most religious bishops who are known to be residing in this imperial city the following are not present at our council: from the African provinces Primasius, a most devout bishop of the province of Byzacena,²⁴ and from Illyricum the most religious bishops Sabinianus, Projectus and Paul.²⁵ Therefore let Theodore the most devout bishop of Limyra, Anatolius the most devout bishop of Cyme and Diogenianus the most devout bishop of Sozopolis, together with Ammonius, Peter and Theodore, the most devout presbyters and advocates of the church of this imperial city, go and urge them to come and take part in this holy council.'

13. And when the designated most devout men had gone to the aforesaid bishops and returned, Theodore bishop of Limyra said: 'In accordance with the order of your beatitude²⁶ both myself and the most devout Ammonius, presbyter and advocate of this great and holy church, went to the palace of Marina to Primasius the most devout bishop of Africa and urged him to come and sit together with your holiness. But he said, "If the pope is not present, I shall not come".'

23 Chalcedon was restored to the diptychs at the very start of the reign of Justin I, which Justinian treats here as part of his own.

24 Primasius of Hadrumetum, who signed Vigilius' first *Constitutum* (311).

25 Sabinianus of Zapara, Projectus of Naissus, Paul of Justiniana Secunda (Ulpiana). These three bishops were likewise members of the opposition and signed Vigilius' first *Constitutum* (310).

26 'Your beatitude', like 'your holiness' below, refers to either all the patriarchs or Eutychius of Constantinople in particular.

14. [30] Ammonius presbyter and advocate of the church said: ‘The information given to you by Theodore the most devout bishop of Limyra is correct, for this is what we said and what we heard from him.’

15. Anatolius bishop of Cyme said: ‘In accordance with the order of your beatitude both myself and Peter the most devout presbyter and advocate of his great and holy church went to the place called Palea, a palace of our most pious and serene emperor, to Sabinianus the most devout bishop of the city of Zapara in the diocese of Illyricum, and urged him to come and sit together with your most holy council. He replied that he could not come because his archbishop Benenatus is not present; he said, “I answer to him”.’²⁷

16. Peter presbyter and advocate of the church said: ‘What Anatolius the most devout bishop of Cyme has told you is true, for this is what we said and what we heard from him.’

17. Diogenianus bishop of Sozopolis in Pisidia said: ‘In accordance with the order of your beatitude I went together with Theodore the most devout presbyter and advocate of this great and holy church to Projectus the most devout bishop of Naissus in the diocese of Illyricum, who resides in the palace of Maxentian, and spoke to him as follows, “The most holy patriarchs and all your other brethren the most religious bishops urge you to come to the holy council.” He replied, “I defer to Archbishop Benenatus and answer to him.” When we came to Paul the most religious bishop of Justiniana Secunda, who resides in the palace of Germanus near the gate of Caesarius,²⁸ and informed him of the instructions of your holiness, he replied, “I have an archbishop and I answer to him”.’

18. Theodore presbyter and advocate of the church said: ‘When in accordance with the order of your beatitude I went together with Diogenianus the most devout bishop of Sozopolis to the aforesaid most devout bishops Projectus of Naissus and Paul of Justiniana Secunda, we urged them to come to this holy council. They gave the reply recounted by the aforesaid most devout bishop Diogenianus.’

²⁷ Note that the diocese of Zapara, despite its southerly location, was under the archbishop of Justiniana Prima and not of Thessalonica. Presumably, like Stobi (Acts I. 13) it was at this date in the province of Praevalitana.

²⁸ On the Sea of Marmora, due south of the Forum of Theodosius. See the map in Bury (1923), II, 67.

19. The holy council said: ‘When summoned by this holy council, the most religious bishops Primasius, Sabinianus, Projectus and Paul ought to have come and taken part in everything that is raised, especially since both the most pious emperor and we ourselves have given each of them leave to make known his will regarding the matters raised. But because they have not done this, as regards Primasius let the proper decision be taken at the appropriate time according to ecclesiastical tradition; as for the most devout bishops Sabinianus, Projectus and Paul, they will be permitted as they have requested [31] to consult the most religious bishop Benenatus, who is in communion with us and assents to the proceedings of the council, as is shown both by what he has often written and done and by the fact that the most religious bishop Phocas, who is in his diocese, is present at this holy council and represents him.²⁹ Let this be resolved accordingly. It is improper for priests to think of delaying the response we need to give to the most Christian emperor, especially since the apostle Peter says that we ought to be ready to satisfy anyone who asks us for an account of our salvation.³⁰ With the help of God we shall meet on the coming day to transact what is necessary.’

²⁹ Bishop Phocas of Stobi (no. 37 in the attendance list above) is said to ‘represent’ Benenatus, the papal vicar of Dacia, as the only bishop at the council under his jurisdiction. But if he had been his official representative he would have come higher up in the list, like Benignus, the representative of the bishop of Thessalonica and papal vicar of Illyricum.

³⁰ Cf. 1 Pet 3:15.

THE THIRD SESSION

INTRODUCTION

Having at the previous session summoned the bishops for the following day (9 May), Eutychius had no choice but to see them. But since he wished to postpone the council's first item of substantial business, the case against Theodore of Mopsuestia, doubtless in the hope that Pope Vigilius might yet be induced to attend or at least recognize the council, the session consisted simply of a statement by the patriarch that was largely a repetition of sections of two documents read out at the first session, his own letter to Vigilius (I. 10) and Justinian's letter to the council fathers (I. 7, esp. §§14–15). Note, however, his final threat of condemnation and anathematization against those who espouse unorthodox opinions: this threatened Vigilius with deposition if he were to proclaim himself a defender of the Three Chapters.

PROCEEDINGS

1. [32] In the twenty-seventh year of the lord Justinian perpetual Augustus and in the twelfth year after the consulship of the most illustrious Basil, seven days before the Ides of May in the first indiction,¹ there were seated in the consistory of the venerable episcopal palace of this imperial city: (1) Eutychius the most holy patriarch of imperial Constantinople New Rome, (2) Apollinarius the most holy archbishop of the great city of Alexandria, (3) Domninus the most holy patriarch of the great city of Theopolis [Antioch], (4–6) Stephen the most religious bishop of Raphia, George the most religious bishop of Tiberias, and Damian the most religious bishop of Sozusa, [all] representing Eustochius the most holy bishop of Jerusalem, (7) Benignus the most religious bishop of Heraclea in Pelagonia, representing Helias the

¹ 9 May 553. This is the date given in Surlius. The Codex Parisinus has 'four days before the Ides of May,' i.e. 12 May, but this is clearly a slip, since at 2 below Archdeacon Diodore refers to the second session of 8 May as 'the session held yesterday.'

most blessed bishop of Thessalonica, (8) Theodore the most religious bishop of Caesarea in the province of Cappadocia Prima, (9) Andrew the most religious bishop of Ephesus, (10) Sextilian the most religious bishop of Tunis, representing Primosus the most religious bishop of Carthage, (11) Megethius the most religious bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, (12) Anastasius the most religious bishop of Tavium, representing Dorotheus the most religious bishop of Ancyra, (13) John the most devout bishop of Ilium, representing Euprepus the most religious bishop of the city of Cyzicus, (14) Eusebius the most religious bishop of Tyre. [33] (15) John the most religious bishop of Nicomedia, (16) Stephen the most religious bishop of Nicaea, (17) Constantine the most religious bishop of Chalcedon, (18) Peter the most religious bishop of Tarsus, (19) John the most devout bishop of Cucusus, representing Palladius the most religious bishop of Melitene, (20) John the most religious bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, (21) Pompeianus the most religious bishop of Byzacena, (22) Amazonius the most religious bishop of Edessa, (23) Alexander the most religious bishop of Gangra, (24) Thomas the most religious bishop of Apamea in Syria, (25) Euphrantas the most religious bishop of Tyana, (26) Theodore the most religious bishop of Hierapolis in Syria, (27) Bosporius the most religious bishop of Neocaesarea, (28) John the most religious bishop of Bostra, (29) Philip the most religious bishop of Myra, (30) Theodore the most religious bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, (31) Julian the most religious bishop of Sardis, (32) Theodore the most religious bishop of Gortyna, (33) Eustathius the most religious bishop of Damascus, (34) Theodosius the most religious bishop of Rhodes, (35) Firmus the most religious bishop of Tipasa in the province of Africa, (36) Theodore the most religious bishop of Antioch in Pisidia, (37) Phocas the most religious bishop of Stobi, (38) Eulogius the most religious bishop of Perge, (39) Severianus the most religious bishop of Aphrodisias, (40) Cyriacus the most religious bishop of Amida, (41) Severus the most religious bishop of Synnada, (42) Peter the most religious bishop of Side, (43) Abramius the most religious bishop of Sergiopolis, (44) Asignius the most devout bishop of Trajanopolis, representing John the most religious bishop of Laodicea in Phrygia Pacatiana, [(45) John the most religious bishop of Hadrianopolis in Thrace,]² (46) Crescens the most religious bishop

2 This name is omitted in the MSS. *ACO ad loc.* express uncertainty as to whether this means that he was absent from the session. But the attendance lists are identical for every session (apart from one other omission at VIII. 1.82) and do not attempt to reflect variations in attendance. The omission must be purely accidental and is to be rectified. Accordingly my numeration of names in the rest of the list differs from that in *ACO*.

of Cuicul, (47) Theodosius the most religious bishop of Justinianopolis in Cappadocia Secunda, (48) Stephen the most religious bishop of Laodicea or Theodorias, [34] (49) Auxanon the most religious bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, (50) Eustathius the most religious bishop of Maximianopolis, (51) Aetherius the most religious bishop of Anazarbus, (52) Domitius the most religious bishop of Chalcis, (53) Valerian the most religious bishop of Obba in the province of Africa, (54) Dionysius the most religious bishop of Seleucia in Syria, (55) Theodore the most religious bishop of Druzipara, (56) Severus the most religious bishop of Pompeiopolis in the province of Paphlagonia, (57) George the most religious bishop of Cypsela Justiniana [Nova], (58) Romanus the most devout bishop of Gabala, (59) George the most devout bishop of Justinianopolis in Armenia, (60) John the most devout bishop of Nyssa, (61) Basil the most devout bishop of Justiniana Nova Camuliana, (62) John the most devout bishop of Barcusa, (63) Cresconius the most devout bishop of Zattara in the province of Numidia, (64) Sergius the most devout bishop of Cynopolis in Aegyptus Secunda, (65) Christopher the most devout bishop of Arcadiopolis in Asia, (66) Theodosius the most devout bishop of Byblus, (67) Leontius the most devout bishop of Arca, (68) John the most devout bishop of Myrina, (69) Alexander the most devout bishop of Amphipolis, (70) Stephen the most devout bishop of Clysmas, (71) Thomas the most devout bishop of Verisa, (72) Aristodemus the most devout bishop of Philomelium, (73) Thalelaeus the most devout bishop of Hadrianopolis in Pisidia, (74) Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Erythrae, (75) Diogenianus the most devout bishop of Sozopolis, (76) Bassus the most devout bishop of Tamiathis, (77) Anatolius the most devout bishop of Cyme, (78) Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cratia, (79) Restitutus the most devout bishop of Milevum in the province of Africa, (80) Theodore the most devout bishop of Leontopolis in Egypt, (81) Conon the most devout bishop of Magydus, (82) Aemilianus the most devout bishop of Antipyrgus,³ (83) Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Prusa, (84) George the most devout bishop of Ptolemais, (85) Soterus the most devout bishop of Aulon, (86) Zosimus the most devout bishop of Antandrus, [35] (87) Cyprian the most devout bishop of Corycus, (88) Helias the most devout bishop of Diocletianopolis, (89) Theonas the most devout bishop of Cusae, (90) Theodore the most devout bishop of Limyra, (91) Gennadius the most devout bishop of Zenonopolis, (92) Asyncretius the most devout bishop of Aradus, (93) Stephen the most devout bishop of Botrys, (94) Philip the most devout

3 In all the other lists Aemilianus comes before Conon and not after him as here.

bishop of Phellus, (95) Menas the most devout bishop from Myriangeli, (96) Genethlius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum, (97) Thomas the most devout bishop of Constantia, (98) Theodore the most devout bishop of Leontopolis, (99) Severus the most devout bishop of Tabae, (100) Theocistus the most devout bishop of Halicarnassus, (101) Cosmas the most devout bishop of Mallus, (102) Dionysius the most devout bishop of Megara, (103) Callinicus the most devout bishop of Opus, (104) Paschasius the most devout bishop of Aegium, (105) Erasmus the most devout bishop of Cibyra, (106) John the most devout bishop of Neocaesarea in Euphratensis, (107) Nonnus the most devout bishop of Dausara, (108) Stephen the most devout bishop of Balaneae, (109) Thomas the most devout bishop of Circesium, (110) Anatolius the most devout bishop of Sebaste, (111) Constantine the most devout bishop of Midaeum, (112) Macarius the most devout bishop of Prymnessus, (113) Megas the most devout bishop of Meirus, (114) Thalelaeus the most devout bishop of Isinda, (115) Nicetas the most devout bishop of Epiphaneia, (116) Alexander the most devout bishop of Dionysopolis, (117) Pelagius the most devout bishop of Aezani, (118) Hieron the most devout bishop of Anastasiopolis in Phrygia, (119) Glaucus the most devout bishop of Alia, (120) Procopius the most devout bishop from Antinoopolis, (121) Peter the most devout bishop of Domitiopolis, (122) John the most devout bishop of Colonia, (123) Uranius the most devout bishop of Tralles, [36] (124) John the most devout bishop of Ceraseis, (125) Phronimus the most devout bishop of Sanaus, (126) Macedonius the most devout bishop of Justinianopolis in Bithynia, (127) Ecdicius the most devout bishop of Tenus, (128) Eulogius the most devout bishop of Danaba, (129) Theodore the most devout bishop of Coradea, (130) Helpidophorus the most devout bishop of Anastasiopolis in Caria, (131) Cyrion the most devout bishop of Dadima, (132) Theodore the most devout bishop of Laodicea, (133) Silas the most devout bishop of Tiberiopolis, (134) Diogenes the most devout bishop of Augustopolis, (135) Theodore the most devout bishop of Ingila, (136) Julian the most devout bishop of Zeugma, (137) Dorymenius the most devout bishop of Adraa, (138) John the most devout bishop of Lerus, (139) Theodore the most devout bishop of Gargara, (140) Theodore the most devout bishop of Comana, (141) Rufinus the most devout bishop of Sebasteia in Armenia, (142) Conon the most devout bishop of Sennea, (143) Cyriacus the most devout bishop of Casae, (144) Sisinnius the most devout bishop of Praenetus, (145) Julian the most devout bishop of Batnae, (146) Anastasius the most devout bishop of Rachla, (147) Theodore the most devout bishop of Porthmus, (148) Paul the most devout bishop of Stectorium, (149) Stephen

the most devout bishop of Amaseia, (150) Paul the most devout bishop of Adrassus, (151) Evander the most devout bishop of Cnidus, (152) Menas the most devout bishop of Carpathus.

2. Diodore archdeacon and *primicerius* of the most devout notaries said: ‘At the session held yesterday your holiness⁴ resolved that your holy council should meet today. What we propose depends on your good pleasure.’

3. The holy council said: ‘For the sake of order let all the proceedings be read.’

4. When this had been done, the holy council said:

‘(1) We propose to all, and deem it appropriate to priests, to make a start on our proceedings relating to the Three Chapters, about which we have been consulted in writing by the most pious and most serene emperor, [37] and to speak clearly to all about the orthodox faith and about the holy fathers and doctors who at various times have attained distinction in the holy church of God. We therefore profess to hold and proclaim the faith given originally by our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ to the holy apostles, preached by them in the whole world, and professed, expounded and handed down to the holy churches by the holy fathers, especially those who assembled in the holy four councils, whom in everything and in all respects we follow and accept together with the other holy fathers, and also the holy four councils themselves, that is, the 318 holy fathers convened at Nicaea, the 150 holy fathers who met at Constantinople, the two hundred at Ephesus I, and the 630 at Chalcedon. Everything defined by the aforesaid holy four councils on the one and the same faith we accept, and all those condemned by the aforesaid holy four councils we hold to be condemned and anathematized together with the other heretics.

‘(2)⁵ This being so, we make known that we have maintained and maintain everything defined by the aforesaid holy four councils, as was said above, on the orthodox faith and everything they decreed canonically on ecclesiastical order. For although the aforesaid holy four councils were held at different times in opposition to the heretics who had sprung up, they still maintained and proclaimed one and the same profession of the orthodox faith. Accordingly we accept everything that accords with these definitions by the afore-mentioned holy four councils on the orthodox faith; everything,

4 The phrase, like ‘the holy council’, refers to Euty chius of Constantinople.

5 The Greek of 2–4 is preserved in the Greek version of the Acts of the Lateran Council of 649, *ACO*, 2nd series, 1, pp. 254,26–256,8.

however, that does not accord with these definitions by the same holy four councils on the orthodox faith or was written to harm or contradict the same four councils, or one of them, and to defend heretics and their impiety, we condemn and anathematize, judging it to be alien to piety.

‘(3) In addition we also follow in everything the holy fathers and doctors of the holy church of God, Athanasius, Hilary, Basil, Gregory the Theologian and Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, Augustine, Theophilus, John of Constantinople, Cyril, Leo and Proclus,⁶ and we accept everything they expounded on the orthodox faith and in condemnation of heretics; we also accept the other holy and orthodox fathers who preached the orthodox faith in the holy church of God irreproachably till the end of their lives.

‘(4) Therefore, since this orthodox profession is maintained and proclaimed in the holy, catholic and apostolic church of God, if anyone separates himself from its faith⁷ by holding contrary opinions, such a person, since he alienates himself from the orthodox faith and numbers himself with the heretics, is justly condemned and anathematized by the holy church of God.

‘(5) [38] As regards, however, discussion of the Three Chapters, that is, Theodore of Mopsuestia and his writings, the letter that is said to have been written by Ibas to Mari the Persian, and the writings of Theodoret that were composed against the orthodox faith and Cyril of holy memory and against his Twelve Chapters, on which we have been consulted by the most pious and most serene emperor, because a special session is needed, let us convene, with the help of God, on another day.’

6 This selection of Church Fathers is taken without change from that in Justinian’s letter to the council (I. 7.14).

7 ‘Faith’ is the reading in the Greek Acts of 649; the Latin of both 553 and 649 has ‘communion’.

THE FOURTH SESSION

INTRODUCTION

The fourth session of 12 May was taken up by a presentation of the first part of the case against Theodore of Mopsuestia, consisting of the reading of a collection of 71 chapters or excerpts from his writings (the numeration is modern) and concluding with the ‘criminal creed’, supposedly of his authorship, that had been condemned (though without mention of Theodore himself) at Ephesus I.

What was this collection intended to prove? The primary concern of its first and principal section (7–63) is to show that Theodore rejected a union of the two natures of Christ from the moment of his conception, and instead presented him as a mere human being, who had to struggle against temptation with the same aids from God as other men receive, and who was elevated only gradually and over time to a sinless condition and a unique status. Theodore did not think that Christ’s miracles, even his resurrection, revealed his divinity to his contemporaries (21, 31, 35, 60–61). When the apostles took the name of ‘Christians’, they did so in the same way as the followers of Plato took the name of Platonists and the followers of Marcion took the name Marcionite (22). When they called Christ ‘Saviour’ or ‘Son of God’, they did not understand these titles to imply divinity (56–7). To present the faith of the apostles in these terms was surely an attempt to undermine belief in Christ’s Godhead.

Linked to Theodore’s demoting of Christ was his conviction that Christ is not referred to in the Old Testament; what had been read as prophecies of Christ’s mission and death, as if these had been at the centre of revelation from the very start, were simply, according to Theodore, examples of accommodation, where texts that had originally a different reference were fancifully applied to Christ by later Christians (26–30). A subsidiary charge was that his treatment of the fall of man attributed the origin of sin to the divine will itself rather than to man’s sinful rebellion against the divine will (64–70); the purpose of this charge was to associate him with the Pelagians

and therefore damn him in western eyes.¹ Another charge was that he had been happy to dismiss certain books of the Bible, such as Job and the Song of Songs, as pagan, fictitious, or obscene, ignoring their inspiration by the Holy Spirit (72–80). Finally, he had had the presumption to attempt to replace the Nicene Creed with one of his own composition (81), in which he taught that Christ was simply a man of the same nature as ourselves (§5) and that he was not truly ‘Son of God’ but had merely received the title through being ‘anointed’ by the Holy Spirit (§§6–7).

These charges illustrate that same misunderstanding of Antiochene Christology that had led to the condemnation of Nestorius in 431 for psilanthropism, and the pilloried extracts are generally capable of a benign interpretation. Yet Theodore’s treatment of Christ the man as a personal subject distinct from God the Word and the ambiguities in the language he used to express the Christological union were certainly suggestive of heresy to minds steeped in the teaching of Cyril of Alexandria.²

It is likely that the bishops were free, and encouraged, to utter howls of execration throughout the reading. In the edited minutes these acclamations are recorded at two points, half way through the reading (34), where Theodore is likened to Judas, and at the end (82), where his creed is described as the work of Satan.

At the end of the session the chairman told the bishops that it was manifest that Theodore deserved condemnation, but that nevertheless there was need of a further session at which they could hear ‘the declarations against him of the holy fathers, the imperial laws and the writers of history’ (83). His formal condemnation had to wait till the eighth session of the council, when the bishops approved Canon 12, condemning both the ‘impious’ Theodore and his ‘innumerable blasphemies’.

1 We find the same sequence in the Twelve Anathemas of John Maxentius, active in both Constantinople and Rome between 519 and 533 as the leader of the Scythian monks, of which the first nine are directed against Nestorianism and the last three against Pelagianism, concluding, ‘If anyone says that sin is natural, insanelly attributing the cause of sin to the Creator of natures, let him be anathema’ (*ACO* 4.2, p. 10). For the tension in Theodore between belief in a real fall of man and a tendency to treat human weakness as the natural result of creation see Fairbairn (2003), 29–34.

2 See above, pp. 79–82.

Excursus: The excerpts from Theodore³

The first hostile anthology of excerpts from the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia that we hear of was the one brought to Archbishop Proclus of Constantinople by two priests from Persian Armenia in 435.⁴ Three years later Cyril of Alexandria was to include a series of extracts from Theodore in his *Against Diodore and Theodore*, composed in 438. In reply Theodoret of Cyrhus wrote his *Defence of Diodore and Theodore*, containing his own anthology of more edifying extracts. Of these two works all that has come down to us is a number of fragments.

The earliest surviving florilegia from the writings of Theodore are two that date from the time of the Three Chapters controversy. The longest of them is the one read out at this fourth session, consisting of 71 chapters with Theodore's 'criminal creed' as an appendix. A version of this collection had been sent in Latin translation to Pope Vigilius, who incorporated it in his first *Constitutum*; it consists of 60 chapters, of which all save one (XIII) are among the 71 read out at the council. In addition we have a second anthology, contained in a major work by Leontius of Byzantium, his *Deprehensio et Triumphus super Nestorianos* ('The Unmasking and Rout of the Nestorians').⁵ Leontius died in or soon after 543, and his attack on Theodore makes no reference to Justinian's first edict against the Three Chapters, which it clearly preceded. Leontius' anthology consists of 36 excerpts, of which he identifies 1–29 as coming from Theodore's most notorious work, his *On the incarnation*, where anti-Apollinarian argument led him into a presentation of the duality of natures in Christ that to later generations sounded Nestorian. Leontius tells us explicitly that he made a search for Theodore's writings and was able to find only *On the incarnation*, from which he made his own selection of passages.⁶

A comparison of the florilegium in the Acts and that in Leontius shows that the two are closely related. Not only do 13 of Leontius' 36 excerpts reappear in the Acts, but of these the great majority appear in an identical form, starting and ending at precisely the same points in Theodore's text.

3 The following analysis comes to the same conclusions as Richard (1943). See also Sullivan (1956), 35–44.

4 While the Armenians' letter (Devreesse 1948, 137) refers vaguely to 'a work' of Theodore's, Innocent of Maronea calls it 'unum volumen blasphemiarum Theodori' (*ACO* 4.2, p. 68, 21). It was most probably a florilegium.

5 PG 86A. 1357–96. This omits the extracts from Theodore, which come in Mai (1832), 299–312.

6 PG 86A. 1384C, 1385A.

Yet in a number of cases the text in either Leontius or the Acts is longer than that in the other,⁷ which would not be the case if one of them were directly dependent on the other; the implication is that both derive from a common source. Of this there are further indications: apart from the actual excerpts he provides, Leontius indulges in a general diatribe against Theodore, and some of the points he makes suggest acquaintance with excerpts absent from his anthology but included in the acts of 553. This is particularly true of the passage where he castigates Theodore for the following enormities, presented in this order: rejecting the greater part of the Book of Job, excluding the Catholic Epistles from the New Testament canon,⁸ denying a Christological reference to all but three of the Psalms, ‘interpreting the Song of Songs, the most holy of holy songs, according to his own pornographic mind and tongue... and excising it from the holy scriptures,’ and finally replacing the Nicene Creed with one of his own composition.⁹ This is closely parallel to the sequence of excerpts from Theodore that completes the anthology given in the acts, whose final chapters (72–81) treat in turn his rejection of the poetic parts of Job, his interpretation of the Song of Songs as Solomon’s apologia for a passionate affair with a black concubine, and his ‘criminal creed’. It is clear that this part of the text in the acts was also to be found (in the same sequence but interspersed with additional material) in Leontius’ source.

In all, it is manifest that the florilegia in the Acts and in Leontius are closely related, and that both derive from a common source, itself a florilegium.¹⁰ Leontius’ claim that he had read *On the incarnation* for himself and made his own excerpts must be rejected as wholly fictitious. The same, of course, is true of the statement by the notaries at the council of 553 that the excerpts had been compiled from the codices of Theodore by Patriarch Eutychius (Acts IV. 5).

Is it possible to date the common source? A clear indication is to be found in the extracts that were read out in fifth session from Cyril’s *Against Diodore and Theodore* (V. 5–13): of the nine in question, no fewer than

7 Of the twelve passages in the Acts shared with Leontius (one incorporates two of Leontius’ extracts) four appear in a longer form in the Acts (I, VIII, XXVII, LIII) and two in a shorter one (XXIX, XLVI).

8 Ishodad, a ninth-century commentator in the Theodoran tradition, confirms that Theodore never cites or mentions James, 1 John or 1 Peter (Vosté 1929, 390).

9 PG 86A, 1365B–1368B.

10 Another witness to this source is Justinian’s Letter on the Three Chapters, which contains ten extracts from Theodore of which eight ‘correspond perfectly with citations given also by Leontius’ (Sullivan 1956, 41).

six (5–8, 10–11) are citations (generally fuller citations) of passages cited by Leontius, Acts IV, or both.¹¹ Cyril's work, which was composed in 438, cannot itself be the source for the later collections, since it did not provide the precise indication of the source of each passage that we find in both Leontius and Acts IV. The implication is that Cyril was using the very florilegium that was the common source of that in Leontius and of the one used in Acts IV and by Vigilius. Cyril claimed that he had made his own selection of passages from the original works of Diodore and Theodore; this claim was as fraudulent as those made later by Leontius and Eutychius.¹² Since the first attack on Theodore (d. 428) as a Nestorian was initiated by Rabbula of Edessa in 432, a date for this collection in the mid-430s is clearly established.

This dependence on earlier florilegia during the Three Chapters controversy may be illustrated from other sources. The great work by Facundus of Hermiane in defence of the Three Chapters includes many extracts from Theodore, and these have been shown to derive not from the original codices but from the excerpts that Theodoret of Cyrillus had compiled in reply to Cyril.¹³ Yet the codices of Theodore must have been available to all these writers: quite apart from his notoriety at the time, Photius was to find several of his works in Constantinopolitan libraries three centuries later.¹⁴ Research was not unknown in this period: the Three Chapters controversy saw much burrowing in the archives after the original documentation for the Council of Chalcedon. But when the controversialists found the material that would serve their cause already to hand in existing florilegia, they were not inclined to look further. They recognized standards of scholarship that required the perusal of the original codices, but they found deceit less demanding than study.

The more important question is whether the excerpts contained in the sixth-century collections are authentic and reliable. In the 1940s both Marcel Richard and Robert Devreesse argued, principally from a comparison with the works or fragments of Theodore preserved in Syriac, that the excerpts in

11 Note that of the extracts from this same work of Cyril's contained in the writings of Severus of Antioch all save two coincide with those in Leontius or the acts of 553 (Sullivan 1956, 36).

12 Cyril, *ep.* 69, in Schwartz (1927), 15–16. Cyril's claim to have read Diodore and Theodore for himself is undermined by his confusion over authorship: he attributes to Theodore five excerpts from Diodore (those in Acts V. 5–8).

13 Abramowski (1957).

14 Schamp (1987), 477–83.

the Greek and Latin florilegia (particularly from Theodore's *On the incarnation*) were so deformed by distortion and interpolation as to be almost worthless in the reconstruction of Theodore's theology.¹⁵ In 1956 Francis Sullivan responded with a full analysis, arguing that the Syriac versions were not sufficiently literal to provide sure evidence against the florilegia, and concluding, 'In not a single case does the alleged forgery, interpolation, or textual alteration remain as the only possible, or indeed as the more probable, explanation of textual variants between the hostile fragments and independent versions of Theodore's works... We can safely use these hostile fragments, as long as we are careful to see them in the light of all the other evidence.'¹⁶

I would myself draw attention to the cases, discussed in my annotation, where the original text and context of a passage in the florilegium used in 553 is preserved in the Syriac version of Theodore's Catechetical Homilies (the first part of which is referred to in the Acts as the *Commentary on the Creed* and the second as the *Book addressed to Candidates for Baptism*).¹⁷ What emerges from these is that the excerpts have to be used with caution not because there is reason to suspect forgery or interpolation but because malicious selection, the removal of qualifying phrases and above all the suppression of the context can impose the grossest heresy on passages more often infelicitous than criminal.

Curiously, the unimpressive history of these florilegia strengthens one's faith in their reliability. Since they depend on a common source dating to the 430s, when Theodore's writings were widely available and his defenders informed and vocal, falsification is unlikely. It may also be called to mind that Ibas of Edessa chose to translate one of the hostile florilegia (the one from Armenia) into Syriac, as a way of spreading Theodore's ideas, with which he wholly concurred (see V. 83); the implication is that the excerpts in the florilegia did not do Theodore a gross injustice, however shocking they were to the allies and disciples of Cyril of Alexandria. It is unlikely that the florilegium that survives through its use by Leontius of Byzantium and the council of 553 was different in kind.

15 Richard (1943) and Devreesse (1948), 243–58. Following suit, CPG 3, 355–6 distinguishes between the 'traditio genuina' of Theodore's *On the incarnation*, represented by the extracts in Facundus and a Syriac manuscript, and the 'traditio alterata' represented by the extracts under discussion here.

16 Sullivan (1956), 156–8.

17 See my notes below on extracts XXXI, XXXV–VI, XLI and XLIIa.

PROCEEDINGS

1. [39] In the twenty-seventh year of the lord Justinian perpetual Augustus and in the twelfth year after the consulship of the most illustrious Basil, four days before the Ides of May in the first indiction,¹⁸ there were seated in the consistory of the venerable episcopal palace of this imperial city: (1) Eutychius the most holy patriarch of imperial Constantinople New Rome, (2) Apollinarius the most holy archbishop of the great city of Alexandria, (3) Domninus the most holy patriarch of the great city of Theopolis [Antioch], (4–6) Stephen the most religious bishop of Raphia, George the most religious bishop of Tiberias, and Damian the most religious bishop of Sozusa, [all] representing Eustochius the most holy bishop of Jerusalem, (7) Benignus the most religious bishop of Heraclea in Pelagonia, representing Helias the most blessed bishop of Thessalonica, (8) Theodore the most religious bishop of Caesarea in the province of Cappadocia Prima, (9) Andrew the most religious bishop of Ephesus, (10) Sextilian the most religious bishop of Tunis, representing Primosus the most religious bishop of Carthage, (11) Megethius the most religious bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, (12) Anastasius the most religious bishop of Tavium, representing Dorotheus the most religious bishop of Ancyra, (13) John the most devout bishop of Ilium, representing Euprepus the most religious bishop of the city of Cyzicus, (14) Eusebius the most religious bishop of Tyre, (15) John the most religious bishop of Nicomedia, (16) Stephen the most religious bishop of Nicaea, (17) Constantine the most religious bishop of Chalcedon, (18) Peter the most religious bishop of Tarsus, [40] (19) John the most devout bishop of Cucusus, representing Palladius the most religious bishop of Melitene, (20) John the most religious bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, (21) Pompeianus the most religious bishop of Byzacena, (22) Amazonius the most religious bishop of Edessa, (23) Alexander the most religious bishop of Gangra, (24) Thomas the most religious bishop of Apamea in Syria, (25) Euphrantas the most religious bishop of Tyana, (26) Theodore the most religious bishop of Hierapolis in Syria, (27) Bosporius the most religious bishop of Neocaesarea, (28) John the most religious bishop of Bostra, (29) Philip the most religious bishop of Myra, (30) Theodore the most religious bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, (31) Julian the most religious bishop of Sardis, (32)

¹⁸ 12 May 553, a Monday. This is the date in Surius. The Codex Parisinus, however, gives 'three days before the Ides of May,' i.e. 13 May (Tuesday). Both are possible, but since Monday appears to have a favourite day for sessions (Sessions I and VIII certainly fell on Mondays, as probably did Session VI and possibly Session VII), *ACO* 4.1, p. xxxv prefers 12 May.

Theodore the most religious bishop of Gortyna, (33) Eustathius the most religious bishop of Damascus, (34) Theodosius the most religious bishop of Rhodes, (35) Firmus the most religious bishop of Tipasa of the province of Africa, (36) Theodore the most religious bishop of Antioch in Pisidia, (37) Phocas the most religious bishop of Stobi, (38) Eulogius the most religious bishop of Perge, (39) Severianus the most religious bishop of Aphrodisias, (40) Cyriacus the most religious bishop of Amida, (41) Severus the most religious bishop of Synnada, (42) Peter the most religious bishop of Side, (43) Abramius the most religious bishop of Sergiopolis, (44) Asignius the most devout¹⁹ bishop of Trajanopolis, representing John the most religious bishop of Laodicea in Phrygia Pacatiana, (45) John the most religious bishop of Hadrianopolis in Thrace, (46) Crescens the most religious bishop of Cuicul, (47) Theodosius the most religious bishop of Justinianopolis in Cappadocia Secunda, (48) Stephen the most religious bishop of Laodicea or Theodorias, (49) Auxanon the most religious bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, (50) Eustathius the most religious bishop of Maximianopolis, (51) Aetherius the most religious bishop of Anazarbus, (52) Domitius the most religious bishop of Chalcis, (53) Valerian the most religious bishop of Obba in the province of Africa, (54) Dionysius the most religious bishop of Seleucia in Syria, (55) Theodore the most religious bishop of Druzipara, (56) Severus the most religious bishop of Pompeiopolis in the province of Paphlagonia, [41] (57) George the most religious bishop of Cypsela Justiniana [Nova], (58) Romanus the most devout bishop of Gabala, (59) George the most devout bishop of Justinianopolis in Armenia, (60) John the most devout bishop of Nyssa, (61) Basil the most devout bishop of Justiniana Nova Camuliana, (62) John the most devout bishop of Barcusa, (63) Cresconius the most devout bishop of Zattara in the province of Numidia, (64) Sergius the most devout bishop of Cynopolis in Aegyptus Secunda, (65) Christopher the most devout bishop of Arcadiopolis in Asia, (66) Theodosius the most devout bishop of Byblus, (67) Leontius the most devout bishop of Arca, (68) John the most devout bishop of Myrina, (69) Alexander the most devout bishop of Amphipolis, (70) Stephen the most devout bishop of Clysma, (71) Thomas the most devout bishop of Verisa, (72) Aristodemus the most devout bishop of Philomelium, (73) Thalelaeus the most devout bishop of Hadrianopolis in Pisidia, (74) Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Erythrae, (75) Diogenianus the most devout bishop of Sozopolis, (76) Bassus the most

19 The MSS have 'most religious', but elsewhere in the acts Asignius is 'the most devout bishop', the correct style for a suffragan bishop.

devout bishop of Tamiathis, (77) Anatolius the most devout bishop of Cyme, (78) Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cratia, (79) Restitutus the most devout bishop of Milevum in the province of Africa, (80) Theodore the most devout bishop of Leontopolis in Egypt, (81) Aemilianus the most devout bishop of Antipyrgus, (82) Conon the most devout bishop of Magydus, (83) Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Prusa, (82) George the most devout bishop of Ptolemais, (85) Soterus the most devout bishop of Aulon, (86) Zosimus the most devout bishop of Antandrus, (87) Cyprian the most devout bishop of Corycus, (88) Helias the most devout bishop of Diocletianopolis, (89) Theonas the most devout bishop of Cusae, (90) Theodore the most devout bishop of Limyra, (91) Gennadius the most devout bishop of Zenonopolis, (92) Asyncretius the most devout bishop of Aradus, (93) Stephen the most devout bishop of Botrys, (94) Philip the most devout bishop of Phellus, (95) Menas the most devout bishop from Myriangeli, (96) Genethlius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum, (97) Thomas the most devout bishop of Constantia, (98) Theodore the most devout bishop of Leontopolis, [42] (99) Severus the most devout bishop of Tabae, (100) Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Halicarnassus, (101) Cosmas the most devout bishop of Mallus, (102) Dionysius the most devout bishop of Megara, (103) Callinicus the most devout bishop of Opus, (104) Paschasius the most devout bishop of Aegium, (105) Erasmus the most devout bishop of Cibyra, (106) John the most devout bishop of Neocaesarea in Euphratensis, (107) Nonnus the most devout bishop of Dausara, (108) Stephen the most devout bishop of Balanae, (109) Thomas the most devout bishop of Circesium, (110) Anatolius the most devout bishop of Sebaste, (111) Constantine the most devout bishop of Midaeum, (112) Macarius the most devout bishop of Prymnessus, (113) Megas the most devout bishop of Meirus, (114) Thalelaeus the most devout bishop of Isinda, (115) Nicetas the most devout bishop of Epiphaneia, (116) Alexander the most devout bishop of Dionysopolis, (117) Pelagius the most devout bishop of Aezani, (118) Hieron the most devout bishop of Anastasiopolis in Phrygia, (119) Glaucus the most devout bishop of Alia, (120) Procopius the most devout bishop of Antinoopolis, (121) Peter the most devout bishop of Domitiopolis, (122) John the most devout bishop of Colonia, (123) Uranius the most devout bishop of Tralles, (124) John the most devout bishop of Ceraseis, (125) Phronimus the most devout bishop of Sanaus, (126) Macedonius the most devout bishop of Justinianopolis in Bithynia, (127) Ecdicius the most devout bishop of Tenus, (128) Eulogius the most devout bishop of Danaba, (129) Theodore the most devout bishop of Coradea, (130) Helpidophorus the most devout bishop of Anastasiopolis in Caria,

(131) Cyriion the most devout bishop of Dadima, (132) Theodore the most devout bishop of Laodicea, (133) Silas the most devout bishop of Tiberiopolis, (134) Diogenes the most devout bishop of Augustopolis, (135) Theodore the most devout bishop of Ingila, (136) Julian the most devout bishop of Zeugma, (137) Dorymenius the most devout bishop of Adraa, (138) John the most devout bishop of Lerus, [43] (139) Theodore the most devout bishop of Gargara, (140) Theodore the most devout bishop of Comana, (141) Rufinus the most devout bishop of Sebasteia in Armenia, (142) Conon the most devout bishop of Sennea, (143) Cyriacus the most devout bishop of Casae, (144) Sisinnius the most devout bishop of Praenetus, (145) Julian the most devout bishop of Batnae, (146) Anastasius the most devout bishop of Rachla, (147) Theodore the most devout bishop of Porthmus, (148) Paul the most devout bishop of Stectorium, (149) Stephen the most devout bishop of Amaseia, (150) Paul the most devout bishop of Adrassus, (151) Evander the most devout bishop of Cnidus, (152) Menas the most devout bishop of Carpathus.

2. Diodore archdeacon and *primicerius* of the most devout notaries said: ‘On a previous day when your holy council met and certain documents had been read, you resolved that on another day there should follow an examination of the Three Chapters that have come to the fore.²⁰ Now that your holy council is gathered, what we propose depends on your good pleasure.’

3. The holy council²¹ said: ‘Let the previous proceedings be read.’

4. When this had been done, the holy council said: ‘Since there has been protracted discussion about Theodore, who was bishop of the holy church of Mopsuestia, about the letter that is said to be from Ibas and about the writings of Theodoret, no one at all is unaware of what Theodore expounded in various codices and of what pertains to an examination of the other two chapters. But since it is necessary for an examination of them to be conducted in common, let our notaries first of all present in public those texts from the codices of Theodore that led, as we know, to his being accused by the holy fathers.’

5. The notaries said: ‘We have to hand the texts that you collected from the codices of Theodore.’

²⁰ In fact the documents had been read at the first session and the proposal to examine the chapters agreed at the second.

²¹ Here, as at 4, 6 and 83 below, the phrase refers to the chairman, Eutychius of Constantinople. At 34 and 82 it introduces acclamations by the assembled bishops.

6. The holy council said: 'Let them be read.'

7. Calonymus deacon and notary, when he had received them, read out:²²

(I) [44] From Theodore of Mopsuestia's third book against the impious Apollinarius:

How then can you, who above all others are specially suited for authority over the demented, assert that he who was born from the Virgin is to be deemed to be God and from God, consubstantial with the Father, unless perhaps you bid us impute his creation to the Holy Spirit?²³ But the one who is God and from God, consubstantial with the Father, was present, presumably, in the one who was born from the Virgin, you wondrous fellow, and who, according to the divine scriptures, was formed by the Holy Spirit and received composition in a woman's womb, because as soon as he was formed he took on being the temple of God. We are not, however, to think that God was born from the Virgin, unless perchance we are to consider as the same what was born and what was in the one born, the temple and God the Word in the temple. But not even according to your statement is it at all to be asserted that the one born from the Virgin is God from God, consubstantial with the Father. For even if, as you say, the one born from the Virgin is not an adopted man but God incarnate, how can the one who was born be called God from God and consubstantial with the Father, since the flesh is not able to admit this description? For it is indeed madness to say that God was born from the Virgin; for this is nothing other than to say that he was born from the seed of David [and] from the essence of the Virgin and was formed in her, because what we say was born from the Virgin is that from the seed of David and from the essence of the Virgin which came into being in a mother's womb and was formed by the power of the Holy Spirit. Even if someone were to allow them to say that the one who is God and from God and consubstantial with the Father was born from the Virgin in that he is in the temple, in the one born, even so God the Word was not born in himself but became flesh,²⁴ as this wise man says. If therefore they assert that he was

22 For an analysis of this anthology, with comparison with other texts of Theodore, see Devreesse (1948), 246–58, and Sullivan (1956), 119–58.

23 The Greek of the following passage, down to 'by the power of the Holy Spirit' is preserved in Justinian (Schwartz 1939, p. 53, 12–24) and Leontius of Byzantium (in the apparatus of CSEL 35, 237, taken, as are all the Greeks fragments I cite from CSEL, from Mai 1832, 300–12).

24 In other words, actual birth from the Virgin was experienced not by God the Word in his own being but by the flesh that he 'became', that is, adopted as his temple

born together with his flesh and that what was born is God and from God and consubstantial with the Father, it would be necessary to say the same about the flesh. But if the flesh is not this, because it is not God or from God or consubstantial with the Father but of the seed of David and consubstantial with the one whose seed it is, then that which was born from the Virgin is not God and from God and consubstantial with the Father – unless perchance a part of what was born is, as he himself later on calls the Godhead a part of Christ. [45]²⁵ But it is not the divine nature that was born from the Virgin: there was born from the Virgin the one who exists from the essence of the Virgin. It is not God the Word who was born from Mary, but there was born of Mary the one who is of the seed of David. It is not God the Word who was born of woman, but there was born of woman the one who was formed in her by the power of the Holy Spirit. From a mother was born not the one consubstantial with the Father (for he is ‘without a mother’ according to the words of the blessed Paul) but the one who in the latter times was formed in his mother’s womb by the power of the Holy Spirit and who is for this reason described as ‘without a father’.²⁶

8. (II) And further down:

Directly in the one formed God the Word came to be. For he was not only in the one ascending into heaven but also in the one rising from the dead, as indeed raising him according to his promise; nor was he only in the one rising, but also in the one crucified and baptized and living an evangelical life after baptism, and even before baptism fulfilling the decrees of the law and presented in accordance with the law and circumcised and bound with the swaddling clothes of childbirth. He was presumably²⁷ in him when he was born and when he was in his mother’s womb from the very first moment of his formation; for he imposed a sequence on the dispensation concerning him, as he led him step by step to perfection.

9. (III) And further down:

... and [God the Word] leading him [the human nature] in time to the baptism, and after that to death, then raising him according to his promise,

²⁵ The Greek of the rest of this chapter is preserved in Justinian (Schwartz 1939, p. 54, 1–7).

²⁶ Heb 7:3 describes Melchizedek as ‘without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life, made like to the Son of God.’ Theodore neatly attributes ‘without father’ to Christ’s humanity and ‘without mother’ to his divinity.

²⁷ Here and elsewhere the Latin *forstian* or *forte*, meaning ‘perchance, perhaps’, appears to translate the Greek ὡς εἰκοζ (as it certainly does at 59, where the Greek text survives), meaning ‘presumably.’

leading him to heaven, and placing him at the right hand of God in virtue of his [the Word's] conjunction,²⁸ as a result of which he is enthroned, is worshipped by all, and will also judge all. In all these things God the Word possessed in himself the final authority,²⁹ since he was in him and accomplished all things in sequence, a sequence that he himself judged to be right through a predetermination and act of will that he made beforehand, before the events that were to take place. By the good will that he had towards him he was in him in the same way from the beginning, and in a sequence of his own choosing was leading him to perfection.

10. (IV) Again from the same book:

He provided the one he had taken up with his own cooperation for the proposed works. [Are we really to hold] that, when he did this, Godhead was in the place of a mind in the one taken up? For Godhead did not take the place of a mind in any of those to whom he gave his cooperation. If indeed [46] he gave some special cooperation to the one taken up, this did not mean that Godhead took the place of a mind. But if Godhead was instead of a mind in the one taken up, according to your words, how did he undergo fear during the passion? Why at the imminence of pain³⁰ did he need the vehement prayers which, according to the blessed Paul,³¹ he offered to God with indeed a great and loud voice and with many tears? How was he possessed by such fear that in overwhelming terror he poured forth streams of sweat, the evangelist plainly saying that his sweat poured down like drops of blood?³² Why did he need the coming and visitation of an angel who refreshed his soul in its experience of ills, reinforced his eagerness, roused him up for the imminent pain of the passion, persuaded him to brook ills bravely, anointed him to bear and endure ills, and revealed the fruit of the present ills, the future glory that would replace the passion, and the good things that would attend him after the passion? For the one who comforted him according to the words of the evangelist,³³ I mean the angel, made him courageous through his words, exhorted him to rise above the weakness of nature, and made him courageous by bolstering his thoughts.

28 The Greek word will have been *συνάφεια*, a favourite Antiochene expression for the union of the two natures, expressing that the two are joined but in no way mixed or blended.

29 The Latin *finem habebat* clearly translates *τέλος εἶχεν*, 'had the final or decisive authority' (LSJ, 1773).

30 The Latin *necessitas* presumably translates *ἀνάγκη*, which can mean torture or pain.

31 Heb 5:7.

32 Cf. Lk 22:44.

33 Lk 22:43.

11. (V) And further down in the same book the same Theodore, speaking in the person of Christ as if in reply to Peter's exclamation to Christ concerning the passion of the cross, 'Mercy on you, Lord! This will not happen to you,'³⁴ inserted this:

'Get behind me, Satan; you are a stumbling-block to me, for your thoughts are not those of God but those of men.³⁵ Death is not a disgrace for me, I shall not flee from it, regarding it as unbecoming to human glory; but with a better spirit I shall bear the experience of death for the sake of the many blessings to come, which I myself shall enjoy and all through me. Do not harm or disturb my spirit by urging me to flee from the experience of death as something deserving disgrace.'

12. (VI) And further down:

For the words 'He was led by the Spirit'³⁶ clearly mean that he was directed by him, was fortified by him with courage for what lay ahead, was led by him to what had to be, was taught by him what was fitting, and was strengthened by him in his thoughts, so that he would be equal to so great a contest, as indeed the blessed Paul says, 'All who are impelled by the Spirit of God are the sons of God,'³⁷ describing as led by the Spirit those who are governed by him, taught by him, set firmly towards the better by him, and who receive from him teaching for catechumens. [47] When the evangelist said, 'He returned from the Jordan full of the Holy Spirit,'³⁸ he plainly showed that he received the indwelling of the Holy Spirit at baptism for this reason, that he should derive from it courage for what lay ahead; and so he was led by the Spirit to that contest which he was to wage with the devil on our behalf.

13. (VII) {Further down}:³⁹

Let therefore those who are wisest of all tell us, if indeed in the case of Christ the Lord in respect of the flesh Godhead replaced a mind, as they assert, why Christ needed the cooperation of the Holy Spirit for all this. For it was not the Godhead of the Only-begotten that needed the Spirit for being made just, that needed the Spirit for conquering the devil, that needed the Spirit for working miracles, that needed the Spirit for being taught to

34 Mt 16:22.

35 Mt 16:23.

36 Mt 4:1.

37 Rom 8:14.

38 Lk 4:1.

39 These words appear only in Surius' edition.

perform what was fitting, that needed the Spirit in order to be seen to be without blemish. For if the Godhead had replaced a mind, its own power would have sufficed for everything; everything would necessarily have been done by it, with the result that the indwelling of the Holy Spirit would have been superfluous. But as it is, it says that he was anointed by the Spirit, that the Spirit dwelt in him and helped him in all his purposes, and that he received teaching and strength from this source, and that it was from this source that he acquired righteousness and became without blemish.

14. (VIII) By the same Theodore from the fourth book against the impious Apollinarius:

The one before the ages, he says, came into being in the last days, again as some have transmitted and assert this, although none of those who are zealous for piety adopted such a disease of madness as to say that he who was before the ages came into being in the last days.⁴⁰ From this he infers that the one who is in the last days was before the ages, and accuses those who do not assert everything similarly in reverse as if those who profess that the Son is one are obliged to assert everything in reverse. Who would not count your madness blessed? Who would not wish to obtain teachers of this kind, who introduce such confusion into rational piety that they say, ‘The one before the ages came into being in the last times,’ that they deprive him of his nature and reduce him to a worse state, and that they then reverse the statement and say, ‘He who is in the last times was before the ages,’ when one ought presumably to say, ‘He who was before the ages took up the one who was in the last times, according to the words of the blessed Paul?’⁴¹ Therefore, following your rules and accepting the reversal – or rather the overturning⁴² – decreed by your sagacity, come let us jumble everything together, and let there be now no distinction between the form of God and form of a servant, nor between the adopted temple and the one who dwelt in the temple, nor between the one who was set free and the one who raised him, nor between the one who was made perfect [48] through sufferings⁴³

40 The Greek of this sentence is preserved in Justinian (Schwartz 1939, p. 51, 19–21) and Leontius of Byzantium (CSEL 35, 244). ‘The one before the ages’ is masculine in the Greek, but neuter in the Latin translation (‘hoc quod ante saecula erat’), a mistake that recurs several times in the following lines and which I correct. For a literal translation of the Latin version see vol. 2, 156.

41 Heb 1:2. The Greek of the rest of this chapter is preserved in Justinian (Schwartz, *ibid.*, 22–30) and Leontius (CSEL, *ibid.*).

42 A pun in the Greek: ἀντιστροφῆν, μᾶλλον δὲ καταστροφῆν.

43 Heb 2:10. The rest of the extract echoes Heb 2:6–8.

and the one who perfected him, nor between the one who was remembered and the one who remembered, nor between the one who was visited and the one who made a visitation, nor between the one who for a little while was made lower than the angels and the one who made him so, nor between the one who was crowned with glory and honour and the one who crowned him, nor between the one who was placed above the works of God's hands and the one who placed him there, nor between the one who accepted these things in subjection and the one who granted [their] subjection.

15. (IX) Likewise by the same Theodore from the third book against the impious Apollinarius:

When therefore he had raised from the dead the man through whom he had decided to carry out judgement of all as an assurance of the things to come and had appointed him judge of all, according to the words of the blessed Paul,⁴⁴ he deservedly bestowed on him union with himself and through conjunction with himself made him partake of such things that as a result he shared also in worship, with all those who render due worship to the divine nature including in their worship also the one whom he knows to be inseparably conjoined to himself.⁴⁵ From this it is manifest that he led him to greater things.

16. (X) And further down:⁴⁶

'I indeed whom you see am unable in respect of my nature to do anything, since I am human; but I act because the Father abiding in me does all things; for because I am in the Father and the Father in me, as Scripture says, and the only-begotten God the Word of God is in me, it is certain that the Father with him abides in me and performs the works.'⁴⁷ There is nothing startling in thinking this about Christ, since he himself says clearly about other men, 'He who loves me will keep my word, and my Father will love him, and we shall come to him and make our abode in him.'⁴⁸ For if the Father and the Son make their abode in each of these, how is it startling if in Christ the Master in respect of the flesh both are thought to abide as in their case, their communion in essence taking on, presumably, a communion in abiding?

44 Acts 17:31.

45 Theodore is not casting doubt on the union of the two natures already in the womb (cf. 7–8 above) but pointing out that Christ was worshipped only after his resurrection (cf. 9).

46 The Greek is preserved in Justinian (Schwartz 1939, pp. 50,36–51,5) and Leontius (CSEL 35, 246).

47 Cf. Jn 14:10.

48 Jn 14:23.

17. (XI) And further down:

Having first received in this way a human soul that is immortal and sharing in mind, and having made it immutable through the resurrection, so too he bestowed on us through the resurrection participation in these same things. Therefore before the resurrection from the dead he rebukes Peter for being a stumbling block to him with his remarks,⁴⁹ and being in great trepidation at the time of the passion he is in need of the coming of an angel [49] to give him the strength to bear and endure the imminent ills. But after the resurrection from the dead and the ascent into heaven he became impassible and utterly immutable; sitting at the right hand of God, he is the judge of the whole world, as in him the divine nature carries out judgement.

18. (XII) And further down:

And so here too, you, the most wise of all, teach us that we possess the mind of Christ, since we possess that Holy Spirit which filled Christ with a certain strength of mind, bestowing on him prudence as regards everything that had to be accomplished, just as we showed above that he was led by the Spirit into the wilderness for contests against the devil, received through the Spirit's anointing both knowledge and vigour for what had to be accomplished, and through coming to partake of him not only performed miracles but also knew precisely how it was necessary to use miracles in order to make piety known to the nations, to bear the infirmities of those who laboured, and so bring his will to fulfilment. As a result he was made righteous and shown to be without blemish, by shunning what is worse, preserving what is better, and also advancing to the better step by step.

19. (XIII/XIV)⁵⁰ Likewise by the same from his commentary on the Gospel according to John, Book VII:⁵¹

As regards the words '[I am ascending] to my Father and your Father and my God and your God,'⁵² no one is so demented as to say that they fit anyone else except the temple of God the Word, the man taken up for our salvation, who had died and risen and would ascend into heaven, who with the disciples recognized God as his Father, had himself been deemed worthy of adoption by grace, and calls him his God, because together with [all] other

49 Cf. Mt 16:23.

50 Where I give two numbers, the second is that of the same extract in Vigilius' first *Constitutum*.

51 The reliability of this extract, as of the two following ones, is established by comparison with the Syriac version, as Devreesse (1948), 247 admits.

52 Jn 20:17.

men he had similarly received existence. Therefore on account of a shared nature he calls God ‘my Father and your Father and my God and your God’; on the other hand, he distinguished his own person from them to signify the special grace in virtue of which through conjunction with God the Word he is honoured as representing the true Son⁵³ by all human beings.

20. (XIV/XV) Likewise by the same Theodore from the same book of commentary on the Gospel according to John, in which he says that it is demented to say that after the resurrection the Lord gave his disciples the Holy Spirit by breathing on them:

[50] The word ‘Receive’⁵⁴ means ‘you will receive.’ For if when he breathed on his disciples he gave them the Spirit, as some persons indeed have foolishly supposed, it would have been pointless to tell them afterwards, particularly at the time of his ascension into heaven, not to depart from Jerusalem but to await the promise of the Spirit,⁵⁵ and also in the words that follow, ‘But you will receive power when the Holy Spirit comes upon you.’⁵⁶ Luke clearly states that the actual coming of the Holy Spirit on the disciples occurred on the fiftieth day of the resurrection, after the ascension.⁵⁷ This also is to be noted that, if they had received the Spirit by breathing, he would not have said ‘Receive’ but ‘You have received,’ for the word ‘Receive’ is appropriate for those who have not yet received.

21. (XV/XVI) Likewise by the same Theodore from the commentary on the Gospel according to John, where he says that when Thomas after the resurrection touched the Lord and said, ‘My Lord and my God,’⁵⁸ he did not say this of Christ as of Lord and God but as of a pure man, amazed that God had raised him, and that this is why Thomas offered glory to God:

He says to Thomas, ‘Move your finger here and see my hands, and move your hand and place it in my side, and do not be unbelieving but believing.’⁵⁹ Because, he means, you do not believe and you think that only touch will enable you to believe (for it did not escape me when you said this),⁶⁰ touch with your hand, receive the experience, and learn to believe and not to doubt.

53 Literally, ‘in the place of the true Son.’

54 Jn 20:22.

55 Acts 1:4.

56 Acts 1:8.

57 Acts 2:1.

58 Jn 20:28.

59 Jn 20:27.

60 Cf. Jn 20:25.

Thomas, when accordingly he believed, said ‘My Lord and my God,’ not calling him Lord and God (for knowledge of the resurrection could not teach him that the one who had risen was also God), but as praising God for working a miracle.⁶¹

22. (XVI/XVII) By the same Theodore from the commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, Book I, in which he says that being baptized in the name of Jesus Christ is similar to the words in scripture ‘They were baptized into Moses,’ and that being called Christians is similar to being called Platonists, Epicureans, Manichees or Marcionites after the originators of these doctrines.⁶²

He [Peter] said that it was necessary for them to do penance for the iniquity of the cross, and to recognize Jesus Christ as the Saviour and Lord and author of all good things (because it was for this he came and was taken up by the divine nature), to find faith in him [51] and become his disciples, and above all to come for baptism, which he himself had transmitted to us as a prefiguration of the hope for the things to come, to be celebrated in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.⁶³ The words ‘that each one may be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ’⁶⁴ does not mean that they should abandon invoking the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit and invoke Jesus Christ at baptism. But like the words ‘They were baptized into Moses under the cloud and in the sea’⁶⁵ – meaning that, separated under the cloud and in the sea of the Egyptians, they were freed from servitude to them in order that they might pay heed to the laws of Moses –, so likewise ‘that each one may be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ’ means that when they came to him as the Saviour, the author of all good things and the teacher of the truth, they were to be called after him as the author of good things and the teacher of the truth, just as it is customary for all men, whatever sect they follow, to be called after the originator of their teaching, as Platonists and Epicureans, Manichees and Marcionites, and other names of the kind. For the apostles judged that we should be called Christians in the same way, making it clear by this that one must heed his

61 Theodore argued repeatedly that the disciples did not recognize Christ as divine before Pentecost; see Devreesse (1948), 111, n. 7. Theodoret, writing to Dioscorus in 448 (*ep.* 83, *Correspondance*, II, SC 98, p. 214, 2–7), repudiated Theodore’s interpretation of Jn 20:28.

62 The reliability of this chapter is shown by the close parallel in Ishodad of Merv (Sullivan 1956, 133–4).

63 Cf. Acts 2:38–40.

64 Acts 2:38.

65 1 Cor 10:2.

teaching, and therefore that they should receive the baptism he had given and which was instituted first in him (since he was the first to be baptized) and had been transmitted by him to others, so that it might be celebrated as a prefiguration of the things to come.

23. (XVII/XVIII) By the same Theodore, from the fourteenth book on the incarnation, where he says that Christ was the image of God the Word and was worshipped by men as is an image of the emperor:

There are two explanations of how it serves as an image. Those who love someone often set up images of them after their death, thinking that this provides a sufficient solace for death; as if beholding in the image one who is neither seen nor present, they think they see him, thereby calming the fire and strength of longing. But those also who have in the cities images of the emperors honour as if present and visible those who are not present, by means of the cult and veneration of images. Both of these are fulfilled in his case. For all who are with him, and who pursue virtue and are expert in giving God his due, love him and greatly honour him; and the divine nature, although it is not seen, perfects their love for him by means of that which is seen by all, everyone supposing that they are in this way seeing God through him and are always present to him; and thus they render every honour as if to an imperial image, since the divine nature is in him, as it were, and is perceived in him. For if indeed it is the Son who is said to indwell, yet [52] the Father also is with him and is believed by every creature to be with the Son wholly inseparably. The Spirit also is not absent, having become for him even an anointing, and is always with the one who was taken up. This is no cause for amazement, since the Father is said to be with the Son in all men who pursue virtue, for 'I and the Father will come and set up our abode in him';⁶⁶ and that the Spirit is inseparable from men of this kind is clear to all.

24. (XVIII/XIX) Likewise by the same Theodore of Mopsuestia from the commentary on the Gospel according to Luke:

For the words 'This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased'⁶⁷ reveal his adoption at baptism through comparison with Jewish adoption, because it was said to them, 'I have said, you are all gods and sons of the Most High,'⁶⁸ and 'I begot and raised up sons.'⁶⁹ What was special in

66 Jn 14:23.

67 Lk 3:22.

68 Ps 81:6.

69 Is 1:2.

his adoption is expressed by ‘beloved’ and ‘in whom I am well pleased’. Because of this the voice of the Father confirmed his adoption and by calling him Son through adoption according to grace revealed the one who is truly Son, conjunction with whom made his adoption true and firm. The Holy Spirit, descending in the form of a dove, remained above him, so that in the conjunction with the one who is truly Son he might remain supported by his cooperation, enjoying a firm dignity of adoption. In all this, in the one in whom first of all the baptism of adoption was prefigured, I mean the baptism of Christ the Lord by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, what was to be was accomplished.

25. (XIX/XX) Likewise by the same from his commentary on Psalm 8:⁷⁰

For this reason therefore the psalm shows us how great is the difference between God the Word and the man taken up. This distinction is found in the New Testament, where the Lord applies the first part of the psalm to himself, where it says he is the maker of creation, has a magnificence raised above the heavens, and is marvelled at throughout the world,⁷¹ while the second part, which is about the man who was deemed worthy of so great a benefit, is applied by the apostle to Jesus.⁷² It is surely clear that divine scripture is teaching us plainly that God the Word is quite other than the man, and shows us that the difference between them is great. For the former remembers, while the latter is deemed worthy to be remembered; the former pays a visitation, while the latter, as deemed worthy of it, is called blessed; the former by bestowing a benefit makes him for a little while lower than the angels, while the latter receives a benefit even through such a lessening; the former crowns with glory and honour, while the latter is crowned and is for this reason called blessed; the former established him above all the works of his hands and [53] subjected all things under his feet, while the latter was deemed worthy to govern those things that previously he did not have authority over.

26. (XX/XXI) Likewise by the same from the beginning of the commentary that he wrote on the twelve prophets,⁷³ denying that the prophecies were made about Christ:

⁷⁰ The Greek is preserved in Justinian (Schwartz 1939, p. 56, 1–13) and Leontius of Byzantium (CSEL 35, 255).

⁷¹ Mt 21:16, citing Ps 8:3a. Theodore is referring primarily to 8:2 and 8:4.

⁷² Heb 2:6–8, citing Ps 8:5–7.

⁷³ This commentary is extant and neither this excerpt nor the following two are to be found there, though they may come from a lost preface to the work (Sullivan 1956, 136–8).

But those who do not want to consider this try to apply all the sayings to Christ the Lord, with the result that they interpret in this way those uttered about the people and excite derision among the Jews, when they adduce sayings which, according to the scriptural sequence, bear no reference to Christ the Lord.

27. (XXI/XXII) And further down he adds:⁷⁴

The same is true of ‘His soul was not abandoned to hell nor did his flesh see corruption.’⁷⁵ For the prophet says this hyperbolically about the people, referring to providence, and wishing to say that he [God] had preserved them unharmed from every evil. But because this was true and was fulfilled in actual reality in Christ the Lord, the blessed Peter when speaking about him uses these words most appropriately, because what was said of the people hyperbolically (the prophet uttering these words for a specific reason) had now been fulfilled in actual reality in Christ the Lord.

28. (XXII/XXIII) Likewise further down:⁷⁶

There is the same meaning in the text ‘They divided my garments between them and over my clothing they cast lots.’⁷⁷ For it is beyond doubt that the psalm does not at all fit the Lord, for it was not for Christ the Lord, who ‘did not commit sin nor was deceit found in his mouth,’⁷⁸ to say, ‘Far from my salvation are the words of my offences.’⁷⁹ But the Lord himself, according to the common law of men, when he was being crushed by the passion, uttered the words, ‘My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?’⁸⁰ The words ‘They divided my garments between them and over my clothing they cast lots’ were manifestly applied to him by the apostles⁸¹ because what had first been said hyperbolically by David on account of ills inflicted on him happened in actuality to Christ the Lord, whose garments they divided and whose tunic they subjected to lots.

29. (XXIII/XXIV) Likewise by the same on Psalm 21:

74 The interpretation given here is identical to that of the same scriptural passage in a later and certainly authentic part of the same commentary (Sullivan 1956, 136–7).

75 Ps 15:10, as cited by Peter in Acts 2:31.

76 The authenticity of this and the following chapter is supported by close parallels in Ishodad of Merv (Sullivan 1956, 140).

77 Ps 21:19.

78 1 Pt 2:22 citing Is 53:9.

79 Ps 21:2b (LXX).

80 Mt 27:46 citing Ps 21:2.

81 Cf. Mt 27:35.

‘They have pierced my hands and feet’:⁸² they examined everything, both what I was doing and what I was attempting; for ‘they have pierced’ refers by transference to those who through piercing try to examine what is deep down. ‘They have numbered all my bones’:⁸³ [54] they have taken possession of all my strength and all my substance, with the result that they have subjected what is mine to an enumeration. This he took from the custom of enemies, who when they gain something make a precise inventory, by enumeration and by casting lots. Therefore, after saying next, ‘They examined me and gazed at me,’ he added, ‘They divided my clothes between them and over my clothing they cast lots.’⁸⁴ For he describes them as examining and gazing at me, because everything they desired in my case was realized for them (for ‘gazing’ means, as also with us, ‘he saw in him what he wanted him to suffer’); and now that I was, as it were, totally consigned to ills, they as enemies divided my possessions after plundering and taking captive, making division of them by lot. The evangelist, understanding the words in the light of the reality, applied them to the Lord, just as we said in the other instances, for we clearly showed above that the psalm does not relate to the Lord. But the blessed David said these things hyperbolically with reference to what was done by Absalom, because when David retreated, he entered the capital and by right of war took possession of all the royal property, and was not even ashamed of polluting his father’s bed.⁸⁵

30. (XXIV/XXV) Likewise by the same from his commentary on Psalm 68, on the verse ‘They gave for my food gall and for my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink’:⁸⁶

Because food and drink are pleasant in time of rejoicing and unpleasant and bitter in time of sorrow, this (he is saying) was their behaviour, so that as a result of despondency and anger gall took the place of food for me and the drink was no different from vinegar. This happens particularly with the wrath that accompanies despondency, which they were likely to feel towards their own people. The evangelist applied this testimony to the Lord,⁸⁷ the Lord said of himself, ‘Zeal for your house has consumed me,’⁸⁸ the blessed

⁸² Ps 21:17b.

⁸³ Ps 21:18a (LXX).

⁸⁴ Ps 21:18b-19.

⁸⁵ Cf. 2 Sam 16:22.

⁸⁶ Ps 68:22. For the Greek of this chapter, recovered from later catenae, see Theodore, *Commentary on Psalms 1–81*, pp. 908–10.

⁸⁷ Mt 27:34,48.

⁸⁸ Jn 2:17, citing Ps 68:10.

Paul said of the Jews, ‘Let their table become’ and the rest,⁸⁹ and the blessed Peter said of Judas, ‘Let his habitation become desolate.’⁹⁰ Surely the diversity in the realities does not mean that the psalm was uttered now about these, then again about one man and again about another; but because many things had been said of the Jews who had rebelled against God and the law, convicting them of ingratitude, the use of these testimonies was both necessary and based on the reality, as in the case of ‘They gave for my food gall and for my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.’

31. (XXV/XXVI) Likewise by the same Theodore from Book I on the incarnation, interpreting the profession of Peter in which he said, ‘You are the Christ, the Son of the living God’:⁹¹

[55] Therefore just as Nathanael is not shown to have had knowledge of his Godhead by this profession⁹² – Jews and Samaritans in having this hope were as far as is possible from a knowledge of God the Word –, so too Martha is not proved by her profession to have had knowledge of his Godhead at that time,⁹³ and nor clearly is the blessed Peter. For up to this point it was sufficient for those receiving this revelation at that time to accept something special and superior about him that exceeded the imagination of other men;⁹⁴ but after the resurrection they were then led to knowledge by the Spirit and received a perfect knowledge of the revelation, with the result that they knew that something special, beyond other men, had come to him from God, not merely as an honour as in the case of other men but through union with God the Word, through which he shares with him in every honour after his ascension into heaven.

32. (XXVI/XXVII) Likewise by the same from his commentary on the Gospel according to John, Book I:

Matthew the evangelist says after the temptations that ‘angels came and

89 Rom 11:9, citing Ps 68:23, ‘Let their table become a snare and a trap, a pitfall and a retribution for them.’

90 Acts 1:20, citing Ps 68:22.

91 Mt 16:16.

92 Cf. Jn 1:49, ‘Nathanael said to him, “Rabbi, you are the Son of God.”’

93 Cf. Jn 11:27, ‘She said to him, “I have found faith that you are the Christ, the Son of God.”’

94 I follow the text in Surius and *ACO* (‘praeter ceterorum hominum phantasiam’), but the MSS give ‘praeter ceteros hominum phantasiam’, giving the following meaning to the sentence: ‘For up to this point something special and superior was sufficient for those who had received this revelation – to receive a notion about him that exceeded [their notion of] other men.’ This latter text was the one read by Vigilius (see first *Constitutum* 110–11).

served him,⁹⁵ doubtless being with him and cooperating and serving God in everything relating to him, because already through his contests with the devil he had been shown to be more glorious. But we also learn from the gospels that angels were with him when he was about to suffer,⁹⁶ and at the resurrection they were seen in the sepulchre. In all of this there was displayed the dignity of Christ, because angels were with him inseparably and served in everything relating to him. For just as they are separate from sinners, so too they assist those who receive this honour through merit.⁹⁷ This is why the Lord was right to say, ‘You will see something greater, because heaven will be opened to all through me and all the angels will be always with me, now ascending and now descending to God’s familiar and friend.’⁹⁸

33. (XXVII/XXVIII) Likewise by the same Theodore from the books on the incarnation:

The Lord was disquieted and held combat more with the passions of the soul than with those of the body, and he conquered pleasures with his more powerful reasoning, while the Godhead, of course, aided and assisted him in successful accomplishment.⁹⁹ This is why the Lord undertakes combat against these in particular: for he was not lured by desire for money nor tempted by longing for glory, and he conceded nothing to the flesh; it was not in him to be overcome by them. If he had not received a soul but it was the Godhead that overcame them, the gain in what occurred would have no relevance for us – for [56] in perfection of conduct what similarity is there between Godhead and a human soul? –, and the Lord’s combats would involve a gain irrelevant for us and would have been for the sake of some display. But if one cannot say this (for it is certain that these things were performed on our behalf), and if he undertook a greater combat against the passions of the soul and a lesser one against those of the flesh (just as it happened that the former disquieted him to a greater and fuller degree, and greater was the passion that needed a fuller remedy), it is clear that, having taken both flesh and soul, he combated in both for the sake of both, morti-

95 Mt 4:11.

96 Cf. Lk 22:43.

97 This last sentence is absent from the Syriac version (trans. Fatica, 65) and is thereby queried by Devreesse (1948), 248–9. But Theodore could speak of Christ cooperating perfectly with the divine will and thereby *meriting* union with the Word from the moment of his creation according to the foreknowledge of God; see 63 below.

98 Cf. Jn 1:50–1.

99 The Greek of the preceding sentence is preserved in Leontius of Byzantium (CSEL 35, 262).

fying sin in the flesh, taming its desires, and making them easy to control through the superior rationality of the soul, while teaching and exercising the soul both to overcome its own passions and to rein in the desires of the flesh. This was accomplished by the Godhead that dwelt in him; dwelling in him, it gave this assistance to both of them.

34. While Theodore's blasphemies were being read, the holy council exclaimed: 'This we have already condemned. This we have already anathematized. Anathema to Theodore of Mopsuestia! Anathema to Theodore and his writings! This is alien to the church. This is alien to the orthodox. This is alien to the fathers. This is full of impiety. This is alien to the councils. This impugns the divine scriptures. One Theodore, one Judas!'

35. The same most devout deacon and notary read out the following from the same document:

(XXVIII/XXIX) By the same Theodore, from the book against the tenets of the Synousiasts or Apollinarians, a passage that the blessed Cyril both quoted and refuted:¹⁰⁰

But if, he says, [only] the flesh was crucified, how was it that the sun averted its rays, darkness covered the whole land, the earth was shaken, rocks were shattered, and the dead arose?¹⁰¹ But what then would they say of the darkness that occurred in Egypt in the time of Moses, and not for three hours but for three days?¹⁰² What of the other miracles performed by Moses, and those by Joshua the son of Nun who made the sun stand still¹⁰³ – the sun that in the time of King Hezekiah turned backwards contrary to nature¹⁰⁴ –, and what of the remains of Elijah which raised up a dead man?¹⁰⁵ For if those that occurred on the cross prove that God the Word suffered and they do not allow that they occurred on account of a man, then also those in the time of Moses were not on account of the race of Abraham, and likewise those in the time of Joshua the son of Nun and in that of King Hezekiah. But if these [57] miracles occurred on account of the Jewish people, how

100 Cf. Cyril as quoted in Acts V. 7. The passage is in fact from Diodore of Tarsus (Richard 1946a, 104–5).

101 Cf. Mt 27:45, 51–3; Lk 23:45. The Apollinarians argued that the extraordinary signs that accompanied the death of Christ indicated that it was not merely the manhood but the Word incarnate who suffered on the cross, to which Theodore now replies that equally extraordinary signs accompanied some of the figures in the Old Testament.

102 Exod 10:22–3.

103 Josh 10:13.

104 2 Kgs 20:10–11.

105 2 Kgs 13:21.

is it not still more the case that those on the cross were on account of the temple of God the Word?

36. (XXIX/XXX) Likewise by the same from Book VIII on the incarnation:¹⁰⁶

It is clear how the union combines, for as a result of it conjoined natures formed one person in unity. For just as the Lord says of husband and wife that ‘they are no longer two but one flesh,’¹⁰⁷ let us also say (appropriately according to the notion of unity) that they are not two persons but one, while clearly the natures are distinguished. For just as calling the flesh one does not in the former case harm the numeration of duality (for it is clear in what respect they are called one), so in this case also the unity of person does not harm the difference of the natures. For when we distinguish the natures we say that the nature of God the Word is complete and the person is complete (since one cannot speak of a hypostasis¹⁰⁸ without a person), and that the nature and person of the man are complete likewise; but when we turn to the conjunction we then speak of one person.

37. (XXXa) Likewise by the same Theodore from Book VII on the incarnation, in which he says that union with God the Word did not occur according to hypostasis or according to operation but according to good will:¹⁰⁹

It is impossible to speak of the indwelling of God the Word in terms of essence or to make it depend on operation. What then remains, what account can we offer that will seem to preserve what is proper to them? It is therefore clear that it is right to speak of the indwelling taking place by good will; by good will is meant the good and excellent will of God, which he would accomplish when pleased with those who endeavour to cleave to him because of his good and generous will towards them.

38. (XXXb) And further down:

Unity of person is to be recognized because he accomplished all things through him; this union results from the indwelling according to good will. So when we say that the Son of God will come as judge, we understand this to mean an advent from heaven of the man and God the Word together, [58] not that God the Word, like the man, changes location according to his

106 The Greek is preserved in Leontius of Byzantium (CSEL 35, 264).

107 Mt 19:6.

108 ‘Hypostasis’ is used here as a synonym of ‘nature’; see Sullivan (1956), 66–7.

109 The Greek text is in PG 66. 973A, part of a long fragment, trans. Norris (1980), 114–17.

nature, but that, being united in every respect by good will, he will be with him wherever he is, since he accomplished everything through him.

39. (XXXI) Likewise by the same from his commentary on the creed of the 318 holy fathers:¹¹⁰

But while he [Paul] called the form of a servant ‘Christ in respect of the flesh’ and the one who took it up ‘God over all’,¹¹¹ he inserted this in respect of the conjunction, in order to make the distinction between the natures clear through the meaning of the terms. And therefore no one should say that the one who is from the Jews in respect of the flesh is God, nor again that the God who is above everything is from the Jews in respect of the flesh.¹¹²

40. (XXXII) From the same, from the commentary on the Letter to the Hebrews:

For [Scripture] speaks of ‘Jesus from Nazareth’ whom ‘God anointed with the Holy Spirit and with power’;¹¹³ he who was anointed with the Spirit of God certainly received something as a result. But who would be so mad as to say that the divine nature as well as that of those who partake received something from the Spirit?¹¹⁴ It is obviously those who have themselves been anointed who are said to partake of him; those who have been anointed and have thereby rightly come to partake of him are said to share in the anointing in the same way as the one taken up. And this is also proved by the fact that he received a just reward: ‘it was because’, the text says, ‘you loved justice and hated iniquity that you merited a special anointing in return.’¹¹⁵

41. (XXXIII) Likewise by the same Theodore from his commentary on the Gospel according to John, Book I:

110 The first part of the ‘the book addressed to candidates for baptism’ (= the *Catechetical Homilies*) cited at 43–51 below and of which a complete Syriac version is extant, trans. Mingana (1932, 1933).

111 Rom 9:5, ‘Christ according to the flesh, the one who is God over all.’

112 Cf. the Syriac, ‘Nobody believes that he who is from the Jews according to the flesh is God by nature, nor that God who is above all is from the Jews by nature’ (Mingana 1932, 64–5). The omission of ‘by nature’ from the text of 553 changes the force of the passage, as does the omission of the sentence that follows in the Syriac: ‘He said the two things together in order to show the close union that took place between the one who was assumed and the one who assumed.’

113 Acts 10:38.

114 I follow the text in Vigilius’ first *Constitutum* 128, which reads *participium*. The acts have *participium*, producing the meaning, ‘something from the Spirit, including sharing [in him]’.

115 Cf. Heb 1:9. The argument is that the one anointed with the Holy Spirit must be not Christ’s Godhead but the manhood that he took up.

‘Rabbi, you are the Son of God, you are the king of Israel.’¹¹⁶ This means: you are the one who long ago was foretold as the Christ. Clearly they hoped for these things from Christ as from one who had become God’s familiar¹¹⁷ above all others.

42. (XXXIV) And further down:

It is indeed beyond doubt that he called him Son of God not in respect of the generation of the Godhead [59] but because he was God’s familiar, since human beings who become God’s familiars through virtue were sometimes called sons of God.¹¹⁸

43. (XXXV) Likewise by the same Theodore from the book addressed to candidates for baptism:

For when he [Paul] said, ‘Concerning his son who came from the seed of David in respect of the flesh,’¹¹⁹ it is beyond doubt that he is here giving the name of ‘son’ to the one who came from the seed of David in respect of the flesh, not to God the Word but to the adopted form of a servant. For it was not God who came in respect of the flesh nor God who came from the seed of David but the man taken up on our behalf whom the blessed apostle explicitly calls ‘son’.¹²⁰

44. (XXXVI) Likewise by the same Theodore from the same book:¹²¹

... reborn and become completely other, a part no longer of Adam, who was changeable and steeped in sin, but of Christ, who became completely impeccable¹²² as a result of the resurrection.¹²³

¹¹⁶ Jn 1:49. Nathaniel is speaking.

¹¹⁷ Here, as in chapters XXVI and XXXIV, ‘familiar’ translates *domesticus*. Devresse (1948), 350, 318 deduced from a Greek catena that Theodore’s word was οἰκειούμενος, which he thinks less ‘servile’. In fact both words express Christ’s dignity but not his divine status.

¹¹⁸ As is clear from a Greek fragment and the Syriac version (Sullivan 1956, 110–1), Theodore’s meaning is not that Christ was only Son of God in a weak sense (as the excerptor wishes us to suppose), but that Nathaniel could not have been aware of Christ’s divine sonship at a time when none of the apostles yet were (cf. n. 152 below).

¹¹⁹ Rom 1:3.

¹²⁰ Cf. Mingana (1932), 91 for the context. These lines might be taken to imply that Christ’s sonship as man was different from his sonship as God, but in fact Theodore is arguing that his sonship as man was not a second sonship but a participation in the divine sonship as a result of the union of natures.

¹²¹ Cf. Mingana (1933), 67 for the context: this extract refers to the state of newly baptized.

¹²² The Latin is ‘inculpabilis’ (blameless), but the Greek (probably ἀναμάρτητος) will have meant in this context ‘free from even the possibility of sinning’ (Sullivan 1956, 150).

¹²³ The excerptor has suppressed the final clause of the sentence, translated by Mingana ‘while even before it [the resurrection] he never drew near to it [sin].’ The distinction is between

45. (XXXVII) Likewise by the same from the same book:

... so that he should take great care of him, make his own¹²⁴ and endure everything of his while he was led through all his sufferings, through which he made him perfect by his own power, not departing from the dead man according to the law of his nature, but by his presence and activity and grace freeing him from death and from the ills that result from it, raising him from the dead, and leading him to a better destiny.

46. (XXXVIII) Likewise by the same Theodore from the same book:

Then, having shown for whose sake he suffered, he introduces the being made lower 'so that apart from God he might taste death on behalf of all,'¹²⁵ because, the divine nature being separated as it so willed, he by himself tasted death for the benefit of all. While showing that Godhead was separated from the one who suffered in respect of experiencing death, because it was not possible for the divine nature to experience death, he was not, however, absent in devoted attention from the one who suffered.

47. (XXXIX) [60] Likewise by the same from the same book:

For the text speaks of 'Jesus from Nazareth' whom 'God anointed with the Spirit and with power.'¹²⁶ Having been deemed worthy of God's anointing, he was made free from blemish in all respects and deemed worthy of conjunction with the divine nature. For he would not have received that conjunction unless he had first become free from blemish with the result that it was thus fitting [for him to receive] union with it.¹²⁷

48. (XL) Likewise by the same Theodore from his commentary on the Gospel according to Matthew:

a lack of sin before the resurrection and an inability to sin after it (Amann 1946, 262–3).

124 The Latin *propria facere* corresponds to the Greek *ἰδιοποιεῖσθαι*, a favourite word in Athanasius to express the Word's becoming flesh in the sense of making all the experiences of the human nature his own (e.g. *To Epictetus* 6).

125 Heb 2:9. 'Apart from God' (i.e. without God's participation) is a variant reading, while the extant MSS and the majority of the Fathers give 'by the grace of God'. Theodore consistently adopted it, since it favoured his Christology, which stressed the inability of God the Word to experience death.

126 Acts 10:38.

127 There is nothing corresponding to this extract in the Syriac version of the work to which it is here assigned. But once we realize that *mereri* (translating the Greek *ἀξιούσθαι*) here, as often, means not 'merit' but 'be deemed worthy of', that is, simply 'receive', the passage becomes unproblematic and falsification need not be suspected: Theodore is simply describing how, at the union of the two natures that occurred at Christ's very conception, the human nature was made capable of the union by being anointed by the Holy Spirit; even for Theodore divine grace precedes human merit (cf. 50 below).

For as regards the words ‘This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased,’¹²⁸ it is obvious insanity to think that he is speaking about God the Word; for the one who said ‘This is my beloved Son’ and inserted ‘in whom I am well pleased’ indicated that he openly uttered this as a comparison with other sons who did not become beloved by him and were not able to please him so much.

49. (XLI) Likewise by the same from the book addressed to candidates for baptism:

... abiding [in him] until in accordance with his creative power he loosed the pangs of death and freed him from those indescribable¹²⁹ bonds, raised him from the dead and transferred him to immortal life, made him incorrupt, immortal and immutable, and so led him into heaven.¹³⁰

50. (XLIIa/XLII) And further down:

Although Christ was justified and made free from blemish by the power of the Holy Spirit – as the blessed Paul says in one place ‘He was justified in the Spirit’¹³¹ and in another ‘who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without blemish to God’¹³² –, he made him die according to the law of mankind. But because he had become impeccable by the power of Holy Spirit, he raised him from the dead and established him in a better life, making him immutable in the thoughts of his mind and incorruptible and indissoluble even in the flesh.¹³³

51. (XLIIb/XLIII) And further down:¹³⁴

‘Thanks be to God, who has given us the victory through our Lord Jesus

128 Mt 3:17.

129 Mingana (1932), 15 points out that the Syriac has ‘unbreakable’, and that the probable explanation is confusion between the Greek words ἀρρητος (ineffable) and ἀρρηκτος (unbreakable), leading to either a corruption in the Greek text or mistranslation in the Latin.

130 Cf. Mingana (1932), 53 for the context. The passage is based on Acts 2:24, with the activity that is there attributed to ‘God’ (the Father) transferred to God the Word. The excerptor intends us to suppose that for Theodore God the Word is related to Christ as an external power acting on a ‘mere man’; but only a few lines later Theodore wrote, ‘He was believed to be a mere man by those who were unaware of the Godhead that was dwelling in him’ (Mingana, 54).

131 1 Tim 3:16.

132 Heb 9:14.

133 Cf. Mingana (1932), 61 *init.* for the context. Contrast the ninth of Cyril’s Twelve Chapters (vol. 2, 48), which condemns treating Christ as receiving the Spirit like mere men, rather than deploying his own Spirit. Theodore’s concern is to bring out how Christ’s enjoyment of grace is a model for our own.

134 Cf. Mingana (1932), 61–2 for the context.

Christ:¹³⁵ he [St Paul] says that the cause of this for us is God, who against all our adversaries [61] gave us victory over death or sin or whatever ills arise therefrom, and who, taking¹³⁶ our Lord Jesus Christ, a man for our sake, transferred him to a better goal through the resurrection from the dead, made him sit at his right hand, and gave us communion with him.

52. (XLIII/XLIV) Likewise by the same from Book XII on the incarnation:¹³⁷

When therefore they ask, ‘Was Mary *anthropotokos* [mother of a man] or *Theotokos*?,’ let us say both – the former by the nature of the reality, and the latter by relation. For she was mother of a man by nature because the one in the womb of Mary (and as he also came forth from there) was a man, and she is *Theotokos* because God was in the man who was born, not circumscribed in him according to nature, but being in him according to a disposition of the will.

53. (XLIV/XLV) Likewise by the same Theodore a statement that Saint Cyril quoted and refuted:¹³⁸

The man from Mary is Son by grace while God the Word [is Son] by nature – the former by grace and not by nature, and the latter by nature and not by grace. There are not two sons.¹³⁹ The body from us will be satisfied with sonship according to grace and with glory and immortality because it became the temple of God the Word. Let it not be raised above nature, and let not God the Word instead of the thanksgiving owed by us be insulted. What is the insult? Combining him with the body and thinking that he needed the body for perfect sonship.¹⁴⁰ And the very God the Word wishes himself to be not the son of David but his Lord; but as for the body being called the son of David not only did he not begrudge it, but it was for this that he came.

54. (XLV/XLVI) Likewise by the same Theodore from the statements that Saint Cyril refuted:¹⁴¹

135 1 Cor 15:57.

136 Note the Syriac ‘He put on our Lord Jesus’: the reference is to union not mere adoption.

137 The Greek is preserved in Leontius of Byzantium (in CSEL 35, 272), who attributes it to Bk XV of *On the incarnation*. Cf. Acts V. 11 for a fuller citation of the passage.

138 Cf. Acts V. 8 for the citation of this extract in Cyril’s *Against Theodore*. It is in fact from Diodore of Tarsus (Richard 1946a, 104–5). The Greek is preserved in Leontius (PG 86A. 1388AB).

139 This last sentence is absent from the text in Leontius.

140 The Latin text is to be preferred to the Greek in Migne, ‘What is the insult in combining him with the body and thinking that he needed a body for perfect sonship?’

141 Cf. Acts V. 6 for Cyril’s citation of this extract (in a fuller form). Again, it is in fact from Diodore. The Greek is preserved on the same page of Leontius (PG 86A. 1388B).

When there is discussion about the births according to nature, let not God the Word be supposed to be the son of Mary; for a mortal gives birth to a mortal according to nature and a body that is consubstantial. God the Word did not undergo two births, one before the ages and the other in the latter times.

55. (XLVI/XLVII) [62] Likewise by the same from his commentary on the Letter to the Hebrews:¹⁴²

Will they now cease from their shameless conflict, and will they now desist from futile contention, as they are shamed by the clarity of what has been said? For it says, ‘leading many sons to glory.’¹⁴³ Mark therefore how in respect of sonship the apostle clearly classifies the adopted man with the many, not in that he partakes in sonship in the same way they do, but in that in the same way he took on sonship by grace, while his Godhead alone possesses natural sonship.

56. (XLVII/XLVIII) Likewise by the same from Book XII on the incarnation:¹⁴⁴

But in reply to this they say that the name Jesus means ‘Saviour’: how, they say, could the man be called Saviour? They have forgotten that the son of Nun was also called Jesus [Joshua], and, what is indeed surprising, that he did not receive this name from some accident at birth but as a change of name made by Moses.¹⁴⁵ It is obvious that he would not have allowed this name to be given to a human being if it meant purely the divine nature.

57. (XLVIII/XLIX) Likewise by the same from the same book:¹⁴⁶

Consequently he not only calls him Son, distinguishing him from God the Word, but he is also shown to group him according to the notion of sonship with the other partakers in sonship, because he himself partook in sonship by grace – not by nature as born from the Father but through having, however, pre-eminence over the others, because he possesses sonship through union with him, which bestows on him a more powerful participation in the reality.

142 Cf. Acts V. 10 for Cyril’s citation of this extract (in a fuller form). The Greek is preserved in Leontius (CSEL 35, 275), who attributes it to Theodore, *On the incarnation* Bk XII.

143 Heb 2:10.

144 The Greek is preserved in Leontius (CSEL 35, 276).

145 Cf. Num 13:16.

146 The Greek is preserved in Leontius (CSEL 35, 277). The reference is perhaps to St Paul’s linking of Christ as ‘Son’ to Christians being sons by adoption in Gal 4:4–7.

58. (XLIX/L) Likewise by the same Theodore from Book II on the incarnation:¹⁴⁷

... the man Jesus, like all men, and differing in no respect from the men who share his nature, apart from what he [God] gave him by grace. The gift of grace does not change nature, but after the destruction of death God 'bestowed on him the name above every name.'¹⁴⁸

59. (L/LI) [63] Likewise by the same from the same book:

But my brethren, who are sons of the same mother as I am, say to me, 'Do not separate the man and God, but speak of him as one and the same.' When speaking of the man, I am speaking of the one who shares my nature; if I speak of God, I am speaking of the one who shares God's nature. How can man and God be one? Surely there is not one nature of God and man, of Master and servant, of Creator and creature? Man is consubstantial with man, while God is consubstantial with God. How then can man and God be one through union – the one who saves and the one who is saved, the one who is before the ages and the one who came forth from Mary?

60. (LI/LII) Likewise by the same from Book IV of the commentary on the Gospel according to Matthew, concerning the centurion:¹⁴⁹

He rightly added 'for I too am a man,'¹⁵⁰ as if he were to say, 'There is nothing surprising if you have the power to do this, because you are a man who is given it by God; for I too, since I am this, am given people who obey me, having once received power to give orders as a result of the generosity of the giver.'

61. (LII/LIII) Likewise by the same from the same book:

'Therefore it is not inappropriate that you also, having received that power from God, should with an order drive sufferings away by a mere word.'¹⁵¹ For the centurion did not approach him as the Son of God, existing before the whole creation and being the creator of the things that exist.¹⁵²

147 This and the following excerpt are in fact from a sermon preached at Antioch, of which there is a fuller citation in Acts V. 14.3–4 (pp. 296–7 below).

148 Phil 2:9.

149 The story of the healing of the centurion's servant (Mt 8) was treated by Theodore as instancing the lack of recognition of Christ's divinity before the resurrection. As Vigilius remarks (first *Constitutum* 178), this fails to do justice to Jesus' comment, 'With no one in Israel have I found such faith' (Mt 8:10).

150 Mt 8:9.

151 The centurion is speaking, in an expansion by Theodore of Mt 8:8–9.

152 But as Facundus pointed out (*Pro defensione* III. 4.1–3), responding to the exploitation

62. (LIII/LIV) Likewise by the same from Book XIII on the incarnation:¹⁵³

Consonant with this is also what the apostle says, ‘And confessedly great is the mystery of piety: he who was manifested in the flesh was made just in the Spirit.’¹⁵⁴ He says that he was made just in the Spirit either because before his baptism he kept the law with due precision or because even after it he fulfilled a life of grace with much precision through the cooperation of the Spirit.

63. (LIV/LV) [64] Likewise by the same Theodore from Book XIV of the same work:¹⁵⁵

We shall rightly say this same thing even about the Lord – that God the Word, knowing his virtue even according to foreknowledge, was well-pleased to indwell right from the first at the beginning of his formation [in the womb] and, having united him to himself by a disposition of the will, bestowed a greater grace on him, because the grace given to him was going to be passed on to all subsequent men; this is why he protected in its integrity his choice for the good. For we shall not say this, that the man had no free choice, but that he chose the good, or rather that he possessed according to choice a very great love for the good and hatred of its opposite; the integrity of his choice was protected by divine grace from the beginning, since God knew precisely what kind of person he was, and to make this secure gave him through his own indwelling a great cooperation for the salvation of us all. Therefore no one could say that it was unfair that something special, beyond [what was given to] all others, was given to the man who was taken up by the Lord.

64. (LV/LVI) Likewise by the same Theodore from his writings on the Gospel according to Matthew, in which he says that God created opposites, that is, both blessings and ills:

For it is proper to a rational being to distinguish between blessings and ills. If opposites did not exist, it would not have been possible for him to distinguish anything. First therefore among the things that were created he

of this passage in Justinian’s edict of 544/5, the unawareness that Christ was the Son of God is not Theodore’s but the centurion’s. We know from a catena that in the original text there followed the words, ‘for not even the apostles could know this [that Christ was God] before the crucifixion’ (Devreesse 1948, 36, n. 8).

153 Most of this chapter is preserved in Leontius (CSEL 35, 280).

154 1 Tim 3:16.

155 The Greek is preserved in Leontius (CSEL 35, 281).

set up a great opposition.

65. (LVI/LVII) Likewise by the same from the same book, that God taught sin and introduced death:

Because Adam did not obey, he was then subjected to death. Because of disobedience there was brought about that which even without disobedience would have been brought about by the Creator for our benefit: we have all been taught sin.

66. (LVIII/LVIII) Likewise by the same Theodore from Book V of the commentary on the creation,¹⁵⁶ in which he says that both blessings and ills were made by God:

Therefore he did not unwillingly nor contrary to his judgement inflict death on mankind, nor did he give sin access [to mankind] for no benefit (for this could not have taken place contrary to his will). But because he knew that it would be beneficial for us, or rather for all rational beings, first for evil things and worse things to have access, and thereafter for these to be destroyed and for better things to be introduced, God therefore divided creation into two states, present and future: in the latter he would lead all things to immortality and immutability, while in the present creation he left us for the time being to death and mutability. For if right [65] from the beginning he had made us immortal and immutable, we would have been no different from irrational beings, not knowing our own good: for being ignorant of mutability, we would have been ignorant of the blessing of immutability; not knowing death, we would not have known the advantage of immortality; being ignorant of corruption, we would not have praised incorruption; not knowing the burden of sufferings, we would not have admired impassibility. To speak summarily and avoid a long speech, not having an experience of ills we would not have been able to attain a knowledge of these blessings.

67. (LVIII/LIX) Likewise by the same about the same, saying that angels, human beings, and demons are similarly wicked:

It was necessary that all rational beings (I mean both the invisible and ourselves who have a mortal body but also a soul that is in all respects of the same kind as the invisible and rational hypostases) should here indeed experience the present mutability, so that we should learn the best doctrine of devotion and attain goodness of will.

¹⁵⁶ This is Theodore's commentary on Genesis in seven books, for which see Devreesse (1948), 5–25, and for the extracts here *ibid.* 22, n. 2.

68. (LIX) Likewise by the same, abolishing the judgement and saying that all things were made mutable and mortal and that in turn all things will be immutable and immortal immediately after the resurrection according to likeness to Christ:

What pleased God was to divide creation into two states, one that is present, in which he made everything to be mutable, and the other that is future, when he will renew all things and transform them to immutability. He showed us the origin of this in the dispensation of Christ the Lord, whom, existing from us, he raised from the dead and made immortal in body and immutable in soul. By this means he revealed that this would happen with the entire creation.

69. (LX) Likewise by the same from Book IV on the creation:

It is beyond doubt that, just as we by means of the resurrection shall have an incorrupt body and an immutable soul, so in the same way it will happen to the invisible and rational natures that they will receive immutability; they now admit change as is shown by the perversion of the multiple myriads of demons, but they will then join us in immutability.

70. (LXI/LX) Likewise by the same from Book V, that God, knowing that sin is of benefit to mankind, ordained that it should occur:

For he knew that they would most certainly sin, but he allowed this to occur, knowing it would benefit them, because it was not possible that he who had made them out of nothing, [66] had declared them lords of so much, and had given them so great blessings to enjoy, would not have denied sin access if he had known that this would benefit them. But it was not possible for us to learn about sin, the troublesomeness of the passions, things worse, and for our weakness to be proved thereby in order to show the greatness of the immutability that he was going to give us afterwards, in any other way except by these things having been ordained by God from the beginning, so that by comparison and experience we could discover the greatness of those infinite blessings. For the sake of this, namely that it would profit us, he let sin enter, and devised a great assistance in the war against it.¹⁵⁷

71. (LXII) Likewise by the same Theodore, distorting the saying about the flaming sword and the cherubim:¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ Extracts LV-LXI invite a benign interpretation: God created man mutable, foreseeing but not ordaining his descent into sin; sin would lead to repentance and a fuller appreciation of the eventual gift of immutability. There remains a clear contrast with western and Alexandrian notions of an original state of blessedness disrupted by the Fall; see Amann (1946), 271–2.

¹⁵⁸ See Gen 3:24.

For the text speaks of a flaming sword to indicate that there was a terrifying flashing fire extended in the shape of a sword, so that the beholders would see a sight that was doubly terrifying, both in its nature and in the shape of what was displayed. The sword was also said to turn, so that by its constancy the flashing movement might produce a terrifying and greater fear in the beholder. It says that the cherubim were terrifying animal forms, able to induce fear in the beholder. For just as we would perhaps place certain animals at the doors, so God placed a flaming sword and the cherubim, so that as a result Adam, out of the fear induced by a terrifying sight, might be deservedly punished by being denied entry into paradise. The text does not say that the cherubim were invisible powers, as some suppose, because an invisible nature would have been of no avail there, since what was needed was a sensible vision of a kind that would punish Adam. Therefore the flaming sword was not fire by nature but looked like it, and the cherubim were not animals but looked like them.

72. (LXIII) Likewise by the same Theodore, denigrating the book of Job and against its writer, that is, the Holy Spirit, saying that a wise pagan wrote this book. He says the following:

Among the things that were written for the instruction of mankind the books of Solomon should be counted, that is, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, which he composed in his own person for the benefit of others, since he had received not the grace of prophecy but the grace of wisdom, which is clearly different from the former, according to the words of the blessed Paul.¹⁵⁹

73. (LXIV) [67] And further down:

It would therefore have been quite appropriate to exclude all superfluous words from Scripture¹⁶⁰ and to publish only what was necessary to indicate the man's life – all the things that would be sufficient to convert someone to what is better and make him an emulator of the good. But as it is, since he did not do this, attending to the inessential out of a love for empty honour, he damaged in no small respect the reputation of the just man in the eyes

159 See 1 Cor 12:8–10. Cp. the distinction made in Junillus Africanus, *Instituta regularia divinae legis* (a handbook on biblical interpretation written in the 540s) between different biblical genres, including prophecy, proverbs (instanced by Proverbs) and 'simple teaching' (instanced by Ecclesiastes); see Maas (2003), 126–39. Junillus (or Junilius) had studied in the School of Nisibis, where the tradition of Theodore's teaching was handed down.

160 The reference must be to Job's long speeches from chapter 3 onwards, which reveal a notably more rebellious Job than the righteous man of the prose prologue, who submits effortlessly to God's testing.

of those who are wont to judge the divine scriptures without due devotion, and as a result he led many to fault the text and use it to criticize the blessed Job.

74. (LXV) And further down:

As for the very first words that the writer says he began with when his friends had arrived, who, noting or commenting on everything with reflection, would think or say that they were ever appropriate for the mind of a just man? Stringing together so many curses at the very beginning and placing them on things that cannot be cursed because they are not believed to be [still] in existence, who would judge this fitting for a man who had governed his life with so much wisdom, virtue and reverence?¹⁶¹

75. (LXVI) Consistently denigrating the scripture of Job and slandering its writer, that is to say the Holy Spirit, at the end of his blasphemous interpretation he says the following:

But this offence is insignificant compared to the one that occurs at the end. The verse that says that he called his third daughter the 'horn of Amalthea'¹⁶² is nothing other than a proof that he assented to pagan fables and loved the figments of idolatry, even though it is certain that the blessed Job, a barbarian and Edomite by race, could not have known the pagan fables about Jupiter, Saturn and Juno. Even if he had known them, he would not, thinking he was honouring her if she were so named, have given a name taken from the pagan fables of idolatry to his own daughter, born as a result of a divine miracle. For this indicated a man who assented to pagan fables, loved the figments of idolatry, wished to honour his daughter by means of them, and wanted both himself and his daughter to be seen to participate in mythical figments. That all this is a figment must be obvious to all.

76. (LXVII) And further down:

And it is clear that the writer submitted to this as a result of a great and inappropriate love of empty honour. To reveal that he himself had been educated in alien doctrine and had a knowledge of the pagan fables that they held to be reliable about those they thought to be gods, he thought nothing of ascribing to a just man the use of a name from that source, out of a wish to adorn his daughter with it. It is clear to me from the whole composition of the book that the writer was learned in pagan knowledge and marred the

¹⁶¹ The reference is to Job 3:3–10, where Job curses the day and the night of his birth.

¹⁶² Job 42:14 (LXX). In Greek mythology Amalthea was one of the foster-mothers of Zeus.

beauty of the narrative through wishing to compose the present text in imitation of it. Those among the pagans who compose tragedies take subjects from those recounted by many, [68] even when it happens in some way that these are thought by most people to be true; and using the mere story they strive to display their skill and sagacity in the composition of fables. They introduce characters that please them and compose speeches for them through which they think to attain fame and honour, with the result that the readers give the blame and praise that writing brings (whether the writer has erred in his meaning or in the words themselves) not to the characters whose words he invents but to the writer of the fable. And so this man, when he found a great and celebrated narrative about the blessed Job, which circulated orally among all alike not only of the Israelite race but others also, and which indeed the testimony of God delivered to the prophet made still more celebrated,¹⁶³ wanted to gain glory from the greatness of the subject and so wrote this text, forgetting that there is a great difference between the story of the just man according to the simplicity and precision of divine scripture and verbiage that is superfluous and concocted for show. This is why he made those inventions in which he made the devil strive with God¹⁶⁴ and ascribed speeches, according to his whim, some to the just man and others to his friends; that a great deal in these speeches exceeds what is appropriate I have already said above. Near the close he introduced Elihu whose words are full of gross insults against the just man,¹⁶⁵ and at the very end he ascribed to a character representing the greatness of the divine nature a speech in which he was not ashamed to include even the myth of the Leviathan.¹⁶⁶ It was from this improper love of empty honour that he attributed to the blessed Job the use of this name also, filched from pagan fables.¹⁶⁷

77. (LXVIII) In addition the same Theodore also denigrates the Song of Songs and says that Solomon wrote it with reference to his beloved.¹⁶⁸ He

¹⁶³ Ezek 14:14, 20.

¹⁶⁴ Job 2:1–6.

¹⁶⁵ Job 32–37.

¹⁶⁶ Job 41.

¹⁶⁷ These criticisms of Job are unparalleled in the Fathers. Amann (1946), 246 doubts whether Theodore's commentary can really have been so negative, since he dedicated it to Cyril of Alexandria. But its negativity is confirmed by Ishodad of Merv, *Livre de Sessions*, CSCO 230 (Louvain, 1963), 278–9, 316, and a Persian synod of 585 defended Theodore for condemning the book ('except for a tiny part') for ostentation, lies and blasphemy (Chabot 1902, 398–9).

¹⁶⁸ There is no trace of Theodore's having written a commentary on the Song of Songs. It would appear that the extracts given in this and the following three chapters come from an otherwise lost letter. See Quasten (1960), 406.

utters on the subject things that are shocking to Christian ears. The passage runs as follows:

Although it was irksome for me to read the Song of Songs, since it is written neither in the prophetic genre nor in the tradition of history, such as the Books of Kings, nor does it offer a epideictic exhortation to endeavour,¹⁶⁹ yet in some way, I know not how, the injunction in your letter, requiring from us without fail a treatment of the Song of Songs, made me more diligent over it, even though I had to force myself. Although I embarked on the reading with eager attentiveness, I could not stop myself repeatedly yawning and dozing, bewitched by the book's nuptial banquet, and this a royal one.

78. (LXIX) And further down:

But his wisdom made him celebrated among the Gentiles and the Jews and awesome for his cleverness, as a result of which he enjoyed a more stable peace than in earlier times, since the nations who loved war were restrained by fear of his supreme wisdom. But an Egyptian banquet¹⁷⁰ made Solomon vicious in the eyes of the Jews, as a transgressor of the ancestral laws that prohibit foreign marriages.¹⁷¹ This happened at the banquet of a girl who should have been shunned [69] because of her ugly native colour¹⁷² (for Egypt produces dark colours) and should have been shunned still more because she was descended from Ham, who inherited the ancient curse of Noah.¹⁷³ As a result, Solomon, in some distress because of his desire for his wife and stung by reproaches at his transgression, composed a song in self-defence, in order to win his wife's favour by delighting her with songs specially written for her. He cleverly silenced those who were criticizing him through the fact that, the occasion being a marriage (albeit a sinful one), the composition of songs provided him with grounds for a celebration and not for repentance. This is why he starts immediately with nuptial kisses, as he makes his new bride call out to the critics, 'Let the bridegroom "kiss me with the kisses of his mouth",¹⁷⁴ and I do not care about the insults of you who bray against me.' And then his annoyance with those disparaging

169 The same distinction between the historical and the prophetic genres is made by Junillus (see n. 159 above), who hesitatingly ascribes the Song of Songs to the proverbial genre; see Maas (2003), 126 and 134.

170 The reference is to the nuptial banquet that will have accompanied Solomon's marriage to the daughter of Pharaoh king of Egypt mentioned at 1 Kgs 3:1.

171 Cf. Exod 34:16.

172 Cf. Sg of Sgs 1:5.

173 Cf. Gen 9:22-5.

174 Sg of Sgs 1:2.

his bride becomes more heated [as he makes her say]: ‘I am black and beautiful, daughters of Jerusalem, like the tents of Kedar, like the curtain of Solomon.’¹⁷⁵ Do not, she says, refer to my colour as an insult, unless perchance you think that the marvel of the well-constructed buildings in the black stone of Arabia¹⁷⁶ is an insult; my limbs are similar to those stones and like precious stones. That dusky colour which you sing of insultingly has a likeness to such stones and to the royal purple – and not merely royal but that which clothes Solomon, who more than all kings loves adornment. The other songs also express annoyance at the insults of fools who groundlessly call foreign that which is native.

79. (LXX) And further down:

‘The singer of every song delights himself; yet I am singing a song that is required of me. I do not sing to delight myself as well as those for whom I sing, for I had no wish to record for future ages the criticism of my marriage. But choosing to sing because of the necessity to defend myself, I am compelled to sing a song on a subject contrary to my choice, with the result that my song exceeds the genre of a song; for I am compelled to sing with my spouse about what they criticize, as a public self-defence, and to proclaim that which it is decent for married people to keep hidden. But because they think of lambasting us with insults and separating us through opprobrious censure, let them hear us singing hotly of our embraces and imbibe fully the fragrance of our nuptial unguents;¹⁷⁷ let the choric songs of our kisses resonate around. Proclaim your blackness, my dusky and graceful bride, proclaim your race! They are disparaging a race that is cognate with the honourable origins of Israel. At the start of a reply to them begin [as follows]: from my hot kisses may they learn that we enjoy amorous discourse with one other. Let wounding critics discover the silent lyre that loves a wedding; let them learn in the midst of their curses that we imagine them dancing at my wedding; let them learn not to curse, since they have aroused a love that resounds all the more joyfully because of their insults; let their ears receive our kisses, as a bitter sting in the heart.’ But although this is the writer’s meaning, the meaning is blunted by the fact that he wrote anonymously, [70] all but proclaiming to Israel that it was not written by Solomon himself but under the pressure of emulation.

¹⁷⁵ Sg of Sgs 1:5.

¹⁷⁶ Basalt, the dominant stone in the area round Philippopolis in the north of the Roman province of Arabia, now southern Syria.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Sg of Sgs 1:3.

80. (LXXI) And further down:

By reflecting upon all this, readers of the book ought neither to think that the writing of a most wise man was an exhortation to impurity and hate it for this reason (for what benefit would it be to Solomon to exert himself to write of impurity, when he could be impure without writing about it?) nor to praise the book as if it spoke prophetically of the blessings of the church; for if he had received the grace of prophecy, he would have mentioned God somewhere, for in no prophetic text is God not mentioned. But all ought to recognize that a book of nuptial emulation is a song for the table, just as Plato later on wrote a symposium about love. This is why neither the Jews nor we ourselves have ever had public reading from the Song of Songs, because it is a domestic and nuptial song for the banquets of Solomon, with as its theme the insults uttered against his bride.

These are the treasures of Theodore's impiety.

81. The beginning of the criminal creed of the impious Theodore of Mopsuestia:¹⁷⁸

(1) Those who are being instructed now for the first time in the precision of the ecclesiastical doctrines or who wish to come over to the truth from any heretical error must be taught to profess:

(2) We believe in one God, Father everlasting, who did not begin to exist subsequently but was everlasting God from the beginning, and did not subsequently become Father since he was always God and Father. We believe in one Son of God, only-begotten, being from the essence of the Father, as really Son and of the same essence as the one of whom he both is and is believed to be the Son. (3) And in the Holy Spirit, who is from the essence of the Father, being not Son but God in essence, as being of that essence of which is the God and Father from whom he is in essence. For 'we,' it says, 'have received not the spirit of the world but the Spirit that is from God,'¹⁷⁹ separating him from all creation and joining him to God, from whom he is in essence in a way that distinguishes him from all creation, which we consider to be from God not in essence but as a result of workmanship, and we do not consider him to be the Son nor to have received existence through the

178 The Greek text is in the Acts of Ephesus I (*ACO* 1.1.7, pp. 97,26–100,2). Theodoret said in his *In Defence of Diodore and Theodore* that he could not find this text among Theodore's writings. Whatever its origin, it was an authentic expression of Antiochene Christology and as such was used by Nestorius (Price and Gaddis, I, 311–3). See p. 228 above for evidence that this creed was included in the same fifth-century collection of heretical extracts from which all the previous passages were taken.

179 1 Cor 2:12.

Son.¹⁸⁰ (4) We profess that the Father is complete in personhood and the Son likewise and the Holy Spirit [71] likewise,¹⁸¹ while we preserve the word of piety by considering the Father, Son and Holy Spirit to be not three different essences but one essence acknowledged in identity of Godhead.

(5) Concerning the dispensation that the Lord God accomplished for our salvation in the dispensation according to Christ the Lord, it is necessary to know that God the Word took a complete man who was of the seed of Abraham and David according to the statement in the holy scriptures,¹⁸² being in nature the same as those of whose seed he was, a man complete in nature, consisting of rational soul and human flesh. Whom, being a man like us in nature, fashioned in the womb of the Virgin by the power of the Holy Spirit – born from woman and born under the law to redeem us all from the servitude of the law,¹⁸³ after we have received the adoption as sons foreordained long ago – he conjoined ineffably to himself, making him experience death according to the law of mankind, ‘raising him from the dead, leading him into heaven and seating him at the right hand of God,’ whence, ‘being above all rule and authority and dominion and power and every name that is named not in this age only but also in that to come,’¹⁸⁴ he receives the worship of the entire creation as enjoying an inseparable conjunction with the divine nature, in virtue of his relationship with God and the understanding of the entire creation that renders worship to him. (6) We do not say ‘two Sons’ or ‘two Lords’, because God the Word is one Son in essence as the only-begotten Son of the Father, to whom being conjoined and partaking in sonship he [the man] shares the name and honour of the Son, and because God the Word is Lord in essence, through conjunction with whom he shares the honour; and we do not say ‘two Sons’ or ‘two Lords’ for this reason also, that, while [the case with] the one who is Lord and Son in essence is obvious, the one taken up for our salvation enjoys

180 Cf. Theodoret, *Refutation of the Twelve Anathemas of Cyril* 9, ‘That [the Spirit] has existence from the Son or through the Son, this we shall reject as blasphemous and impious’ (ACO 1.1.6, p. 134, 11–12). Contrast Cyril’s statement in his Third Letter to Nestorius, ‘[The Spirit] is not alien to the Son; for he is called the Spirit of truth, while Christ is the truth, and he is poured out by Christ just as assuredly from God the Father’ (vol. 2, 45). For this debate and its citation in the discussion of the *Filioque* at the Council of Florence see Boulnois (1994), 482–500.

181 Justinian in his edict of 544/5 perversely took this to mean that Theodore taught that there was but one person in the Trinity (cf. Facundus, *Pro defensione* III. 5.1 and 13).

182 Mt 1:1.

183 Cf. Gal 4:4–5.

184 Eph 1:21.

conjunction to him and is therefore raised with him to the name and honour of Son and Lord. He is not, like each of us, son in himself (which is why we are called ‘many sons’ by the blessed Paul),¹⁸⁵ but he alone possesses this privilege through his conjunction with God the Word.¹⁸⁶ Sharing in sonship and lordship, he destroys every thought of a duality of sons and lords, and enables us through his conjunction with God the Word to enjoy all faith, understanding and contemplation of him. It is for our sake that he receives worship from the entire creation in virtue of his relationship to God.

(7) We therefore say one Son and Lord Jesus Christ, through whom all things came into being. We think first of God the Word, the Son of God and Lord in essence, and then we think in addition of the one taken up, Jesus of Nazareth, whom ‘God anointed with the Spirit and with power,’¹⁸⁷ as sharing in sonship and lordship through conjunction with God the Word. He is also called the second Adam by the blessed Paul,¹⁸⁸ as being of the same nature as Adam and yet revealing to us the dispensation that is to come. His difference from him is that of the one who bestows ineffable blessings in the dispensation that is to come as compared to the one who was the origin of the present tribulations. In the same way he is called ‘the second man’ for having revealed the second dispensation, since, while Adam (through whom we received likeness to him) was the origin of the former one, which is mortal and passible and burdened with many pains, the second one was revealed by Christ the Lord who, appearing from heaven in the age to come, will lead us all into his own fellowship. For ‘the first man,’ it says, ‘is from the earth, earthy, the second man is the Lord from heaven,’¹⁸⁹ that is, [72] about to appear from there,¹⁹⁰ to lead all to imitate himself, because of which it adds, ‘As is the earthy one, so too are those who are earthy, and as is the heavenly one, so too are those who are heavenly; and as we have borne the image of the earthy one, let us also bear the image of the heavenly one.’¹⁹¹ It is through his appearing, and being seen by all those going to be judged, that the divine nature, which is invisible, will perform the judgement, according to the blessed Paul, who says, ‘The times of our ignorance God overlooked, but now he commands all men everywhere to repent, because he has fixed a

185 Heb 2:10.

186 In other words, Christ the man does not possess a second, distinct sonship, like ours, but shares in the divine Sonship of God the Word.

187 Acts 10:38.

188 Cf. 1 Cor 15:45.

189 1 Cor 15:47.

190 The Latin adds ‘in the future’ to the preceding clause.

191 1 Cor 15:48–9.

day on which he is going to judge the world in justice through a man whom he appointed, providing assurance by raising him from the dead.’¹⁹²

This is the teaching of the ecclesiastical doctrines; let everyone who holds contrary beliefs be anathema.

82. After the blasphemies of Theodore of Mopsuestia and his impious creed had been read, the holy council said and exclaimed: ‘This creed was composed by Satan. Anathema to the writer of this creed! This creed together with its author was anathematized by the First Council of Ephesus.¹⁹³ We recognize only one creed, that which the holy fathers of Nicaea issued and transmitted; it was also transmitted by the [other] three holy councils; in it we were all baptized and in it we baptize. Anathema to Theodore of Mopsuestia! He attacked the gospels. He swore against the dispensation. Anathema to those who do not anathematize him! His defenders are Jews. His followers are pagans. Many years to the emperor! To the orthodox emperor many years! To the Christian emperor many years! This benefit was reserved for you [to bestow]. You have cast out the tares. You have purified the church. Theodore of Mopsuestia we all anathematize. Theodore and his writings we all anathematize.’

83. After the exclamations the holy council¹⁹⁴ said: ‘The multitude of blasphemies that have been read, which Theodore of Mopsuestia belched forth against our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ and even more against his own soul, justifies his condemnation. It would therefore be right for us not to wait for anything else but by conciliar sentence to subject him to anathema. However, even though the declarations against him of the holy fathers, the imperial laws and the writers of history are unambiguous, yet, because in the investigation that is proceeding in his case no detail should be omitted, let us hear the rest on another day.’

¹⁹² Acts 17:30–1.

¹⁹³ Canon 7 of Ephesus I (Price and Gaddis, I, 323) condemned all those who composed a new creed and adherents of this creed in particular. But it deliberately omitted all mention of Theodore, its supposed author, as was pointed out in Vigilius, first *Constitutum* 204–7.

¹⁹⁴ While ‘the holy council’ of the preceding paragraph was the assembled bishops, here it is the chairman, Eutychius of Constantinople.

THE FIFTH SESSION

INTRODUCTION

The fourth session, devoted to a reading of heretical excerpts from the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, was followed at the fifth session five days later (Saturday, 17 May) by a reading of additional material relating to Theodore, a dossier to prove the propriety of posthumous condemnation, and finally scandalous excerpts from the writings of Theodoret of Cyrillus. As was said at the beginning of the session by the archdeacon and notary Diodore (who presented much of the material), the additional documentation relating to Theodore consisted of ‘what the holy fathers said about him and what is contained in imperial laws and historical writings’. This was in exact accord with the instructions received from Justinian at the first session of the council (I. 7.15); the documents, which included interpolated version of imperial edicts (25–6), can only have come from the emperor himself. Most of these texts relate to the controversy over Theodore’s orthodoxy that took place in the eastern provinces in the 430s; the issue under Justinian was whether fidelity to Cyril of Alexandria dictated leniency or severity towards Theodore and the other chapters. The sequence of events in these years needs to be narrated, with reference to the documents contained in the acts of this session.¹

The campaign against Theodore of Mopsuestia 432–9

To the embarrassment of his enemies in the sixth century Theodore (d. 428) was subjected to no serious and sustained criticism in his lifetime, save by the heretical Apollinarians.² A creed attributed to him and used in the recon-

¹ Further documents may be found in various collections assembled in the volumes of *ACO* I, and in citation in Facundus, *Pro defensione*, and Pelagius, *In defensione*. Sixth-century narrative sources, Innocent of Maronea and Liberatus, must be used with caution, since their reconstruction of the sequence of events is often conjectural.

² The letters cited at 27–30 below to show that Gregory of Nyssa and Theophilus of Alexandria pressed for Theodore’s condemnation fail to prove anything of the kind.

ciliation of heretics by agents of Nestorius was condemned at the Council of Ephesus of 431;³ but even though Cyril's agents and allies pilloried him on its account,⁴ Cyril ensured that his name did not appear in the acts of the council. The first weighty attack came in 432, when Bishop Rabbula of Edessa, a new convert to the Cyrillian cause, launched a campaign against him.⁵ Among the documents read out at this fifth session of 553 is a letter from Rabbula to Cyril of Alexandria in which he claims that Theodore had been the true originator of Nestorianism (23). These acts also contain a letter from Cyril to Rabbula, commending his fearlessness in the anti-Nestorian cause (20); the letter contains an incidental reference to Theodore, which, however, is probably an interpolation. The controversy over Theodore reached the Christians of Persian Armenia, and in 435 two priests journeyed to Constantinople to consult Archbishop Proclus, contrasting what they had heard in Theodore's defence from some unnamed Christians from Cilicia to the true faith they had heard from Rabbula; the letter they brought, though hostile to Theodore, was couched in wheedling terms of respect for Proclus and request for his guidance;⁶ it was accompanied by a florilegium of objectionable excerpts from Theodore's writings, presumably supplied by Rabbula.⁷ Proclus responded with his 'Tome to the Armenians', along the lines of the moderate Cyrillianism based on Cyril's widely accepted Second Letter to Nestorius and without any mention of Theodore by name;⁸ two excerpts were read out at this session (16–17). Archbishop John of Antioch obtained a copy of the Tome, and wrote to Proclus expressing delight at its 'caution and piety over the sacred doctrines'.⁹

3 Cf. Acts IV. 81 for this creed and Acts of Chalcedon I. 943 for its condemnation at Ephesus.

4 Cf. the attacks on Theodore in the immediate aftermath of Ephesus by the Latin writer Marius Mercator in *ACO* 1.5, pp. 5 and 23–8.

5 Cf. the account in Ibas' Letter to Mari the Persian (Acts VI. 5) and Doran (2006), 58–64.

6 The text survives in Syriac (trans. in Devreesse 1948, 136–7; Greek retroversion by Schwartz in *ACO* 4.2, pp. xxvii–viii). Richard (1948), 409–10, notes that when Proclus sent his reply the Armenian bishops responded with puzzlement, saying that there were no followers of Theodore in Armenia, which casts serious doubt on the two priests' claim to represent their bishops.

7 While the Armenians' letter refers vaguely to 'a work' of Theodore's, Innocent of Maronea calls it 'unum volumen blasphemiarum Theodori' (*ACO* 4.2, p. 68, 21); it was most probably a florilegium.

8 For a summary see Chadwick (2001), 548–9.

9 Most scholars (e.g. Richard 1942 and Abramowski 1992a) hold that there was but one despatch of the Tome to Antioch, shortly before the synod of 438, and that this letter was written

In this response John is likely to have ignored the excerpts from Theodore. They were, however, taken up with enthusiasm by Ibas, elected bishop of Edessa at Rabbula's death in 435, who 'translated them into the Syriac language and circulated them everywhere'.¹⁰ Further stimulus to heated controversy was provided by monks and clergy fiercely hostile to Theodore, among whom a prominent role is attributed in sixth-century sources to one Basil, a deacon of Constantinople, who visited Alexandria to stir up Cyril and on his return to Constantinople urged strong action on Proclus.¹¹ These same sources attribute a major role, yet again, to Armenian monks: the references to trouble-makers in Constantinople that occur in an exchange of letters between John of Antioch and Cyril (where they are not identified)¹² were understood by both Pelagius and Liberatus to refer to Armenian monks,¹³ and it is to envoys from Persian Armenia that is attributed a diatribe against Theodore sent to Proclus which is included among the documents read out at this session (14).¹⁴ However, this diatribe, so different in tone from the authentic letter of 435 mentioned above, has plausibly been identified with the plea that Basil presented to Proclus,¹⁵ and the trouble-makers mentioned by John of Antioch and Cyril are much more likely to have been pro-Cyrrillian clergy in Constantinople and Antioch than monks from Armenia. In any case the emphasis in the sources on the role of members of the lower clergy reflects bishops shifting the blame: it was Proclus and Cyril who were the chief instigators in the drama that now unfolded.¹⁶

thereafter. But more time must be allowed for the activity of Ibas (cf. Acts VI. 7.3) that followed the despatch of the Tome and led to the crisis of 438. The response of John to Proclus that I quote (from Facundus I. 1.11) is generally dated to 438, but since in the same fragment John says that he had *asked* for copy, while in 438 Proclus wrote demanding assent to the Tome, a date of 435 is more probable.

10 Acts VI. 7.3 (in a letter from Proclus to John), vol. 2, 12.

11 On Basil see Schwartz (1914), 26 with n. 3. For his role in this controversy see Innocent of Maronea (*ACO* 4.2, p. 68, 25–37), who is followed by Liberatus, *Breviarium* 10 (*ACO* 2.5, pp. 111–12). Their claim that this was the main stimulus to Cyril's composition of his *Against Diodore and Theodore* is not, however, supported by the evidence of Cyril's own letters.

12 *ACO* 1.5, pp. 310–15.

13 Pelagius, pp. 15, 11–17 and 28, 2–8. Liberatus, p. 112, 9–14.

14 The acts make the mistake of supposing that this plea was the document which prompted Proclus to write his Tome (V. 14). In fact the plea refers to the Tome (§9).

15 The attribution of the diatribe to Basil of Constantinople goes back to Tillemont (1701–12, XIV, 791) and is widely accepted. Another possible author is Deacon Maximus of Antioch (referred to below at 18, 21, 72).

16 The best discussion is Richard (1942), building on Schwartz (1914), 27–36. The different reconstruction proposed by Devreesse (1948), 143–52 is less convincing; see Abramowski (1992a). For a brief account see Chadwick (2001), 548–51 or Pietri (1998), 26–32.

In 438 Proclus of Constantinople wrote to John of Antioch, deploring Ibas' circulation of the excerpts (he still avoided naming Theodore as their author) and pressing John to make Ibas anathematize them and sign the Tome to the Armenians.¹⁷ When in August of the same year John held an exceptionally well-attended synod of Syrian bishops at Antioch,¹⁸ Proclus raised his demands by writing again, pressing all the Syrian bishops to do what he had demanded of Ibas, and accusing them of 'neglecting what he had uttered to the Armenians'.¹⁹ John replied deploring the attempt to anathematize a writer who in his lifetime had suffered no criticism from the orthodox (including Proclus himself) and claiming that the contents of the excerpts could be paralleled in numerous orthodox fathers prior or contemporary to Theodore.²⁰

At the same time John appealed to Cyril of Alexandria, advancing the same defence of Theodore and urging Cyril to use his good offices to restore peace to the churches.²¹ Cyril responded by asserting that Theodore's teaching was akin not to the orthodox fathers the Syrians had listed but to Nestorius himself, and urged John to root out Nestorianism from the Syrian clergy (68–70).²² Light is shed on the hostility of Cyril's reply by a letter he wrote to the presbyter Lampo that is included in these minutes of the council of 553 (18), where he writes that, when on a brief visit to Jerusalem, he had received a long letter from 'the orthodox in Antioch', accusing the Syrian bishops of using Theodore as cloak to spread Nestorianism and denying the orthodox the right to teach true doctrine. This message was reinforced when Cyril returned to Alexandria by a visit from Deacon Maximus of Antioch, representing a faction among the Antiochene clergy that supported Cyril and opposed their own bishop (18, 72).

All this spurred Cyril into literary activity. Because the Syrians were stressing fidelity to the Nicene Creed, he composed a treatise on the creed, which was in effect an assault on Antiochene Christology, with a hostile refer-

17 See 83–4 for extracts from this letter, and VI. 7 for the full text.

18 75 bishops according to Pelagius, pp. 15,20 and 22,27. Contrast the Synod of Antioch of 445, attended by 29 bishops (Price and Gaddis, III, 44) and that of Eastertide 448, attended by 10 bishops (*ibid.* II, 281). The exceptional attendance in 438 is evidence of the seriousness with which the Syrian bishops took Proclus' challenge.

19 *ACO* I. 5, p. 311, 4.

20 For extracts from the letter see Pelagius, pp. 15,28–17,26.

21 *Ep.* 66, *ACO* I. 5, pp. 310–14 (trans. McEnerney, FC 77, 55–60), referred to at 67.

22 *Ep.* 67, *ACO* I.1.4, pp. 37–9. At the same time Cyril wrote to a sympathetic metropolitan in Asia Minor, Acacius of Melitene, outlining the situation; his letter is given at 19.

ence to Theodore slipped in on the last page.²³ At this same juncture, either in Jerusalem or immediately on his return to Alexandria, he was supplied by Theodore's enemies with a florilegium of excerpts both from Theodore and from the earlier Antiochene theologian Diodore of Tarsus.²⁴ From these he rapidly compiled one book *Against Diodore* and the two books *Against Theodore*.²⁵ This work made its way to Syria, where Theodoret of Cyrillus wrote a reply, *In defence of Diodore and Theodore*, containing his own excerpts from Theodore.²⁶

In the meantime, however, all sides in the controversy had appealed to the emperor Theodosius II. Cyril severely criticized the stance of the Syrian bishops and urged the emperor to steer well clear of the heresy of Diodore and Theodore; doubtless aware, however, that the moment was not ripe, he did not press for their formal condemnation.²⁷ The Syrians pointed out that both Theodosius II and his grandfather Theodosius I had expressed admiration for Theodore's teaching.²⁸ The emperor's response to these various appeals was to insist on a restoration of peace to the churches. In his extant reply to the Syrians he added, 'What could be more useful than that you resolve together with the whole church that no one should presume in future to do anything of the kind against those who died in her peace?'²⁹ This picks up an argument that the Syrians had used, and which was to be much exploited by the defenders of the Three Chapters a century later: it was improper, and could subvert faith in the whole Christian tradition, to subject to posthumous condemnation respected churchmen who had died in good standing.

At the same time an embarrassed Proclus wrote to John, protesting that in asking for the condemnation of the heretical excerpts he had been concerned over their lack of doctrinal precision but had never pressed for Theodore or

23 This is Cyril, *On the Creed* (ep. 55), in Cyril, *Select Letters*, ed. Wickham, 94–131. The reference to Theodore is on p. 130, 13. Two excerpts from this work were read out at this session (21–2).

24 Because of the inclusion of Diodore, this must be distinct from the florilegium of excerpts from Theodore that Proclus had circulated (though it may well have shared much material). Moreover, in Proclus' collection the excerpts were anonymous, while from the use of Cyril's source in Acts IV and Leontius of Byzantium it is clear that it gave precise references.

25 For excerpts from *Against Theodore* see 5–13, 37, 53.

26 For excerpts from this lost work of Theodoret's see 31–4. Its florilegium was used by Facundus; see Abramowski (1957).

27 *Ep. 71*, ACO 1. 4, pp. 210–11; extract at 73 below. The addition of Diodore's name to the controversy at the episcopal level was Cyril's contribution, but may well have been anticipated by the Antiochene dissidents.

28 Pelagius, pp. 18–19, quoting the letter.

29 In Facundus VIII. 3.13.

any other deceased person to be condemned by name.³⁰ Cyril had no choice but to follow suit (we must now be in 439), and wrote accordingly both to the Syrian bishops, assembled once more at Antioch, and to Proclus.³¹ In these letters he withdrew none of his criticisms of Theodore and his teaching, but argued that, since Theodore had such a strong following in Syria, to condemn him by name would be counter-productive and might drive some into schism. He pointed out to Proclus that an explicit condemnation was unnecessary: ‘now that the blasphemies of Nestorius have been anathematized and rejected, there have also been rejected along with them the tenets of that man [Theodore] that have the greatest kinship to them’ (78). Finally he accepted the argument that it was improper to condemn the deceased; as he wrote to the Syrian bishops, ‘I yield to those who think it a serious matter to revile the dead, even if they are laymen, and all the more if they departed from this life in the episcopacy.’

Both Proclus and Cyril had to some extent covered themselves: both could point to the fact that they had not in fact demanded the condemnation of Theodore’s person; Proclus (in contrast to Cyril) had gone so far as to avoid naming Theodore at all. Where, however, they manifestly conceded ground was in dropping their demands that the Syrian bishops should censure the teaching attributed to Theodore and discipline their own more belligerent members, such as Ibas of Edessa. Cyril’s abandonment of his campaign to secure the condemnation of Theodore’s Christology and his acceptance of the principle that those who had died in the peace of the Church should be left in peace were to prove a serious embarrassment for Justinian’s campaign for Theodore’s condemnation and were fully exploited by the defenders of the Three Chapters. Accordingly this letter to the Syrian bishops is stigmatized in the Acts as a forgery, on the grounds that it is incompatible with the letters in which Cyril had pressed his campaign against Theodore and made no concessions to the Syrians. But all the letter exhibits is an accommodation to political circumstance, one of many artful zigzags in Cyril’s career.

Cyril’s more intransigent supporters felt he had betrayed them,³² as they had back in 433 when he similarly made peace with Antioch by accepting the Formula of Reunion. In fact he continued his war of tracts by issuing, probably at this juncture, a work nominally against the Apollinarians but in fact directed against Theodore’s anti-Apollinarian writings.³³ But now that

30 The letter is quoted in Pelagius, pp. 24–5 and Facundus, VIII. 2.2.

31 For these letters see 66 and 77–8 below.

32 Cf. the letter in Pelagius, p. 1.

33 This is his *Against the Synousiasts*, for which see 74–5 below.

the contending factions had agreed that a formal condemnation was not an option the debate petered out. The Council of Chalcedon, whose acts make no mention of Theodore, adopted a policy of discrete silence.

The campaign against Theodore as presented in the Acts

If this, according to modern scholarship, was the actual sequence and outcome of events in the controversy over Theodore of Mopsuestia conducted in the 430s, it is not the one that was presented at the council of 553. The documents were read out in a confusing order that made no attempt to be chronological, but Theodore Ascidas, who himself presented part of the documentation (65–89), made clear how it was to be interpreted in a series of interspersed comments (65, 67, 71, 74, 79, 85, 87, 89).

First, he disposed of the evidence that Cyril of Alexandria had ever accepted the principle that heretics should not be condemned posthumously. The letter to John of Antioch in which this principle was most clearly admitted (66) was clearly too well known to be simply suppressed, but it was argued (67) that comparison with other letters of Cyril, notably his previous letter to John of Antioch (68), proved it to be a forgery. The letter of Cyril to Proclus of Constantinople that was similar in content (77–78) was accepted, but the sentence in it where Cyril declares it best to leave the deceased Theodore in peace was excised.³⁴

Ascidas admitted, however, that in a number of documents Cyril had deprecated pressing for Theodore's condemnation on the grounds that it might in the circumstances prove too divisive. This same consideration had been evident at the First Council of Ephesus, where at the session of 22 July 431 a creed attributed to Theodore had been condemned but without Theodore being mentioned by name.³⁵ As Cyril himself had commented, in a letter cited at this session, 'This was out of accommodation, lest some, respecting the reputation of the man, cast themselves out of the churches' (77).³⁶ I described above two stages in the campaign against Theodore after the Council of Ephesus. In the first of these stages Proclus, joined in the summer of 438 by Cyril, pressed the Syrians to anathematize the Nestorian

³⁴ See n. 000 below. Yet the statement of Cyril in a dogmatic work, 'It is utter folly to attack with hostility those who are no longer living but deceased,' was actually read out (75), but with the gloss that what it meant was that the dead should not be attacked 'without cause' (74).

³⁵ Cf. Acts of Chalcedon I. 918–21, 943 (Price and Gaddis, I, 311–16, 323).

³⁶ We may surmise that Cyril's anxiety was not over a few intransigent Nestorians but over the danger of an irreparable breach between Alexandria and Antioch.

errors contained in the teaching of Theodore; in the second they did not withdraw their criticisms of this teaching but, in a spirit of accommodation, ceased to harass the Syrians or press for a formal condemnation. What Ascidas did at this fifth session of 553 was to reverse the order of these two stages. According to him (79 and 85), Cyril and Proclus initially adopted a policy of accommodation ‘in order fully to draw away from the heresy of Nestorius those who were still caught in it and prevent the disorders that they suspected the heretics would bring about’ (79); when, however, this proved unavailing and the heretics remained as obdurate as before, ‘they then proceeded to what is perfect’ (85), in other words, to an open denunciation of Theodore and his heresy. Ascidas gave examples from scripture and from the Fathers of the Church to illustrate the propriety of the principle of accommodation in certain circumstances (85–7). In all, Cyril’s recourse to accommodation had been merely a temporary expedient that he soon abandoned.

The question then arises: what, according to this account, was the outcome back the 430s? Ascidas did not himself provide a direct answer, but one had in fact been provided by a text given earlier in the session – an interpolated version of an edict issued by Theodosius II against Nestorianism, most probably in 436. The authentic version of the edict named only Nestorius, and the reason for its issuing had nothing to do with the controversy over Theodore, but in the version read out at this session Theodore as well as Nestorius was condemned by name.³⁷ The bishops who attended this session, and subsequent readers of the acts, were clearly intended to suppose that Theodosius II, in response to a petition from Cyril (73), written in fact two years later, closed the controversy by condemning Theodore by name.³⁸ The campaign conducted by Cyril and Proclus had come to a triumphant conclusion, and the role of the council of 553 was not to innovate but simply to confirm this previous judgement.

This account of the events of the 430s was fictitious, but was it consciously so? It can be argued that the version of events presented in 553 was more the fruit of wishful thinking than of deceit, on the following grounds.

(1) None of the relevant letters (around twenty in number) is dated. Ascidas and the other bishops did not have before them the reconstruction of the course of events worked out by scholars centuries later.

37 See 25 for the interpolated version and also 26, a closely related edict, likewise interpolated. I append the authentic text of the edict at the end of these minutes (pp. 368–70).

38 No date is assigned to the interpolated edict, but it would clearly have to follow the letters of Cyril written in 438 that pressed for Theodore’s condemnation and argued that Nestorius’ condemnation applied implicitly to him as well (cf. 67–73).

(2) It was surely a correct reading of the evidence to conclude that Cyril and Proclus wished to see the teaching of Theodore condemned, and that their adoption (at whatever stage) of a policy of accommodation represented not conviction but a yielding to political pressure. The defenders of the Three Chapters were singularly unconvincing when they argued that Cyril had had no wish to see Theodore condemned.³⁹

(3) Crucial for the defence of Theodore in the 430s and in the time of Justinian was the drawing a distinction between the heresy of Nestorius and the teaching of Theodore, for few of Theodore's defenders in the 430s and none a century later disputed Nestorius' condemnation. Some distinction there certainly was: Theodore's interpretation of the *Theotokos* title was minimalist, but he had not made Nestorius' mistake of actually deprecating its use. But modern scholars would generally agree with Cyril and his allies about the essential identity of the Christology of these two theologians.

(4) Finally, the edict of 436 condemning Nestorius may not have named Theodore, but it condemned teaching that was to be found in Theodore no less than in Nestorius. The interpolators who added Theodore's name to the edict may well have persuaded themselves that they were not distorting its meaning but clarifying it.

Condemnation of the deceased

As we have seen, the first major controversy over Theodore of Mopsuestia closed in 438 with general agreement (though with varying degrees of sincerity) that bishops who had died in the peace of the Church should not be condemned posthumously.⁴⁰ In the sixth century defenders of Theodore appealed constantly to this principle; it was deployed with particular effect in the first *Constitutum* of Pope Vigilius, who admitted the heterodoxy of Theodore's writings and placed the whole weight of his defence on the principle that those who died in good standing should be left to God's judgement (202–20). One half of the acts of this fifth session (53–92) consists of a dossier intended to prove that this principle was no genuine part of the Church's tradition.⁴¹ The following evidence was presented to the bishops:

39 Note, however that the great miaphysite leader Severus of Antioch (d. 538) took Cyril, *ep.* 72 at face value and concluded that Theodore's name should not be removed from diptychs (Severus, *ep.* 46, PO 12, 316).

40 This same principle had earlier been asserted by Theophilus of Alexandria at the Council of Constantinople of 394; see Russell (2007), 14–15. This was no longer remembered in the sixth century.

41 Cf. Justinian, *On the orthodox faith*, pp. 102–6.

(1) Numerous passages from Cyril of Alexandria were cited (53–5, 68–81), to show that he countenanced the posthumous condemnation of heretics. To them were added passages to the same effect from Proclus of Constantinople (82–4). In fact both fathers had attacked Theodore's teaching but stopped short of demanding the condemnation of his person.

(2) A number of passages from Augustine⁴² (56–64) were cited by an African bishop in which Augustine, disputing with Donatists, declared he would anathematize Caecilian of Carthage and his consecrators, dead long before, if the Donatists were ever able to prove them guilty of grave crimes.

(3) It was claimed (64, 87) that many earlier heretics had been condemned only posthumously. The examples provided, however, were singularly unconvincing, apart from that of Origen. It may seem surprising that more emphasis was not laid on the fact that the bishops had signed a condemnation of Origen and Origenism just before the council opened,⁴³ but Origen was not a good example of someone who died in good standing and was condemned only posthumously since it was widely believed in the sixth century that he had died either excommunicate or even as an apostate.⁴⁴ It is also relevant that Origen was not actually named in the anti-Origenist anathemas.⁴⁵

(4) Finally there was a reading (92) of the minutes of a synod held at Mopsuestia in 550 on Justinian's instructions, and attended by all nine bishops of the province of Cilicia Secunda,⁴⁶ to ascertain when Theodore's name had been removed from the diptychs of the see of Mopsuestia, read out at the eucharist.⁴⁷ The more elderly clergy and notables of Mopsuestia came together to testify in set form that they had never known of the inclusion of his name in the diptychs; the implication was that he had been condemned in his own see at a very early date, perhaps even that his name had never been included in the diptychs.⁴⁸ The comment by Gilbert Dagrón is worth quoting:

42 Augustine was respected, though not read, in the eastern churches. Cf. Leontius Scholasticus, *De sectis*, PG 86A. 1216C, where he is included in a list of 'Fathers' of the Church.

43 See vol. 2, 270–1.

44 Diekamp (1899), 76.

45 This omission was made up in the council's Canon 11, approved at Session VIII.

46 Compare the nine names given at 92.1.4,64 to those in Jones (1971), 540.

47 Note the emphasis at the council on the communication of its findings to Pope Vigilius (92: 2, 3, 65). Its purpose was clearly to prove to western defenders of Theodore that he had been rejected by his own church decades before.

48 That Severus of Antioch, writing when patriarch of Antioch in 516/7, agreed that heretics such as Theodore should not be removed from the diptychs (PO 12, 316) makes it highly unlikely that his name had already been deleted from the diptychs of his own church, as was now claimed.

There is hardly any need to insist on the way in which the hearing of witnesses is transformed into ceremony and the inquiry into a demonstration of loyalty... It is clear that the testimonies have been worked upon, even gilded, but above all disposed and given in an order, and in accordance with a hierarchy, that would give to any discordant voice the appearance of a *faux pas*. One cannot speak of falsehood when it is not at all a matter of truth. Justinian's message sets in motion the performance of a ceremony, as formal as it is necessary, the purpose of which is to make the emperor's wishes plain for all to see and thus to convey to the emperor an amplified resonance and the most perfect image possible, namely that of a consensus disguised as the straightforward finding of an inquiry.⁴⁹

This evidence that the Church had always countenanced the posthumous condemnation of heretics amounted to little. On the other hand, the claim by Theodore's defenders that such a condemnation was contrary to the Church's tradition was also insecure. There had been much debate in the early sixth century over whether the names of deceased bishops who had been on the wrong side in the Christological disputes of 451–518 should be removed from the diptychs, and the right balance was sought between strict orthodoxy on the one hand and respect for the traditional commemoration of the faithful departed on the other. There was no general rule to appeal to.⁵⁰

At the end of the council's discussion, Patriarch Eutychius concluded, predictably, that it was in accordance with the tradition of the Church to anathematize heretics even after death (93). The case against Theodore had now been fully presented, and the rightness of his condemnation at the end of the previous session confirmed, though the pronouncement of a final verdict against him was again postponed.

The case of Theodoret

Now that Theodore had been disposed of, Eutychius directed the discussion to the second of the Three Chapters – the writings of Theodoret of Cyrillus against Cyril and in defence of Theodore and Nestorius.⁵¹

In 431–2 Theodoret had been the chief controversialist in the Antiochene camp, and wrote a series of works supporting Nestorius against Cyril, notably his *Refutation of the Twelve Anathemas of Cyril* and his *Five Books*

49 Dagron (1980), 21. One must be particularly sceptical about the replacement of Theodore's name, supposedly at an early date, by that of Cyril of Alexandria. 'An orthodox pseudopast was being imposed on the genuine past of Mopsuestia' (Gray 1989, 35).

50 See Menze (2008), ch. 2, 'The Diptychs'.

51 For a fuller discussion see pp. 84–8 above.

against Cyril and the Council of Ephesus. From 433, however, when John of Antioch made peace with Cyril and accepted Nestorius' deposition, these writings began to be an embarrassment, particularly after the Council of Chalcedon of 451, which acclaimed the decrees of Ephesus. By 553 the only forceful argument against condemning these writings was that Cyril had not demanded their withdrawal when he made peace with the Antiochenes in 433, and that likewise the Council of Chalcedon had ignored them when it restored Theodoret to his see in the eighth session.

The selection of reprehensible texts from Theodoret read out at this fifth session began with several brief excerpts from his *Refutation of the Twelve Anathemas of Cyril* (94–9). It is significant that these excerpts are not ones that abuse Cyril but ones where Theodoret expresses a Christology close to that of Theodore; the same is true of the final extract (109), of dubious authenticity, which offers an interpretation of the words of St Thomas to the risen Jesus (Jn 20:28) identical to Theodore's (IV. 21). The implication is that heterodoxy was Theodoret's major offence. The rest of the extracts, however, are all examples of his denigration of Cyril and of his role during the Council of Ephesus, while one of them expresses direct support for Nestorius even after the union of 433, at a time when John of Antioch and the great majority of the Syrian bishops accepted his condemnation for heresy (105). The crowning piece is a letter of exultation at Cyril's death in 444 (107), of doubtful authenticity. Taken together, the excerpts were clearly intended to show that Theodoret's writings during the Nestorian controversy were similar to the notorious Letter of Ibas to Mari the Persian and equally damnable.

The session ended with Patriarch Eutychius remarking how right Chalcedon had been not to reinstate Theodoret 'until he had first anathematized Nestorius and his blasphemies, which he had earlier written to defend' (110). No attempt was made to counter the claim by Theodoret's defenders that the Council of Chalcedon had judged it wrong to condemn any of his writings. The formal decision against Theodoret's heretical writings, like the condemnation of Theodore, was reserved for the close of the council.

PROCEEDINGS

1. [73] In the twenty-seventh year of the lord Justinian perpetual Augustus and in the twelfth year after the consulship of the most illustrious Basil, sixteen days before the Kalends of June in the first indiction,⁵² there were seated in the consistory of the venerable episcopal palace of this imperial city: (1) Eutychius the most holy patriarch of imperial Constantinople New Rome, (2) Apollinarius the most holy archbishop of the great city of Alexandria, (3) Domninus the most holy patriarch of the great city of Theopolis [Antioch], (4–6) Stephen the most religious bishop of Raphia, George the most religious bishop of Tiberias, and Damian the most religious bishop of Sozusa, [all] representing Eustochius the most holy bishop of Jerusalem, (7) Benignus the most religious bishop of Heraclea in Pelagonia, representing Helias the most blessed bishop of Thessalonica, (8) Theodore the most religious bishop of Caesarea in the province of Cappadocia Prima, (9) Andrew the most religious bishop of Ephesus, (10) Sextilian the most religious bishop of Tunis, representing Primosus the most religious bishop of Carthage, together with the other fellow bishops whose names are given in the first session.

2. Diodore archdeacon and *primicerius* of the most devout notaries said: ‘Your holy council knows that on a previous day after a reading of the blasphemies of Theodore of Mopsuestia you issued a resolution that declared the impiety of Theodore himself and his writings and also ordered that on another day there should be a reading of what the holy fathers said about him and what is contained in imperial laws and historical writings. Because, therefore, we have these to hand, what we propose depends on your good pleasure.’

3. The holy council⁵³ said: ‘Let the previous proceedings be read.’

4. When this had been done, the holy council said: ‘As we resolved previously, let there be read what the holy fathers wrote against Theodore of Mopsuestia and his blasphemies [74] and what is contained in imperial laws and historical writings.’

⁵² 17 May 553. This is the date given in the Codex Parisinus. That in Surius, ‘eight days before the Ides of May’, i.e. 8 May, is impossible, since the previous session took place on 12 (or 13) May.

⁵³ Throughout the session statements by ‘the holy council’ are to be ascribed to Eutychius of Constantinople as the leader and spokesman of the patriarchs, who chaired the council.

5. And when Theodore the most devout deacon and notary had received it, he read out:

Cyril of holy memory, from the first book of those he wrote against Theodore:⁵⁴

THEODORE.⁵⁵ If anyone wishes to give also to God the Word the Son of God the name 'Son of David' catachrestically on account of God the Word's temple which is from David, let him so name him; and let him give the one who is from the seed of David the title 'Son of God' by grace but not by nature: he should not ignore his natural forefathers or upset order, nor should he say that the one who is incorporeal is a body,⁵⁶ that he is from God before the ages as well as from David, and that he both suffered and is impassible. A body is not incorporeal, what is from below is not from above, what is before the ages is not from the seed of David, what suffered is not impassible. For these attributes are not to be ascribed to the same concept: what is of the body is not of God the Word, and what is proper to God the Word does not have a body. Let us acknowledge the natures and not deny the dispensations.

THE HOLY CYRIL. He who says that the dispensations must not be denied utterly uproots the mystery of the manhood. For he dares to say that neither did the Only-begotten Word of God become man nor did he come forth from the seed of holy David, but openly introduces a duality of sons, and a nature unequal and deceptive in its name; for the fact that it is spoken of catachrestically shows in every way that it is not truly what it is said to be, for it borrows the name of the other. Therefore if God the Word is called man catachrestically, he clearly did not become man; and if the one who is from the seed of David is Son and God catachrestically, he is by nature and in truth neither God nor Son. In both cases the naming, and even the reality itself, is therefore rightly understood to be deceptive, since each is given the name of what it is not.

6. *From the same book:*

54 For Cyril's two books *Against Theodore* see pp. 274–5 above.

55 The Greek of the first few lines, down to 'is impassible', is preserved in Leontius of Byzantium, PG 86A. 1388C. The passage is not in fact from Theodore but from Diodore of Tarsus (*Against the Synousiasts* Bk I); the same mistake over authorship occurs in the following extracts (6–8), in all those, that is, which come from Bk I of Cyril's work. A feature of these texts that is distinctive of Diodore is the fondness for the Christological title 'Son of David' or 'the one from the seed of David'. See Richard (1946a), esp. 104–5, and Sullivan (1956), 35–40.

56 The words 'is a body' come only in the Latin text, but are surely required.

THEODORE.⁵⁷ When we are inquiring into natural ancestry, it is appropriate for those with a good understanding to call God the Word not the son of David or Abraham but his maker, nor should they describe the body as before the ages from the Father but as the seed of Abraham and David that was born from Mary. When there is discussion about the natural births, let not God the Word be supposed to be the son of Mary; for a mortal gives birth to a mortal according to nature and a body that is consubstantial. God the Word did not undergo two births, one before the ages and the other in the latter times, but he was born by nature from the Father, while the temple that was born from Mary he created for himself from the very womb.

[75] CYRIL. Then, after proceeding briefly, with some intervening remarks, he says again:

THEODORE.⁵⁸ But when the subject under discussion is the saving dispensation, let the Godhead be called man not because it became man but because it took him up, and let the man be called God without suggesting that he became infinite and ubiquitous. For it was a body, subject to touch even after the resurrection; such it was when taken into heaven, and it will return just as it was taken.⁵⁹

CYRIL. Here he plainly and patently contradicts divine scripture, repudiates the mystery of Christ, and virtually rebukes God the Word for having chosen to undergo self-emptying on our behalf;⁶⁰ that he became man appears to distress him. For he utterly abolishes the incarnation and rises up against the ineffable wisdom, virtually addressing Christ the Saviour of us all in Jewish fashion: 'For a good work we do not stone you but for blasphemy, because, though you are a man, you make yourself God.'⁶¹ Let him then listen as Christ says explicitly, 'If then I am not doing the works of my Father, do not believe me; but if I am doing them, even if you do not believe me, believe my works.'⁶² For although he knows that the Word of God used divine power and might even when he had come forth as man, he denies that he was God, and says instead that he dwelt in a man, in such a way that the Word of God showed us a man to be worshipped, honoured with the mere name of Godhead. He thereby stands convicted of having been utterly ignorant of the power of Christ's mystery.

⁵⁷ Part of this passage comes in Acts IV. 54, attributed to Theodore, and in Leontius of Byzantium (PG 86A. 1388B), rightly attributed to Diodore.

⁵⁸ This passage also is from Diodore.

⁵⁹ Cf. Acts 1:11.

⁶⁰ Cf. Phil 2:7.

⁶¹ Jn 10:33.

⁶² Jn 10:37-8.

7. *From the same book:*

THEODORE.⁶³ But if, he says, it was the flesh that was crucified, how was it that the sun averted its rays, darkness covered the whole land, there was an earthquake, rocks were shattered, and the dead arose? But what then would they say of the darkness that occurred in Egypt at the time of Moses, and not for three hours but for three days? What of the other miracles performed by Moses and by Joshua the son of Nun, who made the sun stand still – the sun that in the time of King Hezekiah turned backwards contrary to nature –,⁶⁴ and what of the remains of Elisha which raised up a dead man?⁶⁵ For if those that occurred at the time of the cross prove that God the Word suffered and they do not allow that they occurred on account of a man, then also those in the time of Moses will not have been on account of the race of Abraham, and likewise those in the time of Joshua the son of Nun and in that of King Hezekiah. But if these miracles were performed on account of the Jewish people, all the more were those on the cross on account of the temple of God the Word.

[76] CYRIL. ‘Heaven was appalled at this and shook all the more vehemently, says the Lord.’⁶⁶ O wickedness past endurance! O tongue that speaks iniquity against God, and mind that lifts up its horn on high!⁶⁷ Does it seem little to you that fixed to the wood is the Lord of glory, whom indeed you say is neither true Son nor God? But we believe that he is truly Son and God, creator and maker of all things. For he was not merely a man but God the Word from God the Father in human form, for he did not undergo transformation or change into flesh, but instead was united to it according to the faith of the holy scriptures. It is the one who suffered in the flesh and hung on the wood who worked miracles in Egypt, in everything manifesting his glory through the wise Moses.

8. *From the same book:*

THEODORE.⁶⁸ The man from Mary is Son by grace while God the Word [is Son] by nature – the former by grace and not by nature, and the latter by nature and not by grace. There are not two Sons.⁶⁹ The body from

63 This passage was cited at IV. 35 as Theodore’s. It too is from Diodore.

64 Cf. 2 Kgs 20:9–11.

65 Cf. 2 Kgs 13:21.

66 Jer 2:12.

67 Cf. Ps 74:6.

68 This passage was cited at IV. 53 as Theodore’s. The Greek is preserved in Leontius of Byzantium, PG 86A. 1388AB, and rightly attributed to Diodore.

69 This sentence is omitted in Leontius.

us will be satisfied with sonship according to grace and with glory and immortality because it became the temple of God the Word.⁷⁰ Let it not be raised above nature, and let not God the Word instead of the thanksgiving owed by us be insulted. What is the insult? Combining him with the body and thinking that he needed the body for perfect sonship.⁷¹ And the very God the Word wishes himself to be not the son of David but his Lord;⁷² but as for the body being called the son of David not only did he not begrudge it, but it was for this that he came.

CYRIL. Since therefore what is by grace is not by nature and what is by nature is not by grace, there are not two Sons, according to your reasoning. He who is Son by grace and not by nature is not truly Son; what is left is that the glory of true Sonship abides in him who is so by nature not by grace, that is, in God the Word who is from God the Father. In consequence, as I have said, excluded from being and being called Son of God is Christ Jesus through whom we have been saved, proclaiming his death and professing his resurrection, for the word of faith that we preach⁷³ leads us to this profession. It follows that our faith is in a man and not in him who is both by nature and truly Son of God. For if he is truthful who says that he obtained sonship by grace, he will be counted among the multitude of sons, that is, ourselves, to whom grace from above gives the sonship to which we have been called through Jesus Christ who is from the seed of David in respect of the flesh.⁷⁴ And may the divine evangelist assure you, saying, 'But to those who received him he gave power to become children of God, to those that believe in his name.'⁷⁵ Then how would he who has obtained the dignity of sonship as a gift from another bestow on us a grace that is not his own but was obtained by him from an external source?

[77] *And a little way further down:* The Son gave himself to self-emptying and, even though he was perfect in all respects, chose to suffer abasement and to undergo birth from a woman in respect of the flesh; and he was called son of Abraham and of David.⁷⁶ But so far from marvelling at so fine a plan of the dispensation you prefer to find fault with the mystery, asserting that

⁷⁰ ACO and Migne take this clause with the following sentence.

⁷¹ Migne's Greek text reads 'What is the insult in combining him with the body and thinking that he needed a body for perfect sonship?' The Latin version as punctuated in ACO is clearly superior.

⁷² Cf. Mt 22:45.

⁷³ Rom 10:8.

⁷⁴ Rom. 1:3.

⁷⁵ Jn 1:12.

⁷⁶ Cf. Mt 1:1.

the incarnation of the Only-begotten was an insult, criticizing the plan of God the Father, and exclaiming also against the Son himself who chose to undergo self-emptying on your behalf. So when you hear him saying to God the Father in heaven, ‘Sacrifice and offering you did not desire, holocausts for sin you did not require, but a body you created for me; then I said, Behold I come, at the head of the book it is written of me that I should do your will: so I have chosen, O God,’⁷⁷ you will say that perhaps the Son had a wrong conception of his glory – for he chose the creation of a body and one made not for another but rather for himself, according to his own words, ‘A body you created for me’ –, even though you hear Paul say of God the Word, ‘Therefore because the sons participate in blood and flesh, he likewise came to partake of the same,’⁷⁸ and the wise John wrote as follows, ‘And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us.’⁷⁹ Rise up against them and exclaim, ‘Let him not in place of the due thanksgiving be insulted by us. God the Word did not become flesh, God the Word did not truly partake of blood and flesh; he was not like us born of a woman in respect of the flesh, he was not called son of David; for how would he have chosen to undergo that which it is an insult for him even to be called and also contrary to his will?’ But we, wise sir, are accustomed to give glory to God the Father because he created a body for the Son, and we say that the Son himself truly became flesh (that is, a man), suffered self-emptying on our behalf, underwent the abasement of our poverty, and yet remained even so God and the true Son of God the Father. How then could he have refused to be called the son of David, if he became a human being and this not unwillingly?

9. By the same Cyril from the second book:⁸⁰

THE WORDS OF THEODORE.⁸¹ ‘What is man that you remember him, or the son of man that you visit him?’⁸² Let us consider then who the man is about whom he is astonished and marvels that the Only-begotten deigned to remember him and visit him. That, however, this was not said of every human being has been proved above; that it is not of any individual you please, this too is certain. Omitting, however, everything else, let us take the apostle’s witness, since it is more trustworthy than everything. The

⁷⁷ Ps 39:7–9.

⁷⁸ Heb 2:14.

⁷⁹ Jn 1:14.

⁸⁰ This and the following excerpts from Cyril’s *Against Theodore* Bk II are authentic pieces of Theodore.

⁸¹ Cf. IV. 25, where Theodore gives a similar interpretation to the same biblical passages.

⁸² Ps 8:5 (= Heb 2:6).

apostle writes to the Hebrews to tell them about Christ; and to confirm his person, which was not acceptable to them, he speaks as follows: ‘Someone somewhere testified, saying: What is man that you remember him, or the son of man that you visit him? You made him for a little while lower than the angels, you crowned him with glory and honour, and set him over the works of your hands; you placed all things under his feet.’⁸³ [78] And when he had quoted the testimony, to explain it he added, ‘In subjecting all things he left nothing not subject, but we do not yet see all things subject to him’; and to teach us who the man is, because it was uncertain from the saying recorded in blessed David, he added, ‘But we see Jesus, who for a little while was made lower than the angels, crowned with glory and honour on account of the suffering of death.’⁸⁴ If then we are taught by the gospels that it was with reference to the Lord that blessed David uttered everything in the psalm, both the rest and also that ‘you remember’, ‘you visit’, ‘you made less’ and ‘you subjected’, while we learn from the apostle that it is Jesus of whom David says both that the Lord remembered *him*, visited *him*, and also subjected all things to *him*, even though he had made him for a little while lower than the angels, cease for a time, even if with difficulty, from your shamelessness and recognize what is due. For you see, most criminal of all men, how great is the difference between the natures, in that the one [David] is astounded because he [the Lord] deigns to remember a human being, visit him, and make him share in the other things he made him share in, while the other [the apostle] in contrast is amazed because he [Jesus] was honoured with sharing in such great things above his nature; the former [the Lord] causes amazement by bestowing a privilege and conferring great things that surpass the nature of the one who obtains the privilege, while the latter [Jesus] does so by obtaining the privilege and receiving from him greater things than he deserved.

THE HOLY CYRIL. Be sober, O you drunk from their wine,⁸⁵ someone should cry to those in such error.⁸⁶ Set, O man, a door and bolt on your tongue; cease raising your horn on high and uttering iniquity against God.⁸⁷ How long will you abuse Christ’s patience? Keep in mind what was written

83 Heb 2:6–8a, citing Ps 8.

84 Heb 2:8b-9.

85 Cf. Joel 1:5. ‘Their’ is the reading of the Septuagint text; in the later citations of the same passage (33 and 81) it is changed to ‘your’.

86 The Greek of the following passage, down to ‘the crimes of Jewish madness were nothing’, is preserved in Justinian, *On the orthodox faith*, p. 106.

87 Cf. Ps 140:3 and 74:6.

by the inspired Paul, ‘But sinning thus against the brethren and wounding their weak conscience you sin against Christ,’⁸⁸ and to quote something from the prophetic books as well, ‘Sodom has been made righteous by you’:⁸⁹ you have surpassed the prating of the pagans that they committed against Christ,⁹⁰ deeming the cross foolishness, and you have shown that the crimes of Jewish madness were nothing.⁹¹ You have the presumption to lower and, as far as you can, to reduce to disgrace the one who sits on a heavenly throne and has the same throne together with God the Father. For that the one who rose from the dead is seated on the throne of the Godhead is affirmed by the most wise Paul, for he said, ‘We have such a high priest, who has taken his seat at the right hand of the throne of majesty in heaven,’⁹² who is ‘above every principality and power and dominion and every name that is named not only in this age but also in that to come,’⁹³ for to him ‘bows every knee and every tongue professes that Jesus Christ is Lord in the glory of God the Father.’⁹⁴ And who is he who in these passages is treated as God? The same [apostle] explained again who is the priest of his mysteries, for he said, ‘He emptied himself, taking on the likeness of man and being found in form like a man, and humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, even death on a cross.’⁹⁵ [79] Therefore ‘every knee of beings heavenly, earthly and infernal bows’⁹⁶ to him who bore the cross, who, as our adversary says, enchaining him in the mere and sole dimensions of human nature, was honoured with being remembered and visited by God the Word, when certainly he ought to know and realize that God the Word was not another Son, separately and individually, than the one who is (as he says) a man from the seed of David, but he himself, God the Word from God the Father, became like us, that is, a man, and did not merely treat as worthy of being remembered and visited some other individual rather than himself.

10. Again from the same book:

THEODORE.⁹⁷ Will they now cease from their shameless conflict, and

88 1 Cor 8:12.

89 Cf. Ezek 16:51.

90 The Greek may simply have meant ‘the prating of the pagans about Christ’.

91 Cf. 1 Cor 1:23.

92 Heb 8:1.

93 Eph 1:21.

94 Phil 2:10–11.

95 Phil 2:7–8.

96 Phil 2:10.

97 The Greek is preserved in Leontius of Byzantium (Mai 1832, 306 and PG 66. 985AB). The first part of this passage has already been cited at IV. 55.

will they now desist from futile contention, as they are shamed by the clarity of what has been said? For it says, 'leading many sons to glory.'⁹⁸ Mark therefore how in respect of sonship the apostle clearly classifies the adopted man with the many, not in that he shares in sonship in the same way that they do, but in that in the same way he took on sonship by grace, while his Godhead alone possesses natural sonship. For this is certain, that he possesses the special honour of sonship beyond other men through union with him; consequently by the very term 'son' he is thought of in conjunction and taken in conjunction. Yet they hold forth to us, 'If we speak of two things that are complete, we shall assuredly speak also of two Sons.'⁹⁹ But mark how in divine scripture he is given the name 'son' by itself, being classified with other men without reference to the Godhead. And yet we do not speak of two Sons, but there is rightly professed one Son, because the distinction between the natures must necessarily remain, just as the unity of the person must be preserved without separation.

CYRIL. What madness! The one who put his trust in words so cold and childish was ignorant of the manifold depth of the mystery of Christ. That he quite misunderstands the force of the scripture he adduces, abandons the right path, and wanders off in the criminal purpose of his own devising, we shall demonstrate at once. That his prime aim is a desire to show that it is a mere man who is enthroned with the Father and is to be worshipped as God by the whole of creation, he himself will come and witness. For in numbering him with those who are sons according to grace and with the mass of men he is arguing that the Word's Godhead alone possesses the glory of true sonship, virtually rebuking the one who chose to undergo self-emptying on our behalf, or perchance imposing his own shameful insanity on the disciple who said, 'The Word became flesh.'¹⁰⁰ One must therefore recognize that, even though in some places he speaks of one and not rather two Sons, yet by wholly disallowing that the one who, in his own words, is of the seed of David is God and Son he attributes the glory of true Sonship uniquely to the Word of God who is from God the Father. But this, as I have said, is nothing other than to reject the mode of manhood and utterly to destroy the dispensation by which we have been saved, have passed from death and sin, and have shaken off the yoke of the devil's greed.

⁹⁸ Heb 2:10.

⁹⁹ This counters the Apollinarian argument that, if both natures in Christ were complete, he would be two persons.

¹⁰⁰ Jn 1:14.

11. [80] From the same book:

THEODORE. Let no one be deceived by the ruse of the questions, for it would be disgraceful to suppress ‘so great a cloud of witnesses’, in the words of the apostle,¹⁰¹ and to be so deceived by their crafty questions as to league oneself with the party of our opponents. What are the questions that they artfully pose? ‘Was Mary mother of a man [*anthropotokos*] or *Theotokos*?,’ and ‘Who was crucified, was it God or a man?’ But there is a clear solution to these questions in what we said above in reply to their questions; nevertheless let the brief replies that should be given be uttered now as well, so that no opening may be left for their craftiness. So when they ask, ‘Was Mary the mother of a man or *Theotokos*?,’ let us say both, the former by the nature of the thing and the latter by relation. For she is mother of a man by nature, because the one in the womb of Mary (and as he also came forth from there) was a man, but she is *Theotokos* because God was in the man who was born, not circumscribed in him according to nature but being in him according to a disposition of the will.¹⁰² Therefore it is right to say both, but not for the same reason, for God the Word did not begin to exist in the womb as the man did, for he existed before the whole creation; this is why it is right to say both, each of them for its own reason. The same reply is to be given if they ask, ‘Who was crucified? God or a man?’ The answer is both, but not for the same reason; for the one was crucified in that he underwent the passion, was fastened to the wood and was held captive by the Jews, and the other in that he was with him in the manner described above.

[CYRIL.]¹⁰³ In addition to this he proceeds immediately to add that the man who was crucified had God dwelling in him.

THE HOLY CYRIL. What are you saying, you brash fellow? Was the holy Virgin *Theotokos* because God was in the one born from her, indwelling according to a mere disposition of the will? Do you call that union? So when the Word, being God, takes up his abode in ourselves (for he dwells in the souls of the saints through the Holy Spirit), do you profess that we too have union with him in just the same way? Where then is one to perceive the marvel of Christ’s mystery? For as long as God the Word is believed to have become man as we are, the mystery is truly marvellous, and one would assuredly marvel at it deservedly and intensely. But if he were to be

101 Heb 12:1.

102 The preceding lines (from ‘So when they ask’) are also to be found in Acts IV. 52 and (in Greek) in Leontius of Byzantium (in CSEL 35, 272), who attributes this passage to *On the incarnation* Bk XV.

103 Lacking in Codex Parisinus but added by Surius.

described as dwelling in the man according to a disposition of the will, the fact of the dispensation would have a different meaning; for we, as I have said, have been privileged with grace of this kind, we who are resplendent through faith in him. For assuredly no one would say that he is in us involuntarily: on the contrary, it is voluntarily and according to the will implanted in him that he has a favourable disposition to us. But neither do we say that God the Word, who is consubstantial with the Father and always existed together with him, derived the beginning of his existence from the flesh of the holy Virgin; we recognize instead that he became man like us. Therefore the holy Virgin should rightly be called by us *Theotokos* no less than mother of a man [*anthropotokos*], since she assuredly gave birth to Christ in respect of the flesh.

12. [81] *And further down*: When this was put to him for explanation, ‘When he brings the First-begotten into the world, he says, And let all the angels of God worship him,’¹⁰⁴ he writes again as follows:

THEODORE. Who therefore is it who is brought into the world and receives dominion over it, because of which he even attains adoration by the angels? For no one would be so mad as to attribute being brought into the world to God the Word, who created all things when they were not, bestowing existence on them by his ineffable power.

THE HOLY CYRIL. So you call it madness to have a desire to think aright and to hold in one’s mind the true, right and pure faith, although certainly one would describe as full of madness, and most deservedly, statements that deny that the only-begotten Word of God was brought into the world by God the Father when he became man. For he who in respect of nature and difference is superior to all others (because he is their maker and is superior to them in substance and placed above them to the same extent that the creature is lower than the creator) entered into the world when he was called its portion,¹⁰⁵ in that he came as man.

And a little further down: I am amazed that my opponent wrote that Jesus would never have merited conjunction with God the Word if he had not first been made sinless by anointing.¹⁰⁶ For first indeed he clearly separates

104 Heb 1:6.

105 Cf. Ps 118.57, 141.6.

106 Cf. the extract from Theodore in Acts IV. 47 and my note *ad loc.* Theodore was not saying that Christ became Son of God after only a gradual process of sanctification but simply that his union with God the Word at the moment of his conception was brought about by an anointing by the Holy Spirit, the word ‘to merit’ (ἀξιοῦσθαι in Greek) meaning simply ‘receive.’

and explicitly distinguishes them, asserting that there are two Sons. Since, as he says, he was made sinless and merited conjunction with God the Word, let him then say whether this was from the womb itself or started in his thirtieth year. He came to the Jordan and even sought the baptism of John. If indeed he was holy from the womb, why does he say he was *made* holy rather than he *was* holy? For what is said to become something must necessarily be understood not to have been what it became. But if he was always holy and did not become so with time, how can he say that the Spirit flew down upon him, showed him to be worthy of conjunction, and added to him what was lacking? For this is what he stated in his other books. For what was it that he wholly lacked for sanctification from the very womb,¹⁰⁷ if it was rather the case that even before the birth in the flesh he was holy and sinless and himself sanctified creation? When therefore he says that Jesus would not at all have merited conjunction with God the Word unless he had previously been made sinless, he indites many accusations at once against his own foolish speech. For he first says improperly that he ‘merited’; then he separates into a second son apart the one who is from the seed of David, to whom separately and on his own he shamelessly tries to give the name Jesus. On top of this his worst blasphemy is saying that he was made sinless, as if for a time he was not so; for God the Word, being united to his flesh from the very womb, was thereby one Son and so also sinless, as the Holy of Holies, [82] who from his fullness gave the Spirit not only to human beings but also to the rational powers in heaven above.

13. *And a little further down:*

THEODORE. ‘God, after variously and in many ways speaking of old to the fathers in the prophets, at the end of these days spoke to us in a son.’¹⁰⁸ For he spoke to us through the Son, and it is clear that the reference is to the man taken up. ‘For to which of the angels did he ever say, “You are my Son, today have I begotten you”?’¹⁰⁹ He is saying that he made none of the angels share in the dignity of son. As for his saying, ‘I begot you,’ as if he thereby bestowed a share in sonship, it is clear from this statement, wholly and explicitly, that it has no connection to God the Word.

THE HOLY CYRIL. Also in the addresses that he gave to those to be

¹⁰⁷ Theodore held not that Christ had ever been sinful but that he achieved perfection gradually (see Acts IV. 9,18), following Heb 5:8–9.

¹⁰⁸ Heb 1:1–2.

¹⁰⁹ Heb 1:5.

baptized the same Theodore certainly says again, ‘This testimony we did not invent of ourselves but were taught by divine scripture, because blessed Paul also speaks as follows: “From whom is Christ according to the flesh, who is God over all.”¹¹⁰ Not that the one who is God over all is from the Jews and according to the flesh, but he uttered the first part of this statement to signify the human nature, which he knew to be from the race of Israel, and the latter part to indicate the divine nature, which he knew to be above all and to rule over all.’¹¹¹ ‘Listen, you deaf, and behold, you blind,’¹¹² one of the saints cried out to those who were of the blood of Israel; and I am of the opinion that this deservedly refers to those who are unable or unwilling to understand rightly the mystery of Christ. For ‘the god of this world has blinded the understanding of unbelievers,’¹¹³ and they have deservedly gone astray because they do not have in their minds and hearts the divine and intelligible light. But if some were enlightened [by baptism] and even numbered with the doctors, who, I know not how, contracted a similar contagion, what else would one exclaim to them than what was spoken by God through one of the holy prophets, ‘You have become a snare in the watchtower in visitation and like nets extended on a support which the hunters have set in place’?¹¹⁴ For those who ought rather to bestow the greatest benefit on their charges have themselves become a snare and a net, a stumbling block and a spring-board of Hades. And this I say in a state of utter amazement, being unable to discern the meaning intended by my opponent. For he clearly acknowledged that God the Father spoke to us through the Son, and yet he says that the one in question is the man taken up while God the Word has no connection with this verse. How then is his slander of the blessed Paul, or rather his impugning of the Truth itself,¹¹⁵ not obvious to all? For this was not the understanding of the apostle who possessed the Holy Spirit, but yet again my opponent is perverting doctrinal correctness according to his own pleasure.

14. [83] From the plaint presented by the presbyters and deacons who were sent by the bishops, clerics, monks and others of Armenia Magna¹¹⁶

110 Rom 9:5.

111 Theodore, *Catechetical Homilies*, trans. Mingana (1932), 88.

112 Is 42:18.

113 2 Cor 4:4.

114 Hos 5:1.

115 ‘Truth’ here is a title of Christ.

116 Armenia Magna was the part of the country under Persian control, not the western part in the Roman Empire.

and Persia and other nations to Proclus the most holy bishop of the city of Constantinople:¹¹⁷

(1) There was the pest of a man, or rather a wild animal having the diabolical form of a man, falsely called Theodore,¹¹⁸ who had the semblance and name of a bishop, lurking in a corner and ignoble place in the world, in the contemptible city of Mopsuestia in Cilicia Secunda. He was in truth an offshoot primarily of Paul of Samosata but also of Photinus and other heresiarchs;¹¹⁹ in his book on the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ¹²⁰ there may be found in its whole teaching recourse to their very words and whatever is even worse. Through machination, effrontery and the deceit of the devil he intended to destroy all mankind with his sharp tongue like that of a cobra, and with the poison of an asp under his tongue. (2) Meanwhile he was kept to his lair by fear of the power of those who had received from our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ [power] to trample on cobras and scorpions and all the strength of the enemy – I mean the holy apostles and those who inherited it from them subsequently, martyrs, confessors, bishops, and other saints. But when he had discovered an opportunity, I know not how, he began to display confidence and to creep outside his confines into a diocese that did not belong to him, as if he were a learned preacher, and holding forth in a church in Syrian Antioch, spoke as follows:

(3) ‘Jesus is a man, for “what is man that you remember him?”¹²¹ The apostle said that this had been spoken about Jesus, for he said, “We see Jesus, who for a little while was made lower than the angels.”¹²² What then? Jesus was a man like all men, and was no different from men of the same race except for what grace had given him, and the gift of grace does not change

117 The authentic text of the Armenians’ letter (sent in 435) is preserved in Syriac (French translation in Devreesse 1948, 136–7). The diatribe given here may be attributed to one of Theodore’s enemies within the empire at this date; its attribution to the Armenians may have arisen from its inclusion in a dossier headed by the Armenian letter, prefacing Proclus’ Tome. Its section on Theodore’s sermon at Antioch and the repercussions therefrom was used by Innocent of Maronea (*ACO* 4.2, pp. 69 *fin.* –71), who was able to add the passage from the letter of John of Antioch referred to here (§6).

118 The name means ‘a gift from God.’

119 Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch in the 260s, and Bishop Photinus of Sirmium (mid-fourth century) were frequently named in the fifth and sixth centuries as psilanthropists and ancestors of Nestorianism.

120 Theodore’s *On the incarnation* was an early work which, while refuting Apollinarianism, was incautious in stressing the distinction of natures in Christ and therefore a favourite source for hostile anthologists; cf. the excerpts in Acts IV. 23, 31, 33, 36–8, 52, 56–9, 62–3.

121 Ps 8:5.

122 Heb 2:9.

nature; but after the destruction of death “God gave him the name that is above every name.”¹²³ The one who gave it is God; the one to whom he gave it is the man Jesus Christ, the first-fruits of those who have been raised, for he is “the firstborn from the dead”.¹²⁴ Therefore he ascended and is seated at the right hand of the Father and is over all. O grace that was given to Jesus above all! O grace that surpassed the nature of all! He who is of the same nature as myself has appeared above the heavens and is seated at the right hand of the Father; and I say to him, “Is not your and my nature one? You are in heaven while I am on earth; you are at the right hand of the Father while I am subject to sufferings; you are above all principality and power while I am steeped in mire.” But I shall attend to that which was well pleasing to the Father in my regard. “Does what is moulded say to the one who moulded it, Why did you make this thus?”¹²⁵ (4) I have nothing to reply to this; yet my brethren, who are sons of the same mother as I am, say to me, “Do not separate the man and the God, but say that he is one and the same.” When I speak of the man, I am speaking of the one who shares my nature; if I speak of the God, I am speaking of one who shares God’s nature. How are the man and the God one? Surely there is not a single nature of man and God, of Master and servant, of Creator and creature? Man [84] is consubstantial with man, and God is consubstantial with God: how then can God and man be one through union – the Saviour and the saved, the one is before the ages and the one who came forth from Mary? But I keenly regret that my brethren tell me to say in church what cannot be expressed even by the wise.’

(5) *These words they quoted from the impious Theodore and add the following:* He is known to have stirred up in the church by his most impious words no ordinary disturbance through his departure in all directions from orthodoxy; for one who has gone astray does not follow a straight path. As a result many of the clergy had the courage at that time to refute him, and [it is reported] that even the wretched Nestorius was stirred and received with displeasure what he had said. (6) Much further tumult was caused by the people as a result of his speaking in disagreement with the Christian church, as is stated in the letter of John of Antioch to Nestorius.¹²⁶ But persevering,

123 Phil 2:9.

124 Col 1:18.

125 Rom 9:20.

126 In a letter he wrote to Nestorius in 430, pressing him to abandon his opposition to the *Theotokos* title, John of Antioch mentions, as an edifying example of self-correction, an occasion when Theodore, preaching at Antioch, made a statement that was criticized by Nestorius and others and then a few days later publicly corrected himself (*ACO* 1.1.1, pp. 94,28–95,10).

evidently, for a long time, Theodore persuaded many, including Nestorius, that Christ the Son of the living God, who was born from the holy Virgin Mary, is not the one who was born from the Father as God the Word, consubstantial with his begetter, but is a man who received cooperation from God the Word to a degree corresponding to his will, and who did not receive conjunction with God the Word until he became sinless, with the result that he shares in sinlessness and in the mere title of sonship and lordship. 'For how,' he said, 'can man and God be one through union – the Saviour and the saved, the one who is before the ages and the one who came forth from Mary, the Lord and the servant, the Creator and the creature?'

(7) These and other statements Theodore the adversary of Christ had the audacity to utter and to insert in his writings, while pretending to be arguing against Arius, Eunomius and Apollinarius. He did not at all concede either birth from the holy Virgin Mary in respect of the flesh or anything else relating to his incarnation and becoming man to God the Word begotten from the essence of God the Father, but only to Jesus Christ, who was anointed and shares the honour in which he has a share on account of the preparation he received from God the Word, the true and consubstantial Son, so that he should live well. When the impious Nestorius together with others was won over, the devil now rejoiced, because through his son Theodore he had induced many to serve even the heresy of Nestorius. He was not, however, content with the perdition of certain people in the localities of Syria, but wished to embrace the earth much more widely.

(8) It happened that that church [Constantinople] became widowed and Nestorius (we know not as a result of what sins¹²⁷ or how) obtained the episcopacy through deceiving certain people who did not possess grace and had not received it from God; and misusing his power, he rejoiced to surpass his precursor Theodore with his impiety. But God took pity on the churches and stirred up many against him, including our humble selves, who have omitted nothing in our struggle unto death for the truth, as we said both in our plaint against Theodore and his writings addressed to the most religious bishop Cyril of Alexandria and in this one which we have sent to your beatitude.¹²⁸ (9) And we ask you after reading the latter to read the former also, so that you may be in union against Theodore,

127 The sins of the city, for which Nestorius' episcopate was divine retribution.

128 If the writer of this plaint is indeed Basil of Constantinople (see p. 273 above), the reference will be to the persecution he suffered from Nestorius (see Schwartz 1914, 26, n. 3) and to plaints against Theodore that he presented to both Proclus and Cyril according to Innocent of Maronea (*ACO* 4.2, p. 68, 25–30).

his sacrilegious chapters, and the doctrines both of him and of those [85] with similar tenets and teaching. [We also ask] that, just as it pleased the Lord that the sacrilegious Nestorius should be condemned explicitly and by name at Ephesus by the ecumenical council, so also Theodore, who was condemned by you even earlier though not by name¹²⁹ and was even more sacrilegious in his manifold impiety, may through you be condemned by name, as also those in Syria and Cilicia whose tenets and teaching have until now followed his most impious doctrine.

15.¹³⁰ There were also sent by the Armenians to Proclus of holy memory impious chapters from Theodore's books, of which many are contained in the documentation already provided. Replying to this plaint from the Armenians, Proclus of holy memory, among other teaching on Theodore and his impiety,¹³¹ said:

16. Proclus of holy memory from the Tome written to the Armenians:¹³²

Let us flee the turbid and muddy torrents of deceit, I mean the heresies that make war on God – the madness of Arius dividing the indivisible Trinity, the presumption of Eunomius confining within knowability the incomprehensible nature, the insanity of Macedonius separating from the Godhead the Spirit that proceeds inseparably, and this novel and newfangled blasphemy that in blasphemy far surpasses Judaism; for the former abolish the real Son, depriving the stem of its branch, while the latter add another to the real Son, proclaiming that the uncompounded nature gives birth to many. Let us therefore say with Paul, 'Christ is our peace, who made both one';¹³³ for he formed Jew and Greek through baptism into one new man, uniting by his power differing modes of life. Let the innovators in impiety tremble at their condemnation, if, while differing modes of life were united in harmony, the one who united them has been divided, as far as lies with them, into duality.

17. The same holy Proclus in the same tome written to the Armenians

129 The reference can only be to Proclus' Tome to the Armenians and the excerpts from Theodore appended to it anonymously, even though this document is here presented as the appeal from the Armenians that elicited the Tome.

130 The anonymous introductory comments, down to 56, are to be attributed to Archdeacon Diodore (cf. 2 and 36).

131 Proclus' Tome, though directed against Theodore's Christology, never names him, and was therefore of limited use to the opponents of the Three Chapters, which accounts for the slightness of the extracts given here.

132 Tome to the Armenians 27–8, Greek text in *ACO* 4. 2, p. 193, 23–34.

133 Eph 2:14.

against the same impious Theodore:¹³⁴

This we have sent to your love, spurred by your petition that you sent to us, saying that certain destructive people, uttering monstrosities, had invaded [86] your country, wishing through wicked writings and the counter-assertions of false knowledge to pervert the plain and unadorned beauty of the orthodox faith.¹³⁵ But I repeat to you the statement of the blessed Paul, ‘Look lest anyone lead you astray through philosophy and vain deceit according to the tradition of reckless men and not according to Christ,’¹³⁶ ‘for no one can lay another foundation apart from that laid, which is Jesus Christ.’¹³⁷

18. The holy Cyril to the clerics and the presbyter Lampo:¹³⁸

When I was staying at Aelia, a certain man from among the notables who serve in the palace brought me a sealed letter, lengthy and of many lines, saying he had received it from the orthodox in Antioch; it contained signatures of a really large number of clerics, monks, and laymen. They brought against the bishops of the east the charge that, although, to be sure, they kept silent about the name of Nestorius and pretended to reject him, they had switched over to the books of Theodore on the incarnation, which contain far more dangerous blasphemies than those of Nestorius. For he was the father of the evil doctrine of Nestorius, and it is because the impious man uttered the teaching of the former that he is in the plight he is in now. I wrote to the most religious bishop of Antioch that no one should utter in church the impious doctrines of Theodore. And when the most devout deacon and archimandrite Maximus¹³⁹ arrived in Alexandria, he inveighed against those in the east at length, saying that the orthodox have no place there nor freedom to utter the orthodox faith; he said that they pretend to profess the creed issued at Nicaea by the holy fathers but misinterpret it. He urged me to interpret clearly the whole teaching of the Council of Nicaea,¹⁴⁰

134 Tome 33, Greek text in *ACO* 4. 2, p. 195, 5–13.

135 This talk of visitors unsettling the simple faith of the Armenians echoes the authentic letter from the Armenians (see Devreesse 1948, 137), not the text given above (14).

136 Col 2:8. ‘Reckless’ is an addition.

137 1 Cor 3:11. Proclus inserted ‘of pious faith’ after ‘foundation.’ The text given here reverts to the original wording of 1 Cor.

138 *Ep.* 70. Greek text in Schwartz (1927), 16–17. Lampo is referred to in a letter from Nestorius to Cyril (*ACO* 1.1.1, p. 25, included among Cyril’s letters as *ep.* 3) as having spoken to Nestorius of Cyril’s virtues, presumably as Cyril’s representative at Constantinople. For the context of this and the following letter see above, p. 274.

139 A cleric and monk of Antioch, who acted as Cyril’s agent and courier in Syria and Asia Minor. See also 21, 72, and Cyril, *ep.* 57–8.

140 Cyril’s original text has ‘of those at Nicaea.’

lest certain persons seduce [others] by expounding some things instead of others, and this I have done. He is therefore bringing the rolls, so that they may be presented to the most devout empresses and to the Christ-loving and most pious emperor, for I had the book written on parchment;¹⁴¹ and so, with the help of his discernment and according to your judgement, you are to present it at an appropriate moment. For it is necessary for us to contend in every way for the orthodox faith, and to endeavour as far as is possible to root out from our midst the impiety that has arisen against Christ.

19. The letter of the same holy Cyril to Acacius bishop of Melitene (he wrote the same letter to Theodore of Ancyra and to Firmus of Caesarea in Cappadocia):¹⁴²

It was not fitting that it escape your holiness, and perhaps indeed you have already learned, that all the most religious bishops of the east met together at Antioch, because [87] my lord the most holy bishop Proclus had sent them a tome full of sound ideas and orthodox teaching. It contained a long and full account of the dispensation of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to it were appended certain chapters assembled from the books of Theodore, which have a meaning that accords with the evil doctrines of Nestorius; Proclus urged them to anathematize them as well. They, however, could not abide it, and wrote to me that, if it were to happen that statements of Theodore were anathematized, the stain would certainly extend to our holy fathers as well, I mean Athanasius, Basil, the Gregories, Theophilus and others, 'for they too wrote certain things that are consonant with the statements of Theodore.'¹⁴³ It was necessary for me to write back to them {and not at random}¹⁴⁴ things which the most religious bishop Daniel will also make known to your holiness;¹⁴⁵ he happened to be in Alexandria and has a detailed knowledge of every development.

20. The letter of Cyril to Rabbula bishop of Edessa:¹⁴⁶

To an incomparable alacrity and to unshakeable confidence the very

141 This is Cyril, *On the Creed* (ep. 55), of which extracts come below at 21–2.

142 *Ep.* 68, extant only in Latin. Cf. *ACO* 1.4, pp. 231–2 for a different Latin translation of the text.

143 This letter from the Syrian bishops is Cyril, *ep.* 66.

144 The bracketed words are supplied from the other Latin version.

145 Daniel was a Syrian ally of Cyril's, who a few years previously had informed him of Theodoret's reluctance to subscribe to Nestorius' condemnation (Cyril, *ep.* 63). The letter referred to here is Cyril, *ep.* 67, of which excerpts are given at 68–70 below.

146 *Ep.* 74. This is the first part of the letter. The complete text survives in Syriac (trans. McEnerney, II, 77–80).

wise Paul arouses our souls, writing as follows, ‘Who will separate us from the love of Christ? Tribulation or distress or persecution or hunger or nakedness or danger or the sword?’¹⁴⁷ For nothing is unbearable to those who are firmly resolved in themselves to fight the fight of faith, to finish the course, to keep the faith, so that they may deserve the crown of incorruption.¹⁴⁸ But just as it is not navigating in a calm but being able to save a ship in a storm that wins the best of pilots their reputation, so it is not at all a calm state of affairs that wins glory for those assigned to preside over the churches but rather astuteness amidst tribulations, bravery and endurance, and strong resistance to the inconstant speech of heretics. Your holiness has always been resplendent, but especially now that you have become the pillar and foundation of the truth for all in the east, and are expelling, as it were, a pestilential disease, that of a new and abominable heresy, the blasphemy of Nestorius. This impiety grows from another root (that, I mean, of the man from Cilicia);¹⁴⁹ and he thought that he would conquer the whole world because of the power given to him, I know not how; for he usurped a most powerful see and became food for the dragon with many heads. But he also hoped to devour the holy churches of God and to take control of them all. Unless almighty God had rescued us, he would certainly have prevailed, as far as pertains to the power of his attempts and the criminal incursions of those who support him.

21. [88] The letter of Cyril to the monks:¹⁵⁰

To the beloved and most desired Anastasius, Alexander, Martinian, John, and Paregorius, presbyters, Maximus the deacon, and other orthodox fathers of monks, and those with you who practise the solitary life and are established in the faith of God, Cyril sends greetings in the Lord.¹⁵¹ Your charity’s love of learning and love of toil even now I have extolled to no small degree and declare it worthy of all praise. For how would one not admire immea-

¹⁴⁷ Rom 8:35.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. 2 Tim 4:7–8.

¹⁴⁹ Devresse (1931), 548, n. 1 dismisses this reference to Theodore as an interpolation. Though present in the Syriac translation, it remains intrusive. At the date he wrote this letter (432–5) Cyril would not openly have criticized Theodore, since he was keen to win, or preserve, peaceful relations with John of Antioch.

¹⁵⁰ *Ep.* 55, a treatise on the creed; see p. 274 above for the circumstances of composition. The Greek of the two excerpts given here is in *Select Letters*, ed. Wickham, pp. 94,2–12 and 98,17–100,18). Strangely the one passage where Theodore is named (*ibid.* p. 130, 13) is not cited here.

¹⁵¹ The letter is addressed to Cyril’s allies at Antioch (cf. V. 18), including the deacon Maximus (whose name appears in the Latin at this point as ‘Maximin’).

surably a desire for godly learning and a love of seeking after the orthodoxy of the sacred doctrines? For it is something that bestows an everlasting and blessed life, and zeal in these matters is not without reward.

22. *And further down:* Since your devoutness has written that some are perverting what is in the symbol [of faith] in a way that is not proper, either because they do not understand rightly the force of the statements in it or because they are seduced into wrong thinking by attachment to the writings of certain men, and [because you conclude] that I should address my words to you on these very matters and interpret clearly the force of the creed, I have thought it necessary to state cursorily what has occurred to my mind. We shall follow consistently the professions and tenets of the holy fathers, testing what is said by them [the heretics] correctly and impartially. For already the holy council, I mean the one that assembled at Ephesus according to the will of God, when it issued a sacred and precise verdict on the evil doctrine of Nestorius, condemned along with him, by imposing on them the same sentence, the foolish talk of others, whoever may be after him or existed before him, who hold the same tenets and dared to utter or record them.¹⁵² For it was fitting, once a single person had been condemned for such manifest folly, to proceed not simply against a single person but, so to speak, against their whole heresy, or rather the calumny they have committed against the pious dogmas of the church by advocating two Sons, splitting the indivisible, and bringing a charge against heaven and earth of worshipping a man; for the holy host of spirits above worships together with us the one Lord Jesus Christ. To correct some people's ignorance of the meaning of the creed that is in force and has been preached in all the holy churches of God, I inserted the beliefs or expositions of the holy fathers in the minutes of the proceedings there,¹⁵³ in order that those who read them may know in what way it is proper to understand the exposition of the holy fathers or rather the pure symbol of the orthodox faith. I think that your charity has also read the book we composed on this very subject. After quoting now also, as I have said, the symbol itself verbatim, I shall address with the help of God the need to provide a clear interpretation of each of the articles it contains.¹⁵⁴ [89] For I know that the universally celebrated

152 Cyril is referring to the 'falsified creed' attributed to Theodore that was read out and condemned in the session of 22 July 431 at Ephesus I (Acts of Chalcedon I. 921, 943).

153 The minutes of the same session of Ephesus I contain a florilegium of orthodox extracts (Acts of Chalcedon I. 917).

154 The tract proceeds to quote and interpret the Nicene Creed.

Peter wrote, 'Be always ready with a reply to everyone who asks you for an account of the hope that is in you.'¹⁵⁵

23. The beginning of the letter written to the holy Cyril by Rabbula of blessed memory¹⁵⁶ against the impious Theodore:¹⁵⁷

(1) Now some totally reject union according to hypostasis, for a latent disease has become chronic in the east, consuming the body of the church like an incurable wound. Although it has escaped the attention of many, it is secretly honoured by supposedly learned men who preen themselves on their erudition. For a certain bishop of the province of Cilicia, Theodore,¹⁵⁸ a plausible and persuasive speaker, constantly said some things in the pulpit of the church to please the people, while putting other things into writing as snares of perdition. At the beginning of some of his books he tried to prevent the reader by means of an anathema from divulging to others what he had written. He was the first to teach that the holy Virgin is not truly *Theotokos* since the Word of God did not undergo a birth like ours.¹⁵⁹ This hitherto secret tenet was published by Nestorius, through forgetfulness, as if he were the originator of a new laceration; this was by the judgement of God, lest this tenet might be thought to be more firmly established after further time had passed.

(2) This is accompanied by the following, which relates to the incarnation: they do not say that the man was united to God the Word in respect of substance or hypostasis, but by a certain good will,¹⁶⁰ since the divine nature, being infinite, did not accept any other mode of union. He also said that our Lord Jesus Christ ought not to be worshipped as God but should be honoured through relation to God as a kind of image, or rather, to speak quite plainly in their manner, as something akin to a relationship with an attendant demon.¹⁶¹ He also declared that the Lord's flesh is of no avail

155 1 Pet 3:15.

156 Bishop Rabbula of Ephesus (412–35) swung to Cyril's side immediately after Ephesus I and initiated the first campaign against Theodore, of which this letter must be an early salvo.

157 *Ep.* 73. The Greek is lost. Part of the section given here is in the *Collectio Casinensis* (*ACO* 1.4, p. 212, 23–30).

158 The reference is certainly to Theodore, but his actual name is absent from the text in the *Collectio Casinensis* and from an extant Syriac version (see *ACO ad loc.*) and is an interpolation.

159 Cf. IV. 7 for Theodore's argument that God the Word was not born of Mary but was in the one who was born of Mary. He did not reject the term *Theotokos*, but gave it a minimalist interpretation, as at Acts IV. 52.

160 See Theodore in Acts IV. 37 (or the full text in Norris 1980, 114–17).

161 In other words, God the Word's dwelling in Christ, in Theodore's scheme, is akin to that

whatsoever, distorting the saying of the Lord that runs, ‘The flesh is of no avail.’¹⁶² He also says that the apostles did not know that Christ was God, but that the church was built on faith in a man.¹⁶³ As for their theories about hell, it is unsafe to put them in writing. These are the treasures of their impiety, which they enjoyed in secret for a long time and with which they wish, if possible, to becloud forever the minds and pious hearing of the people.

24. [90] From the Ecclesiastical History of Hesychius presbyter of Jerusalem concerning Theodore:¹⁶⁴

So when many others of them followed Photinus,¹⁶⁵ a certain Theodore especially imitated him, cunning in speech and most ready with his tongue, and yet unstable in purpose, being borne along now in this direction and now in that. For being numbered in the clergy of Antioch from an early age and having promised to lead a good life, he reverted to the desires of the world and again took pleasure in them. Bishop John of Constantinople,¹⁶⁶ a man exemplary and blessed in all good things, wrote a letter that can still be read in codices and which prevailed on him to switch from a worse to a better change of mind; and so he began to lead a good life again and to be again a cleric.¹⁶⁷ Leaving Antioch, he moved to Tarsus, from where he transferred to Mopsuestia, when ordained its bishop, since God did not yet wish the preaching of his impiety to become well-known. Taking the first principles of his teaching from Jewish prating, he wrote a book on the prophecy of the psalms which denies all the references to the Lord; but when he was accused and in some danger, he contradicted himself, not of his own free will but

of a demon in a demoniac. For the manhood as deserving worship as the image of the Godhead that dwells in him see IV. 23.

162 Jn 6:63, interpreted as follows in Theodore’s *Commentary on John*: ‘It is, of course, not the flesh through its own nature that confers this benefit; but the divine nature, which is not immersed in matter, bestows this life by means of the body’ (trans. Fatica, 140).

163 Theodore held that the disciples did not realize the divinity of Christ until Pentecost; cf. Acts IV. 21.

164 For Hesychius of Jerusalem see Quasten (1960), 488–96. This is the only surviving fragment of his *Ecclesiastical History*, dating to the second quarter of the fifth century. According to Pelagius, *In defensione*, pp. 2–3, he was a miaphysite who gave refuge to Eutyches in Jerusalem and wrote against Chalcedon.

165 For Photinus as a classic psilanthropist see Augustine, *Confessions* VII. 19.25. ‘Jewish impiety’ (used below) was a term for the same heresy.

166 John Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople 398–404.

167 Cf. 87 for John Chrysostom’s letter to the young Theodore, calling him back to the monastic life.

compelled by the complaints of all.¹⁶⁸ He promised to destroy the book, but secretly preserved this handbook of Jewish impiety; for, while pretending to consign his commentary to the flames, he tried perfidiously to hide his snares. For a long time, while uttering his perverse ideas in a tiny place, he kept his deserts a secret. Because of his loquacity and habit of speaking vainly, he won the reputation of a teacher; he had a few students who were deceived by the poison of his speech, and who drank a cup disguised with well composed words but full of the poison of blasphemous ideas. Weakened by hoary old age and by the decay of a tiny spark of piety, if perchance he ever had one, he had the audacity to compose books against the appearing of the Lord God. Setting the mass of them aside (for it is not right to repeat his impious words), I shall at this juncture make mention of just one. Take Christ Jesus, the Saviour and Lord of our race, whom Paul calls the radiance of the Father's glory and the image of his substance, saying that he sustains the universe by the word of his power, who made purification for our sins and is seated at the right hand of the Father's majesty,¹⁶⁹ and about whom he wrote in the Letter to the Colossians that 'in him all things were created, both those in heaven and those on earth, the things visible and those invisible,' and that 'all things were created through him and for him and he is before everything.'¹⁷⁰ Yet in his utter folly he wrote that Christ is not the incarnate Word, as we have been taught by the gospels, but a man who as a result of progress in life and accomplishing the sufferings was joined to God the Word; this is what he had the audacity to assert in secret writings.¹⁷¹ Such was his contribution. But his followers preened themselves; [91] of them it is fitting to say, 'Saying they were wise they became foolish, for they changed the glory of incorruptible God into the likeness of corruptible man,'¹⁷² not glorifying Christ as God incarnate but insulting him as if he were simply one man like us. But we shall proceed to the rest of our discussion. Living on

168 Theodore's *Commentary on the Psalms* was his first work (written when he was eighteen according to Leontius of Byzantium, PG 86A. 1364C). He wrote of it in later life: 'We did not exercise as much care over the matter as was due, for, as it happened, we experienced the lot of beginners inexperienced in writing. Our writings of that time have undergone much revision..., because many of our works, especially our first ones, were written negligently' (in Facundus, *Pro defensione* III. 6.14). For Theodore's radical reduction of the number of psalms that directly refer to Christ see Acts IV. 28–30 and p. 78 above.

169 Heb 1:3.

170 Col 1:16–17.

171 For Theodore's belief, following Heb 4:15–5:10, that Christ attained perfection through temptation and suffering see Acts IV. 9–14, 17–18.

172 Rom 1:22–23.

for a short time, to the aforesaid blasphemies against the mystery Theodore added insult to the new Jerusalem also, seeking to diminish its status as the land of the mystery of the incarnation.

25. A law of Theodosius and Valentian of divine memory:¹⁷³

Paying the reverence owed by us to most pious doctrine, we have thought it necessary that those who have dared to write impiously against God should be subjected to condign condemnation and called by the names they deserve. It is therefore right that they should be beset with shame at their sins and retain this appellation for ever, so that they may never be relieved of it during their lives and may remain after death despised and condemned. Once more, therefore, the teaching of the impious and pestilential Diodore, Theodore and Nestorius has seemed to us abominable; but similarly all who follow their heresy and assent to their impiety deserve, they too, to receive the same name and be filled with shame, lest, while they are called Christians, there be found honoured with such an appellation people who are at a great distance from the teaching of Christians and have no part in the correct and immaculate faith. For this reason we enact by this our law that those who are found anywhere on the whole earth assenting to the most impious and inconstant teaching of Nestorius and Theodore should from now on be called Simonians.¹⁷⁴ For those who earlier grew up with godly instruction but afterwards went over to their impiety and copied their heresy ought to be stamped with this same name of Simonians, just like Arius by the edict of the admirable and praiseworthy Constantine of divine memory, who decreed that the Arians should be called Porphyrians, and who because of the similarity of the heresy imposed the name of Porphyry on the one who had had the temerity to think it right to limit the true faith by the force of human words and to leave pestilential and ignorant books to the memory of posterity.¹⁷⁵ Let no one therefore have the temerity to read, possess or copy the sacrilegious books written by them and especially by Theodore and Nestorius, which are contrary to true doctrine and to the teaching of

173 This is an interpolated paraphrase (presumably of Justinianic date) of a law issued by Theodosius II in 435 or 436 which, in its original form, made no mention of Theodore, as was pointed out by Pelagius (*In defensione*, p. 13). I give the original text in an appendix to this session (pp. 368–70 below).

174 There was nothing in Simonianism (after Simon Magus) reminiscent of Nestorianism, but it was considered the first and quintessential of the Christian heresies; cf. Epiphanius, *Panarion* I, trans. Williams, 55–62.

175 For Constantine's edict of c. 333 ordering that the Arians be called Porphyrians, the writings of Arius burnt, and anyone keeping a copy of them subjected to capital punishment see Stevenson-Frend (1987), 366.

the venerable bishops who assembled at Ephesus. These books ought to be hunted out with all diligence and, when they are found, be publicly burnt in the sight of all. For in this way the root of impiety will be excised, lest in future there be sown seeds of heresy [92] to lead astray the simple-minded who are easily caught in its snares. Let there in future be no mention of the aforesaid men or any name apart from that of Simon; and let them have no meeting-place, whether public or secret, in any place or house or village or estate or city or its suburbs; for we give orders that these people should be deprived of every meeting-place in their lifetime. And let this be known to all, that if any one infringes this present enactment of ours and assents to Theodore and Nestorius, imitating their associates, he is to be punished with the sword and all his property confiscated by the fisc. Let therefore your illustrious eminence make known to the inhabitants of the whole world the present law we have issued, and deign to have it posted in every city, so that through reading this law everyone in whatever province may know what we have decreed on this matter. This same law of ours we have written in both Greek and Latin for the well-being of those who read it.

26. Likewise another law of Theodosius and Valentinian of pious memory against Nestorius and Theodore and those who hold tenets similar to theirs:¹⁷⁶

Already previously Nestorius who was bishop of the city of Constantinople attempted to insert novel and monstrous doctrines into the pure and orthodox faith of Christians, and was expelled by the holy synod that by imperial decree assembled at Ephesus from the whole world; this same holy synod confirmed at the same time the orthodox creed issued by the 318 bishops of Nicaea. We too, confirming the pious decrees of the same holy council assembled at Ephesus, have issued a general enactment condemning the same Nestorius and those holding tenets like his, to the effect that they do not deserve the name of Christians but should instead be called Simonians, because they preferred the blasphemy of Simon, and we have decreed certain penalties against them that are contained in the present enactment. No one is to possess or read or copy or produce Nestorius or his books or the utterly pernicious volumes of Nestorius himself or others, especially the writings of Nestorius against Christians alone, or the writings of Diodore, Theodore and Theodoret;¹⁷⁷ but let each person who possesses these books produce

¹⁷⁶ This edict repeats the provisions of the one just given. It is similarly interpolated.

¹⁷⁷ A manifest interpolation, since there was no question of Theodoret being condemned prior to the 'robber council' of 449.

them publicly and consign them to the flames in the sight of all. And no one is to receive in a city or on an estate or in a suburb those who advocate this heresy or their teachers, or to assemble with them, because, if anyone perpetrates anything of the kind, he will be stripped of his property and sent into perpetual exile, while whoever has volumes containing the condemned faith of Nestorius and Theodore or their commentaries, addresses or instruction [93] is to be subjected to the same penalties, even if their writings are in appearance ascribed to others.

27. Also the holy Theophilus of Alexandria and Gregory of Nyssa received complaints about Theodore while he was alive and against his impious writings, and wrote against him letters of which the following is part.¹⁷⁸

28. Theophilus of holy memory to Porphyry bishop of Antioch:¹⁷⁹

Because you do not suffer those who with respect to the coming of our saviour Jesus Christ dare to renew the madness of Paul of Samosata, it is clear that our fathers who assembled at Nicaea also anathematized that heresy together with the wickedness of the Arians and did not approve the baptism of the followers of Paul, as is stated in the decrees they composed. Bishop Athanasius himself of blessed memory likewise condemned the supreme impiety of the aforesaid Paul of Samosata in a volume he composed.¹⁸⁰

29. *And further down:* Because they accuse certain persons of writing what amounts to a revival of the criminal heresy of Paul of Samosata, who was condemned by the fathers, and state that, to seize this opportunity, they despatched to your devoutness [a document] of which you appended a copy to the letter sent me by your devoutness, may your goodness together in assembly with the most religious bishops examine what they allege (for they say they have proofs); and if you find things written contrary to the apostolic doctrines, may you deign to embrace apostolic zeal against such innovators. For it is right that things written with impiety should be extirpated with piety, and that those who have presumed to write anything whatsoever without due care through ignorance and vainglory should never be left free from correction.

¹⁷⁸ The following passages fail egregiously as evidence of attacks on Theodore in his lifetime.

¹⁷⁹ The date must be between 404 (Porphyry's election) and 412 (Theophilus' death)..

¹⁸⁰ Philanthropism, associated with Paul of Samosata (condemned by the Council of Antioch of 268), was a favourite charge brought by heresy-hunters from the fourth to sixth centuries (Uthemann 1994, 79–81). Canon 19 of Nicaea (Stevenson/Frend 1987, 343) declared Paulianist baptism invalid. Athanasius associated Arianism with Paulianism (e.g. *De Synodis* 45).

30. There were also sent to the same Theophilus of holy memory impious chapters from the books of Theodore.¹⁸¹

The holy Gregory [of Nyssa] to Theophilus:¹⁸²

Those who defend the doctrines of Apollinarius try to strengthen their own position by criticizing us, making the Word fleshly, the son of man the creator of the ages, and the Godhead of the Son mortal. For they allege that some in the catholic church advocate in doctrine two Sons, one being so by nature and the other being added later by adoption; I do not know from whom they heard such a thing and against what person they are disputing, for I have no knowledge of anyone who has said this. Nevertheless, because by bringing this suit against us and pretending to fight this nonsense they strengthen their own tenets, it would be good [94] if your perfection in Christ, in whatever way the Holy Spirit guides your thoughts, were to foil the pretexts of those who seek pretexts against us, and to persuade those who make this false accusation against the church of God that such a doctrine neither exists nor will be preached among Christians.

31. From what Theodoret wrote in defence of Theodore and against Cyril, in which the same Theodoret testifies that to Theodore belong those impieties that Cyril of holy memory wrote against:¹⁸³

After this he criticizes the interpretation of Psalm 8 and impugns these words of the divine Theodore: 'Let us consider then who the man is about whom he is astonished and marvels that the Only-begotten deigned to remember him and visit him. That, however, this was not said of every human being has been proved above; that it is not of any individual you please, this too is certain.'

32. And further down the aforesaid Theodoret cited from the same Theodore the following words:

Cease now for a time with difficulty from your shamelessness and recognize what you should. See, most criminal of all men, how great is the difference between the natures, in that the one [David] is astounded because

181 This refers to the despatch of heretical excerpts mentioned in the preceding passage.

182 Gregory of Nyssa, *To Theophilus against the Apollinarians*, in *Opera*, ed. Jaeger, III. 1, pp. 120,12–121,10. The passage goes on to attack the notion of 'two Sons'. See 87–9 for further citation of this passage.

183 The following paragraphs (31–3) cite a passage in Cyril, *Against Theodore*, Bk II that has already been given at 9 above in a fuller version and in a slightly different Latin translation. The whole section (31–4) is taken from Theodoret's *In defence of Diodore and Theodore*, dating to 439.

he [the Lord] deigns to remember a human being, visit him, and make him share in the other things he made him share in, while the other [the apostle] in contrast is amazed because he [Jesus] was honoured with obtaining a share in such great things above his nature; the former [the Lord] causes amazement by bestowing a privilege and conferring great things that surpass the nature of the one who receives the privilege, while the latter [Jesus] does so by receiving the privilege and receiving from him greater things than he deserved.’

33. After this Theodoret inserted the following:

When Cyril had excerpted from what the divine Theodore wrote against Apollinarius, he immediately adds insults and abuse and contumely, saying: ‘Be sober, O you drunk from your wine,¹⁸⁴ someone should cry to those in such error. Set, O man, a door and bolt on your tongue; cease raising your horn on high and uttering iniquity against God.¹⁸⁵ How long will you abuse Christ’s patience? Keep in mind what was written by the inspired Paul, “But sinning thus against the brethren and wounding their weak conscience you sin against Christ,”¹⁸⁶ and to quote something from the prophetic books as well, “Sodom has been made righteous by you:”¹⁸⁷ you have surpassed the prating of the pagans that they committed against Christ, deeming the cross foolishness, and you have shown that the crimes of Jewish madness were nothing.’¹⁸⁸

34. [95] And when he had cited these words of Cyril uttered against Theodore, Theodoret inserted the following:

What has fired you with such zeal, O defender of the truth, that you make this great display against him and declare him more impious than both the pagans and the Jews and the Sodomites, and that you apply to the champion of piety the utterances of divine scripture against the impious? Did not Christ the Lord in the sacred gospels refer David’s prophecy to himself? When the children cried out, ‘Hosanna to the son of David,’ did he not say to the Jews, ‘Have you not read, From the mouths of babes and sucklings you have provided praise?’¹⁸⁹ Did not the divine apostle apply to him a saying taken from these [verses], and other parts of the psalm?¹⁹⁰

184 Cf. Joel 1:5.

185 Cf. Ps 140:3 and 74:6.

186 1 Cor 8:12.

187 Cf. Ezek 16:51.

188 Cf. 1 Cor 1:23.

189 Cf. Mt 21:15–16, citing Ps 8:3.

190 Cf. Heb 2:6–8, citing Ps 8:5–7.

What then was so new in what Theodore said that you have assailed him with such calumny and, while telling him to curb his tongue, have given free rein to your own? Take care lest someone judge that you wield these insults against Theodore with cunning, because he called Apollinarius and those who hold his tenets most criminal. If this is not so, with what discordant speech have you belched forth these calumnies against him as if in a drunken fit? What novelty has he now uttered different from the teachers of old? For each of them taught clearly and explicitly that the human nature was visited, taken up, anointed by the Holy Spirit, crucified, died, rose again, and was received into heaven and rewarded with a throne at the right hand [of the Father]. But when you hear, as it appears, the ineffable words that Paul heard,¹⁹¹ or rather others still more divine (for you introduce us to others, contrary to the teaching of Paul), do you interpret Paul as follows, ‘But it was the very Word from God the Father who indeed became a man like us and deigned to visit and remember not someone else but himself’? What could be more ridiculous than these words? For who is it that God the Word needed to be visited by? But in fact he is the one ‘who, being in the form of God, did not think it robbery to be equal with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant.’¹⁹² He did not take angelic form but took the seed of Abraham.¹⁹³ Rightly, therefore, did Theodore say that the one who received him visited him and that the one taken up was visited; for this is the teaching of the prophet who calls the one who visited him ‘Lord’ and the one graced with visitation a ‘man’.¹⁹⁴

35. From the letter of Theodoret to the twice-married Irenaeus,¹⁹⁵ testifying that Theodore was under accusation and that there were doubts about him.¹⁹⁶

Because you criticize me for omitting the holy and blessed father

191 Cf. 2 Cor 12:2–4.

192 Phil 2:6–7.

193 Cf. Heb 2:16.

194 Cf. Ps 8:2,5.

195 Count Irenaeus was an ally of Nestorius and the author of *Tragoedia*, an account of the aftermath of Ephesus I that deplored making peace with Cyril (Millar 2006, 170–1, 180–1). His being twice married (contrary to 1 Tim 3:2) became a ground for criticism when in the 440s he became bishop of Tyre.

196 *Ep.* 16. The Greek is extant (Theodoret, *Correspondance*, II, SC 98, pp. 58–60) but the text given here departs from it in deleting the references to Diodore of Tarsus. I therefore translate the Latin, while noting where the original text differs.

Theodore¹⁹⁷ from the list of teachers,¹⁹⁸ I have thought it necessary to speak briefly on this matter. First, O person most dear to me, we have been silent about many other eminent men who attained real distinction. Next, this should also be taken into account, that someone accused ought to produce unimpeachable witnesses whom not even any of the accusers can criticize. If, however, the one accused calls as witnesses those accused by the prosecutors, not even the judge would let them be accepted. Now if when writing a eulogy of the fathers I had omitted this holy man,¹⁹⁹ [96] I would, I confess, have done wrong and shown ingratitude towards the teachers. But if when under accusation I presented my defence and produced unimpeachable witnesses, why do those who wish to see nothing of this criticize me groundlessly? How I venerate the man is shown by the book²⁰⁰ we wrote about him, in which we refuted the tract written against him,²⁰¹ fearing neither the power of the accusers nor future plots²⁰² against ourselves.

36. Diodore, archdeacon and *primicerius* of the most devout notaries, said: ‘Some people claim that Cyril of holy memory praised Theodore of Mopsuestia in a certain writing of his, in which there occur, they say, the words “the good Theodore”; they add that Gregory Nazianzen of holy memory wrote to Theodore of Mopsuestia praising him.²⁰³ Those who say these things also add that it is wrong for heretics to be anathematized after death. This has come to the knowledge of your holy council. Lest any of them be left undiscussed, we have thought it necessary to present these texts also to your holinesses.’²⁰⁴

The holy council said: ‘Because certain people cite the statement by the holy Cyril, that is, the words “the good Theodore”, let there be read in sequence both the earlier and the later statements for the sake of a more perfect knowledge of the matter.’

197 The Greek is ‘the holy and blessed fathers Diodore and Theodore.’

198 Theodoret’s tract *That even after the incarnation our Lord Jesus Christ is one* (PG 83. 1433–41) ends with a list of twenty orthodox fathers, omitting both Diodore and Theodore.

199 Greek: ‘these holy men.’

200 Theodoret’s *In defence of Diodore and Theodore*, written in 439, the date of this letter.

201 Greek: ‘these men... about them... against them.’

202 Greek: ‘plots that have been hatched.’

203 Cf. the discussion in Justinian, *On the orthodox faith*, pp. 106–8.

204 Literally ‘your holiness’, this phrase, like ‘the holy council’, refers formally to all the patriarchs as chairmen of the council but in practice to Eutychius of Constantinople as their leader and spokesman

37. When the most devout deacon and notary Theodulus had received them, he read out:

From the second book of Cyril bishop of Alexandria, *That Christ is one, Against Theodore*.²⁰⁵

38. That, however, the impious Nestorius chose to follow the doctrines of Theodore does not absolve him from the charges; but on the contrary it will bring about a yet more serious condemnation of him. For when he might have availed himself of the orthodox books and impeccable discourses of the holy fathers on the Godhead, he is found to have preferred a lie to the truth; for he passed over their works, and chose instead to adhere to what is base and to take delight in such perverted discourses. That this man with such an insane intention plunged into this, will, I think, provoke criticism, and indeed deservedly. For he ought to have remembered the most holy Paul who plainly writes to us, ‘Be wise money-changers and test everything; hold fast to what is good, and abstain from every kind of evil.’²⁰⁶ This indeed is what we are wont to do: endeavouring to imitate assayers of gold coin, we repudiate those doctrines that are base and counterfeit, but receive most willingly all that shine forth with the clear beauty of truth. But let our argument turn back to the path that is fitting and appointed. There were written by the good Theodore against the heresy of the Arians and Eunomians about twenty books or more,²⁰⁷ as well as others that interpret the gospels and apostolic writings: these labours one would not wish to criticize [97] but would rather honour his zeal with a favourable judgement, if they had exhibited doctrinal orthodoxy.²⁰⁸ But if someone walks outside the appointed path and, departing from the right way of truth, follows a twisting path and wounds the hearts of the more simple, scattering on them seeds of adulterated ideas, then it will not be without damage for those who preside over congregations to keep quiet, while they will receive a reward and benefit if they put up resistance. Because, therefore, in the books or

205 Not the dialogue *That Christ is One* but the two books *Against Theodore*, of which extracts have been given above (5–13).

206 1 Thess 5:21–2.

207 See Devreesse (1948), 49–52.

208 Contrast the translation of this sentence in Facundus, *Pro defensione* III. 3.1: ‘These labours no one has dared to criticize, but [only] to honour with a favourable judgement the zeal for orthodox doctrines that is in them.’ This version must come from Theodoret’s *In defence of Diodore and Theodore*. Abramowski (1957), 65–8 argues for Facundus’ version that, if the passage had criticized Theodore, Theodoret would not have cited it. But this ignores the context provided here, as also the improbability of Cyril’s praising Theodore in a work written to attack him.

writings of the aforesaid man which we have just mentioned there have been found certain things full of the uttermost impiety, how would it be appropriate to choose to be silent? For he divides the indivisible Christ, and honours in place of the one Son a duality that departs from the truth and is disguised by false terminology. For he says that God the Word who is from God the Father is called man but did not become so in truth, while as for the man who is from Mary (as he puts it), whom he cunningly also calls ‘flesh’ for us,²⁰⁹ he says in many passages that he is called Lord and Son of God but is not so in truth.

39. The holy council said: ‘What has been read has shown that Cyril of religious memory employed these words rather to refute Theodore and his impious writings and not to praise him in some way. Let the letters of Gregory of holy memory also be read, which some people say were written to Theodore of Mopsuestia.’²¹⁰

40. When the same most reverent deacon and notary Theodulus had received them, he read out:

Gregory to Theodore, commending to him certain persons engaged in litigation, and indicating that they are under the jurisdiction both of himself and of his addressee, speaks as follows:²¹¹

What was sent to your devoutness by my lords the most honourable bishops deem to have been written by ourselves as well, and extend, I beg you, your hand to freeborn women, and do not let them be tyrannized and oppressed by the power of the man against whom they have gone to law.

41. *And a little further down:* I know that two people would suffer in this matter, your devoutness and ourselves, if justice were to be neglected, for those being judged are under the stewardship of us both, and there is a danger that the truth be perverted by persuasiveness in speech. Therefore give judgement both together with us and in anticipation, and champion our weakness.

²⁰⁹ In other words, Theodore frequently refers to Christ as ‘the flesh’ in order to play down his Godhead while cunningly using a biblical expression (Jn 1:14).

²¹⁰ Gregory Nazianzen’s letters to ‘Theodore’ were used by defenders of the Three Chapters such as Facundus (*Pro defensione* VII. 7), whence the presence of these letters in the *Collectio Sangermanensis* (ACO 2.5, pp. 141–5). Gregory spent most of his life at Nazianzus in the province of Cappadocia II; the argument advanced here that these letters were in fact addressed to Theodore of Tyana, the metropolitan see of this province, is accepted by modern scholars.

²¹¹ Gregory Nazianzen, *ep.* 162, PG 37. 268C-269A.

42. Again, they cite another letter as if written to Theodore of Mopsuestia by the aforesaid holy Gregory. But from it they are most decidedly found guilty of lying; for instead he is exhorting the bishop of Tyana to come to the feast of martyrs celebrated at Arianza²¹² on the estate of the same holy Gregory [98] in the month that he calls in the Cappadocian language Dathusa. Arianza, however, was an estate under Nazianzus, while Nazianzus was clearly at that time under the city of Tyana. The letter runs as follows:²¹³

You owe us care as of the sick, since visiting the sick is one of the commandments,²¹⁴ and you also owe the holy martyrs the annual commemoration that we celebrate in your Arianza on the twenty-second day of our month of Dathusa. At the same time there are not a few items of ecclesiastical business that need common examination. For all these reasons deign to come without delay; for even if the labour is great, yet the reward is equivalent.

43. Likewise, another letter written to the same Theodore, in which he makes a request on behalf of the poor and the almoners of his diocese who had sinned. The letter begins as follows:²¹⁵

I hear that you are taking very badly the outrage committed against us by the monks and the poor.

44. *And at the end:*²¹⁶ Imagine now that all the poor and the almoners are prostrate before you, and also all the monks and virgins, interceding on their behalf. Grant grace to them all in response to this (since they have suffered sufficiently, as is clear from their petition to us) and above all to ourselves who are interceding on their behalf. If it seems dreadful to you that we were insulted by them, may it appear far more dreadful if when making this request of you we are not listened to.

45. They also exploit another letter of the same holy Gregory to the same Theodore, containing praise of the same Theodore. It can be shown that this letter also was written rather to the bishop of Tyana, since in it he mentions a monastery still in existence in an estate that is called Pasa,²¹⁷ subject to the

212 The name is 'Arianza' (neuter plural) here, as in the text quoted, but 'Arianzus' at 48–9 below and in Justinian, *On the orthodox faith*, p. 108.

213 *Ep.* 122, PG 37. 216C–217A.

214 Cf. Mt 25:34–46.

215 *Ep.* 77, PG 37. 141C.

216 *Ibid.*, 145C.

217 The name appears in various forms in the manuscript tradition of Gregory's letters; see PG *ad loc.*

city of Tyana. It runs as follows:²¹⁸

May God grant you to the churches for our glory and the benefit of many, since you are so careful and prudent in spiritual matters as to make us also more prudent, although we are considered to have some advantage over you as regards age. Since, however, you have chosen to take us as partners in your spiritual reflection (I mean about the oath that George the man of Pasa appears to have sworn), we shall reveal to your devoutness what is our own preference – *and the rest*.

46. Another letter to the same, which provides particularly clear proof that all these letters were written to the bishop of Tyana. For he asks him to give a bishop to Nazianzus as the primate of the province. It runs as follows:²¹⁹

[99] It is time for me to quote the scripture, ‘To whom shall I call, being wronged?’²²⁰ Who will extend a hand to me in my oppression? On whom will fall the burden of the church, in so sorry a state of dissolution? I testify before God and the elect angels that God’s flock suffers wrong, being unshepherded and unsupervised because of my deathly condition; for sickness has me in its grip and has carried me off swiftly from the church, now utterly breathing my last²²¹ and worn down even more by business. If therefore the province has any other head, it ought to cry and testify to him. Since your devoutness is of higher rank,²²² it is necessary to look to you. Look after what is your church in the way you want, and do not let it undergo what is unworthy of itself; for, to pass over other matters, you will learn from my lords the fellow priests Eulalius the *chorepiscopus* and Celeusius, whom we have sent to your devoutness on business, what the Apollinarians, who are now pressing hard, have either done or are threatening to do. To check this is not for our age and weakness but for your perspicacity and strength, since God has given you, along with other gifts, vigour for the common protection of the church. But if, when saying and writing this, I am not heard, what alone is left will be done – to announce to all publicly, and make it known, that the church is in need of a bishop, lest it suffer harm as a result of our ill health. What would follow you yourself will be well aware.

47. He wrote another letter to the same bishop of Tyana, in which he criticized

218 *Ep.* 163, PG 37. 269BC.

219 *Ep.* 152, PG 37. 257B-260A.

220 Hab 1:2.

221 This version (like that of Facundus VII. 7.33) abbreviates the Greek, ‘It now makes me utterly useless, constantly breathing my last...’

222 As the metropolitan of the province.

those who wanted to drag him to the see of Sasima,²²³ and particularly Helladius of Caesarea; and after saying many things about him, he also asked about Bosporius bishop of Doara, who had been accused before the then bishop of Tyana and was being judged in his court. It runs as follows:²²⁴

Let this be added to the letter: whether your investigation finds my lord the most God-beloved fellow-minister Bosporius²²⁵ ill-disposed concerning the faith, which it is not right even to utter (for I omit the long time and our testimony), is for you to judge. But if an investigation in the dioceses leads to a new charge of heresy, do not be carried away by calumnies, and do not treat them as stronger than the truth, I beg you, lest you drive to despair many of those who have chosen to act well.

48. And when the most religious Euphrantas bishop of Tyana had risen, he said: ‘I wish to inform your holy council of something of which you are aware even before I speak, namely, that they deceive themselves groundlessly who think that Gregory of holy memory wrote the letters that have been read out to Theodore of Mopsuestia. For I, as both bishop of the church of Tyana [100] and a native of the province, shall set out the truth. Theodore was bishop in my city. It was he who received letters from Gregory of holy memory; for it is proclaimed in the sacred diptychs, “[Let us pray] for Euppsychius, Anthemius, Aetherius, Deodatus, Calliopius, Longinus and Theodore.” At that time both Doara and Nazianzus were under the city of Tyana, till the time of the present pious emperor. But when the most pious emperor gave metropolitan rights to the city that was formerly called Mocissus but is now named Justinianopolis, he made both Doara and Nazianzus, together with other cities, subject to it.²²⁶ Arianzus is an estate from which the same Gregory of holy memory originated and which is under Nazianzus. It was in this estate that he urged the blessed Theodore to celebrate a feast; and there is a month in the provincial dialect of Cappadocia called “Dathusa”, which is mentioned in one of the letters. The estate called Pasa, where the monastery was situated whose superior was then George the monk (whom the

223 When in 372 Cappadocia II was made a separate province, no longer under Caesarea but with its own metropolis, Tyana, Basil of Caesarea consecrated Gregory bishop of Sasima, in order to stake a claim to continuing authority in Cappadocia II. Gregory successfully resisted pressure to visit his diocese.

224 *Ep.* 183, PG 37. 301A.

225 Bishop of Colonia (in Cappadocia II), according to Justinian, *On the orthodox faith*, p. 108.

226 For the grant of metropolitan status and a province (Cappadocia III) to Mocissus see Procopius, *De aedificiis* V. 4.15–18.

letter calls “of Pasa”), is twelve miles from the metropolis of Tyana, and is under the same city to this day. But, as I have said, the city of Doara was also at that time under the rule of the same metropolis of Tyana, and the bishop of Tyana ordained its bishops; this is why Gregory, now worn down by age, urges the same blessed Theodore, as the metropolitan of the aforesaid cities, to ordain a bishop in Nazianzus in place of himself. But Cilicia Secunda, under which Mopsuestia comes, never had and does not have any dealings with Cappadocia Secunda, with either its estates or its cities, since Cilicia Prima is in the middle and separates Cappadocia from Cilicia Secunda and Mopsuestia is part of Cilicia Secunda. Nor was it possible for Gregory of holy memory to write about the government of the churches of Cappadocia Secunda and about the ordination of bishops to the bishop of a town in another province and under another metropolitan, with the consequence that he did not have the power to appoint its bishop.’

49. When Euphrantas the most devout bishop of the metropolis of Tyana had said this, Theodosius the most devout bishop of the city that was formerly called Mocissus and is now called Justinianopolis rose and spoke as follows: ‘The most devout bishop Euphrantas has given true and comprehensive information to your holy council. I know this because I am from that province and both Doara and Nazianzus are now under my government, while Arianzus is an estate under Nazianzus. Cilicia Secunda and its bishops never had any dealings with the aforesaid estates or cities.’

50. The holy council said: ‘The very letters of the holy Gregory have themselves proved that they were written to Theodore of most religious memory, bishop of Tyana, which is the metropolis of Cappadocia Secunda, and not to the impious Theodore of Mopsuestia. To them have been added the depositions of the most devout bishops. On the subject, however, of the need to anathematize heretics even after death [101] some things have already been read;²²⁷ if, however, there is anything else that relates to the matter, let it also be read.’

51. Diodore archdeacon and *primicerius* of the most devout notaries said: ‘We have to hand excerpts relating to the present topic that heretics ought to be condemned even after death.’

52. The holy council said: ‘Let them be read.’

²²⁷ Namely Cyril’s posthumous attacks on Theodore in the texts given above, and the falsified edicts of Theodosius II (25–6).

53. And when the most devout Photinus deacon and notary had received them, he read out:

From the first book of Cyril of holy memory, *That Christ is One, Against Theodore*:²²⁸

For there are indeed people who deny their Redeemer and Lord, and say that the one who in the last times of the age underwent fleshly birth from a woman for our sake is not the true Son of God the Father, but on the contrary made his appearance to the world as a recent and later God, possessing the glory of sonship as something acquired from outside, just as we do, and glorying as if in some counterfeit honours, with the result that it was now the worship of a man and nothing else, and that some man was being worshipped together with the holy Trinity both by us and by the holy angels. This is what some extremely proud persons, preening themselves on their knowledge of the divine scriptures, inserted in their writings and, as the Lord of all says through one of the holy prophets, ‘set snares to corrupt men.’²²⁹ For what else than a snare and stumbling-block is a tongue that speaks lies that are abhorrent to sacred scripture and impudently oppose the tradition of the holy apostles and evangelists? We must therefore reject those who are subject to such grave faults, whether they are among the living or not; for it is necessary to distance oneself from what is harmful, and one should not have respect for persons but attend to what is pleasing to God.

54. Cyril of holy memory followed the words of the apostle that say, ‘As for a man who is a heretic, after one and a second correction reject him, knowing that such a one is perverted and a sinner and self-condemned,’²³⁰ when he used the words, ‘We should reject such people, whether they are among the living or not.’

55. But also in the letter written to Martinian and other monks the same Cyril of holy memory speaks as follows:²³¹

For already the holy council, I mean the one that assembled at Ephesus according to the will of God, when it issued a sacred and precise verdict on the evil doctrine of Nestorius, condemned along with him, by imposing on them the same sentence, the foolish talk of others, whoever will be after him or existed before him, holding the same tenets, and dared to utter or record them. For it was fitting, once a single person had been condemned for

228 A new excerpt from Cyril’s *Against Theodore*, for which see p. 275 above.

229 Jer 5:26.

230 Tit 3:10–11, where the word ἀίρετικὸν means ‘contentious’ rather than ‘heretical’.

231 *Ep.* 55, already cited at 22 above. Greek text in *ACO* 1.1.4, pp. 50,34–51,9.

manifest folly, [102] to proceed not simply against a single person but, so to speak, against their whole heresy or calumny which they have committed against the pious doctrines of the church by advocating two Sons, splitting the indivisible, and bringing a charge against heaven and earth of worshipping a man; for the holy multitude of spirits above worships together with us the one Lord Jesus Christ.

56. After this had been read, Sextilian, the most devout bishop from the province of Africa, representing Primosus the most religious bishop of Carthage, rose and standing in the middle spoke as follows: ‘Because the holy gospels are exposed and each person ought to make manifest what he knows pertinent to the question under discussion, I inform your holy council that in earlier times in our province many bishops who assembled and were making decisions about various matters relating to the ecclesiastical state decreed on the subject of deceased bishops who left their property to heretics that they should be subjected to anathema even after death.²³² There are also letters of Augustine of holy memory saying that if any persons held wrong tenets during their lives, even if they had not been condemned while still living, they should, once their sin was proved, be subjected to anathema even after death. If it is your wish, I shall produce these for reading.’²³³

57. The holy council said: ‘Let them be read.’

58. When the same deacon and notary had received the document from his hands, he read out:²³⁴

Saint Augustine to Count Boniface, about certain Donatists who accused Bishop Caecilian of handing over during his life Christian codices to be burnt, and who for this reason kept themselves separate from the church.²³⁵

232 Canon 81 of the Council of Carthage of 400 anathematized any bishop who made heretics or pagans his heirs (Di Bernardino 1992, I, 147).

233 Although appropriately presented by an African bishop, the following texts from Augustine were already known in the east: cf. Justinian, *On the orthodox faith*, p. 109.

234 58–9 offer a paraphrase of the first few pages of Augustine, *ep.* 185, *De correctione Donatistarum liber* (CSEL 57, 1–4). Only the last few lines (‘If their allegations against Caecilian...’) reproduce Augustine verbatim. In contrast, the following passages (60–3) are exact citations from the original Latin texts.

235 The Donatist schism arose from the election of Caecilian as bishop of Carthage in 311, which was rejected by his opponents because of an allegation that one of his consecrators was a *traditor*, that is, had handed over copies of the scriptures during the Great Persecution. In the extracts given here Augustine, aware that with the passage of time the truth about Caecilian was irrecoverable, argued that the Catholic cause was not dependent on his innocence: if the Donatists were ever able to prove him guilty, the Catholics themselves would anathematize him.

Its beginning is as follows:

It is extremely welcome to me that amidst military pursuits you have not failed to have care for religion as well.

59. *And further down*: Caecilian was never a *traditor*, but was pursued by many of them with false charges and slanderous accusations. Not because the cause of the church depends on him (for no one's wickedness frustrates the promises of God nor can there perish through the crimes of anyone the inheritance of Christ, which the Father gave to him, saying, 'Ask of me, and I shall give you the nations as your inheritance and the ends of the earth as your possession'),²³⁶ but because they found in him a pretext for perpetrating schism, [103] it needs to be shown that he was cleared by episcopal judgement and pronounced innocent not only by the bishops who judged him but also by the emperor Constantine himself,²³⁷ before whom he was slanderously accused by their forefathers, so that they may recognize how unjustly they separate themselves from the church spread throughout the world on account of one whom neither they themselves nor their predecessors were ever able to convict of any crime. Even though, as we said in the aforesaid letter, if their allegations against Caecilian were true and could ever be proved to us, we would anathematize him even though he is dead, yet we should not on account of any man leave the church of Christ, which is not invented by contentious opinions but was proved by divine attestation.

60. By the same holy Augustine, from the proceedings in the presence of the most illustrious Marcellinus tribune and notary, Chapter 187:²³⁸

Bishop Augustine of the catholic church said: 'The hope of the church should not be placed in men even if they are good, nor if they are bad should the church of God be judged to have perished. Nevertheless we take up their case as being that of our brothers; and if they can be proved to us to be criminals, we shall anathematize them today. Even so, we would not desert or forsake on their account the church promised and bestowed by God.'

61. By the same, from the Letter to Catholics:²³⁹

If by chance those books point to who handed them over, just as the Lord pointed to Judas, let them read in them expressly and by name that Caecilian

²³⁶ Ps 2:8.

²³⁷ Caecilian's case was decided in his favour by Pope Miltiades in 313, by the Council of Arles in 314, and by Constantine himself in 316.

²³⁸ The Acts of the Conference of Carthage of 411, III. 187 (SC 224, p. 1132, 17–23).

²³⁹ *Ep. ad Catholicos* 3.5 (CSEL 52, p. 236, 20–4).

or his consecrators handed the same books over, and if I do not anathematize them, may I myself be judged to be their accomplice in handing them over.

62. Again by the same, from the work *Against Cresconius, a grammaticus*²⁴⁰ of the Donatists, Book Three:²⁴¹

I am in the church whose members are all those churches that we know to have been born from the labours of the apostles and also confirmed in canonical writings. Their communion, whether in Africa or anywhere, as God helps me, I shall not desert. If there were in this communion *traditores* whom I do not know, I shall, when you expose them, detest them dead with my flesh and my heart; yet I shall in no way separate myself on account of the dead from the living who remain in the unity of the same holy church.

63. *And further down*:²⁴² But you say that I am allowed even today to judge the dead, that judgement can be made not only on the living but also on the dead. Indeed I am ready to judge, but you are not willing to pursue the case.

64. [104] And when Benignus bishop of Heraclea in Pelagonia, representing the most devout Helias bishop of Thessalonica, had risen, he spoke as follows: ‘What has just been read from Augustine of holy memory fits the state of affairs that has held in the church from the beginning. For impious teaching already indicted and condemned, and those guilty of such teaching, the church’s tradition has wished to be anathematized, even if they were dead. This is why Augustine of holy memory said, “If Caecilian were now proved guilty of the charges against him, I would anathematize him even after death.” And this he said about Caecilian bishop of Carthage, who alone from the whole of Africa came to the holy Council of Nicaea. But also Valentinus, Marcion and Basilides, who were anathematized by no council, yet because the doctrine they upheld was alien to piety, were anathematized by the church of God even after death.’²⁴³ The same took place in respect of Eunomius and Apollinarius.²⁴⁴ Observing this tradition of the church, Rabbula of holy memory also, who was bishop of the city of Edessa and

240 A scribe or secretary.

241 *Contra Cresconium* 3.35.39 (CSEL 52, p. 446,23–447,2).

242 *Ibid.* 3.39.43 (CSEL 52, p. 450, 20–3).

243 None of these second-century heretics died within the communion of the mainstream Church.

244 Eunomius and Apollinarius were repeatedly condemned by various councils in both west and east before their deaths in the 390s (Di Berardino 1992, I, 59, 297).

a luminary among the priests, anathematized in church this Theodore of Mopsuestia on account of his impious writings even after death, as is also testified by the letter that is said to have been written by Ibas to the heretical Mari the Persian.²⁴⁵ Likewise those of the party of Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia, who earlier held the tenets of Arius but then assented to the faith proclaimed by the holy fathers assembled at Nicaea and subscribed to it, because they returned to their vomit of Arian impiety, some when still living but others even after death, were anathematized and expelled from the church of God, as can be found in historical narration in the writings on this subject of Saint Athanasius; most of all was the faith imposed on them by Constantine of pious memory in his rescript to Theodotus, where he states that Eusebius, Theognis and those agreeing with them had been ejected from the universal church for holding tenets contrary to the holy council of Nicaea in which they had taken part.²⁴⁶ But also the church of Rome a few years ago anathematized Dioscorus, pope of the same church, even after death, even though he had not sinned against the faith; and this is known to all Romans who are staying here, especially those of rank, who even remained in communion with the same Dioscorus until his death.²⁴⁷

65. After the most religious bishop Benignus had made the above statement, Theodore bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia,²⁴⁸ John bishop of Nyssa, and Basil bishop of Justiniana Nova, formerly Camuliana, rose and said: 'Now indeed as regards the will of your holy council concerning Theodore of Mopsuestia, you have made known your godly zeal, stirred up (as you are) in opposition both to him and to the blasphemies he uttered against our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ. But because some people who love the infidelity of Nestorius, which is the same as saying the madness of Theodore, do not shrink from forgery and exploit the wording of a letter

²⁴⁵ Cf. VI. 5.5–6 (vol. 2, 8-9).

²⁴⁶ Athanasius, *Apologia contra Arianos* 7 refers to the deposition of Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicaea for Arian sympathies immediately after the Council of Nicaea; both, however, were restored to their sees three years later. Bishop Theodotus of Laodicea (in Syria) was an ally of Eusebius of Nicomedia and for a time of Arius, so the rescript, though doubtless addressed to the bishops generally, would have had a particular significance for him.

²⁴⁷ A disputed election to the Roman see in September 530 produced two rival popes, Dioscorus and Boniface II. When Dioscorus died in October, Boniface forced his supporters to sign his condemnation. The deed of condemnation was solemnly burnt by Pope Agapitus in 535.

²⁴⁸ This is Theodore Ascidas, for whose role in the Three Chapters controversy see pp. 18–19 above. The two other bishops named here were among his suffragans. Theodore remains the speaker up to (and including) 89, although possibly a notary read out the texts he cites.

allegedly written by Cyril of holy memory to John bishop of Antioch to the effect that Theodore should not be reviled because he was already deceased, in order that nothing they say may escape your beatitude or remain undiscussed, [105] we have thought it necessary to cite it to you. For such a letter as they circulate was never written by Cyril of holy memory and is not contained in his codices.’

66. The forged letter runs as follows:²⁴⁹

I have examined the letter that your religiousness, convened together, addressed to me as by common consent of the council.²⁵⁰ Concerning the beginning of the letter I judged it unnecessary to say or utter anything, for very good reasons. For when I saw you, as someone might say, excited in spirit – and I was utterly stunned –, I hastened to do what was necessary. (2) For how could I not bear in mind your so admirable and attentive zeal and, I would add, the struggle that you have all alike undertaken on behalf of a man who is not only amazing but has also attained the greatest glory among you, I mean Theodore? You inveigh against certain people²⁵¹ who, as is manifest, nurture hatred against the man and who, drawing a pretext from the perverse doctrine they contain, have demanded the condemnation of certain chapters, not taken from among the best, as certain people have said, over which they have also perturbed your reverences.²⁵² In consequence even now, as your letter intimates, they have come to the imperial city and are causing disturbance, if perchance through the assistance of certain persons they may succeed there in securing the anathematization by imperial decree of those

249 *Ep.* 91. The Greek is lost. A different Latin translation, quoted by Vigilius (first *Constitutum* 204), Facundus (*Pro defensione* III. 6.33–34,38) and Pelagius (*In defensione*, p. 26), comes in *ACO* 1.5, pp. 314–5. Both translations struggle with what was clearly a tortuous piece of Greek (*not* a forgery), betraying Cyril’s embarrassment at having to deplore a campaign against Theodore in which he himself had played an active part. The significant divergences between the two versions are noted below. The letter should be compared to the letter Cyril wrote to Proclus at the same time, given at 77–8 below. For the circumstances of composition see above, pp. 275–7.

250 Cyril is replying to a letter from John of Antioch and a synod of Syrian bishops meeting at Antioch, which has not survived (Schwartz 1914, 32).

251 See p. 273 above for their identity.

252 In preference to the confused syntax of the text in *ACO* 4.1, I follow *ACO* 1.5, ‘occasionem facientes contrario dogmati quo tenentur (= ἔχονταί, middle voice), capitula quaedam non ex melioribus intellecta (= ληφθέντα), sicut quidam dixerunt..., exegerunt condemnari.’ Pelagius, p. 28, 2–8, however, understands the first part of this to mean ‘creating an opportunity for the perverse doctrine that has them in its grip,’ citing Cyril’s description of these enemies of Theodore some lines down as ‘those who do not know how to walk straight.’ But see my following note.

[chapters] which they produced in order to incriminate their defenders. (3) Concerning this, as it seems to me and to everyone with sense, it is not right to be distressed or upset at those with orthodox views,²⁵³ but [it is right] to keep at a very great distance those with this intention (I need not speak of actually having in mind what they planned),²⁵⁴ especially when there is uncertainty over the person whom they subject to complaint and uncertainty over the condemnation of the chapters,²⁵⁵ and those who have acted in this way are found to be running on an uncertain path and beating the air. (4) But setting these questions aside, I shall say this, that it is proper for those who in whatever way are promoted to teach, or who intend to write, to examine the meaning of divine scripture with a pure eye of the mind, to approach its meaning rightly, and thus, in presenting their own books for judgement, to be fearful lest, teaching or believing in opposition and in divergence from the truth, they be called least in the kingdom of heaven, desire for which makes those with this goal avoid deviation from the path leading to that kingdom and hasten to that blessed life.

(5) I shall say in brief to you, most religious men, what I wrote to the most devout bishop Proclus of the city of Constantinople, to meet the requirements of your letter, [106] in the following words.²⁵⁶ When a creed was produced at the holy Council of Ephesus as written by Theodore, as those who produced it affirmed, and since it contained nothing sound, the holy council censured it as full of perverse ideas but, while condemning those who hold these tenets, in a spirit of accommodation it did not mention the man nor did it anathematize him or even others by name.²⁵⁷ This was, it is apparent, out of accommodation, lest perchance the easterners, respecting the reputation that the man enjoys, might separate themselves from the communion of the body of the universal church, join the hated and execrable faction, and bring about for a very great number a cause of stumbling; for the common herd are accustomed to lend their ears with the greatest delight to hearsay of any

253 Contrast the translation in Facundus, Pelagius, and the MS used in *ACO* 1.5: ‘those who do not know how to walk straight.’ The editor of *ACO* 1.5 emends ‘do not know’ (*nesciunt*) to ‘know’ (*sciunt*), on the basis of the translation of 553.

254 Contrast the unsatisfactory text in *ACO* 1.5, ‘except if, perchance, one should take into one’s mind what they want to bring about.’

255 To Proclus’ Tome to the Armenians, which he sent to John of Antioch, were appended anonymous excerpts from Theodore of Mopsuestia.

256 The following lines (down to ‘might separate themselves from... the church’) are virtually identical to a passage in Cyril’s letter to Proclus quoted below at 78.

257 This was at the session of 22 July 431 at the First Council of Ephesus, for which see Price and Gaddis, I, 311–16, 323.

kind and to abandon proper reasoning more swiftly than one can speak. (6) But those who are responsible will justly hear, although they do not wish it, 'You forget yourselves when you draw bows against ashes; for the person you accuse is no longer alive.' And let no one blame me for being so explicit. I yield to those who think it a serious matter to revile the dead,²⁵⁸ even if they are laymen, and all the more if they departed from this life in the episcopacy. For it characteristic of prudent people to yield most fittingly to [God] the one who foreknows the will of each individual and knows how each one of us will turn out. May the Lord preserve you in everything, most religious men; keep in good health, and remember us in your prayers.

67.²⁵⁹ These are the contents of the forged letter. But who examining it would not at once find alien the composition of thoughts and words, when compared to the other writings of Cyril of holy memory?²⁶⁰ The latter manifestly prove its falsity. For John bishop of Antioch wrote to Cyril of holy memory, making certain statements to the effect that neither Theodore himself nor his writings, being in accord with the statements of the holy fathers, should be anathematized.²⁶¹ Replying to this, the holy Cyril explicitly rejected Theodore's writings and rebuked those who said that these writings agreed with the teaching of the holy fathers, adding in a letter that it was wrong to defend Theodore's writings, since they agree in all respects with the foolish statements of Nestorius and have deservedly been rejected together with them, since the anathema issued against Nestorius applied also to those who held similar tenets before him.

68. The letter written by the holy Cyril to John runs as follows:²⁶²

The dragon, the apostate, the truly all-grievous wild beast, fighting against God, has not rested nor ever ceased from the perversity within him; but harbouring in himself inexhaustible ill-will towards the holy churches, he has had the effrontery to raise up against the doctrines of the truth the intemperate tongues of unholy and profane men [107] who have a cauterised conscience. But he has been taken captive and conquered everywhere, for

258 The version in *ACO* 1.5 has 'But may he yield to a too renowned predecessor. For it is a serious matter to revile the dead' (p. 315, 15–16).

259 Theodore Ascidas remains the speaker (down to and including 89).

260 Apart from the ones now given compare 53–5 above.

261 This is *ep.* 66 in the corpus of Cyril's correspondence.

262 *Ep.* 67. The Greek text is in *ACO* 1.1.4, pp. 37–9. The full address is to 'Bishop John of Antioch and the synod convened there.' The three excerpts given here come at 37,17–22; 38,20–7; 38,31–39,6. This letter predated the 'forged' letter by only a few months; see p. 274 above for the circumstances of composition.

Christ the Saviour of us all has shown that his wickedness and the power of his attempts is without effect.

69. *And further down:* It was therefore necessary for us to hold on this account a magnificent celebration, because, of course, there has been cast out every statement from whatever source if in agreement with Nestorius' blasphemies.²⁶³ For against all who share his tenets or have ever shared them there has prevailed the fact that both we ourselves and your sacredness have said unconditionally that we anathematize those who assert two Sons and two Christs. For, as I have said, both we and you preach that there is but one Christ and Son and Lord, the only-begotten Word of God, 'becoming in the likeness of men and being found in form as a man,' according to the statement of the most wise Paul.²⁶⁴

70. *And again:* As for the censured tenets, I mean those of Diodore and Theodore, and of some others as well, whom it would have been better not to praise, lest I say something dire because of their bearing down with full sails against the glory of Christ, let no one, we pray, ascribe them to our holy and orthodox fathers, I mean Athanasius, Basil, the Gregories, Theophilus and the rest, lest the matter become in some way an occasion of stumbling to some who might think that the guardians of perfect orthodoxy truly believed and taught accordingly, even though they published books that attack not only the heresies of Nestorius but also those of the others who believed and recorded the tenets of Nestorius before him.

71. This is what the holy Cyril really wrote to John of Antioch. That nothing of what is contained in the forged letter was written by him is also shown by what he wrote to Acacius bishop of Melitene, where he explicitly recounts what he had written in reply to John.

72. The words of the letter on this matter run as follows:²⁶⁵

The most devout and most religious deacon and archimandrite Maximus has visited me, and I perceived that the man is such as someone might well yearn for a long time to see. I marvelled at his zeal and orthodoxy and the fervour of his piety towards Christ. For he is so distressed, with a mind full of anxieties, as to wish to undergo gladly every exertion whatever to ensure

263 Cyril's original wording ran: 'because, of course, together with the heresies of Nestorius there has been cast out every statement from whatever source if in agreement with his dupery.'

264 Phil 2:7-8.

265 *Ep.* 69. Greek text in Schwartz (1927), 15-16.

that the evil doctrine of Nestorius vanishes root and branch from the regions of the east. He has also read to me the letter of your sacredness written to the most devout and most religious bishop John of Antioch, which evinces great frankness and great devotion. [108] I also have written him such a letter, but the worse cause, it appears, is winning. While pretending to hate the tenets of Nestorius, they uphold them again in a different way by admiring those of Theodore, although they are plagued²⁶⁶ with an equal, or rather far worse, impiety. For Theodore was not the disciple of Nestorius, but Nestorius was his; they speak as if from one mouth, and expectorate from their hearts the same venom of evil doctrine. At all events those from the east wrote to me that it is wrong to attack the tenets of Theodore lest, they said, those of the blessed Athanasius, Theophilus, Basil and Gregory should also be under attack, since they spoke to the same effect as Theodore. But I could not abide their writing this, but told them frankly that Theodore had a blasphemous tongue and a blasphemous pen that served it, while these men were teachers of total orthodoxy and famed for it. But they so influenced those from the east that there were acclamations in the churches on the part of the people, 'Let the faith of Theodore spread. We believe as Theodore did,' even though they once threw stones at him when he dared to address them briefly in their church.²⁶⁷ But the will of the teacher guides the thought of the flock. I, however, have neither ceased nor shall cease from criticizing what they have written. Since it was necessary to provide them with written counter-arguments, I looked into the books of Theodore and Diodore in which they had written not about the incarnation of the Only-begotten but rather against the incarnation, and selected certain of the chapters. These I have combated to the best of my ability, proving that their doctrine is full of abomination throughout.²⁶⁸

73. Writing in the same vein as the above to the emperor Theodosius of pious memory as well, he speaks as follows:²⁶⁹

There was a certain Theodore and before him Diodore, the latter [bishop] of the city of Tarsus, the former of Mopsuestia. They were the progeni-

266 A variant reading, preferred by Schwartz, is 'he was plagued.'

267 For this episode see 14.5–6 above.

268 This refers to Cyril's *Against Diodore and Theodore*. The final lines of the letter are omitted, relating to Cyril's composition of *On the creed*, for which see 18 above.

269 *Ep.* 71. The addressees, being plural (note 'your souls'), included other members of the imperial family, doubtless the Augustae Eudocia and Pulcheria. The Greek is not preserved; for a different Latin translation, including the preamble (omitted here), see *ACO* 1.4, pp. 210,33–211,14.

tors of the impiety of Nestorius, for in the books that they composed they blasphemed most outrageously against Christ the Saviour of us all, being ignorant of his mystery. Therefore the impious Nestorius wanted to publicize their tenets, and was expelled by God from the sacred assembly. Although, however, they subjected Nestorius' statements to anathema, some of the bishops of the east are now introducing them again in a different manner by lauding the writings of Theodore and saying that his tenets were correct and in accord with our holy fathers Athanasius, Gregory and Basil. But they are slandering holy men; for what they wrote actually impugns the blasphemies of Theodore and Nestorius. Therefore, since I have learned that they quote some of their statements to your most pious ears, I ask that you preserve your souls intact and inviolate from the impieties of Theodore and Diodore. For as I have just said, Nestorius uttered their statements, and was for this reason condemned as impious by the ecumenical council that by the will of God convened at Ephesus.

74. This is to refute the letter that was forged by Theodore's defenders. They try, however, to commit something else malign; for they take out of context certain statements in the holy Cyril's *Against the Synousiasts*,²⁷⁰ by which they hope to show that he said that one should not revile the deceased. However, the precise opposite is contained in his statements in the same book. For he says that the deceased ought not indeed to be attacked without cause, lest this look like enmity, [109] but that one ought not to pass over in silence doctrines put forward for examination, even though those about whom some such statement is being made are deceased, but refute what they said in error.

75. The relevant passage runs as follows:²⁷¹

We have now laboured at a long treatise because of our wish to contend for the doctrines of the truth; for it proclaims throughout the one Lord Jesus Christ, who came forth as God the Word divinely from God the Father, but humanly and in respect of the flesh from a woman. And may no one who has a mind competent to examine each thing in turn say that we have attacked with viciousness those who lack this faith, spurred at this time by bitterness towards those we have contradicted; for this is what provides the issue with

270 A name for the Apollinarians. See *DTC* 3, 2495.

271 This is the opening of the work; see *ACO* 1.1.1, p. xiv. Cyril is accusing Diodore and Theodore of insinuating their own pernicious beliefs when writing against the Apollinarians. One may surmise that he is reacting against the extracts from their treatises against the Synousiasts that he found in the florilegium on which he based his *Against Diodore and Theodore*.

a demonstration and not just a timid apology. Those men are now dead and, leaving human affairs, have departed to another life; it is utter folly to attack with hostility those who are no longer living but deceased.²⁷² But because the lovers of doctrinal orthodoxy hold truth dear and are obliged of necessity to speak the truth and to exert themselves so as to be able to put up strong opposition to those wont to utter folly, I have thought it incumbent on me, since a multitude of countless fathers have suffered no slight wrong from what Diodore of the city of Tarsus and the most eloquent Theodore, then bishop of Mopsuestia, wrote about the Lord and Saviour of us all, that I should say a few things²⁷³ in reply to what they asserted and prove to the reader the monstrosity of the heresy of them both.

76. Having shown the meaning of the holy Cyril contained in the passages cited, we inform you that they also make use of another letter, written to the holy Proclus by the same Cyril of holy memory and containing certain remarks about Theodore's anathematization. He was compelled to write it by a letter written by John and other eastern bishops in support of Theodore when they were being pressed to anathematize the chapters of Theodore that had been sent to them by Proclus of holy memory.

77. The letter written to the holy Proclus by Cyril of holy memory runs as follows:²⁷⁴

With difficulty and with great exertion by your sacredness and the holy council assembled at Ephesus the foolish speech of Nestorius was rejected by the churches of God everywhere, but this has greatly annoyed some of those in the east, not only laymen but also some of those appointed to sacred ministry. Just as chronic diseases are more resistant to treatment and perhaps reject it totally, so also the soul that is sick with the rottenness of perverse thoughts and doctrines has a disease that is difficult to expel. Nevertheless by the grace of God, whether in pretence or truth, they declare and proclaim one Christ and Lord, and have anathematized Nestorius' impious verbosity. For the time being things there are very calm, and even those who once

272 This dates the work to the time when Cyril had had to concede in the case of Theodore that posthumous condemnation was improper; see p. 276 above.

273 Reading 'innumerabili multitudine... passa', as in SURIUS: *ACO* prints the text in Parisinus, 'innumerabilium multitudinem... passam', producing the sense: 'I have thought it necessary that a multitude of countless fathers... should say a few things'. This would mean that Cyril was going to quote the Fathers, but 'a few things' is too depreciatory a phrase with which to introduce patristic citations.

274 *Ep. 72*, Greek text in Schwartz (1927), 17–19. It is to be compared to the closely related letter to John of Antioch given above (66) and dismissed as a forgery.

wavered hasten daily to what is solid in the faith. But now, as my lord the most sacred bishop John of Antioch has written to me, there has arisen among them the onset of another storm, [110] and all of a sudden there is great anxiety lest perhaps some of those who are easily carried away may return to their original state. They say that some repaired to that great city and then approached the most pious and Christ-loving emperors, petitioning for the anathematization by their sacred decree of the books of Theodore of Mopsuestia and of the man himself just mentioned. His name, however, is considerable in the east and his writings are hugely admired; everyone, they claim, is bearing it hard that an eminent man who died in the communion of the churches is now being anathematized. That we find in his writings some things said grotesquely and full of unqualified blasphemy is doubtful to none of those with orthodox convictions. May your sacredness know that when a creed composed by him (as those who produced it affirmed) was brought to the holy council, since it contained nothing sound, the holy council censured it as full of perverse ideas and, as it were, spouting forth the impiety of Nestorius; but while condemning those who embrace these tenets, in a spirit of accommodation it did not mention the man nor subject him by name to anathematization.²⁷⁵ This was out of accommodation, lest some, respecting the reputation of the man, cast themselves out of the churches.

78. *And further on:*²⁷⁶ And in another way, now that Nestorius' blasphemies have been anathematized and rejected, there have also been rejected along with them the tenets of that man which have the greatest kinship to them. Therefore, if some of those in the east would do this without hesitation, and no disturbance was to be expected therefrom, I would have said that it is no hardship to require this now of them in writing. But if, as my lord the most sacred bishop John of Antioch writes, they would choose rather to be consumed by fire than do any such thing, why should we rekindle the flame that has died down and stir up inopportune disturbances that have ceased? May not the last state be found worse than the first!²⁷⁷ And I say

275 This was at the session of 22 July 431 at Ephesus I, for which see Price and Gaddis, I, 311–16, 323.

276 The omitted lines run: 'Accommodation in these matters is an excellent and wise thing. For if he were still among the living and was an ally of Nestorius' blasphemies, or wished to give his support to what he had written, he would have suffered anathematization in his own person also. But since he has departed to God, it is enough, I think, that what he wrote grotesquely be rejected by those holding the correct doctrines, when they read his books. For proceeding further sometimes provokes disturbances.'

277 Cf. Mt 12:45.

this while strongly criticizing the writings of the aforesaid Theodore, and while viewing with suspicion the disturbances that some will cause over the matter, lest perhaps some may begin to grieve speciously for the tenets of Nestorius in the manner described by the Greek poet, ‘Patroclus as the occasion, but each her own sorrows.’^{278 279}

79. Ignoring everything that reveals the intention that the holy Cyril had to anathematize Theodore, they use only those statements that were uttered out of accommodation in order fully to draw away from Nestorius’ heresy those who were still caught in it and prevent the disorders that they suspected the heretics would foment. Therefore Proclus of holy memory, having received the holy Cyril’s letter, as well as many entreaties from the easterners against the anathematization of Theodore and his impious writings, wrote urging them to anathematize Theodore’s blasphemies and prove themselves free of any such suspicion. But because they did not respond to the accommodation of Cyril and Proclus of holy memory but on the contrary continued to defend the very blasphemies of Theodore and to say that they were in accord with the writings of the holy fathers, the holy Cyril, seeing that impiety was on the increase and fearing that the more simple-minded would be harmed thereby, was compelled [111] to write books against Theodore and against his blasphemies and to show even after the death of the same Theodore that he was heretical and impious and a greater blasphemer than the pagans and Jews. He did so in the following words:²⁸⁰

80. ‘Heaven was appalled at this and shook all the more vehemently, says the Lord.’²⁸¹ O wickedness past endurance! O tongue that speaks iniquity against God, and mind that lifts up its horn on high!²⁸² Does it seem little to you that fixed to the wood is the Lord of glory, whom indeed you say is neither true Son nor God? But we believe that he is truly Son and God, creator and maker of all things. For he was not merely a man but the Word from God the Father in human form, for he did not undergo transformation or change into flesh, but instead was united to it according to the faith of

278 Homer, *Iliad*, 19.302. The subject and verb are in the preceding line, ‘The women lamented’, with reference to the women of the Myrmidons wailing over the dead Patroclus.

279 The letter concludes: ‘If therefore this pleases your holiness, deign to intimate it, so that it may be settled by a joint letter. For it is possible to explain accommodation in the matter even to those who have asked for this [Theodore’s condemnation] and to persuade them to prefer peace to becoming an occasion of scandal to the churches.’

280 Already quoted at 7 above.

281 Jer 2:12.

282 Cf. Ps 74:6.

the holy scriptures. It is the one who suffered in the flesh and hung on the wood who worked miracles in Egypt, in everything manifesting his glory through wise Moses.

81. And again the same holy Cyril spoke as follows against Theodore and his blasphemies:²⁸³

Be sober, O you drunk from your wine,²⁸⁴ someone should cry to those in such error. Set, O man, a door and bolt on your tongue; cease raising your horn on high and uttering iniquity against God.²⁸⁵ How long will you abuse Christ's patience? Keep in mind what was written by the divine Paul, 'But sinning thus against the brethren and wounding their weak conscience you sin against Christ,'²⁸⁶ and to quote something from the prophetic books, 'Sodom has been made righteous by you':²⁸⁷ you have surpassed the prating of the pagans that they committed against Christ, deeming the cross foolishness, and you have shown that the crimes of Jewish pride were nothing.²⁸⁸ You have the presumption to lessen and, as pertains to you, to reduce to disgrace the one who sits on a heavenly throne and has the same throne together with God the Father. For that the one who rose from the dead is seated on the throne of the Godhead is affirmed by the most wise Paul.²⁸⁹

82. Proclus of holy memory speaks as follows against Theodore and his impiety in the Tome to the Armenians:²⁹⁰

Let us flee from the turbid and muddy torrents of deceit, I mean the heresies that make war on God – the madness of Arius dividing the indivisible Trinity, the audacity of Eunomius confining within knowability the incomprehensible nature, the insanity of Macedonius separating from the Godhead the Spirit that proceeds inseparably, and this novel and newly concocted blasphemy that in blasphemy far surpasses Judaism; for the former abolish the real Son, [112] depriving the stem of its branch, while the latter add another to the real Son, proclaiming that the uncompounded nature gives birth to many. Let us therefore say with Paul, 'Christ is our peace, who made

283 Already quoted at both 9 (a fuller citation) and 33.

284 Cf. Joel 1:5.

285 Cf. Ps 140:3 and 74:6.

286 1 Cor 8:12.

287 Cf. Ezek 16:51.

288 Cf. 1 Cor 1:23.

289 Cf. Heb 1:3.

290 Tome to the Armenians 27–8, Greek text in *ACO* 4.2, p. 193, 23–34. This passage was quoted at 16 above.

both one';²⁹¹ he formed Jew and Greek through baptism into one new man, uniting by his power differing modes of life. Let the innovators in impiety tremble at their condemnation, if, while differing modes of life were united in harmony, the one who united them was divided, as far as lay with them, into duality.

83. And again the same person in his letter to John bishop of Antioch speaks as follows against the same blasphemies of Theodore:²⁹²

Many people here, not only some clerics and monks from Edessa but also notables and people of rank in government service, who kindle a burning zeal for the correct faith, are inveighing against the most religious bishop Ibas of Edessa, because he so loves the madness of Nestorius that, taking certain chapters that I sent to your devoutness appended to the tome we wrote to the Armenians, which are foolish and profane and full of all impiety, he translated them into the Syriac language and circulated them everywhere, with the result that he persuaded many of the more simple, who through listening ill-advisedly have suffered harm from pernicious people, to embrace tenets that are forbidden in the church of God. When after reading you have come to know them, deign to hasten with all promptness to compel him to sign the tome written to the Armenians, condemning the vain speech, or rather the monstrous speech, or, what is still truer to say, the Jewish impiety of those chapters and to anathematize their madness with a living voice and sober hand.

84. *And a little further down:* He therefore is the one only-begotten Son, but not in such a way as [is imagined by] certain people [who] with perverse mind and insanity of thought have become begetters of those chapters and made their appearance as the parents of impious abortions harmful to themselves. Next, if the afore-mentioned fellow-minister Ibas learns to detest and reject those chapters that have been vomited forth for the ruin of readers and hearers, as I expect, since he is sensible and nourished from childhood by the divine scriptures, may he show what he believes in his soul with confident voice and unblushing brow, rejecting and trampling underfoot all the chapters appended to the letter to the Armenians, and judging them all to be the concoctions of diabolic madness and worthy of anathema.

85. May therefore those who exploit the words written about Theodore by

²⁹¹ Eph 2:14.

²⁹² For the full text of this letter see Acts VI. 7 (vol. 2, 10–14). See p. 274 above for the circumstances of composition.

the holy Cyril and Proclus say if he is not to be numbered with the Jews or pagans or Sodomites and heretics. Indeed, surpassing the impiety of them all with the enormity of his blasphemies, having become the begetter of those blasphemies with perverse mind and insanity of thought, appearing as the progenitor of impious abortions harmful to himself, and vomiting forth these blasphemies for the ruin of readers and hearers, he has become subject to anathema. For it is certain that he who has been proved to be impious is in every way separated from God, just as he who has been anathematized is separated as impious; for anathema means nothing but separation from God. But if our fathers said anything for the sake of accommodation, in order to separate his defenders at that time from the heresy of Nestorius, yet because [113] they did not accept their words and the time requiring accommodation came to an end, they then proceeded to what is perfect and wrote what was cited above against him and his impious writings even after his death.²⁹³ In the same way Paul the apostle, although for a time he had allowed the Jews circumcision and even took it on himself to circumcise Timothy for the sake of accommodation, yet afterwards, teaching what is perfect, said in the Letter to the Galatians, ‘Behold, I Paul say to you that, if you are circumcised, Christ will be of no benefit to you. I testify again to every man who is circumcised that he is debtor to perform the law. You are parted from Christ, you who are justified by the law; you have fallen away from grace. For we from the Spirit by faith await the hope of justification. For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision is of any avail nor uncircumcision, but faith which works through love.’²⁹⁴ And again, ‘But I, brothers, if I preach circumcision, why do I still suffer persecution? Therefore the scandal of the cross has been abolished. Would that those who disturb you be mutilated!’²⁹⁵

And again it was for the sake of a certain accommodation that he was purified in the temple along with others, presenting the offerings appointed by the law for purification and condescending to the weak.²⁹⁶ But he returned again to what is perfect, saying in the Letter to the Colossians, ‘Let no one therefore judge you over food or drink or in respect of a feast-day or new moon or Sabbaths, which are a shadow of the things to come.’²⁹⁷ And again, ‘If you have died with Christ to the elements of the world, why, as if still living in the world, do you submit to the teaching “Do not touch or taste or

293 On this rearrangement of the actual sequence of the controversy see pp. 277–8 above.

294 Gal 5:2–6.

295 Gal 5:11–12.

296 Cf. Acts 21:16.

297 Col 2:16.

handle”, of things that all perish through use, according to the precepts and doctrines of men?”²⁹⁸ In these words the apostle rejects accommodation to the law and, as it were, the bodily things of the law, and teaches that accommodation is sometimes advantageous for an appropriate time and sometimes causes harm according to the character of the time. For when there is need to teach the ignorant or erring, then the usefulness of accommodation is very great; but when it is time for perfection in teaching, then we abandon forbearance and proceed to the perfection of the doctrines. However, there is nothing to prevent the use of other examples as well to convince the defenders of Theodore and his writings that nothing is advantageous to those who act impiously, even if it happens that certain persons, through ignorance or presumption or even a certain accommodation, have written something in their support. For the holy Basil wrote certain things on behalf of²⁹⁹ Apollinarius, but did not for this reason absolve him from condemnation.

86. The following was written by Basil to Patrophilus bishop of Aegae:³⁰⁰

There was a shortish interval in the meantime and the journey to Cilicia, and from there the return and immediately a letter rejecting communion with us.³⁰¹ The cause of the rupture, he said, was that we had written to Apollinarius and are in communion with our fellow presbyter Diodore.³⁰² I have never considered Apollinarius an enemy, but there are grounds why I respect the man. Nevertheless, I have not attached myself to the person [114] to the point of taking on myself the charges against him, since I myself have certain charges to make against him after reading some of his writings.

87. Also Athanasius wrote various letters to Apollinarius as if he shared the same tenets regarding the faith; and yet subsequently after Apollinarius’ death he wrote whole books against him, after he had recognized blasphemies in his writings.³⁰³ And it was of no benefit to Apollinarius that earlier he had been written to as one who shared the same tenets regarding the faith.

298 Col 2:20–2.

299 The Latin is simply *de* (‘about’), but probably translates ὑπέρ.

300 *Ep.* 244, ed. Courtonne, III, 76, written in 376. See *ep.* 224.2 (written in 375) for Basil’s excuses for his friendly letter to Apollinarius (now lost): an interpolated version was circulating, but the authentic letter was a mere greeting with no doctrinal content, written more than 25 years previously when both Basil and Apollinarius were laymen.

301 The bishop breaking off communion with Basil was Theophilus, bishop of an unnamed see in Cilicia; see also Basil, *ep.* 130.1 and 245.

302 This is Diodore of Tarsus, to whom Basil had once written expressing admiration for his writings (*ep.* 135).

303 A strange claim, since Athanasius died in 373 and Apollinarius in c. 390.

Also Leo of holy memory, pope of Elder Rome, both received Eutyches and wrote approving him;³⁰⁴ yet afterwards he condemned and anathematized him as a heretic.³⁰⁵ And we find indeed many others who were anathematized after death, including also Origen: if one goes back to the time of Theophilus of holy memory³⁰⁶ or even earlier, one will find him anathematized after death. This has been done even now in his regard by your holinesses and by Vigilius the most religious pope of Elder Rome.³⁰⁷

However, Theodore's defenders have presumed to produce in addition a letter supposedly addressed to Theodore by John of holy memory bishop of Constantinople, containing praise of the same Theodore. But that it is a forgery is testified by those who have assiduously composed church histories, who recount expressly that John wrote a letter many lines long and most useful to Theodore of Mopsuestia, when he left the solitary life; Theodoret himself in his church history mentioned the pattern of life that John and Theodore followed together in a monastery, something that is expressly proved by the same letter, which calls him from life in the world back to a pure life in a monastery.³⁰⁸ Even if someone were to concede that it was written to Theodore himself, which is not the case, it is, however, certain that John, who throughout his whole priesthood treated correctly the word of truth, wrote this letter to him out of ignorance that Theodore had penned such blasphemies.³⁰⁹ And as for what is said by some, that Theodore

304 Leo, *ep.* 20 was written to Eutyches on 1 June 448 (six months before his condemnation at a home synod of Constantinople), commending his zeal in the anti-Nestorian cause.

305 Eutyches was condemned in the Tome of Leo (VI. 19 below), issued on 13 June 449.

306 The first conciliar condemnation of Origen was at a synod held at Alexandria under Bishop Theophilus in 400.

307 The bishops had condemned Origenism shortly before the council formally opened (see vol. 2, 270–1). 'Your holinesses', if used strictly, would refer only to the patriarchs, but doubtless all the bishops had signed the decree. According to Pseudo-Anastasius, *On heresies and councils* a letter of Vigilius to Justinian was extant in which he expressed his assent (Chrysos 1969, 150, n. 1).

308 Cf. Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* V. 39. In *c.* 370 John and Theodore had been living together in Antioch in an ascetical community (not strictly a monastery) of pupils of Diodore of Tarsus. Theodore, drawn by family responsibilities, returned to the world and was thinking of a career and marriage. John wrote him a long letter (*Ad Theodorum lapsum* II, SC 117, 46–79) in which he urged him, with success, to return to his former mode of life. See Kelly (1995), 18–23.

309 Two letters by John are under discussion, *Ad Theodorum lapsum* II (see the preceding note) and *ep.* 112 (PG 52. 668–9), a short letter written during his exile at Cucusus in 404–7 to one Theodore as a warm expression of gratitude for his support; a reference to Cilicia, suppressed in some manuscripts, identifies Theodore of Mopsuestia as the addressee (see PG *ad loc.*, CPG II. 4405, and the discussion of the letter in Facundus, *Pro defensione* VII. 7.21–7). This letter was later cited at a Persian synod in 585 as evidence of Theodore's status as a teacher

died in the communion and peace of the churches, it is on the contrary a lie and slander against the church. For it is one who kept and preached till death the correct doctrines of the church who [can be said to have] died in the communion and peace of the churches; and that Theodore did not keep or preach the correct doctrines of the church is certain from his blasphemies. However, Gregory of Nyssa also provides evidence of defenders of the impiety of Apollinarius who laid a charge against the bishops of the church because of Theodore of Mopsuestia and adduced his blasphemies, in which he was expressly shown to advocate two Sons.

88. [115] The same Gregory speaks as follows in his letter to Theophilus:³¹⁰

Those who defend the doctrines of Apollinarius try to strengthen their own position by criticizing us, making the Word fleshly, the son of man the creator of the ages, and the Godhead of the Son mortal. For they allege that some in the catholic church advocate in doctrine two Sons, one being so by nature and the other being added later by adoption; I do not know from whom they heard such a thing and against what person they are disputing, for I have no knowledge of anyone who has said this. Nevertheless, because by bringing this suit against us and pretending to fight this nonsense they strengthen their own tenets, it would be good if your perfection in Christ, in whatever way the Holy Spirit guides your thoughts, were to foil the pretexts of those who seek pretexts against us, and to persuade those who make this false accusation against the church of God that such a doctrine neither exists nor will be preached among Christians.

89. So with the holy Gregory exclaiming that there is no such doctrine among Christians as that of advocating two Sons, while Theodore was advocating this in all his writings, how can they try to say that such an impious blasphemer died in the communion of the churches,³¹¹ when the holy fathers did not even accept those who uttered or wrote that the teaching of the impious Theodore in his books is in accord with Athanasius, Basil, the Gregories and others?³¹² And rightly so; for those who wrote this held

'in all the churches of God' (Chabot 1902, 398–9). It is to this letter, which makes no reference to Theodore's theology, that the charge of inauthenticity made in 553 relates.

310 This passage has already been quoted at 30 above.

311 Gregory's statement that advocating two Sons in Christ was an error he had never encountered is twisted into a statement that no one who advocated it, such as Theodore, was a Christian.

312 John of Antioch defended Theodore on this ground in 438 (Cyril, *ep.* 66). Cyril, however, while rejecting this argument (*ep.* 67), did not break off relations with John or accuse him of heresy.

tenets alien to the pious doctrine of the aforesaid holy fathers, as can be discovered by anyone ready to compare Theodore's writings to those of the afore-mentioned holy fathers. For the former filled his writings with extreme blasphemy and issued them for the ruin of those who read them and agree with his impiety, while the latter, the supreme luminaries of the church, placed on the high roofs of the solid edifice of their works, preached piety with complete assurance despite many dangers. It is therefore fitting that your holinesses oppose what is said in support of the heretics, that you follow in all things the tradition of the church, which you will certainly do, and that you free the church from the charge that is brought against it because of Theodore and his writings.

90. Diodore archdeacon and *primicerius* of the notaries said: 'We have to hand the proceedings that were transacted at Mopsuestia at the religious council of the province of Cilicia Secunda, from which it is clear that Theodore's name was removed from the diptychs in ancient times.'

91. The holy council said: 'Let them be read.'

92. And when Theodore the most devout deacon and notary had received them, he read out:

*The Acts of the Council of Mopsuestia*³¹³

(1) To our most pious and most Christian prince, deservedly honoured by God, Flavius Justinian Augustus and Emperor, from John, Thomas, Stephen, Nicetas, Andrew, Procopius, Urbicius, Antoninus, and Cosmas, humble bishops of your province of Cilicia Secunda.

[116] We have always admired the labours of your Christian spirit for its piety towards God, and we believe that as a reward for the zeal you show for what is better and best in human affairs you will receive a share in the kingdom of heaven. Nevertheless even now, most pious one, judging your eagerness for the holy peace of the universal church from the pious directions we have received from your most Christian serenity concerning Theodore at one time bishop of the city of Mopsuestia, we praise exceedingly and admire your zeal, most unconquered one, for the correct doctrines. For all of us who have received priesthood [episcopacy] in your Cilicia Secunda repaired to the city of Mopsuestia, with the magnificent Marthanes³¹⁴ cooperating with

313 For this council, held in 550, see pp. 280–1 above.

314 Marthanes I in *PLRE* 3, 835–7, called 'Marthannius' in these acts. A native of Cilicia, he was employed as a military commander in the late 540s to repress agitation in Cilicia. In 559/60 he appears as *magister militum* on an inscription, together with the bishop of Mopsuestia. As Dagrón (1980), 28 notes, he manifestly upstaged the provincial governors in Cilicia.

us in the proceedings, since these were the orders of your piety, and we summoned the most religious clerics of the province and also its inhabitants with the ranks of most illustrious and laudable. Selecting from them those who were advanced in age, as you, most Christian one, had rightly enjoined, we inquired of them when the earlier Theodore had been erased from the diptychs, and also who had been inscribed in his place. We instructed them to make this declaration in the presence of the holy and venerable gospels. They, affirming to us with solemn oaths the trustworthiness of what they had to say and stating their age, professed ignorance of the date of the deletion of the name of the ancient Theodore from the sacred diptychs; but Cyril of holy memory, bishop of the great city of Alexandria, had been inserted in his place. Having to hand the sacred diptychs, we found, as God is our witness, that they were consonant with this. Reading the names of the bishops of holy memory of the afore-mentioned city of Mopsuestia, we discovered that no mention of Theodore had been inserted, but we found Cyril inscribed together with the saints who earlier departed to God, although no Cyril had been bishop of the city of Mopsuestia. At the end of the list we found the younger Theodore inscribed, who originated from Galatia, became one of our council, and died three years ago. Having inserted all this accordingly in the proceedings and attached it to this humble report, we have made the transactions known to you, most Christian one, as we entreat the great God and Saviour that he may grant you long life and preserve your most Christian serenity for the benefit of ourselves and for the peace of the holy churches.

[1] John by the mercy of God bishop of your metropolis of Justinopolis: I have signed.

[2] Thomas by the mercy of God bishop of your city of Aegae: Notifying, I have signed.

[3] Stephen by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Castabala: Notifying, I have signed.

[4] Nicetas by the mercy of God bishop of your city of Epiphaneia: Reporting, I have signed.

[5] Andrew by the mercy of God bishop of your city of Flaviopolis: Reporting, I have signed.

[6] Procopius by the mercy of God bishop of your city of Irenopolis: I have signed.

[7] Urbicius by the mercy of God bishop of your city of Alexandria: Reporting, I have signed.

[117] [8] Antoninus by the mercy of God bishop of your city of Rhosus:

Reporting, I have signed.

[9] Cosmas by the mercy of God bishop of your city of Mopsuestia: Reporting, I have signed.

(2) A copy of the sacred letter written to the most blessed John metropolitan bishop:³¹⁵

We instruct your holiness to convene all the most religious bishops in your council and to repair to the city of Mopsuestia and carry out a careful investigation, after assembling all the senior men living there, whether clerics or laymen, and ascertain from them if they know the date when the name of Theodore was removed from the sacred diptychs. If, however, they do not remember when this was done, let them testify to the fact that they do not know Theodore's name to have been included or read out in the sacred diptychs, and let the diptychs themselves be produced for you so that you may discover who was inserted in his place.³¹⁶ After including these testimonies in the proceedings and attaching them to your report, may your holiness and the other most religious bishops sign it, and then send one copy to us and another to the most holy pope. Let this too be clearly set out: let each of those who testify state and declare his age. You also in your own testimony are to give information about the matter aforesaid and whom you find inserted in place of Theodore. We have also written to the magnificent Marthanes on the matter, so that without any delay all this may be transacted and despatched to us. (I have read it.)³¹⁷

Issued on the tenth day before the Kalends of June at Constantinople in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of our lord Justinian perpetual Augustus and in the ninth year after the consulship of the most illustrious Basil.³¹⁸

(3) To Cosmas the most holy bishop of Mopsuestia.³¹⁹

We instruct your holiness that we have ordered John the most blessed metropolitan of the city of Anazarbus to convene all the bishops of the province and to repair to your city and carry out a careful investigation, after assembling all the senior men living among you, whether clerics or laymen, and ascertain from them if they know when the name of Theodore was removed from the sacred diptychs. If, however, they do not remember

315 From the emperor Justinian.

316 As Gray (1997), 204 observes, Justinian's 'inquiry' instructs the clergy and laymen of Mopsuestia what they are to discover – that Theodore's name had been removed from the diptychs at a date too early to be remembered and that his name had been replaced by that of another.

317 This final sentence is the annotation of a scribe who checked the text.

318 23 May 550.

319 Also from the emperor Justinian.

the date when this was done, let them testify to the fact that they do not know Theodore's name to have been included or read out in the sacred diptychs. The sacred diptychs themselves ought therefore to be produced so that all the most religious bishops may know in what sequence the bishops' names are read out in the diptychs, and you should make this fact clear in your report. After including the testimonies in the ensuing proceedings and attaching them to your report, all the assembled bishops are to sign it, and then send one copy to us and another to the most holy pope. [118] Let this too be clearly set out in their testimonies, that each of them state and declare his age.

Issued on the tenth day before the Kalends of June at Constantinople in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of our lord Justinian perpetual Augustus and in the ninth year after the consulship of the most illustrious Basil.³²⁰

(4) In the twenty-fourth year of the reign of our divine and most pious lord Flavius Justinian perpetual Augustus and emperor and in the ninth year after the consulship of the most illustrious Basil, on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of July, the seventeenth of June of the present thirteenth indiction,³²¹ in the most Christian colony of Mopsuestia. There presided in the most religious consistory of the venerable episcopal palace [1] John the most religious and most holy metropolitan. There were also in session [2] Thomas the most religious bishop of the city of Aegae, [3] Stephen the most religious bishop of the city of Castabala, [4] Nicetas the most religious bishop of Epiphaneia, [5] Andrew the most religious bishop of Flaviopolis, [6] Procopius the most religious bishop of Irenopolis, [7] Urbicius the most religious bishop of the town of Alexandria, [8] Antoninus the most religious bishop of Rhosus, [9] Cosmas the most religious bishop of the city of Mopsuestia; also [10] the magnificent Marthanes *comes domesticorum*,³²² and all the most religious presbyters. There were also present all the most religious deacons, subdeacons and lectors of the aforesaid most holy church of the city of Mopsuestia. In addition there were present with them also [11–12] the most illustrious³²³ counts Eumolpius and Theodore, [13–14] the most illustrious tribunes Hypatius and Paul, [15] the most illustrious *palatinus*³²⁴

320 23 May 550.

321 17 June 550.

322 The *domestici* were a corps of elite guardsmen, for whom see Jones (1964), 636–40.

323 The rank of *clarissimus* was by the sixth century of medium status and often hereditary. Its holders, if of curial descent, were obliged to live in their home cities in the provinces. See Jones (1964), 528–30.

324 Serving in one of the financial departments of central government. *Palatini* sometimes worked in the provinces (Jones 1964, 489).

Eusebonas, [16] the honourable *defensor*³²⁵ Paul, [17] the laudable Stephen, [18] [119] Paul surnamed Neon, and other laudable inhabitants of the same city of Mopsuestia.

(5) Julian deacon and notary said: ‘The most pious order of our most serene and most Christian lord has come to your holiness, instructing you yourself and your holy council to deal with certain questions concerning Theodore who was at one time bishop of this city of Mopsuestia; and the magnificent Marthanes has transmitted this order to your holiness, resident in the metropolis. On receiving it, and hastening with ready spirit to fulfil the corresponding instructions, you immediately sent letters to all the most holy bishops of the province, instructing them to make their way swiftly to this city of Mopsuestia and carry out the pious injunctions. His piety wrote in the same vein to Cosmas the most religious bishop of this most excellent city of Mopsuestia. Since matters have proceeded accordingly, there are present, as you can see, all the most holy bishops of the province and also the magnificent Marthanes, since he too was ordered by divine injunctions to bring the pious injunctions into effect. In accordance with your behest there are, however, also present all the most religious clerics of the holy church in this city as well as its honourable *defensor* and in addition the most illustrious landowners and laudable inhabitants, including those whom the *defensor* of this city, judging them to be senior, has made known to us. We have to hand both of the pious commands,³²⁶ and by means of them we can make these things known to your holiness.

(6) John by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Justinopolis, Thomas bishop of Aegae, Stephen bishop of Castabala, Nicetas bishop of Epiphaneia, Andrew bishop of Flaviopolis, Procopius bishop of Irenopolis, Urbicius bishop of the town of Alexandria, Antoninus bishop of Rhodus, and Cosmas bishop of Mopsuestia said:³²⁷ ‘Above all else our most Christian and most serene emperor has always been zealous for attentiveness and irreproachable devotion towards God. When, therefore, some need has arisen affecting the state of the holy churches, he displays his wonted alacrity, truly dear to God. Therefore let us too, serving the injunctions from the emperor, which are pious and pleasing to God, carefully execute everything that is rightly pleasing to his rule. Therefore, with the scriptures placed in

³²⁵ The *defensor civitatis* was the principal magistrate in each city. See Jones (1964), 726–7, 758–9.

³²⁶ These are the letters to Bishops John and Cosmas given above (2–3) and shortly to be read out (7).

³²⁷ John of Justinopolis is speaking as metropolitan on behalf of all these bishops.

the centre and bearing witness to the proceedings, let the commands of the most serene emperor be made known and placed at the beginning of our proceedings.’

(7) The sacred gospels were placed in the centre, and the most pious commands were read out, and have been inserted at the beginning [of these acts].

(8) John bishop by the mercy of God and the other most devout bishops said: ‘These most devout men who have been brought here to clarify and examine the points that have been raised by the most pious emperor, and who have knowledge refined by age, should give their names and what priestly rank they have received. Let therefore the most devout *defensor* of the church set apart those advanced in age from the others.’

(9) [120] Eugenius deacon and *defensor* the most holy church of Mopsuestia said: ‘In accordance with the decision of your holiness I have set apart from the rest the most devout presbyters and deacons who are advanced in age, and they are standing here as you see.’

(10) The most holy bishops said: ‘Let what has been stated be done.’

(11) Martyrius said: ‘I am called Martyrius. I am a presbyter of this most holy church.’

Paul said: ‘I am called Paul. I am a presbyter of this most holy church.’

Stephen said: ‘I am called Stephen. I am a presbyter of this most holy church.’

Olympius said: ‘I am called Olympius. I am a presbyter of this most holy church.’

John said: ‘I am called John. I am a presbyter of this most holy church.’

Thomas said: ‘I am called Thomas. I am a presbyter of this most holy church.’

Theodore said: ‘I am called Theodore. I am a presbyter of this most holy church.’

Thomas said: ‘I am called Thomas. I am a presbyter of this most holy church.’

Eudoxius said: ‘I am called Eudoxius. I am a presbyter of this most holy church.’

Paul said: ‘I am called Paul. I am a presbyter of this most holy church.’

Theodore said: ‘I am called Theodore. I am a presbyter of this most holy church.’

Paregorius said: ‘I am called Paregorius. I am archdeacon of this most holy church.’

John said: ‘I am called John. I am a deacon of this most holy church.’

Theodore said: 'I am called Theodore. I am a deacon born in this city.'

Paul said: 'I am called Paul. I am a deacon born in this city.'

John said: 'I am called John. I am a deacon born in this city.'

Thomas said: 'I am called Thomas. I am a deacon born in this city.'

(12) The most holy bishops said: 'Let the most illustrious landowners and the laudable inhabitants of this city whom the honourable *defensor* of this city has declared to be senior also do the same. When set apart from the others, let them declare their names and standing.'³²⁸

(13) Eumolpius said: 'I am called Eumolpius. I am a count born in this city.'

Theodore said: 'I am called Theodore. I am a count born in this city.'

Eusebonas said: 'I am called Eusebonas. I am a *palatinus* born in this city.'

Stephen said: 'I am called Stephen. I am a *praefectianus*³²⁹ born in this city.'

Paul said: 'I am called Paul with the surname Neon, born in this city.'

Anatolius said: 'I am called Anatolius, a *principalis*³³⁰ born in this city.'

Martin said: 'I am called Martin, born in this city.'

Eustathius said: 'I am called Eustathius with the surname Rhodas, born in this city.'

Anatolius said: 'I am called Anatolius, born in this city.'

Rufinus said: 'I am called Rufinus, an architect³³¹ born in this city.'

Comitas said: 'I am called Comitas, an *agens in rebus*³³² and *pater*³³³ of this city.'

Theodore said: 'I am called Theodore, an *agens in rebus* born in this city.'

John said: 'I am called John, a *tabularius*³³⁴ born in this city.'

328 Liebeschuetz (2001), 115 concludes from this list and other evidence: 'The *possessores* [landowners] were individuals outstanding in wealth and influence... They included retired heads of departments of the central administration, former governors, and generals. The *habitatores* [inhabitants] will have included mainly men with the status of lower ranking officials of the central departments or of the provincial *officium*, or lower ranking officers as well as some leading landowners, and even traders who had not held any official posts.' The list illustrates the replacement of the curial class of purely local magnates by notables who were citizens but derived their status from service in central government.

329 Serving under the praetorian prefect.

330 For the *principales* (*prôteuontes*) see Liebeschuetz (2001), 112–13.

331 For the high status of architects and engineers see Jones (1964), 1013–4.

332 Serving under the *magister officiorum*.

333 The *pater* was a local official appointed by central government (Liebeschuetz 2001, 110).

334 *Tabularii* were accountants or tax officials in either central or local government, though

[121] Addaeus said: ‘I am called Addaeus. I am a citizen.’

Mark said: ‘I am called Mark, a *praefectianus* born in this city.’

John said: ‘I am called John, a *lecticiarius*³³⁵ born in this city.’

Nicetas said: ‘I am called Nicetas. I am a *tabularius* born in this city.’

(14) The most holy bishops³³⁶ said: ‘Because the honourable *defensor* of this city is present and has heard what was said by our notaries, let him in addition inform us more clearly by his own statement if in these men who have now been introduced by him he recognizes the senior men in this city.’

(15) Paul the *praefectianus* and *defensor*³³⁷ said: ‘Ordered by your holiness to find the truly senior whom I could among most illustrious and honourable men among the laity, I have brought those who, when asked to declare their standing in the presence of the divine scriptures, reveal precisely both their age and what they themselves know as a result of personal knowledge.’

(16) The most holy bishops said: ‘Let the most devout guardian of the sacred vessels of this most holy church bring for our examination and reading its sacred diptychs, in which are recorded the names of the priests [bishops] of holy memory of this most excellent city.’

(17) John presbyter and keeper of the treasures³³⁸ said: ‘In accordance with your holiness’s order, having these diptychs among the sacred vessels I guard, I have brought them out and now produce them for reading. I also have two other parchment quires which are older than the present ones that are now read out. I have also brought them, as you will see.’

(18) The most holy bishops said: ‘In the hearing of our mediocrity and also of those most devout, most illustrious, and most honourable men who have been brought here to testify, let the sacred diptychs be read that make known the register of the priests of holy memory of this city of Mopsuestia, from the time when the pure and orthodox faith was preached till this priest who died in the current thirteenth indiction.’³³⁹

the latter were of low status and the *tabularii* listed here must be retired members of the imperial service. See Jones (1964), 564–5, 600.

335 ‘A member of the ecclesiastical guild of undertakers’ (Liebeschuetz 2001, 114).

336 The metropolitan and chairman, John of Justinopolis, is speaking.

337 The *defensores civitatis* were appointed by the praetorian prefect after local recommendation. See Jones (1964), 727.

338 That is, of the church vessels. The Greek title was *κεμηλιάρης*.

339 October 549 to September 550. The recently deceased bishop is clearly Symeon, listed at the end of the following lists, after the Theodore who (as we are to hear) had died three years previously.

(19) They were read out and run as follows:

For the deceased bishops Protogenes, Zosimus, Olympius, Cyril,³⁴⁰ Thomas, Bassianus, John, Auxentius, Palatinus, James, Zosimus, Theodore, Symeon.

(20) Again, from another diptych:

For the deceased bishops Protogenes, Zosimus, Olympius, Cyril, Thomas, Bassianus, John, Auxentius, Palatinus, James, Zosimus, Theodore, Symeon.

(21) And from the other diptychs:³⁴¹

For the deceased bishops Protogenes, Zosimus, Olympius, Cyril, Thomas, Bassianus, John, Auxentius, Palatinus, James.³⁴²

(22) [122] The most holy bishops said: 'Let there also be handed to us for reading and examination the sacred diptychs that have been displayed, so that each of us may read and inspect them.'

(23) They were handed to the most holy bishops.

(24) The most holy bishops said: 'Does your reverence have others older than those produced?'

(25) John the presbyter and keeper of the treasures said: 'The ones I have, my lord, are those I have produced.'

(26) The most holy bishops said: 'State this over the divine scriptures.'

(27) John the presbyter and keeper of the treasures said: 'By this [divine] power, I do not have other diptychs older than these, but I have produced all I have.'

(28) The most holy bishops said:³⁴³ 'Because the matter itself, since it relates to the soul's salvation, and your most devout character instructs you to say nothing beyond the truth, it is clear that you will show great concern for exactitude. But so that every wicked thought may be excluded from these proceedings, it is necessary for you to confirm with solemn oaths what you are about to testify. Let each of you, touching the holy and inviolable scriptures, give a pledge through them to say nothing in these proceedings beyond what he knows with truth. Respecting the same fidelity by oath, let them also state their age and, obeying the command of the most pious master

340 Cyril (of Alexandria) comes in the position in the list that should have been taken by Theodore.

341 Clearly the two old 'parchment quires' to which John the treasurer has just referred.

342 So Surius' edition, following a lost manuscript. Codex Parisinus adds the remaining three names (Zosimus, Theodore, Symeon) in what probably a mistaken correction: if these old diptychs were no longer in use, it is unlikely that the recent names would have been added to them.

343 John of Justinopolis is addressing the clergy who are about to give evidence.

of the world, declare if they know and remember the time when Theodore, at one time bishop of this city, was erased from mention in the sacred diptychs, and who filled his place in the same sacred diptychs.'

(29) Martyrius the presbyter said: 'By this power, I shall tell the truth, whatever I know. I am about eighty years old and have been ordained among the clergy for sixty years, and I neither know nor have heard that Theodore at one time bishop of this city was read out in the sacred diptychs. I have heard, however, that the holy Cyril, bishop of the great city of Alexandria, was listed in place of Theodore in the diptychs in which the deceased most holy bishops are inscribed, and to this day he is inscribed and read out with the other bishops; for that there had been a bishop in our city with the name of Cyril I neither know nor have heard. The Theodore who is now included died three years ago and was from Galatia.'

(30) Paul the presbyter said: 'By these holy scriptures I shall tell with truth what I know. I am a presbyter of the most holy church of Mopsuestia and am seventy-nine years old. I have been for forty-nine years among the clergy, and I neither know nor have heard that the old Theodore who was bishop in this city was read out in the sacred diptychs of our most holy church or when his name was removed from the diptychs. When the diptychs are read in the divine service, I hear Cyril's name in the list of deceased bishops, but that a Cyril had been made bishop in this city I neither know nor have heard.'

(31) [123] Stephen the presbyter said: 'By this power, I shall tell with truth whatever I know. I am about sixty-nine years old and was made presbyter three years ago now, and I have absolutely no knowledge nor have heard that Theodore who was at one time bishop in our city was named in the sacred diptychs. I have known, however, from the time when I was added to the list of this venerable clergy, that when at some time he was removed from them Cyril bishop of the city of Alexandria was inserted in his place in the sacred diptychs of deceased bishops, and to this day he is read out in his place; but that there had been a Cyril as bishop of our city I neither know nor have heard. The Theodore who is inscribed in the sacred diptychs died three years ago.'

(32) Olympius the presbyter said: 'By these holy scriptures, I shall tell with truth whatever I know. I am sixty-five years old and have been listed among the clergy for fifty-five years,³⁴⁴ and I have no knowledge that the

344 This is one of several cases in these acts of very early entry into the clerical state (at 34 and 42 we have cases of a five- and a six-year-old); see Dagron (1980), 22–3. It was possible to enter the clergy in childhood, even infancy, without ordination to any particular clerical rank;

name of Theodore who earlier was bishop here had been inscribed in the sacred diptychs, nor have I heard that he was ever listed there. I have heard, however, from those who were before me that the holy Cyril who was bishop of the city of Alexandria was inserted in his place; but when Theodore's name was removed and Cyril inserted in his place I do not remember. I never heard that there had been a Cyril as bishop in this city. The Theodore who is now named in the diptychs is a Galatian who died three years ago.'

(33) John the presbyter said: 'By this power and by God who spoke through these scriptures, I shall tell the truth. I have about sixty-five years old and have been among the clergy for twenty-eight years, and I have had no knowledge, neither when I was a layman nor since I became a cleric, that Theodore who was at one time bishop of this city was listed in the sacred diptychs or when he was erased; I know, however, that in the list of deceased bishops of our city there is read out the holy Cyril, archbishop of the city of Alexandria; but that there had been a bishop of the name of Cyril in our city I neither know nor have heard. The Theodore who is now named in the diptychs died three years ago and was from Galatia.'

(34) Thomas presbyter said: 'By these holy scriptures and by God who spoke through them, I shall tell the truth, whatever I know. I am sixty years old, my lord, and have been among the clergy, although I am a sinner, for fifty-five years, and I neither know nor have heard that the name of the old Theodore who was bishop here was read out in the sacred diptychs nor when he was removed nor who erased him. I have heard, however, from my seniors that the Cyril who was bishop of the city of Alexandria was inserted in Theodore's place in the list of bishops of our city in the sacred diptychs, and he is read out to this day; but that there had been a Cyril as bishop here I have neither heard nor know. The Theodore who is now named together with the dead bishops originated from Galatia and died three years ago.'

(35) Theodore the presbyter said: 'By this power³⁴⁵ I shall tell with truth whatever I know. I am about sixty-two years ago and have been among the venerable clergy of this most holy church for fifty-five years, and I have never heard that the name of the old Theodore who was bishop here had been inserted in the sacred diptychs or was read out. [124] I have heard, however, from my elders that the holy Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, was inserted among the deceased bishops in Theodore's place; but that there had been a Cyril in our church I neither know nor have heard. The Theodore who

see Canon 14 of Nicaea II (787), with Balsamon's commentary (*Canons of the Ecumenical Councils* 2000, 693–8).

345 That is, 'by the power of these holy gospels'; for the full phrase see 58 below.

is now inserted in the diptychs was a Galatian and died three years ago.’

(36) Thomas the presbyter said: ‘By these holy scriptures, I shall tell with truth whatever I know. I am about sixty years ago and have been among the clergy for fifty years, and I neither know nor have heard that Theodore, at one time bishop of our city, had been inserted, and I have not heard that he was read out with the deceased priests of our city. That there had been a bishop with the name of Cyril in our city I neither know nor have heard at any time. The Theodore who is now read out in the sacred diptychs is the one who died three years ago and was from Galatia.’

(37) Eudoxius the presbyter said: ‘By these holy scriptures I shall tell the truth. I have been among the clergy of the most holy church for forty-two years and am sixty-three years ago, and neither when I was a layman nor since I became a cleric have I had any knowledge that the old Theodore who was bishop here had been inscribed or was read out in the sacred diptychs, nor do I know when or by whom he was erased from the sacred diptychs. I hear, however, that Cyril bishop of Alexandria is read out in the diptychs of defunct bishops of our city; for that there had been a bishop in our city with the name of Cyril I have neither heard nor know. The Theodore who is read out in the diptychs, who died three years ago, was from Galatia.’

(38) Paul the presbyter said: ‘By this power I shall tell the truth, whatever I know. I am fifty-eight years old, my lord, and have been among the clergy for twenty-eight years, and I have no knowledge that Theodore who was at one time bishop of our city was read out in the sacred diptychs; nor do I know whether anyone has been inserted in his place. Theodore who is now read out was from Galatia and died three years ago.’

(39) Theodore the presbyter said: ‘By this power I shall tell with truth whatever I know. I am about fifty-two years old and there are twenty-eight years since I became a cleric, and I neither know nor have heard, neither when I was a layman nor since I became a cleric, that Theodore who was at one time bishop of our city was read out or had been inscribed in the sacred diptychs. I have heard, however, from my seniors that the holy Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, was inserted in his place in the sacred diptychs of the defunct bishops of our city. The Theodore who was inserted in the sacred diptychs died three years ago – he was our bishop –, and was from Galatia.’

(40) Paregorius the archdeacon said: ‘By this power I shall tell the truth. I am sixty-six years old and have been listed among the venerable clergy for twenty-eight years, and I have had no knowledge, neither when I was a layman nor since I became a cleric, that the name of Theodore who earlier was bishop here had been inserted in the sacred diptychs, nor have I heard

that he was read out. I have heard, however, from my seniors that the holy Cyril, bishop of the city of Alexandria, was inserted in his place, and he is read out to this day; but that there had been a Cyril as bishop here I neither know nor have heard. The Theodore who is now read out in the sacred diptychs was a Galatian who died three years ago.'

(41) [125] John the deacon said: 'By these holy scriptures I shall tell with truth whatever I know. I am fifty-eight years old and have been listed among the venerable clergy for forty-eight years, and I neither know nor have heard that the name of Theodore who earlier was bishop here had been inserted in the sacred diptychs or that he was read out. I did hear at some time, however, that there was inserted in his place the holy Cyril, bishop of the city of Alexandria, who is read out to this day; I neither know nor have heard that there had been a Cyril as bishop here. The Theodore who is now read out in the sacred diptychs was a Galatian who died three years ago.'

(42) Thomas the deacon said: 'By these holy scriptures I shall tell the truth. I am fifty-five years old and have been among the clergy for forty-nine years, and I neither know nor have heard that he who was at one time Bishop Theodore of our city had been inscribed in the sacred diptychs or was read out. I have heard, however, from senior men that the blessed Cyril, bishop of the city of Alexandria, was inserted in his place, and he is read out to this day in the sacred diptychs with the deceased bishops of our city; but that there had been a Cyril as bishop in our city I neither know nor have heard. The Theodore who is now read out in the sacred diptychs died three years ago and was a Galatian.'

(43) John the deacon said: 'By these holy scriptures I shall tell the truth. I am about sixty-five years old and have been among the clergy for fifty years, and I have never heard that Theodore who was at one time bishop of our city was read out in the sacred diptychs, nor do I know when Cyril was inserted in place of the aforesaid Theodore. I know, however, that there is read out in the diptychs in the list of deceased bishops of our city Cyril bishop of Alexandria, who is read out to this day; but that there had been a bishop with the name of Cyril in our city I neither know nor have heard. The Theodore who is now read out in the sacred diptychs died three years ago and was from Galatia.'

(44) Paul the deacon said: 'By this power I shall tell with truth what I know. I am about fifty-six years old and have been listed among the clergy for twenty-three years, and neither when I was a layman nor since I became a cleric have I had any knowledge that the old Theodore bishop of our city had been inscribed in the sacred diptychs or was read out. I have heard,

however, that in place of the aforesaid Theodore the holy Cyril, bishop of the city of Alexandria, was inserted and read out in the diptychs in the list of deceased bishops of our city and is read out to this day; but that there had been a bishop of our city with the name of Cyril I neither know nor have heard. The Theodore who is now read out in the sacred diptychs died three years ago and was a Galatian.'

(45) The most holy bishops said: 'The knowledge and memory of the most devout clergy testifies to the solidity of our proceedings. What still remains, however, is that our present business should be concluded by the testimony of those outside the sacred council. So let the most illustrious, most honourable, and laudable men present, who have been admitted and stated to be senior in age, declare individually both their age and whatever they know about the matter under discussion, after they have first confirmed what they are about to say by the divine and venerable gospels here present.'

(46) [126] Count Eumolpius said: 'By this power I shall tell the truth, whatever I know. I am about sixty years old. Your holiness knows that I was in government service, executing divine and important commands; and after I came to this city, as a communicant in the holy church I never heard read out in the holy diptychs the name of Theodore who, as my seniors have said, was bishop of this city. For the Theodore who is now read out was from Galatia and died three years ago.'

(47) Count Theodore said: 'By these holy scriptures I shall tell with truth whatever I know. I am about forty-five years old, and I have no knowledge that the name of the old Theodore who is said to have been bishop of our city was recited in the sacred diptychs. The Theodore who is now inscribed in the diptychs and read out together with the dead bishops was from Galatia and died three years ago.'

(48) The *palatinus* Eusebonas said: 'By the power of the sacred gospels I shall tell with truth whatever I know. From the time I remember and came to this sacred church I have no knowledge that the name of the old Theodore who they say had been bishop of this city was read out in the sacred diptychs, and I am more than fifty years old.'

(49) The *praefectianus* Stephen said: 'By these holy scriptures I shall tell with truth whatever I know. I am sixty-one years old. I have not heard that the name of the old Theodore bishop of the city of Mopsuestia was read out in the sacred diptychs. I have heard, however, read out in the list of bishops of our city the Cyril who, as my seniors said, was bishop of the great city of Alexandria and who is read out with the deceased bishops of our city of Mopsuestia to this day, because I am wont to receive the

divine and inviolable mysteries, approaching them in simplicity rather than curiosity. The Theodore who is now inserted died three years ago and was from Galatia.’

(50) Paul [with the cognomen] of Neon said: ‘By these holy scriptures I shall tell the truth, whatever I know. I am seventy years old, and I neither know nor have heard that the old Theodore who was bishop of our city was read out in the sacred diptychs, nor do I know when he was removed or who was inserted in his place, save that I hear that it is Theodore the Galatian who is read out, who died three years ago.’

(51) The *principalis* Anatolius said: ‘By this power I shall tell the truth. I am about sixty-five years old. I have no knowledge of the old Theodore the Antiochene, bishop of our city, being read out in the sacred diptychs, apart from the Theodore who died three years ago and was from Galatia.’

(52) The *praefectianus* Martin said: ‘By these holy scriptures I shall tell the truth, whatever I know. I am about sixty-three years old, and I have no knowledge that the old Theodore who was bishop of this city had been inserted or was read out in the sacred diptychs. The Theodore who is now read out was a Galatian and died three years ago.’

(53) [127] Eustathius said: ‘By this power I shall tell with truth what I know. I am about seventy years old, and I have no knowledge that the name of Theodore who was at one time bishop of the city of Mopsuestia had been inserted or was read out in the sacred diptychs of our most holy church. The Theodore who is now read out in the diptychs died three years ago and was from Galatia.’

(54) Anatolius said: ‘By these holy scriptures I shall tell with truth whatever I know. I am seventy-three years old, and I have no knowledge that the old Theodore who was bishop of our city was listed in the sacred diptychs of the sacrosanct church or read out. For the Theodore who is now named died three years ago and was a Galatian.’

(55) The architect Rufinus said: ‘By this power I shall tell with truth whatever I know. I am seventy years old, and I neither heard nor know from my parents nor have I heard from anyone else that the name of Theodore who was at one time bishop here had been inserted or was read out in the sacred diptychs. The Theodore who is now read out in the sacred diptychs is the one who died three years ago.’

(56) *Comitas agens in rebus* and city father said: ‘By these holy scriptures I shall tell with truth whatever I know. I neither know nor have heard of the reading out of the name of the Theodore who was once, as they relate, bishop of our city. I am fifty years old.’

(57) Theodore *agens in rebus* said: ‘By this power I shall tell the truth, whatever I know. I am fifty years old, and I neither know nor have heard of the insertion in the sacred diptychs of the name of the old Theodore who was, as they relate, bishop in this city.’

(58) John the *tabularius* said: ‘By this power of the holy gospels I shall tell with truth whatever I know. I am about sixty-seven years old and have no knowledge that the old Theodore who was bishop of our city was read out. The Theodore who is now read out is a Galatian who died three years ago and was our bishop.’

(59) Addaeus, a citizen, said: ‘By these holy scriptures I shall tell with truth whatever I know. I am, my lord, sixty years old, and I neither know nor have ever heard that the name of the old Theodore who was bishop here was read out in the sacred diptychs. Three years ago there died Theodore the Galatian who was bishop here, and he is read out with the other defunct bishops.’

(60) The *praefectianus* Mark said: ‘By this power of the holy gospels I shall tell with truth whatever I know. I am fifty-five years old, and I neither know nor have heard of the reading in the sacred diptychs of the old Theodore who was bishop here, apart from the Theodore the Galatian who died three years ago.’

(61) John the *lecticiarius* said: ‘By these holy scriptures I shall tell with truth whatever I know. I am seventy years old, and I neither know nor have heard of the reading in the sacred diptychs [128] of the name of the old Theodore who was bishop here, apart from the Theodore the Galatian who died three years ago.’

(62) Nicetas the *tabularius* said: ‘By this power I shall tell with truth whatever I know. I am fifty-four years old, and I neither know nor have heard that the name of the old Theodore was read out in the sacred diptychs of our most holy church. But the Theodore who is now read out is the one who died three years ago, a bishop.’

(63) John by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Justinopolis, Thomas bishop of the city of Aegae, Stephen bishop of Castabala, Nicetas bishop of Epiphaneia, Andrew bishop of Flaviopolis, Procopius bishop of Irenopolis, Urbicius bishop of the city of Alexandria, Antoninus bishop of Rhosus, and Cosmas bishop of Mopsuestia said: ‘No one will be able to cover or hide a city placed on a height,³⁴⁶ nor does anyone have the power to obscure forever the light of the truth. For the light of the correct and

346 Cf. Mt 5:14.

immaculate faith shines brightly and is enveloped in darkness by no cloud of heresy; and now the grace of the truth has been revealed and made known with the utmost clarity, to the effect that the old Theodore who was bishop in this city was in times long past excluded from recitation in the divine mystery and erased from the sacred diptychs, while in his place was put another and instead of his name there was inscribed Cyril of holy memory. This has been proved plainly and beyond doubt by the testimony given with oaths by the most religious and most illustrious and laudable men who at this time were presented publicly. But also we ourselves, taking in our hands the sacred diptychs of our predecessors the holy bishops of this city, have discovered with truth that there was inserted no mention at all of the old Theodore but that the name of Cyril of holy memory was inserted, and we have seen with our own eyes that the sacred diptychs which were produced are unfalsified. That Cyril of holy memory was inserted in place of the other is clearly proved by the fact that no one of the same name was pastor in this city, as was made plain by the strength of the testimonies; for the assertion of the witnesses made it patent that the Theodore who is inscribed at the end of the sacred diptychs is not the one of old but the one who died three years ago and was from Galatia, whom we too know to have been of our number.

This, therefore, having been proved in truth, we shall communicate everything to our most Christian and most pious emperor according to his most Christian serenity's decree, and also to the most holy and most blessed in all respects pope of Elder Rome. But also with common voice we all entreat the God of heaven: 'Lord, save the emperor and hearken to him on whatever day he calls to you.'³⁴⁷

(64) [1] John by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Justinopolis: 'The above proceedings were transacted in my presence and I have signed.'

[129] [2] Thomas by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Aegae: 'The above proceedings were transacted in my sight and I have signed.'

[3] Stephen by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Castabala: 'The above proceedings were transacted in my presence and I have signed.'

[4] Nicetas by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Epiphaneia: 'The above proceedings just given were transacted in my presence and I have signed.'

[5] Andrew by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Flaviopolis: 'The above proceedings just given were transacted in my presence and I have signed.'

347 Ps 19:10, with 'emperor' replacing 'king'.

[6] Procopius by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Irenopolis: ‘The above proceedings just given were transacted in my presence and I have signed.’

[7] Urbicius by the mercy of God bishop of the town of Alexandria: ‘The above proceedings just given were transacted in my presence and I have signed.’

[8] Antoninus by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Rhosus: ‘The above proceedings just given were transacted in my presence and I have signed.’

[9] Cosmas by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Mopsuestia: ‘The above proceedings just given were transacted in my presence and I have signed.’

(65) There was also addressed a report to the most holy Pope Vigilius of Elder Rome by the same bishops, which runs as follows:

It was indeed right, since you have obtained the prime dignity of the priesthood, most holy man, that matters that relate to the state of the holy churches be made known to your divinely honoured beatitude. With this very much in view, our most Christian emperor gave orders that certain proceedings concerning Theodore at one time bishop of the church of Mopsuestia should be brought to your knowledge. In most pious letters addressed to ourselves, he bade us convene in the city of Mopsuestia, which is one of the cities of Cilicia Secunda, to investigate precisely when Theodore who was at one time bishop of the aforesaid city was erased from the sacred diptychs, and to make this known both to his tranquillity and to your divinely honoured beatitude. Immediately repairing, therefore, to Mopsuestia, we assembled the most religious clergy and its faithful people, choosing those who were senior and who might perchance retain in their memory the precise truth of the matter under investigation; and placing before them the divine and venerable gospels, so that they might clear their testimony of suspicion, we requested them to say if they knew at what date the name of the ancient Theodore had been erased from the sacred diptychs. They swore that for many years, exceeding their memory, no mention of the same Theodore has been included in the sacred diptychs, and that Cyril of religious memory, bishop of the city of Alexandria, was inscribed in his place; and these facts they claimed to have heard from their fathers. Investigating the precise truth of what was said, we examined the sacred diptychs and scrutinized the list of defunct bishops and found that there had been no mention of a Theodore in more ancient times; at the very end of the sacred diptychs, however,

there was inscribed a Theodore whom all declared died recently and had sprung from the province of Galatia; this man we all know as a member of our council who died three years ago. [130] That this is so your holiness may discover from the proceedings themselves, which we have despatched for your notification, attaching it to this humble report. We beseech you, as divinely inspired, to support us in our lowliness with your most religious prayers pleasing to God.

And the bishops signed it.

93. The holy council³⁴⁸ said: ‘What has been stated and produced is sufficient to prove the church tradition that it is proper to anathematize heretics even after death. And all the rest that has been mooted shows how from distant times Theodore of Mopsuestia was excluded from the catholic church even after death on account of his impious writings. But on this matter let us pronounce sentence a little later. Now, however, let there be read what has been compiled from the writings of Theodoret against the orthodox faith and against Cyril of holy memory and his Twelve Chapters and in defence of Theodore and Nestorius and their blasphemies.’

94. And when Photinus the most devout deacon and notary had received them, he read out:

From the writings of Theodoret against the Twelve Chapters of the holy Cyril.³⁴⁹

From what he wrote about the First Anathema.³⁵⁰

It is therefore clear from what has been said that the form of God was not changed into the form of a servant but, remaining what it was, took [to itself] the form of a servant. If, therefore, God the Word did not become flesh but took on living and rational flesh, he was not himself born by nature from the Virgin, conceived, formed, moulded, and receiving from her the beginning of his existence, he who is before the ages, is God, is with God, is together with the Father, and is known and worshipped with the Father. But having formed a temple for himself in the virginal womb, he was together with the one who was formed, conceived, moulded and born. For this reason we also

348 We now return to the Council of Constantinople. Patriarch Eutychius is speaking.

349 The following extracts (94–9) are from Theodoret’s *Refutation of the Twelve Anathemas of Cyril*, written in early 431 and preserved in Cyril’s reply (CPG 5222). Pelagius (*In defensione*, p. 31) pointed out how unsatisfactory it was to condemn the whole work on the basis of the four brief extracts given here. For the text of the Twelve Chapters (or Anathemas) see vol. 2, 46–8.

350 Greek text in *ACO* 1.1.6, p. 109, 10–19.

call the holy Virgin *Theotokos*, as having given birth not to God by nature but to a man united to the God who formed him.³⁵¹

95. By the same Theodoret, from what he wrote against the Second Anathema:³⁵²

We acknowledge one Christ, following the divine teaching of the apostles, and on account of the union we call the same both God and man. But ‘union according to hypostasis’ we do not recognize at all, since it is foreign and alien to the divine scriptures and the fathers who interpreted them.

96. By the same, from what he wrote against the Fourth Anathema:³⁵³

To whom should we ascribe, ‘My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?’³⁵⁴ [131] and ‘Father, if it is possible, let this cup pass from me,’³⁵⁵ and ‘Father, save me from this hour,’³⁵⁶ and ‘That hour no one knows, not even the son of man,’³⁵⁷ and the other sayings uttered or recorded humbly by himself or by the sacred apostles about him? To whom shall we attach the hunger and thirst, to whom the toil and sleep, to whom ignorance and fear? Who is it who needed angelic assistance? If these were God the Word’s, how was Wisdom ignorant?

97. *And further down:*³⁵⁸ ‘The ignorance was not God the Word’s but the form of the servant’s, who at that time knew as much as the Godhead dwelling in him revealed.’³⁵⁹

98. By the same, against the Tenth Anathema:³⁶⁰

Who, therefore, was perfected by the labours of virtue and was not perfect by nature? Who learnt obedience through experience and did not

351 Theodore of Mopsuestia gave a similarly minimalist interpretation of the *Theotokos* title (Acts IV. 52).

352 Greek text in *ACO* 1.1.6, p. 114, 10–13.

353 Greek text in *ibid.* p. 121, 12–19.

354 Mt 27:46.

355 Mt 26:39.

356 Jn 12:27.

357 Mt 24:36.

358 Greek text in *ACO* 1.1.6, p. 122, 1–2.

359 Antiochene theologians regularly appealed to Christ’s ignorance as man (Mk 13:32) as evidence of the distinct functioning of his manhood. In the sixth century the view that Christ had been ignorant was considered heretical and was condemned in an edict of Justinian’s (Brock 1985, 38–9).

360 Greek text in *ACO* 1.1.6, p. 136, 22–6. The following two passages had already been singled out by Severus of Antioch as evidence of Nestorianism (in Allen and Hayward 2004, 61–2).

know it prior to experience? Who is it who communed with godly fear and offered supplications with a great cry and tears, and could not save himself, but besought him who could save him, and begged release from death?³⁶¹ Not God the Word, who is immortal, impassible and incorporeal!

99. *And further down:*³⁶² But it is what he took from the seed of David – what was mortal, passible and feared death, even if he afterwards destroyed the power of death itself through union with the God who had taken him up, and what progressed through all righteousness and said to John, ‘Let it be so now, for thus is it fitting to fulfil all righteousness’³⁶³ – that received the title of high priesthood according to the order of Melchizedek;³⁶⁴ for it is this that was ‘beset by weakness’³⁶⁵ of nature.³⁶⁶

100. By the same, from the letter he wrote to the monasteries against the holy Cyril:³⁶⁷

Those who stand near mock our fighting,³⁶⁸ luxuriate in our misfortunes, and rejoice at seeing us consumed by each other. The responsibility for this lies with those who have striven to corrupt the apostolic faith and have dared to add to the doctrines of the gospel a bizarre teaching, and who have accepted the impious chapters of Cyril,³⁶⁹ which they sent to the imperial city with anathemas [132] and confirmed with their own signatures,³⁷⁰ as they suppose, something that has clearly sprouted from the bitter root of Apollinarius.³⁷¹ These chapters also share in the impiety of Arius and Eunomius and, if one were to choose to examine them closely, are not free of

361 Cf. Heb 5:7–9.

362 Greek text in *ACO* 1.1.6, p. 137, 1–6.

363 Mt 3:15.

364 Cf. Heb 5:6, 10.

365 Heb 5:2.

366 In the original the sentence concludes ‘and not the omnipotent God the Word.’

367 This long, dogmatic letter was addressed ‘to the monks of Euphratesia, Osrhoene, Syria, Phoenice and Cilicia’ and written in the winter of 431/2. The Greek of the excerpt given here is in Theodoret, *Correspondance*, IV, SC 429, pp. 98–102. The whole letter was read out at Ephesus II as evidence against Theodoret (Perry 1881, 218–40).

368 Though the original Greek has μέθην (drunkenness, delirium), *pugnam* (fighting) in the Latin has the support of the Syriac version (Perry 1881, 220) and may well be the reading of 553.

369 ‘Of Cyril’ is an explanatory gloss, absent from the original Greek text.

370 The bishops who signed the acts of the first session of Ephesus I were taken to have approved the Twelve Chapters contained therein (de Halleux 1992, 445–51).

371 For the apparently Apollinarian elements in Cyril’s Twelve Chapters see p. 64 above.

the impiety of Valentinus and Marcion.³⁷² For in the First Chapter he rejects the dispensation that took place on our behalf, teaching that God the Word did not take up human nature but was changed into flesh, and laying down that the incarnation of our Saviour took place in appearance and illusion but not in truth; these tenets are offshoots of the impiety of Marcion, Mani, and Valentinus. In the Second and Third Chapters, as if forgetting what he expounded at the beginning, he introduces ‘union according to hypostasis’ and ‘coming together in natural union’, teaching by these terms that there took place a certain mixture and merger of the divine nature and the form of the servant; this is an offshoot of the heretical innovation of Apollinarius. In the Fourth Chapter he forbids distinguishing between the sayings in the gospels and the apostles and does not allow, as in the teaching of the orthodox fathers, the sayings that fit God to be understood of the divine nature and the humble ones, spoken humanly, to be applied to the manhood he took up. This enables the right-minded to discover the genealogy of this impiety; for Arius and Eunomius, asserting that the only-begotten Son of God is a creature created out of nothing and a servant, had the audacity to apply to his Godhead what was spoken humbly and in a human fashion by Christ the Master, concocting thereby difference of essence and dissimilarity.³⁷³ In addition to this, to speak briefly, he declares that Christ’s impassible and unchangeable Godhead suffered, was crucified, died, and was buried.³⁷⁴ This surpasses the madness of Arius and Eunomius; for not even those who have had the audacity to call the maker and creator of the universe a creature foundered in this impiety. He also blasphemes against the Holy Spirit, saying that he does not proceed from the Father, in accordance with the Lord’s saying,³⁷⁵ but has his existence from the Son.³⁷⁶ This too is a

372 Arius and Eunomius were credited with denying that Christ had a human soul (see Theodoret, *Epitome of Heretical Fables* IV. 1, PG 83. 413A), while Valentinus and Marcion were accused of denying that Christ truly assumed human nature (Theodoret, *Correspondance* 4, 110).

373 The Arians argued from the ‘humble sayings’ (ascribing limitations to Christ) that God the Word is unlike the Father and of a different essence. The Antiochenes attributed them to Christ’s humanity as a distinct subject of attribution. Cyril by attributing them all to God the Word laid himself open to the accusation of reviving the Arian as well as the Apollinarian error.

374 Cf. Cyril’s Twelfth Chapter.

375 Jn 15:26.

376 The Antiochene and Cappadocian Fathers restricted themselves to the biblical affirmation of the Spirit’s procession from the Father (Jn 15:26), while Athanasius and Cyril ascribed a role to the Son, in order to bring out against the Arians the full equality of Father and Son. The Church of the East (Persia), despite its adoption of Antiochene theology, was in 410 the first of all the churches to adopt the *Filioque*, asserting that the Spirit derives his being from

fruit of Apollinarius' sowing and is close also to the wicked husbandry of Macedonius.³⁷⁷ Such are the progeny of the Egyptian, truly a wicked father's even more wicked offspring. They should have been aborted while still in the womb or destroyed as soon as born by those entrusted with tending souls as being deadly and destructive of our nature; yet these fine fellows nurture them and lavish care on them for the destruction of themselves and of those who consent to give ear to them.

101. Likewise from the address of Theodoret delivered at Chalcedon against the holy Cyril immediately after the First Council of Ephesus, when he came up from Ephesus to Constantinople together with the easterners,³⁷⁸ pleading on behalf of Nestorius that he had been unjustly condemned:

Do you see how I acknowledge the difference between the natures and do not dissolve the union, O you who are truly the opponent of Christ or rather the opponent of God? 'Him, handed over by the determinate plan and foreknowledge of God, you took and by wicked hands have crucified and slain, [133] whom God has raised from the dead, loosing the bonds of hell.'³⁷⁹

102. Likewise from another address delivered in the same city against Cyril of holy memory:

Do I really dissolve the union, you new heretic, and do you not merge the natures? Speak of an unmerged union and I shall accept your statement. But why do you say that two natures became one nature? What prophet taught you this? Which of the apostles – the first, the second, one in the middle, the last one, or one who is after the twelve, Paul, or Barnabas? Or which teacher later than these? Tell me your teacher. This is the creation of the Arian Asterius³⁸⁰ and of your father Apollinarius, for you have made yourself his son and have become the heir of his doctrines. May you be an heir worthy of the name!

the Father and the Son; see Bruns (2000). For the debate between Cyril and Theodoret see de Halleux (1979).

377 Theodoret accused Apollinarius of teaching the inferiority of the Spirit to the Son (*Epitome of heretical fables* IV. 8, PG 83. 425C), while the Macedonians were accused of arguing on the basis of Jn 1:3 ('All things came into being through him') that the Spirit was created by the Son.

378 This and the following two passages date to September or October 431, when representatives of the Syrian bishops were staying at Chalcedon to negotiate with the court over how to conclude Ephesus I.

379 Acts 2:23–4.

380 For Asterius the Sophist see Hanson (1988), 32–41.

103. Likewise by the same, from an address written in the same city in support of Nestorius:³⁸¹

May Christ lead off our address, Christ for whose sake you braved the fearsome waves of the Propontis in order to hear our voice, deeming it an image of the voice of your shepherd.³⁸² For you long to hear the delightful piping of your shepherd, a shepherd whom his fellow-shepherds have slain with their pens, as they suppose, to whom God exclaims through the prophet, ‘Many shepherds have devastated my vineyard and defiled my portion; they have made my desirable portion into a pathless desert.’³⁸³

104. Likewise a letter written by Theodoret to Bishop Andrew of Samosata from Ephesus:³⁸⁴

Writing from Ephesus, I greet your holiness, whom I can only count fortunate in your illness and consider loved by God, since it is by report and not by experience that you have learnt of the evils that have taken place here, evils that surpass all power of understanding, exceed a narrative report, and deserve constant tears and perpetual lamentation. For the body of the church is in danger of being split apart, or rather it has already received the incision, unless the wise Physician repairs and joins up the separated and putrefied members. Egypt³⁸⁵ again rages against God and wars with Moses, Aaron and his servants, and the greater part of Israel sides with her enemies, while all too few are the healthy who freely labour on behalf of piety. What is venerable in piety has been trampled underfoot. Those who have been deposed perform priestly ministry while those who deposed them sit at home lamenting;³⁸⁶ those who were excommunicated together with those deposed have freed the deposed from deposition, as they imagined.³⁸⁷ Those

381 Greek text in *ACO* 1.1.7, p. 82, 5 and 16–21.

382 Theodoret is addressing Christians from Nestorius’ see of Constantinople who had crossed the Bosphorus to hear him.

383 Jer 12:10.

384 The Greek is lost; see *ACO* 1.4, p. 59 (or Theodoret, *Correspondance* 4, pp. 72–5) for a different Latin version that includes a final paragraph, omitted here, asking Andrew to pray for a return of peace to the churches. The letter, dating to August 431, describes the impasse between the Cyrillian and Syrian factions at Ephesus I.

385 Meaning Cyril, as a latter-day Pharaoh of Egypt, persecuting the people of God.

386 The ‘deposed’ bishops are Cyril of Alexandria and his ally Memnon of Ephesus, while the bishops who had declared them deposed and ‘now sit at home lamenting’ are the Syrian bishops, whom Memnon deprived of access to the churches of the city.

387 The ‘excommunicated’ are the bishops who sided with Cyril and Memnon and refused to accept the Syrians’ decree deposing them.

of Egypt, Palestine, Pontus and Asia and with them those of the west³⁸⁸ play at such a council; for the greater part of the world [134] has contracted the disease. What slapstick comedians at a time of impiety have so jeered at piety in a comedy? What writer of comedy would ever have penned such a tale? What author of tragedy could adequately have composed their dirge? Such and so great evils have assailed the church of God, although I have rather narrated only a tiny part of the outrages that have been perpetrated.

105. Likewise by the same, written to Nestorius after the union between the easterners and the most holy Cyril:³⁸⁹

To my lord the most devout, most religious and most holy father Bishop Nestorius, Theodoret sends greetings in the Lord.

That I am not delighted by city life and am not attracted by worldly responsibilities, glory, or high station I think that your holiness knows. For even if nothing else did so, the isolation of the city I was given to govern is sufficient to teach me this philosophy; for the city suffers not only from isolation but also from very many troubles in its affairs, able to induce weariness even in those who take great delight in these things. May no one therefore persuade your holiness that it was out of desire for an episcopal see that I, while closing my eyes, have accepted the Egyptian letter as orthodox. For to speak in very truth, I have read it several times and examined it minutely and have found it free of heretical sourness. I have hesitated before reading some flaw into it, although as much as anyone else I hold its author in detestation as the cause of the troubles throughout the world; and I hope to undergo no punishment for this on the day of judgement, since the just Judge examines intentions. But as for what has been done unjustly and illegally against your holiness, not even if someone were to cut off both my hands would I bear to assent to it, as long, of course, as divine grace helps me and supports my weakness of soul. Of this I have informed by letter those who demanded it.³⁹⁰ I have also sent to your holiness our reply to what was written to us, so

388 The bishops from Egypt and Palestine at Ephesus I, as well as the great majority from Pontus, Asiana and the West, sided with Cyril against the Syrians. See Vogt (1993).

389 The Greek is lost. Two further Latin versions survive: *ACO* 1.4, pp. 149–50 and 1.5, pp. 170–1. Theodoret is writing in the autumn of 433 to assure Nestorius that his acceptance of the accord between Antioch and Alexandria on the basis of Cyril's *Laetentur caeli* letter to John of Antioch is in no way a capitulation, since (unlike most of his Syrian colleagues) he had not accepted Nestorius' condemnation. It was only at Chalcedon that he finally agreed to anathematize him. In the sixth century this letter embarrassed Theodoret's supporters, and Leontius Scholasticus, *De sectis* denied its authenticity (PG 86A. 1224BC).

390 Meaning Bishop John of Antioch, who was pressing the Syrian bishops to approve Nestorius' deposition.

that you may know that, thanks to the power of God, no circumstance has changed us or shown us to be a polyp or chameleon, of which the former imitates the colour of rocks and the latter that of leaves.

To all the brethren who are with you I with those who are with me send very many greetings in the Lord.

106. From Theodoret to John bishop of Antioch:³⁹¹

Because God governs all things wisely, provides for our accord, and attends to the well-being of the congregations, he has ensured that we are joined in one and has shown that the wills of all are in harmony with one another. [135] For having read in common the Egyptian letter and scrutinized its meaning with care, we have found that the missive from there accords with our statements and is clean contrary to the Twelve Chapters which we have continued right up to the present time to oppose as alien to piety. For the chapters contained the Word from God's becoming flesh carnally, hypostatic union, a coming together in natural union, and God the Word's becoming the firstborn from the dead; they rejected the distinction between the sayings about the Lord, and in addition contained other things that were contrary to the seeds of the apostles and were shoots of the weeds of heresy. But the present missive is adorned with the excellence of the gospels.³⁹²

107. Likewise from Theodoret, a letter written to John archbishop of Antioch after the death of Cyril archbishop of Alexandria:³⁹³

At long last and with difficulty the villain has expired. The good and the gentle depart hence before their time, but the wicked for a long time prolong their lives. I judge that in his foresight the Dispenser of all blessings removes the former from human trials before their time is up; he frees them as victors from their contests and transports them to a better life, that endless

391 Greek text in *ACO* I.1.7, p. 163, 17–27. This is the opening section of the letter, written like the previous letter soon after the union between the churches of April 433 and referring to the same letter of Cyril's (see de Halleux 1979, 603–8).

392 In his *Laetentur caeli* letter Cyril accepted the Antiochene 'Formula of Reunion' and did not press his own Christology. That he had thereby abandoned his Twelve Chapters was widely asserted by John and his allies, to reassure Syrians who thought that Cyril should have been made to withdraw them explicitly.

393 Since John of Antioch had died (in 441/2) before Cyril (in 444), this heading is inauthentic. Consequently the ascription to Theodoret is insecure. The miaphysite controversialist John Philoponus, finding this letter in these Acts, quoted the whole of it in his *Four Tmēmata against Chalcedon* (in Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, trans. Chabot, II, 100–1) as evidence that Chalcedon had reinstated arrant Nestorians.

life free from sorrow and care which is the reward promised to those who contend for virtue. But those who love and practise wickedness he allows to enjoy this present life for longer, so that they may either become sated with wickedness and belatedly learn virtue, or else even in this life pay the penalty for the vexatiousness of their behaviour by being tossed about for a long time on the bitter and baleful billows of this present life. This wretch, however, has not like others been allowed by the Governor of our souls to possess for longer the things that seem full of delight; but knowing that the man's malignity was growing day by day and harming the body of the church, he cut him off like some plague and removed the reproach from the children of Israel.³⁹⁴ His departure has certainly delighted the survivors, but it has perhaps saddened the dead, and there is a fear lest, oppressed by his company, they send him back to us again or that he escape from those who led him away, like the tyrant described by Lucian the Cynic.³⁹⁵ Great care must therefore be taken, and it is especially your holiness's duty to undertake this task and to instruct the guild of undertakers to lay a huge and heavy stone upon his grave, lest he come here again and again show off his fickle will. Let him take his novel doctrines to the shades below, and preach there just as he wants, day and night. We have no need to fear that he will cause division among them also by speaking publicly against piety and by investing the immortal nature with mortality, for he will be stoned not only by those learned in the things of God but also by Nimrod, Pharaoh and Sennacherib, or if there is any other enemy of God comparable to them.

But I am speaking at length to no purpose, for the wretch is silent against his will. For, as it says, 'his spirit will go forth and return to his dust; on that day all his thoughts will perish.'³⁹⁶ But he maintains silence for another reason also: his deeds, exposed, tie his tongue, gag his mouth, curb his understanding, strike him dumb, and make him bow down to the ground. **[136]** For this reason I lament and bewail the wretch, for the news of his death has given me not unmixed delight but one tempered by sadness. I exult and rejoice at seeing the community of the church set free from this plague, but I mourn and lament when I think that the wretch took no rest from his crimes but died when attempting greater and more grievous ones; for he dreamt, as is related, of throwing the imperial city into turmoil by attacking pious doctrines yet again and charging your holiness with advocating them. But the Lord saw and did not overlook it: he stuck a muzzle on his nose and a

394 Cf. 1 Sam 17:26.

395 Cf. Lucian, *The Downward Journey or the Tyrant* 4, Loeb ed., II, 6–8.

396 Ps 145:4.

curb on his lips,³⁹⁷ and returned him to the dust whence he was taken. May it then be granted to the prayers of your holiness that he may obtain mercy and pardon and that the boundless mercy of God may surpass his malignity.

I also beg your holiness to quiet the tumult of my soul, for many and varying reports are circulating to our alarm, announcing general calamities: some people are even saying that your devoutness is setting out for the court against your will, but hitherto I have rejected these rumours as false. But because I have found everyone echoing one and the same report, I have thought it necessary to ascertain the truth from your holiness, so that we may either laugh at the report as false or rightly lament it as true.

108. Again after the death of the blessed Cyril the same Theodoret in an address delivered at Antioch in the presence of Domnus spoke as follows, gloating at his death:³⁹⁸

No longer is anyone under pressure to blaspheme. Where are those who say that God is the one who was crucified? God is not crucified: the one who was crucified is the man Jesus Christ, who is from the seed of David and is the son of Abraham. It is a man who died, Jesus Christ, while God the Word raised up his own temple. The one who is from the seed of David is like David: a man begets a man. But the one who is by nature the Son of God is God the Word. Christ is the son of David, but is the temple of the Son of God. There is altercation no longer. The east and Egypt are under one yoke; rivalry is dead, and with it altercation is ended. May the theopaschites rest in peace.³⁹⁹

109. Again he spoke as follows in another address:⁴⁰⁰

Thomas touched him who had risen and worshipped the one who had raised him.⁴⁰¹

397 Cf. Is 37:29.

398 This passage also occurs (in a different Latin translation) in the *Collectio Palatina* (ACO 1. 5, p. 173, 1–11), dating to the reign of Justinian (ibid. viii). There it is prefaced by the statement that it is taken from the ‘Acts against Domnus’. But it is not to be found in the Syriac Acts of Ephesus II, where Domnus was deposed, and so its authenticity is doubtful.

399 By 553 the theopaschite position was undisputed and Theodoret’s opposition looked Nestorian.

400 That is, from a sermon. The passage does not appear to be otherwise attested, save in Anathema 12 of Justinian’s *On the orthodox faith* (pp. 146–7 above). The vagueness of the reference does not inspire confidence.

401 This implies that that the words uttered by St Thomas on the appearance of the risen Jesus, ‘My Lord and my God’ (Jn 20:28), were addressed not to Jesus as God but to the Father who had raised him; this was the interpretation of the verse by Theodore of Mopsuestia, pilloried at the fourth session of the council (IV. 21). But for Theodoret’s interpretation of the verse see *ep.* 83 (*Correspondance*, II, p. 214, 2–7): ‘So the thrice-blessed Thomas, applying his hand

110. The holy council said: 'From these impious writings of Theodoret one can only admire the precision of the holy Council of Chalcedon; for, knowing his blasphemies, it first uttered many acclamations against him and then did not accept him on any other terms until he had first anathematized Nestorius and his blasphemies, which he had earlier written to defend.⁴⁰² Since therefore the proposal on this matter has been brought to completion, let our examination of the remaining chapter be postponed to another day.'

APPENDIX

In the course of the fifth session there was a reading of an edict of Theodosius II, supposedly condemning both Nestorius and Theodore of Mopsuestia (V. 25). But in fact the original text of the edict had contained no reference to Theodore and was unrelated to the campaign against him. The edict was not a further blow to the Antiochene cause, but corresponded to the wishes of Bishop John of Antioch and the bishops loyal to him.

In the mid-430s John of Antioch was under pressure not only from the enemies of Theodore but also from his most determined supporters – a number of bishops in Cilicia and Syria Euphratensis who refused to accept Nestorius' condemnation and regarded the peace of 433 as based on a compromise that had let Cyril of Alexandria off far too lightly; some of them went so far as to break off communion with John and the other bishops who had made their peace with Cyril. Finally in 436 Theodosius II had these bishops, at John's own request, removed and sent into exile, Nestorius himself being carried off to Egypt.⁴⁰³ This was the context for the issue of an edict condemning Nestorius, ordering the burning of his writings, and depriving all his followers (meaning all who did not accept the accord of 433) of the right of assembly.⁴⁰⁴

to the flesh of the Lord, named him "Lord and God", discerning the unseen nature through the seen one. So we too recognize the difference between his flesh and his Godhead, but know one Son, the incarnate God the Word.'

402 Cf. Acts of Chalcedon VIII. 4–15 (Price and Gaddis, II, 254–5).

403 See Chadwick (2001), 542–8 and Millar (2006), 157–64.

404 For the issue and circulation of this edict see Millar (2006), 176–8. The Theodosian Code (XVI. 5.66) dates it to 3 August 435, which does not fit easily with the other evidence, as Millar notes. Although Chadwick and Millar accept this date, Schwartz (1927, 92, and in *ACO* 1.4, p. xi, n. 1) seems right to dismiss it as inauthentic and to place the edict in its natural context in the final clampdown on Nestorianism in 436.

A copy of the sacred law against Nestorius:⁴⁰⁵

The emperors and Caesars Theodosius and Valentinian triumphant victors, very great and always venerable Augusti.

The respect owed by us to the most pious religion requires that those who act impiously towards the deity should be punished with condign penalties and should be called by names that suit their wickedness, so that, subjected to censure, they should undergo everlasting ignominy for their offences and should be known neither when living to be beyond punishment nor dying to be without disgrace. Therefore, now that Nestorius has been condemned as the originator of monstrous teaching, it remains that those who agree with him and are associates in impiety be subjected to the [same] execrable name, lest, using the name of Christians, they be adorned with the name of those from whose teaching they have departed by acting impiously. For this reason we enact that those everywhere who share in the villainous heresy of Nestorius are to be called Simonians; for those who through aversion from the deity imitate his⁴⁰⁶ impiety ought to receive a name like his, just as the Arians by a law of Constantine of divine memory are called Porphyrians because of a similarity to the impiety of Porphyry, who tried to curb true religion by the power of words and left books that were criminal in themselves and not records of learning.⁴⁰⁷

[We also enact] that no one should presume to keep or read or copy the impious books by the same villainous and sacrilegious Nestorius about the venerable religion of the orthodox and against the doctrines of the bishops of the holy Council of Ephesus; they ought to be sought out with all diligence and publicly burnt, for in this way, with all impiety cut off at the root, the simple and easily deceived multitude will be able at no time to discover a seed of error. [We also decree] that there is to be no mention of these so abandoned men at any religious conference without their being called by the name of Simon, and that no house or estate or suburb or any other place is to be provided secretly or openly for them to assemble in; for we enact that such persons are deprived of all right of assembly, since it should be clear to all that whoever contravenes this law and imitates Nestorius will be mulcted by the confiscation of his possessions.

405 *ACO* 1.3, p. 181 (Latin); the Greek version (discussed by Millar, 177) is in *ACO* 1.1.3, p. 68.

406 The Latin text reads 'their'.

407 For Constantine's edict of c. 333 ordering that the Arians be called Porphyrians, the writings of Arius burnt, and anyone keeping a copy of them subjected to capital punishment see Stevenson-Frend (1987), 366.

370 ACTS OF THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE OF 553

Let therefore your sublime and most illustrious authority ensure that this our constitution comes with solemn injunctions to the notice of all the inhabitants of the provinces. We have posted this law in both the Latin and Greek languages so that it may be known and familiar to all.⁴⁰⁸

408 While Latin was the language in which state officials communicated with each other, Greek was the language used to communicate with the subjects of the eastern empire (Millar 2006, 20–5).

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Volume 51

**The Acts of the Council
of Constantinople of 553**
**with related texts on the
Three Chapters Controversy**

Translated with an introduction and notes by
RICHARD PRICE

Volume Two
Sessions VI–VIII
Vigilius, *Constitutata*
Appendices
Maps
Glossary
Bibliography
Indices

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME TWO

Abbreviations	vii
THE ACTS OF THE COUNCIL OF 553	
Session VI, 19 May	3
Session VII, 26 May	72
Session VIII, 2 June	102
VIGILIUS, THE TWO <i>CONSTITUTA</i> (553–4)	
1. First <i>Constitutum</i>	141
2. Second Letter to Eutychius of Constantinople	214
3. Second <i>Constitutum</i>	219
APPENDICES	
I. The Anti-Origenist Canons (543 and 553)	270
1. Canons of 543	281
2. Letter of Justinian to the Council (553)	282
3. Canons of 553	284
II. The Attendance and Subscription Lists	287
MAPS	
1. Patriarchates and Provinces	300
2. The Balkans	301
3. Western Asia Minor	302
4. Eastern Asia Minor	303
5. Syria and Palestine	304
6. Egypt	305
7. Italy and Africa	306
GLOSSARY	307

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----|
| 1. Primary Sources | 316 |
| 2. Secondary Literature | 320 |

INDICES

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----|
| 1. Persons in the Texts | 333 |
| 2. Documents | 340 |
| 3. The Commentary | 341 |

ABBREVIATIONS

ABAW.PH	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung
ABAW.PPH	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und Historische Klasse
<i>ACO</i>	<i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i>
<i>AHC</i>	<i>Annuario Historiae Conciliorum</i>
BBKL	Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon
<i>ByzF</i>	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
<i>ByzZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>BZNW</i>	<i>Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
CPG	Clavis Patrum Graecorum
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
<i>DHGE</i>	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques</i>
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dunbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>DTC</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i>
<i>ep(p).</i>	<i>epistola(e)</i>
fr(s)	fragment(s)
<i>Hist. Eccl.</i>	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>
<i>JECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
<i>MEFRA</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Série 'Antiquité'</i>
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
<i>MSR</i>	<i>Mélanges de science religieuse</i>
<i>Nov.</i>	<i>Novella</i>
NPNF	A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
<i>or.</i>	<i>oratio</i>
<i>OrChr</i>	<i>Oriens Christianus</i>

Pauly-Wissowa	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , rev. Georg Wissowa
<i>PGL</i>	<i>A Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> , ed. G.W.H. Lampe
PG	Migne, <i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
PL	Migne, <i>Patrologia Latina</i>
<i>PLRE</i>	<i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , ed. J.R. Martindale
PO	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i>
Price and Gaddis	Price and Gaddis, <i>The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon</i>
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>REByz</i>	<i>Revue des études Byzantines</i>
<i>RechSR</i>	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>
<i>RevSR</i>	<i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i>
<i>RHE</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique</i>
<i>RSPht</i>	<i>Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques</i>
<i>RThL</i>	<i>Revue théologique de Louvain</i>
SBAW.PH	Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
<i>SCH</i>	<i>Studies in Church History</i>
<i>StP</i>	<i>Studia Patristica</i>
StT	Studia e Teste
<i>TS</i>	<i>Theological Studies</i>
TTH	Translated Texts for Historians
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
<i>ZAC</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum</i>
[]	Editorial supplements or brief annotation within the text

THE ACTS OF THE COUNCIL OF 553

SESSIONS VI-VIII

THE SIXTH SESSION

INTRODUCTION

Held on Monday 19 May 553, two days after the preceding session, the sixth session proceeded to examine the Third Chapter – the Letter of Ibas to Edessa to Mari the Persian. This letter, written after the reconciliation between Alexandria and Antioch in 433, criticized severely Cyril of Alexandria, his Twelve Chapters, and Ephesus I, was lenient towards Nestorius, and waxed lyrical about Theodore of Mopsuestia. It was an embarrassment to the defenders of the Council of Chalcedon that the reinstatement of Ibas at its tenth session followed hard on a reading of this letter. The solution that Justinian had adopted was to argue that the letter was so contrary to the convictions of the bishops and the decrees of the council that the bishops can only have reinstated Ibas because they believed the letter to be a forgery.¹ How was the matter handled at this sixth session?

The Letter to Mari the Persian was first read out (5), followed by a letter from Proclus of Constantinople to John of Antioch (7), which accused Ibas of so ‘loving the madness of Nestorius’ that he actually admired, translated into Syriac, and circulated certain heretical excerpts (from Theodore of Mopsuestia, though Proclus does not say so) which Proclus had appended to his Tome to the Armenians and circulated for execration (7.3). After this Theodore Ascidas took the floor. He first gave an account of Ibas’ chequered career as bishop of Edessa, omitting the fact that he was reinstated as bishop by the Council of Chalcedon (9.1–5). He then argued that the fathers of Chalcedon, so far from approving the Letter to Mari, only accepted Ibas because he anathematized the letter and denied that he had written it (9.7–15).

This was followed by the reading of a quantity of documents to support Ascidas’ presentation. First there were substantial extracts from the first session of Ephesus I (11–16), to counter Ibas’ charge that the council had

1 See vol. 1, 88–98 for an account of the debate over the Letter to Mari.

deposed Nestorius ‘without there being a trial or investigation’ (5.4). This provides the reader of the Acts with Cyril’s famous Second and Third Letters to Nestorius, a revealing reply from Nestorius himself, and a letter to Nestorius from Pope Celestine, whose hauteur (quite distinct from how eastern patriarchs addressed each other) is revealing of the Roman see’s assumption of unique authority. Notable also in the texts read out at this session, and striking even in translation, is their stylistic variation, that ranges from the grace and *gravitas* of Popes Celestine and Leo, through Cyril’s clarion articulacy, to the contorted affectation of Proclus.

After Ephesus I attention moved on to the Council of Chalcedon. There was a reading of the Tome of Leo, as included in the minutes of the second session (19). How was this meant to contribute to the case against Ibas? The answer was made clear by the reading of a selection of the comments on the Tome by the fathers of Chalcedon (20–3). First we have the intervention of Atticus of Nicopolis, who urged a comparison between Leo’s Tome and Cyril’s Third Letter to Nestorius with its Twelve Chapters, and then we have extracts from the fourth session, at which the Tome was hailed as orthodox because of its agreement with the teaching of Cyril at Ephesus, where the Third Letter had been read out; the implication is that Chalcedon treated the Twelve Chapters as the acid test of orthodoxy. A fuller reading of the second and fourth sessions would have revealed that the approved texts of Cyril were his Second Letter to Nestorius and his letter to John of Antioch accepting the Formula of Reunion; but by the mid-sixth century it was the Second and Third Letters to Nestorius that were understood to be the letters treated as authoritative at Chalcedon. Once it had been shown in this way that the great council had treated the Twelve Chapters as canonical, it followed automatically that the attack on them in the Letter to Mari the Persian was itself heretical.²

Justinian in his letter to the council that had been read out at the first session had asked the bishops to compare the Letter to Mari to the Chalcedonian Definition, and the latter was now read out (25). There followed the reading of a paper, anonymous but most probably written by Theodore Ascidas as the leading spirit at this session, that carried out the requested comparison (29). Predictably, this document gave the worst possible interpretation to Ibas’ letter, reading into it not simply hostility to Cyril but the grossest Nestorian heresy, separating the two natures of Christ into two persons and treating the Christ who appeared on earth as a mere human being.

2 For an account of the gradual reception of Cyril’s Twelve Chapters see vol. 1, 66–71.

Finally, Patriarch Eutychius was able to deliver his verdict on behalf of the whole council (30). The true attitude of the fathers of Chalcedon to the Letter to Mari the Persian was shown, he argued, by their requiring Ibas to anathematize Nestorius and accept the council's own Definition, which represented an unambiguous rejection of the contents of the letter; by so doing they invalidated the approval of the letter expressed by two senior bishops. In all this Eutychius was following Justinian's edict *On the orthodox faith* (pp. 96 and 100). But it is significant that he stressed Ibas' repudiation of the heresies contained in the letter rather than the claim, so often repeated by Justinian, that he had denied authorship; and he frankly accepted that two bishops at Chalcedon had praised the letter, while Justinian in his first edict on the Three Chapters had argued that the two bishops had not been referring to the Letter to Mari at all,³ an argument that Vigilius, doubtless under instructions, was to repeat at great length in his second *Constitutum*. Eutychius was the emperor's faithful servant, but he showed awareness of what was cogent and what was strained in the argumentation of his master.

Eutychius' judgement was approved by the other bishops by acclamation, in which, in opposition to the claim that Chalcedon had approved the letter, they declared that to accept the letter was to reject Chalcedon. Eutychius concluded the session by saying that the investigation was complete but that the issuing of a decree would require further discussion. It is clear that he already had in mind the approval of a series of the canons at the close of the council.

PROCEEDINGS

1. [137] In the twenty-seventh year of the lord Justinian perpetual Augustus and in the twelfth year after the consulship of the most illustrious Basil, fourteen days before the Kalends of June in the first indiction,⁴ there were seated in the consistory of the venerable episcopal palace of this imperial city: (1) Eutychius the most holy patriarch of imperial Constantinople New Rome, (2) Apollinarius the most holy archbishop of the great city of Alexandria, (3) Domninus the most holy patriarch of the great city of Theopolis [Antioch], (4–6) Stephen the most religious bishop of Raphia, George the

3 Cf. Facundus, *Pro defensione* V. 1.8,22 and 2.17–18.

4 19 May 553. This is date given in Surius' edition. Our best manuscript, the Codex Parisinus, dates the session to 'sixteen days before the Kalends of June', i.e. 17 May, but this must be wrong, since that was the date of the previous session.

most religious bishop of Tiberias, and Damian the most religious bishop of Sozusa, [all] representing Eustochius the most holy bishop of Jerusalem, (7) Benignus the most religious bishop of Heraclea in Pelagonia, representing Helias the most blessed bishop of Thessalonica, (8) Theodore the most religious bishop of Caesarea in the province of Cappadocia Prima, (9) Andrew the most religious bishop of Ephesus, (10) Sextilian the most religious bishop of Tunis, representing Primosus the most religious bishop of Carthage, and all the religious bishops whose names you will find in the first session.

2. Diodore archdeacon and *primicerius* of the most devout notaries said: ‘Your holy council knows that on the preceding day after an examination had been conducted of the writings of Theodoret you resolved to examine on another day the remaining chapter, that is, the letter attributed to Ibas. This therefore we propose, according to your good pleasure.’

3. The holy council⁵ said: ‘Let the previous proceedings be read.’

4. When this had been done, the holy council said: ‘The most pious emperor has added in what he wrote to us that some people, trying to defend the letter that Ibas is said to have written, have the presumption to assert that it was accepted by the holy Council of Chalcedon,⁶ [138] exploiting the words of one or two most religious bishops who came to the same holy council, as if spoken in support of the same letter, although none of the others were of the same mind.’⁷ We therefore think it necessary that an examination be proposed and that there be a reading of the letter written to Mari the Persian.

5. And when Theodore the most devout deacon and notary had received it, he read out:

The Letter of Bishop Ibas written to Mari the Persian.⁸

(1) We have endeavoured to make known in brief to your lucid understanding, which by means of little discerns much, what happened before this and what has happened here now, knowing, in writing this to your religiousness, that through your pains there will become known to all those there our message that the scriptures given by God have not suffered any distortion. I

⁵ Throughout the session statements by ‘the holy council’ are to be ascribed to Eutychius of Constantinople as the leader and spokesman of the patriarchs, who chaired the council.

⁶ Cf. Acts I. 7.8 (vol. 1, 192–3).

⁷ Paschasinus, the chief Roman legate, and Maximus of Antioch both mentioned the letter as evidence of Ibas’ orthodoxy. See vol. 1, 91–2.

⁸ The Greek text is in *ACO* 2.1, pp. 391–3.

shall begin my account with matters that you yourself know well.

(2) After the time your religiousness was here, a controversy arose between those two men, Nestorius and Cyril, and they wrote harmful tracts against each other, which were a snare to those who heard them. For Nestorius asserted in his tracts, as your religiousness knows, that the blessed Mary is not *Theotokos*, with the result that he was thought by the many to share the heresy of Paul of Samosata, who asserted that Christ was a mere man.⁹

(3) Meanwhile Cyril, in his desire to refute the tracts of Nestorius, slipped up and was found falling into the teaching of Apollinarius; for like him he also wrote that the very God the Word became man in such a way that there is no distinction between the temple and the one who dwells in it.¹⁰ For he wrote the Twelve Chapters, as I think your religiousness knows, asserting that there is one nature of the Godhead and the manhood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that it is wrong (he said) to divide the sayings that were uttered, whether those spoken by the Lord about himself or by the evangelists about him.¹¹ How packed this is with every form of impiety, your holiness will know even before we say it. For how is it possible that ‘In the beginning was the Word’¹² should be taken to refer to the temple born from Mary, or that ‘You have made him a little less than the angels’¹³ should be said of the Godhead of the Only-begotten? What the church says, as your religiousness knows, and what has been taught from the beginning and confirmed by the divine teaching of the writings of the blessed fathers is this: two natures, one power,¹⁴ one person, who is the one Son and Lord Jesus Christ.

(4) Because of this controversy the victorious and pious emperors ordered the senior bishops to assemble in the city of Ephesus, so that the writings of Nestorius and Cyril could be judged in the presence of all. But before all the bishops who had been ordered to assemble had reached Ephesus, the same Cyril acted prematurely and pre-empted the hearing of all with a spell that could blind the eyes of the wise; [139] he exploited as a motive the hatred

9 Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch in the 260s, was treated in later centuries as the quintessential adoptionist, teaching that Christ, though assigned a unique role by the Word of God that dwelt in him, remained a mere man.

10 Apollinarius (d. c. 390) taught that the humanity of Christ is incomplete (lacking a rational soul) and is one living entity with the Word of God.

11 Ibas is citing the third and fourth of Cyril’s Twelve Chapters (p. 47 below).

12 Jn 1:1.

13 Ps 8:6, applied to Christ at Heb 2:9.

14 The notion of one power or one operation in Christ was used by Theodore of Mopsuestia (PG 66. 1013A) to express the perfect cooperation between the two natures in Christ. This is to be distinguished from the Apollinarian notion of a single vital energy in both.

for Nestorius. Even before the most holy and God-beloved archbishop John arrived at the council, they deposed Nestorius from the episcopate, without there being a trial and investigation.¹⁵ Two days after his deposition we arrived at Ephesus.¹⁶ When we learnt that on the occasion of the deposition of Nestorius, carried out by them, they had also proclaimed and confirmed the Twelve Chapters composed by Cyril, which are contrary to the true faith, and expressed agreement with them as if they were in harmony with the true faith,¹⁷ all the bishops of the east deposed Cyril himself, and decreed a sentence of excommunication on the other bishops who had endorsed the chapters. After this chaos each returned to his own city; but Nestorius, since he was hated by his city and by the great men in it, was unable to return there. The council of the east continued to refuse communion to those bishops who were in communion with Cyril.

(5) As a result there was much resentment among them, with bishops contending against bishops and congregations against congregations. The event fulfilled the words of scripture that ‘the foes of the man’ were ‘those of his own household’.¹⁸ As a result much abuse was directed at us by both pagans and heretics; no one dared to travel from city to city or from region to region, but everyone persecuted his neighbour as if he were an enemy. Many who did not have the fear of God before their eyes, under the pretext of zeal for the churches, hastened to put into action the hidden enmity they had in their hearts. One of these happens to be the tyrant of our city,¹⁹ who is not unknown to you, who on the pretext of the faith takes revenge not only on the living but also on those who previously departed to the Lord. (6) One of these is the blessed Theodore, the herald of the truth and teacher of the church, who not only in his lifetime compelled the heretics to accept his true faith but also after his death bequeathed to the children of the church a spiritual weapon in his writings, as your religiousness discovered from

¹⁵ This charge, constantly quoted subsequently as evidence of Ibas’ Nestorian sympathies, simply repeated a statement made on 26 June 431 to the Syrian bishops by Theodosius II’s representative Count Candidianus, to the effect that Nestorius’ deposition had been conducted ‘without any trial, examination and investigation’ (*ACO* 1.1.5, p. 120, 30–2).

¹⁶ The Syrian bishops arrived four days later, on 26 June 431 (Kidd 1922, III, 243).

¹⁷ It is doubtful whether the chapters were formally approved at the first session of Ephesus I, but they were immediately inserted into the minutes, and other sources confirm that the Syrian bishops, on their arrival, understood them to have been promulgated by the council. See de Halleux (1992), esp. 445–54.

¹⁸ Mt 10:36.

¹⁹ Bishop Rabbula of Edessa (412–35). Initially on the Syrian side, he changed over to that of Cyril immediately after Ephesus I.

meeting him and became convinced on the basis of his writings. But the one of limitless effrontery had the effrontery to anathematize publicly in church the man who, out of zeal for God, not only converted his own city from error to the truth but also instructed far distant churches by his teaching. A great inquiry was held everywhere about his books, not because they are contrary to the true faith – indeed, while he was alive, he constantly praised him and read his books –, but out of the secret enmity he had towards him, because he had publicly reproved him in council.²⁰

(7) While these evils were taking place, with each person, [140] as it is written,²¹ wandering off as he chose, the God we must worship, who in his mercy at all times looks after the church, moved the heart of our most faithful and victorious emperor to send a great and notable man from his palace to require the lord John the most holy archbishop of the east²² to be reconciled with Cyril, who had been deposed by him from the episcopate. After receiving the emperor's letter, he sent the most holy and most God-beloved Paul bishop of Emesa, recording through him the true faith, and instructing him to enter into communion with Cyril if he assented to this faith and anathematized those who say that the Godhead suffered and those who say that there is one nature of Godhead and manhood.²³ And the Lord, who at all times looks after his church, which has been redeemed by his blood, chose to soften even the heart of the Egyptian,²⁴ with the result that he assented to the faith without trouble and accepted it, and anathematized all those whose beliefs are contrary to it. Now that they have entered into communion with each other, controversy is removed from their midst, and peace has returned to the church; no longer is there schism in it, but peace as before.²⁵

20 According to Barhadbeshabba Arbaya, a Nestorian bishop writing *c.* 600, Theodore had rebuked Rabbula at a council at Constantinople for beating one of his clerics (PO IV. 380–1).

21 Cf. Joel 2:7.

22 Bishop John of Antioch (428–441/2). The official was the tribune and notary Aristolaus (*PLRE* 2, 146–7).

23 This represents Paul as requiring Cyril to anathematize his own Twelve Chapters. In fact the Antiochene proposal was more diplomatic: Cyril should simply accept the Formula of Reunion; cf. John of Antioch's letter to Cyril welcoming the accord (= Cyril, *ep.* 38; *ACO* 1.1.4, pp. 7–9). In Syria Cyril's acceptance of the Formula was indeed presented as an implicit withdrawal of the Chapters.

24 Ibas is comparing Cyril to Pharaoh of Egypt, whose heart the Lord repeatedly hardened until finally he yielded and let the Israelites depart from Egypt (Exodus 7–12).

25 For a full account of Paul's mission, from the meeting at Antioch to the restoration of peace between Cyril and the Syrian bishops, see Kidd (1922), III, 256–62.

(8) As for what are the words written by the most holy and most God-beloved archbishop John and the reply he received from Cyril, I have attached the letters themselves to this one to your religiousness and sent them to your sacredness, so that when you read them you may discover, and inform all our brethren who love peace, that controversy has now ceased, the dividing wall of enmity has been demolished,²⁶ and that those who lawlessly assailed the living and the dead have been put to shame, apologizing for their errors and teaching the opposite of their previous teaching; for no one now dares to say that there is one nature of Godhead and manhood, but they profess belief in the temple and the one who dwells in it,²⁷ who is the one Son Jesus Christ. This I have written to your religiousness out of the great affection I have for you, confident that your holiness exercises yourself day and night in the teaching of God for the benefit of many.

6. The holy council said: ‘We know that Proclus of religious memory addressed a letter to John of most devout memory, bishop of Antioch, in which he wrote that Ibas had been accused before him of cherishing the doctrines of Nestorius and of having translated some of the impious chapters of Theodore into the Syriac language and circulated these writings everywhere. Let therefore the aforesaid letter be read, since it relates to the present examination.

7. And when Calonymus the most devout deacon and notary had received it, he read out:

The letter of Proclus bishop of Constantinople to John bishop of Antioch.²⁸

(1) I think or rather I know for certain that you, most religious man, are well aware that no insignificant reward from God is received by those who with a sleepless eye of the mind keep vigil day and night to care and have regard for the needs of the church, so that all the people who are joined together like a family may be well governed, that the orthodox faith may be uncontaminated by contemptible weeds, and that whatever is diseased for a time through the effrontery of opponents may receive prudent attention, [141] and so be led into the same disposition and obedience, since divine scripture powerfully exclaims, ‘He who produces the worthy out of the

26 Cf. Eph 2:24. This echoes the opening of one of the letters Ibas is referring to, Cyril’s *Lactentur caeli* Letter to John of Antioch (Price and Gaddis, I, 178).

27 This alludes to the passage in the Formula of Reunion that runs: ‘God the Word... from the very conception united to himself the temple taken from her [the Virgin]’ (ibid. 180).

28 Written in 438. For the circumstances of composition see vol. 1, 274.

unworthy will be like my mouth.²⁹ For if neglect of one's neighbours, who are succumbing to what is worse and through the indolence of the shepherd have become a prey for the jaws of the wolf that devours men, threatens the dormant by an awareness of ineluctable damnation, while scripture calls the idle and dissolute man a hireling and not a shepherd,³⁰ how could it not be totally right to follow the man who is zealous over such things and shun the man who is indolent in emergencies? For in this are to be found two similar things each deserving of censure and doomed to condemnation, both the fact that when someone himself lives negligently he encourages those who witness it to imitate what is worse, and the fact that the man who does not at once correct those who sin against the faith and transgress in their mode of life, even if he despises them, is liable to the same punishment.

An example of this kind I shall not invent of myself but put into writing, instructed by the divine scriptures. (2) The celebrated Eli was wearied by age and when sacrificing at Shiloh in accordance with the law did not himself perform what his sons had the presumption to do, but cooperated with them by not preventing their transgressions, since according to correct reasoning not to prevent offences is akin to committing them.³¹ And again the sons, shaming their rank by their actions and showing by their sins that they were unworthy of the priesthood, were not only brought low by their own actions but also incited others to sin by presenting a model of sin to those who followed their example. For this reason punishment was inflicted equally on those who performed impious acts and on him who did not prevent them. For the father was harmed by his indolence as regards virtue, while his sons were brought to destruction by their lack of amendment; the old man suffered shipwreck in the storm that struck the young men, his affection for whom he had not controlled by uttering a rebuke.³²

(3) It is therefore necessary, most religious one, that he who has been appointed to preside over the people and hold the reins of priesthood should not only ensure that he himself appear upright but also that what he teaches be free from all censure. For the first of these, although admirable, is not as important as the one mentioned after it, in that the former concludes with one single person performing what pertains to virtue, while the latter, saving many through foresight, clothes each person in sureness of piety. Why am I saying this? It is because many people here, not only some clergy and

29 Jer 15:19.

30 Cf. Jn 10:12.

31 Cf. 1 Sam 2:12–17.

32 Cf. 1 Sam 4:11–18.

monks from Edessa³³ but also notables and people of rank in government service, who kindle a burning zeal for the orthodox faith, are inveighing against the most religious bishop Ibas of Edessa, because he so loves the madness of Nestorius that, taking certain chapters that I sent to your devoutness appended to the tome we wrote to the Armenians, which are foolish and profane and full of all impiety, he translated them into the Syriac language and circulated them everywhere, and persuaded many of the more simple-minded, who through listening ill-advisedly have suffered harm from pernicious people, to embrace tenets that are forbidden in the church of God.

(4) When after reading you have come to know them, deign to hasten with all promptness to compel him to sign the tome written to the Armenians, [142] condemning the vain speech, or rather the monstrous speech, or, what is still truer to say, the Jewish impiety of those chapters and to anathematize their madness with a living voice and his own hand.³⁴ For it is a crime for a man not clearly to be shown to be of what stamp he is. For if indeed he has contracted the disease of those chapters, which I do not believe, let him defend them; if there is present to his unstable thoughts a constancy in the expression of faith, how can he affirm two Sons, one before the ages and the other in the last days? Or how can there be another Christ besides God the Word? Or how can he claim falsely that there was seen upon earth and lived among men some mere [human being] like one of those born from coition, but not the one without beginning and uncreated, to whom, according to the prophet,³⁵ no other can be compared? For even though he appeared in flesh, yet there was enfleshed the one who is above every authority,³⁶ free from all passion, a stranger to all transformation or change, who radiated from the Father beyond understanding and was born from the Virgin beyond reason, who excluded from the Godhead what is created and rejected in the flesh what is illusory, who in truth is God and became man and, while remaining what he was, saved that which he became. He therefore is the one only-begotten Son, but not in such a way as [is imagined by] certain people [who]³⁷ with

33 From his election as bishop and down to Chalcedon Ibas was harried by a number of his clergy, loyal to the memory of his predecessor Rabbula, who deplored his hostility to Cyril of Alexandria and repeatedly brought charges against him. See Price and Gaddis, II, 266–8, 274–94.

34 *sua manu*: the text at V. 83 was *sana manu* (with sober hand).

35 Cf. Bar 3:36,38.

36 Cf. Eph 1:21.

37 I follow the text of this passage given at V. 84. The text here in VI omits *sicut* (as), producing the sense: 'He therefore is the one only-begotten Son; but, not in this way, certain people with perverse mind...'

perverse mind and insanity of thought were the begetters of those chapters and made their appearance as the parents of impious abortions harmful to themselves. (5) Next, if the afore-mentioned fellow-minister Ibas learns to detest and reject those chapters that have been vomited forth for the ruin of readers and hearers, as I expect, since he is sensible and nourished from childhood by the divine scriptures, may he show what he believes in his soul with confident voice and unblushing brow, rejecting and trampling underfoot all the chapters appended to the letter to the Armenians, and judging them all to be the concoctions of diabolic madness and worthy of anathema, so that all those who are here, knowing the truth about this man, may now hold with confidence a unanimous opinion about him.

(6) For it is wrong, most religious man, as you yourself will agree with us, to look down upon those who receive harm for no reason through having an impulse for what is worse and yet to take every account of those who are scandalized:³⁸ [our aim must be] that impartiality is shown towards all who unanimously tremble at that utterly terrifying condemnation in the gospels,³⁹ because of [just] one of the little ones who is made to fall, that is imposed on the presumptuous and contemptuous. For if the blessed Paul also laid down according to law that priests must be examples of good works, this is true all the more of instillers and teachers of the faith without which it is impossible to be pleasing.⁴⁰ For other virtues, which are perfected by behaviour, have nature itself to teach amendment, but faith alone, which surpasses nature and reason (because, assuredly, it approaches that which is forever incomprehensible by nature and unattainable by understanding), is superior to every virtue, yielding to love for this reason alone, that the one whom we believe to be God became man solely for love's sake.

(7) I ask, therefore, that zeal assist execution. For know, most religious man, that the afore-mentioned bishop Ibas, if he heeds the present letter, will do a favour to no one more than himself. For he will not only have those who are at present doubtful about him as his admirers, but will also [143] be hugely honoured and admired by our most holy father, presbyter and archimandrite Dalmatius,⁴¹ if they see him embracing the tenets of the

38 Proclus is claiming that his concern is not simply for those affronted by Ibas but with Ibas' own good as well.

39 Mt 18:6, Mk 9:42, Lk 17:2.

40 I.e., to God. Cf. Heb 11:6.

41 Dalmatius (d. c. 440) was an archimandrite at Constantinople, who enjoyed the ear of Theodosius II and was active in the anti-Nestorian cause. See *DHGE* 14.27–8 and Kidd (1922), III, 190, 246, 251.

pious faith. For at present, when he is notorious above others, the aforementioned most holy man is deeply wounded as a result of his love, because those who ought to be commended for things more divine stand accused of the opposite, whether from the zeal of those who talk about upon it or the ill-will of those who lay charges. Because of this, I have also sent the most devout Theodotus, deacon of our church, with papers for your devoutness,⁴² so that you may learn, most religious one, that I consider resolution of this matter not insignificant but meriting assiduity.

8. The holy council said: ‘We think it is clear to all from the letter written by Proclus of religious memory that the Letter to Mari the Persian cannot be acquitted of the accusation he brings;⁴³ for it defends Nestorius and gives total approval to the impious writings of Theodore, which Proclus of holy memory told him to anathematize because they had led him to advocate two Sons. It is fitting to proceed to an examination of the other matters that relate to the present chapter.’

9. Theodore bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia,⁴⁴ Andrew of Ephesus, Megethius of Heraclea in Thrace, and Eusebius of Tyre rose and said:

‘(1) We remind your holiness,⁴⁵ who has precise knowledge of the matter, that before the holy council at Chalcedon was convened, it was known that Ibas had been accused many times because of the impious chapters and doctrines contained in the letter said to have been written to Mari the Persian. First some clerics of the church of the city of Edessa and persons in government service came to the imperial city and appealed to Theodosius of pious memory and Proclus of holy memory, at that time bishop of the city of Constantinople, against the same Ibas, on the grounds that he was reported to be defending the impiety of Nestorius and to have translated into the Syriac language and circulated everywhere Theodore’s impious chapters about which Proclus of holy memory had written, as you know, to John bishop of Antioch, with the aim that he should force Ibas to renounce the impiety of Nestorius and of Theodore’s chapters, of which he stood accused.⁴⁶ (2) But when from the letter of Proclus of religious memory

42 For Theodotus acting as courier between Proclus and John see also the excerpt from a letter of John’s given in Facundus, *Pro defensione* I. 1.11.

43 In other words, Proclus’ criticism of Ibas for his enthusiasm for Theodore of Mopsuestia applies *a fortiori* to the Letter to Mari.

44 Theodore Ascidas, who speaks here not as in the fifth session (V. 65) on behalf of the bishops of Cappadocia but on behalf of several fellow metropolitans.

45 Ascidas is addressing the chairman Patriarch Euty chius.

46 This is the letter given at 7 above.

there resulted no amendment in response to the complaints of the accusers, on the death of John they appealed to his successor Domnus, again accusing Ibas.⁴⁷ But because Domnus did not receive them, the same accusers again repaired to the imperial city and appealed on the same matter to the aforementioned Theodosius of pious memory and Flavian of holy memory, who at that time was bishop of the city of Constantinople in succession to Proclus of holy memory. (3) Their petitions were accepted, and both Theodosius of divine memory and Flavian of holy memory deputed an examination of the charges against Ibas to Photius bishop of Tyre and Eustathius bishop of the city of Berytus, and executors of the case were despatched: the emperor Theodosius of divine memory sent the tribune Damascius, with imperial letters giving him this power, while Flavian of holy memory sent Eulogius, deacon of the holy church of Constantinople, with letters from Flavian to Photius and Eustathius. When the executors arrived in Tyre, they took Ibas and his accusers to Bishops Photius and Eustathius. [144] Ibas' accusers presented as charges against the same Ibas both other blasphemies and the impious letter,⁴⁸ which, in addition to other blasphemies contained in it, calls the holy Cyril a heretic and his Twelve Chapters impious and criticizes the First Holy Council of Ephesus for condemning Nestorius without trial and investigation. (4) So Ibas, to escape the accusation under these heads and excuse himself, asserted that he had said nothing of the kind about the holy Cyril after he [Cyril] had united with the easterners.⁴⁹ But the impious letter can be shown from its contents to have been written after the union; it is therefore clear from Ibas' affirming he had said nothing against Cyril after the union that he denied the letter.

'Photius and Eustathius, however, not content with this denial, gave instructions in their decree⁵⁰ that Ibas should go to Edessa and publicly in church anathematize Nestorius and his impious doctrines which the impious letter defended, and accept as convened by the Holy Spirit the First Council of Ephesus, which had been condemned by the same impious letter, and

47 For this and the following complaints against Ibas (dating to 448–9) see Price and Gaddis, II, 266–7.

48 The Letter to Mari the Persian was read out at the hearing at Berytus before Photius and Eustathius in 449. It is because the minutes of this hearing were read out at Chalcedon that the letter found its way into the Acts of Chalcedon (X. 138).

49 Cf. Acts of Chalcedon X. 130, 133.

50 At the end of the hearings at Berytus and Tyre Photius issued an adjudication (Acts of Chalcedon IX. 7), which was not a formal verdict but imposed terms of reconciliation on Ibas and his accusers.

hold it to be equal to the holy council of 318 holy fathers.⁵¹ (5) When this judgement had been given but the case was not ended, as can be ascertained from what happened subsequently, Ibas was ejected from the episcopate, as was also Domnus bishop of Antioch, on an accusation of reviling and condemning the holy Cyril and the orthodox faith he preached.⁵² In place of Domnus Maximus was ordained, and in place of Ibas Nonnus was ordained by Maximus for the church of Edessa. When subsequently the most holy bishops were summoned to the ecumenical holy council at Chalcedon Ibas was not summoned, and Nonnus sat in the holy council as bishop of the church of Edessa.⁵³ Later, replying together with his council of Osrhoene to Leo of pious memory, who was consulting about the Council of Chalcedon and certain other matters, he [Nonnus] was one of those who wrote encyclical letters.⁵⁴

‘(6) After the promulgation of the Definition of the Faith by the holy Council of Chalcedon Ibas’ case was mooted. In the first session that dealt with his case, wishing to evade the charges of his accusers, he made use of the judgement of Photius and Eustathius,⁵⁵ while his accuser used the proceedings in their presence and the impious letter, which was also read at Chalcedon.⁵⁶ Immediately after it had been read Ibas again sought to elude the accusation arising from it:⁵⁷ without there being any discussion of the matter the same Ibas said evasively, “Let your clemency order that the letter from the clergy of the city of Edessa be read, so that you may learn that I am

51 Because of the animosity against him, Ibas was unable to return to Edessa and fulfil his promise to ‘address the church in his own city and publicly anathematize Nestorius’ (ibid.).

52 No mention is made of the fact that the deposition of both Ibas and Domnus was decreed at the Second Council of Ephesus (449), whose decrees were annulled at Chalcedon (Price and Gaddis, II, 269).

53 Nonnus attended the council as bishop of Edessa until in the tenth session Ibas was reinstated. His listing in the attendance list of some later sessions was a mistake; see Price and Gaddis, III, 4 n. 9.

54 No mention is made of the fact that the Council of Chalcedon restored Ibas to his see. Nonnus only became bishop again at Ibas’ death in 457, just in time to sign the reply from the bishops of Osrhoene to the consultation by the emperor Leo I in 457/8 (*ACO* 2.5, p. 41, 3).

55 At the first session that heard his case Ibas presented for reading out the adjudication that Photius of Tyre had issued in his case (*Acts of Chalcedon* IX. 6–7).

56 The Deacon Theophilus, speaking at Chalcedon on behalf of the Edessan clergy who were bringing charges against Ibas, obtained a reading of the proceedings at Berytus, which included the Letter to Mari (ibid. X. 10–138).

57 The Latin reads, ‘Ibas, again eluding the accusation over it that was read out immediately afterwards.’ But the ‘accusation’ was not a document that was read out, and this can only be a mistranslation.

a stranger to the allegations made against me.”⁵⁸ He used instead the letter of the clergy of the city of Edessa, in constant fear of an accusation arising from the impious letter.

‘(7) That we have told the truth, your holy council knows well, remembering (as it does) other things and especially what was transacted at Chalcedon. It is therefore startling how, after these proceedings and when the impiety contained in the letter, which Ibas himself denied, has become patent, some people try to defend it in the name of the holy Council of Chalcedon, [145] not out of a genuine concern for it but to strengthen their own impiety. Using heretical cunning, they exploit one or two of the verdicts on Ibas in the proceedings at the holy Council of Chalcedon in apparent support of the letter written to Mari the Persian, and attempt to interpret others falsely.⁵⁹ (8) We have therefore considered it necessary to make known to your beatitude what relates to this, although you know it yourself, since it is certain that what merits attention at councils is not one or two sentences but what is decreed in common by all or the majority. But if someone investigates carefully even those statements by one or two speakers apparently in defence of the letter, he will find in them what is in fact a most clear rejection of the letter; for when these very persons approved the judgement of Photius and Eustathius, it was nothing other than a condemnation of the impious letter. For it was against it and what it contained that there was pronounced the judgement of Photius and Eustathius, which ordered Ibas to accept the First Holy Council of Ephesus, which had been excoriated by the impious letter, and anathematize Nestorius the originator of the wicked impiety and his followers, whom the same impious letter defended. Repeating this judgement of Photius and Eustathius, every single bishop decreed that he should anathematize Nestorius and his impious doctrines.

‘(9) Juvenal bishop of the city of Jerusalem, in accord with the tradition of the church, pronounced that Ibas, as one doing penance for heresy, deserved pardon and mercy particularly on account of his great age; this verdict, delivered explicitly in this way against the impious letter, its defenders have not abstained from misinterpreting.⁶⁰ (10) Thalassius bishop of the Caesarea in Cappadocia Prima explicitly declared in his sentence that he would never have accepted Ibas unless he had promised to anathematize what his accusers

⁵⁸ Acts of Chalcedon X. 139, followed indeed by the reading out of the Edessan testimonial (141).

⁵⁹ The text of all the verdicts that Ascidas discusses is given in Vigilius’ first *Constitutum* 238–52, at pp. 195–8 below.

⁶⁰ This suppresses Juvenal’s description of Ibas as ‘orthodox’, but it was also a misinterpretation to suppose that he was referring to the letter; cf. first *Constitutum* 272.

had testified against him in writing;⁶¹ and it is certain that Ibas' accusers produced the letter written to Mari the Persian as an accusation against him. (11) Bishops John of Sebasteia, Seleucus of Amaseia, Constantine of Melitene, Patricius of Tyana, Peter of Gangra, and Atarbius of Trapezus, representing Dorotheus of Neocaesarea, all of them metropolitans, who delivered sentence equally and as a group, pronounced that Ibas was to be accepted because he had denied the allegations his opponents were bringing against him, of which a major part was the letter. Their sentence runs as follows: "The decree of the most religious bishops Photius and Eustathius has shown that the most devout Ibas is innocent; likewise his denial has made us more ready to accept him. For mercy is always pleasing to Christ."⁶² (12) If, therefore, even Juvenal decreed that Ibas was to be accepted as one doing penance for some heresy, and Thalassius and the named metropolitans [decreed that he was to accepted] because in the proceedings before Photius he had denied the allegations brought by his opponents (that is, the letter written to Mari the Persian that was produced as an accusation against him), and all the most religious bishops [146] decreed that he was to anathematize Nestorius who is defended in the letter, how can its defenders have the presumption to calumniate the sentence of Eunomius as if it condemned one part of the letter but approved another part, when the whole letter is chock-full of impiety?⁶³ Accordingly, even Ibas denied it by saying, "I shall not be found to have said anything against the holy Cyril after the union,"⁶⁴ and also Photius and Eustathius said in relation to this denial that a denial of heresy is adequate proof of piety.⁶⁵

'But if anyone were to concede that, as they assert, the first part of the letter is impious but the last part is orthodox, not even so will the letter escape the condemnation due to it; for in the case of all heresies, even if it happen that the heretics say certain things that are orthodox, they do not thereby escape condemnation for impiety.⁶⁶ But in this case it is clear that

61 Acts of Chalcedon X. 165 (first *Constitutum* 242).

62 Ibid. X. 174 (first *Constitutum* 249).

63 Eunomius' verdict (quoted below) was understood by Ibas' defenders (e.g. Facundus, *Pro defensione* V. 1.11–13) to be saying that, although the first part of the Letter to Mari was unsound, the final part 'made a correct profession'.

64 Not an exact quotation, but see Acts of Chalcedon X. 120–33.

65 Ibid. X. 131.

66 This passage was cited soon afterwards by the miaphysite controversialist John Philoponus to support an argument that Leo's Tome likewise was not exempted from condemnation by the fact that it contained some orthodox statements (Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, trans. Chabot, II, 97–8).

Eunomius approved no part of the letter; for if he had, he would certainly be found contradicting himself, by praising and censuring the same thing. His verdict runs as follows:⁶⁷

“(13) From what has been read out the most devout Ibas is proved to be innocent. For as regards the statements in which he seemed to incur the charge of having spoken ill of the holy Cyril, he made a correct profession in his later statements and repudiated those that had led to the charge. Therefore, if he were to anathematize Nestorius and Eutyches and their impious doctrines and assent to what was written by the most holy archbishop Leo and to this ecumenical synod, I too judge him worthy of the episcopate.”⁶⁸

“(14) This proves that Eunomius delivered this sentence with reference to the proceedings before Photius and Eustathius, in which it is clear that Ibas confessed that before the union between the blessed Cyril and the easterners he spoke ill of him together with the others but that after the union he could not be found, as he said, to have said anything against the holy Cyril.⁶⁹ Those who assert that the first part of the letter is impious but the last part orthodox are shown to be guilty of calumny. For the latter part of the letter is full of even worse impiety, reviling Cyril of holy memory and those who shared his tenets and totally defending the impious heresy of Nestorius.”⁷⁰

“(15) It was because of this that all the bishops together and in agreement cried out after delivering their sentences, “Let him now anathematize Nestorius. Let him anathematize his teaching.”⁷¹ And so it was that Ibas anathematized Nestorius and Eutyches and their impious doctrine and indeed anathematized all who did not believe as the holy council

67 Acts of Chalcedon X. 173 (first *Constitutum* 248).

68 The original verdict ran ‘Ibas, anathematizing Nestorius... and assenting..., I too judge worthy of the episcopate’; the wording of some of the other verdicts (X. 166–7 and 172) was similar (see p. 197 below). Was this merely echoing the verdict of Anatolius of Constantinople (‘I put aside all suspicion of him, since he assents...’, X. 162), or pressing Ibas (as the senior bishops had not) to anathematize Nestorius here and now in the presence of the council? Price and Gaddis, III. 307–8 adopted the former interpretation, while the version given here in the acts of 553 adopts the latter. The original wording was tactfully ambiguous.

69 Cf. *ibid.* X. 120–33. This argument that Eunomius was not referring to the letter but rather to Ibas’ promise of amendment contained in Photius’ adjudication (*ibid.* IX. 7) was also advanced by Justinian, Letter on the Three Chapters (Schwartz 1939, 65–6).

70 Cf. 5.8 above, where Ibas ironically congratulates Cyril and his allies on seeing the error of their ways, adding that ‘they [now] profess belief in the temple and the one who dwells in it, who is the one Son Jesus Christ,’ a formulation that by 553 was regarded as Nestorian.

71 *Ibid.* X. 179. For the variations in wording in the different editions and citations of the text see Price and Gaddis, II, 309, n. 127.

believed,⁷² and so was accepted. This proves that Ibas not only denied but also anathematized the letter as contrary in all respects to the definition issued by the holy Council of Chalcedon, as your beatitude also will find out by investigation.’

10. The holy council said: ‘We too know that this was the sequence of events. However, thinking it more prudent to judge these things from the decisions of the earlier holy councils, and knowing that certain things were mooted at the First Holy Council of Ephesus concerning the letters of the holy Cyril and [147] at the Council of Chalcedon itself concerning the letter of Pope Leo of holy memory, we deem it necessary that from the proceedings at the aforesaid holy councils there be made known the parts containing them, so that we may thereby be informed with fuller precision as we discuss the matters proposed.’⁷³

11. And when Calonymus the most devout deacon and notary had received it, he read out:

Part of the proceedings at the First Holy Council of Ephesus concerning the letters of Cyril of holy memory.⁷⁴

(1) Peter presbyter of Alexandria and primicerius of the notaries said: ‘We have to hand a letter of the most holy and most religious archbishop Cyril written to the most devout Nestorius, full of advice and exhortation because of his unorthodox opinions. If your holiness so directs, I shall read it.’

(2) Acacius bishop of Melitene said: ‘Because the most religious and most devout presbyter Peter, who opened the proceedings,⁷⁵ has said that something was sent by the most devout and most holy bishop Cyril to the most devout Nestorius because of his unorthodox teaching, it is appropriate that it too be read.’

12. There was produced at Ephesus a letter of Cyril of holy memory which runs as follows:

To the most devout and most God-beloved fellow priest Nestorius, Cyril

⁷² Ibid. X. 180.

⁷³ A far from lucid introduction to what follows – substantial extracts from the first session of Ephesus I to demonstrate the falsity of Ibas’ charge that Nestorius had been condemned without trial or investigation.

⁷⁴ There now follows substantial extracts (11–15) from the acts of the first session (22 June 431) of the First Council of Ephesus, including the documents that in some Greek MSS and in *ACO* are given separately, and omitting at 13.1 and 14.1 two long sequences of episcopal verdicts. I translate the Greek text in *ACO* 1.1.2, pp. 13,8–36,15.

⁷⁵ Cf. *ACO* 1.1.2, p. 7, 34.

sends greetings in the Lord.⁷⁶

(1) Certain persons, as I am informed, are gossiping to the detriment of my character in the presence of your religiousness, and this constantly, looking out in particular for gatherings of officials; and thinking perhaps to tickle your ears they make ill-considered statements, for they have in no way been wronged, but were convicted, and quite rightly too – one for having wronged the blind and the poor, another for having drawn a sword against his mother, and the third for having been associated with a maidservant in a theft of money, quite apart from having a permanent reputation of a kind that one would not pray to see attached even to one’s worst enemies.⁷⁷ But what such people say is not a matter of much moment to me, lest I stretch the measure of my littleness above my Master and Teacher, or indeed the fathers. For it is not possible to escape the perversity of the wicked, however one chooses to live. (2) But those men, ‘whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness,’⁷⁸ will be answerable to the Judge of all. I, however, will return to what more especially becomes my position, and will urge you even now as a brother in Christ [148] to make the character of your teaching and your opinions about the faith free from all danger to the congregations, and to bear in mind that to lead into sin even one of the little ones who believe in Christ⁷⁹ incurs the unendurable wrath. But if the number of those aggrieved is very great, we surely stand in need of all possible skill, in view of the need to remove with prudence the cause of sin and to extend the wholesome doctrine of the faith to those who seek the truth. This will be done, and most rightly, if when encountering the words of the holy fathers we are zealous to hold them in high esteem and if, testing ourselves whether we are in the faith, as it is written,⁸⁰ we make our own conceptions properly harmonize with their correct and unassailable opinions.

(3) Now the holy and great council [of Nicaea] said that the only-begotten Son born by nature from God the Father, true God from true God, light from light, through whom the Father made all things, came down, was incarnate, became man, suffered, rose on the third day, and ascended into

76 This is the celebrated Second Letter of Cyril to Nestorius, for which see Price and Gaddis, I, 63–6. The Greek text of this letter is in *ACO* 1.1.1, pp. 25–28.

77 In 429 four Alexandrians disciplined by Cyril went to Constantinople and appealed to the emperor, who entrusted the case to Bishop Nestorius, who rejected Cyril’s demand that he dismiss the case.

78 Rom 3:14.

79 Mt 18:6.

80 2 Cor 13:5.

heaven. These words and doctrines we are obliged to follow, recognizing what is meant by the Word from God being incarnate and becoming man; for we do not say that the nature of the Word became flesh as a result of change, nor that he was transformed into a complete human being, one made up of soul and body, but instead we say this, that the Word, having ineffably and incomprehensibly united to himself hypostatically flesh animated by a rational soul, became man and was called son of man, not according to mere will or good pleasure, and neither by the assumption of a mere person,⁸¹ but that, while the natures which were brought together in true union are different, yet from them both is the one Christ and Son – not as though the difference of the natures was destroyed by the union, but rather the Godhead and the manhood by their ineffable and indescribable coming together into unity completed for us the one Lord and Christ and Son.

(4) Accordingly, although he had his existence and was begotten from the Father before the ages, he is spoken of as begotten also according to the flesh from a woman, not as though his divine nature received the beginning of its existence in the holy Virgin, yet neither as though a second generation were of necessity required for its own sake after that from the Father (for it is altogether purposeless and ignorant to say that he who existed before every aeon and is co-eternal with the Father needed a second beginning of existence); but since for us and for our salvation he united manhood to himself hypostatically and came forth from a woman, he is for this reason said to have been born in the flesh. For he was not born first from the holy Virgin as an ordinary man upon whom afterwards the Word descended but, united from the womb itself, he is said to have undergone fleshly birth, as making his own the birth of his own flesh. (5) So too we say that he both suffered and rose again, not as though God the Word suffered in his own nature either blows or the piercing of the nails or the other wounds (for the divine is impassible because it is also incorporeal); but since it was the body that had become his own that suffered, he himself again is said to have suffered these things for us, for the impassible one was in the suffering body. It is in the same way [149] that we also conceive his dying. The Word of God is by nature immortal and incorruptible and is life and life-giving; but since again his own body ‘by the grace of God tasted death on behalf of everyone,’ as Paul says,⁸² he himself is said to have suffered death on our behalf – not as though he entered into the experience of death in regard to his own nature

⁸¹ In the sense of adopting the manhood as a representative of the Godhead but with no true union of natures.

⁸² Heb 2:9.

(for to say or think that would be lunacy), but because, as I have just said, his own flesh tasted death. So again, when his flesh was raised, the resurrection is spoken of as his, not as though he fell into corruption (God forbid!), but because again his own body was raised.

(6) So we shall acknowledge one Christ and Lord, not worshipping a man together with the Word, lest a semblance of division might secretly creep in through the use of the word 'with', but worshipping him as one and the same, because his body with which he is seated with the Father is not alien to the Word; it is again not the case that two Sons are seated with the Father, but one is, in virtue of his union with the flesh. But if we reject the hypostatic union as incomprehensible or unseemly, we fall into saying two Sons, for it becomes inevitable to draw a distinction and to speak of the one as individually a man, honoured with the title of 'Son', and again of the other as individually the Word from God, possessing by nature both the name and reality of sonship. We must therefore not divide into two Sons the one Lord Jesus Christ. (7) For doing so will in no way assist the right expression of the faith, even though some allege a union of persons; for scripture did not say that the Word united to himself the person of a man, but that he became flesh.⁸³ The Word becoming flesh means nothing other than that he partook of blood and flesh like us,⁸⁴ and made our body his own, and came forth a human being from a woman, not laying aside his being God and his generation from God the Father, but even in his assumption of flesh remaining what he was. This is what the account of the pure faith everywhere proclaims; this we shall find to be the belief of the holy fathers. Accordingly they confidently called the holy Virgin *Theotokos*, not as though the nature of the Word or his Godhead received its beginning of existence from the holy Virgin, but because born from her was the holy body, rationally animated, to which having been hypostatically united the Word is said to have been born according to the flesh. This I write to you even now out of love in Christ, as I beseech you as a brother and 'charge you before Christ and the elect angels'⁸⁵ to believe and teach these things together with us, so that the peace of the churches may be preserved and the bond of unanimity and love may remain unbroken among the priests of God.

(8) Cyril bishop of Alexandria said: 'The holy and great council has heard what I sent to the most devout Nestorius in defence of the orthodox

83 Jn 1:14.

84 Heb 2:14.

85 1 Tim 5:21.

faith. I am confident that I can in no way be found guilty of departing from the orthodox account of the faith or of offending against the creed issued by the holy and great council that met in its time at Nicaea. I ask your sacredness to say whether or not what I wrote is orthodox, irreproachable and in harmony with that holy council.'

(9) [150] Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem said: 'Now that the holy creed issued at Nicaea and the letter of the most holy and most sacred archbishop Cyril has been read, the teaching of the holy council has been found to be in complete accord, and I agree and concur with these pious doctrines.'

(10) Firmus bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia said: 'By providing a detailed and exact exposition of what the most holy council at Nicaea expressed briefly and in summary, your religiousness has so explained and clarified for us the understanding in the issued creed that no ambiguity remains in the wording, everything coheres together, and the faith is confirmed. Since therefore the points made are accurate and irrefutable and introduce no innovation, I too am in agreement, since I received the same belief from the holy bishops who were my fathers.'

(11) Memnon bishop of the metropolis of Ephesus said: 'The content of the letter of the most holy and most God-beloved father and bishop Cyril that has been read accords with the creed issued by the 318 holy fathers assembled at Nicaea. We too confirm and approve it, since we find nothing missing or discordant.'

13. (1) After 124 bishops had spoken in accord, there is written at the end: 'All the bishops listed above testify the same, and their beliefs accord with the exposition of the fathers and the teaching of the letter of the most holy archbishop Cyril written to Bishop Nestorius.'

(2) Palladius bishop of Amaseia said: 'It is fitting that the letter of the most devout Nestorius also be read, which was mentioned at the beginning by the most devout presbyter Peter, so that we may know if this letter as well is in accord with the teaching of the holy fathers at Nicaea.'

(3) To the most devout and most religious fellow minister Cyril, Nestorius sends greetings in the Lord.⁸⁶

[1] The insults against us of your astounding letter⁸⁷ I forgive, as deserving a remedial patience and a response to them in due season by means of the reality itself. But it does not permit silence, since, if silence were to be

⁸⁶ The Greek text of this letter, known as Nestorius' Second Letter to Cyril, is in *ACO* 1.1.1, pp. 29–32. For its reading at Ephesus I see Graumann (2009), 37–8.

⁸⁷ Nestorius is replying to Cyril's Second Letter, just read out.

observed, this would cause great danger. I shall not extend myself to length of speech, but shall try to provide a concise account of the matter to the best of my ability, maintaining my distaste for obscure and dyspeptic loquacity. I shall begin with your charity's all-wise statements, citing them verbatim. So what are the statements of the amazing teaching of your letter? 'The holy [151] and great council said that the only-begotten Son born by nature from God the Father, true God from true God, light from light, through whom the Father made all things, came down, was incarnate, became man, suffered, rose.'⁸⁸

[2] These are the words of your religiousness, and presumably you recognize your own words. Listen then to ours, a piece of fraternal advice on behalf of piety and one that the great Paul gave in testimony to his beloved Timothy: 'Attend to reading, exhortation, teaching, for by so doing you will save both yourself and your hearers.'⁸⁹ What does 'attend' signify to me? That, reading the tradition of those holy men superficially, you were ignorant of your own ignorance, which is indeed excusable, in supposing that they said that the Word, coeternal with the Father, is passible. But peer more closely, if you like, at what they said, and you will discover that this divine choir of fathers did not say that the consubstantial Godhead is passible or that the Godhead coeternal with the Father was newly born, or rose when it raised up the destroyed temple.⁹⁰ And if you apply your hearing to the healing skills of a brother, I shall quote to you the statements of the holy fathers and relieve you of calumny against them and thereby against the divine scriptures.

[3] 'I believe,' they said, 'in our Lord Jesus Christ his only-begotten Son.' Note how they place first as foundation stones 'Lord', 'Jesus', 'Christ', 'only-begotten', and 'Son', the terms common to Godhead and manhood, and then build on top of them the tradition of the incarnation, the resurrection and the passion, so that, with certain common terms indicative of both natures coming first, sonship and lordship are not divided and the natures do not run the risk, in the uniqueness of sonship, of annihilation through merger.⁹¹

⁸⁸ 12.3 above.

⁸⁹ 1 Tim 4:13,16.

⁹⁰ Nestorius' prime concern in insisting on the distinction between the natures was to preserve uncompromised the immutability of the Godhead. See O'Keefe (1997a, 1997b).

⁹¹ Nestorius is trying to counter Cyril's strongest argument, that in the Nicene Creed the subject who is credited with becoming man, suffering, and rising again is the eternal Word, consubstantial with the Father.

[4] Paul was their teacher in this, who, when mentioning the divine incarnation and about to introduce the passion, first puts ‘Christ’, a term common to the natures, as I said just above, and then gives an account appropriate for both natures. For what is it he says? ‘Have in you the mind that was indeed in Christ Jesus, who, being in the form of God, did not think it robbery to be equal with God, but – not to quote everything – became obedient unto death, death on a cross.’⁹² For since he was about to mention the death, lest anyone might suppose from this that God the Word is passible, he puts ‘Christ’, a name that indicates both the impassible and passible essences in the unique person, with the result that Christ is without danger called both impassible and passible, impassible in Godhead, passible in the nature of the body.

[5] [152] I could say plenty on this topic, and first that in the context of the dispensation those holy fathers mentioned not ‘birth’ but ‘incarnation’, but I am aware that the promise of brevity I made at the beginning curbs my speech and directs me to your charity’s second section,⁹³ in which I would praise the distinction of the natures according to the concepts of manhood and Godhead, the conjunction of these in one person,⁹⁴ the denial that God the Word needed a second birth from a woman, and the acknowledgement that the Godhead is incapable of suffering. These tenets are truly orthodox and contrary to the wrong thinking of all the heresies about the Lord’s natures. But whether the rest introduced some hidden wisdom incomprehensible to the hearing of its readers is a matter for your subtlety to determine; but to me it seemed to contradict what had come first.⁹⁵ For I do not understand how he introduced the one he had at first proclaimed to be impassible and incapable of a second birth as again passible and newly created, as if the natural properties of God the Word are destroyed by conjunction with the temple, or as if it is thought a trivial thing by men that the sinless temple, inseparable from the divine nature, should undergo birth and death on behalf of sinners, or as if the saying of the Lord is not worthy of belief when he exclaimed to the Jews, ‘Destroy this temple and in three days I shall raise it

⁹² Phil 2:5–8.

⁹³ It is highly significant that Nestorius feels able to give a benign interpretation (admittedly somewhat tongue in cheek) to 12.4–5 above, a passage that develops *communicatio idiomatum*, that is, the ascription of the distinctive attributes of one nature to the other as a mode of expressing their union. In this passage Cyril explains this procedure as a standard mode of credal confession and does not attempt to develop the metaphysical implications. It is this that made his letter so widely acceptable, and which differentiates it from the Third Letter to Nestorius, which is bolder and far more provocative in developing the doctrine.

⁹⁴ Literally, ‘the [union] of them into a conjunction of one person.’

⁹⁵ This refers to the development of the notion of ‘hypostatic union’ in 12.6–7.

up'⁹⁶ – not ‘Destroy my Godhead and in three days it will be raised.’

[6] Wishing to expand again here, I am checked by memory of my promise; all the same, I must speak, though employing brevity. Everywhere in sacred scripture, whenever it mentions the Lord’s dispensation, what is transmitted to us is the birth and suffering not of the Godhead but of the manhood of Christ, with the result that according to the more precise nomenclature the holy Virgin should be called *Christotokos* [Mother of Christ] rather than *Theotokos*. Listen to the gospels proclaiming this: ‘The book of the birth of Jesus Christ, son of David and son of Abraham.’⁹⁷ It is manifest that God the Word was not the son of David. Take, if you like, another testimony as well: ‘Jacob begat Joseph the spouse of Mary, from whom was born Jesus who is called Christ.’⁹⁸ Consider also another saying that testifies to us: ‘The birth of Jesus Christ was in this manner. For when his mother Mary was betrothed to Joseph, she was found to have [a child] in her womb from the Holy Spirit.’⁹⁹ But who would suppose that the Godhead of the Only-begotten was a creation of the Spirit? What is the meaning of ‘The mother of Jesus was there,’¹⁰⁰ and again ‘with Mary the mother of Jesus,’¹⁰¹ and ‘That which is born in her [153] is from the Holy Spirit,’¹⁰² and ‘Take the child and his mother and flee to Egypt,’¹⁰³ and ‘concerning his Son who was born from the seed of David in respect of the flesh,’¹⁰⁴ and again, concerning the passion, ‘God, who sent his own Son in the likeness of the flesh of sin and because of sin, condemned sin in the flesh,’¹⁰⁵ and again [7] ‘Christ died for our sins,’¹⁰⁶ and ‘Christ suffered in the flesh,’¹⁰⁷ and ‘This is’ – not my Godhead but – ‘my body which is broken for you’?¹⁰⁸ And myriads of other sayings testify that the human race should not think that it is the Son’s Godhead that is recent or capable of bodily suffering but rather the flesh united to the nature of the Godhead. This is why Christ calls

96 Jn 2:19.

97 Mt 1:1.

98 Mt 1:16.

99 Mt 1:18.

100 Jn 2:1.

101 Acts 1:14.

102 Mt 1:20.

103 Mt 2:13.

104 Rom 1:3.

105 Rom 8:3.

106 1 Cor 15:3.

107 1 Pet 4:1.

108 1 Cor 11:24.

himself both lord and son of David; for ‘what,’ he said, ‘do you think about the Christ? Whose son is he?’ They said, ‘That of David.’ In reply Jesus said to them, ‘How then does David in the Spirit call him Lord, saying, “The Lord said to my Lord, Sit at my right hand”?,’¹⁰⁹ because he is totally the son of David in respect of the flesh but his lord in respect of the Godhead. [And the sayings testify that] the body is the temple of the Son’s Godhead, a temple united [to it] by a supreme and divine conjunction, with the result that it is ‘appropriated’ by the nature of the Godhead and is acknowledged to be good and worthy of what is transmitted in the gospels. But to attribute [to the Godhead] by the term ‘appropriation’ the distinguishing characteristics of the conjoined flesh, I mean birth and suffering and death, is the mark, brother, of a mind as lost as the Greeks or diseased with the insanity of Apollinarius and Arius and the other heresies, or rather something worse than them.¹¹⁰ For those who are swept off their feet by the term ‘appropriation’ are bound to make God the Word, in virtue of appropriation, share in being fed with milk and experience gradual growth and also fearfulness at the time of the passion, being in need of angelic help. I shall remain silent about circumcision and self-offering and sweat and hunger, things that as having happened for our sake are joined to the flesh as objects of veneration, but which if applied to the Godhead are understood falsely and bring down just condemnation on us as guilty of misrepresentation.

[8] This is the tradition of the holy fathers, this is the message of the divine scriptures; this is how one theologizes about both God’s love of mankind and his authority. ‘Meditate upon these things, abide in them, so that your progress may be manifest to all,’¹¹¹ says Paul to everyone. You do well to cherish your concern for those who are scandalized; and thanks be to your soul, anxious about the things of God and taking thought for our affairs. Be aware, however, that you have been misled by those who were deposed by the holy synod here for holding the tenets of the Manichees¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Mt 22:42–4.

¹¹⁰ Nestorius is arguing that embodiment may be ascribed to God the Word but not the individual experiences of the human body: we say that the Word became flesh, but not that the Word was born of Mary or suffered on the cross. His opponents accused him of implying that the one who was born of Mary and suffered was not God.

¹¹¹ 1 Tim 4:15.

¹¹² These are the layman Marius Mercator and his allies, who, residing at Constantinople, had brought charges against some leading Pelagians who had arrived in the capital, including Caelestius and Julian, only to find themselves condemned by a home synod for Manichaeism, that is, for so negative a view of the fallen human state as to be akin to radical dualism. See Kidd (1922), III, 212–5.

or perhaps by clerics of your own persuasion. For the church advances daily, and the laity are so increasing through the grace of Christ that those who behold the multitudes cry out in the words of the prophet, ‘The earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord just as water in plenty has covered the seas.’¹¹³ The emperors are overwhelmed with joy at the doctrine being made manifest.¹¹⁴ To bring this letter to an end – in respect of all the heresies that war against God and of the orthodoxy of the church may one find fulfilled for us day by day the saying, ‘The house of Saul went from weakness to weakness, while the house of David went from strength to strength.’¹¹⁵

[9] [154] This is our advice to you, as brother to brother. ‘But if anyone is contentious,’ Paul will cry out through us to such a one, ‘we have no such custom nor do the churches of God.’¹¹⁶ To all the brethren with you in Christ, both I and those with me send copious greetings. May you continue in good health and praying for us, most honoured and most religious lord.

13. (4) Cyril bishop of Alexandria said: ‘What is the opinion of this holy and great council about the letter that has just been read? Does it also appear in accord with the faith defined at the council of the holy fathers who convened in their time in the city of Nicaea or not?’¹¹⁷

(5) Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem said: ‘It is in no way in accord with the pious creed issued by the holy fathers at Nicaea, and I anathematize those who hold these beliefs, for they are utterly alien to the orthodox faith.’

(6) Flavian bishop of Philippi said: ‘All the contents of the letter that has been read are utterly hostile and totally alien to the creed issued at Nicaea by the most holy fathers, and we judge those who hold these beliefs to have no part in the correct faith.’

(7) Firmus bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia said: ‘He assumed a semblance of piety at the beginning of the letter; but being in no way able to hide his views as his address progressed, he presented them undisguised, and they are at variance with the faith of the 318 holy fathers and opposed to the letter of the most sacred bishop Cyril.’

113 Isa 11:9.

114 Nestorius is referring to the success of his violent campaign to force heretics into the mainstream church, for which see Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* VII. 29.

115 2 Sam 3:1.

116 1 Cor 11:16.

117 Note how the Nicene Creed is taken as the essential criterion of orthodoxy. The main contention of Cyril’s Second Letter to Nestorius is that in this creed all the actions and experiences of Christ are attributed to the one divine subject, the eternal Son. It was the bishops’ acceptance of Cyril’s argument that spelt Nestorius’ downfall.

(8) Valerian bishop of Iconium said: ‘Patent to all is the contrariety of the letter of the most devout Nestorius, which is not only at variance with the creed of the holy fathers at Nicaea and the letter of the most God-beloved and most holy archbishop Cyril, but is not even consistent with itself.’

14. (1) And when thirty-three bishops had next given their judgements, all the bishops cried out together: ‘Let whoever does not anathematize Nestorius be anathema. The orthodox faith anathematizes him.¹¹⁸ The holy council anathematizes him. Let whoever is in communion with Nestorius be anathema. We all anathematize the letter and the doctrines of Nestorius. We all anathematize the heretic Nestorius. We all anathematize those in communion with Nestorius. We all anathematize the impious faith of Nestorius. We all anathematize the impious teaching of Nestorius. We all anathematize the impious Nestorius. The whole world anathematizes the impious religion of Nestorius. Let whoever does not anathematize him be anathema. The orthodox faith anathematizes him. The holy council anathematizes him. Let whoever is in communion with Nestorius be anathema.’¹¹⁹

(2) Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem said: ‘Let the letter concerning the faith sent by the most holy and religious archbishop Celestine of Rome be read.’¹²⁰

15. [155] Here begins the letter of Celestine bishop of the city of Rome to Nestorius.¹²¹

To his beloved brother Nestorius, Celestine.¹²²

For some days of our life after the wicked and oft-condemned doctrine of Pelagius and Caelestius the catholic faith enjoyed peace, when both the west and the east had felled them together with the followers of their disputatiousness by the weapon of a united sentence.¹²³ Finally Atticus of holy

118 One acclamation is omitted: ‘The council anathematizes him.’

119 The final acclamation is omitted: ‘Let the letter of the most holy Bishop of Rome be read out.’

120 The next sentence in the original Greek text is omitted: ‘Peter presbyter of Alexandria and *primicerius* of the notaries read out [the following].’

121 Celestine, *ep.* 13. Here the acts of 553 give, and I translate, the original Latin text (also in *ACO* 1.2, pp. 7–12). The date of the letter is 11 August 430. For the circumstances of composition and the other six letters Celestine issued on the same day see Kidd (1922), III, 218–25.

122 The full heading will have referred to the council assembled at Rome with Celestine, for which see the Cyril, Third Letter to Nestorius 2 (p. 39 below).

123 Pelagianism was broken as a movement from the time of its condemnation by Pope Zosimus in 418. Celestine wrote to various bishops, of Constantinople, Antioch and other sees, to secure the hounding of isolated survivors, and in the previous year he had sent Germanus of Auxerre to Britain for the same purpose.

memory, a teacher of the catholic faith and truly a successor to the blessed John in this respect as well, so harried them on behalf of our common King that the opportunity to stay there was not even given to them.¹²⁴ After his death the most intense anxiety awaited us, when we were asking whether his successor would also succeed to his faith, because it is difficult to sustain what is good; for often contraries succeed each other in turn. We had after him, however, one from whom we were immediately to part, the holy Sisinnius, a colleague celebrated for his simplicity and holiness and who preached the same faith that he found. In his simple holiness and holy simplicity he had read, assuredly, that it is better to fear than to be arrogant in one's opinions,¹²⁵ that higher matters are not to be sought elsewhere,¹²⁶ and again, 'If anyone preaches another gospel than what we preach, let him be anathema.'¹²⁷ (2) On his departure, however, from this life, when our solicitude reached out as far as the Lord permitted, our spirit rejoiced at the report of the messengers who came, which was soon confirmed by the account of those colleagues who attended your ordination,¹²⁸ who bore as great testimony to you as should be borne to someone who had been chosen from another place. (3) You had lived till then with a reputation so great that a foreign city envied your own people¹²⁹ for having you; but now you are shunned with such revulsion that your own countrymen witness in others how they had been freed. We received your letter some time ago but could send no reply immediately, because the text had to be translated into Latin.¹³⁰ While, albeit belatedly, we were doing this, we received through my son the deacon Posidonius¹³¹ such a letter about you from our holy brother and my fellow bishop Cyril,¹³² a priest tried and tested, as made us lament

124 For Bishop Atticus of Constantinople (406–25) see *DHGE* 5. 161–6. His consistent hostility to the Pelagians made him popular at Rome.

125 Cf. Rom 11:20.

126 Cf. Sir 3:22 (Latin).

127 Gal 1:9. The correct text is 'than what you received.'

128 Sisinnius died on 24 December 427, Nestorius' consecration following on 10 April 428.

129 The people of Antioch where Nestorius had been a priest.

130 This refers to Nestorius' first letter to Celestine (*ACO* 1.2, pp. 12–14), dating to around Easter 429, a short letter accusing his opponents of Apollinarianism and criticizing the *Theotokos* title. The real reason for Celestine's delay was doubtless the need to hear from other bishops.

131 A deacon of Alexandria. In 444 he was to visit Rome again, as the envoy of Dioscorus.

132 Cyril, *ep.* 11 (*ACO* 1.1.5, pp. 10–12) of around April 430. Cyril appended his writings against Nestorius, including his Second Letter, to which Celestine refers below (§9),

that the testimony of those who had reported on your ordination is a thing of the past. For, as we witness, your good beginning has been followed by a bad outcome – a good beginning, I say, which had been so bruited that, responding to the report of our brethren, we came to share in their joy; but examining now both the complaint about you from the aforesaid brother and your letter, now at last translated and containing explicit blasphemies, we see that we should utter that saying of the apostle, ‘I would wish to change my voice, because I am perplexed with you.’¹³³ Indeed I have changed it, unless the impious disputant steps back from the precipice; for it is incumbent on us, as is enjoined,¹³⁴ to remove the evil one from among us.

(4) We have therefore read the content of the letter and also those books that were transmitted to us by that illustrious man my son Antiochus.¹³⁵ In them we tracked, seized and caught you; but you tried to slip away from us by loquacity, wrapping the true in the obscure, again conflating both, [156] and either confessing what you had denied or trying to deny what you had confessed. But in your letter you have delivered a clear sentence not as much on our faith as on yourself, in your wish to argue about God the Word in a way contrary to the faith of all. (5) Mark what sentence we are called to pronounce on you! Mark the fruits of your novelties! You were elected when unknown, and when known stand accused; and now one must say with the teacher of the Gentiles, ‘For how to pray as we ought we do not know.’¹³⁶ Do not these words fit that church which, guided not by knowledge of you but by report, disdained the men it had itself tested? The opinion of those who thought well of you has been betrayed, for who would have thought that within the hide of a sheep was hidden a ravenous wolf? There is a saying of the same apostle, ‘For there have to be heresies so that those who sensible become manifest.’¹³⁷ Open your ears and hear the words he spoke to Timothy and Titus: what other precept did he give them than the need to avoid profane novelties in speech?¹³⁸ The reason was that these things, which have always produced thorns and briars, contribute to impiety. Certainly he says that he asked Timothy to stay at Ephesus and charge certain persons lest anyone preach alien doctrine.¹³⁹

133 Gal 4:29.

134 1 Cor 5:13.

135 This Antiochus could be either the former praetorian prefect of Illyricum (*PLRE* 2, 102–3) or the current praetorian prefect of the east (*ibid.*, 103–4).

136 Rom 8:26.

137 1 Cor 11:19.

138 Cf. 1 Tim 6:20 and Tit 3:19.

139 Cf. 1 Tim 1:3.

Before my eyes are the words of the prophet Jeremiah, ‘Terrible things have happened on the land: prophets prophesy iniquity.’¹⁴⁰ (6) I would like you to tell me: do these words escape you as unknown, or do you know and despise them? If they escape you as unknown, do not be ashamed to learn what is right, when you are not afraid to teach what is wrong; or if you know and despise them, realize that you will be without excuse when he asks for an account of the talent committed to you, since he always expects gain through us from this his holy deposit. Mark what penalty awaits the one who hides the sum received, even though he returns complete what he received.¹⁴¹ Note clearly from this the nature and degree of the danger in not even having returned what you received. (7) Or are you going to say to our Lord, ‘I have guarded what you gave me,’ when we hear that his church is split in this way into factions? With what conscience do you live on, deserted in this city by almost all? I would have wished that they had then¹⁴² been on their guard as much as they are now, when they long to receive help. How did it enter your head to apply your words to questions that it is blasphemous even to have conceived? How did it enter your head to preach as a bishop to congregations things that undermine reverence towards the virgin birth? The purity of the ancient faith ought not to be sullied by words that are blasphemous against God. Who at any time was not judged worthy of anathema for adding to the faith or subtracting from it? For what has been handed down to us fully and clearly by the apostles needs neither addition nor diminution. We have read in our books that one should neither add nor subtract; great indeed is the penalty that constrains the one who adds or subtracts.¹⁴³

(8) In consequence we are preparing cautery and knife, because we should no longer foster wounds that deserve to be cut out; we know for certain that graver defects are always cured by greater pain. Among the many things preached by you impiously that the universal church rejects, we particularly lament the excision from the creed handed down by the apostles of those words that promise us the hope of total life and salvation.¹⁴⁴ How this could come about is revealed by your letter, about which there is no room for doubt, [157] since you yourself sent it, although we could have wished that it had not come into our hands, in order not to be compelled to pass judgement on the nature of so great a crime. The paths of all your

140 Jer 5:30–1.

141 Cf. Mt 25:14–30.

142 That is, when they elected Nestorius bishop.

143 Cf. Rev 22:18–19.

144 That is, the profession of the true incarnation and redemptive death of our divine Lord.

disputing have come to an end with a brief statement of them; you have extended yourself broadly and proceeded along many twisting paths, but by a complicated route you have reached belatedly an impious resolution.¹⁴⁵ We know the warning given by the one who enjoined that dissensions and quarrels over the law are to be avoided, 'for they are,' he said, 'useless and futile.'¹⁴⁶ No one can doubt that what is judged futile and useless is utterly profitless. (9) Therefore, even though our brother Cyril assures us that you have already been convicted by his second letter, I wish you to understand, after his first and second letters and this our rebuke, which is clearly now the third, that you have been totally severed from the universal fellowship [of bishops] and the assembly of Christians, unless what was wrongly said is immediately corrected, and unless you return to that way which Christ professes himself to be.¹⁴⁷ In foolhardiness you have wickedly taken up arms against the one who allowed you earlier to be set over his household as a faithful and prudent servant; you have lost the blessing promised to that office.¹⁴⁸ Not only do you not give food in due season, but you even kill with poison those whom he sought by his blood and his death; for there is poison on your lips, which we see to be full of cursing and bitterness,¹⁴⁹ when you strive to dispute against the one who is sweet.¹⁵⁰

(10) Where is pastoral diligence? The good shepherd lays down his life for his sheep, but he is a hireling who lets them loose and betrays them to wolves.¹⁵¹ How are you going to act here as shepherd, since you adopt the wolf's role and rend the Lord's flock? To what pen will the holy flock now flee, if it comes to harm within the very sheepfold of the church? With what defence will it be protected, when it finds in you a predator rather than a guardian? 'And I have other sheep,' says the Lord, 'that are not of this sheepfold; and them too must I lead.'¹⁵² While he promises to lead others, you let perish the ones you had, although it is certain, whenever this happens, that it is not the sheep that perish because of the shepherds but the shepherds that perish for the sake of the sheep. 'And they,' he said, 'will listen to my

145 In other words, Nestorius' brief letter to Celestine is both the summary and the climax of his blasphemies.

146 Tit 3:9.

147 Cf. Jn 14:6.

148 Cf. Mt 24:45–7.

149 Cf. Ps 13:3.

150 Cf. Ps 33:9.

151 Cf. Jn 10:11–12.

152 Jn 10:16.

voice.’ For what purpose? ‘So that there may be one flock.’¹⁵³ At his voice there is to be one flock, but at your voice it is slaughtered or put to flight. (11) It is a grim fact that the words of the blessed Paul in the Acts of the Apostles apply to you, ‘I know that after my departure grievous wolves will enter among you, not sparing the flock, and from yourselves will arise men speaking perversely, to seduce disciples after them.’¹⁵⁴ We would wish that this had been said by you about others and not by others about you; for what we are saying is something that should have been for you to teach and not for you to learn. For who can bear a bishop being taught how a Christian ought to be? Look carefully at the situation into which you are summoned: you are arraigned, you are reprovéd, you are accused. Which of these suits a priest? A grim situation calls for a grim response, if indeed there is a recompense for punishing blasphemy with words. Or do you think that we should spare you, although you yourself are so far from sparing your own soul that you wish everyone in the past, present and future to be deprived of the gift of salvation?

(12) As the faithful servant of my good master I shall openly pursue his foes, since the prophet affirms that he hated them with a perfect hatred.¹⁵⁵ I am again admonished by another speaker not to spare.¹⁵⁶ Who here should command my respect, to whom should I show some honour, when what is at issue is the removal of the ground of all my hope? In the gospel [158] are the Lord’s own words in which he says that neither father nor mother nor children nor any need should be preferred to him.¹⁵⁷ For there is often piety¹⁵⁸ of such a kind that it gives birth to impiety, when through an overwhelming affection of the flesh preference is given to a bodily love over the love that God is.¹⁵⁹ Out of consideration for the former we often defer to others; but when the one who is love itself is being opposed, even those [feelings] must be renounced whose begetter is summoned to trial.¹⁶⁰ (13) Arise at last, because these should not be called vigils which you devote not to guarding but to rapine. We would have wished you to doze over what you preach

153 Jn 10:16.

154 Acts 20:29–30.

155 Ps 138:22.

156 Cf. Deut 13:8.

157 Cf. Mt 10:37.

158 The Latin word *pietas* was used of dutifulness towards one’s family as well as towards God.

159 Cf. 1 Jn 4:8,16, ‘God is love.’

160 In other words, friendly relations with someone must be renounced when he is impeached for offending against God.

and be awake for what you impugn. But what am I saying? We would bear it more easily if you dozed over both. [For then] no one would be undone by you, no one won over by you, there would be no loss of souls for your church to grieve over and no gain of souls for her to rejoice over; it would be enough for her if you returned her to her spouse in the condition in which you received her.¹⁶¹

(14) But why should I dally with many words? As was said by the architect Paul, I look in vain for something built by you above, for in you I have found no foundation.¹⁶² I hear that the clergy, catholic in their beliefs, with whom we are in communion, suffer extreme violence in that the city itself is forbidden to them.¹⁶³ We rejoice that they are gaining the reward of confessors, but lament that it is as a result of persecution by a bishop. The blessed apostle Paul changed from a persecutor to a preacher; it is utterly abominable to have to say that a preacher has become a persecutor. (15) Go back and count up the heretics who brought disputes of this kind on the churches: who at any time returned as victor from this contest? You have assuredly an example in your own city: Paul, a citizen of Samosata, when he took possession of the church of Antioch, preached certain things and reaped the harvest of his sowing.¹⁶⁴ Other concocters of evil who took over churches were always expelled by an equal severity of verdict; those heretics also, about whom you wished to consult us as if ignorant of what had been transacted, were deposed by a right condemnation from their functions for saying what was not right. That they found rest there we do not think surprising; for they found preaching so impious that by comparison they could consider themselves innocent.¹⁶⁵

(16) In this context, because the opportunity for speech requires it, we cannot pass over in silence something that astounds us. We read that you

161 What Nestorius had impugned were the heresies he had attacked, driving many heretics into the church. This is the gain of souls that Celestine says he would, on balance, have been happy without.

162 Cf. 1 Cor 3:10.

163 Cf. the petition addressed to Theodosius II by the deacon and archimandrite Basil and other Constantinopolitan monks on Nestorius' use of force to silence his critics (*ACO* 1.1.5, pp. 7–10). When Basil and others went in a deputation to Nestorius, he had them arrested and beaten up.

164 Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, was deposed by the Council of Antioch of 269 for psilanthropism and other offences.

165 Nestorius in his letter to Celestine had sought information about the standing of certain Pelagians who had come to Constantinople to appeal to Nestorius and Theodosius II about their condemnation in the west; Nestorius professed himself in need of information from Celestine before he could respond (*ACO* 1.2, pp. 12–13).

have a sound belief in original sin, in that you have asserted that nature itself is a debtor and that the one who descended from the stock of the debtor worthily paid the debt. But what are those who were condemned for denying this doing in your company? Opposites can never come together without raising suspicion; these men would certainly have been expelled if they had been equally objectionable to you. Why do you now ask about the proceedings against them at that time, when it is certain that documentation was sent to us from there by the catholic Atticus, at that time bishop?¹⁶⁶ Why did Sisinnius of holy memory not request it? Doubtless because he had discovered that they had been justly condemned under his predecessor. May the wretches lament that they have lost all hope in men, and that now for the sake of communion only penance can help them. See, you begin to know about them, if indeed you were ignorant before. But it is your own case rather than that of others that you should attend to with catholic and speedy deliberation, since we say appropriately, 'Physician, heal yourself, you who wish to help others.' The character of your illness does not allow or permit delay.

(17) [159] We have approved and approve the faith of the priest¹⁶⁷ of the church of Alexandria; and you who have been admonished by him must again share our beliefs if you wish to share our fellowship. If you are to exhibit accord with this brother, condemning everything you have believed hitherto, we want you to preach at once what you see him to preach. We ourselves, even though it is unlawful,¹⁶⁸ wish even priests to amend; but just as we take thought for them by sending an indictment in advance, so, if they fail to make use of our salutary advice, it is necessary to confirm a sentence of condemnation against them. This, however, will be full proof of amendment, after condemning your wicked doctrine, if you restore to the church all those who have been excluded from it on account of Christ its head. Let then all those be restored who were ejected by the one worthy of ejection (unless he does what we say), although those towards whom he is recognized to have been such a person are [already] in our communion.¹⁶⁹

166 Atticus bishop of Constantinople, to which 'there' refers. Celestine perceives that Nestorius, notorious for his haste in suppressing heresy, was dragging his feet over the Pelagians.

167 Bishop Cyril.

168 Clergy were excluded from doing penance (because of the scandal of having clerics standing among the penitents); if their offence was sufficiently serious, no penalty was available short of defrocking.

169 'He' is Nestorius, required here to accept the rebellious clergy he had disciplined (cf. §14 above) back into his communion, his exclusion of them having been already quashed by Celestine.

(18) To the clergy also of the church of Constantinople, and all who bear the name of Christian, we have sent such a letter as necessity requires,¹⁷⁰ so that, if you persist in the obstinacy of perverse argumentativeness and do not preach what our brother Cyril preaches with us, they may realize that you have been excluded from our fellowship, with which you cannot have communion; they will be informed and now be on their guard by example how they need to attend to their souls with a ripe and mature judgement. Therefore be fully cognizant of this our sentence that, unless you preach on Christ our God the doctrine of both the Roman and the Alexandrian and indeed the universal catholic church, which the sacrosanct church of the city of Constantinople also believed most firmly until you, and condemn by an explicit and written profession the treacherous novelty that tries to divide what venerable scripture unites, by the tenth day, counting from the first day of this indictment becoming known to you, you are to be aware that you are excluded from the communion of the universal catholic church.

I have sent this document of our judgement on you through my son the afore-mentioned Deacon Posidonius, together with all the papers, to my holy fellow-priest and bishop of the afore-mentioned city of Alexandria, who sent us a full report of the matter, so that he may act on our behalf to ensure that our decree is made known to you and to all the brethren, because all ought to know what is being done whenever it is the cause of all that is under discussion.

(19)¹⁷¹ Peter presbyter of Alexandria and *primicerius* of the notaries said: ‘In harmony with what has been read is what has been written by his holiness our most religious bishop Cyril, which we have to hand and, if your reverence so commands, shall read out.’

(20) Flavian bishop of Philippi said: ‘When it has been read, let it also be inserted in the proceedings.’

(21) Peter presbyter and *primicerius* of the notaries read:

[160] To the most devout and most God-beloved fellow minister Nestorius

170 Celestine, *ep.* 14 (*ACO* 1.2, pp. 15–20). Summary in Kidd (1922), III, 224.

171 There now follows in the acts of the first session of Ephesus I Cyril’s Third Letter to Nestorius with this introduction. De Halleux (1992), 447–8 detected that its insertion at this point in the minutes was an interpolation that interrupts the discussion of Pope Celestine’s letter, but noted that the interpolation was made during the original editing of the minutes, in such a way that the bishops who signed the minutes inevitably signed this text as well (and it may possibly have been read out at a different stage of the session). When the Syrian bishops arrived at Ephesus a few days later, they found that the bishops with Cyril had in this manner approved the letter and the Twelve Chapters it contained.

from Cyril and the council that met at Alexandria from the Egyptian diocese, greetings in the Lord.¹⁷²

[1] Since our Saviour says clearly, ‘He who loves father or mother more than me is not worthy of me and he who loves son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me,’¹⁷³ what would we suffer if required by your devoutness to love you more than Christ our universal Saviour? Who will be able to assist us on the day of judgement or what excuse shall we find for having in this way observed a long silence over the blasphemies uttered by you against him? If you were only harming yourself by these tenets and teaching, our anxiety would be less; but since you have scandalized the whole church and have injected the leaven of bizarre and strange heresy into the laity and not only those there but also those everywhere (since the volumes of your teaching have been circulated), what defence will still excuse our silence, or how could we fail to remember Christ saying, ‘Do not think that I came to cast peace upon earth but a sword, for I came to set a man against his father and a daughter against her mother’?¹⁷⁴ For when the faith is being wronged, away with stale and perilous respect towards parents, and an end to the law of affection towards children and brothers, and may the pious now prefer death to life ‘so that they may obtain a better resurrection,’ according to the scripture.¹⁷⁵

[2] Mark therefore that together with the holy council that convened at great Rome under the presidency of our most sacred and most religious brother and fellow minister Bishop Celestine we conjure you in this third letter also, warning you to disavow the so crooked and perverted doctrines that you both hold and teach, and to adopt instead the orthodox faith handed down to the churches from the beginning by the holy apostles and evangelists, who were ‘eyewitnesses and ministers of the word’.¹⁷⁶ And if your devoutness does not do this by the deadline set in his letter by our most holy and most religious fellow minister afore-mentioned, Bishop Celestine of Rome,¹⁷⁷ know that you have no lot with us nor place or function among

172 This is the Third Letter of Cyril to Nestorius, concluding with the Twelve Chapters (or Anathemas). The Greek text is in *ACO* 1.1.1, pp. 33–42. The letter was delivered to Nestorius on Sunday, 30 November, together with the preceding letter from Pope Celestine.

173 Mt 10:37. This echoes the citation of this text in the letter of Pope Celestine just given (15.12).

174 Mt 10:34–5.

175 Heb 11:35.

176 Lk 1:2.

177 Cf. 15.18 above: by the tenth day after receipt, i.e. not later than 9 December 430.

the priests and bishops of God. For it is not possible for us to overlook churches so disrupted, laymen scandalized, the orthodox faith rejected, and the flocks scattered by you who ought to protect them, if indeed like us you were a lover of orthodox belief, following in the footsteps of the piety of the holy fathers. With all those who have been excommunicated or deprived by your devoutness on account of the faith, both laymen and clergy, we are all in communion,¹⁷⁸ for it is not right that those committed to orthodox tenets should be wronged by your verdicts because, acting admirably, they opposed you. This fact you mentioned in the letter you wrote to our most holy fellow bishop Celestine of great Rome.¹⁷⁹ It will not be sufficient for your devoutness simply to profess with us the symbol of the faith issued at that time through the Holy Spirit by the holy and great council convoked in its time at Nicaea, for you have understood and interpreted it incorrectly and indeed perversely, even if you profess the text with your voice;¹⁸⁰ but the situation requires that you acknowledge in writing and on oath that you anathematize your own foul and profane doctrines and that in future you will hold and teach what we all do, bishops and teachers and leaders of congregations in both west and east. [161] The holy council at Rome and all of us have agreed on the orthodoxy and immunity to criticism of the letters written to your devoutness by the church of Alexandria. We have appended to this our letter what you must hold and teach and what you are required to disavow. For this is the faith of the catholic and apostolic church to which all the orthodox bishops in both west and east give their assent.¹⁸¹

[3] We believe in one God, Father, Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten from the Father as only-begotten, that is, from the substance of the Father, God from God, light from light, true God from true God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father, through whom all things came into being, both those on heaven and those on earth, who for us men and for our salvation came down, was incarnate and became man, suffered, and rose on the third day, ascended into heaven, and is coming to judge the living and the dead; and in the Holy Spirit. Those who say, 'There was when he was not,' and 'Before being begotten he was not,' and that he came into being from things that are not, or assert that the Son of God is from another hypostasis

178 Cf. 15. 14 and 17 *fin.* above.

179 *ACO* 1.2, pp. 12–14, esp. p. 13, 6–25, where Nestorius says he has employed 'both anger and leniency' in dealing with 'heretics' who called Mary *Theotokos*.

180 For Nestorius' interpretation of the creed see 13.3.3 above.

181 There follows the Nicene Creed.

or substance or is changeable or alterable, these the catholic and apostolic church anathematizes.

Following in all respects the profession of the holy fathers which they composed with the Holy Spirit speaking through them, tracing the meaning of their ideas, and taking, as it were, the royal road, we affirm that the very Word of God, only-begotten and born from the very essence of the Father, true God from true God, light from light, through whom all things came into being, both those in heaven and those on earth, for our salvation came down and submitted to self-emptying, and was incarnate and became man; that is, taking flesh from the holy Virgin and making it his own from the womb, he underwent our birth and came forth ‘from woman’¹⁸² as a human being, not rejecting what he was before but even after the acquisition of flesh and blood remaining what he was before, namely God in nature and truth. We affirm that the flesh was not changed into the nature of the Godhead nor was the ineffable nature of God the Word transformed into the nature of flesh. For he is utterly changeless and immutable, ever remaining the same according to the scriptures; even when seen as an infant in swaddling clothes in the bosom of the Virgin who bore him, he still filled the whole of creation as God and was enthroned with the one who begot him; for the divine is without quantity or magnitude and is not subject to limitations.

[4] Acknowledging that the Word has indeed been hypostatically united to flesh, we worship one Son and Lord Jesus Christ, neither placing apart and separating man and God as if they were conjoined to each other by oneness of dignity and authority (for this is nothing other than empty speech) nor calling the Word from God Christ on his own and likewise the one from woman another Christ on his own, but recognizing the Word from God the Father together with his own flesh as the one and only Christ. For he was at that time anointed¹⁸³ in a human fashion together with us,¹⁸⁴ although he himself gives the Spirit to those worthy to receive it and not according to measure, as the blessed evangelist John says.¹⁸⁵ And neither do we say this, that the Word from God made his home as in an ordinary man born of the holy Virgin, lest Christ should be thought of as a divinely inspired man. For even though the Word ‘dwelt among us’ [162] and ‘the whole fullness

182 Gal 4:4.

183 The Greek word is κέχρισται – ‘Christ’ meaning ‘the anointed one’.

184 Christ was in his manhood (at the very moment of its creation and union with the Godhead) anointed with the Spirit, and this anointing he transmits to us as well. Cf. Cyril, *Scholia on the incarnation* 1, trans. McGuckin (1994), 294–5.

185 Jn 3:34.

of the Godhead' is said to have dwelt in Christ 'bodily',¹⁸⁶ nevertheless we conceive that, when he became flesh, the indwelling in him is not to be defined by us as being on the same level as the indwelling spoken of in the case of the saints; but united in nature and not changed into flesh, he brought about an indwelling such as the soul of man could be said to have with its own body.

[5] There is then one Christ and Son and Lord. It is not a case of a man enjoying simply a conjunction with God in oneness of dignity or authority, for equality of honour does not unite natures. Indeed Peter and John are equal in honour to each other, as apostles and holy disciples, but the two are not one. Nor do we conceive the mode of conjunction as one of juxtaposition (for this would not suffice for natural union), nor as one of relational participation, in the way that we also by cleaving to the Lord are one spirit with him, according to the scripture;¹⁸⁷ on the contrary, we reject the term 'conjunction'¹⁸⁸ as unable to signify the union adequately. Neither do we call the Word from God the Father Christ's God or master, lest again we openly divide into two the one Christ and Son and Lord, and incur a charge of blasphemy by making him his own God and master. For, as we have already said, the Word of God, united to flesh hypostatically, is the God of the universe and has mastery over the whole, and is neither the servant nor the master of himself; to think or speak in this way is absurd, or rather actually impious. It is true that he said that the Father was his God,¹⁸⁹ although he himself is God by nature and from his essence; nevertheless, we are not ignorant that along with being God he also became man under God according to the law appropriate to human nature. But how could he be his own God or master? Therefore as man and as accords with the limitations of self-emptying, he describes himself as being, like us, under God. In the same way he came 'under the law',¹⁹⁰ although he himself uttered the law and as God was the law-giver.

[6] We refuse to say of Christ, 'I venerate the one who is borne for the sake of the bearer, and I worship the one who is seen for the sake of the one who is unseen.'¹⁹¹ It is appalling to add in addition this also, 'The one taken

186 Jn 1:14, Col 2:9.

187 Cf. 1 Cor 6:17.

188 The word 'conjunction' (συναφεία) was the term favoured by the Antiochene school to express the union of natures in Christ.

189 Mt 27:46, Jn 20:17.

190 Gal 4:4.

191 For the same quotation in its context see Acts of Chalcedon I. 944.8 (Price and Gaddis,

up is reckoned as God together with the one who took him up.’¹⁹² For he who says this divides him again into two Christs and posits the man individually as a part and God likewise. He expressly denies the union, in virtue of which someone is not worshipped together with another, nor together with him called God, but there is conceived one Christ Jesus, only-begotten Son, honoured with a single worship together with his own flesh. We profess that the very one born from God the Father as Son and only-begotten God, despite being impassible in his own nature, suffered in the flesh for us according to the scriptures and was in the crucified body, making his own impassibly the sufferings of his own flesh. ‘By the grace of God he tasted death on behalf of all,’¹⁹³ giving his own body to it, even though by nature he is life and is himself the resurrection.¹⁹⁴ In order that, [163] having trampled death with ineffable power, he might become in his own flesh first of all ‘the first-born from the dead’¹⁹⁵ and ‘the first-fruits of those who have fallen asleep’¹⁹⁶ and might prepare the way for human nature’s return to incorruptibility, ‘by the grace of God,’ as we have just said, ‘he tasted death of behalf of all’ and returned to life on the third day, after harrying hell, with the result that, even though the resurrection of the dead is said to have been brought about ‘through man’,¹⁹⁷ we nevertheless understand ‘man’ to be the Word begotten from God and the power of death to have been abolished through him. And he will come in due time as the one Son and Lord in the glory of the Father, ‘to judge the world in righteousness,’ as it is written.¹⁹⁸

[7] We must add this also. Proclaiming the death in respect of the flesh of the only-begotten Son of God, that is, Jesus Christ, and acknowledging his return to life from the dead and ascension into haven, we perform in the churches the bloodless cult, proceed in this way to the mystic benedictions, and are sanctified by our participation in the holy flesh and the precious blood of our universal saviour Christ, not by receiving common flesh (God forbid!) nor that of a man sanctified and conjoined to the Word according

I, 328). Nestorius’ actual words were: ‘I venerate the one who is borne for the sake of the bearer; I worship the one who appears for the sake of the one who is hidden.’

192 For the full quotation see Acts of Chalcedon I. 944. 15: ‘But since God is in the one taken up, so the one taken up, as conjoined to the one who took him up, is also reckoned as God because of the one who took him up.’

193 Heb 2:9.

194 Cf. Jn 11:25.

195 Col 1:18.

196 1 Cor 15:20.

197 1 Cor 15:21.

198 Acts 17:31.

to oneness of dignity or by enjoying divine indwelling, but as the truly life-giving and very own flesh of the Word. For being life by nature as God, when he became one with his own flesh, he made it life-giving, with the result that, although he says to us, ‘Verily I say to you, unless you eat the flesh of the son of man and drink his blood...’,¹⁹⁹ we shall not count it to be as of some human individual like us (for how will man’s flesh be life-giving of its own nature?) but as having truly become the very own flesh of the one who became for us, and was accounted, son of man.

[8] As for the sayings of our Saviour in the gospels, we do not distribute them between two hypostases or persons; for the one and only Christ is not twofold, even if he is thought of as having come together into inseparable union from two different elements, just as for instance man is thought of as coming together from soul and body and yet is not twofold but one from both. But if we think soundly, we shall be certain that both the human and in addition the divine sayings were uttered by one speaker. For when he says of himself as God, ‘He who has seen me has seen the Father,’²⁰⁰ and ‘I and the Father are one,’²⁰¹ we think of his divine and inexpressible nature, in respect of which he is one with his Father because of identity of essence and is the image, stamp and radiance of his glory.²⁰² But when, not dishonouring the limitation of manhood, he says to the Jews, ‘Now you are seeking to kill me, a man who has told you the truth,’²⁰³ no less again, despite the limitations of his manhood, do we recognize him as God the Word, in equality and likeness with the Father. For if indeed it is necessary to believe that, being God by nature, he became flesh, that is, man ensouled by a rational soul, what ground could there be for anyone to feel ashamed at his sayings if they were appropriate to manhood? For if he had refused the conditions appropriate to man, who is there who could have compelled him to become man like us? But why would the one who condescends to voluntary self-emptying for our sake refuse the conditions appropriate to that self-emptying? Therefore all the sayings in the gospels are to be attributed to one person, [164] the one incarnate hypostasis of the Word. For there is one Lord Jesus Christ, according to the scriptures.²⁰⁴

[9] If indeed he is called ‘the apostle and high priest of our confession,’²⁰⁵

199 Jn 6:53.

200 Jn 14:9.

201 Jn 10:30.

202 Cf. Heb 1:3.

203 Jn 8:40.

204 1 Cor 8:6.

205 Heb 3:1.

as offering to God the Father the profession of faith from us that is proffered to him and through him to God the Father, and assuredly to the Holy Spirit also, we affirm him again to be the only-begotten Son from God by nature, and do not assign the name of priesthood and the reality itself to a man distinct from him.²⁰⁶ For he became the mediator between God and mankind and the reconciler for peace,²⁰⁷ offering himself in the odour of sweetness to God the Father. This is why he said, ‘Sacrifice and offering you did not want, but you prepared a body for me. In holocausts and sin-offerings you took no delight.’²⁰⁸ Then I said, Lo, I have come – in the scroll of the book it stands written of me – to do, O God, your will.²⁰⁹ He proffered his own body in the odour of sweetness for our sake and not rather his own. For what offering or sacrifice would he have needed for himself, when as God he transcends all sin? If ‘all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God,’²¹⁰ in that we are prone to stray and man’s nature has become infirm with sin (but he is not so) and we therefore fall short of his glory, how could it still be doubtful that he was sacrificed as the true lamb because of us and for our sake? And to say that he proffered himself for his own sake as well as for ours would in no way escape accusations of impiety; for in no way at all has he transgressed or committed sin. What offering, then, could he need, there being no sin for which it would appropriately have been made?

[10] When he says of the Spirit, ‘He will glorify me,’²¹¹ we understand this soundly and say that the one Christ and Son received glory from the Holy Spirit not out of any need of glory from another, because the Holy Spirit is not greater than he or superior to him. It is when he used his own Spirit in mighty works to display his Godhead that he says he was glorified by him, just as if one of us were to say about, perhaps, the strength in him or his skill in any matter, ‘They will glorify me.’ For even if the Spirit exists in his own hypostasis and is conceived of by himself, in that he is Spirit and not Son, nevertheless he is not alien to the Son; for he was named the ‘Spirit of truth’,²¹² while Christ is the truth,²¹³ and he is poured out by Christ just as assuredly from God the Father. Accordingly the Spirit worked miracles

206 For Cyril’s interpretation of Christ’s priesthood in the Letter to the Hebrews, and a comparison with that of his Antiochene opponents, see Young (1969).

207 Cf. 1 Tim 2:5 and Acts 7:26.

208 This last sentence is lacking in many manuscripts and is bracketed in *ACO* 1.1.1.

209 Heb 10:5–7.

210 Rom 3:23.

211 Jn 16:14.

212 Jn 16:13.

213 Cf. Jn 14:6.

at the hands of the holy apostles, and after the ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ into heaven glorified him; it was again by acting through the Holy Spirit that he was believed to be God by nature. This is why he also said, 'He will take from what is mine and announce it to you.'²¹⁴ We certainly do not say that the Spirit is wise and powerful through participation, for he is utterly perfect and not lacking in any good thing: since he is the Spirit of the power and wisdom of the Father, that is, of the Son,²¹⁵ he is in actual fact wisdom and power.

[11] Since the holy Virgin gave fleshly birth to God united to flesh hypostatically, for this reason we declare her to be *Theotokos*, not as if the nature of the Word had the beginning of its existence from the flesh – for 'he was in the beginning and the Word was God and the Word was with God,'²¹⁶ and he is the maker of the ages, coeternal with the Father, and creator of the universe –, but because, as we have said already, [165] he united manhood to itself hypostatically and underwent fleshly birth from her womb, not as if he needed of necessity on account of his own nature birth in time and in the last stages of the age, but in order that he might bless the very origin of our existence, and so that through a woman giving birth to him united to the flesh there might cease henceforth the curse against the whole race that consigns to death our bodies of earth, and so that the annulment by him of 'In grief you will bear children'²¹⁷ might prove true what was spoken by the mouth of the prophet, 'Death became strong and devoured, and again God took away every tear from every face.'²¹⁸ It is for this reason that we say that he blessed marriage itself by means of the dispensation and by going to Cana of Galilee when invited together with the holy apostles.²¹⁹

[12] These are the tenets we have been taught by the holy apostles and evangelists and the whole of inspired scripture and from the true profession of the blessed fathers. To all this your devoutness must agree and assent without any dissimulation. What it is necessary for your devoutness to anathematize is appended to this our letter.

1. If anyone does not profess that Emmanuel is truly God and that therefore the holy Virgin is *Theotokos* (for she gave fleshly birth to the Word from God made flesh), let him be anathema.

214 Jn 16:14.

215 For according to 1 Cor 1:24 Christ is 'the power of God and the wisdom of God.'

216 Jn 1:1.

217 Gen 3:16.

218 Is 25:8.

219 Cf. Jn 2:1–2.

2. If anyone does not profess that the Word from God the Father was united to the flesh hypostatically and that Christ is one with his own flesh, the same manifestly being both God and man, let him be anathema.

3. If anyone in respect of the one Christ separates the hypostases²²⁰ after the union, joining them in mere conjunction according to dignity or authority or lordship and not instead by a coming together in natural union, let him be anathema.

4. If anyone ascribes to two persons or hypostases the sayings in the gospels and apostolic writings, whether spoken by the saints with reference to Christ or by him about himself, and attributes some to a man considered individually apart from the Word from God and some, as God-befitting, to the Word from God the Father alone, let him be anathema.

5. If anyone dares to say that Christ is a divinely inspired man and not rather that he is truly God as the one Son even by nature, since the Word became flesh and shared like us in blood and flesh,²²¹ let him be anathema.

6. If anyone says that the Word from God the Father is the God or master of Christ, and does not instead profess that the same is both God and man, since the Word became flesh according to the scriptures,²²² let him be anathema.

7. If anyone says that Jesus was inspired as a man by God the Word and that the glory of the Only-begotten was assigned to him as a distinct being, let him be anathema.

8. **[166]** If anyone dares to say that the man taken up must be co-worshipped and co-glorified together with God the Word and co-named God as one with another (for the constant addition of ‘co-’²²³ compels this interpretation) and does not instead honour Emmanuel with a single worship

220 ‘The hypostases’ in the plural may seem an unexpected phrase in Cyril, but he constantly used ‘nature’ (φύσις) and ‘hypostasis’ interchangeably (whence the notorious ‘one nature’ formula). But unlike ‘nature’, which can refer to an essence or genus, hypostasis referred unambiguously to an individual instantiation of an essence. Consequently the phrase ‘the hypostases’ implies that the two natures were individuated ‘prior’ to the union, in the sense that in the union God the Word took not a generic human nature, which was then individuated in and only in the union, but an individual human nature, namely the manhood of Jesus. The Neo-Chalcedonian treatment of the human nature as a generic nature that attains individuality only in the union is not strictly Cyrillian. This reference to a plurality of hypostases was cited at the Conference of Constantinople of 532 to explain Chalcedon’s non-recognition of Cyril’s chapters (*ACO* 4.2, p. 173, 21–9).

221 Cf. Heb 2:14.

222 Cf. Jn 1:14.

223 The Greek prefix with all these words is σὺν.

and ascribe a single doxology to him, since the Word became flesh, let him be anathema.

9. If anyone says that the one Lord Jesus Christ has been glorified by the Spirit, as if he used the power through him as something from outside and received from him the ability to operate against unclean spirits and to perform miracles upon men, and does not rather say that the Spirit through whom he worked miracles was his own Spirit, let him be anathema.

10. Divine scripture says that Christ became ‘the high priest and apostle of our confession,’²²⁴ and he proffered himself for us in the odour of sweetness to God the Father.²²⁵ If therefore anyone says that it was not the Word from God himself who became our high priest and apostle when he became flesh and man like us, but a man from woman as an individual distinct from him, or if anyone says that he made the offering for his own sake and not rather for us alone (for he who knew not sin would not have needed to make an offering), let him be anathema.

11. If anyone does not profess that the flesh of the Lord is life-giving and belongs to the very Word from God the Father, but [professes that it belongs] to someone distinct from him, joined to him in dignity and possessing no more than divine indwelling, and not rather that it is life-giving because, as we have said, it came into being as belonging to the Word who has the power to give life to all things, let him be anathema.

12. If anyone does not profess that the Word of God suffered in the flesh and was crucified in the flesh and tasted death in the flesh and became ‘the firstborn from the dead,’²²⁶ since he is life and life-giving as God, let him be anathema.

16. When the statements of the holy fathers and what Cyril of religious memory had written in the two presented letters had been compared to Nestorius’ letter and the presented testimonies of the same Nestorius,²²⁷ and Nestorius’ impiety had thereby become patent, there followed his deposition.²²⁸

This is part of the proceedings that were transacted at Ephesus.

A part of the proceedings at Chalcedon concerning the letter of Leo of holy memory runs as follows:

224 Heb 3:1

225 Cf. Eph 5:2.

226 Col 1:18.

227 These ‘testimonies’ were a florilegium of extracts from Nestorius’ writings, trans. Price and Gaddis, I, 323–33.

228 This summarizes the rest of the acts of the first session of Ephesus I (*ACO* 1.1.2, pp. 36–54).

17. From the Third Act transacted at Chalcedon.²²⁹

The most magnificent and most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'At the previous session an investigation was made into the deposition of Flavian of devout memory and of the most devout bishop Eusebius. It was evident to all that the inquiry proceeded in accordance with justice and due process, and it was then proved that they had been deposed in a manner both cruel and improper. The steps we thought necessary to be taken on this matter were then made known to you by the resolution. The question that is now to be investigated, judged and studied is how to confirm the true faith; it is particularly because of the faith that the council has assembled. You know that each one of you will give an account to God on behalf both of his own soul and of all of us, who long both to be taught the truths of religion correctly [167] and to see every dispute resolved through the concord and agreement, harmonious exposition and teaching, of all the sacred fathers. Therefore apply yourselves without fear, favour or enmity to produce a pure exposition of the faith, so that even those who appear not to share the views of all may be restored to harmony by acknowledging the truth. We wish you to know that the most divine and most pious master of the world and we ourselves preserve the orthodox faith handed down by the 318, by the 150,²³⁰ and by the other holy and glorious fathers, and believe in accordance with it.'

18. And when the creed of the 318 holy fathers and also the teaching of the 150 holy fathers and the letters of Cyril of holy memory had been read out, there was presented for reading also the letter of Leo of holy memory, which runs as follows:²³¹

19. Leo bishop of Rome to his beloved brother Flavian

[1] Having read the letter of your love, which we are amazed was so late,²³² and having studied the sequence of the episcopal acts, we at length

229 Acts of Chalcedon II. 2, Greek text in *ACO* 2.1, pp. 273,37–274,15 (Price and Gaddis, II, 9–10). This was chronologically the second session of the Council but is numbered as the third in the Greek Acts and the first version (*versio antiqua*) of the Latin.

230 The Fathers of the Councils of Nicaea (the 318) and Constantinople (the 150).

231 This paragraph summarizes what follows in the Acts of Chalcedon (II. 3–21) and is followed by the Tome of Leo of 13 June 449, as read out at Chalcedon (II. 22). I translate the Latin text. The Greek version, which was the one read out both at Chalcedon and here at Constantinople, is translated in Price and Gaddis, II, 14–24.

232 Flavian wrote to Leo immediately after the Home Synod of November 448 at which Eutyches was condemned, but his letter, to which the synodical acts were attached, took months to reach him.

came to know what cause of offence occurring among you had arisen against the integrity of the faith, and that which earlier was hidden has now been revealed and made clear to us. As a result Eutyches, who appeared worthy of honour because of his title of presbyter, is shown to be extremely imprudent and utterly ignorant, with the consequence that the saying of the prophet applies precisely to him, ‘He refused to understand so as to do good; he meditated wickedness on his bed.’²³³ For what could be more wicked than to hold impious opinions and refuse credence to those more wise and more learned? But into this folly fall those who through a lack of clarity are hindered from recognizing the truth, and who have recourse not to the prophetic sayings or the writings of the apostles or the authority of the gospels but to themselves, and are consequently teachers of error because they have not been disciples of truth. For what education from the sacred pages of the Old and New Testament has been gained by one who has not even grasped the rudiments of the creed? And is what the voice of all those to be born again proclaims throughout the world²³⁴ still beyond the comprehension of this old man?

[2] Ignorant therefore of what he ought to think about the incarnation of God the Word, and refusing to labour in the wide field of the holy scriptures so as to acquire the light of understanding, he could through attentive listening at least have learnt that common and shared confession with which the whole body of the faithful professes that it believes in ‘God the Father Almighty’, and in ‘Christ Jesus his only Son, our Lord’, ‘who was born from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary’ – by which three declarations²³⁵ the machinations of virtually all the heretics are defeated. For when God is believed to be both Almighty and Father the Son is proved to be coeternal with him, differing from the Father in nothing, since he is God from God, Almighty from Almighty, born from eternity as coeternal, not later in time nor less in power, not dissimilar in glory nor severed in essence. But the very same, eternal Only-begotten of the eternal Father, was born from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary; this birth in time subtracted nothing from his divine and eternal birth [168] and added nothing to it, but expended the whole of itself in restoring man who had been deceived, in order to conquer death and defeat by its own power the devil who exercised death’s sovereignty. For we would not have been able to conquer the author of sin

²³³ Ps 35:4.

²³⁴ The creed was recited by those about to be baptized.

²³⁵ The first three clauses of the western baptismal creed, as just cited, to which compare the early witnesses given in Denzinger-Schönmetzer (1967), 21–3.

and death if our nature had not been taken and made his own by the one whom neither sin could defile nor death detain; for he was indeed conceived from the Holy Spirit within the womb of the Virgin Mother, who brought him forth while preserving her virginity, just as she conceived him while preserving her virginity.

But if from this most pure fount of Christian faith he could not draw a sound understanding, because he had obscured the clarity of evident truth through a blindness peculiar to himself, he could have submitted to the teaching of the gospels. And while Matthew says, ‘The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham,’²³⁶ he could have sought out as well the instruction of the apostolic preaching. And when he read in the Letter to the Romans, ‘Paul the servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle and set apart for the gospel of God, which he promised beforehand through his prophets in the holy scriptures concerning his Son who according to the flesh was made for him from the seed of David,’²³⁷ he could have turned his pious attention to the prophetic pages. And when he found the promise of God uttered to Abraham, ‘In your seed will all the nations be blessed,’²³⁸ he could, in order to be in no doubt about the character of this ‘seed’, have followed the apostle, saying, ‘The promises were uttered to Abraham and to his seed; he did not say “and to seeds”, with reference to many, but with reference to one “and to your seed”, which is Christ.’²³⁹ He could also have grasped through inner hearing the preaching of Isaiah, saying, ‘Behold, a virgin will conceive in her womb and will bear a son, and his name will be called Emmanuel, which, being interpreted, is God with us,’²⁴⁰ and he could have faithfully read the words of the same prophet, ‘A child has been born for us, and a son has been given to us, whose authority is upon his shoulders, and they will call his name “Angel of great counsel, admirable counsellor, mighty God, prince of peace, father of the age to come”.’²⁴¹ Then he would not, speaking vainly, be saying that the Word became flesh in such a way that Christ, when born from the Virgin’s womb, possessed human form but did not possess the truth of his mother’s body.²⁴² Or did he perhaps think that the Lord Jesus Christ is not of our nature because

236 Mt 1:1.

237 Rom 1:1–3.

238 Gen 22:18.

239 Gal 3:16, on Gen 12:7.

240 Is 7:14.

241 Is 9:6.

242 Cf. Acts of Chalcedon I. 522.

the angel sent to the blessed Mary said, ‘The Holy Spirit will come upon you and the power of the Most High will overshadow you, and therefore the holy thing that will be born from you will be called the Son of God,’²⁴³ in such a way that, because the conception of the Virgin was a divine work, the flesh of the one conceived was not of the nature of the one conceiving? But that generation, which is uniquely wonderful and wonderfully unique, is not to be understood in such a way that through the novelty of the mode of creation the character of the race was abolished. For the fruitfulness of the Virgin was the gift of the Holy Spirit, but the truth of [his] body was taken from [her] body, and when Wisdom built itself a house²⁴⁴ ‘the Word became flesh and dwelt among us,’²⁴⁵ that is, in the very flesh that he took from mankind and which he animated with the spirit of rational life.

[3] With, therefore, the distinctive character of each nature being preserved and coming together into one person, lowliness was adopted by divinity, infirmity by power, mortality by immortality; and for the payment of the debt of our condition²⁴⁶ the inviolable nature was united to the passible nature, so that (which fitted our cure) **[169]** one and the same, ‘the mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus,’²⁴⁷ would be able to die in virtue of the one and would not be able to die in virtue of the other. Therefore in the integral and complete nature of true man true God was born, complete in what is his own and complete in what is ours. We call ours that which the Creator fashioned in us from the beginning and which he took on to restore; for that which the deceiver introduced (and the man, being deceived, admitted) had no trace in the Saviour. Nor because he entered into a share in human infirmity did he in consequence participate in our offences. He took the form of a servant without the defilement of sin, augmenting the human without lessening the divine, since that emptying through which the invisible made himself visible (and the Creator and Lord of all things chose to be one among mortal men) was a condescension of compassion and not a deficiency of power. Therefore the one who (while remaining in the form of God) made man, in the form of a servant was made man; for each nature preserves without defect its own distinctive character, and just as the form of God does not take away the form of the servant, so the form of the servant does not diminish the form of God. For because the devil boasted that man,

243 Lk 1:35.

244 Cf. Prov 9:1.

245 Jn 1:14.

246 That is, death as incurred by the sin of Adam (Gen 2:17).

247 1 Tim 2:5.

having been cheated by his deceit, had lost the divine gifts and, having been stripped of the endowment of immortality, had come under a heavy sentence of death, and that he [the devil] had found some comfort in his own ills from the companionship of the culprit, and that in addition God, since justice demanded it, had altered his purpose towards man, whom he had fashioned with so great honour, there was need for the dispensation of a secret plan, so that the unchangeable God, whose will cannot lose its benevolence, might accomplish with a more arcane mystery the original dispensation of his kindness towards us, and so that man, forced into guilt by the cunning of diabolical wickedness, might not perish contrary to the purposes of God.

[4] Therefore the Son of God enters the lower regions of the world, descending from his heavenly throne but not parting from the glory of the Father, born by a new order and a new birth – by a new order because, though invisible in what is his own, he became visible in what is ours, and though incomprehensible he willed to be comprehended, and while remaining prior to time he began to exist in time, and though master of the universe he assumed the form of a servant, veiling the immeasurableness of his majesty. The impassible God did not disdain to be a passible man nor, though immortal, to submit to the laws of death. And he was born by a new birth, since inviolate virginity, without experiencing desire, supplied the material of the flesh; there was taken from the mother of the Lord nature but not guilt. Nor in the Lord Jesus Christ born from the womb of the Virgin is the nature dissimilar to our own because the birth is miraculous; for the one who is true God is himself true man. And there is no deceptiveness in this union, in that both the lowliness of the man and the elevation of the Godhead are in a reciprocal relationship;²⁴⁸ for just as God is not changed by his compassion, so the man is not consumed by his [new] dignity.

For each form does²⁴⁹ what is proper to it in communion with the other,²⁵⁰ the Word (evidently) performing what is the Word's, and the flesh accomplishing what is of the flesh; of these one shines with miracles and the other succumbs to injuries. And just as the Word does not depart from equality

248 The Latin is *invicem sunt*, sometimes translated 'alternate', with reference to the two different operations of the Son treated in the following section. But, as the following sentence makes plain, the reference here is to an exchange of status, the Godhead condescending and the manhood being exalted.

249 Meaning not that each nature is an agent but that each nature, as a concrete existent, has effects in the real world, according to a standard definition of 'nature'; see Chadwick (1981), 191–2.

250 Cf. Leo, *ep.* 124.5: the flesh does not act without the Word nor the Word without the flesh.

with the Father's glory, so the flesh does not abandon the nature of our race. For one and the same, as must repeatedly be stated,²⁵¹ is truly Son of God and truly son of man, God in that 'in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God,'²⁵² man in that 'the Word became flesh and dwelt among us,'²⁵³ God in that 'through him all things came into being, and without him nothing came into being,'²⁵⁴ man in that 'he came into being from a woman, and came into being under the law.'²⁵⁵ The birth of the flesh is a display of human nature, [170] while the child-bearing of the Virgin is an indication of divine power; and the infancy of the child is displayed by the meanness of the swaddling clothes, while the greatness of the Most High is proclaimed by the voices of the angels. He whom Herod impiously plots to kill is like the first stage of humanity, but it is the master of all things whom the Magi rejoice to worship with supplication. Already when he came to be baptized by his forerunner John, lest he should go unnoticed because his Godhead was hidden by the veil of the flesh, the voice of the Father resounding from heaven declared, 'This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased.'²⁵⁶ And so he who as man is tempted by the wiles of the devil is served as God by the ministry of the angels. To hunger and thirst, to be weary and to sleep are clearly human, but to satisfy five thousand men with five loaves and to give to the Samaritan woman living water, a draught from which makes the one who drinks it never thirst again, to walk on the surface of the sea without one's feet sinking and to still the surging of the waves by rebuking the swell are without doubt divine. As therefore, to omit many instances, it is not of the same nature to weep for a dead friend out of a feeling of pity and, when the mound of a burial already four days old was removed, to raise him to new life by a command of the voice,²⁵⁷ or to hang on the cross and to make all the elements shake, with the light changed to night, or to be pierced with the nails and to open the gates of paradise to the faith of the thief, so also it is not of the same nature to say, 'I and the Father are one,' and to say, 'The Father is greater than I.'²⁵⁸ For although in the Lord Jesus Christ there is one person of God and man,

251 This last phrase is lacking in Parisinus and in the Greek translation of the Tome (*ACO* 2.1, p. 15, 3).

252 Jn 1:1.

253 Jn 1:14.

254 Jn 1:3.

255 Gal 4:4.

256 Mt 3:17.

257 The raising of Lazarus, Jn 11: 35–44.

258 Jn 10:30 and 14:28.

nevertheless the source of the outrage that is common to both is different from the source of the glory that is common; for he has from what is ours the manhood that is less than the Father, and he has from the Father the Godhead that is equal with the Father.

[5] Because, then, of this oneness of person to be conceived in each nature the Son of man is said to have come down from heaven, since the Son of God took flesh from the Virgin from whom he was born; and again the Son of God is said to have been crucified and buried, even though he suffered these things not in the very Godhead in which as only-begotten he is coeternal and consubstantial with the Father but in the weakness of human nature. Whence it is that in the creed we all acknowledge the only-begotten Son of God to have been crucified and buried, according to that saying of the apostle, 'For if they had known, they would never have crucified the Lord of majesty.'²⁵⁹ When our very Lord and Saviour was instructing the faith of the disciples by asking questions, he said, 'Who do men say that the son of man is?' And when they revealed the various opinions of others, he said, 'Whom do you say that I am? I, that is, who am the son of man and whom you behold in the form of a servant and in true flesh, whom do you say that I am?' When the blessed Peter, divinely inspired and about to benefit all the nations through his profession, replied, 'You are the Christ, the Son of the living God,' he was deservedly declared blessed by the Lord, and from the archetypal rock drew the solidity of both his power and his name.²⁶⁰ Through the revelation of the Father he professed the same [person] to be both Son of God and Christ, since one of these accepted without the other did not assist salvation, and it was equally perilous to have believed the Lord Jesus Christ to be either solely God without man or man only without God. But after the resurrection of the Lord, which was manifestly of the true body since no other was raised than the one who had been crucified and had died, what else was accomplished in his forty-day tarrying than the cleansing of the purity of our faith from all blindness? For conversing with his disciples, living and eating with them, and letting himself be handled with a diligent and inquisitive touch [171] by those stricken by doubt, for this reason he went in to visit the disciples when the doors were closed, communicated the Holy Spirit by his breath and by bestowing the light of understanding revealed the secrets of the holy scriptures. He also showed the wound in his side, the piercing of

²⁵⁹ 1 Cor 2:8. Leo is expounding the principle of *communicatio idiomatum*, according to which the union of the two natures is expressed by attributing to each nature what properly belongs to the other.

²⁶⁰ Mt 16: 13–18.

the nails, and all the marks of his recent passion, saying, ‘See my hands and feet, that it is I; touch and see, because a spirit does not have flesh and bones as you see that I have,’²⁶¹ in order that the distinctive character of both divine and human nature might be acknowledged to remain in him inseparably, and that we might thereby learn that the Word is not the same as the flesh, and that we might profess that both Word and flesh are the one Son of God.

Of this mystery of the faith this Eutyches must be deemed utterly lacking, for he acknowledged our nature in the only-begotten of God neither in the lowliness of the manhood nor in the glory of the resurrection, nor did he fear the verdict of the blessed apostle and evangelist John, saying, ‘Every spirit that acknowledges that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is from God, and every spirit that dissolves Jesus Christ is not from God, and this is the Antichrist.’²⁶² What is it to ‘dissolve Christ’ if not to sever from him his human nature and to make vain by shameless fictions the mystery through which alone we have been saved? He who obscures the nature of the body of Christ is necessarily fooled by the same blindness in relation to his passion as well. For if he does not think the cross of the Lord to be false and is in no doubt that the punishment he underwent for the salvation of the world was real, let him then acknowledge the flesh of the one whose death he believes in, and let him not deny that the one whom he acknowledges to have been passible was of our body, since the denial of the true flesh is a denial of the body’s suffering as well. If therefore he accepts the faith of Christians and does not avert his hearing from the preaching of the gospel, let him observe which nature it was that, pierced by the nails, hung on the wood of the cross; and when the side of the one crucified was opened by the soldier’s lance, let him grasp whence the blood and water flowed so that the church of God might be watered by both the bath [of baptism] and the cup.²⁶³ Let him hear blessed Peter the apostle preaching that ‘sanctification by the Spirit occurs through the sprinkling of the blood of Christ,’²⁶⁴ and let him not read cursorily the words of the same apostle, saying, ‘Knowing that you have been ransomed from your vain mode of life inherited from your fathers not by corruptible things, silver and gold, but by the precious blood of Jesus Christ as of a unsullied and spotless lamb.’²⁶⁵ Let him also not reject the witness of blessed John the apostle, saying, ‘The blood of Jesus Christ the Son of God

261 Lk 24:39.

262 1 Jn 4:2–3.

263 Cf. Jn 19:34.

264 1 Pet 1:2.

265 1 Pet 1:18–19.

cleanses us from every sin,²⁶⁶ and again, ‘This is the victory that conquers the world, our faith. Who is it who conquers the world if not the one who believes that Jesus is the Son of God? This is he who comes through water and blood, Jesus Christ, not in water alone but in water and blood; and it is the Spirit who bears witness that Christ is the truth. For there are three who bear witness, the Spirit and the water and the blood, and these three are one,²⁶⁷ namely, the Spirit of sanctification and the blood of redemption, and the water of baptism, which three are one and remain indivisible, and none of them is separated from their conjunction, since the catholic church lives and advances in this faith – belief neither in manhood without true Godhead nor in Godhead without true manhood.

[6] When, however, in reply to interrogation at your hearing Eutyches said, [172] ‘I profess that our Lord was from two natures before the union, but after the union I profess one nature,’²⁶⁸ I am amazed that so absurd and so perverse a profession was not criticized in any rebuke by the judges, and that so senseless and utterly blasphemous a statement was passed over as if nothing offensive had been heard,²⁶⁹ although it is just as impious to say that the only-begotten Son of God was of two natures before the incarnation as it is execrable to assert that after the Word became flesh there was a single nature in him. Lest Eutyches should suppose that his statement was correct or acceptable, because it was not refuted by any judgement on your part, we recommend to the diligence of your love, dearest brother, that if through the inspiration of God’s mercy the case is brought to a satisfactory conclusion, the imprudence of this ignorant man may be purged of this pestilent notion of his as well. He indeed, as the sequence of the proceedings makes plain, had made a good beginning in drawing back from his convictions when, constrained by your judgement, he professed that he affirmed what he had not affirmed before and acquiesced in that faith to which he had previously been a stranger; but when he refused to give his assent to the anathematization of the impious doctrine, your brotherhood recognized that he persisted in his heresy and deserved to receive a verdict of condemnation. If he is

266 1 Jn 1:7.

267 1 Jn 5:4–8. ‘Christ is the truth’ is the Latin version, while the original Greek of 1 Jn has ‘the Spirit is the truth’.

268 Acts of Chalcedon I. 527.

269 An unexpected criticism, since shortly afterwards the synod required Eutyches to acknowledge two natures after the union (I. 542–5). But he was not required to withdraw his assertion of two natures *before* the union, since (although misunderstood by Leo to imply the pre-existence of the manhood) all it meant was that, if we think of Christ apart from the hypostatic union, we think of the Godhead and manhood as two distinct realities.

honestly and constructively repentant about this, and if, even belatedly, he recognizes how rightly the authority of the bishops was stirred into action, or if, to make full amends, he condemns all his evil opinions by a spoken declaration and accompanying signature, no degree of mercy towards the one set right will be open to censure, since our Lord, the true and good shepherd who laid down his life for his sheep and who came to save, not destroy, the souls of men,²⁷⁰ wishes us to be imitators of his kindness, so that, while justice must coerce sinners, mercy should not reject the repentant. For then at last is the defence of the true faith most fruitful, when a false belief is condemned by its very adherents.

To conclude the whole matter dutifully and faithfully we have sent in our stead our brothers Bishop Julius and the presbyter Renuatus of the title of St Clement, and also my son Hilary the deacon, to whom we have joined our notary Dulcitus, whose faith we have often approved, being confident that the help of God will be present, so that he who had gone astray may be saved by condemning the perversity of his own opinions.

20. Again from the same Act.²⁷¹

(1) Atticus the most devout bishop of the city of Nicopolis said: 'Since your magnificence has shown readiness to listen with patience, give instructions that it be granted to us that within a few days what is pleasing to God and to the holy fathers be formulated with calm reflection and unruffled thought, since the letter of our master and holy father and archbishop Leo who adorns the apostolic see has now been read. We should also be provided with the letter of the blessed Cyril written to Nestorius in which he urges him [173] to assent to the Twelve Chapters, so that at the time of the examination we may be found well prepared.'²⁷²

(2) The most devout bishops exclaimed: 'If you give instructions accordingly, we request that the fathers take part in the examination.'²⁷³

(3) The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'The hearing will be adjourned for five days, so that in the meantime

270 Cf. Jn 10:11, Lk 9:56.

271 Acts of Chalcedon II. 29–31, Greek text in *ACO* 2.1, pp. 278,37–279,11.

272 This is the only reference in the Acts of Chalcedon to Cyril's Third Letter to Nestorius with its Twelve Anathemas (or Chapters). The implication intended here is that the fathers of Chalcedon took them into account when they proceeded to confirm Leo's Tome and produce the Definition. But there is no sign in the Acts of Chalcedon that Atticus' request was attended to.

273 The reference is to the six bishops suspended at the end of Session I of Chalcedon because of their leading role at the 'Robber Council' of Ephesus of 449. All of them with the exception of Dioscorus were reinstated at Session IV.

your holinesses may convene in the residence of the most holy archbishop Anatolius and deliberate together about the faith, so that the objectors may be instructed.’

21. From the Fourth Act of the same holy council.²⁷⁴

The most magnificent and most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Let each of the most devout bishops of the present holy council exert himself to set out in writing what he believes, without any anxiety and keeping the fear of God before his eyes, recognizing that the beliefs of our most divine and most pious master accord with the creed of the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea and the creed of the 150 fathers after that, with the canonical letters and expositions of the most holy fathers Gregory, Basil, Hilary, Athanasius and Ambrose, and with the two canonical letters of Cyril that were approved and published at the first council of Ephesus,²⁷⁵ and do not depart from their faith in any way. In addition the most devout Leo archbishop of Elder Rome sent a letter to Flavian of devout memory concerning the dispute that Eutyches impiously stirred up in opposition to the catholic religion.’

22. *And further down.*²⁷⁶ (1) The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Since we see the divine gospels displayed by your devoutness, let each of the most devout bishops assembled state if the definition of the 318 fathers who met formerly at Nicaea and of the 150 who convened subsequently in the imperial city is in harmony with the letter of the most devout archbishop Leo.’

(2) Anatolius the most devout archbishop of imperial Constantinople said: ‘The letter of the most sacred and most God-beloved archbishop Leo accords with the creed of our 318 holy fathers at Nicaea and of the 150 who subsequently assembled at Constantinople and confirmed the same faith, and with the proceedings of the ecumenical and holy council at Ephesus under the most blessed and sainted Cyril, when it deposed the infamous Nestorius. Therefore I have both expressed agreement and signed willingly.’

Paschasinus and Lucentius the most devout bishops and Boniface the most devout presbyter, [174] representatives of the apostolic see, said

²⁷⁴ Acts of Chalcedon IV. 3 (second paragraph), Greek text in *ACO* 2.1, pp. 288,32–289,2.

²⁷⁵ The ‘two canonical letters’ of Cyril associated with Ephesus I and treated as canonical at Chalcedon were the Second Letter to Nestorius and the *Laetentur caeli* letter to John of Antioch (even though the latter was written more than a year after the council). But in 553 they were presumed to be the Second and Third Letters to Nestorius.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.* IV. 8–9.7, Greek text in *ACO* 2.1, pp. 289,36–290,29.

through Paschasinus: ‘It is clear and cannot be disputed that the faith of the most blessed pope Leo archbishop of the apostolic see is one and in accord with the creed of the 318 fathers who assembled at Nicaea, and that it also upholds that of the 150 who convened at Constantinople, and in addition the decrees of Ephesus under Cyril of holy memory when Nestorius was deposed on account of his errors; it differs from them in no way at all. Because of this it has been demonstrated that the letter of the most blessed pope, which renewed this faith because of the errors of Eutyches, accords with the same faith, having one and the same spirit.’

Maximus the most devout bishop of Antioch in Syria said: ‘The letter of the most holy Leo archbishop of imperial Rome accords with the definitions of the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea, of the 150 at Constantinople New Rome, and with the faith defined at Ephesus by the most holy bishop Cyril, and I have subscribed.’

Stephen the most devout bishop of Ephesus said: ‘The letter is in accord, and I have subscribed.’

Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cyzicus said: ‘It is in accord, and I have signed it.’

23. And when all had subsequently said the same,²⁷⁷ all the most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘We all agree. We all assent. We all believe likewise. We are all of the same opinion. Such is our opinion. Such is our faith.’

24. The holy council said:²⁷⁸ ‘From what has been read it has become clear how holy councils are wont to approve what is presented to them. For although those most holy men who had written the letters read out were so resplendent, even so they did not give their approval to these letters simply and without investigation, but only if they recognized that they agreed in all respects with the teaching and doctrine of the holy fathers, which was the purpose of the comparison. In consequence, all who attended the council spoke unanimously and in agreement. Therefore, following this rule, we give orders for a reading of the Definition of Faith issued by the holy Council of Chalcedon.’

25. And when Stephen the most devout deacon and notary and *instrumentarius* had received it, he read out:²⁷⁹

277 This summarizes *ibid.* IV. 9 (8–161), where the bishops in turn expressed agreement that the Tome of Leo was in accord with the creeds and with the decrees of Ephesus I. There follows IV. 11 *init.*, Greek text in *ACO* 2.1, p. 305, 11–13.

278 The reading completed, Patriarch Eutychius now speaks.

279 Now follows the Chalcedonian Definition, Greek text in *ACO* 2.1, pp. 322–6.

(1) The holy, great and ecumenical council, convened according to the grace of God and the decree of our most pious and Christ-loving emperors Valentinian and Marcian Augusti in the metropolis of Chalcedon in the province of Bithynia and in the martyrdom of the holy and victorious martyr Euphemia, has issued the following definition:

[175] Christ our Lord and Saviour, confirming for his disciples the knowledge of the faith, said, 'My peace I give to you, my peace I leave to you,'²⁸⁰ in order that no one should differ with his neighbour over the doctrines of piety, but that the message of the truth should be proclaimed uniformly. But since the evil one does not desist from choking with his weeds the seeds of piety, and is always concocting something new against the truth, for this reason the Lord, taking thought as is his wont for the human race, has stirred up the zeal of this pious and most faithful emperor and summoned to himself the leaders of the priesthood everywhere, in order through the operation of the grace of Christ the master of us all to shake off every corruption of falsehood from the flock of Christ and fatten it on the shoots of the truth.

This indeed we have done, having by a unanimous decree repelled the doctrines of error, renewed the unerring faith of the fathers, proclaimed to all the symbol of the 318, and endorsed as akin the fathers who received this compendium of piety, that is, the 150 who subsequently assembled in great Constantinople and set their own seal on the same faith. Upholding also on our part the order and all the decrees on the faith of the holy council that formerly took place at Ephesus, of whom the leaders were the most holy in memory Celestine of Rome and Cyril of Alexandria, we decree the pre-eminence of the exposition of the orthodox and impeccable faith by the 318 holy and blessed fathers who convened at Nicaea under the then emperor Constantine of pious memory, and also the validity of the definition by the 150 holy fathers in Constantinople for the uprooting of the heresies that had then sprung up and for the confirmation of our same catholic and apostolic faith.

(2) The symbol of the 318 fathers at Nicaea²⁸¹

We believe in one God, Father, Almighty, maker of all things visible

²⁸⁰ Jn 14: 27.

²⁸¹ This is the authentic text of the Nicene Creed, which we find at this point both in these acts and in the extant Greek text of the Acts of Chalcedon. However, the Latin Acts of Chalcedon and probably the original Greek text gave a revised text, bringing it into line with the wording of the Creed of Constantinople given immediately afterwards. See Price and Gaddis, II, 191–4.

and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten from the Father as only-begotten, that is, from the substance of the Father, God from God, light from light, true God from true God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father, through whom all things came into being, both those on heaven and those on earth, who for us men and for our salvation came down, was incarnate and became man, suffered, and rose on the third day, ascended into heaven, and²⁸² is coming to judge the living and the dead; and in the Holy Spirit. Those who say, 'There was when he was not,' and 'Before being begotten he was not,' and that he came into being from things that are not, or assert that the Son of God is from another hypostasis or substance or is changeable or alterable, these the catholic and apostolic church anathematizes.

(3) [176] The symbol of the 150 holy fathers²⁸³

We believe in one God, Father, Almighty, maker of heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible; and in the one Jesus Christ, our Lord,²⁸⁴ the only-begotten Son of God, who was begotten from the Father before all ages, God from God, light from light, true God from true God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father, through whom all things came into being, who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven and was incarnate from the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin, became man, was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate and was buried, rose on the third day, ascended into heaven, is seated at the right hand of the Father, and is coming again with glory to judge the living and the dead, of whose kingdom there will not be an end; and in the Holy Spirit, the lord and life-giver, who proceeds from the Father, who with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified together, who spoke through the prophets; and in one catholic and apostolic church. We profess one baptism for the remission of sins. We await the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the age to come. Amen.

(4) This wise and saving symbol of divine grace should indeed be sufficient for the perfect knowledge and confirmation of piety, for on the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit its teaching is complete, while to those who

282 The Latin text has *inde*: 'whence [he].' This is standard in Latin versions of the creed, but is not to be found in Greek ones.

283 This is one of the many slightly variant forms of the text, which may be compared with the two to be found in the Acts of Chalcedon, at II. 14 and V. 33.

284 The original word order allows the meaning 'our one Lord', but compare the same phrase in Session VIII, Canon 7: in the context of the Christological debate the point at issue is not the sole lordship of Christ but the unity of his person. The original text of the creed, as we find it in the Acts of Chalcedon, lacked 'our.'

receive it faithfully it also sets forth the incarnation of the Lord. Nevertheless those who attempt to set at nought the preaching of the truth by heresies of their own have propagated nonsense, some having dared to destroy the mystery of the dispensation of the Lord on our behalf and denying to the Virgin the name of *Theotokos*, while others, introducing merger and mixture, mindlessly invent that there is one nature of flesh and Godhead, and through this merger fantasize that the divine nature of the Only-begotten is passible. For this reason, wishing to close off from them every device against the truth, this holy, great and ecumenical council now present, expounding the firmness of the proclamation from of old, has decreed first and foremost that the creed of the 318 holy fathers is to remain inviolate. Furthermore, it confirms the teaching on the essence of the Holy Spirit that was handed down at a later date by the 150 fathers who assembled in the imperial city because of those who were fighting the Holy Spirit; this teaching they made known to all, not as though they were inserting something omitted by their predecessors, but rather making clear by scriptural testimony²⁸⁵ the latter's conception of the Holy Spirit against those who were trying to annul his sovereignty. And because of those who attempt to destroy the mystery of the dispensation, shamelessly blathering that he who was born of the Holy Virgin Mary is a mere human being, the council has accepted as in keeping [with these creeds] the conciliar letters of the blessed Cyril, then shepherd of the church of Alexandria, to Nestorius and to those of the east, for the refutation of the insanity of Nestorius and for the instruction of those who with pious zeal desire to know the meaning of the saving symbol. To these letters it has attached appropriately, for the confirmation of the orthodox doctrines, the letter written by the president of the great and Elder Rome, the most blessed and most holy archbishop Leo, to the sainted archbishop Flavian for the confutation of the perversity of Eutyches, [177] since it accords with the profession of the great Peter and is a universal pillar against those with false beliefs. For the council sets itself against those who attempt to rend the mystery of the dispensation into a duality of sons, and it expels from the list of priests those who dare to say that the Godhead of the Only-begotten is passible; it opposes those who imagine mixture or merger in the case of the two natures of Christ, it expels those who rave that the form of a servant which he took from us was heavenly or of some other substance, and it anathematizes those who invent two natures of the Lord before the union and imagine one nature after the union.

285 The article on the Holy Spirit in the Constantinopolitan Creed keeps largely to scriptural expressions, from Mt 28:19, Jn 6:63 and 15:26.

Following, therefore, the holy fathers, we all in harmony teach profession of one and the same Son our Lord Jesus Christ, the same complete in Godhead and the same complete in manhood, truly God and the same truly man, of a rational soul and body, consubstantial with the Father in respect of the Godhead, and the same consubstantial with us in respect of the manhood, like us in all things apart from sin, begotten from the Father before the ages in respect of the Godhead, and the same in the last days for us and for our salvation from the Virgin Mary the *Theotokos* in respect of the manhood, one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, acknowledged in two natures without merger, change, division, or separation (the difference of the natures being in no way destroyed by the union, but rather the distinctive character of each nature being preserved and coming together into one person and one hypostasis), not parted²⁸⁶ or divided into two persons, but one and the same Son, Only-begotten, God, Word, Lord, Jesus Christ, as from of old the prophets and Jesus Christ himself taught us about him and the symbol of the fathers has handed down to us.

Now that these matters have been formulated by us with all possible care and precision, the holy and ecumenical council has decreed that no one is allowed to produce or compose or construct another creed or to think or teach otherwise. As for those who dare either to construct another creed or to produce or teach or deliver another symbol to those wishing to convert to the knowledge of the truth from paganism or Judaism or from any heresy whatsoever, the council decrees that, if they are bishops or clerics, they are to be deposed, bishops from the episcopate and clerics from the clerical state, while, if they are monks or laymen, they are to be anathematized.

26. The holy council said: ‘It is now necessary for us to compare the letter that Ibas is said to have written with the Definition of the Faith issued by the Council of Chalcedon and (in addition to what was transacted there) with the writings of the holy fathers, and also to examine what was taught by the heretics Theodore, Theodoret, and Nestorius in harmony with the aforesaid letter.’

27. The notaries said: ‘We have to hand what you designated for this purpose.’

28. The holy council said: ‘Let it be read.’

286 After the interruption of a long genitive absolute clause (which we place in brackets) it is ‘one and the same Christ’ that is the subject of this clause as well.

29. [178] And when Thomas the most devout deacon and notary had received it, he read out:

(1) The holy Council of Chalcedon in the definition it made about the faith teaches that God the Word was born and became man, and is our Lord Jesus Christ, one of the Holy Trinity; but the letter calls those who say that God the Word was incarnate and became man heretics and Apollinarians. The holy Council of Chalcedon teaches that the holy Virgin Mary is *Theotokos*; but the letter denies that the holy Virgin Mary is *Theotokos*, for it says, ‘For how is it possible that “In the beginning was the Word”²⁸⁷ should be taken to refer to the temple born from Mary, or that “You have made him a little less than the angels”²⁸⁸ should be said of the Godhead of the Only-begotten?’²⁸⁹ – even though the divine scripture and the holy fathers and doctors of the church affirm that it was an emptying and diminution of God the Word incarnate.²⁹⁰

(2) Again the holy Council of Chalcedon in the definition it issued on the faith says that it follows all the decrees of the holy First Council of Ephesus and anathematizes Nestorius; but the letter inveighs against the First Holy Council of Ephesus and defends Nestorius, alleging that he was condemned by it without trial and investigation.

(3) The holy Council of Chalcedon adopts Cyril of holy memory as father and teacher and accepts his conciliar letters, to one of which were appended the Twelve Chapters, on the basis of which Nestorius was condemned.²⁹¹ But about Nestorius, who was condemned for uttering such blasphemies, the letter says that he was thought by some²⁹² to share the heresy of Paul of Samosata, while it calls Cyril of holy memory a heretic and says of him that he fell into the teaching of Apollinarius by saying that the very God the Word became man;²⁹³ and after calling the Twelve Chapters impious, it says that in them Cyril asserted one nature of Godhead and manhood of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the result that no distinction is made between the temple and the one who dwells in the temple. This clearly proves the writer of the

287 Jn 1:1.

288 Ps 8:6, applied to Christ at Heb 2:9.

289 5.3 above.

290 Cf. Phil 2:7.

291 In fact Chalcedon did not include the Third Letter (and its Twelve Chapters) among the conciliar letters it formally approved. See vol. 1, 67–8.

292 The letter says he was thought by ‘the many’ to be a heretic (5.2), a statement typical of the letter’s detached tone in treating Nestorius.

293 Ibas in fact wrote, ‘He [Cyril] also wrote that the very God the Word became man in such a way that there is no distinction between the temple and the one who dwells in it’ (5.3).

letter to be introducing two persons when he brings accusations against the holy Cyril, who followed the earlier holy fathers and doctors of the church and taught the hypostatic union of two natures, which does not mean one nature of Godhead and manhood of our Lord Jesus Christ but that God the Word incarnate became man. Those who defend the impiety of Theodore and Nestorius that is included in the letter, in their love of division and consequent introduction of two persons, attack hypostatic union; they make an attack on this profession because it does not admit division. For it is certain that hypostatic union preserves unmingled and undivided the elements that came together and from which the ineffable union took place.

(4) Again the writer of the impious letter, wishing to divide the sayings in the gospels and the apostles between God the Word, separately, and a man, separately, in accordance with the impiety of Theodore and Nestorius, attacks Cyril of holy memory for not following their madness in distributing the sayings in parts to two persons.²⁹⁴ But that Cyril of holy memory [179] recognized the difference between the sayings in our one Lord Jesus Christ the incarnate Word of God but did not divide them into parts and distribute them separately to God the Word and separately to a man, he expressed clearly in his teaching by writing as follows:²⁹⁵ ‘We do not at all destroy the difference of the sayings, although we have forbidden distributing them as if separately to the Son, God the Word who is from the Father, and again separately to a man, to be understood as the son who is from woman.’²⁹⁶ This proves the writer of the letter to be a heretic and slanderer.

(5) Again the holy fathers assembled at Chalcedon unanimously profess in their proceedings that they believe as Cyril of holy memory taught, and anathematize those who do not believe accordingly; but about him and those who share his tenets the letter says that, shamefaced and penitent, they are teaching the opposite of their previous teaching.

(6) The holy Council of Chalcedon in the definition that it issued on the faith anathematizes those who compose or deliver another creed besides the one issued by the 318 holy fathers; but the letter praises Theodore who in addition to other innumerable blasphemies had the audacity to issue an impious creed in which he says that God the Word is distinct from Christ,

294 Cf. 5.3 (p. 7 above), criticizing Cyril’s Fourth Anathema (p. 47).

295 *ACO* 4.1 has not traced the following text; the opening clause is identical to one in Cyril’s *Defence of the Fourth Chapter* (*ACO* 1.1.6, p. 123, 11). Cyril is attempting to explain away his acceptance of dividing the sayings when he accepted the Formula of Reunion (Price and Gaddis, I, 180 *init.*).

296 Cf. Gal 4:4.

and the same Theodore anathematized those who did not believe in accordance with his criminal pseudo-creed, with the result that, according to his own madness, he condemned all the holy fathers and doctors of the church. This impious creed of Theodore, when produced at the First Council of Ephesus, was anathematized together with its writer.²⁹⁷

(7) Again the holy Council of Chalcedon condemned even after death Domnus bishop of Antioch because he had written that one should pass over in silence the Twelve Chapters of Cyril of holy memory, when it confirmed his condemnation and accepted the ordination of Maximus.²⁹⁸ If therefore Domnus was condemned on account of the Twelve Chapters, how can some have the audacity to assert that the letter which says that the same Twelve Chapters are impious was accepted by the holy Council of Chalcedon?

(8) The holy fathers and doctors of the church whom the holy Council of Chalcedon followed, while affirming two natures in their wish to indicate the difference between Godhead and manhood, profess their hypostatic union – that there is one Lord Jesus Christ the Word of God, who was incarnate and became man. But the writer of the letter, when he affirms two natures and one power and one person and one Son (not acknowledging that God the Word was born in flesh and became man, which is a hypostatic union of two natures), does indeed ascribe two natures to him, but it is clear that he puts ‘natures’ for ‘persons’ and asserts an affective union like the impious Theodore and Nestorius, whom the writer of the letter praises and defends; for they too, while speaking of two persons and two Christs and two Sons, asserted two natures and one Son out of a wish to veil their impiety. For the impious Nestorius in a letter to Alexander bishop of Hierapolis²⁹⁹ who held the same tenets speaks as follows, ‘The natures must remain in their own distinctive properties, and thus, through a wondrous union that is beyond all reason, one glory is to be understood and one Son professed,’ and again, ‘We do not make two persons one person, but we signify the two natures simultaneously by the single name of Christ.’³⁰⁰ Meanwhile Theodore, as

297 The ‘pseudo-creed’ attributed to Theodore (given above, vol. 1, 267–70) was read out at Ephesus I and a canon issued forbidding the use of such creeds, but Theodore was not mentioned by name (cf. Acts of Chalcedon I. 921, 943). The canon was echoed in the final section of the Chalcedonian Definition (p. 64 above).

298 Domnus was still alive at the time of Chalcedon (see Price and Gaddis, II, 310–2). Chalcedon accepted his deposition at Ephesus II, not however because of his attitude to the Twelve Chapters but because both Anatolius of Constantinople and Leo of Rome had accepted his successor Maximus (ibid. 303–4).

299 Alexander was one of Nestorius’ strongest supporters; see Chadwick (2001), 542–8.

300 Loofs (1905), p. 196, 18–23.

we have already said, asserts affective union and take natures [180] to be persons or hypostases, when he speaks as follows in his eleventh book on the incarnation: ‘For this purpose, therefore, what we have said is sufficient, for by it we have shown the difference of the natures and the unity of person, and that in respect of the natures one receives a benefit and the other confers it, there being a firm union that results in honour being paid inseparably by the whole creation.’³⁰¹ It must be noted that, when he spoke of natures, he proceeded to persons as well, adding that one gives a benefit and the other receives a benefit, speaking of a union of two persons in respect of honour only,³⁰² just as Nestorius professes one Son in respect of glory.

(9) How Nestorius also speaks of two natures, and that he takes them to be persons, while appearing to affirm one Son, can be clearly shown from his blasphemies, which Cyril of holy memory cited against him at Ephesus and which run as follows: ‘This is why God the Word is also called Christ, because he enjoys constant conjunction with Christ.’³⁰³ And elsewhere Nestorius says, ‘I venerate the one borne for the sake of the bearer; I worship the one who appears for the sake of the one who is hidden. God is inseparable from the one who appears; therefore I do not separate the honour of the one who is not separated. I separate the natures, but I unite the worship.’³⁰⁴ And again: ‘For since the Son is both man and God, it says, “He sent his Son, born of woman”,³⁰⁵ so that, when you hear “born of woman”, you note the preceding name which indicates the two natures. You would ascribe the birth from the blessed Virgin to the Son – for the Virgin *Christotokos*³⁰⁶ gave birth to the Son of God –, but since the Son of God is dual in respect of the natures, she did not give birth to the Son of God but gave birth to the manhood, which is “the Son” because of the conjoined Son.’³⁰⁷ Theodore himself in his eighth book on the incarnation also takes ‘natures’ to be ‘persons’ when he says, ‘Just as the Lord says of husband and wife that “they are no longer two but

301 This citation of Theodore, as also that at 11 below, occurs here for the first time in the acts.

302 Theodore’s critics took his stress on the sharing of honour in his account of the Christological union as excluding a hypostatic or real union, but see IV. 31, where he insists that the union results in honour but cannot be reduced to honour.

303 For a fuller quotation of the passage see Acts of Chalcedon I. 944.9 (Price and Gaddis, I, 328).

304 Acts of Chalcedon I. 944.8.

305 Gal 4:4.

306 The Latin text keeps the Greek word, meaning ‘Mother of Christ’, in contrast to *Theotokos*, ‘Mother of God’.

307 Ibid. I. 944.1.

one flesh,”³⁰⁸ let us also say (appropriately according to the notion of unity) that they are not two persons but one, while clearly the natures are distinguished. For just as calling the flesh one does not in the former case harm the numeration of duality (for it is clear in what respect they are called one), so in this case also the unity of person does not harm the difference of the natures. For when we distinguish the natures, we say that the nature of God the Word is complete and the person is complete (since one cannot speak of a hypostasis without a person), and likewise we say that the nature of the man is complete and the person likewise; but when we turn to the conjunction, we then speak of one person.³⁰⁹

(10) In addition, the letter says that one must acknowledge both the temple and the one who dwells in the temple, which patently introduces two persons. But Nestorius also uses the same words when he said, ‘Let us then continue to acknowledge the natures, to hold together the conjunction of the natures, and to affirm one dignity and one lordship of the temple and of the one [181] who dwells in the temple, yet two natures.’ And again he says, ‘For the temple too is Lord on account of the lordship conjoined to him.’³¹⁰ From these words of Nestorius and from those contained in the letter, it is clear that they assert a distinction between Christ whom they call the temple and God the Word whom they describe as dwelling in the temple, with the result that according to their impiety in asserting an affective union there is no difference between Christ and the faithful human beings of whom the apostle said, ‘You are the temple of God and the Spirit of God dwells in you.’³¹¹

(11) But as for the writer of the letter asserting one power in two natures, this is also asserted by Theodore and Nestorius, whom he praises and defends. Theodore in the twelfth book of the same work speaks as follows: ‘Replying to this, the blessed apostle tries to show how he shares in divine honour and that he enjoys it not because of his nature but because of the power dwelling in him.’³¹² One must note that they say that Christ was a mere man to be honoured not because of his own nature but because of the power dwelling in him. Meanwhile Nestorius speaks as follows on the saying in the gospel, ‘The kingdom of heaven is like a king...’:³¹³ ‘There

308 Mt 19:6.

309 This passage was given at IV. 36.

310 Loofs (1905), pp. 340, 17–18 and 222,29–223,4.

311 1 Cor 3:16. But Athanasius himself had had talked of God being ‘in’ Christ’s body and of that body being the temple of the Word (*Letter to Epictetus*, 10).

312 Cf. Heb 2:5–9.

313 Mt 18:23.

is no separation of conjunction and dignity and the manifestation of power, and of divine sonship and the very name of Christ, but there is separation in the definition of Godhead and manhood.³¹⁴ This impiety of union according to power is refuted by the blessed Cyril when he speaks as follows: ‘If anyone says that the union took place through conjunction according to dignity or authority or might or power and not instead by a coming together in natural union, let him be anathema.’³¹⁵ We received this doctrine from the holy fathers, by which they condemn those who do not profess that God the Word was hypostatically united to flesh ensouled by a rational and intellectual soul, but assert that the union took place according to dignity and authority and power. For one power and one glory or dignity is attributed not, as the writer of the letter and Theodore and Nestorius impiously taught, to different natures but to different persons who have the same honour and dignity and equality, as we acknowledge in the holy Trinity.

30. The holy council said: ‘The comparison that has been made demonstrates patently that the letter which Ibas is said to have written is contrary in all respects to the definition that the holy Council of Chalcedon proclaimed on the orthodox faith. This is why all in turn required Ibas to anathematize Nestorius, whom the impious letter defended, and in addition his impious doctrines, and to subscribe to the definition they had issued on the faith – manifestly as a repudiation of what the aforesaid letter defended. And in doing this they treated as of no account what had been said about the same letter by one or two,³¹⁶ who indeed, coming to the same mind as everyone else, accepted Ibas when he had done penance, had anathematized Nestorius, and had subscribed to the definition issued by the same holy council.

31. All the bishops exclaimed: ‘This we have all said. The letter is heretical. We all condemn the letter attributed to Ibas. We all anathematize it. The letter is rejected by the council. The letter is contrary to the definition. The whole letter is heretical. [182] The whole letter is blasphemous.’³¹⁷ Whoever does not anathematize it is a heretic; whoever accepts it is a heretic. The letter was

314 Loofs (1905), p. 280,18–281,3. The Greek is largely preserved in Cyril, *Against Nestorius* (ACO 1.1.6, p. 42, 1–3).

315 A paraphrase of the third of Cyril’s Twelve Chapters (p. 47 above), removing the natures being called ‘the hypostases’.

316 Namely Paschasinus, the senior papal legate, and Maximus of Antioch, who commended the Letter to Mari for its orthodoxy (cf. pp. 195–6 below).

317 A rebuttal of the claim made at Chalcedon by Eunomius of Nicomedia, according to one interpretation of his words, which understood him to have said that the letter started badly but concluded with ‘an orthodox profession’ (cf. p. 197 below).

condemned by the Definition of the holy Council of Chalcedon. Whoever accepts it does not acknowledge that God the Word became man. Whoever accepts it does not accept Cyril. The Definition of the Council of Chalcedon rejected the letter attributed to Ibas. One Nestorius, one Theodore! Anathema to Theodore and Nestorius and the letter attributed to Ibas! Whoever accepts the letter rejects Cyril. Whoever accepts the letter rejects the holy fathers of Chalcedon. Everlasting is the memory of the Council of Chalcedon and of Cyril. Everlasting is the memory of the four holy councils. Whoever does not anathematize the letter defames the Council of Chalcedon. Many years to the emperor! To the orthodox emperor many years!

32. After these exclamations the holy council said: 'The investigation conducted over the Three Chapters has been sufficient. Let us discuss on another day what needs to be done.'

THE SEVENTH SESSION

INTRODUCTION

Sessions IV–VI of the council, extending from 12 to 19 May, had examined and found heretical the Three Chapters in turn. It met for this seventh session of 26 May with the intention of finalizing and issuing the corresponding decrees (2). However, this was postponed in consequence of the arrival of an imperial envoy, the quaestor Constantine, with a message from the emperor on the subject of Pope Vigilius. On 14 May the pope had finally signed his promised judgement on the Three Chapters (the first *Constitutum*), and on 25 May, on the expiry of the twenty days' grace he had asked for previously (II. 5.6), had attempted to have this document delivered to the emperor through the offices of a number of bishops (including Theodore Ascidas) and high-ranking officials (VII. 4.2). The emperor had refused to receive it: doubtless he knew of its contents – that it acquitted the Three Chapters and declared that any contrary verdict would be null and void. This created a new situation: the pope had issued the strongest possible challenge to the authority of the council, and an immediate response was called for.

Constantine narrated once again how Vigilius had dragged his feet over cooperating with the council (4.1) and how he had now attempted to deliver the *Constitutum*. He proceeded to inform the council that he had come with a dossier of documents, composed and signed by Vigilius, that would prove that the pope had long committed himself in the most solemn terms to condemning the chapters. These documents were described in turn by Constantine and then read out to the bishops. They consist of the following: (6) a brief and formal condemnation of the Three Chapters, written in 547 to satisfy Justinian and not hitherto made public, (7) a virtually identical document written for the empress Theodora, (8) a long letter from Vigilius to his former deacons Rusticus and Sebastian, depriving them of their office as a penalty for the campaign they had been conducting behind the pope's back to undermine his authority and oppose his *Iudicatum* of 11 April 548, in which he had condemned the Three Chapters, (9) a letter from

Vigilius to Bishop Valentinus of Tomi, dating to 18 March 550, assuring the bishop (who had written to express his unease) that the *Iudicatum* in no way detracted from the authority of Chalcedon and telling him to have nothing to do with Rusticus and Sebastian, (10) a similar letter from Vigilius to Bishop Aurelian of Arles, dating to 29 April 550, again protesting his loyalty to Chalcedon and the other ecumenical councils, and (11) the text of an oath taken by Vigilius on 15 August 550 and hitherto kept secret, in which he had promised to cooperate with the emperor in securing the condemnation of the Three Chapters. To these documents was appended (12) a letter written in 520 by the emperor Justin I to the *magister militum* at Antioch to insist on an investigation of allegations that Theodoret ('who is everywhere accused of error over the faith'), Theodore and even Nestorius had been commemorated at festivals at Cyrrhus: the relevance of this, as the quaestor Constantine explained (4.6), was to counter the claim made by Vigilius that Justinian in condemning the chapters had reversed the ecclesiastical policy of his uncle and predecessor.

As early as the first session (Acts I. 7.12) Justinian had informed the bishops of his intention to acquaint them with several of these documents (those in 8–10), to prove that Vigilius had repeatedly condemned the Three Chapters. What was novel, and represented a specific response to the *Constitutum*, was the addition of the secret documents with which Vigilius had supplied the emperor (6–7, 11): they proved that the issuing of the *Constitutum* involved not merely vacillation but perjury. This meant, as Constantine explained at the end of his speech, that the bishops could now proceed with confidence 'to impose a rapid close on this case' (4.7) by issuing a definitive condemnation of the chapters. The issue of Vigilius' standing and status was not immediately raised.

Patriarch Eutychius responded by expressing thanks for documentation that proved Justinian's consistency in defending orthodoxy, but postponed the issuing of a formal decree of condemnation of the Three Chapters till the next session (13). Constantine, however, declined to leave matters there. He delayed the close of proceedings by revealing that during the reading a fresh decree had been received from Justinian (14), and this was now read out (15): it enacted that, because of the pope's defence of the Three Chapters, which made him guilty of perjury and 'alien to the catholic church', i.e. a heretic, his name was to be removed from the diptychs read out at each celebration of the liturgy, though without a breach of communion with the Roman Church (16). Speaking in acceptance of the decree, Eutychius again avoided criticizing Vigilius, and emphasized that the churches were to remain in commu-

nion (17). Such a distinction between the see, still in communion with the other churches, and the holder of the see, excluded from that communion, implied that Vigilius was suspended from office. This fell short of a full condemnation, involving deposition and excommunication, that would have broken the communion between the eastern churches and the Roman see and thereby damaged the ecumenical status of the council. The decree is dated to 14 July, almost two months after the session, which shows that its wider publication was delayed, doubtless in the hope that Vigilius would capitulate and make its publication unnecessary. And indeed, when at the very end of the year, Vigilius finally assented to condemn the Three Chapters, a new edition of the conciliar acts was produced, from which this decree, and other embarrassing documents contained in the record of Session VII, were expunged.¹

The dossier of documents is revealing in a number of ways. The secret documents in which Vigilius assured Justinian that he supported the condemnation of the chapters is evidence of the intense pressure that the emperor had for years been exerting on him behind the scenes. Quite extraordinary is the oath in which the pope promised to work for the condemnation of the chapters and even to delate to the emperor anyone who spoke to him privately in their defence, which (it is implied) was in the emperor's eyes tantamount to treason. In return for the pope's subservience and readiness to act as informer Justinian promised to protect his person and reputation and the privileges of his see. It is clear that they trusted each other so little that they felt the need for an oath so shameful that it had to be kept secret. This lowered the relations between the head of state and the primate of the Church to the level of a deal between gangsters.

PROCEEDINGS

1. [183] In the twenty-seventh year of the lord Justinian perpetual Augustus and in the twelfth year after the consulship of the most illustrious Basil, seven days before the Kalends of June in the first indiction,² there were seated in the consistory of the venerable episcopal palace of this imperial city: (1) Eutychius the most holy patriarch of imperial Constantinople New Rome, (2) Apollinarius the most holy archbishop of the great city of Alexandria, (3)

1 See vol. 1, 104.

2 26 May 553.

Domninus the most holy patriarch of the great city of Theopolis [Antioch], (4–6) Stephen the most religious bishop of Raphia, George the most religious bishop of Tiberias, and Damian the most religious bishop of Sozusa, [all] representing Eustochius the most holy bishop of Jerusalem, (7) Benignus the most religious bishop of Heraclea in Pelagonia, representing Helias the most blessed bishop of Thessalonica, (8) Theodore the most religious bishop of Caesarea in the province of Cappadocia Prima, (9) Andrew the most religious bishop of Ephesus, (10) Sextilian the most religious bishop of Tunis, representing Primosus the most religious bishop of Carthage, and the other bishops whose names are to be found in the first session.

2. Diodore archdeacon and *primicerius* of the most devout notaries said: ‘When convened on a previous day,³ your holy council conducted certain proceedings relating to the letter attributed to Ibas, and resolved to examine on another day what needs to be done. What we propose depends on your good pleasure.’

3. The holy council⁴ said: ‘Let the previous proceedings be read.’ And they were read.

4. Before anything else was transacted by the holy council, Constantine the most glorious quaestor of the sacred palace,⁵ who had been sent by the most pious emperor, entered and spoke as follows:

(1) [184] It is known to your beatitudes how great is the eagerness that the most unconquered emperor has always shown that the doubts that have arisen over the Three Chapters, which are the theme of your discussion, should be terminated, and that the church of God should be freed from the calumny concocted from them. He is not ignorant of the orthodoxy of your holinesses and your will over these chapters, but [his will is] that sentence should be pronounced on the Three Chapters in council as well. Therefore he has not ceased to exhort the most religious Vigilius as well to meet with you and impose a close on these Three Chapters congruent with orthodoxy. That man has often, indeed, expressed his will confidentially in writing, condemning these chapters, and often expressed the same orally before the most pious emperor, in the presence of the most glorious officials and in the

3 This refers to the sixth session of 19 May.

4 Throughout the session statements by ‘the holy council’ are to be ascribed to Euty chius of Constantinople.

5 Constantinus 4 in *PLRE* 3, 342–3. Quaestor of the Sacred Palace 548/9–c.564. Involved in negotiations with Vigilius from 551, he played a major role in Session VII. According to Procopius’ hostile account (*Anecdota* 20. 20–3) he was arrogant and corrupt.

presence [185] of many from your holy council, and he has never ceased to anathematize those who defend Theodore of Mopsuestia, the letter attributed to Ibas, and the writings of Theodoret against the orthodox faith and against the Twelve Chapters of the holy Cyril. But hitherto he has postponed meeting in common and accomplishing this with your holy council, although the most pious lord through his officials among whom I myself have played a part has exhorted him to meet with you in common, investigate the matter in council, and bring it to an appropriate close, as is also expressed in the correspondence between you and him⁶ – or, if he is not willing to do this, to make his will known, if indeed he defends the impiety of these Three Chapters. But he has hitherto postponed meeting with you, as is known to your holinesses.

(2) Yesterday he despatched the most devout Servusdei, a subdeacon of the holy church of Rome, through whom he called to his presence the most glorious patricians Belisarius and Cethegus,⁷ the most glorious ex-consuls Justin⁸ and Constantianus⁹ and the most religious bishops Theodore, Benignus and Phocas, in order to send through them a reply to the most pious emperor. They indeed went. And a short time later they returned and informed the most pious lord, ‘We visited the most religious bishop Vigilius and he told us, “We summoned you because you know what has been mooted in these intervening days. I have written a document on the Three Chapters that are under discussion, addressed to the most pious emperor; be so good as to read it and take it to his serenity.”¹⁰ When we had heard this and had seen the document addressed to your serenity, we said to him, “We are totally unable to accept a document addressed to the most pious emperor without an order from him, but you have diaconal secretaries through whom you may send it.” He, however, said to us, “Be informed that I have composed a document.” Those of us who were bishops replied to him, “If, in accordance with what was resolved in the correspondence between ourselves, your beatitude and the most holy patriarchs and most religious bishops, you order a meeting and a discussion of the Three Chapters, and [intend]

6 That is, the correspondence between Eutychius and Vigilius read out at the first session (I. 10–11).

7 For Belisarius and Cethegus see vol. 1, 170, nn. 24–5.

8 The future Justin II. See vol. 1, 171, n. 27.

9 Constantianus 2 in *PLRE* 3, 334–7. Honorary consul, and at this date *magister utriusque militiae*, based in Constantinople.

10 Vigilius was presuming the postponement of twenty days that he had asked for on 6 May (Acts II. 5.6). He was in no hurry to open hostilities with the emperor by delivering his first *Constitutum*, although it had been completed and signed on 14 May, eleven days previously.

to issue with all of us a decree in accordance with the orthodox faith, as the holy apostles, the holy fathers, and the four councils did when a common question arose, we recognize you as our head and father and primate. But if your holiness has composed a document for the most pious emperor, you have secretaries, as has been said: send it through them.” When he heard this from us, he sent the subdeacon Servusdei, who is awaiting the reply of your serenity.’ When his piety heard this, he instructed the afore-mentioned deacon through the aforesaid most religious and most glorious men to inform the most religious Vigilus, ‘We invited him to meet together with the most blessed patriarchs and the other most religious bishops and in common with them to both investigate and pass judgement on those Three Chapters. But since you have refused to do this and say that you have written certain things on your own about these Three Chapters –, if you have condemned them in accord with previous transactions, we possess many such writings that you have composed and have no need of another; but if you have composed at the present time something contrary to what was already composed before, you condemn yourself in your writings by forsaking orthodox doctrines and defending impiety. How can I accept such a document from you?’ And after this reply from the most pious emperor had been communicated through the same deacon, he did not now send the document he had written. All this has now been orally communicated to your beatitudes as well.

(3) In consequence, therefore, before you can impose a final close on the Three Chapters, he [the emperor] has thought it necessary to show certain documents to your holy council, [186] which he had promised to send you when he wrote initially.¹¹ We have them to hand: one of them was written to the most pious emperor by the hand of the most religious Vigilus, while another was addressed to our lady Theodora of pious memory, written in the hand of another but signed by the same most religious man; in both of these can be clearly found a condemnation of these impious chapters. There is also the decree of deposition that he addressed to his relative Rusticus¹² and Sebastian deacons of the holy Roman church and to certain others, and in addition other letters, one to the most religious bishop Valentinian of Scythia and another to the most religious Aurelian president of the church of Arles, which is the first of the holy churches in Gaul; through them the same most religious Vigilus again made plain that he remains of this mind as regards the condemnation of the chapters.

11 Cf. Acts I. 7.12.

12 Rusticus was Vigilus’ nephew.

(4) Your beatitudes know that the same most religious man sent the *Iudicatum* to Menas of holy memory, then archbishop of this imperial city, explicitly condemning the aforesaid chapters. Because certain words written in it were doubtful, he promised to correct them, so that the condemnation of the same chapters should be flawless in every part; but he said that he could not do this unless he received back what he had composed, since the *Iudicatum* had been addressed to all the churches. When much had been mooted on the subject, the same most religious man said that he was ready to take a dread oath that on receiving back the aforesaid *Iudicatum* he would compose a flawless condemnation of the Three Chapters. The emperor, being most pious, accepted this, albeit reluctantly, for he thought it alien and inappropriate for priests to take such oaths; yet at his insistence he was won over to accept an oath in writing. Therefore he has sent this document as well to your holy council, with instructions that after you have been informed it should be returned again to me, by whom his piety has judged it should be guarded.

(5) Lest what has happened today might escape your beatitudes, the most pious emperor, having summoned the most devout western bishops and the clergy of the same most religious Vigilius and in addition the most devout bishop Vincentius of Claudiopolis, sent to them the most glorious patrician Cethegus, the most glorious patrician and Master of the Offices Peter,¹³ the most glorious patrician Patricius,¹⁴ and myself together with them. In the presence of all, the most religious Vincentius and the most devout subdeacon Servusdei recognized their own seals affixed to the same document. When they had been broken, the document was read in the presence of all, and the most devout Vincentius recognized the text and acknowledged that he had himself assisted the business when numbered at that time among the subdeacons of the holy church of Rome.¹⁵

(6) The most pious emperor ordered me to say this to your beatitudes. Because the most religious Vigilius and his clergy have often said to the most pious lord that his serenity ought to preserve the state of the church as it obtained in the time of his father of pious memory, the most pious emperor, wishing to show your beatitudes what the will of his father of pious memory had been over the matters that are now being mooted, has sent to your

13 For Cethegus and Peter see vol. 1, 170, nn. 25–6.

14 Patricius 4 in *PLRE* 3, 972. Only known from these acts.

15 Constantine is narrating how Justinian, to prove Vigilius' duplicity to his supporters, summoned the bishops who had recently signed the first *Constitutum* (308–13), and made them witness the unsealing of Vigilius' oath to work for the condemnation of the chapters.

beatitudes a divine letter written by his father to Hypatius, then *magister militum* in the east,¹⁶ so that you would learn from it that he has hitherto not only abided by the policy that his father of pious memory had bequeathed to him but even increased his zeal for the orthodox faith. [187] For when certain of the easterners informed Justin of pious memory that the clergy of the venerable church of Cyrrhus had placed an image of Theodoret on a cart and brought it into the aforesaid city, singing psalms, and that Sergius who was bishop at that time had celebrated a festival for Theodore, Diodore, Theodoret, and also for a certain Nestorius, supposedly one of the holy martyrs, he [Justin] sent a letter to Hypatius, then *magister militum* in the east, ordering him to investigate the matter and inform him. When this had been done, Sergius was ejected from the see and remained till his death in ill repute as a result. All the clergy of Theopolis [Antioch], and in particular the most religious Dionysius bishop of the holy church of Seleucia, the most devout Hermisigenes presbyter of the holy church of this imperial city, and the most devout Heraclius presbyter of the holy church of Theopolis, know that Sergius remained till his death deposed from the priesthood because of the condemnation pronounced upon him at that time.

(7) It is therefore right that your holy council, when it knows everything, should admire the piety of our lord, and hasten to impose a rapid close on this case, lest through yet greater delays the cause of stumbling for the simple-minded be increased and there continue any longer to be heretics who affix the impiety of those chapters to the holy church of God. But hear the documents sent by the most pious emperor, lest there escape you anything that has transpired in this matter.

5. The holy council said: ‘Let the documents that the most glorious quaestor has mentioned be read.’

6. And when Diodore archdeacon and *primicerius* of the most devout notaries had received them, he read out:

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, I, Vigilus, bishop of the holy catholic church of the city of Rome, writing with my own hand, affirm the whole of this document.¹⁷

¹⁶ Hypatius 6 in *PLRE* 2, 577–81. *Magister utriusque militum per Orientem* 516–29 (with two short intervals).

¹⁷ According to the account of the quaestor Constantine above (4.3) this document was addressed to Justinian. Both it and the following document may be dated to that period in late 547 when Vigilus had abandoned his defence of the chapters but had not yet embarked on the composition of the *Iudicatum*; see vol. 1, 46.

We always by the power of the holy Trinity were never, and are not, heretics. I demand the rights that were given by God to my see. Let this therefore not make your piety think that I defend heretics. For mark this: to satisfy your invincible rule, I anathematize the letter of Ibas that is said to have been sent to Mari the Persian, I also anathematize the doctrines of Theodoret, and I anathematize Theodore who was bishop of Mopsuestia, [holding] that he was always a stranger to the churches and an enemy of the holy fathers. Whoever does not acknowledge that the incarnate God the Word, that is, Christ, is one hypostasis and one person and one operation¹⁸ we anathematize; and if anyone asserts that the one who suffered is not the same as the one who worked miracles, and does not attribute to one and the same both the miracles and the sufferings that he suffered voluntarily in the flesh that is [188] consubstantial with us (which in Greek is termed *homoousion*), ensouled by a rational and intelligent soul, our holy church and we ourselves anathematize him.

7. Likewise, there was read from another document:

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.¹⁹

We always by the power of the holy Trinity were never at any time, and are not, heretics (God forbid!); but from infancy we were and are both Christian and orthodox. The rights that were given by God to our see I have neither conceded nor concede, but as long as I live, I demand what are the just rights of my see. Let this therefore not make your piety think that I defend heretics. For mark this: to satisfy your invincible rule, I have signed this document in which I anathematize the letter of Ibas that is said to have been sent to Mari the Persian, I also anathematize the doctrines of Theodoret, and I also anathematize Theodore who was bishop of Mopsuestia, as always a stranger to the church and an enemy of the holy fathers. Those who do not acknowledge that the incarnate God the Word, that is, Christ, is one hypostasis and one person, and his one operation,²⁰ we anathematize; and if anyone asserts that

18 Because of this single phrase, subsequently exploited in support of the 'heresy' of monenergism, which attributed to Christ a single 'energy' or operation, this and the following document were denounced as forged or interpolated at the Council of Constantinople of 680–1. See vol. 1, 105–6.

19 According to the report of the quaestor Constantine above (4.3) this document was addressed to the empress Theodora, who had died in 548. It is essentially identical to the preceding document, though while that had been written in Vigilius' own hand this version was written by a secretary and signed by Vigilius.

20 Note the addition of 'his', which improves the syntax but has no support in the admittedly imperfect Greek text given in the acts of 680–1 (*ACO*, ser. 2, 2.1, 42 and 2.2, 644–6).

the one who suffered is not the same as the one who worked miracles, and does not attribute to one and the same both the miracles and the sufferings that he suffered voluntarily in the flesh that is consubstantial to us (that is, *homoousion*), ensouled by a rational and intelligent soul, our holy church and we also anathematize him.

With the help of Christ our Lord, I, Vigilius, bishop of the holy catholic church of the city of Rome, have signed this document composed by myself. Reading what is written above, I have assented; anathematizing, I have signed.

8. Likewise, there was read from another document:

Bishop Vigilius to Rusticus and Sebastian.²¹

(1) Out of apostolic restraint we have for a long time, Rusticus and Sebastian, deferred imposing on you a punishment that accords with the canons and [decrees]²² of our predecessors. In the hardness of your hearts we see fulfilled (a fact we mention with great sadness) the words of the teacher of the Gentiles in which he says, ‘Do you not know that the long-suffering of God is leading you to repentance? But in your hardness and impenitent heart you are storing up for yourself wrath on the day of wrath.’²³

Let us in the meantime describe your aberrations, a few out of many, as far as we can. When we arrived here in the imperial city, you, Rusticus, read without our knowledge things that it was in no way appropriate for a man in your station to read, and you were reported to be committing many things which, if we had not forbade you, could have harmed the reputation and soul even of ourselves (God forbid!); and Paul the deacon also told us things about you, as was incumbent on him, even in your presence. In view both of the kinship by which you were joined to us through a brother whom we loved²⁴ and of the fact that we had raised you to the Levitical office, we admonished you frequently and privately with a father’s love (if indeed you acknowledged in any part what was said about you) [189] to refrain from such behaviour, lest (since we would not allow God’s cause to be left for any reason unexamined) a canonical judgement fell on you through our instrumentality. But you, however, in a malevolent spirit not only refused to heed our admonition, but also – as scripture says, ‘Rebuke a wise man and

21 This letter, deposing Deacons Rusticus and Sebastian, must have been issued shortly after 18 March 550, when Vigilius signed the next letter in this dossier, which refers to the deposition as imminent (9.3).

22 *Constitutis* (decrees) is *ACO*’s supplement to fill a one-word lacuna.

23 Rom 2:4–5.

24 Rusticus was Vigilius’ nephew.

he will love you, a foolish one and he will hate you,'²⁵ and again, 'He refused to understand to do good, and meditated wickedness in his bed'²⁶ – your malice reached a point where, despising our admonition, you plunged into animosity instead, and sought an opportunity to [stir up]²⁷ the case of the chapters, that is, about the statements of Theodore of Mopsuestia and also his person, and about the letter that is said to have been written by Ibas to Mari the Persian, and also the case of the statements of Theodoret against the orthodox faith and against the synodical letter of Cyril of blessed memory to Nestorius with the Twelve Chapters, which the holy First Synod of Ephesus accepted and which the blessed Synod of Chalcedon is recorded as having included in the Definition of the Faith in order to refute the madness of Nestorius.²⁸ It is a known fact that you so strongly insisted upon this case that you exclaimed to our sons the deacons Sapatus and Paul and also to Surgentius the *primicerius* of the notaries that we should condemn not only the name and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia but even the very ground where he is buried, adding that you would be gratified if someone were to seize his bones, eject them from the grave, and together with the earth itself consign them to the flames.²⁹

(2) And when it was necessary that the matter, after being brought to our court, be concluded by a verdict (which, it is known, was done), with the assent of yourself in particular as well as others both in consecrated and in minor orders, there is no doubt over what you did about the same *Iudicatum*, and how even in the palace you insisted that it should be speedily transmitted to our brother Menas, to whom we had addressed it. Indeed, when our son the *primicerius* Surgentius asked for the manuscript of our *Iudicatum*, in order to keep it with him because of his post, according to custom, for many days you totally refused to give it to him, until you had circulated copies through the services of numerous priests and laymen, including the glorious *magister militum* Turranius³⁰ and other laymen in the province of Africa, something that in our church has never been done by a deacon, and these copies you circulated without our knowledge. (3) On the holy Saturday on

25 Prov 9:8.

26 Ps 35:4–5.

27 A word has dropped out of the Latin text.

28 In fact Chalcedon ignored Cyril's letter with the anathemas, and did not include it among his 'synodical letters' approved at Ephesus I. See vol. 1, 67–8.

29 On the desecration of the remains of those condemned posthumously see Menze (2008), 103.

30 This general in Africa is otherwise unknown.

which we issued the *Iudicatum* in accordance with your keen desire, as we have said above, you know that you appeared in church with us, received communion, and fulfilled your office, and returning from church on the same day said to our fellow bishop Julian, as he relates, that nothing could have been better than the production of the *Iudicatum*, and you urged him to pray to God that it should not be rescinded; also on the following day of Easter Sunday you acted in the same manner and, remaining for a long time of the same opinion, urged others no less to follow our *Iudicatum* with a willing spirit.³¹ (4) For when the *apocrisarii* of the church of Antioch asked us to provide copies of the same *Iudicatum* and we demurred and told the aforesaid *apocrisarii* that it would be more appropriate for them rather to ask for copies from our brother Menas to whom we had presented it, you said that the lord Leo had sent copies of his letter [the Tome] to various people in this way and publicly demanded that we should do the same, saying that you feared that, [190] unless the whole world had copies of our *Iudicatum* issued by our secretariat, it might perhaps be secreted away thereafter on some excuse. When you heard of the opportunity that arose from someone going to Sicily and wanted to despatch our *Iudicatum* to our sons the deacon Pelagius and others (together with a commendation of it that our sons the deacons and the *primicerius* had signed together with you), you sent it without our knowledge written on parchment, and for the sake of compactness doubly folded and written in tiny letters, out of caution lest someone might perchance find it. And when subsequently Vincentius, subdeacon of the second district,³² was also despatched again to Sicily, indeed by ourselves, you sent a letter by him to our son the deacon Pelagius; but because the afore-mentioned subdeacon had such a good voyage that he reached his destination before the carrier of the text on parchment, as he related to us, what you had written on parchment was received by the deacon Pelagius in his presence.

(5) When, however, at your insistence more than anyone's, the *Iudicatum* had been circulated and you had over a long period written and acted under the spur of such admiration for the same *Iudicatum* that we believed that you could never deviate from this straight path, we discovered from common rumour that through some levity of mind you had afterwards suddenly changed and were in secret dealings with the enemies of the church, who

31 Eck (1974), 874 regards Rusticus' enthusiasm for the *Iudicatum* as feigned, his motive being to secure the circulation of the document in the west in order to stir up opposition to it.

32 See Pietri (1976), 135–6 for the seven regions of Rome, assigned to deacons with subdeacons under them. The second district was Caelimontium, round St John Lateran.

were opposing the content of our *Iudicatum* and had been suspended by us from communion, according to the prescriptions of the *Iudicatum* itself.³³

(6) And when our son the deacon Paul decided to depart to Italy, after it had come to his notice as well what occasion of sin, when still in our communion, you were attempting to create secretly in the church, both here and in the province of Africa, where previously in defence and commendation of our *Iudicatum* you had despatched copies of it, he then began to tell you insistently that, if it were true, you ought to have revealed that which, now you were detected, you had no power to hide. Then the afore-mentioned deacon began to press us that either in the presence of ourselves and the clergy you should promise to renounce what you were doing illicitly, or we ought certainly to accept a plaint of his own composition, which he held in his hands, against you and your fickleness and duplicity. You were induced by your own will to take an oath, with your hand on the gospels, and your words, recorded by the notaries, are held in our secretariat; they record your promise, among other things, never at all to desert our obedience. (7) But afterwards one even worse than you, that is, Sebastian, is known to have arrived, simply to create an occasion of sin, as was both shown by the start of his visit to Constantinople and proved by its still worse outcome, with the result that, your oath soon forgotten, you two concocted without our knowledge a conspiracy among yourselves against the decrees of the canons, and rushed into an open occasion of sin.

(8) So that others may know the evil that you, Sebastian, have done, not to its full extent but to the extent to which we are able to relate it, and may recognize that you have justly, indeed belatedly, been subjected to a canonical verdict, let us turn to the occasion of your ordination. In the absence of our sons the deacons Pelagius, Anatolius and Stephen you asked us to make you in the meantime deacon in the place of those absent, so as to fulfil their office for a time. We granted your wish for the present, because you are recorded before your ordination to have made of your own free will a solemn promise to us, which you confirmed with witnesses and physically took an oath with your hand on the gospels, to perform faithfully and without any dishonesty whatever we laid upon you for the good of the church, and that [191] without any fault, without any pride and without any negligence you would fulfil in every way the office and post of the diaconate, with all humility and zeal and without negligence, until the afore-mentioned deacons

³³ Clearly the *Iudicatum*, like the later first and second *Constitututa*, closed with condemnation and anathema of those who rejected the papal decision.

should return, or for whatever time we wished you to serve in the Levitical order. In your same solemn promise you also added that, if you fell short of fulfilling any of all the promises you had sworn with your hand physically on the gospels, you would then be suspended from holy communion, in such a way that, if you refused to submit your neck to penance within a year of your transgression, you would have declared an anathema against yourself, writing with your own hand. (9) Consequently you were at that time made deacon for the present, subject to the conditions that accorded with your expectations and promises.

Afterwards you begged us with earnest prayers to send you to the Dalmatian patrimony,³⁴ which we readily granted, easy in our mind because you had made such a solemn promise. But when you came to the city of Salona to sort out the patrimony, as we learnt subsequently from the reports of many, you involved yourself in illicit ordinations forbidden by the apostolic see: you not only totally refused to debar those whom Honorius, then bishop of the aforesaid city, had raised to sacred orders contrary to the custom of both the Roman and his own church and to the decrees of the apostolic see, but you were not even willing, mindful of your obligation, to apprise us of the matter in writing or even, when you met us at Thessalonica, to inform us by word; instead, in a spirit of cupidity you consented to have dealings with them as with persons who had received legitimate and proper appointment, and you were discovered out of venality to be an associate in their communion.³⁵ From Thessalonica you were again sent to Dalmatia to manage the patrimony, and we instructed you with repeated injunctions not to leave the province until, according to your promise, you had collected all the rents from both the Dalmatian patrimony and that of Praevalitana.

(10) But abandoning everything, you hastened to come to the city of Constantinople simply to create an occasion of sin, as the subsequent outcome revealed. Reading the content of our constitution on the aforesaid chapters, which we are recorded as having given to Menas, bishop of this city, you held forth in public in the sight of the deacons, subdeacons and all the clergy, so as to declare to the clergy, as we said above, that our *Iudicatum* had been ordained from heaven and was addressed to all. As for the statements of Theodore of Mopsuestia, you affirmed that you had found them in the city of Rome in some codices, and you confirmed that they were full of blasphemies and every abomination. While saying these things, you fulfilled

34 The estates of the see of Rome in Dalmatia.

35 Vigilus is accusing Sebastian of taking part in simoniacal ordinations.

the office of the diaconate in our obedience both publicly in church and in the Placidia Palace.³⁶

The day, last year, of the nativity in flesh of Christ our Lord, God and Saviour had arrived.³⁷ Because your actions in Dalmatia as related above had recently come to our hearing, we summoned you and, as was needful, said to you, 'If you have had dealings with those who have been raised to sacred orders contrary to the decrees of the apostolic see or have joined yourself to their communion, as is reported, we shall be obliged, if God deigns to recall us to our church, to investigate the matter and on discovering the truth more fully to punish you according to the canons.' (11) But you, terrified by the guilt of your conscience, because you had acted against the apostolic decrees, looked secretly for an opportunity to depart. When with a particular mandate we sent you with Bishop John and the *primicerius* Surgentius and our counsellor Saturninus to our brother Menas, bishop of this city, [192] on your return to the Placidia Palace you and Rusticus performed the office of the diaconate as usual in the presence of many, and when our son the most clement prince and lord sent a *referendarius* to invite us to go to the church on the following day,³⁸ you and Rusticus together with other deacons and clergy urged us to promise him this; for you are both proved to have been equally at our table for refreshment for the same reason. But just as Judas, after he had accepted the morsel, planned to betray the Lord,³⁹ so too you [two] departed in the night hours to excite scandal in the church. (12) On the following day we sent you [both] instructions that you should either appear and fulfil the deacon's role as usual or should know that you had been suspended from communion.⁴⁰

You, Sebastian, said the following to our brother bishops John and Julian,⁴¹ whom among others we had sent, as they reported back: 'I follow the *Iudicatum* the pope issued, on condition he punishes those who act

36 Vigilius' residence in Constantinople, near the Great Palace and Hagia Sophia.

37 Christmas 549.

38 The Latin is the vague 'alia die' (on another day) and a few lines down 'alio die'; these two phrases must refer to the same day, which is understood by Caspar (1933), 257 and Fliche-Martin (1937), 465 to be Christmas Day itself.

39 Cf. Jn 13:21–30.

40 Vigilius is narrating how at Christmas 549, just after he had threatened Sebastian with investigating his activities in Dalmatia, Justinian invited him to celebrate in 'the church' (presumably Hagia Sophia). On the very night before the celebration, his two deacons, Sebastian and Rusticus, decamped without warning.

41 These are the Italian bishops, resident with Vigilius in Constantinople, John of the Marsi and Julian of Cingulum, mentioned later in the letter.

against the *Iudicatum*.' You spoke in the same vein to them, as they relate, when you said that there had arrived the monks Lampridius and Felix⁴² who had refused to accept our *Iudicatum*, and that you instructed them, 'It is impossible for us to see you, because your cause is not the same as ours.'

(13) Yet afterwards the wickedness of you [two]⁴³ reached the point where you presumed with a proud spirit, contrary to the canons, to communicate with the excommunicate, that is, those afore-mentioned or others who, because they had written against our *Iudicatum*, were known to have been already suspended by us from communion according to the content of the same *Iudicatum*, with which *Iudicatum*, as we mentioned above, the catholic church has proved that you agreed and concurred and so communicated.

(14) From this it is clear that you are justly condemned in accordance with the prescriptions of the canons; for the canons lay down, 'If anyone who is excommunicate dares to communicate before there has been a hearing, he has brought condemnation upon himself. It was likewise decreed by a general council that whoever has been excommunicated for his lack of observance, whether a bishop or any cleric, and during the time of his excommunication presumes to communicate before there has been a hearing, is to be judged to have brought a sentence of condemnation upon himself.'⁴⁴

(15) You have added to this with execrable arrogance things of which there is no record and which men of your order have never had the presumption to do without an order from their bishop, namely, to arrogate to yourselves, contrary to all custom and the canons, the right to teach – by defending criticism and censure of the First Synod of Ephesus and of Cyril of blessed memory and also blasphemies uttered with similar insanity against Jesus Christ our Lord,⁴⁵ and by writing falsely through all the provinces that we have committed something contrary to the definition of the holy Synod of Chalcedon, which accords with the faith of the preceding three synods, those of Nicaea, Constantinople and Ephesus I. (16) In consequence the minds of all who were ignorant of your malice, and who on receiving letters as from the Roman deacons believed them in all simplicity, have been perverted to such criminality by the activity of your deceptiveness that in some places

42 Cf. §23 below for Vigilius' excommunication of Felix. Lampidius and Felix were African monks who came to Constantinople to oppose the *Iudicatum*.

43 From this point 'you' is plural, and Vigilius is addressing both Rusticus and Sebastian.

44 This is Canon 29 in Dionysius Exiguus' edition of the decrees of the Council of Carthage of 419 (PL 67. 192B).

45 The reference is to Rusticus and Sebastian's defence of the Three Chapters and specifically of the Letter to Mari the Persian, despite its criticism of Cyril and the Council of Ephesus and its apparent Nestorianism.

human blood has been shed within the church itself, which it is unholy even to mention.⁴⁶ [193] You have wanted in a spirit of pride to trample on every law of the church, and you have subjected to abuse obedience to the holy canons as well, falsely circulating through all the provinces impious and unlawful reports against us. (17) Lately indeed, adding to your previous misdeeds yet graver ones, you have had the audacity to assert in a document sent to our son the most Christian prince and lord that our predecessor the lord Leo approved and confirmed statements of Theodore Mopsuestia that are recorded as written in opposition to the orthodox faith.⁴⁷ God forbid that any Christian should believe that anything of the kind found written by anyone against the orthodox faith was accepted by his holiness that great primate, who indeed in all his letters is recorded as having condemned with the same sentence both Nestorius and Eutyches and those who shared their opinions. In the afore-mentioned document you have even attempted, contrary to the divine scriptures, to utter sacrilegious abuse not only against many bishops but also, which it is unholy to mention, against the very prince as well, in order the more fully to deceive with diabolical cunning the uninformed Christian people.

(18) We long endured this with priestly patience and for a great period of time, and postponed punishing you, believing that you would perhaps come to your senses and abstain from lawless acts. But despite our exhortation once and again through our brother bishops, that is, John of the Marsi and Julian of Cingulum, and Sapatus our son and deacon, and also through the glorious patrician Cethegus and again our son that religious man Senator and other sons of ours, you refused to listen to admonition, and with the detestable pride with which you do everything were unwilling to return to the church and to us. In consequence it is necessary for us to punish you canonically, lest we should expose ourselves to censure by the divine scriptures. For it is written: 'You saw a thief and joined with him, and placed your lot with adulterers.'⁴⁸ And our Lord and Saviour says, 'If your right eye causes you to sin, pluck it out and cast it from you, for it is better for you that one limb should perish than that the whole body be sent to hell.'⁴⁹ (19) According to sound sense, this idea ought to be applied especially to eccle-

46 This perhaps refers to riots (otherwise unattested) attending synods in the west that discussed the *Iudicatum*.

47 The claim must have been not that Leo praised Theodore (he never refers to him) but that Theodore's teaching was paralleled in Leo's Tome.

48 Ps 49:18.

49 Mt 5:29.

siastical offices and, next to that, to those who do not act aright and create occasions of sin in the churches, just as elsewhere he gives us the warning, ‘Occasions of sin must come, but woe to him by whom they come,’⁵⁰ and the blessed apostle declares in the same way, ‘Would that those who disturb you be mutilated,’⁵¹ and again holy scripture admonishes us, ‘Banish the pestilent man from the assembly and strife will depart with him.’⁵²

It is therefore now necessary for us, after such warnings, to impose canonical penalties on you, Rusticus and Sebastian, by the authority of the blessed Peter as whose representative the Lord chose us to serve him, for this reason, lest, if we now delay longer, the whole order of the church be dissolved. Accordingly, with groans but with the authority of the blessed Peter we must pronounce as follows: because of the transgressions recorded above we decree that you are deposed from the honour of the diaconate, and by stripping you of the aforesaid honour we totally remove you from every exercise of the Levitical office; you no longer have any permission to presume to do anything in virtue of the Levitical name or rank, or to disturb the church of God again by writing in the name of deacons, because by apostolic authority and the canons of the fathers, against which you have repeatedly acted in a proud and irreligious spirit, we depose you, who have long been worthy of condemnation, by our present authority.

(20) [194] So that all may know that we have taken this step rightly, according to the post that God willed us to fill and with the authority of the blessed Peter the apostle, we have cited the decrees of the canons that the holy Synod of Chalcedon praised when read in its presence:⁵³

The archdeacon Aetius read out: ‘If any presbyter or deacon, in contempt of his own bishop, has separated himself from the communion of the church, held his own assemblies and set up an altar, and ignoring the summons of the bishop refuses to heed or obey a first and second summons from him, he is to be completely deposed, deprived of maintenance, and denied any recovery of his dignity. If he continues to cause turmoil and disturbance to the church, he is to be chastised by the secular authorities as a troublemaker.’⁵⁴ All the most devout bishops exclaimed, ‘This is a just canon; this is the canon of the fathers.’

(21) We likewise decree that, if in our lifetime, as is our wish, you perform canonical penance with humility and meekness and recognize mother church,

50 Mt 18:7.

51 Gal 5:12.

52 Prov 22:10, ‘from the assembly’ being an addition.

53 Acts of Chalcedon IV. 90, Price and Gaddis, II, 158–9.

54 This is Canon 5 of the Council of Antioch of c. 328.

fitting pardon is to be granted by us. But if, as is not our wish, you postpone with your usual arrogance returning to mother church by canonical penance, censure by the councils whose canons we have cited is to be maintained in your case, so that no one after our demise may dare to reinstate you in ecclesiastical rank in contravention of our decree, which, following the prescriptions of the canons, we pronounce with the authority of the blessed Peter, whose place we occupy, although unworthy.

(22) As for John, Gerontius, Severinus, Importunus, John and Deusdedit, who are known to have taken part in your conspiracy and intrigue, and whom we, supposing them to be good, made in our time to serve the church over which we preside on divine authority, so that, however, both they themselves and others may be aware of the fact, let them know that they have been deposed by the present sentence from the office of subdeacons, notaries and *defensores* and are no longer to have any rank at all in our church, unless perchance, as we said above, they in their turn submit their necks to canonical penance while we are still alive in this light. (23) As for the African monk Felix, who is reported to have been in charge of the monastery of Gillitanum⁵⁵ and with his levity and changeableness to have scattered the community of the same monastery in various places, as is certain, and who is the instigator of your wickedness, together with all those, both clerics or monks and laymen, who after the present prohibition defile themselves in any association with you or give him or you support and advice,⁵⁶ we enact that the canonical sentence is to remain in force regarding the matters that are likewise recorded above, so that, while these remedies preserve canonical order, no one may presume to disturb any further the church's peace, which the Lord loves.

(24) We have transmitted the present sentence to you through our brothers and fellow Bishops John of the Marsi, Zacchaeus of Scyllacum, Julian of Cingulum,⁵⁷ and also our sons the deacons Sapatus and Peter and our son Surgentius, *primicerius* of the notaries, and Servusdei subdeacon of the first district and Vincentius subdeacon of the second district of our church, over which we preside by divine authority.

55 For Felix (cf. §12 above) and Gillitanum see Hefele-Leclercq (1909), 34, n. 1.

56 I translate what Vigilius must have meant to say, but the Latin runs literally, 'who after the present prohibition defile him or you in any association with you or give support and advice.'

57 These three bishops were in the following year (551) to be among the signatories of Vigilius' excommunication of Theodore Ascidas and Menas of Constantinople (vol. 1, 164) and in 553 among the signatories of the first *Constitutum* (p. 212 below).

9. [195] Likewise there was read from another document:

Vigilius to the most beloved brother Valentinian, bishop of Tomi in the province of Scythia.

(1) Reading the letter of your brotherliness, we have gratefully accepted the presence in you of pontifical solicitude, because the prophetic words can aptly be applied to you, in which it is said, 'I shall rescue my flock and raise above it a shepherd, my servant, who will pasture it.'⁵⁸ It is therefore incumbent on your charity to follow as well those words of our Lord in which he says, 'I have placed you as a watchman for the house of Israel, and you will hear a word from my mouth and declare it to them from me,'⁵⁹ and to summon and exhort ceaselessly those whom you have reported to be ensnared by various rumours, lest perchance they be seduced by those who with a most pernicious spirit and under a catholic veil attempt to deceive with their falsity the hearts of simple Christians and, following with malign spirit the habits of their father the devil, seek to unsettle the church entrusted to you by means of various mendacious writings. These are people to whom may aptly be applied the apostolic reading that runs, 'But I ask you, brethren, to watch those who cause dissension and offence contrary to the teaching you learnt; and turn away from them,'⁶⁰ and below, 'By honeyed words and blessings they lead astray the hearts of the innocent, but your obedience has been noised abroad in every place'⁶¹ – so that, admonished by the exhortation of your brotherliness, nothing may remove their faithful minds by any malign preaching from the straightness of the way that is Christ who said, 'I am the way, the truth, and the life.'⁶² But if (which should not be the case) they be unsettled by their adversaries and fear perchance some offence against the faith (may God avert it!), may they follow with the meekness that befits Christians the prophetic words of the one who says, 'Inquire of your father and he will tell you,'⁶³ and another prophet says, 'The lips of a priest guard knowledge and they seek the law from his mouth.'⁶⁴

(2) Our son the illustrious and magnificent Basilianus, as well as those who at Constantinople attend to the business of the church of your brotherliness, are known to have affirmed in the same way that this lie has been

58 Ezek 34:22–3.

59 Ezek 3:17.

60 Rom 16:17.

61 Rom 16:18b-19.

62 Jn 14:6.

63 Deut 32:7.

64 Mal 2:7.

concocted by the enemies of God – that the persons of Bishops Ibas and Theodoret were condemned in our *Iudicatum* (perish the thought!). Let them therefore read what we are recorded as having decreed on the case mooted here when we wrote to our brother Menas, bishop of the city of Constantinople;⁶⁵ for then they will discover that, through God’s protection of us, nothing was done, still less enacted, by us that could be found adverse to the faith and teaching of the venerable four synods, that is, of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I and Chalcedon, or which was defamatory of anyone of those who signed the Definition of the above-mentioned Chalcedonian faith, or which could be found to infringe perchance the decrees of our forebears and predecessors (perish the thought!); but [they will discover on the contrary] that in every respect we resisted the opponents of the presidents of the apostolic see, of Pope Leo of blessed memory, and of the aforesaid synods.

[196] We therefore believe that it cannot escape your brotherliness that the enemies of the Christian faith have always attempted with worldly and reprehensible cunning to show that the four evangelists contradicted each other (perish the thought!), but they were refuted with heavenly wisdom by the holy fathers by means of books on the harmony of the gospels.⁶⁶ (3) This also [is attempted]⁶⁷ now by the opponents of the holy Council of Chalcedon, among whom we discovered that Rusticus and Sebastian were the originators of this cause of offence, whom we suspended from sacred communion some time ago as they deserved, and against whom your brotherliness should know that we are going to pronounce a canonical sentence if they do not speedily come to their senses, and who under the cloak of a false defence endeavour to prove that the same synod contradicted the aforesaid three synods (perish the thought!). To those who make this attempt aptly apply the words of the prophet who says, ‘Truly a lie has been worked by the lying pen of the scribes: they have rejected the word of the Lord, and there is no wisdom in them.’⁶⁸ For they taught their tongue to utter lies; they laboured to act wickedly.’⁶⁹ On them, if they do not repent, will fall the sentence called down by the psalmist saying, ‘that you may destroy the enemy and defender.’⁷⁰

65 The *Iudicatum* was addressed to Menas.

66 Such as Augustine’s *de consensu evangelistarum*.

67 This is suggested by *ACO* to fill a one-word lacuna.

68 Jer 8:8–9.

69 Jer 9:5.

70 Ps 8:3.

For we believe that what we then wrote to our brother and fellow bishop Menas (that is, about the blasphemies of Theodore of Mopsuestia and his person and about the letter that is said to have been written by Ibas to Mari the Persian and the writings of Theodoret against both the orthodox faith and the Twelve Chapters of the holy Cyril) can abundantly suffice for the catholic children of the church, since assuredly from our decree mentioned above it can attentively be recognized that in the very Definition of Faith issued by the priests of the holy Council of Chalcedon in agreement with the three other holy synods that preceded it they changed nothing but, extolling all the transactions of the previous ones, confirmed their perpetual validity by their own holy definition. (4) If, however, anyone chooses subsequently to doubt this, which we do not believe, we urge him to hasten to come to us on the instructions of your brotherliness, so that he may learn from clear instruction that we have preserved inviolate everything transacted and recorded about the one and the same faith in the times of our predecessors and of the four aforesaid synods. When the logic of this is perceived and the cause for stumbling has been removed, as is meet, from truly Christian souls, may a peace pleasing to God continue in his church undiminished.

(5) This also we believe should be urged on your brotherliness, that you should not receive in future the letters of the aforesaid Rusticus and Sebastian or of those who are proved to be partners in their wicked presumption, but that you should admonish all who are subject to your authority neither to read anything themselves despatched by the aforesaid nor to let the spirit of their credulity yield any longer to these men's falsity. May God keep you safe, most dear brother.

Issued fifteen days before the Kalends of April in the twenty-third year of the reign of lord Justinian perpetual Augustus and the ninth year after the consulship of the most illustrious Basil⁷¹ through John presbyter and *apocrisarius*, and he despatched it through his man Maxentius.

10. [197] Likewise there was read from another document:

Vigilius to the most beloved brother and fellow bishop Aurelian of Arles.

(1) We received the letter of your brotherliness by the hand of Anastasius on the day before the Ides of July,⁷² and we give thanks to the divine mercy on reading that your solicitude for the cause of the faith and for the reputation of my person is in accord with the sacred commandments, with

71 18 March 550.

72 14 July [549]. Vigilius is replying nine months later.

the result that the words of God may worthily and fitly be applied to your charity, in which he says, ‘I chose you out of all to be a priest, so that you may go up to my altar and bear a great name in my presence all the days of your life.’⁷³

(2) Therefore it is incumbent on us to relieve the solicitude of your love for a while by a brief address, so far as the amount of time allows us, that you may in every way be confident that we have in no way admitted anything that might be found (perish the thought!) contrary to the decrees of our predecessors or to the holy faith, which is one and the same, of the four synods, that is, of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I and Chalcedon, or that might defame persons who signed the definition of the same holy faith, or that might be found contrary to the definitions of our holy predecessors Celestine, Xystus, Leo, and others both earlier and later, but [so that you may be confident] that we manifest beyond any doubt a single veneration and a single belief in faith towards all the afore-mentioned synods. Those who do not follow all the above-mentioned four synods in rightness of faith, or who criticize one or all of them in respect of the faith, or who strive to criticize or defame or repudiate them, we reject; and on that which is found in speech or writing to defame the same holy faith we have decreed anathema and execration, and have pronounced that it is to be condemned. We punish with a similar penalty those as well who with detestable arrogance called impious the faith of the blessed Cyril, which our predecessor Leo of holy memory approved and lauded in letters sent to your predecessors and to others,⁷⁴ and which the venerable Synod of Chalcedon is recorded as having cited, and [who called impious the faith] of other fathers whom the presidents of the apostolic see received and followed.⁷⁵

(3) Therefore may your brotherliness, which is recognized through us to represent the apostolic see, inform all the bishops that they are not to be unsettled on any ground by any false writings or lying words or messages, but are instead to follow, as is fitting, the words of the first of the apostles, who says, ‘Your adversary the devil is circling round as a raging lion, seeking whom to devour; resist him, firm in faith,’⁷⁶ and what likewise is said by the apostle who was the teacher of the Gentiles, ‘But I ask you,

⁷³ Cf. 1 Sam 2:28 and 2 Sam 7:9.

⁷⁴ Cf. Leo, *ep.* 67 to the bishop of Arles (May 450), in which he refers to Cyril’s Second Letter to Nestorius as being totally in agreement with his Tome.

⁷⁵ Vigilius is referring to Ibas’ letter to Mari the Persian, with its attribution of impiety to Cyril of Alexandria and the fathers of Ephesus I.

⁷⁶ 1 Pet 5:8–9.

brethren, to watch those who cause dissension and offence contrary to the teaching you learnt; and turn away from them.’⁷⁷ Be confident in the Lord that, as regards the faith handed down by the apostles, [198] proclaimed by the aforesaid holy four councils, and preached and guarded inviolably by our predecessors and the afore-mentioned fathers, we with a sincere will, as we said above, held and hold it, venerated and venerate it, defend it, and condemn with apostolic authority those who contravene it.

(4) But as far as we are able through our son Anastasius, we must briefly relate what has happened; and when our son and lord the most clement emperor, with the help of God who holds his heart, instructs us to return, as he has promised, we shall despatch to you, God willing, a man who will apprise you of each point in detail. The reason why we have not yet done this is because the severity of the winter and the plight of Italy, which does not escape you, have impeded it, until such time as the most serene prince, as he desires, with God’s help gives us assistance.

(5) We also believe that it is to be hoped (since scripture says, ‘A brother who helps his brother will be exalted,’⁷⁸ and as the Acts of the Apostles testify of those who believe in the Lord, ‘There was in the believers in the Lord one heart and one soul’⁷⁹) that your brotherliness may be solicitous about this region also [Italy], and that you will not cease to beg our glorious son King Childebert, whom we know to display with Christian zeal pure veneration towards the apostolic see over which God has willed us to preside, that with matters in such a plight he may, we trust, discharge with Christian devotion his solicitude for the church of God, in such a way, since the Goths with their king are reported to have entered the city of Rome,⁸⁰ that he may deign to write to him to dissuade him from involving himself to the prejudice of our church, since it is, as it were, an alien jurisdiction,⁸¹ or doing anything, or letting it in any way occur, that could trouble the catholic church. For it is fitting and appropriate for a catholic king, as he is, that he ought to defend with all his strength the faith of the church in which God willed him to be baptized; for it is written, ‘As I live, says the Lord, I shall glorify those who glorify me.’⁸²

(6) Haste therefore, most dear brother, that, persevering in holy purity

77 Rom 16:17.

78 Cf. Prov 18:19.

79 Cf. Acts 4:32.

80 On 16 January 550. See Bury (1923), II, 250.

81 The Goths, as Arians, should not interfere in the affairs of the Catholic Church.

82 Cf. 1 Sam 2:30.

of faith, you may, God willing, preserve with fitting solicitude the peace of the churches, which has both been entrusted to you by God through the honour of the priesthood and committed [to you] with a vicar's power by ourselves through apostolic authority, and that you may show yourself by works worthy before God to be the vicar of our see. May God preserve you, most dear brother.

Issued three days before the Kalends of May in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of the Lord Justinian perpetual Augustus and in the ninth year after the consulship of the most illustrious Basil,⁸³ through a man despatched by Anastasius.

11. Likewise there was read from another document:⁸⁴

The most blessed Pope Vigilius swore as follows to the lord the most pious emperor in our presence, that is, in the presence of myself, Bishop Theodore of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and of myself, the patrician Cethegus, by the holy power of the nails with which our Lord and God Jesus Christ was crucified and by the holy four gospels.

By the power of the holy curb⁸⁵ [199] and by the holy four gospels [I swear] to intend, attempt and act, as far as we can, with one mind and will with your piety, to ensure that the Three Chapters, that is, Theodore of Mopsuestia with his writings and the letter attributed to Ibas and the writings of Theodoret against the orthodox faith and against the Twelve Chapters of the holy Cyril are condemned and anathematized, and [I swear] to do or speak or secretly devise nothing against the will of your piety in support of these chapters, either by myself or through those in the clerical order or the lay state to whom I could entrust the matter. And if anyone says to me anything contrary either about these chapters or the faith or against the state, I shall make him and what he said to me known to your piety without incurring danger of death, on condition that on account of my rank you do not betray my person. If I observe all this, you have promised that your piety will protect my honour in all respects, and also guard and defend with the help of God my person and my reputation, and also protect the privileges of my church. You have, however, promised that no one is to be shown this document. I promise in addition that in the case of the Three Chapters we

⁸³ 29 April 550.

⁸⁴ For the context of the following document see 4.4 above.

⁸⁵ Vigilius is taking oath by the nail of the true cross that was discovered by the empress Helena and made into a bit for Constantine's horse, for which see Ambrose, *De obitu Theodosii* 47 (PL 16. 1464–5) and Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* I. 17.9 (ed. Hansen, p. 57, 6–9).

shall transact in common whatever needs to be done, and that with the help of God we shall do whatever we judge to be expedient.

This oath was taken on 15 August in the thirteenth indiction in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of the lord Justinian and in the ninth year after the consulship of the most illustrious Basil.⁸⁶

I, Theodore, by the mercy of God bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, have as a witness to the oath signed this document.

I, the glorious Cethegus, patrician, have as a witness to the oath signed this document.

12. Likewise there was read from another document:⁸⁷

There were read to us proceedings transacted before the *defensor* of the city of Antioch, in which was contained the testimony of soldiers who gave evidence, to speak summarily, that, before the most devout Sergius came to the city of Cyrrhus,⁸⁸ certain persons, that is, Andronicus the presbyter and *defensor* and George the deacon, taking an image of Theodoret, who is everywhere accused of error over the faith, placed it on a cart and brought it into the city of Cyrrhus, singing a hymn and showing that they are of the same heresy. Sergius, when he afterwards came to the city, even celebrated a festival for Theodoret, Diodore, Theodore,⁸⁹ and also for a certain Nestorius whom he claimed to be a martyr, although the province has no martyrdom corresponding to this name. We were therefore naturally astonished, first if such actions performed in the city escaped the notice of your eminence, and then if, when you learnt what had taken place, you delayed investigating the matter, especially since Sergius is said to be residing there in the company of the most devout Paul.⁹⁰ There were also read to us proceedings transacted slightly later before the *defensor* of the city of Cyrrhus, which the

⁸⁶ 15 August 550.

⁸⁷ This is a letter (dating to 520) from the emperor Justin to Hypatius, *magister militum per Orientem*; cf. 4.6 above.

⁸⁸ This Bishop Sergius, accused of being a Nestorian and certainly a Chalcedonian, is clearly to be distinguished from the miaphysite Bishop Sergius of Cyrrhus who led the miaphysite delegation at the Conference of Constantinople of 532 (Grillmeier 1995, 234). It may be surmised that the miaphysite Sergius was replaced by the Chalcedonian Sergius as part of the readoption of Chalcedon in c. 519, and that the celebrations at Cyrrhus of their former bishop Theodoret and the other great figures of Antiochene theological tradition were a spontaneous reaction to the routing of the miaphysites.

⁸⁹ Justin will have been influenced by a campaign against Theodore at this time, linked to the debate over the theopaschite version of the Trisagion; see Devreesse (1948), 176–93.

⁹⁰ Sergius was staying with Bishop Paul of Antioch (519–21; see *DHGE* 3, 699), doubtless in order to defend himself in the Syrian capital.

most devout secretaries of the most devout Sergius produced, containing the statements of many to the effect that no festival had ever been proclaimed or celebrated in the name of some Nestorius. In addition we heard proceedings and petitions from the same Sergius and other bishops of the province of Euphratensis, who unanimously reject Nestorius' name and declare that they shun his heresy and assent [200] to the holy four councils.

We therefore enact that your eminence should neglect no precision or zeal, but summon without delay the bishop of the city of Cyrrhus residing there, as we have heard, and also to bring before you the soldiers from the third cohort of Stabilisiani who are found to have given testimony at the proceedings at Antioch, and also Andronicus and George, who are alleged to have performed what was reported about the image, and to investigate with particular precision whether what was reported of the image took place, whether in honour of the image they walked in front singing the hymn of which mention was made in the proceedings at Antioch, whether the most devout Sergius, when he afterwards learnt of this, both received the clerics and communicated with them in the divine mysteries, whether he allowed to be celebrated a festival of Theodoret, Theodore and Diodore or had it proclaimed, and whether the same thing was also done in the name of Nestorius; and may your greatness hasten to explore every path to ensure that no detail can remain hidden. And so that your eminence should fear not only our anger but also the wrath of God, we are not reluctant to make you take an oath in the name of the Lord and Saviour Christ our God (to whom such matters pertain) to carry out a thorough investigation of the truth. If the soldiers are found to have lied throughout and to have told truth about neither the image nor the festival, over not only what relates to Nestorius but also what relates to Theodoret, Theodore and Diodore, they are to be immediately expelled from the most brave cohort in which they are known to serve, and in addition their bodies are to be subjected to every torture. If, however, they have told the truth in their depositions about either the image or the festival, of Nestorius or of the three others, then inform us about everything, so that we can judge those who have sinned against the true and irreproachable faith which we too venerate.

Lest anything of what has been read to us escape your greatness, we have given orders that the same proceedings that were transacted at Cyrrhus and reported to us and also a copy of the transactions at Antioch be sent to you, so that after all our commands have been fulfilled the transactions at Cyrrhus may again be sent to us. We have despatched for this business the most devoted *agens in rebus* and adjutant Thomas.

Issued seven days before the Ides of August at Constantinople in the consulship of the most illustrious Rusticus.⁹¹

13. The holy council said: ‘There has now been plainly revealed the mind, pleasing to God, of the pious and most serene emperor, who has always done and does everything to preserve holy church and the orthodox doctrines, and who sent the documents that have just been read, and which themselves show (as has escaped no one) that the holy church of God was foreign from the beginning to the impiety of these chapters. The most Christian emperor will receive a reward for this from Christ the great God, who is wont to multiply them. We, however, who perform daily prayers for his serenity, shall with the help of God pronounce a conciliar sentence on the Three Chapters on another day.’

14. Constantine the most glorious quaestor said: ‘While I have been attending your holy council for the reading of the documents that have been made known to you, [201] the most pious emperor has sent a decree to your holy council about the name of Vigilus,⁹² to the effect that in view of the impiety he has defended his name should no longer be included in the sacred diptychs of the church, and should neither be read out by you nor preserved either in the church of the imperial city or in the remaining churches entrusted to you and to the other bishops in [the territory of] the state assigned to him by God. Hearing this decree, may you again learn from it how greatly the most serene emperor cares for the unity of the holy churches and the purity of the holy mysteries.’

15. The holy council said: ‘May the sacred decree be duly received and read.’

16. And when Stephen, deacon, notary and *instrumentarius* had received it, he read out:

In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. The emperor Caius Flavius Justinianus Alamanicus, Gothicus, Francicus, Germanicus, Anticus, Alanicus, Vandalicus, Africanus, pious, fortunate, glorious, triumphant victor, always Augustus, to the most blessed archbishops and patriarchs Euty chius of Constantinople, Apollinarius of Alexandria, Dominus of Theopolis, the

⁹¹ 7 August 520.

⁹² The omission of all honorifics, and even of the title ‘pope’ (or archbishop) ‘of Rome’, implies that Vigilus was judged worthy of condemnation and deposition, even though the penalty formally imposed falls short of this and is limited to deletion from the diptychs. The council fathers insist below (17) that they have no wish for a formal break with the Roman see.

most religious bishops Stephen, George and Damian, representing Eustochius the most blessed archbishop of Jerusalem and patriarch, and the other most religious bishops from various provinces, staying in this imperial city.

(1) The one salvation for Christians is with a pure heart and good conscience and unfeigned faith to come to the communion of the holy sacraments, for from this each person can hope for the forgiveness of sins, on receiving a share in the mysteries from the priests who worship God aright. This we have said because certain persons who advocate the impiety of Nestorius are trying to affix it to the church of God by means of Theodore of Mopsuestia and his impious writings and also by means of the impious writings of Theodoret against the orthodox faith and the First Council of Ephesus and against the holy Cyril and his Twelve Chapters and in defence of the impious Nestorius and Theodore, and in addition by means of the impious letter that Ibas is said to have written to Mari the Persian, which in addition to other blasphemies contained in it calls heretics those who profess that God the Word became man, accuses the First Council of Ephesus of condemning Nestorius without trial and investigation, calls Cyril of holy memory a heretic and says that his Twelve Chapters are impious, and defends and praises the heretics Theodore and Nestorius. When a long time ago some matters were mooted about this, both your religiousness and numerous other priests judged the impiety of these chapters to be alien to the orthodox faith.

(2) When the most religious pope of Elder Rome arrived in this great city, all these things were made known to him. And when he had examined them, he both condemned them and declared his assurance in writings addressed both to ourselves and to our then spouse of pious memory; for we did not allow anyone who did not condemn this impiety to receive inviolable communion from him or from anyone whomsoever. He also swore dread oaths in writing that he would continue with the same purpose, condemning and anathematizing the aforesaid Three Chapters and would not attempt anything in any way or at any time to rebut the condemnation of the aforesaid impious Three Chapters. Moreover he often condemned the impious Three Chapters orally in the presence of most glorious officials and most religious bishops, as many of you who assembled know. [202] He continued so acting for seven years. Afterwards letters passed between you and him, in which you mutually agreed to meet together and compose a condemnation of the aforesaid chapters in council. But afterwards, when invited both by us and by your religious council, he refused to meet in common, and contradicted his own intention by defending the tenets of the followers of Theodore

and Nestorius. Moreover he made himself alien to the catholic church by defending the impiety of the aforesaid chapters, separating himself from your communion.

(3) Since therefore he has acted in this way, we have pronounced that his name is alien to Christians and is not to be read out in the sacred diptychs, lest we be found in this way sharing in the impiety of Nestorius and Theodore. Accordingly we earlier made this known to you by word of mouth, but now we inform you in writing through our [officials, that]⁹³ his name is no longer to be included in the sacred diptychs. We ourselves, however, preserve unity with the apostolic see, and it is certain that you also will guard it. For the change to the worse in Vigilius or in anyone else cannot harm the peace of the churches. May the Godhead keep you safe for many years, holy and most religious fathers.

Issued on the day before the Ides of July at Chalcedon in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of the lord Justinian perpetual Augustus and in the twelfth year after the consulship of the most illustrious Basil.⁹⁴

17. The holy council said: ‘What has now seemed good to the most pious emperor is consonant with the labours he has borne for the unity of the holy churches. Let us therefore preserve unity with the apostolic see of the sacrosanct church of Elder Rome, transacting everything according to the tenor of the texts that have been read. On the case before us let what we have already resolved proceed.’

93 These words, suggested in *ACO*, fill a lacuna.

94 14 July 553, presumably the date of decree’s publication – doubtless delayed in the hope that Vigilius would capitulate in the meantime and the decree be made otiose.

THE EIGHTH SESSION

INTRODUCTION

The eighth and final session of the council was held on 2 June 553, a week after the seventh. Now that the pope's opposition was no longer seen as an immovable obstacle – since he had been suspended and could be deposed if he remained obdurate –, the time had come to pass a final and formal verdict on the Three Chapters.

There was first read out by a senior notary a summary of the work of the council (4), formally, we may imagine, the work of the chairman, Eutychius of Constantinople, but clearly with the assistance of Theodore Ascidas, since the summary relates closely to Ascidas' own presentation of the case against the chapters in Sessions V and VI. It starts with repeating the favourite claim of Justinian's, that condemnation of the chapters had been made necessary by machinations of the Nestorians (4.2). It then turns to Pope Vigilius, who is again criticized for failing to take part in the council, leaving the council with no option but to proceed without him (4.6). Vigilius' name is stripped of all honorifics, including his papal title; even though he had not been formally deposed, the implication was that, if he refused to yield to the council, deposition would swiftly follow. Vigilius' insistence on his authority to decide matters of the faith on his own, a traditional papal claim, is directly challenged by the statement, 'It is not permissible in the case of the faith for anyone to anticipate the judgement of the Church in her totality, since each person needs the help of his neighbour' (4.5).¹

The council's examination of each of the Three Chapters in turn in the course of Sessions IV–VI is then summarized. The greatest space is allotted to the arguments that the deceased cannot be condemned posthumously and that the accommodation by which Cyril of Alexandria and Proclus of

¹ It is notable that in Surlius' edition this sentence is replaced by a version less shocking to Roman ears, 'For neither is it possible in joint discussion of the faith for the truth to be manifested otherwise.'

Constantinople had not pressed immediately for Theodore's anathematization provided no ground for opposing it now (4.12–18). Then, after Theodoret is dismissed in a sentence (4.19), the case against the Letter to Mari the Persian is set out: the fact that Chalcedon required Ibas to anathematize Nestorius and accept the Definition proves that it gave no approval to the letter (4.24–6). There follows a formal judgement, in which, after a profession of loyalty to the four previous ecumenical councils, the Three Chapters are solemnly condemned (4.27).

This is followed, after a rhetorical flourish of biblical citations (4.28), by the 14 Canons of the council (5), to be discussed below. A final paragraph explains that the purpose of condemning the chapters was simply to reiterate the teaching of Scripture, the Fathers and the councils. This conservative intention, not to add to doctrine or develop it but simply to protect the inherited tradition, is more than a rhetorical flourish: it expresses the mindset that was common to all the ecumenical councils – not the mere inertia of a rigid and defensive culture, but an appreciation that the protective role of councils and the creative role of theologians should not be confused.²

The acts of this session close with the signatures of the bishops, 166 of them – the 152 bishops who had attended the council and some additional names.³ All had to sign using an identical formula, professing allegiance to the four councils and condemning the Three Chapters by name.

The Fourteen Canons

The 14 Canons approved at this session and included in its acts are an expanded version of the 13 anathemas contained in Justinian's edict *On the orthodox faith*, issued two years previously; the expansion increases their length by a half. Some of the changes are simply minor improvements in presentation – such as the amalgamation of Justinian's closely related Anathemas 7 and 8 into the single Canon 7, and the strengthening in Canon 12 of the condemnation in Anathema 11 of all adherents or defenders of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Expansion was made necessary at several points by the separation of these anathemas from their original context in Justinian's edict, where their meaning and purpose were explained in the accompanying text (the revision of Anathemas 4 and 9 in Canons 4 and 8 are cases

² The traditionalism of formal pronouncements (for which see Price and Gaddis, I, 56–8) did not exclude the creative work of such theologians as Leontius of Jerusalem and (later) Maximus the Confessor.

³ For an analysis of the lists see pp. 287–97 below.

in point). There remain some changes significant enough to deserve special mention:

(1) Canon 5 is new. It clarifies the Chalcedonian Definition by insisting that the formula ‘one person and one hypostasis’ excludes any talk of ‘persons’ and ‘hypostases’ in the plural in the explanation of the ‘two natures’ formula. This was a correction of the loose and varied use of all these terms in the fifth-century debate. The particular target was doubtless the talk both of ‘two persons’ and of ‘one person’ in Nestorius (meaning two particularized natures and the ‘person of union’), but Cyril’s terminology had been equally confusing, as when in his Twelve Chapters he referred to the natures as ‘hypostases’.⁴

(2) Canon 6 greatly expands Justinian’s Anathema 5, to clarify its bearing on the place of the term *Theotokos* in the Chalcedonian Definition, where it occurs incidentally in the context of describing the manhood in Christ, as a result of the dependence of the Definition at this point on the Formula of Reunion, an Antiochene document. In this expanded version the orthodox understanding of the *Theotokos* title, namely that it was God the Word who was born of Mary and not some man attached to God the Word, is explicitly contrasted to the minimalist interpretation of the title in Theodore of Mopsuestia.⁵

(3) Canon 9, on the worship to be paid to Christ, is new. It condemns a Nestorianizing interpretation of the ‘two natures’ formula according to which human beings pay one form of worship to Christ’s Godhead and another to his manhood, in line with one of the anathemas in Cyril of Alexandria’s Twelve Chapters.⁶ The miaphysite John Philoponus chose to interpret this canon as a criticism of the very use in the Chalcedonian Definition of the ‘in two natures’ formula, which was certainly not the intention of its framers.⁷

(4) Canon 11, listing heretics condemned (principally) at the four previous ecumenical councils, expands on Justinian’s Anathema 10 by adding the name of Origen, in accordance with the renewed condemnation of Origenism that had been the first task laid on the bishops when they arrived at Constantinople for the council.⁸

4 In Anathema 3 (p. 47 above). In the dialogue between Chalcedonians and non-Chalcedonians held at Constantinople in 532 this passage was cited by the Chalcedonian side as a reason for not treating the Twelve Chapters as authoritative (ACO 4.2, p. 173, 18–27).

5 For Theodore’s use of the term see the excerpt at Acts IV. 52.

6 Anathema 8 (pp. 47–8 above).

7 Cf. Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, trans. Chabot, II, 109–10 and Lang (2005), 412.

8 See pp. 270–1 below.

(5) Canon 13 on Theodoret of Cyrillus removes two dubious charges in Justinian's edict, which wrongly accused Theodoret of a Nestorianizing interpretation of St Thomas' words 'My Lord and my God' (Jn 20:28) and of rejecting the *Theotokos* title.

(6) Canon 14 adds to Justinian's Anathema 13 on the Letter to Mari the Persian a condemnation of those who claim that the letter received approval at Chalcedon.

In all, the expansions of Justinian's anathemas in Constantinople's canons represent no change in content, but display a concern to link them more explicitly to contested points in the interpretation of the work of Chalcedon.

The first ten canons, despite being in the form of anathemas, teach a positive Christology of great interest, but in terms of the work of the council their importance is reduced by the lack of any discussion of them in the previous sessions; they are simply presented as a self-evident restatement of the Chalcedonian faith. It is the three final canons, condemning the Three Chapters, that were the climax of the work of the council.

The text of the canons

The canons survive in two editions, that in the Latin Acts, and a Greek text preserved in various MSS, including those of the Acts of the Lateran Council of 649.⁹ The two editions differ in a few small differences of wording. Though the rest are trivial, one is important: in Canon 4 the Latin has 'composite hypostasis' while the Greek lacks 'composite'.¹⁰ The antiquity of the extant Greek version is shown by its presence in the Acts of 649.

There are two indications that the Latin edition is the better witness to the original Greek text, despite the early date of the extant Greek edition. First, in places where the canons of 553 reproduce the anathemas in Justinian's *On the orthodox faith*, the Latin version is the more faithful, the occurrence of 'composite hypostasis' being a case in point.¹¹ Secondly, most of the differences are places where the Latin wording is slightly fuller though without any enrichment in meaning, and here the omission of the odd word in the Greek will generally appear more likely than expansion in the Latin.¹²

⁹ *ACO* ser. 2, vol. 1, pp. 224–35. The Latin acts of the council of 649 translate the Greek text and do not follow the Latin edition preserved in the acts of 553. This is one of many indications that the Latin acts of 649 are a translation of the Greek and not the original text.

¹⁰ For the theological significance of 'composite' in this context see vol. 1, 124 with n. 8.

¹¹ See notes 71, 93 and 96 below.

¹² This is true of the passages annotated in notes 70, 76, 87, 97 and 99 below. Where,

PROCEEDINGS

1. [203] In the twenty-seventh year of the lord Justinian perpetual Augustus and in the twelfth year after the consulship of the most illustrious Basil, four days before the Nones of June in the first indiction,¹³ there were seated in the consistory of the venerable episcopal palace of this imperial city: (1) Eutychius the most holy patriarch of imperial Constantinople New Rome, (2) Apollinarius the most holy archbishop of the great city of Alexandria, (3) Domninus the most holy patriarch of the great city of Theopolis [Antioch], (4–6) Stephen the most religious bishop of Raphia, George the most religious bishop of Tiberias, and Damian the most religious bishop of Sozusa, [all] representing Eustochius the most holy bishop of Jerusalem, (7) Benignus the most religious bishop of Heraclea in Pelagonia, representing Helias the most blessed bishop of Thessalonica, (8) Theodore the most religious bishop of Caesarea in the province of Cappadocia Prima, (9) Andrew the most religious bishop of Ephesus, (10) Sextilian the most religious bishop of Tunis, representing Primosus the most religious bishop of Carthage, (11) Megethius the most religious bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, (12) Anastasius the most religious bishop of Tavium, representing Dorotheus the most religious bishop of Ancyra, (13) John the most devout bishop of Ilium, representing Euprepius the most religious bishop of the city of Cyzicus, (14) Eusebius the most religious bishop of Tyre, (15) John the most religious bishop of Nicomedia, (16) Stephen the most religious bishop of Nicaea, (17) Constantine the most religious bishop of Chalcedon, (18) [204] Peter the most religious bishop of Tarsus, (19) John the most devout bishop of Cucusus, representing Palladius the most religious bishop of Melitene, (20) John the most religious bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, (21) Pompeianus the most religious bishop of Byzacena, (22) Amazonius the most religious bishop of Edessa, (23) Alexander the most religious bishop of Gangra, (24) Thomas the most religious bishop of Apamea in Syria, (25) Euphrantas the most religious bishop of Tyana, (26) Theodore the most religious bishop of Hierapolis in Syria, (27) Bosporius the most religious bishop of Neocaesarea, (28) John the most religious bishop of Bostra, (29) Philip the most religious bishop of Myra, (30) Theodore the most religious bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, (31) Julian the most religious bishop of Sardis, (32) Theodore the most religious bishop of Gortyna, (33) Eustathius the most religious bishop

however, the longer Latin text is an expansion is where *deus verbum* corresponds to a bare *ὁ λόγος* in the Greek; see n. 78 below.

¹³ 2 June 553.

of Damascus, (34) Theodosius the most religious bishop of Rhodes, (35) Firmus the most religious bishop of Tipasa in the province of Africa, (36) Theodore the most religious bishop of Antioch in Pisidia, (37) Phocas the most religious bishop of Stobi, (38) Eulogius the most religious bishop of Perge, (39) Severianus the most religious bishop of Aphrodisias, (40) Cyriacus the most religious bishop of Amida, (41) Severus the most religious bishop of Synnada, (42) Peter the most religious bishop of Side, (43) Abramius the most religious bishop of Sergiopolis, (44) Asignius the most devout bishop of Trajanopolis, representing John the most religious bishop of Laodicea in Phrygia Pacatiana, (45) John the most religious bishop of Hadrianopolis in Thrace, (46) Crescens the most religious bishop of Cuicul, (47) Theodosius the most religious bishop of Justinianopolis in Cappadocia Secunda, (48) Stephen the most religious bishop of Laodicea or Theodorias, (49) Auxanon the most religious bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, (50) Eustathius the most religious bishop of Maximianopolis, (51) Aetherius the most religious bishop of Anazarbus, (52) Domitius the most religious bishop of Chalcis, [205] (53) Valerian the most religious bishop of Obba in the province of Africa, (54) Dionysius the most religious bishop of Seleucia in Syria, (55) Theodore the most religious bishop of Druzipara, (56) Severus the most religious bishop of Pompeiopolis in the province of Paphlagonia, (57) George the most religious bishop of Cypsela Justiniana [Nova], (58) Romanus the most devout bishop of Gabala, (59) George the most devout bishop of Justinianopolis in Armenia, (60) John the most devout bishop of Nyssa, (61) Basil the most devout bishop of Justiniana Nova Camuliana, (62) John the most devout bishop of Barcusa, (63) Cresconius the most devout bishop of Zattara in the province of Numidia, (64) Sergius the most devout bishop of Cynopolis in Aegyptus Secunda, (65) Christopher the most devout bishop of Arcadiopolis in Asia, (66) Theodosius the most devout bishop of Byblus, (67) Leontius the most devout bishop of Arca, (68) John the most devout bishop of Myrina, (69) Alexander the most devout bishop of Amphipolis, (70) Stephen the most devout bishop of Clysma, (71) Thomas the most devout bishop of Verisa, (72) Aristodemus the most devout bishop of Philomelium, (73) Thalelaeus the most devout bishop of Hadrianopolis in Pisidia, (74) Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Erythrae, (75) Diogenianus the most devout bishop of Sozopolis, (76) Bassus the most devout bishop of Tamiathis, (77) Anatolius the most devout bishop of Cyme, (78) Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cratia, (79) Restitutus the most devout bishop of Milevum in the province of Africa, (80) Theodore the most devout bishop of Leontopolis in Egypt, (81) Aemilianus the most devout bishop of

Antipyrgus, (82) [Conon the most devout bishop of Magydus],¹⁴ (83) Theocistus the most devout bishop of Prusa, (84) George the most devout bishop of Ptolemais, (85) Soterus the most devout bishop of Aulon, (86) Zosimus the most devout bishop of Antandrus, (87) Cyprian the most devout bishop of Corycus, (88) Helias the most devout bishop of Diocletianopolis, (89) Theonas the most devout bishop of Cusae, [206] (90) Theodore the most devout bishop of Limyra, (91) Gennadius the most devout bishop of Zenonopolis, (92) Asyncretius the most devout bishop of Aradus, (93) Stephen the most devout bishop of Botrys, (94) Philip the most devout bishop of Phellus, (95) Menas the most devout bishop from Myriangeli, (96) Genethlius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum, (97) Thomas the most devout bishop of Constantia, (98) Theodore the most devout bishop of Leontopolis, (99) Severus the most devout bishop of Tabae, (100) Theocistus the most devout bishop of Halicarnassus, (101) Cosmas the most devout bishop of Mallus, (102) Dionysius the most devout bishop of Megara, (103) Callinicus the most devout bishop of Opus, (104) Paschasius the most devout bishop of Aegium, (105) Erasmus the most devout bishop of Cibyra, (106) John the most devout bishop of Neocaesarea in Euphratensis, (107) Nonnus the most devout bishop of Dausara, (108) Stephen the most devout bishop of Balanaeae, (109) Thomas the most devout bishop of Circesium, (110) Anatolius the most devout bishop of Sebaste, (111) Constantine the most devout bishop of Midaeum, (112) Macarius the most devout bishop of Prymnessus, (113) Megas the most devout bishop of Meirus, (114) Thalelaeus the most devout bishop of Isinda, (115) Nicetas the most devout bishop of Epiphaneia, (116) Alexander the most devout bishop of Dionysopolis, (117) Pelagius the most devout bishop of Aezani, (118) Hieron the most devout bishop of Anastasiopolis in Phrygia, (119) Glaucus the most devout bishop of Alia, (120) Procopius the most devout bishop from Antinoopolis, (121) Peter the most devout bishop of Domitiopolis, (122) John the most devout bishop of Colonia, (123) Uranius the most devout bishop of Tralles, (124) John the most devout bishop of Ceraseis, (125) Phronimus the most devout bishop of Sanaus, (126) Macedonius the most devout bishop of Justinianopolis in Bithynia, (127) Ecdicius the most devout bishop of Tenus, [207] (128) Eulogius the most devout bishop of Danaba, (129) Theodore the most devout bishop of Coradea,

14 I restore Conon's name, omitted in Parisinus and hence in *ACO*, though included in Surius' edition, either because his manuscript included it or possibly (as *ACO* suggests) as an emendation based on Conon's presence in the list of signatories to the canons (6.79). His omission in Parisinus is far more likely to be a mere slip than a reflection of a recorded non-attendance at this session.

(130) Helpidophorus the most devout bishop of Anastasiopolis in Caria, (131) Cyrion the most devout bishop of Dadima, (132) Theodore the most devout bishop of Laodicea, (133) Silas the most devout bishop of Tiberiopolis, (134) Diogenes the most devout bishop of Augustopolis, (135) Theodore the most devout bishop of Ingila, (136) Julian the most devout bishop of Zeugma, (137) Dorymenius the most devout bishop of Adraa, (138) John the most devout bishop of Lerus, (139) Theodore the most devout bishop of Gargara, (140) Theodore the most devout bishop of Comana, (141) Rufinus the most devout bishop of Sebasteia in Armenia, (142) Conon the most devout bishop of Sennea, (143) Cyriacus the most devout bishop of Casae, (144) Sisinnius the most devout bishop of Praenetus, (145) Julian the most devout bishop of Batnae, (146) Anastasius the most devout bishop of Rachla, (147) Theodore the most devout bishop of Porthmus, (148) Paul the most devout bishop of Stectorium, (149) Stephen the most devout bishop of Amaseia, (150) Paul the most devout bishop of Adrassus, (151) Evander the most devout bishop of Cnidus, (152) Menas the most devout bishop of Carpathus.

2. Diodore archdeacon and *primicerius* of the most devout notaries said: ‘Your holy council knows that some days ago there were conducted at various sessions proceedings in your presence relating to Theodore of Mopsuestia, the things Theodoret wrote impiously, and the impious letter written to Mari the Persian that is said to be by Ibas, and also that at the last session your holy council resolved to issue a complete and conciliar verdict on the matters under examination. Because, therefore, you have convened for this purpose, what we propose depends on your good pleasure.’

3. The holy council¹⁵ said: ‘Let the proceedings in our presence relating to the investigations that have been mentioned be made known.’

4. After the reading, when Calonymus the most devout deacon and notary received the verdict, he read out:

(1)¹⁶ [208] According to the parable in the gospels, when our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ distributed talents according to the ability of each person and demanded their labour in due season, the person who was entrusted with one talent and kept it undiminished is condemned, because he did not labour and increase what had been entrusted to him. To how much greater and terrible a judgement is subject he who has not only

¹⁵ Meaning Eutychius of Constantinople.

¹⁶ The Greek of this opening paragraph is preserved, and comes in *ACO* 4.1, p. 239, 3–14.

been negligent about his own affairs but has also been a cause of upset and stumbling to others, although it is patent to all the pious that, when the account of the faith is mooted, not only the impious man is condemned but also he who was able to prevent impiety and yet neglected the correction of others. We too, therefore, entrusted with shepherding the church of the Lord, wary of the curse with which those are threatened who are negligent in doing the works of the Lord, are zealous in keeping the good seed of the faith uncontaminated by the weeds of impiety sown by the enemy.¹⁷

(2) Because, therefore, we saw that the followers of Nestorius were trying to impose their impiety on the church of God by means of the impious Theodore, at one time bishop of Mopsuestia, and of his impious writings and in addition by means of what Theodoret had written impiously and of the criminal letter that is said to have been written by Ibas to Mari the Persian, for this reason we rose up to correct what was being mooted, and when summoned according to God's will and by command of the most pious emperor assembled in this imperial city.

(3) It happened that Vigilius was staying in this imperial city and ought to have taken part in everything that was mooted concerning these Three Chapters, and had often condemned them both orally and in writing;¹⁸ afterwards he also agreed in writing to attend the council and discuss these Three Chapters together with us, so that we might all produce in common a decree corresponding to the orthodox faith.¹⁹ So our most pious emperor, in accordance with what had been resolved among us, urged both Vigilius and ourselves to meet together, since it is appropriate for priests to impose a common solution on common problems. Accordingly, we necessarily besought his reverence to fulfil his written promises,²⁰ saying that it was not right that the cause of stumbling arising from these Three Chapters should increase and thereby unsettle the church of God. But when, although often invited both by us all and in addition by the most glorious officials sent to him by the most pious emperor, he postponed heeding these requests and admonitions and attending, we recalled to his memory the great example of the apostles and the traditions of the fathers. For even though individual apostles abounded with the grace of the Holy Spirit so that they did not need the advice of others over what had to be transacted, yet they had no

17 Cf. Mt 13:25.

18 Both in his lost *Iudicatum* of 548 and in documents read out at the seventh session (Acts VII. 6,7,11).

19 Cf. Acts I. 11.4.

20 Cf. Acts I. 13, II. 5–10.

wish to decide in any other way the question that was mooted, whether the Gentiles ought to be circumcised, before they met together and each of them confirmed his statements from the testimonies of the divine scriptures. Accordingly it was in common that they all pronounced judgement on the matter, writing to the Gentiles and stating in a declaration that ‘when we all assembled together it seemed good [209] to the Holy Spirit and to us to impose no other burden on you except these necessary things, that you abstain from what has been offered to idols, from blood, from what has been strangled, and from fornication.’²¹

(4) The holy fathers also who convened at various times in the holy four councils followed ancient precedent and decreed in common on the heresies and problems that had arisen, since it is certain that it is through joint examination, when there is expounded what needs to be discussed on both sides, that the light of truth dispels the darkness of lies.

(5) For neither is it permissible in the case of the faith for anyone to anticipate the judgement of the church in her totality, since each person needs the help of his neighbour, as Solomon says in Proverbs, ‘A brother who provides help to his brother will be raised up like a fortified city, and is strong like a kingdom with foundations,’²² and again he says in Ecclesiastes, ‘Two are better than one, and they have a good reward for their labour, because if one falls his comrade will raise him up; and woe to that single man when he falls and there is no second man to raise him up,’²³ and again, ‘Even if one man would prevail, two resist him, and a triple cord is not easily broken.’²⁴ And the Lord himself says, ‘Verily I say to you, if two of you agree on earth about any matter for which you ask, it will be given to you by my Father in heaven, for wherever two or three are gathered in my name, there am I with them in the midst of them.’²⁵

(6) When, however, even after mention of examples of this kind he postponed meeting together with us, we took to heart the apostle’s warning that ‘each person will render an account of himself to God,’²⁶ and were in fear both of the judgement with which those are threatened who cause offence to one of the little ones²⁷ – how much more when those offended

21 Acts of the Apostles 15:25,28–9.

22 Prov 18:19. The quotations in this and the following paragraph are not verbally exact.

23 Eccl 4:9–10.

24 Eccl 4:12.

25 Mt 18:19–20.

26 Rom 14:12.

27 Cf. Mt 18:6.

are the most Christian emperor and whole congregations and churches – and also of what was uttered by God to Paul, ‘Do not fear, but speak and do not keep silence, because I am with you and no one will be able to harm you.’²⁸ Accordingly we assembled together and before anything else professed in summary that we hold the faith that our Lord Jesus Christ true God handed down to his holy apostles and through them to the holy churches, and which the holy fathers and doctors of the church who came after them handed down to the congregations entrusted to them.

(7) So we professed that we hold and keep and preach to the holy churches the profession of faith set out comprehensively by the 318 holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea and handed down the holy teaching or symbol, and in addition the exposition of the 150 convened at Constantinople who followed the same profession of faith and clarified it, and the agreement over the same faith of the 200 holy fathers convened at Ephesus I, and the decree by the 630 convoked at Chalcedon about one and the same faith, which they in their turn followed and proclaimed. As for those who according to the needs of the time were condemned or anathematized by the catholic church and the aforesaid four councils, we professed that we hold them condemned and anathematized.²⁹

(8) [210] After making this profession accordingly, we embarked on an examination of the Three Chapters.³⁰ First we set out the case of Theodore of Mopsuestia; and when the blasphemies contained in his books were publicly presented, we marvelled at God’s patience with them, that a divine fire had not immediately consumed the tongue and mind that had belched them forth. We would never have allowed the reader of the aforesaid blasphemies to proceed, out of fear of the wrath of God at their mere recall, since each blasphemy surpassed the preceding one in the degree of its impiety and shocked the mind of the hearer to the core, were it not for the fact that we perceived that those who glory in these blasphemies need to be confounded by their publication. As a result, all of us, fired with indignation at the blasphemies pronounced against God, uttered acclamations and anathemas against Theodore (as if living and present) both during the reading and after it, as we said, ‘Be merciful, O Lord: not even demons have dared to utter such things against you.’³¹

28 Acts of the Apostles 18:9–10.

29 Cf. Acts III. 4.

30 Cf. Acts IV.

31 Cf. Bishop Ibas at the Council of Chalcedon, ‘I haven’t heard this statement even from a demon’ (X. 115). The acclamations during the reading of the excerpts from Theodore are given at Acts IV. 34, 82.

(9) How unbearable is that tongue, oh the depravity of the man, and how arrogant the hand that he raised against his Creator! This wretch who had professed to know the scriptures did not remember the words of the prophet Hosea, ‘Woe to them, for they have turned away from me. Infamous have they become, because they have been impious towards me. They have spoken wicked things against me, and terrible things have they uttered as they plotted against me. Therefore they shall fall by the sword on account of the iniquity of their tongue. This will be their derision in their bosom, because they have transgressed my covenant and acted impiously against my law.’³² Theodore is deservedly listed among these impious people, for he rejected the prophecies about Christ and was eager, as far as pertained to himself, to deny the great mystery of the dispensation for our salvation; he attempted in many ways to prove that the divine utterances were fables offered to the Gentiles merely for amusement, and despised both the other prophetic pronouncements against the impious and the words of the divine Habakkuk about false teachers, ‘Woe to him who makes his neighbour equal by a stormy overthrow and makes him drunk, so that he looks into their caves,’³³ that is, their dark doctrines, utterly deprived of light.

(10) What need to speak at length? May those who so wish be permitted to take the books of the impious Theodore in their hands or the impious chapters (from his impious books) contained in our proceedings, and discover the utter madness of the one who said these things, for we are afraid to proceed further and again recall to mind those abhorrent statements. (11) There were also read to us certain writings of the holy fathers against him and his madness, which surpasses all the heretics, and in addition histories and imperial laws that made known his impiety from the beginning.³⁴

(12) Because despite all this the defenders of his impiety, glorying in the insults he uttered against his Creator, have been saying that he ought not to be anathematized after his death, although we know the church’s tradition concerning the impious, that heretics are anathematized even after death, we yet thought it necessary to examine this point as well.³⁵ Contained in the proceedings is how various heretics were anathematized even after death. It has in many ways become patent to us that those who assert this pay no attention to the judgements of God [211] or the pronouncements of the apostles or the traditions of the fathers. Let us by all means ask them

32 Cf. Hos 7:13–8:1.

33 Hab 2:15.

34 Cf. Acts V. 5–38.

35 Cf. Acts V. 50–93.

readily what they would say about the Lord's words relating to himself, 'He who believes in him is not judged, but he who does not believe in him has been judged already, because he has not believed in the name of God's only-begotten Son,'³⁶ and the exclamation of the apostle, 'Even if we ourselves or an angel from heaven were to preach to you a gospel contrary to the one we preached to you, let him be anathema. As we said before, I now say again: if anyone preach to you a gospel contrary to what you received, let him be anathema.'³⁷ When the Lord says 'he has been judged already' and the apostle anathematizes even angels if they were to teach 'contrary to what we have preached,' how can they, who have the effrontery for everything, have the presumption to assert that these things were said only about the living? Or do they not know, or rather do they pretend not to know when in fact they do, that a judgement of anathema is nothing other than separation from God, that the impious person, even if he has not received it verbally from another, yet in reality brings anathema on himself when through his impiety he separates himself from the true Life?³⁸ (13) What will they say in relation to the apostle declaring again, 'Avoid an heretical man after one and a second correction, knowing that a man of this kind is perverted and sinful and stands self-condemned'?'³⁹

In agreement with this, Cyril of holy memory in the books he wrote against Theodore speaks as follows: 'We must therefore avoid those who are subject to such grave faults, whether they are among the living or not, for it is necessary to distance oneself from what is harmful, and one should have respect not for persons but for what is pleasing to God.'⁴⁰ (14) And again the same Cyril of holy memory, when he wrote to John bishop of Antioch and the council assembled there on the subject of Theodore, who had been anathematized together with Nestorius, speaks as follows: 'It was therefore necessary for us to hold on this account a great celebration, because, of course, there has been cast out every statement from whatever source if in agreement with his dupery. For against all who share his tenets or have ever shared them there has prevailed the fact that both we ourselves and your sacredness have said unconditionally that we anathematize those who assert two Sons and two Christs. For, as I have said, both we and you preach

36 Jn 3:18.

37 Gal 1:8–9.

38 That is, from the one who said, 'I am the way and the truth and the life' (Jn 14:6).

39 Tit 3:10–11. In the original context the word 'heretical' (αἱρετικὸν) meant 'factious.'

40 Cf. Acts V. 53 for the whole passage. We do not possess the Greek original; the Latin translation given here is different from that in Session V.

that there is but one Christ and Son and Lord, the only-begotten Word of God, “becoming in the likeness of men and being found in form as a man,” according to the statement of the most wise Paul.⁴¹ (15) And also in his letter to Alexander, Martinian, John, Paregorius and Maximus, presbyters and fathers of monks, and those who with them were leading the eremitical life, he speaks as follows: ‘For already the holy council, I mean the one that assembled at Ephesus according to the will of God, when it issued a sacred and precise verdict on the evil doctrine of Nestorius, condemned along with him, by imposing on them the same sentence, the foolish talk of others, whoever may be after him or existed before him, holding the same tenets and daring to utter or record them. For it was fitting, once a single person had been condemned for such manifest folly, to proceed not simply against a single person but, so to speak, against their whole heresy or calumny that they have committed against the pious doctrines of the church [212] by advocating two Sons, splitting the indivisible, and bringing a charge against heaven and earth of worshipping a man; for the holy multitude of spirits above worships together with us the one Lord Jesus Christ.’⁴²

(16) There were also read various letters of Augustine of religious memory, who was illustrious among the African bishops, pointing out that it is right for heretics to be anathematized even after death.⁴³ (17) This ecclesiastical tradition has also been preserved by the other most devout African bishops. Likewise the holy Roman church anathematized certain bishops even after death, although they had not been accused in their lifetime over the faith.⁴⁴ Both of these facts also are made known in our proceedings.⁴⁵

(18) But because, most patently impugning the truth, the disciples of Theodore and his impiety attempt to cite certain statements of Cyril and Proclus of holy memory as if written in support of Theodore, it is appropriate to apply to the afore-mentioned the words of the prophet who says, ‘Straight are the ways of the Lord and the just will walk in them, but the impious will grow weak in them.’⁴⁶ For they too, taking in a wrong sense what was well and appropriately written by these holy fathers, cite their words in order to

41 Phil 2:7–8. The same passage of Cyril was read out in Session V. 69.

42 This passage had been read out twice in Session V (22 and 55). The Greek text is in *ACO* 1.1.4, pp. 50, 34–51, 9.

43 Cf. Acts V. 58–63.

44 The reference is to Pope Dioscorus; cf. V. 64 with our note *ad loc.* The making of a generalization on the basis of a single case is normal in late antique rhetoric.

45 Cf. Acts V. 64.

46 Hos 14:10.

justify exculpation for sins. For it is clear that the fathers were not releasing Theodore from anathema but employing some words of this sort in a spirit of accommodation on account of the defenders of Nestorius and his impiety, in order to draw them away from their error and so lead them to perfection and to teach them to abandon not only Nestorius, the pupil of impiety, but also his teacher Theodore. Therefore in their very words of accommodation the fathers reveal their purpose concerning the need for Theodore's anathematization, as has abundantly been proved in our proceedings from what Cyril and Proclus of holy memory wrote in condemnation of Theodore and his impiety.⁴⁷ Such accommodation can also be found in divine scripture: even the apostle Paul at the very beginning of his preaching is shown to have done this on account of those who were from the Hebrews when he circumcised Timothy,⁴⁸ so that through this accommodation and condescension he might lead them to perfection. This is why he subsequently forbids circumcision when he writes to the Galatians as follows: 'Behold, I Paul say to you that if you are circumcised Christ is of no benefit to you.'⁴⁹ But we find that what heretics are wont to do has been done also by the defenders of Theodore; for taking out of context some of the things the holy fathers wrote, composing some fabrications of themselves and forging a letter of Cyril of holy memory, they tried, as if on the basis of the testimony of the fathers, to free the aforesaid Theodore from anathema. These very assertions revealed the truth, when what had been taken out of context was read in full in the sequence of the preceding and following passages, and the mendacity of the falsification was fully shown up by comparing it to what was genuine. In all this, those who utter such futility, as scripture says, 'trust in falsity and speak what is futile, because they conceive distress and give birth to iniquity, spinning a spider's web.'⁵⁰

(19) After this discussion of Theodore and his impiety we gave instructions for the reading and insertion in the proceedings conducted in our presence for the benefit of readers of a few of the things that Theodoret had written impiously against the orthodox faith and the Twelve Chapters of the holy Cyril [213] and against the First Council of Ephesus, and some of the things he had written in defence of the impious Theodore and Nestorius,⁵¹ in order that all may know that these men are justly expelled and anathematized.

47 Cf. Acts V. 66, 77–9, 85.

48 Cf. Acts of the Apostles 16:3.

49 Gal 5:2.

50 Is 59:4–5.

51 Cf. Acts V. 93–110.

(20) In third place, the letter that Ibas is said to have written to Mari the Persian was produced for examination, and we decreed that it too had to be read out.⁵² Consequently from the very reading the impiety contained in it was immediately patent to all.

(21) It would have been appropriate, when the examination had been conducted up to this point, to issue a condemnation and anathematization of the aforesaid Three Chapters; but because the defenders of the impious Theodore and Nestorius were contriving in another way to confirm their persons and impiety and were asserting that the impious letter that praises and defends Theodore and Nestorius and their impiety was accepted by the holy Council of Chalcedon, we considered it necessary to prove in every way that the holy council was free of the impiety contained in the letter, because they who say this do not do so out of love for the holy council but in order through its name to confirm their own impiety.

(22) It was shown in the proceedings⁵³ that in earlier times also Ibas had been accused of the same impiety as that contained in the letter, first before Proclus of holy memory, bishop of Constantinople, and subsequently before Theodosius of pious memory and Flavian who had been ordained bishop after Proclus; they delegated the examination of the case to Photius bishop of Tyre and Eustathius bishop of the city of Berytus. Subsequently the same Ibas was accused and expelled from the episcopate. (23) This being the sequence of events, how can some people have the effrontery to assert that this impious letter was accepted by the holy Council of Chalcedon, when it is contrary in all respects to what had been defined about the faith by the aforesaid holy three councils, which were followed in all respects by the holy Council of Chalcedon?

(24) Nevertheless, lest there should remain any opportunity for those who direct these calumnies at the holy Council of Chalcedon, we gave instructions for the reading of the transactions of the holy councils of Ephesus I and Chalcedon relating to the letters of Cyril of holy memory and of Leo of religious memory, pope of more ancient Rome.⁵⁴ And when we had ascertained from them that what is written by someone ought not to be accepted in any other way than by it first being proved that it accords with the orthodox faith of the holy fathers, we resolved that the Definition of Faith issued by the holy Council of Chalcedon should also be read out, so that the contents of the letter could be compared to those of the Definition. (25) When this

52 Cf. Acts VI. 4–5.

53 Cf. Acts VI. 9.

54 Cf. Acts VI. 11–23.

was done,⁵⁵ it was proved that the letter was contrary in all respects to the contents of the Definition. For the Definition indeed accords with what was decreed on one and the same faith both by the 318 holy fathers and by the 150 and those who convened at Ephesus I; but that impious letter contains the blasphemies of the heretics Theodore and Nestorius, and defends these men and adopts them as teachers, while it calls the holy fathers heretics.

(26) We also make it known to all that we did not allow even those parts of the verdicts of one or two that are exploited by the followers of Theodore and Nestorius to go without mention. But when both these and all the other verdicts were publicly presented and their contents examined,⁵⁶ we found that they did not allow the acceptance of the aforesaid Ibas on any other terms [214] than by first requiring him to anathematize Nestorius and his impious doctrines that are defended in the letter. This requirement was made not only by the other religious bishops of the aforesaid holy council but also by the two whose verdicts certain people try to exploit.⁵⁷ They followed this same course in the case of Theodoret, and required him also to anathematize that of which he stood accused. If, therefore, they permitted the acceptance of Ibas on no other terms than by his having condemned the impiety contained in the letter and signed the Definition of Faith issued by the holy council, how can they attempt to assert that the impious letter was accepted by the same holy council? ‘For what partnership,’ to speak truly, ‘is there between righteousness and iniquity? Or what fellowship is there of light with darkness? What accord is there of Christ with Belial? Or what share has the faithful man with the unfaithful? What compact does the temple of God have with idols?’⁵⁸

(27) Having therefore related all our transactions, we again profess that we accept the holy four councils, that is, those of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I and Chalcedon, and that we have proclaimed and proclaim what they decreed concerning one and the same faith, while those who do not accept it we judge to have no part in the catholic church. Together⁵⁹ with all the other heretics who were condemned and anathematized by the aforesaid

55 Cf. Acts VI. 25.

56 Cf. Acts VI. 29.

57 The two verdicts in question, like all the verdicts of individual bishops, did not contain this requirement, which appeared only in the general acclamation that followed them (cf. first *Constitutum* 238–52).

58 2 Cor 6:14–16.

59 A Greek text of this and the following sentence (down to ‘their impious doctrines and writings’) is preserved in Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon* and printed in *ACO* 4.1, pp. 239,15 – 240,2. Since, however, it is slightly abridged, I keep to the Latin version.

holy four councils and by the holy catholic and apostolic church we also condemn and anathematize Theodore at one time bishop of Mopsuestia and his impious writings, the things that Theodoret wrote impiously against the orthodox faith and against the Twelve Chapters of the holy Cyril and against the {holy}⁶⁰ First Council of Ephesus, and what he wrote in defence of Theodore and Nestorius. In addition to this we also anathematize the impious letter that Ibas is said to have been written to Mari the Persian, which denies that God the Word was incarnate and became man from the holy *Theotokos* and ever-virgin Mary, charges Cyril of holy memory, whose teaching was orthodox, with being a heretic and writing like Apollinarius, even accuses the holy First Council of Ephesus of deposing Nestorius without investigation and trial, calls the Twelve Chapters of the holy Cyril impious and contrary to the orthodox faith, and defends Theodore and Nestorius and their impious doctrines and writings. We therefore anathematize the aforesaid Three chapters, that is, the impious Theodore of Mopsuestia together with his execrable writings, the things that Theodoret wrote impiously, and the impious letter ascribed to Ibas, and also their defenders and those who have written or write in their defence or presume to call these writings orthodox or have defended or try to defend their impiety in any way in the name of the holy fathers or of the holy Council of Chalcedon.

(28) Now that we have determined this with all precision, keeping in mind the promises about the holy church made by him who said, ‘The gates of hell will not prevail against her,’⁶¹ that is, the lethal tongues of heretics, and remembering also the prophecies of Hosea about her, in which he says, ‘And I shall wed you to myself in fidelity and you will know the Lord,’⁶² and classing with the devil, the father of lies, the unbridled tongues of heretics and their most impious writings and the same heretics themselves who persevered till death in their impiety, we shall say to them, ‘Behold, you all ignite a fire [215] and strengthen the fire’s flame; you will walk by the light of your fire and by the flame you have ignited.’⁶³ But we, having received a command to exhort the people with orthodox doctrine and to ‘speak to the heart of Jerusalem,’⁶⁴ that is, to the church of God, are eager ‘to sow deservedly in righteousness’. ‘Harvesting the fruit of life and lighting for ourselves

60 Here, and a few lines below, the epithet ‘holy’ is attached to Ephesus in the Greek versions but omitted in the Latin.

61 Mt 16:18.

62 Hos 2:22.

63 Is 50:11.

64 Cf. Is 40:2.

the light of knowledge'⁶⁵ from the divine scriptures and the teaching of the fathers, we have deemed it necessary to set out in chapters both a proclamation of the truth and also a condemnation of the heretics and their impiety.

5. [CANONS]⁶⁶

1.⁶⁷ If anyone does not profess one nature or essence and one power and authority of Father and Son and Holy Spirit, a consubstantial Trinity, one Godhead worshipped in three hypostases or persons, let him be anathema. For 'there is one God and Father from whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ through whom are all things,'⁶⁸ and one Holy Spirit in whom are all things.

2. If anyone does not profess that God the Word had two births, one before the ages from the Father timelessly and incorporeally, and the other, in the last days, of the same who came down from heaven and was incarnate from the holy and glorious *Theotokos* and ever-virgin Mary and was born from her, let him be anathema.

3. If anyone says that God the Word who worked miracles is someone other than the Christ who suffered, or says that God the Word was with the Christ born from woman, or was in him as in someone other than himself, but does not say that he is one and the same our Lord Jesus Christ the Word of God incarnate and made man, and that of the same are the miracles and the sufferings that he voluntarily endured in the flesh, let him be anathema.

4. If anyone says that it was according to grace or operation or merit or equal honour or authority or reference or relation or power that the union of God the Word with man took place or according to good pleasure, as if God the Word was satisfied with the man as a result of having an excellent opinion of him, [216] as Theodore states in his madness, or according to homonymy, by which the Nestorians, by calling God the Word 'Son'⁶⁹ and 'Christ' and separately calling the man 'Christ' and 'Son' and openly saying 'two persons', say deceptively that there is one person {and one Son}⁷⁰ and

65 Cf. Hos 10:12.

66 The Greek text of the 14 Canons (together with the two final concluding paragraphs) is preserved, and printed in *ACO* 4.1, pp. 240–4. A few details of wording are, however, taken (as I note in each case) from the Latin version; see p. 105 above. The annotation given here can be supplemented from my introduction to the session and from my notes on the anathemas in Justinian's edict *On the orthodox faith* (vol. 1, 143–7).

67 Canons 1–4 correspond to Anathemas 1–4 in Justinian's edict.

68 1 Cor 8:6.

69 'Son' is the Latin text, while the Greek has 'Jesus.'

70 Supplied from the Latin.

one Christ only in respect of title and honour and merit and worship, but does not profess that the union of God the Word with flesh ensouled by a rational and intelligent soul took place by composition or hypostatically, as the holy fathers taught, and that as result his {composite}⁷¹ hypostasis is one, which is the Lord Jesus Christ, one of the holy Trinity, let him be anathema. For with the union being understood in many ways, those who follow the impiety of Apollinarius and Eutyches, insisting on the disappearance of the elements that came together,⁷² advocate union by merger, while those who hold the tenets of Theodore and Nestorius,⁷³ rejoicing in division, introduce the notion that the union is relational. But the holy church of God, rejecting the impiety of both heresies, professes that the union of God the Word with the flesh was by composition, that is, hypostatic; for the union by composition in the mystery of Christ not only preserves the elements that came together without merger but also excludes division.

5. If anyone so understands the one hypostasis of our Lord Jesus Christ as allowing the meaning of many hypostases, and tries thereby to introduce into the mystery of Christ two hypostases or two persons, and in relation to the two persons that he is introducing speaks of one person according to merit and honour and worship, as the insane Theodore and Nestorius wrote, and misrepresents the holy council at Chalcedon as using the term ‘one hypostasis’ according to this impious conception,⁷⁴ but does not profess that the Word of God was united to flesh hypostatically, and that therefore he has one hypostasis or one person, and that the holy council at Chalcedon professed one hypostasis of our Lord Jesus Christ in this way, let him be anathema. For the holy Trinity has received no addition of person or hypostasis, even after the incarnation of God the Word, one of the holy Trinity.

6.⁷⁵ If anyone says that it is catachrestically but not truly that the holy and glorious ever-virgin Mary is *Theotokos*, or by transference, since a mere man was born [from her] and God the Word was not incarnate and born from her, the birth of the man having reference, according to them, to God

71 Supplied from the Latin, and occurring in the parallel Anathema 4 in Justinian, *On the orthodox faith*, p. 90. The phrase ‘composite hypostasis’ expressed a true union without loss of the distinctive characteristics of the things united. See *On the orthodox faith*, pp. 86–8 for Justinian’s rejection of the comparable miaphysite formula ‘one composite nature’.

72 Literally, ‘of those that came together’. ‘Elements’ in this canon and in Canons 7 and 9 is not a term in the original but translates a Greek article or pronoun.

73 The Latin has ‘the followers of Theodore and Nestorius.’

74 A letter was attributed to Theodoret minimizing the meaning of Chalcedon’s ‘one hypostasis’ and citing Nestorius. See Richard (1941/2) and Gray (1984).

75 This canon corresponds to Anathema 5 in Justinian, *On the orthodox faith*.

the Word as being with the man who was being born, and misrepresents the holy council at Chalcedon as having called the Virgin *Theotokos* according to this impious interpretation thought up by {the execrable}⁷⁶ Theodore, [217] or if anyone calls her ‘mother of the man’ [*anthropotokos*] or ‘mother of Christ’ [*Christotokos*] as if Christ was not God, but does not profess that she is really and truly *Theotokos* because God the Word, born from the Father before the ages, was in the last days incarnate and born from her, and that this is how the holy council at Chalcedon piously professed her to be *Theotokos*, let him be anathema.

7.⁷⁷ If anyone saying ‘in two natures’ does not profess the one Jesus Christ our Lord to be acknowledged in Godhead and manhood, in order to signify by this the difference of the natures from which the ineffable union took place without merger, and without either the Word⁷⁸ being changed into the nature of the flesh or the flesh transformed into the nature of the Word (for each remains what it is by nature even after the hypostatic union), but understands this expression in respect of the mystery of Christ in terms of a division into parts or, while professing the number of natures in respect of the same, one Jesus Christ our Lord, God the Word incarnate, does not understand the difference of these elements from which he was compounded to be in perception alone,⁷⁹ a difference that is not destroyed by the union (for he is one from both, and both through one), but uses number for this end, so that the natures are separate and self-subsistent,⁸⁰ let him be anathema.

8.⁸¹ If anyone professing that the union took place from the two natures

76 Supplied from the Latin.

77 This canon corresponds to Anathemas 7–8 in Justinian, *On the orthodox faith*.

78 Here and twice in Canon 8 the Latin has ‘God the Word’ (*deo verbo, deum verbum*). *Verbum* on its own was a less idiomatic name for the Son than ὁ λόγος in Greek and ‘Deus’ was often added in Latin translations (e.g., the Latin version of Justinian, *On the orthodox faith*, ed. Schwartz 1939, p. 75, 4 and 36).

79 ‘In perception alone’ translates τῇ θεωρίᾳ μόνῃ; the phrase had been used by Cyril of Alexandria to insist that the apparent division between the two natures relates to how we conceive of them not to the objective reality, which is one of true union. That this was not a denial of a real distinction between the natures is clear from his application of the same expression to the union of body and soul (e.g. Second Letter to Succensus 5, in *Select Letters*, ed. Wickham, p. 92). See de Halleux (1993).

80 The Latin has ‘as if each nature has its own hypostasis separately (*separatim*).’ This reflects not a different Greek text but the use at this point of Anathema 7 in Justinian’s *On the orthodox faith* as given in the Latin version of the edict (Schwartz 1939, p. 93, 11). The translator of the Justinian text appears to have misread the adjective *κεχωρισμένας* in the Greek as the adverb *κεχωρισμένως*.

81 This canon corresponds to Anathema 9 in Justinian, *On the orthodox faith*.

of Godhead and manhood or saying ‘one incarnate nature of God the Word’ does not so take it, as the holy fathers taught, to mean that from the divine and the human natures, after the hypostatic union, one Christ was constituted, but attempts from these statements to introduce one nature or essence of the Godhead and flesh of Christ, let him be anathema.⁸² For when we say that the only-begotten Word was united to the flesh hypostatically we do not assert that there occurred some mingling of the natures with each other, but we understand that the Word was united to the flesh with each of them remaining instead what is. Consequently there is but one Christ God and man, the same consubstantial with the Father in respect of the Godhead and the same consubstantial with us in respect of the manhood; for both those who divide or cleave into parts and those who merge the mystery of the divine dispensation of Christ are equally rejected and anathematized by the church of God.

9. If someone says that Christ is worshipped in two natures, thereby introducing two forms of worship, one of the God the Word separately and the other of the man separately,⁸³ or if someone with a view to abolishing the flesh or merging the Godhead and the manhood proposes the fantastic theory of one nature or essence [218] of the elements that came together and worships Christ accordingly, but does not worship with a single worship God the Word incarnate together with his own flesh, as the church of God received from the beginning, let him be anathema.

10.⁸⁴ If anyone does not profess that our Lord Jesus Christ, crucified in the flesh, is true God and Lord of glory and one of the holy Trinity, let him be anathema.

11.⁸⁵ If anyone does not anathematize Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Apollinarius, Nestorius, Eutyches and Origen,⁸⁶ with their impious writings,

82 Cf. Justinian, *On the orthodox faith*, pp. 78–82 for an argument that, even though Cyril of Alexandria had used the expression ‘one incarnate nature’ in a perfectly orthodox sense, to speak of ‘one nature or essence’ in Christ is ‘alien to piety’, the distinction being that ‘one incarnate nature’ means the divine nature plus the flesh, i.e. two natures.

83 This echoes Cyril of Alexandria’s accusation (cf. the eighth of his Twelve Chapters, pp. 47–8 above), that the Antiochenes, by speaking of Christ’s manhood *sharing* honour with God the Word (e.g. Acts IV. 31 *fn.*), treated it as a distinct object of worship alongside God the Word.

84 This canon corresponds to Anathema 6 in Justinian, *On the orthodox faith*.

85 This canon corresponds to Anathema 10 in Justinian, *On the orthodox faith*.

86 The parallel anathema in Justinian’s *On the orthodox faith* (p. 92) does not contain this mention of Origen, which reflects the renewed condemnation of Origenism by Justinian and the bishops immediately before the council formally opened (see pp. 270–1 below).

and all the other heretics condemned and anathematized by the holy catholic and apostolic church and by the aforesaid holy four councils, and those who held or hold tenets like those of the aforesaid heretics and persisted {or persist}⁸⁷ in the same impiety till death, let him be anathema.

12.⁸⁸ If anyone defends the impious Theodore of Mopsuestia, who said that God the Word is someone other than Christ, who was troubled by the passions of the soul and the desires of the flesh, was gradually separated from that which is worse and so became better by progress in works and became faultless as a result of his way of life, and that he was baptized as a mere man in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, received through his baptism the grace of the Holy Spirit, was honoured with sonship, was worshipped as representing God the Word,⁸⁹ on the level of an image of the emperor, and after his resurrection became immutable in his thoughts and totally sinless – furthermore the same impious Theodore said that the union of God the Word with Christ was of the same kind as that which the apostle ascribed to man and woman, ‘The two will become one flesh’;⁹⁰ and in addition to his other innumerable blasphemies he dared to assert that, when after the resurrection the Lord breathed on his disciples and said, ‘Receive the Holy Spirit,’⁹¹ he did not give them the Holy Spirit but breathed on them only in semblance; and as for the profession of Thomas, when he touched the Lord’s hands and side after the resurrection, namely ‘My Lord and my God,’⁹² he asserted that this was not said about Christ by Thomas (for he says that Christ himself was not God) but that Thomas, amazed at the extraordinary character of the resurrection, was praising God for raising up Christ; and what is even worse is that in his commentary on the Acts of the Apostles the same Theodore, [219] comparing Christ to Plato, Mani, Epicurus and Marcion, says that just as each of these men, having devised his own teaching, caused his disciples to be called Platonists, Manichaeans, Epicureans and Marcionites, so in the same way when Christ had devised his teaching ‘Christians’ were called after him –; if anyone therefore defends the said most impious Theodore and his impious writings, in which he poured forth both the aforesaid blasphemies and innumerable others against our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ, and if he does not

87 Supplied from the Latin.

88 Canons 12–14 correspond to Anathemas 11–13 in Justinian, *On the orthodox faith*.

89 Literally, ‘in the πρόσωπον [person] of God the Word’.

90 Eph 5:31.

91 Jn 20:22.

92 Jn 20:28.

anathematize him and his impious writings as well as all those who accept or defend him or assert that his teaching was orthodox, both those who wrote in his support and held the same tenets as he and also those who write in support of him and his impious writings, as well as those who hold or ever held tenets like his and who persisted or persist in this impiety till death: let him be anathema.

13. If anyone defends the impious writings of Theodoret {that he published}⁹³ against the orthodox faith and the first holy council at Ephesus and the sainted Cyril and his Twelve Chapters, and everything that he wrote in support of the impious Theodore and Nestorius and of the others who held the same tenets as the aforesaid Theodore and Nestorius, and [if he] accepts⁹⁴ them and their impiety and therefore calls impious the teachers of the church who profess that the union of God the Word with the flesh was hypostatic, and does not anathematize the said impious writings and those who held or hold tenets like his, and also all those who wrote against the orthodox faith or against the sainted Cyril and his Twelve Chapters, and who persisted in this impiety till death:⁹⁵ let him be anathema.

14. If anyone defends the letter that is said to have been written by Ibas to {the heretic}⁹⁶ Mari the Persian, which denies that God the Word was incarnate and became man from the holy *Theotokos* and ever-virgin Mary, and says that there was born from her a mere man, whom it calls the temple, making out God the Word to be someone other than the man, and charges the sainted Cyril, who proclaimed the orthodox faith of Christians, with being a heretic and having written like the impious Apollinarius, and accuses the first holy council at Ephesus of deposing Nestorius without trial and examination – the same impious letter calls the Twelve Chapters of the sainted Cyril impious and contrary to the orthodox faith and defends Theodore and Nestorius and their impious doctrines and writings –; if anyone therefore [220] defends the said impious letter and does not anathematize both it and those who defend it and assert that it, or a part of it, is orthodox, and those

93 Supplied from the Latin, and also to be found in the parallel Anathema 12 in Justinian, *On the Orthodox Faith*, p. 94.

94 This singular verb (δέχεται) is the reading of one Greek witness, supported by the Latin version of these acts ('defendens') and the Latin Acts of the Lateran Council of 649 ('recipit'). The other Greek MSS have a plural participle agreeing with 'the others', producing the meaning 'and of the others who held the same tenets as the aforesaid Theodore and Nestorius and who accept [accepted in one witness] them and their impiety...'

95 This is the reading of the Latin. The Greek has 'and who died in this impiety.'

96 Supplied from the Latin, and also to be found in the parallel passage (Anathema 13) in Justinian, *On the Orthodox Faith*, p. 94.

who wrote⁹⁷ or write in support of it or the impieties contained in it, and dare to defend it or the impieties contained in it in the name of the holy fathers or of the holy council at Chalcedon, and who persist⁹⁸ in this till death: let him be anathema.

When therefore all these things had been professed that we received from divine scripture, the teaching of the holy fathers, and the definitions concerning the one and the same faith of the aforesaid holy four councils, and when we had also issued a condemnation against the heretics and of their impiety and also of those who have defended or defend the aforesaid {impious}⁹⁹ Three Chapters and have persevered or persevere in their deviation, [we decree that] if anyone attempt to transmit, teach or write what is contrary to our pious decrees, if he be a bishop or enrolled in the clergy, he will be stripped of his episcopal or clerical rank for doing what is alien for priests and to ecclesiastical order, while if he is a monk or layman he will be anathematized.

THE SIGNATURES¹⁰⁰

6. (1)¹⁰¹ Eutychius by the mercy of God¹⁰² bishop of Constantinople New Rome: I have decreed what is set out above and profess that I hold everything contained in the chapters and ordinances recorded above, and that I accept the holy four councils, that is, those of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I and Chalcedon, and their definitions concerning the one and the same faith. Adhering to all these, as recorded above, I condemn and anathematize, in addition to the other heretics and their impious writings, the impious Theodore, at one time bishop of Mopsuestia, together with his impious writings, and everything that Theodoret wrote impiously, as stated above, and the impious letter attributed to Ibas, and those who held or hold tenets like theirs. And I have signed.

(2) Apollinarius by the mercy of God bishop of Alexandria: I have decreed what is set out above and profess that I hold everything contained in the chapters and ordinances recorded above, and that I accept the holy four

97 Perhaps with conscious reference to Vigilius' first *Constitutum*..

98 This is the reading of the Latin. The Greek has 'persisted.'

99 Supplied from the Latin.

100 For the place-names that follow, and the relation of this list to the attendance lists, see Appendix 2 (pp. 287–97 below). Nos 10 onwards are omitted in Parisinus.

101 The Greek of Eutychius' verdict – and the following verdicts are identical – is preserved, and comes in *ACO* 4.1, pp. 244,31–245,5.

102 For the history of such expressions of episcopal humility see Chrysos (1966), 75–9.

councils, that is, those of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I and Chalcedon, and their definitions concerning the one and the same faith. Adhering to all these, as recorded above, I condemn and anathematize, in addition to the other heretics and their impious writings, the impious Theodore, at one time bishop of Mopsuestia, together with his impious writings, and everything that Theodoret wrote impiously, as stated above, and the impious letter attributed to Ibas, and those who held or hold tenets like theirs. And I have signed.

(3) Dominus by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Theopolis [Antioch]: I have decreed what is set out above and profess that I hold everything contained in the chapters and ordinances recorded above, [221] and that I accept the holy four councils, that is, those of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I and Chalcedon, and their definitions concerning the one and the same faith. Adhering to all these, as recorded above, I condemn and anathematize, in addition to the other heretics and their impious writings, the impious Theodore, at one time bishop of Mopsuestia, together with his impious writings, and everything that Theodoret wrote impiously, as stated above, and the impious letter attributed to Ibas, and those who held or hold tenets like theirs. And I have signed.

(4) Stephen by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Raphia, representing Eustochius the most holy patriarch of the city of Jerusalem together with the most religious bishops George and Damian: I have decreed what is set out above and profess that I hold everything contained in the chapters and ordinances recorded above, and that I accept the holy four councils, that is, those of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I and Chalcedon, and their definitions concerning the one and the same faith. Adhering to all these, as recorded above, I condemn and anathematize, in addition to the other heretics and their impious writings, the impious Theodore, at one time bishop of Mopsuestia, together with his impious writings, and everything that Theodoret wrote impiously, as stated above, and the impious letter attributed to Ibas, and those who held or hold tenets like theirs. And I have signed.

(5) George by the mercy of God bishop of Tiberias, representing Eustochius the most holy patriarch of the city of Jerusalem together with the most religious bishops Stephen and Damian: I have decreed what is set out above and profess that I hold everything contained in the chapters and ordinances recorded above, and that I accept the holy four councils, that is, those of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I and Chalcedon, and their definitions concerning the one and the same faith. Adhering to all these,

as recorded above, I condemn and anathematize, in addition to the other heretics and their impious writings, the impious Theodore, at one time bishop of Mopsuestia, together with his impious writings, and everything that Theodoret wrote impiously, as stated above, and the impious letter attributed to Ibas, and those who held or hold tenets like theirs. And I have signed.

(6) Damian by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Sozusa, representing Eustochius the most holy patriarch of the city of Jerusalem together with the most religious bishops Stephen and George: I have decreed what is set out above and profess that I hold everything contained in the chapters and ordinances recorded above, and that I accept the holy four councils, that is, those of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I and Chalcedon, and their definitions concerning the one and the same faith. Adhering to all these, as recorded above, I condemn and anathematize, in addition to the other heretics and their impious writings, [222] the impious Theodore, at one time bishop of Mopsuestia, together with his impious writings, and everything that Theodoret wrote impiously, as stated above, and the impious letter attributed to Ibas, and those who held or hold tenets like theirs. And I have signed.

(7) Benignus by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Heraclea in Macedonia Prima, representing Helias the most holy archbishop of the city of Thessalonica, on behalf both of him and also of myself: I have decreed what is set out above and profess that I hold everything contained in the chapters and ordinances recorded above, and that I accept the holy four councils, that is, those of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I and Chalcedon, and their definitions concerning the one and the same faith. Adhering to all these, as recorded above, I condemn and anathematize, in addition to the other heretics and their impious writings, the impious Theodore, at one time bishop of Mopsuestia, together with his impious writings, and everything that Theodoret wrote impiously, as stated above, and the impious letter attributed to Ibas, and those who held or hold tenets like theirs. And I have signed.

(8) Theodore by the mercy of God bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia Prima: I have decreed what is set out above and profess that I hold everything contained in the chapters and ordinances recorded above, and that I accept the holy four councils, that is, those of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I and Chalcedon, and their definitions concerning the one and the same faith. Adhering to all these, as recorded above, I condemn and anathematize, in addition to the other heretics and their impious writings,

the impious Theodore, at one time bishop of Mopsuestia, together with his impious writings, and everything that Theodoret wrote impiously, as stated above, and the impious letter attributed to Ibas, and those who held or hold tenets like theirs. And I have signed.

(9) Andrew by the mercy of God bishop of Ephesus: I have decreed what is set out above and profess that I hold everything contained in the chapters and ordinances recorded above, and that I accept the holy four councils, that is, those of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I and Chalcedon, and their definitions concerning the one and the same faith. Adhering to all these, as recorded above, I condemn and anathematize, in addition to the other heretics and their impious writings, the impious Theodore, at one time bishop of Mopsuestia, together with his impious writings, and everything that Theodoret wrote impiously, as stated above, and the impious letter attributed to Ibas, and those who held or hold tenets like theirs. And I have signed.

(10) Sextilian by the mercy of God bishop of the catholic church of Tunis, representing Primosus archbishop of Justinian Carthage and the whole council of the province of Proconsularis,¹⁰³ both for him and them and also for myself: I have decreed what is set out above and profess that I hold everything contained in the chapters and ordinances recorded above, and that I accept the holy four councils, [223] that is, those of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I and Chalcedon, and their definitions concerning the one and the same faith. Adhering to all these, as recorded above, I condemn and anathematize, in addition to the other heretics and their impious writings, the impious Theodore, at one time bishop of Mopsuestia, together with his impious writings, and everything that Theodoret wrote impiously, as stated above, and the impious letter attributed to Ibas, and those who held or hold tenets like theirs. And I have signed.

(11) Megethius by the grace of Christ bishop of the holy catholic church of God of the city of Heraclea in Thrace: I have decreed what is set out above and profess that I hold everything contained in the chapters and ordinances recorded above, and that I accept the holy four councils, that is, those of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I and Chalcedon, and their definitions concerning the one and the same faith. Adhering to all these, as recorded above, I condemn and anathematize, in addition to the other heretics and their impious writings, the impious Theodore, at one time bishop of Mopsuestia,

¹⁰³ In fact, as is clear from Victor of Tunnuna's chronicle (*ann.* 552–4), Primosus was isolated, with little support in his province, until the collapse of African opposition after the council.

together with his impious writings, and everything that Theodoret wrote impiously, as stated above, and the impious letter attributed to Ibas, and those who held or hold tenets like theirs. And I have signed.

(12) Anastasius by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Tavium, representing Dorotheus the most religious bishop of the metropolis of Ancyra: I have decreed what is set out above and profess that I hold everything contained in the chapters and ordinances recorded above, and that I accept the holy four councils, that is, those of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I and Chalcedon, and their definitions concerning the one and the same faith. Adhering to all these, as recorded above, I condemn and anathematize, in addition to the other heretics and their impious writings, the impious Theodore, at one time bishop of Mopsuestia, together with his impious writings, and everything that Theodoret wrote impiously, as stated above, and the impious letter attributed to Ibas, and those who held or hold tenets like theirs. And I have signed.

(13) John by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Ilium, representing Euprepus the most religious bishop of the metropolis of Cyzicus: I have decreed what is set out above and profess that I hold everything contained in the chapters and ordinances recorded above, and that I accept the holy four councils, that is, those of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I and Chalcedon, and their definitions concerning the one and the same faith. Adhering to all these, as recorded above, I condemn and anathematize, in addition to the other heretics and their impious writings, the impious Theodore, at one time bishop of Mopsuestia, together with his impious writings, and everything that Theodoret wrote impiously, as stated above, and the impious letter attributed to Ibas, and those who held or hold tenets like theirs. And I have signed.

(14) Eusebius by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Tyre: I have decreed what is set out above and profess that I hold everything contained in the chapters and ordinances recorded above, and that I accept the holy four councils, that is, those of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I and Chalcedon, and their definitions concerning the one and the same faith. Adhering to all these, as recorded above, I condemn [224] and anathematize, in addition to the other heretics and their impious writings, the impious Theodore, at one time bishop of Mopsuestia, together with his impious writings, and everything that Theodoret wrote impiously, as stated above, and the impious letter attributed to Ibas, and those who held or hold tenets like theirs. And I have signed.

(15) John the humble bishop of the metropolis of Nicomedia: I have decreed what is set out above and profess that I hold everything contained in

the chapters and ordinances recorded above, and that I accept the holy four councils, that is, those of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I and Chalcedon, and their definitions concerning the one and the same faith. Adhering to all these, as recorded above, I condemn and anathematize, in addition to the other heretics and their impious writings, the impious Theodore, at one time bishop of Mopsuestia, together with his impious writings, and everything that Theodoret wrote impiously, as stated above, and the impious letter attributed to Ibas, and those who held or hold tenets like theirs. And I have signed.

(16) Stephen by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Nicaea: I have decreed what is set out above and profess that I hold everything contained in the chapters and ordinances recorded above, and that I accept the holy four councils, that is, those of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I and Chalcedon, and their definitions concerning the one and the same faith. Adhering to all these, as recorded above, I condemn and anathematize, in addition to the other heretics and their impious writings, the impious Theodore, at one time bishop of Mopsuestia, together with his impious writings, and everything that Theodoret wrote impiously, as stated above, and the impious letter attributed to Ibas, and those who held or hold tenets like theirs. And I have signed.

(17) Constantine by the mercy of God bishop of the holy church of God of the metropolitan city of Chalcedon: I have decreed what is set out above and profess that I hold everything contained in the chapters and ordinances recorded above, and that I accept the holy four councils, that is, those of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I and Chalcedon, and their definitions concerning the one and the same faith. Adhering to all these, as recorded above, I condemn and anathematize, in addition to the other heretics and their impious writings, the impious Theodore, at one time bishop of Mopsuestia, together with his impious writings, and everything that Theodoret wrote impiously, as stated above, and the impious letter attributed to Ibas, and those who held or hold tenets like theirs. And I have signed.

(18) Peter by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolitan city of Tarsus: I have decreed what is set out above and profess that I hold everything contained in the chapters and ordinances recorded above, and that I accept the holy four councils, that is, those of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I and Chalcedon, and their definitions concerning the one and the same faith. Adhering to all these, as recorded above, I condemn and anathematize, in addition to the other heretics and their impious writings, the impious Theodore, at one time bishop of Mopsuestia, together with his impious writings, and everything that Theodoret wrote impiously, [225] as stated

above, and the impious letter attributed to Ibas, and those who held or hold tenets like theirs. And I have signed.

(19) John by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Cucusus, representing Palladius the most religious bishop of the metropolis of Melitene, similarly.

(20) John by the mercy of God bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, similarly.

(21) Pompeianus by the mercy of God bishop of the holy catholic church of the city of Victoriana in the province of Byzacena, similarly.

(22) Amazonius by the grace of Christ bishop of the metropolitan city of Edessa, similarly.

(23) Alexander by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Gangra, similarly.

(24) Thomas by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolitan city of Apamea, similarly.

(25) Euphrantas by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Tyana, similarly.

(26) Theodore by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Hierapolis on the Euphrates, similarly.

(27) Bosporius by the longsuffering of God bishop of the metropolis of Neocaesarea, similarly.

(28) John by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Bostra, similarly.

(29) Philip by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Myra in the province of Lycia, similarly.

(30) Theodore by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Seleucia in Isauria, similarly.

(31) Julian by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Sardis in the province of Lydia, similarly.

(32) Theodore by the mercy of God bishop of Gortyna, which is the metropolis of the province of Crete, similarly.

(33) Eustathius by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolitan city of Damascus, similarly.

(34) Theodosius by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Rhodes, similarly.

(35) Theodore by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Antioch in the province of Pisidia, similarly.

(36) Eulogius by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolitan city of Perge in the province of Pamphylia [Prima], similarly.

(37) Cyriacus by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Amida, similarly.

(38) Severianus by the mercy of God bishop of the holy church of the city of Aphrodisias in the province of Caria, similarly.

(39) Severus by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Synnada in the province of Phrygia Salutaris, similarly.

(40) [226] Peter by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Side in the province of Pamphylia [Secunda], similarly.

(41) Abramius by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolitan city of Sergiopolis, similarly.

(42) Asignius by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Trajanopolis, representing John the most religious bishop of the metropolis of Laodicea in the province of Phrygia Pacatiana, similarly.

(43) John by the grace of Christ bishop of the metropolis of Hadriano-
polis in the province of Haemimontus, similarly.

(44) John by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Maronea in the province of Rhodope, similarly.

(45) Theodosius by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Justinianopolis in the province of Cappadocia Secunda, similarly.

(46) Stephen by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Laodicea in the province of Theodorias, similarly.

(47) Auxanon by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Hierapolis, similarly.

(48) Eustathius by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Maximianopolis, similarly.

(49) Paul by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Aenus in the province of Rhodope, similarly.

(50) Domitius by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Chalcis, similarly.

(51) Aetherius by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Anazarbus or Justinopolis, similarly.

(52) Valerian by the mercy of God bishop of the holy catholic church of the city of Obba in the province of Proconsularis, similarly.

(53) Dionysius by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Seleucia, similarly.

(54) Theodore by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Druzipara, similarly.

(55) Severus by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Pompeiopolis in the province of Paphlagonia, similarly.

(56) George by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Cypsela Justiniana Nova, similarly.

(57) Crescens by the mercy of God bishop of the holy catholic church of Cuicul in the province of Numidia, similarly.

(58) Romanus by the mercy of God bishop of Gabala, similarly.

(59) George by the mercy of God bishop of the great city of Justinianopolis in the province of Armenia, similarly.

(60) John by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Nyssa, similarly.

(61) [227] Basil by the mercy of God bishop of Justiniana Nova Camuliana, similarly.

(62) John by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Justinianopolis or Barcusa, similarly.

(63) Sergius by the mercy of God bishop of [Cynopolis] Justiniana Nova in Aegyptus Secunda, similarly.

(64) Christopher by the mercy of God bishop of the holy church of Arcadiopolis in the province of Asia, similarly.

(65) Stephen by the mercy of God bishop of Clysmas, similarly.

(66) Theodosius by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Byblus, similarly.

(67) Leontius by the mercy of God bishop of Arca in Armenia, similarly.

(68) John by the mercy of God bishop of Myrina in the province of Asia, similarly.

(69) Alexander bishop of Amphipolis in Macedonia Prima, similarly.

(70) Thomas by the grace of Christ bishop of the holy church of the city of Verisa, similarly.

(71) Theodore by the mercy of God bishop of Leontopolis, similarly.¹⁰⁴

(72) Aemilianus by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Antipyrgus, similarly.

(73) Aristodemus by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Philomelium, similarly.

(74) Thalelaeus by the mercy of God bishop of Hadrianopolis in the province of Pisidia, similarly.

(75) Theoctistus by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Erythrae in the province of Asia, similarly.

(76) Diogenianus by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Sozopolis in the province of Pisidia, similarly.

¹⁰⁴ This is Leontopolis in Egypt; the Leontopolis in Bithynia (whose bishop was also called Theodore) appears as 'Helenopolis' at 94 below.

- (77) Bassus by the mercy of God bishop of Tamiathis, similarly.
- (78) Anatolius by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Cyme in the province of Asia, similarly.
- (79) Conon the humble bishop of the city of Magydus in the province of Pamphylia [Prima], similarly.
- (80) Diogenes by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Cratia, similarly.
- (81) Theoctistus the most humble bishop of the city of Prusa, similarly.
- (82) George by the mercy of God bishop of Ptolemais, similarly.
- (83) Helias by the mercy of God bishop of Diocletianopolis, similarly.
- (84) Theonas by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Cusae, similarly.
- (85) Theodore by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Limyra in the province of Lycia, similarly.
- (86) [228] Zosimus by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Antandrus, similarly.
- (87) Asyncretius by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Aradus, similarly.
- (88) Stephen by the mercy of God bishop of Botrys, similarly.
- (89) Philip the humble bishop of the city of Phellus, similarly.
- (90) Menas by the mercy of God bishop of Myriangeli, similarly.
- (91) Cyprian by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Corycus, similarly.
- (92) Restitutus by the mercy of God bishop of the holy catholic church of the city of Milevum in the province of Numidia, similarly.
- (93) Thomas by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Constantia in the province of Osrhoene, similarly.
- (94) Theodore by the mercy of God bishop of the holy church of Helenopolis, similarly.
- (95) Severus by the mercy of God bishop of Tabae, similarly.
- (96) Theoctistus by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Halicarnassus in the province of Caria, similarly.
- (97) Thomas by the mercy of God bishop of Circesium, similarly.
- (98) Soterus by the mercy of God bishop of the holy church of Aulon, similarly.
- (99) Gennadius by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Zenonopolis in the province of Pamphylia, similarly.
- (100) Cosmas the humble bishop of the city of Mallus, similarly.
- (101) Dionysius by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Megara, similarly.

(102) Callinicus by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Opus, similarly.

(103) Paschasius by the mercy of Christ bishop of the holy church of the city of Aegium, similarly.

(104) Erasimus by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Cibyra, similarly.

(105) Sergius by the mercy of God bishop of Hemerium, similarly.

(106) John by the mercy of God bishop of Neocaesarea in Euphratensis, similarly.

(107) Thalelaeus by the mercy of God bishop of Isinda in the province of Pamphylia, similarly.

(108) Cresconius by the mercy of God bishop of the holy catholic church of the municipality of Zattara in the province of Numidia, similarly.

(109) Anatolius the humble bishop of the city of Sebaste, similarly.

(110) Nonnus by the mercy of God bishop of Dausara, similarly.

(111) Stephen by the mercy of God bishop of Balaneae, similarly.

(112) [229] Victor by the mercy of God bishop of the catholic church of the municipality of Sinna in the province of Proconsularis, similarly.

(113) Constantine by the mercy of God bishop of Midaeum, similarly.

(114) Macarius by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Prymessus in the province of Phrygia Salutaris, similarly.

(115) Megas by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Meirus in the province of Phrygia Salutaris, similarly.

(116) Genethlius by the mercy of God bishop of Dorylaeum, similarly.

(117) Cresciturus by the mercy of God bishop of the holy catholic church of the city of Bossa in the province of Proconsularis, similarly.

(118) Nicetas by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Epiphaneia in the province of Cilica Secunda, similarly.

(119) Alexander by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Dionysopolis, similarly.

(120) Pelagius by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Aezani in the province of Phrygia Pacatiana, similarly.

(121) Hieron by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Anastasiopolis in the province of Phrygia Pacatiana, similarly.

(122) Glaucus by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Alia in the province of Phrygia Pacatiana, similarly.

(123) Procopius by the mercy of God bishop of the holy church of the city of Antinoopolis in the Thebaid, similarly.

(124) Peter by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Domitiopolis in the province of Isauria, similarly.

(125) John by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Colonia or Theodorias, similarly.

(126) Phronimus by the mercy of God bishop of Sanaus in the province of Phrygia Pacatiana, similarly.

(127) John by the mercy of God bishop of the holy church of the city of Durostorum, similarly.

(128) Uranius by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Tralles in the province of Lydia, similarly.

(129) John by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Ceraseis in the province of Lydia, similarly.

(130) Macedonius by the mercy of God bishop of Justiniana Nova [Justinianopolis] in the province of Bithynia, similarly.

(131) Ecdicius by the mercy of God bishop of the island of Tenus, similarly.

(132) **[230]** Eulogius by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Danaba, similarly.

(133) Theodore by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Coradea, similarly.

(134) Helpidophorus by the mercy of God bishop of the holy church of Anastasiopolis in the province of Caria, similarly.

(135) Cyrion by the mercy of God bishop of the holy church of Dadima, similarly.

(136) Theodore by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Laodicea, similarly.

(137) Silas by the mercy of God bishop of Tiberiopolis in the province of Phrygia Pacatiana, similarly.

(138) Megas by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Meirus, representing Diogenes the most religious bishop of the city of Augustopolis, similarly.¹⁰⁵

(139) Theodore by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Ingila, similarly.

(140) Julian by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Zeugma, similarly.

(141) Dorymenius by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Adraa in the province of Arabia, similarly.

¹⁰⁵ In the attendance lists Diogenes is given as attending the council in person (e.g. VIII. 1.134). Unless this were so, it is hard to see why his name should be listed at all. We must presume that on the day of the signing he either was ill or had left Constantinople prematurely.

(142) John by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Lerus, similarly.

(143) Theodore by the mercy of God bishop of the glorious city of Gargara, similarly.

(144) Theodore by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Comana in the province of Armenia Secunda, similarly.

(145) Rufinus by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Sebasteia, similarly.

(146) Conon by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Sennea, similarly.

(147) Cyriacus by the mercy of God bishop of the holy church of the city of Casae, similarly.

(148) Sisinnius by the mercy of God bishop of the holy church of the city of Praenetus, similarly.

(149) Julian by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Batnae, similarly.

(150) Anastasius by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Rachla in the province of Tyre, similarly.

(151) Theodore by the mercy of God bishop of the holy church of Porthmus in the province of Greece, similarly.

(152) Paul by the mercy of God bishop of the holy church of the city of Stectorium in the region of Pentapolis in the province of Phrygia Salutaris, similarly.

(153) Stephen by the mercy of God bishop of the glorious metropolis of Amaseia,¹⁰⁶ similarly.

(154) Paul by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Adrassus, similarly.

(155) Evander the humble bishop of the holy church of God of the city of Cnidus, similarly.

(156) [231] Menas a sinner and the humble bishop of Carpathus in the Islands, similarly.

(157)¹⁰⁷ Eleusinius by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Trajanopolis in the province of Rhodope, similarly.

(158) Sabatius by the mercy of God bishop of Arcadiopolis, similarly.

(159) Stephen by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Justiniana Nova or Dara, similarly.

¹⁰⁶ Stephen is keen to stress the dignity of his see, despite his signing among the suffragan bishops, as does also the metropolitan of Armenia I (no 145). See p. 297 below.

¹⁰⁷ The remaining names are additional signatures of bishops who did not attend the council, whence the presence of three metropolitan bishops, despite their rank, in this tail-end of the list.

(160) Stephen by the mercy of God bishop of Cherson, similarly.

(161) Cyprian by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Hadrianutherae, similarly.

(162) John by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Apamea in the province of Pisidia, similarly.

(163) Leontius by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Amadassa, similarly.

(164) Theodore by the grace of Christ bishop of the metropolis of Bizye, similarly.

(165) Paul by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Anchialus, similarly.

(166) Conon by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Hadriani, similarly.

VIGILIUS, THE TWO *CONSTITUTA* (553–4)

1. THE FIRST *CONSTITUTUM*

INTRODUCTION

During the first four sessions of the council Pope Vigilius conferred with his assistants (three Roman deacons) and supporters (seventeen other bishops), who like him were present in Constantinople but had absented themselves from the council. At the beginning of the council he had promised the emperor that he would issue his own judgement on the Three Chapters within twenty days (Acts II. 5.6), and this he proceeded to do. On 14 May he, and these bishops and deacons, signed the document that we call the first *Constitutum*.¹

It begins with a full quotation of two documents signed by the leading eastern bishops during the preceding twelve months or more, in which they had professed loyalty to Chalcedon and the earlier ecumenical councils and to the related pronouncements of the Roman popes (2–19); the purpose of these citations is to establish the prime importance of fidelity to Chalcedon, as interpreted by the Roman see. There follows an account of the negotiations between pope and emperor during the preceding twelve months, presenting Vigilius' procrastination in the best possible light (20–6). After these introductory sections he proceeds to claim that he had carefully investigated the previous tradition, to determine what earlier councils, popes and Church Fathers had pronounced that was relevant to a judgement on the Three Chapters (27). This concern to be faithful to the authentic tradition of the age of Ephesus I and Chalcedon was shared by both sides in the controversy.

There follows the full text of a set of sixty extracts from the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia that had been sent to Vigilius from the emperor

¹ We owe the survival of the text to its inclusion in the contemporary *Collectio Avellana*, for which see Blair-Dixon (2007), esp. 69 (where '*Institutum*' should be *Constitutum*).

himself by the hand of Bishop Benignus of Heraclea, who attended the council as the representative of the papal vicar at Thessalonica (24, 28, 203); they are largely identical to the first 61 extracts (out of 71 chapters plus the ‘criminal creed’ attributed to Theodore) that were read out at Session IV of the council and which purported (falsely) to have been selected from Theodore’s writings by Patriarch Eutychius of Constantinople himself.² On each extract in turn Vigilius provides his own commentary, anathematizing each one as heretical. The reader who supposes that this will lead to a general anathematization of Theodore finds, however, the carpet snatched from under his feet, for with a distinct anticlimax Vigilius’ conclusion, at the end of many pages of quotation and comment, is that these chapters, ‘prefixed by the name of Bishop Theodore of Mopsuestia’ (203) but not of proven authenticity (211), establish no more than the need to examine carefully what earlier councils and Church Fathers (meaning Cyril of Alexandria and Proclus of Constantinople) had pronounced about Theodore.³ What we find there, the text continues, is a consistent refusal to sit in judgement on him, because of the principle that anathemas should not be pronounced on bishops who had died in the peace of the Church (204–12).⁴ This is followed by further documentation of this principle, mainly from letters by Vigilius’ predecessors in the Roman see (213–18). The conclusion is then drawn: Vigilius agrees that the alleged extracts are heretical, but forbids anyone from condemning Theodore himself (220).

The *Constitutum* proceeds to a defence of Theodoret of Cyrrhus (221–7). It draws attention to his signing Leo’s Tome, and to the fact that he had showed respect for Cyril by citing him at Chalcedon to counter criticisms of the Tome.⁵ Above all Vigilius stresses Theodoret’s anathematization of Nestorius at Session VIII: this was all that the fathers of Chalcedon had demanded of him, and to treat this as insufficient was to imply that Chalcedon had let him off too lightly and even that the council was secretly sympathetic to Nestorianism, which was palpably absurd. Vigilius also appeals to the example of Cyril, who in 433 made peace with the Syrians, including

2 Acts IV. 5–81. For the real origin of this florilegium see vol. 1, 227–9.

3 See vol. 1, 83, n. 20 for the grounds adduced by Deacon Pelagius in his *In defensione* for doubting the authenticity of the excerpts. He also cited John of Antioch’s claim that the dogmatic excerpts from Theodore were perfectly orthodox (p. 21, 4–10); prudently, the first *Constitutum* does not employ this argument.

4 Documentation was produced at the fifth session of the council to support the counter-claim that Cyril and Proclus desired Theodore’s condemnation, even if for a time they adopted for tactical reasons a policy of accommodation (Acts V. 67–84).

5 Acts of Chalcedon II. 26.

Theodoret, without making an issue of the attack to which Theodoret had subjected him prior to the union. Vigilius concludes by forbidding any ‘vilification or disparagement’ of Theodoret.

The greater part of the rest of the *Constitutum* consists of a similar treatment of the remaining chapter, the Letter of Ibas to Mari the Persian (236–83). Much is made of the verdicts in Ibas’ favour pronounced at Session X of Chalcedon, and it is pointed out that these contained favourable references to the letter (255–6). The charges that the letter was favourable to Nestorius and taught a Nestorian Christology are countered quite persuasively, and then the argument is developed that Ibas was in fact more loyal to Cyril than Dioscorus was, since the true teaching of Cyril was not the miaphysitism that Dioscorus championed but the dyophysitism that Ibas asserted, even if Ibas had for a time made the mistake of thinking that Cyril opposed it (276–9).⁶ The discussion concludes with a solemn prohibition of any judgement on the letter that went beyond Chalcedon’s verdict (283).

There follows an interesting rebuttal of the argument that Pope Leo had only confirmed the dogmatic decrees of Chalcedon (that is, the Definition) and not the disciplinary decisions, including the reinstatement of Theodoret and Ibas, which were therefore (it was claimed) open to revision. This argument was fully developed in the following decades, when Vigilius’ successors in the Roman see had the task of defending the condemnation of the Three Chapters against the Italian schismatics who upheld the arguments of the first *Constitutum*. Pope Pelagius II (579–90) argued that not *all* the decrees of Chalcedon had to be upheld, since Pope Leo himself had drawn a line between the doctrinal decrees, which he confirmed, and the decrees on matters lying outside the faith, which he expressly excluded. The condemnation of the Three Chapters did not then undermine the authority of Chalcedon on matters of faith, even if it revised its decrees about persons. Pelagius added that on the day of judgement neither Theodore of Mopsuestia nor the Letter of Ibas would be of any avail to their defenders.⁷

Against the argument that Pelagius II was to employ, Vigilius quotes documents that show that Leo was eager for the reinstatement of improperly deposed bishops and that he was fully informed of the decrees of the council (285–6); unfortunately a letter of Leo’s he quotes as if expressing delight at the council’s reinstatement of bishops had in fact been written months before the council met (287). He proceeds to cite letters of Leo and his successors

6 This argument had been developed by Facundus (*Pro defensione* VI. 4–5), who makes the essential point that heresy is error over doctrine, not over persons.

7 Pelagius II, Second Letter to the Bishops of Istria, *ACO* 4.2, pp. 109–10.

which insisted on the inviolability of the Chalcedonian decrees (289–96); he needs to claim that this meant *all* the decrees, but his argument was undermined by Rome’s continued rejection of Canon 28. As further evidence for the consistency of Rome’s insistence on the decrees of Chalcedon he proceeds to quote from his own *Iudicatum*, condemning the Three Chapters (297–302); this, of course, weakened his present argument that condemning the chapters was inconsistent with upholding the Chalcedonian decrees. The *Constitutum* finally concludes with a formal prohibition of any pronouncement on the chapters by any ecclesiastical personage contrary to its own ruling and an annulment (in advance) of any such pronouncement (305–6). This was a shot across the bows of the ecumenical council that during the composition and issuing of the *Constitutum* was itself preparing a decree on the chapters.

Taking the document as a whole, it gives the impression of clumsy editing and of confusion in aim.⁸ Ever since the publication by Devreesse in 1932 of Deacon Pelagius’ *Defence of the Three Chapters*, written soon afterwards in early 554, it has been noted that it bears a very close relationship in thought and expression to the first *Constitutum* – or rather, to those parts of the *Constitutum* that argue in favour of each the three chapters in turn, including a defence of the orthodoxy of Theodoret and Ibas. But much of the *Constitutum* is concerned to make a very different point. The lengthy examination and anathematization of the excerpts from Theodore, the assurance in the course of the defence of Theodoret that all Nestorian writings are to be condemned (227), the careful insistence that the defence of Ibas is in no way a questioning of Cyril’s Twelve Chapters (284), and the intrusive insertion of five anathemas in support of Cyril’s condemnation of the views of Theodore and Nestorius (229–33), all these features of the document betray a concern to protect the pope from a charge of heresy, and to persuade his readers that his refusal to condemn the Three Chapters in no way compromised his firm adhesion to the Cyrillian Christology that Justinian had expounded in his edict *On the orthodox faith*. But if a strongly Cyrillian theology was to be treated as essential for orthodoxy, it was surely vain to defend the Three Chapters.

⁸ Contrast the judgement of the seventeenth-century scholar Jean Garnier: ‘The *Constitutum* is composed in so wonderful a manner that nothing better, and perhaps nothing equal, was produced in the sixth century’ (PG 84. 499).

TEXT⁹

To his most glorious and clement son Justinian Augustus, Bishop Vigilus.

(1) Among the innumerable cares with which the imperial dignity is burdened, we recognize as praiseworthy the intention of your clemency by which, having removed all the seeds of discord that the enemy of the human race had scattered in the field of the Lord, you have hastened to restore to unity and concord all the priests of the Lord, by forwarding the professions testifying to their conscience by which they were shown to adhere to the decrees and decisions of the holy fathers, the venerable four synods, and the presidents of the apostolic see. (2) So that the form of their professions may be transmitted to posterity as an example to be embraced of ecclesiastical peace, we exhibit it inserted on the present page exactly as it stands.

(3) A copy of the first profession, which they made in the church of Saint Euphemia.¹⁰

All the faithful, but especially the priests of God, ought to pursue peace and sanctification with all men, without which no one, according to the apostle, will see the Lord.¹¹ We therefore, following the apostolic teaching and eager that the concord of the churches be preserved, compose the present document. (4) First we accept the four holy synods and the fathers who sat at these synods, the 318 of Nicaea, the 150 of Constantinople, the 200 of Ephesus I (at which the most blessed Celestine pope of Senior Rome is known to have presided through his legates and representatives, that is, the most blessed Cyril, bishop of the city of Alexandria, Bishops Arcadius and Projectus, and the presbyter Philip), and the 630 holy fathers of Chalcedon. (5) Through everything and in everything, whatever in all the proceedings of the Council of Chalcedon and of the other aforesaid synods (as is found recorded at the same four synods) was defined or enacted or decreed or ordained in enactments, decrees or ordinances both about the faith and on all other matters, by common agreement with the legates and representatives of the apostolic

9 The text is in Otto Guenther, ed., *Epistolae imperatorum pontificum aliorum inde ab. a. CCCLXVII usque ad a. DLIII datae Avellana quae dicitur collectio*, CSEL 35 (Bonn, 1895), 230–320. The date of the document, 14 May 553, is given at the end.

10 The date of this document is somewhere between mid-February and mid-June 552; see vol. 1, 52 for the circumstances of composition. The stress on the role of the Roman see and its representatives throughout the Christological controversy suggests that it was drafted by an agent of Vigilus. The document that follows (11–18) lacks this theme.

11 Cf. Heb 12:14.

see through whom the predecessors of your holiness the most blessed pope of Senior Rome presided at these synods according to their date, this we promise we shall follow resolutely, inviolably, without censure or revision, without any addition or change, and that we shall not admit anything contrary, exploiting some opportunity or other for innovation, that would pertain to their censure or revision or change or violation, nor shall we assent to those who attempt anything of the kind. (6) But whatever was affirmed orthodox in those places by common consent with the legates and representatives of the apostolic see, we revere and accept as orthodox; and whatever they anathematized or condemned we too anathematize and condemn; and everything at the same synods that is recorded as having been enacted or defined or decreed or ordained by common consent with the representatives of the apostolic see we uphold without revision or alteration. (7) In addition we promise that we shall follow and observe in all respects the letters of Pope Leo of blessed memory and the decrees of the apostolic see that dealt with the faith and the validity of the above-mentioned four synods,¹² anathematizing every man belonging to ecclesiastical ranks and dignities who, exploiting some opportunity or other for contention, attempts to oppose what we have promised above. (8) In the case of the Three Chapters, where an inquiry has been initiated, I have composed no document contrary to the decision of the most pious prince and your beatitude,¹³ but I desire and concur that all documents of this form should be submitted to your beatitude. (9) With reference, however, to whatever injuries have been done to your beatitude and see, I indeed did not commit them, but because one must strive in every way for the peace of the church, I beg forgiveness as if I had committed them. Because at a time of discord I received into communion persons who had been excommunicated or not received by your beatitude, I likewise beg forgiveness.¹⁴

12 In reaction to eastern criticisms of Chalcedon, and proposals to amend its decrees or reduce its authority, Pope Leo and his successors laid a heavy stress on the authority and finality of the council. See Hofmann (1951).

13 The decision in question is that taken in 550 to refer the matter to an ecumenical council. The statement here distances the signatories from Justinian's edict *On the orthodox faith*, issued in contravention of this agreement (see vol. 1, 48).

14 This refers to Vigilius' *Letter of excommunication to Bishops Theodore Ascidas and Menas of Constantinople* (vol. 1, 161–5), which imposed the same penalty on all eastern bishops who sided with them against Vigilius. The signing of this 'first profession' went together with a lifting of the excommunication.

(10) This formulation was adopted by Bishops Menas of Constantinople, Theodore of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Andrew of Ephesus, Theodore of Antioch in Pisidia, Peter of Tarsus, and by many others also.

(11) A copy of the profession that the other bishops made to us on the day of Epiphany.¹⁵

Knowing how many good things the peace of God brings about, guarding the hearts and minds of the faithful, uniting them in one and the same belief in the correct profession of the faith and in the fulfilment of the divine commandments, and making God propitious towards those who agree over what is correct – (12) for this reason, eager to maintain unity with the apostolic see of your blessedness, we make known that we have always maintained and maintain the faith entrusted from the beginning by our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ to the holy apostles, preached by them throughout the world, and expounded by the holy fathers, especially those who assembled at the holy four synods, (13) whom in everything and in all respects we follow and accept, that is, the 318 holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea, issued the holy creed or instruction on the faith, and anathematized the impiety of Arius and those who held or hold it. (14) We also accept the 150 holy fathers assembled at Constantinople, who expounded the same holy teaching, elucidated the divinity of the Holy Spirit, and condemned the Macedonian heresy that attacked the Holy Spirit and also the impious Apollinarius together with those who held or hold the same tenets as theirs. (15) We also accept the 200 holy fathers convened at the First Synod of Ephesus, who followed in everything the same holy creed or instruction and condemned the impious Nestorius and his criminal doctrines and those who held at any time or hold tenets similar to his. (16) In addition we also accept the 630 holy fathers assembled at Chalcedon: they too agreed in everything with the aforesaid holy three synods, followed the aforesaid creed or instruction issued by the 318 holy fathers and explicated by the 150 holy fathers, and anathematized those who dare to teach or issue or transmit to the holy churches of God any other creed apart from the aforesaid; they condemned and anathematized both Eutyches and Nestorius and their impious doctrines and those who have held or hold tenets similar to theirs. (17) This being so, we make known that we have maintained and maintain everything decreed and defined by the aforesaid holy four synods, since, even if the

¹⁵ 6 January 553. The following text is identical to the Latin version in Acts I. 10 and 11.2. Vigilius gives as the date of signing the date of his own reply (Acts I. 11).

aforesaid holy synods were held at different times, they still maintained and proclaimed one and the same profession of faith. We also accept and embrace the letters of the presidents of the Roman apostolic see, both the others and Leo of holy memory, written on the subject of the true faith and of the four holy councils or one of them. (18) Since we have maintained and maintain all the aforesaid and agree with one another over them, it is necessary to conduct a discussion about the Three Chapters over which certain persons have initiated an investigation. We therefore request that, with your blessedness presiding over us in tranquillity and priestly gentleness and in the presence of the holy gospels, the same chapters be placed in the midst, discussed and examined, and that there be imposed on the investigation a close that is pleasing to God and in accord with the decrees of the holy four councils, since it pertains to the increase of peace and the concord of the churches that, with all dissension removed from our midst, the decrees of the four holy councils be maintained intact, while the venerable status of the holy synods is in all respects preserved.¹⁶ This we have signed.

(19) In this manner our brethren and fellow bishops Euty chius of Constantinople, Apollinaris¹⁷ of Alexandria, Domminus of Antioch in Syria, Helias of Thessalonica, and others also, who did not adopt the first profession, either signed this second profession or adopted the same separately.

(20) After matters had been settled in this way, it was our hope, venerable emperor, that, as we requested most frequently in suppliant petition, going to any place in Italy or at least to Sicily and summoning to us the priests of the African and other provinces of the Latin language and the sacred orders of our church, we would hold discussion according to custom and send a response to your piety about the problems of the Three Chapters after full deliberation. (21) Because your serenity did not allow this to happen, this, however, is known to have been resolved, that, after we had provided your gentleness with names from the above-mentioned provinces who should be called to the discussion with us, your clemency would make the bishops come.¹⁸ To this decision we gave our consent out of love for ecclesiastical

16 This constitutes a promise that the new council will confirm Chalcedon and not (as the defenders of the Three Chapters feared) amend it.

17 'Apollinaris' rather than 'Apollinarius' is Vigilius' (and the western) preferred spelling of the name. Earlier Vigilius had refused to recognize his election (in 551), since he upheld the rights of his predecessor Zoilus, deposed for his defence of the Three Chapters.

18 It was always the emperor's task to summon bishops to an ecumenical council, since an 'ecumenical' council was by definition an imperial council. See Price and Gaddis, III, 202–3.

peace. (22) But subsequently, with the consent of our brethren who are bishops in these parts,¹⁹ your piety recently, before the holy day of Easter, resolved this instead, that with a number equal to the bishops who are present in the city of Constantinople²⁰ we should enter on a discussion of the Three Chapters that are the cause of the investigation, according to the profession of our brother bishops given above. (23) But, while we were hastening to fulfil what through your direction had been agreed should be carried out with our brethren to preserve the peace of the churches, so that (after beneficial deliberation together and after everything transacted between us had been put into writing and was to hand, for the information of the whole church) our judgment on the Three Chapters under investigation might proceed, based on this material, (24) suddenly your piety, after that volume which you had sent to us not many days before Easter through our brother Benignus bishop of Heraclea in Pelagonia, sent again another document after the holy day of Easter through the magnificent man Theodore decurion of the palace, in which, however, expounding your view on the Three Chapters, you demanded our response on the same matter; these our brethren would not be allowed to sit with us in an equal number, nor would recording in writing be permitted of our proceedings and discussions, as if (God forbid!) we would say things contrary to correctness that we would be afraid to record. When in addition to this your clemency, sending to us most glorious notables, insisted that our response on the business of the Three Chapters should be produced as quickly as possible, (25) not even then did we cease to wish to obey your clemency, requesting simply this, that because of the infirmity of our body (which is a secret to no one) you should grant us a postponement of twenty days, so that after a discussion had been conducted with us with the help of God, we should on an appointed day deliver the sentence of our decision in writing.²¹ (26) To our brethren and fellow bishops, from whom you said you were similarly demanding a response on the same matter, we sent our son the deacon Pelagius with the following mandate, that, because the agreed mode of conferring had been ignored, they ought to wait at least twenty days for our definitive response on the Three Chapters because of the afore-mentioned weakness of my body which they are aware of, observing the traditional and

19 Meaning the eastern bishops.

20 That is, with a number of eastern bishops identical in number to the western bishops already in Constantinople.

21 For the twenty days' respite that Vigilius requested and took see also Acts II. 5.6. It was at the end of this period (on 25 May) that he attempted to present the present document, the first *Constitutum*, to the emperor (cf. Acts VII. 4.2).

canonical order, lest before the promulgation of our sentence, that is, the sentence of the apostolic see over which by the grace of God we preside, they should try to issue something that might revive the occasion of scandal that had been put to rest.

(27) After, therefore, we were shown and carefully examined (to the extent demanded by the logic of each chapter subjected to scrutiny) the synodical codices and proceedings and other submitted synodical letters of the same fathers who sat at the holy four synods or one of them, and after we examined no less the decrees of our predecessors as presidents of the apostolic see and studied other essential instructions of approved fathers, while keeping in mind the professions given above, we have taken care to investigate whether any of the matters that have been subjected to examination were scrutinized, defined and settled by our fathers. (28) Examining certain doctrines contained in the first part of the paper volume sent by your piety through our brother Benignus bishop of Heraclea in Pelagonia,²² of which the contents, according to the interpretation set out below, are included in our present decree in order to exclude every suspect error, we have perceived that these doctrines are full of execrable blasphemies and utterly hostile to the orthodox faith (which is recorded as defined, laudably and unimpeachably through the cooperation of the presence of the Holy Spirit and in accordance with the teaching of the gospels and apostles, by the holy four synods of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I, and Chalcedon) and that they are to be utterly rejected by Christian minds. Therefore as execrable and condemned beyond doubt by the holy fathers long ago we anathematize and condemn them by our sentence also. Of them the first chapter runs as follows:²³

Chapter I

(29) *How then can you, who above all others are specially suited for authority over the demented, assert that he who was born from the Virgin is to be deemed to be God and from God, consubstantial with the Father, unless perhaps you bid us impute his creation to the Holy Spirit?* (30) *But the one who is God and from God and consubstantial with the Father was present*

²² He was present in Constantinople as the representative of the bishop of Thessalonica, the papal vicar in Illyricum (Acts I. 1.7).

²³ In the following translation I follow the Latin that Vigilius had in front of him, without modification in the light of the Greek fragments or of the idiom of the underlying Greek text; consequently there are some differences in wording from my version of the same chapters in Acts IV (vol. 1, 235–61). Where the numbering of chapters in Acts IV differs, I add it in brackets. For fuller annotation see my notes on Acts IV.

perchance²⁴ in the one who was born from the Virgin, you wondrous fellow, and who according to the divine scriptures was formed by the Holy Spirit and received composition in a woman's womb, because as soon as he was formed he took on being the temple of God. We are not, however, to think that God was born from the Virgin, unless perchance we are to consider to be the same what was born and what was in the one born, the temple and God the Word who is in the temple. But not even according to your statement is it at all to be asserted that the one born from the Virgin is God and from God, consubstantial with the Father. (31) For even if, as you say, the one born from the Virgin is not an adopted man but God incarnate, how can the one who was born be called God from God and consubstantial with the Father, since the flesh is not able to admit this description? For it is indeed madness to say that God was born from the Virgin; for this is nothing other than to say that he was born of the seed of David from the substance of the Virgin and was formed in her, because it is what is of the seed of David and of the substance of the Virgin, came into being in a mother's womb, and was formed by the power of the Holy Spirit, that we say was born of the Virgin. (32) Even if someone were to allow them to say that the one who is God and from God and consubstantial with the Father was born from the Virgin in that he is in the temple, in the one born, even so God the Word was not born in himself but became flesh, as this wise man says. If therefore they assert that he was born together with his flesh and that what was born is God and from God and consubstantial with the Father, it would be necessary to say the same about the flesh. (33) But if the flesh is not this, because it is not God or from God or consubstantial with the Father but of the seed of David and consubstantial with the one whose seed it is, then that which was born from the Virgin is not God and from God and consubstantial with the Father – unless perchance a part of what was born is, as he himself later on calls the Godhead a part of Christ. But it is not the divine nature that was born from the Virgin: (34) there was born from the Virgin the one who exists from the substance of the Virgin. It is not God the Word who was born from Mary, but there was born of Mary the one who is of the seed of David. It is not God the Word who was born of woman, but there was born of woman the one who was formed in her by the power of the Holy Spirit. From a mother was born not the one consubstantial with the Father (for he is 'without a mother' according to the words of the blessed Paul) but the one who in the

24 Here and elsewhere the Latin *forsitan* or *forte*, meaning 'perchance, perhaps', appears to translate the Greek ὡς εἰκοῦς (as it certainly does at 59, where the Greek text survives), which means 'presumably.'

latter times was formed in his mother's womb by the power of the Holy Spirit and who is for this reason described as 'without a father'.²⁵

(35) In the above-written first chapter it is asserted²⁶ in a roundabout way that a mere man was born from the holy Virgin Mary, by saying, 'If we profess that God the Word, who is consubstantial with the Father, was born in the flesh from the same virgin, we would have to say that in consequence the flesh is consubstantial with the Father.'²⁷ Therefore whoever thinks, teaches, believes or preaches with an understanding of this kind, and does not believe that the same Word and Son of God was incarnate and born by a second birth from the holy Virgin, let him be anathema.

Chapter II

(36) *Directly in the one formed God the Word came to be. For he was not only in the one ascending into heaven but also in the one rising from the dead, as indeed raising him according to his promise; nor was he only in the one rising, but also in the one crucified and baptized and living an evangelical life after baptism, and even before baptism fulfilling the decrees of the law and presented in accordance with the law and circumcised and bound with the swaddling clothes of childbirth. He was perchance in him when he was born and when he was in his mother's womb from the very first moment of his formation; for he imposed a sequence on the dispensation concerning him, as he led him step by step to perfection.*

Chapter III

(37) *... and [God the Word] leading him [the human nature] in time to the baptism, and after that to death, then raising him according to his promise, leading him to heaven, and placing him at the right hand of God in virtue of his [the Word's] conjunction, as a result of which he is enthroned, is worshipped by all, and will also judge all. Of all these things God the Word kept the end²⁸ in himself, since he was in him and accomplished all*

²⁵ Cf. Heb 7:3.

²⁶ The Latin is 'videtur astrui'. *Videtur* plus the infinitive is constantly used by Vigilius as a mere equivalent for the indicative (as noted by Souter 1949, 443) rather than with the classical sense of 'it seems'. Meanwhile, although Lewis and Short (1879), 185 insist that the use of *astruere* to mean *affirmare* 'is found in no Latin author', it is not infrequent in Vigilius and also occurs in Gregory the Great, e.g. *Moralia in Job XXIII*. 25.28.

²⁷ A paraphrase of the text given above (32), 'If they assert that he was born together with his flesh and that what was born is God and from God and consubstantial with the Father, it would be necessary to say the same about the flesh.'

²⁸ The Greek original will have been τέλος εἶχεν, meaning 'had the final or decisive authority.'

things in sequence, a sequence that he himself judged to be right through a predetermination and act of will that he made beforehand, before the events that were to take place. By the good will that he had towards him he was in him in the same way from the beginning, and in a sequence of his own choosing was leading him to perfection.

(38) In the above-written second and third chapters this is asserted, that God the Word was present in the formed man as one in another. For by saying that he imposed a sequence, step by step, on the dispensation concerning him, and led him to advance in perfection on account of the good will that he had concerning him and which he bestowed on the one taken up, by such words a duality of persons is detestably introduced in the one Lord and our God Jesus Christ, as if some man or other made progress by the grace of God the Word through periods of time. Therefore, whoever thinks, teaches, believes or preaches with this understanding, let him be anathema.

Chapter IV

(39) *He provided the one he had taken up with his own cooperation for the proposed works. [Are we really to hold] that, when he did this, Godhead was in the place of a mind in the one taken up? For Godhead did not take the place of a mind in any of those to whom he gave his cooperation. If indeed he gave some special cooperation to the one taken up, this did not mean that Godhead took the place of a mind. (40) But if Godhead was instead of a mind in the one taken up, according to your words, how did he undergo fear during the passion? Why at the imminence of necessity did he need the vehement prayers which, according to the blessed Paul,²⁹ he offered to God with indeed a great and loud voice and with many tears? How was he possessed by such fear that in overwhelming terror he poured forth streams of sweat, the evangelist plainly saying that his sweat poured down like drops of blood?³⁰ (41) Why did he need the coming and visitation of an angel who refreshed his soul in its experience of ills, reinforced his eagerness, roused him up for the imminent necessity of the passion, persuaded him to brook ills bravely, anointed him to bear and endure ills, and revealed the fruit of the present ills, the future glory that would replace the passion, and the good things that would attend him after the passion?³¹ For the one who comforted*

²⁹ Heb 5:7.

³⁰ Cf. Lk 22:44.

³¹ I translate not the unsatisfactory CSEL text ('the future change from the passion and the good glory that would attend him after the passion') but that in *ACO*.

him according to the words of the evangelist,³² I mean the angel, made him courageous through his words, exhorted him to rise above the weakness of nature, and made him courageous by bolstering his thoughts.

(42) In the above-written fourth chapter this is understood to be said, that, just as God gave his cooperation to other men, so similarly as to other men cooperation, albeit a special one, is said to have been given to the one taken up, and [it is said that] a mere and weak man needed the help of an angel at the time of the passion in such a way that to strengthen his thoughts future glory was promised as a result of enduring the passion. If anyone thinks, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema.

Chapter V

(43) *'Get behind me, Satan; you are a stumbling-block to me, for your thoughts are not those of God but those of men.'*³³ *Death is not a disgrace for me, I shall not flee from it, regarding it as unbecoming to human glory; but with a better spirit I shall bear the experience of death for the sake of the many blessings to come, which I myself shall enjoy and all through me. Do not harm or disturb my spirit by urging me to flee from the experience of death as something deserving disgrace.'*

(44) In the above-written fifth chapter it is said that Jesus Christ spurned the words of Peter the apostle when he said to him, 'Get behind me, Satan; you are a stumbling-block to me, because your thoughts are not those of God but those of men,' for this reason, lest his mind, perturbed by his dissuasion, shunned the passion, and also because by his passion he would make progress and undergo the experience of death for the sake of the many blessings he would thereby acquire. Who therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly and does not believe that it was rather on us that his death, which he took on in his own flesh, bestowed the rewards of eternal life, let him be anathema.

Chapter VI

(45) *For the words 'He was led by the Spirit'³⁴ clearly mean that he was directed by him, was fortified by him with courage for what lay ahead, was led by him to what had to be, was taught by him what was fitting, and was strengthened by him in his thoughts, so that he would be equal to so great a contest, as indeed the blessed Paul says, 'All who are led by the Spirit of God*

³² Lk 22:43.

³³ Mt 16:23.

³⁴ Mt 4:1.

*are the sons of God,*³⁵ *describing as led by the Spirit those who are governed by him, taught by him, directed to the better by him, and who receive from him teaching for catechumens. (46) When the evangelist said, ‘He returned from the Jordan full of the Holy Spirit,’*³⁶ *he plainly showed that he received the indwelling of the Holy Spirit at baptism for this reason, that he should derive from it courage for what lay ahead; and so he was led by the Spirit to that contest which he was to wage with the devil on our behalf.*

(47) In the aforementioned sixth chapter he is again said as a mere man to have been led to everything by the Spirit, whose presence he is said to have received after his baptism, and to have been comforted and instructed just like other men, as is here said, of whom the apostle declares, ‘Whoever are led by the Spirit of God, these are the sons of God.’ If anyone therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly and does not believe, profess and preach that God the Word incarnate and Christ are one, let him be anathema.

Chapter VII

(48) *Let therefore those who are wisest of all tell us, if indeed in the case of Christ the Lord in respect of the flesh Godhead replaced a mind, as they assert, why Christ needed the cooperation of the Holy Spirit for all this. For it was not the Godhead of the Only-begotten that needed the Spirit for being made just, that needed the Spirit for conquering the devil, that needed the Spirit for working miracles, that needed the Spirit for being taught to perform what was fitting, that needed the Spirit in order to be seen to be without blemish. (49) For if the Godhead had replaced a mind, its own power would have sufficed for everything; everything would necessarily have been done by it, with the result that the indwelling of the Holy Spirit would have been superfluous. But as it is, it says that he was anointed by the Spirit, that the Spirit dwelt in him and helped him in all his purposes, and that he received teaching and strength from this source, and that it was from this source that he acquired righteousness and became without blemish.*

(50) In the above-written seventh chapter this is understood to be said, that like other men he needed the indwelling of the Holy Spirit for his being made righteous, for conquering the devil, for working miracles, for being taught what was fitting for him to do, and that he might be seen to be without blemish, and also that he was helped by Spirit himself in all his purposes. Whoever therefore whoever holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accord-

³⁵ Rom 8:14.

³⁶ Lk 4:1.

ingly and not that Christ as true God worked and works everything he willed and wills by his own deity, but that he needed the consolation of the Holy Spirit like a mere man, let him be anathema.

Chapter VIII

(51) *That which was before the ages,³⁷ he says, was created in the last times, inasmuch as some people profess this, although none of those concerned for piety suffer from such a disease of madness as to say that he who is before the ages was created in the last times. From this he infers that that which is in the last times was before the ages, and accuses those who do not assert everything similarly in reverse as if those who profess that the Son is one are obliged to assert everything in reverse. (52) Who would not count your madness blessed? Who would not wish to obtain teachers of this kind, who introduce such confusion into rational piety that they say, 'What is before the ages was created in the last times,' that they deprive this of its nature and reduce it to a worse state, and that they then reverse the statement and say, 'What is in the last times is before the ages,' when one ought perchance to say, 'He who was before the ages took up the one who was in the last times,' according to the words of the blessed Paul?³⁸ (53) Therefore, following your rules and accepting the reversal – or rather the perversion – concocted by your wisdom, come let us jumble everything together, and let there be now no distinction between the form of God and form of a servant, nor between the adopted temple and the one who dwelt in the temple, nor between the one who was set free and the one who raised him, nor between the one who was made perfect through sufferings and the one who perfected him, (54) nor between the one who merited being remembered and the one who became mindful, nor between the one who was visited and the one who made a visitation, nor between the one who for a little while was made lower than the angels and the one who made him so, nor between the one who was crowned with glory and honour and the one who crowned him, nor between the one who was placed above the works of God's hands and the one who placed him there, nor between the one who accepted these things as subject and the one who made them subject.³⁹*

(55) In the afore-mentioned eighth chapter a duality of persons is in

37 The Greek of this phrase, 'the one before the ages', is preserved and is in the masculine. The Latin version's mistaken translation of this into the neuter continues through most of 51–52. See my translation of Acts IV. 14 for a version that corrects this error.

38 Heb 1:2.

39 Cf. Heb 2:6–10.

various ways introduced by the statement, 'It is not the one who was before the ages who is to be said to have come in the last times,' as if the person of the one who took up the manhood is different from that of the one taken up. If anyone therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly and does not profess that the same God the Word, who was before the ages and born from the Father, was incarnate and born in the last times from the blessed Virgin Mary, with the result that there is one and the same Christ in both natures, let him be anathema.

Chapter IX

(56) *When therefore he had raised from the dead the man through whom he had decided to carry out judgement of all as an assurance of the things to come and had appointed him judge of all, according to the words of the blessed Paul,⁴⁰ he deservedly bestowed on him union with himself and through conjunction with himself made him partake of such things that as a result he shared also in worship, with all those who render due worship to the divine nature including in their worship also the one whom he knows to be inseparably conjoined to himself. From this it is manifest that he led him to greater things.*

(57) In the above-written ninth chapter it is asserted that Christ was adorned with divine works by the terminology of a certain 'conjunction' or 'participation' as if of God with the man Christ; through this a duality of persons is again introduced. If anyone therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches accordingly and does not recognize and believe that one and the same Christ is God and our Lord, while the difference of the natures remains in their properties, let him be anathema.

Chapter X

(58) *'I indeed whom you see am unable in respect of my nature to do anything, since I am human; I act, however, because the Father abiding in me does all things; for because I am in the Father and the Father in me and the only-begotten God the Word of God is in me, it is certain that the Father with him abides in me and performs the works.'*⁴¹ (59) *There is nothing startling in thinking this about Christ, since he himself says clearly about other men, 'He who loves me will keep my word, and my Father will love him, and we shall come to him and make our abode in him.'*⁴² For if

40 Acts 17:31.

41 Cf. Jn 14:10.

42 Jn 14:23.

the Father and the Son make their abode in every human being of this kind, how is it startling if in Christ the Lord in respect of the flesh both together are thought to abide, their communion in substance taking on perchance a communion in abiding?

(60) In the above-written tenth chapter God the Word is said to be present in the man Christ in the same way that the Father is, with the implication that as a result either the Father also is incarnate just as the Son is, or the Son is not incarnate, as the Father is not, or rather both dwell in a third person, that of the man. Who therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema.

Chapter XI

(61) *Having first received in this way a human soul that is immortal and sharing in mind, and having made it immutable through the resurrection, so too he bestowed on us through the resurrection participation in these same things.* (62) *Therefore before the resurrection from the dead he indeed rebukes Peter for being a stumbling block to him with his remarks,⁴³ and being in great trepidation at the time of the passion he is in need of the coming of an angel to give him the strength to bear and endure the imminent ills. But after the resurrection from the dead and the ascent into heaven he became impassible and utterly immutable; sitting at the right hand of God, he is the judge of the whole world, as in him the divine nature carries out judgement.*

(63) In the above-written eleventh chapter the same things are repeated as were already stated above in the fourth chapter, that before the passion Christ was so weak that, being in great trepidation at the time of the passion, he needed the comfort of an angel. Because this implies a mere man, as it were, who would need help of this kind, if anyone holds, teaches, believes or preaches accordingly, let him be anathema.

Chapter XII

(64) *And so here too, you, the most wise of all, teach us that we possess the mind of Christ, since we possess that Holy Spirit which filled the mind of Christ with a certain strength, bestowing on him prudence as regards everything that had to be accomplished,* (65) *just as we showed above that he was led by the Spirit into the wilderness for contests against the devil, received through the Spirit's anointing both knowledge and vigour for what had to be accomplished, and through coming to partake of him not only performed*

43 Cf. Mt 16:23.

miracles but also knew precisely how it was necessary to use miracles in order to make piety known to the nations, to bear the infirmities of those who laboured, and so bring his will to fulfilment. As a result he was made righteous and shown to be without blemish, by repairing⁴⁴ what is worse, preserving what is better, and also advancing to the better step by step.

(66) In the above-written twelfth chapter the same things are taught as in the seventh chapter, by the assertion that our Lord Jesus Christ was formed for everything through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit and with the help of his anointing reached perfection in the course of time. If anyone therefore does not believe that he was made perfect by his own divinity but holds, teaches, believes or preaches that he was helped as a mere man in need of anointing by the Holy Spirit, let him be anathema.

Chapter XIII⁴⁵

(67) *How therefore from the fact that God was made man does it follow that one may say that that man is God the Word? For if the man is God the Word, as you yourself say, we would in all respects say about the man what the evangelist says about God the Word. What does he say? 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God. All things were made through him, and without him was nothing made that was made.'*⁴⁶ (68) *Therefore if the man is God the Word, we would say about him: 'In the beginning was the man, and the man was with God, and the man was God. The man was in the beginning with God. All things were made through him, and without him was nothing made that was made.'* For if the man is God the Word, as you say, everything that the evangelist says about God the Word will apply to him.

(69) In the above-written thirteenth chapter it is denied that God the Word became man and again that the man is the God the Word, with the result that, as was said above, a duality of persons is introduced. If anyone therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches accordingly, and if, while the difference of natures remains in our Lord and God Jesus Christ without change or separation, it is not rather believed that he is one person or subsistence,⁴⁷ in such a way that it is to be believed that God the Word is man without any

⁴⁴ *Reparatione* (repairing) is Vigilus' text, while Acts IV. 18 has *separatione* (shunning).

⁴⁵ This chapter is not in Acts IV.

⁴⁶ Jn 1:1–3.

⁴⁷ *Subsistentia* was a coinage to translate the Greek word *hypostasis*. For earlier occurrences see Souter (1949), 396 and Lewis and Short (1879), 1782. The term is discussed in Boethius, *Contra Eutychem and Nestorium* 3.

change in his divine nature and that the manhood taken up is God without change on account of the oneness of person, let him be anathema.

Chapter XIV (XIII)⁴⁸

(70) *As regards the words ‘[I am ascending] to my Father and your Father and my God and your God’,⁴⁹ no one is so demented as to say that they fit anyone else except the temple of God the Word, the man taken up for our salvation, who had died and risen and would ascend into heaven, who with the disciples recognized God as his Father, had himself been deemed worthy of adoption by grace, and calls him his God, because together with [all] other men he had similarly received existence. (71) Therefore on account of a shared nature he calls God ‘my Father and your Father and my God and your God’; on the other hand, he distinguished his own person from them to signify the special grace in virtue of which through conjunction with God the Word he is honoured in place of the true Son by all human beings.*

(72) In the above-written fourteenth chapter the words in the gospel ‘I am ascending to my Father and your Father and my God and your God’ are understood to mean that Jesus Christ our Lord and God received the grace of adoption, so as to be called son of God like other men, and as if by conjunction with God the Word is worshipped by all in place of the true Son. If anyone holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly and does not rather understand and believe that the one Jesus Christ, Son of God and our Lord, is in two unmerged and inseparable natures, let him be anathema.

Chapter XV (XIV)

(73) *The word ‘Receive’⁵⁰ means ‘you will receive’. For if when he breathed on his disciples he gave them the Spirit, as some persons indeed have foolishly supposed, it would have been pointless to tell them afterwards, particularly at the time of his ascension into heaven, not to depart from Jerusalem but to await the promise of the Spirit,⁵¹ and also in the words that follow, ‘But you will receive power when the Holy Spirit comes upon you.’⁵² (74) Luke clearly states that the actual coming of the Holy Spirit on the disciples occurred on the fiftieth day of the resurrection, after the*

48 The numbers in brackets are those of the same chapters in Acts IV in the cases where the numbering differs. It may be noted that Vigilius’ version omits some of the chapters in the acts (XXXa, XXXb, LIX, LX, LXII and all that follow).

49 Jn 20:17.

50 Jn 20:22.

51 Cf. Acts 1:4.

52 Acts 1:8.

ascension.⁵³ *This also is to be noted that, if they had received the Spirit by breathing, he would not have said 'Receive' but 'Because you have received', for the word 'Receive' is appropriate for those who have not yet received.*

(75) In the above-written fifteenth chapter it is said that, when after his resurrection our Lord Jesus Christ breathed on the faces of his disciples, he did not give them the Holy Spirit but indicated that it was to be given, with the result that either the Truth itself (God forbid!) is to be thought to have lied, or [it is to be thought] that as a mere man he had nothing to give by his breath or no power to give it. If anyone therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema.

Chapter XVI (XV)

(76) *He says to Thomas, 'Put your finger here and see my hands, and extend your hand and place it in my side, and do not be unbelieving but faithful.'*⁵⁴ *Because, he means, you do not believe and you think that only touch will enable you to believe (for it did not escape me when you said this),⁵⁵ touch with your hand, receive the experience, and learn to believe and not to doubt. Thomas, when accordingly he believed, said 'My Lord and my God,' not calling him Lord and God (for knowledge of the resurrection could not teach him that the one who had risen was also God), but as praising God for working a miracle.*

(77) In the above-written sixteenth chapter, on that place in the gospel where Thomas the apostle, touching the marks of the nails, said, 'My Lord and my God,' it is asserted that Thomas the apostle did not profess that Jesus Christ himself is Lord and God, because knowledge of the resurrection could not teach that the one who had risen was God, but rather that Thomas the apostle praised God for working a miracle. If anyone therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, and does not rather believe that it was declared by the profession of Thomas that Jesus Christ is true God and that he rose in true flesh, let him be anathema.

Chapter XVII (XVI)

(78) *He [Peter] said that it was necessary for them to do penance for the iniquity of the cross, and to recognize Jesus Christ as the Saviour and Lord and source of all good things, because it was for this he came and was taken up by the divine nature, and to find faith in him and become his disciples,*

⁵³ Acts 2:1.

⁵⁴ Jn 20:27.

⁵⁵ Jn 20:25.

and above all to come for baptism, which he himself had transmitted to us as a prefiguration of the hope for the things to come, to be celebrated in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.⁵⁶ (79) The words ‘that each one may be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ’⁵⁷ does not mean that they should abandon invoking the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit and invoke Jesus Christ at baptism. But like the words ‘They were baptized into Moses under the cloud and in the sea’⁵⁸ – meaning that, separated under the cloud and in the sea of the Egyptians, they were freed from servitude to them in order that they might pay heed to the laws of Moses –, so likewise ‘that each one may be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ’ means that (80) when they came to him as the Saviour, the author of all good things and the teacher of the truth, they were to be called after him as the author of good things and the teacher of the truth, just as it is customary for all men, whatever sect they follow, to be called after the originator of their teaching, as Platonists and Epicureans, Manichees and Marcionites, and other names of the kind. (81) For the apostles judged that we should be called Christians in the same way, as if making clear by this that one must heed his teaching, and therefore that they should receive the baptism he had given and which was instituted first in him (since he was the first to be baptized) and had been transmitted by him to others, so that it might be celebrated as a prefiguration of the things to come.

(82) In the above-written seventeenth chapter, on the basis of the words of the blessed Peter in the Acts of the Apostles, ‘that each one of you may be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ,’ it is asserted that in the invocation which is made in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit Christ is not included, and also, when Peter said that they ought to be baptized in the name of Christ, that this did not signify the mystery of the Trinity. From this it follows that, when a person is baptized in the name of the Trinity, he is not baptized in the name of Christ, with the consequence that according to this interpretation there is clearly introduced a quaternity.⁵⁹ (83) There is added in the same chapter that we are called Christians after Christ in the same way that the followers of various sects or heresies were assigned names after the originators or teachers, that is, as Platonists

⁵⁶ Cf. Acts 2:38–40.

⁵⁷ Acts 2:38.

⁵⁸ 1 Cor 10:2.

⁵⁹ Vigilius understands Theodore to mean that baptism in the name of the Trinity is not baptism into Christ, with the implication that Christ is a distinct, fourth person in addition to the Trinity.

after Plato, Marcionites after Marcion, and Manichees after Mani. If anyone therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema; for we are called and are Christians for this reason, that when we receive baptism we put on our Lord himself, Jesus Christ, and with him being our head we are all made one body in him.

Chapter XVIII (XVII)

(84) *There are two explanations of how it serves as an image. Those who love someone often set up images of them after their death, thinking that this provides a sufficient solace for death; as if beholding as in the image one who is neither seen nor present, they think they see him, thereby calming the fire and strength of longing. But those also who have in the cities images of the emperors honour as if present and visible those who are not present, by means of the cult and veneration of images. (85) Both of these are fulfilled in his case. For all who are with him, and who pursue virtue and are expert in giving God his due, love him and greatly honour him; and the divine nature, although it is not seen, perfects their love for him by means of that which is seen by all, everyone supposing that they are in this way seeing God through him and are always present to him; and thus they render every honour as if to an imperial image, since the divine nature is in him, as it were, and is perceived in him. (86) For if indeed it is the Son who is said to indwell, yet the Father also is with him and is believed by every creature to be with the Son wholly inseparably. The Spirit also is not absent, having being made for him even an anointing, and is always with the one who was taken up. This is no cause for amazement, since the Father is said to be with the Son in all men who pursue virtue, for 'I and the Father will come and set up our abode in him';⁶⁰ and that the Spirit is inseparable from men of this kind is clear to all.*

(87) In the above-written eighteenth chapter Christ is asserted to be the image of the invisible Word in the same sense as that in which images of absent princes are revered in honour of them. If anyone holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema.

Chapter XIX (XVIII)

(88) *For the words 'This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased'⁶¹ reveal his adoption at baptism through comparison with Jewish adoption, because it was said to them, 'I have said, you are all gods and sons of the*

60 Jn 14:23.

61 Lk 3:22.

Most High,⁶² and 'I begot and raised up sons.'⁶³ What was special in his adoption is expressed by 'beloved' and 'in whom I am well pleased'. (89) Because of this the voice of the Father confirmed his adoption and by calling him Son through adoption according to grace revealed the one who is truly Son, conjunction with whom made his adoption true and firm. The Holy Spirit, descending in the form of a dove, remained above him, so that in the conjunction with the one who is truly Son he might remain supported by his cooperation, enjoying a firm dignity of adoption. In all this, in the one in whom first of all the baptism of adoption was prefigured, I mean the baptism of Christ the Lord by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, what was to be was accomplished.

(90) In the above-written nineteenth chapter, where the Gospel according to Luke on the baptism of Christ is being expounded,⁶⁴ there are two criticisms to be made: one, that a duality of sons is introduced, since Christ is called Son of God by adoption; the other, that he too is said to have been baptized in the name of the Trinity, which beyond doubt gives proof of a quaternity. If anyone therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema.

Chapter XX (XIX)

(91) *For this reason therefore the psalm shows us how great is the difference between God the Word and the man taken up. This distinction is found in the New Testament, where the Lord applies the beginning of the psalm to himself, where it says he is the maker of creation, has a magnificence raised above the heavens, and is marvelled at throughout the world, while the second part, which is about the man who was deemed worthy of so great a benefit, is applied by the apostle to Jesus.⁶⁵ It is surely manifest that divine scripture teaches us plainly that one of these is God the Word while the other is the man, and shows us that the difference between them is great. (92) For the former remembers, while the latter is deemed worthy to be remembered; the former pays a visitation, while the latter is called blessed when he is deemed worthy of a visitation; the former by bestowing a benefit made him little less than the angels, while the latter received a benefit even through*

62 Ps 81:6.

63 Is 1:2.

64 It is clear that the details of the location in Theodore of each of the chapters quoted was provided in Vigilius' source, as it is in the version of these chapters in Acts IV. Cf. 127, 130 and 134 below.

65 Cf. Mt 21:16 and Heb 2:6–8, citing Ps 8:2–8.

such a lessening; the former crowns with glory and honour, while the latter is crowned and is for this reason called blessed; the former established him above all the works of his hands and subjected all things under his feet, while the latter was deemed worthy to govern those things that previously he did not have authority over.

(93) In the above-written twentieth chapter, where the eighth psalm is being expounded, Christ is asserted to be a bare man, as has already been said elsewhere, and is shown separated from God the Word, and a duality of persons is introduced. If anyone holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, and does not understand that in Christ our Lord and God there are two natures united without separation or merger in such a way that, while the difference between the natures remains, he, as one and the same, is true Son of God and true son of man, let him be anathema.

Chapter XXI (XX)

(94) *But those who do not want to consider this try to apply all the sayings to Christ the Lord, with the result that they interpret in this way those uttered about the people and excite derision among the Jews, when they adduce sayings which, according to the scriptural sequence, bear no reference to Christ the Lord.*

Chapter XXII (XXI)

(95) *The same is true of 'His soul was not abandoned to Hades nor did his flesh see corruption.'⁶⁶ For the prophet says this hyperbolically about the people, referring to providence, and wishing to say that he [God] had preserved them unharmed from every evil. But because this was true and was fulfilled in actual reality in Christ the Lord, the blessed Peter when speaking about him uses these words most appropriately, because what was said of the people hyperbolically (the prophet uttering these words for a specific reason) had now been fulfilled in actual reality in Christ the Lord.*

(96) In the above-written twenty-first and second chapters this is stated, that the prophecy which says in the person of Christ, 'You will not abandon my soul in hell nor give your holy one to see corruption,'⁶⁷ was not uttered about Christ himself but about the people of Israelite stock, but that Blessed Peter the apostle decided to apply this prophecy to Christ on the basis of the event. Who therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema.

⁶⁶ Ps 15:10, as cited by Peter in Acts 2:31.

⁶⁷ A more exact citation of the psalm verse.

Chapter XXIII (XXII)

(97) *There is the same meaning in the text 'They divided my garments between them and over my clothing they cast lots.'*⁶⁸ *For it is beyond doubt that the psalm does not at all fit the Lord, for it was not for Christ the Lord, who 'did not commit sin nor was deceit found in his mouth',⁶⁹ to say, (98) 'Far from my salvation are the words of my offences.'⁷⁰ But the Lord himself, according to the common law of men, when he was being crushed by the passion, uttered the words, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?'⁷¹ The words 'They divided my clothes between them and over my clothing they cast lots' were manifestly applied to him by the apostles⁷² because what had first been said hyperbolically by David on account of ills inflicted on him happened in actuality to Christ the Lord, whose garments they divided and whose tunic they subjected to lots.*

(99) In the above-written twenty-third chapter certain words of the twenty-first psalm in which it is said, 'They divided my garments between them and over my clothing they cast lots,' are in the exposition denied to fit Jesus Christ the Lord; but [it is asserted] that what David said about himself on account of certain ills that he had suffered were transferred by the evangelist on the basis of the event to Christ, and it is added that the Lord Jesus who did not commit sin could not have said, 'Far from my salvation are the words of my offences.' (100) Who therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, and does not understand that those words in which he mentions sins apply to his body, which is the church (which in this world cannot be without sin),⁷³ and believes that the words about the division of garments were not uttered with special reference to the head itself, that is, our Lord and God Jesus Christ, and fulfilled in him, let him be anathema.

Chapter XXIV (XXIII)

(101) *'They have pierced my hands and feet':⁷⁴ they examined everything, both what I was doing and what I was attempting; for 'they have pierced' refers by transference to those who through piercing try to examine*

68 Ps 21:19.

69 1 Pt 2:22, citing Is 53:9.

70 Ps 21:2b, LXX version.

71 Mt 27:46, citing Ps 21:2.

72 Cf. Mt 27:35.

73 Cf. Augustine, *Enarratio in Psalmum 37*, 6, 'When the next line says "the words of my offences", there is no doubt that the voice is Christ's. What sins are these, unless he is speaking of the body that is the Church? It is both the body of Christ and its head that is speaking' (CCSL 37.387).

74 Ps 21:17b.

what is deep down. (102) *'They have numbered all my bones'.⁷⁵ they have taken possession of all my strength and all my substance, with the result that they have subjected what is mine to an enumeration. This he took from the custom of enemies, who when they gain something make a precise inventory, by enumeration and by casting lots. (103) Therefore, after saying next, 'They examined me and gazed at me,' he added, 'They divided my garments between them and over my clothing they cast lots.'⁷⁶ For it describes them as examining and gazing at me, because everything they desired in my case was realized for them (for 'gazing' means, as also with us, 'he saw in him what he wanted him to suffer'); and now that I was, as it were, totally consigned to ills, they as enemies divided my possessions after plundering and taking captive, making division of them by lot. (104) The evangelist, understanding the words in the light of the reality, applied them to the Lord, just as we said in the other instances, for we clearly showed above that the psalm does not relate to the Lord. But the blessed David said these things hyperbolically with reference to what was done by Absalom, because when David retreated, he entered the capital and by right of war took possession of all the royal property, and was not even ashamed of polluting his father's bed.⁷⁷*

(105) In the above-written twenty-fourth chapter on the same twenty-first psalm already mentioned, concerning those words where it is said, 'They have pierced my hands and feet, they have numbered all my bones; they examined and gazed at me,' it is asserted that they were not uttered about Christ but that David said them about himself because of the usurpation of Absalom, who occupied the royal city and property and numbered all the things of his father in the land, and that the evangelist transferred them to the person of Christ on the basis of the event. Who therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema.

Chapter XXV (XXIV)

(106) *Because food and drink are pleasant in time of rejoicing and unpleasant and bitter in time of sorrow, this (he is saying) is what they did, so that as a result of sorrow and anger the food was in place of gall for me and the drink no different from vinegar.⁷⁸ This happens particularly with the wrath that accompanies tribulation, which they were likely to feel towards their own people. The evangelist applied this testimony to the Lord,⁷⁹ the*

⁷⁵ Ps 21:18a, LXX version.

⁷⁶ Ps 21:18b-19.

⁷⁷ Cf. 2 Sam 16:22.

⁷⁸ Cf. Ps 68:22.

⁷⁹ Mt 27:34, 48.

Lord said of himself, 'Zeal for your house has consumed me,'⁸⁰ the blessed Paul said of the Jews, 'Let their table become' and the rest,⁸¹ and the blessed Peter said of Judas, 'Let his habitation become desolate.'⁸² (107) Surely the diversity in the realities does not mean that the psalm was uttered now about these, then again about one man and again about another; but because many things had been said of the Jews who had separated themselves from God and the law, convicting them of a lack of devotion, the use of these testimonies was both necessary and based on the reality, as in the case of 'They gave in my food gall and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.'

(108) In the above-written twenty-fifth chapter on the passage of the psalm where it says, 'They gave in my food gall and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink,' an exposition is offered contrary to the obvious truth of the gospel by saying that the Lord was not truly given vinegar to drink, but had [drink] in place of vinegar and food in place of gall with reference to his sorrow and the anger of those offering them, and that this was not said about him as a prediction but the evangelist applied this testimony to the Lord on the basis of the event. On this account, who holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema.

Chapter XXVI (XXV)

(109) *Therefore just as Nathanael is not shown to have had knowledge of his [Christ's] Godhead by a profession of this kind⁸³ – Jews and Samaritans in having this hope were as far as is possible from a knowledge of God the Word –, so too Martha is not proved by her profession to have had knowledge of his Godhead at that time,⁸⁴ and nor clearly is the blessed Peter.⁸⁵*

(110) *For up to this point something special and superior was sufficient for those receiving this revelation at that time – to receive a notion about him that exceeded [their notion of] other men; but after the resurrection they were then led to knowledge by the Spirit and received a perfect knowledge of the revelation, with the result that they knew that something special, beyond other men, had come to him from God, not merely as an honour as in the case of other men but through union with God the Word, through which he shares with him in every honour after his ascension into heaven.*

80 Jn 2:17, citing Ps 68:10.

81 Rom 11:9, citing Ps 68:23.

82 Acts 1:20, citing Ps 68:22.

83 Cf. Jn 1:49.

84 Cf. Jn 1:27.

85 Cf. Mt 16:16.

(111) In the above-written twenty-sixth chapter Peter is denied to have recognized the divinity of Christ before his resurrection, and is said to have received a notional understanding beyond other men, and again a duality of sons is introduced, when it says that the man shared in God the Word after he ascended into heaven. Who therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, and does not understand that there is one and the same Christ our Lord, Son of God and son of man, while the difference between the natures united in him remains, let him be anathema.

Chapter XXVII (XXVI)

(112) *Indeed Matthew the evangelist says after the temptations that 'angels came and served him,'⁸⁶ doubtless being with him and cooperating and serving God in everything relating to him, because already through his contests with the devil he had been shown to be more glorious. But we also learn from the gospels that angels were with him when he was about to suffer,⁸⁷ and at the resurrection they were seen in the sepulchre. (113) In all of this there was displayed the dignity of Christ, because angels were with him inseparably and served in everything relating to him. For just as they are separate from sinners, so too they assist those who have received this honour on account of merit. This is why the Lord was right to say, 'You will see something greater, because heaven will be opened to all through me and all the angels will be always with me, now ascending and now descending to God's familiar and friend.'⁸⁸*

(114) In the above-written twenty-seventh chapter, where concerning the evangelist Matthew it is expounded that when the temptations had been completed angels came to minister to Christ, it is said that angels helped Christ, honoured on account of merit, just as they help others, and that angels ascended into heaven, and descended, to Christ in the same way as to a friend and familiar of God. Who therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, and not that the angels served and serve as creator and Lord the true God, the Son of true God, one and the same with the perfect humanity taken from the womb of the Virgin, let him be anathema.

Chapter XXVIII (XXVII)

(115) *The Lord was disquieted and held combat more with the passions of the soul than with those of the body, and he conquered desires with a*

86 Mt 4:11.

87 Cf. Lk 22:43.

88 Cf. Jn 1:50-1.

superior spirit, as the Godhead mediated for him in attaining perfection.⁸⁹ This is why the Lord undertakes combat against these in particular: for he was not lured by desire for money nor tempted by longing for glory, and he conceded nothing to the flesh; it was not in him to be overcome by such. (116) If he had not received a soul but it was the Godhead that overcame them, the gain in what was performed would have no relevance for us – for in perfection of conduct what similarity is there between Godhead and a human soul? –, and the Lord's combats would involve a gain irrelevant for us and would have been for the sake of some display. (117) But if one cannot say this (for it is certain that these things were performed on our behalf), and if he undertook a greater combat against the passions of the soul and a lesser one against those of the flesh (just as it happened that the former disquieted him to a greater and fuller degree, and greater was the passion that needed a fuller remedy), (118) it is clear that, having taken both flesh and soul, he combated in both for the sake of both, mortifying sin in the flesh, taming its desires, and making them easy to control through the superior rationality of the soul, while teaching and exercising the soul both to overcome its own passions and to rein in the desires of the flesh. This was accomplished by the Godhead that dwelt in him; dwelling in him, it mediated between the two of them.

(119) In the above-written twenty-eighth chapter Christ is again presented as a mere man, who by the rationality of the soul is said to have tamed the desires of the body and to have trained the soul and exercised it so that it conquered its passions and curbed the desires of the flesh in it. This, he says, the soul worked while the Godhead mediated between the two – with the result that, according to this, we no longer have the one and the same Jesus Christ, mediator between God and men, but the Godhead was the mediator between flesh and soul. Who therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema.

Chapter XXIX (XXVIII)

(120) *But if, he says, the flesh was crucified, how was it that the sun averted its rays, darkness covered the whole land, the earth was shaken, rocks were shattered, and the dead arose?⁹⁰ But what then would they say of the darkness that was worked in Egypt in the time of Moses, and not*

⁸⁹ The Greek text of this sentence survives (CSEL 35, p. 262). The Latin *mediante* ('mediating') is a too literal translation of μεσσηυούσης, which in this context means not 'mediating' but 'assisting'.

⁹⁰ Cf. Mt 27:45, 51–3; Lk 23:45.

*for three hours but for three days?*⁹¹ *What of the other miracles worked through Moses, and those through Joshua [the son of] Nun who made the sun stand still*⁹² – *the sun that in the time of King Hezekiah turned backwards contrary to nature*⁹³ –, *and what of the remains of Elijah which raised up a dead man?*⁹⁴ (121) *For if what was worked on the cross proves that God the Word suffered and they do not allow that they were worked on account of a man, then also what was worked in the time of Moses will not have been on account of the race of Abraham, and likewise what was worked in the time of Joshua [the son of] Nun and in that of King Hezekiah. But if these miracles were worked on account of the people of the Jews, how is it not still more the case that what was worked on the cross was on account of the temple of God the Word?*

(122) In the above-written twenty-ninth chapter, in a show of contradicting Apollinaris, who involved the divine nature in passions, there is a departure from the right path and the due measure of assertion is exceeded, with the result that a mere man is thought to have hung on the cross. And who therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, and does not believe that Christ is true God and profess that, while the Godhead remained impassible, the same [Christ] suffered in his own flesh, let him be anathema.

Chapter XXX (XXIX)

(123) *It is clear that the union is fitting; for as a result of it conjoined natures formed one person in unity. For just as it is said of a husband and wife that ‘they are no longer two but one flesh,’*⁹⁵ *let us too say rationally according to the notion of unity that they are not two persons but one, while clearly the natures are distinguished. For just as speaking of one flesh does not there harm the numeration of duality (for it is clear in what respect they are called one), so here too the unity of person does not harm the difference of the natures. (124) For when we distinguish the natures we say that the nature of God the Word is perfect and the person is perfect (since one cannot speak of a hypostasis without a person), and that the nature and the person of the man are perfect likewise; but when we turn to the conjunction we then speak of one person.*

91 Cf. Ex 10:22.

92 Cf. Josh 10:13.

93 Cf. 2 Kgs 20:10–11.

94 Cf. 2 Kgs 13:21.

95 Mt 19:6.

(125) In the above-written thirtieth chapter the attempt is made to show by a very bad example how the one person of Christ may be understood – that is, just as we read about a man and a woman who come together, so in Christ there is, as it were, one person with different natures –, and it follows that the nature of God the Word is perfect and the person perfect and the nature and person of the man perfect likewise. From this it is clear, both from the example of man and wife, where there are two persons, and from this that follows, even though number is omitted, that two persons in one Christ are still being introduced. Who holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema.

Chapter XXXI

(126) *But when he [Paul] called Christ in respect of the flesh taken up 'the form of a servant'⁹⁶ and the one who took it up 'God over all',⁹⁷ he contributed this in respect of the conjunction, in order to make the division of the natures clear through the meaning of the terms. And therefore no one should say that the one who is from the Jews in respect of the flesh is God, nor again that the God who is above everything is from the Jews in respect of the flesh.*

(127) In the above-written thirty-first chapter, in an exposition of the creed of the 318 fathers, not only is division of the natures asserted, but also, by saying without qualification that neither should the one who is from the Jews according to the flesh [be said to be God nor again should God who is above all be said to be from the Jews according to the flesh],⁹⁸ a man bare of Godhead and a pure God without flesh (as if separately from each other) are declared to be two persons. If anyone therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, and does not profess that the natures are so united in the one Christ that there is acknowledged a uniqueness of person or subsistence, let him be anathema.

Chapter XXXII

(128) *For it speaks of 'Jesus from Nazareth' whom 'God anointed with the Holy Spirit and with power';⁹⁹ he who was anointed with the Spirit of God certainly received something as a result. But who would be so mad as to say that the divine nature as well as that of those who partake received something from the Spirit? It is obviously those who have themselves been*

⁹⁶ Phil 2:7.

⁹⁷ Rom 9:5.

⁹⁸ These words are missing from the manuscript but supplied by Günther from 126.

⁹⁹ Acts 10:38.

*anointed who are said to partake of him; those who have been anointed and thereby rightly made to partake of him are said to share in the anointing in the same way as the one who was taken up. (129) And this is also proved by the fact that he received a just reward: 'it was because,' the text says, 'you loved justice and hated iniquity that you deserved a special anointing in return.'*¹⁰⁰

(130) In the above-written thirty-second chapter, in a commentary on the Letter to the Hebrews, the words of blessed Peter are cited where he said, 'Jesus from Nazareth whom God anointed with the Holy Spirit and with power.' There is inferred, 'He who was anointed with the Spirit of God certainly received something as a result,' and there is added, 'But who would be so mad as to say that the divine nature received something from the Spirit.' (131) By these words Christ is presented as a mere man, who by the anointing of the Holy Spirit came to partake of the divine nature as others have done,¹⁰¹ and who (on the ground of just merit, because he loved justice and hated iniquity) deserved a special anointing. Who therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema.

Chapter XXXIII

(132) *'Rabbi, you are the Son of God, you are the king of Israel.'*¹⁰² *This means: you are the one who long ago was foretold as the Christ. Clearly they hoped for these things from Christ as from one who had become a familiar of God above all others.*

Chapter XXXIV

(133) *It is indeed beyond doubt that he called him Son of God not in respect of the generation of the Godhead but because he was God's familiar, since human beings who become God's familiars through virtue were sometimes called sons of God.*

(134) In the above-written thirty-third and fourth chapters on the interpretation of the Gospel according to John there are cited the words of Nathaniel saying to the Lord, 'You are the Son of God, you are the king of Israel,' and it is inferred that this was spoken to Christ as to a familiar of God, in such a way that Christ himself is not God but, more than other men, is a familiar of God, and it is added that, just as other holy men are called sons of God and yet are men, so Christ was called God by Nathaniel, with whom he was speaking, because of the intimacy he had with God. (135) If

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Heb 1:9.

¹⁰¹ Cf. 2 Pet 1:4.

¹⁰² Jn 1:49.

anyone holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, and does not profess that the same Christ is true God and true man, one perfect in both natures, let him be anathema.

Chapter XXXV

(136) *For when he [Paul] said, 'Concerning his son who was made from the seed of David in respect of the flesh,'¹⁰³ it is beyond doubt that he is here giving the name of 'son' to the one who was made from the seed of David in respect of the flesh, not to God the Word but to the adopted form of a servant. For it was not God who was made in respect of the flesh nor God who was made from the seed of David but the man taken up on our behalf whom the blessed apostle explicitly calls 'son'.*

(137) In the above-written thirty-fifth chapter, where there is expounded the passage of the apostle from the Letter to the Romans where he says, 'Concerning his son who was made from the seed of David in respect of the flesh,' it is the bare form of a servant that is drawn out [of the text], by saying that he is here giving the name of 'son' to the one who was made from the seed of David in respect of the flesh, not to God the Word but to the man taken up on our behalf, whom the blessed apostle explicitly calls 'son'; these words indicate that a bare man, as has [already] been said, is being preached. (138) Who therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, and does not believe that the same who was born from the seed of David in respect of the flesh, according to the words of Paul the apostle, is also God over all, let him be anathema.

Chapter XXXVI

(139) *... reborn and become completely other, a part no longer of Adam, who was changeable and steeped in sin, but of Christ, who became completely blameless as a result of the resurrection.*

(140) In the above-written thirty-sixth chapter, where someone baptized is described as 'reborn and become completely other, a part no longer of Adam, who was changeable and steeped in sin, but of Christ, who became completely irreproachable as a result of the resurrection,' he means by these words that Christ was blameworthy *before* the resurrection (perish the thought!).¹⁰⁴ Who therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema.

¹⁰³ Rom 1:3.

¹⁰⁴ Vigilius is misled by the excerptor, who suppressed the final clause of the passage under discussion, which ran: 'while even before it [the resurrection] he never drew near to it [sin]' (Mingana 1933, 67).

Chapter XXXVII

(141) ... *so that he should take great care of him, appropriate and endure everything of his while he was led through all his sufferings, through which he made him perfect by his own power, not departing from the dead man according to the law of his nature, but by his presence and activity and grace freeing him from death and from the ills that result from it, raising him from the dead, and leading him to a better destiny.*

(142) In the above-written thirty-seventh chapter it is said that God the Word assisted Christ in his sufferings and death by his presence, activity and grace. If this is so, he will have expended grace and activity as one present to another. Who therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, and does not assert that God the Word, preserving the impassibility of his Godhead, voluntarily underwent everything that is recorded about his passion in flesh animated by a rational and intelligent soul, which he united to himself from the Virgin from his very conception, let him be anathema.

Chapter XXXVIII

(143) *Then, having shown for whose sake he suffered, he introduces the being made lower 'so that apart from God he might taste death on behalf of all,'¹⁰⁵ because, the divine nature being separated as it so willed, he by himself tasted death for the benefit of all. While showing that Godhead was separated from the one who suffered in respect of experiencing death, because it was not possible for the divine nature to experience death, he was not, however, absent in devoted attention from the one who suffered.*

(144) In the above-written thirty-eighth chapter we recognize a falsification of the testimony of the apostle, because where it reads 'so that by the grace of God he might taste death on behalf of all,' here we find 'so that *without* God he might taste death on behalf of all.' This is equivalent to an assertion that with the divine nature separated he by himself as a mere man tasted death for the benefit of all. Who therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, and does not profess that God the Word neither in the sufferings nor in death ever deserted the flesh that he united to himself according to subsistence from his very conception, let him be anathema.

Chapter XXXIX

(145) *For the text speaks of 'Jesus from Nazareth' whom 'God anointed*

105 Heb 2:9. 'Apart from God' (i.e. without God's participation) is a variant reading, known to Origen, while the extant MSS and the majority of the Fathers give 'by the grace of God'.

*with the Spirit and with power.*¹⁰⁶ *Having been deemed worthy of God's anointing, he was made free from blemish in all respects and also deemed worthy of conjunction with the divine nature. For he would not have received that conjunction unless he had first become free from blemish with the result that it was thus fitting [for him to receive] union with it.*

(146) In the above-written thirty-ninth chapter, again¹⁰⁷ expounding the words of blessed Peter, 'Jesus from Nazareth whom God anointed with the Spirit and with power,' he says that through the anointing of the Spirit, of which he was deemed worthy, he was made free from blemish in all respects and deemed worthy of conjunction with the divine nature, which words plainly signify that Christ was a mere man. Who therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema.

Chapter XL

(147) *For as regards the words 'This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased,'*¹⁰⁸ *it is obvious insanity to think that he is speaking about God the Word; for the one who said 'This is my beloved Son' and inserted 'in whom I am well pleased' indicated that he openly uttered this as a comparison with other sons who did not become beloved by him and were not able to please him so much.*

(148) In the above-written fortieth chapter, concerning the interpretation of the Gospel according to Matthew where it is said, 'This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased,' the words are added, 'It is obvious insanity to think that he is speaking about God the Word, for he who said "This is my beloved Son" and inserted "in whom I am well pleased" indicated that he openly uttered this as a comparison with other sons who did not become beloved by him and were not able to please him so much.' (149) These words obviously declare that Jesus Christ, again, is a mere man and son by adoption. Who therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema.

Chapter XLI

(150) *... abiding [in him] until in accordance with his creative power he loosed the pangs of death and freed him from those indescribable bonds, raised him from the dead and transferred him to immortal life, made him incorrupt, immortal and immutable, and so led him into heaven.*¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Acts 10:38.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. 128 above.

¹⁰⁸ Mt 3:17.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Acts 2:24.

(151) In the above-written fortieth-first chapter it is said that he loosed the pangs of death and freed Christ from those indescribable bonds, raised him from the dead and transferred him to immortal life, made him incorrupt, immortal and immutable, and so led him into heaven. In all these words it is declared that Jesus Christ is to be called a bare man. Who therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema.

Chapter XLII (XLIa)

(152) *Although Christ was justified and made free from blemish by the power of the Holy Spirit – as the blessed Paul says in one place ‘He was justified in the Spirit’¹¹⁰ and in another ‘who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without blemish to God’¹¹¹ –, he made him die according to the law of mankind; but because he had been made impeccable by the power of Holy Spirit, he raised him from the dead and established him in a better life, making him immutable in the thoughts of his mind and incorruptible and indissoluble even in the flesh.*

(153) In the above-written forty-second chapter it is said that Christ was made just and free from blemish by the power of the Holy Spirit, and there is added, ‘He made him die according to the law of mankind, but because he had become impeccable by the power of Holy Spirit, he raised him from the dead.’ In these words the man is taught to have been so separate from God the Word that he is asserted to have been made faultless and impeccable by the power of the Holy Spirit just like any just man. Who therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema.

Chapter XLIII (XLIb)

(154) *‘Thanks be to God, who has given us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ’:¹¹² he says that the cause of this for us is God, who against all our adversaries gave us victory over death or sin or whatever ills arise therefrom, and who, taking our Lord Jesus Christ, a man for our sake, transferred him to a better goal through the resurrection from the dead, made him sit at his right hand, and gave us communion with him.*

(155) In the above-written forty-third chapter, in expounding the words of the apostle Paul in which he says, ‘Thanks be to God, who has given us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ,’ after several words there is added, ‘[and who], taking our Lord Jesus Christ, a man for our sake, transferred him

110 1 Tim 3:16.

111 Heb 9:14.

112 1 Cor 15:57.

to a better goal through the resurrection from the dead.’ These words signify that a man as if already existing was taken up by God the Word in such a way that they were two, and one excelled the other. Who holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema.

Chapter XLIV (XLIII)

(156) *When therefore they ask, ‘Was Mary the mother of a man or the Mother of God?’, let us say both – one by the nature of the thing, and the other by relation. For she was mother of a man by nature because he was a man and in the womb of Mary, the one who also came forth from there, and she is the Mother of God because God was in the man who was born, not circumscribed in him¹¹³ according to nature, but because he was in him through a disposition of the will.*

(157) In the above-written forty-fourth chapter it is said, ‘When therefore they ask, “Was Mary the mother of a man or the Mother of God?” and in the person of the responder it is said ‘both’, and there is added ‘one by the nature of the thing, and the other by relation,’ and also ‘She was mother of a man by nature because he was a man and in the womb of Mary, the one who also came forth from there, and she is the Mother of God because God was in the man who was born,’ and in addition ‘not circumscribed in him according to nature, but because he was in him through a disposition of the will.’ (158) These words likewise declare that Christ was a bare man and that Mary had two sons. Who holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, and does not recognize that God the Word, born ineffably from the Father before all ages, was, the same, incarnate and born by his second birth from the holy Virgin Mary (as we said in relation to the first chapter) as one in both natures without merger or separation, let him be anathema.

Chapter XLV (XLIV)

(159) *The man from Mary is Son by grace, while God the Word [is Son] by nature. What is according to grace is not by nature, and what is according to nature is not by grace. There are not two Sons. Let the body that is from us be satisfied with sonship according to grace and with glory and immortality because it has become the temple of God the Word. Let it not be raised up above nature, and let not God the Word instead of the thanksgiving owed by us be insulted. (160) What is the insult? Combining him with the body and thinking that he needs a body for perfect sonship. And the very God the Word wishes himself to be not the son of David but his Lord; but as for this*

¹¹³ Both here and in the following paragraph Vigilius has the ungrammatical *illum circumscriptus*. I translate *in illo circumscriptus*, the reading at Acts IV. 52.

body being called the son of David not only did he not begrudge it, but it was for this that he came.

(161) In the above-written forty-fifth chapter it is said that the man who was born from Mary is Son by grace while God the Word is Son by nature, it is as if reasoned that what is by grace is not by nature and what is by nature is not by grace, and there is added, ‘Let the body that is from us be satisfied with sonship according to grace; let it not be raised up above nature, and let not God the Word instead of the thanksgiving owed by us be insulted.’ These words indicate that a bare man is from the Virgin Mary, who is called Son of God on account of grace. Who therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema.

Chapter XLVI (XLV)

(162) *When there is investigation about the births according to nature, let not God the Word be thought to be the son of Mary; for a mortal gives birth to a mortal according to nature and a body similar to itself. God the Word did not undergo two births, one before the ages and the other in the latter times.*

(163) In the above-written forty-sixth chapter it is said that God the Word should not be thought to be the son of Mary, adding that ‘a mortal gives birth to a mortal according to nature and a body similar to itself.’ These words mean that a mere man is from the holy Virgin Mary and introduce two Sons. Who therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema.

Chapter XLVII (XLVI)

(164) *Will they therefore now cease from their shameless conflict and desist from futile contention, as they are shamed by the clarity of what was said above? For it says, ‘leading very many sons to glory.’¹¹⁴ Mark therefore how in respect of sonship the apostle clearly numbers the adopted man with others, not in virtue of his partaking in sonship similarly to them, but in virtue of his having similarly taken sonship by grace, while his Godhead alone possesses natural sonship.*

(165) In the above-written forty-seventh chapter the words of the apostle ‘who had led many sons into glory’ are so expounded as to say that the holy apostle numbered the adopted man with others, in that he similarly received the grace of sonship while his Godhead alone possesses natural sonship. These words likewise, as was said above, introduce two Sons of God, that

114 Heb 2:10.

is, one by grace and the other by nature. Who holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema.

Chapter XLVIII (XLVII)

(166) *But in reply to this they say that the name Jesus means 'Saviour': how, they say, could the man be called Saviour? They have forgotten that the son of Nun was also called Jesus [Joshua], and, what is surprising, that he did not receive this name fortuitously at birth but as a change of name made by Moses.¹¹⁵ It is certain that he would not have allowed this name to be given to a human being if it meant purely the divine nature.*

(167) In the above-mentioned forty-eighth chapter on the name Jesus, which means 'Saviour', the argument is negative, and it is said that, if 'Saviour' meant the divine nature, this name would never have been given to a human being. These words, without qualification, both declare Christ a bare man and imply two persons. Who holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema.

Chapter XLIX (XLVIII)

(168) *Therefore he not only calls him Son, separating him from God the Word, but he is also proved to number him according to the notion of sonship with the other partakers in sonship, because he himself partook in sonship by grace – not by nature as born from the Father, but through having pre-eminence over the others, because he possesses sonship through union with him, which bestows on him a more powerful participation in the reality itself.*

(169) In the above-written forty-ninth chapter it is said that Christ partook in sonship through grace, having, however, pre-eminence over the others, because there was given to him a more powerful participation in the reality itself. Who holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, and does not rather understand and believe that God the Word with the flesh he took is one and the same Lord Jesus Christ, both true Son of God and the same true son of man, let him be anathema.

Chapter L (XLIX)

(170) *... the man Jesus, like all men, and differing in no respect from the men who share his nature, apart from what he [God] gave him by grace. The gift of grace does not change nature, but after the destruction of death God 'bestowed on him the name above every name'.¹¹⁶*

¹¹⁵ Cf. Num 13:16.

¹¹⁶ Phil 2:9.

(171) In the above-written fiftieth chapter it is said that the man Jesus differs in no respect from all the men who share his nature, apart from what he gave him by grace. These words make our Lord Jesus Christ be deemed as one of the just men; he is not understood to be exalted by his Godhead, but is asserted to have obtained something more than other men by grace. Who holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema.

Chapter LI (L)

(172) *But my brethren, who are sons of the same mother as I am, say to me, 'Do not separate the man and God, but speak of him as one and the same.' When speaking of the man, I am speaking of the one who shares my nature; if I speak of God, I am speaking of the one who shares God's nature. How can man and God be one? Surely there is not one nature of God and man, of Master and servant, of Creator and creature? (173) Man is consubstantial with man, while God is consubstantial with God. How then can man and God be one through union – the one who saves and the one who is saved, the one who is before the ages and the one who came forth from Mary?*

(174) In the above-written fifty-first chapter it is denied that God and the man can be said to be one and the same, by saying, 'How can man and God be one through union – the one who saves and the one who is saved, the one who is before the ages and the one who came forth from Mary?' These words introduce two persons in Christ. Who therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema.

Chapter LII (LI)

(175) *He rightly added 'for I too am a man,'¹¹⁷ as if he were to say, 'There is nothing surprising if you have the power to do this, because you are a man who is given it by God; for I too, since I am this, am given people who obey me, having once received power to give orders as a result of the generosity of the giver.'*

Chapter LIII (LII)

(176) *'Therefore it is not inappropriate that you also, having received that power from God, should with an order drive sufferings away by a mere word.' For the centurion did not approach him as the Son of God, existing before the whole creation and being the creator of the things that exist.*

(177) In the above-written fifty-second and fifty-third chapters it is said that the centurion said to Christ, 'There is nothing surprising if you have the power to do this, because you are a man who is given it by God; for I

117 Mt 8:9.

too, since I am this, am given people who obey me, having once received power to give orders as a result of the generosity of the giver.’ And although from what follows – the statement that the centurion did not approach him as the Son of God who established the whole creation – he appears himself to profess that he is the Son of God and the craftsman of the whole creation, (178) yet, because he did not judge rightly of the understanding of the centurion (whose faith the Lord would not have praised with the words ‘I have not found such faith in Israel,’¹¹⁸ unless he knew him to have understood that he is God), both from other remarks in the chapters above, where Christ is said to be the Son of God not through oneness of subsistence but by grace, and from this one, it is clear that Christ is presented as a mere man who received power in virtue of his own merit through the generosity of the giver. If anyone therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema.

Chapter LIV (LIII)

(179) *Consonant with this is also what the apostle says, ‘And manifestly great is the mystery of piety: he who was manifested in the flesh was made just in the Spirit.’¹¹⁹ He says that he was made just in the Spirit either because before his baptism he kept the law with due precision or because even after it he led a life of grace with great precision through the cooperation of the Spirit.*

(180) In the above-written fifty-fourth chapter on the words of the apostle, ‘What was manifested in the flesh was made just in the Spirit,’ Christ is asserted to have been made just either because before his baptism he kept the law with due precision or because even after it he led a life of grace with great precision through the cooperation of the Spirit. (181) These words likewise declare that Christ needed to be made just as a mere man. If anyone holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, and does not rather believe that he himself as true God consubstantial with the Father and the Holy Spirit makes the impious just through faith, let him be anathema.

Chapter LV (LIV)

(182) *We rightly say this same thing about the Lord – that God the Word, knowing his virtue even according to foreknowledge, was well-pleased to indwell right at the very beginning of his formation [in the womb] and, uniting him to himself by a purpose of the will, bestowed a certain greater*

¹¹⁸ Mt 8:10.

¹¹⁹ 1 Tim 3:16.

grace on him, because the grace given to him was to be distributed to all men; this is why he protected in its integrity his will for the good. (183) For we shall not say this, that that man had no will, but that he willed the good, or rather that he possessed voluntarily a very great love for the good and hatred of its opposite; the integrity of his will was protected by divine grace from the beginning, since God knew precisely what kind of person he would be, and to strengthen him gave him through his own indwelling a great cooperation for the salvation of us all. Therefore no one could say that it was unfair that something special, beyond [what was given to] all others, was given to the man who was taken up by the Lord.

(184) In the above-written fifty-fifth chapter it is said that God the Word, knowing the virtue of the man Christ according to foreknowledge, was well-pleased to indwell in him right at the beginning of his formation [in the womb] and, uniting him to himself by a purpose of the will, bestowed a certain greater grace on him. (185) From these words and from others that follow it is clearly judged that there were two persons and that the Son of God dwelt in the son of man through good-will and grace and relation. If anyone therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, and does not recognize and believe that there is one and the same Christ in two perfect and undivided and unmerged natures, let him be anathema.

Chapter LVI (LV)

(186) *For it is proper to a rational being to distinguish between blessings and ills. If opposites did not exist, it would not have been possible for him to distinguish anything. First therefore among the things that were created he set up a great opposition.*

(187) In the above-written fifty-sixth chapter it is said that it is proper to a rational being to distinguish between blessings and ills, and after a few words there follows, 'First therefore among the things that were created he set up a great opposition.' If these words are said with the meaning that a *nature* of evil is presented just like that of the good,¹²⁰ let it be anathema.

Chapter LVII (LVI)

(188) *Because Adam did not obey, he was then subjected to death. Because of disobedience there was brought about that which even without disobedience would have been brought about by the Creator for our benefit: we have all been taught sin.*

¹²⁰ Vigilius condemns any suggestion that evil was created by God as a 'nature', that is, as a substantial reality, just as the good is.

(189) In the above-written fifty-seventh chapter it is said that, even if Adam had not been disobedient, nevertheless for the benefit of men sin would have been made by the Creator and taught to us. Perish the thought that the catholic faith should believe that we could have been taught sin by God, in order to make us sinners! (190) If anyone therefore holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, and does not rather profess that sin was introduced by the fault of the first man, while God prohibited it, and that by the just judgement of God he and his progeny underwent the punishment of death on account of his disobedience, let him be anathema.

Chapter LVIII (LVII)

(191) *Therefore he did not unwillingly nor contrary to his judgement inflict death on mankind, nor did he give sin access [to mankind] for no benefit (for this could not have taken place contrary to his will). But because he knew that it would be beneficial for us, or rather for all rational beings, first for evil things and worse things to have access, and thereafter for these to be destroyed and for better things to be introduced, God therefore divided creation into two states, present and future: in the latter he would lead all things to immortality and immutability, while in the present creation he left us for the time being to death and mutability. (192) For if right from the beginning he had made us immortal and immutable, we would have been no different from irrational beings, not knowing our own good: for being ignorant of mutability, we would have been ignorant of the blessing of immortality; not knowing death, we would not have known the advantage of immortality; being ignorant of corruption, we would not have praised incorruption; not knowing the burden of sufferings, we would not have admired impassibility. To speak summarily and avoid a long speech, not having an experience of ills we would not have been able to attain a knowledge of these blessings.*

(193) In the above-written fifty-eighth chapter it is said that God gave sin access because he knew that this would be beneficial for us, or rather to all rational beings, so that first, namely, evil things and worse things should have access, and thereafter (when these had been destroyed) better things would be introduced; and it is added that, if right from the beginning he had made us immortal and immutable, we would have been no different from irrational beings, not knowing our own good. (194) By these words firstly, contrary to the rule of faith, God is asserted to have introduced sin as if for our benefit; secondly, since all rational beings are included, he makes this be understood of the angels and the entire heavenly host endowed with reason;

thirdly, that which the devil urged on the first human beings to deceive them, namely that, if they ate of the forbidden tree, they would become like gods knowing good and evil,¹²¹ is asserted to have been advantageous as a benefit. If anyone holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema.

Chapter LIX (LVIII)

(195) *It was necessary that all rational beings (I mean both the invisible and ourselves who have indeed a mortal body but also a soul that is in all respects of the same kind as the invisible and rational substances) should here indeed experience the present mutability, so that we should learn the best doctrine of devotion and attain goodness of will.*

(196) In the above-written fifty-ninth chapter it is said, 'It was necessary that all rational beings (I mean both the invisible and ourselves who have indeed a mortal body but also a soul that is in all respects of the same kind as invisible and rational substances) should here experience the present mutability, so that we should learn the best doctrine of devotion and attain goodness of will.' If by these words the angels of light and all the heavenly and invisible powers are asserted to be just as subject to mutability as human souls are, let it be anathema.

Chapter LX (LXI)

(197) *For he knew that they would most certainly sin, but he allowed this to occur, knowing it would benefit them, because it was not possible that he who had made them out of nothing, had declared them lords of so much, and had given them so great blessings to enjoy, would not have denied sin access if he had known that this would benefit them. (198) But it was not possible for us to learn about sin, the troublesomeness of the passions, things worse, and for our weakness to be proved thereby in order to show the greatness of the immutability that he was going to give us afterwards, in any other way except by these things having been ordained by God from the beginning, so that through comparison and experience we could know the greatness of those infinite blessings. For the sake of this, namely that it would benefit us he let sin enter, and devised a great assistance in the war against it.*

(199) In the above-written sixtieth chapter it is said that God, knowing that man would sin, allowed him to sin because he knew this would benefit him, and for this reason did not deny sin access, because it had been ordained by God from the beginning that through comparison and experience we

121 Cf. Gen 3:5.

would be able to ascertain the greatness of those infinite blessings. For the sake of this, namely that it would profit us, he let sin enter, and man found¹²² great assistance in his war against this same sin. (200) Because these words are alien to the meaning of divine scripture, with the result that it is said that sin was introduced by God for our benefit, if anyone holds, teaches, believes or preaches this accordingly, let him be anathema. (201) For the holy catholic church holds and believes for certain that God both forbade the first man to sin and also punished him with a just penalty when he sinned through disobedience, but that, making good use even of our ills through the incarnation, passion, death and resurrection of his only-begotten Son, that is, our Lord and God Jesus Christ, he freed us by a singular remedy from the entanglement of every sin.

(202) Therefore, while appropriately condemning these chapters by the authority of an apostolic sentence according to the correctness of the orthodox faith, we resolve that all these things which, adhering to the decrees and traditions of the fathers, we have condemned by apostolic authority should provide no occasion for defaming previous fathers and doctors of the church, something that beyond doubt causes scandal in the sacrosanct church. We anathematize everyone in ecclesiastical orders who on the grounds of the above-mentioned impieties decides to impose or inflict contumely in any way on the fathers and doctors of the church. (203) And because, in the volume that was lately sent to us by your piety through our brother Bishop Benignus, the aforesaid doctrines (which according to the interpretation of them given above we have subjected to anathema and condemnation) are prefixed by the name of Theodore bishop of Mopsuestia, we have in consequence applied the spirit of our solicitude to this, to undertaking to inquire with most diligent search whether the fathers carried out any investigation concerning the person and name of the said Theodore, or if anything concerning his name was formally decreed or enacted by them. (204) On investigating the matter, we have found that Cyril bishop of the city of Alexandria of blessed memory, replying to the letter of John of reverend memory, bishop of the city of Antioch, and of the Synod of the East about the person of the already deceased Bishop Theodore, said among other things:¹²³

122 Vigilius takes *invenit* in the last clause of the chapter to mean not 'devised' but 'found', and then mistakes the subject of the clause.

123 Cyril, *ep.* 91. The complete text is given (in a different Latin version) in Acts V. 66 (vol. 1, 325–7). At the council it was argued that this letter was a forgery (V. 65, 67).

There was produced at the holy Synod of Ephesus a definition as if composed by Theodore, as those who presented it affirmed, containing nothing sound. The holy synod, indeed, invalidated it, as full of perverse notions. While condemning those who hold such views, it acted by way of accommodation and made no mention of the man, nor did it subject to anathema either him or others by name.

(205) On making a careful examination of this First Synod of Ephesus, we found no reference to the person of Theodore of Mopsuestia, but simply the creed that the presbyter Charisius produced there, or rather that was sent to the churches of Philadelphia by Anastasius and Photius (who at that time adhered to the heretic Nestorius) through Antony and James who had the title merely of presbyter.¹²⁴ (206) It is clear from this, as is stated in the letter, that the name of the already deceased Bishop Theodore had been ascribed to it, evidently by those who produced the creed, and that the blessed Cyril, preserving through his forethought and priestly wisdom the moderation of the church over a dead man, refused to let his name even be given in the synodical acts, because of the rule that must be observed about those who die in the priesthood. (207) What the blessed Cyril described above as done by way of accommodation, in order not to subject the name of the man to anathema, was something he wanted to be understood as suitable for extension into a rule of the church, as he added below in this same letter of his when he said:

But let them listen duly, even if they are unwilling, those who present cases of this kind. You are forgetting yourselves when you draw your bows against ashes, for the person you indict is no longer alive; and may no one blame me for proceeding to these words, but let them yield utterly to a precursor. For it is a serious matter to insult the deceased, even if they were laymen, still less those who departed this life in the episcopacy. It is clearly most fitting for prudent men to yield to the one who foreknows the will of each person and is aware how each person will prove to be.

(208) It is a known fact that the blessed Proclus also, the bishop of this imperial city, replied similarly to the rescript of the afore-mentioned John bishop of Antioch, saying among other things: 'For when did I [ever] write to your holiness that it was right that either Theodore or certain others who died previously should be subjected to anathema, or when did I make mention

¹²⁴ Cf. the acts of the session of Ephesus I of 22 July, included in the Acts of Chalcedon, Price and Gaddis, I, 312–16.

of anyone by name?’ (209) And a little further down: ‘The attached chapters I rejected as lacking the precision of piety. But neither of Theodore nor of anyone else who is already deceased did I write, most beloved of God, either to anathematize or to condemn; nor had the most dear deacon Theodotus, who was sent by us, been given such instructions.’¹²⁵ (210) Likewise the same blessed Proclus in his letter to Deacon Maximus after other things speaks as follows: ‘How then could I now be informed in a letter that the names of Theodore of Mopsuestia and certain others have been proposed in chapters for anathematisation, when they have already gone to God? In the case of those who have already departed from this life, it is pointless to defame those whom we never accused even when they were alive.’ And a little further down: ‘After signing the Tome and after rejecting the chapters whose author we do not know, promptly equip Deacon Theodotus to come to the imperial city.’¹²⁶ (211) May therefore the singular wisdom of your piety ponder over the fact that Proclus, the most learned of priests and not far removed from the lifetime of Theodore of Mopsuestia, professed himself on this occasion to be ignorant of the authorship of the wicked things that he had willingly condemned.¹²⁷

(212) Neither at the holy and venerable Council of Chalcedon do we find anything critical decreed or said about the name of the oft-mentioned Theodore bishop of Mopsuestia, while in the address that the same venerable synod sent to Marcian of pious memory then emperor (which you also in your laws have cited with praise as testimony, when with orthodox profession you assert that Christ our God and Lord is to be acknowledged as one of the holy Trinity)¹²⁸ the letters of John of Antioch and the Synod of the East to the blessed Proclus and to the then prince Theodosius of most pious memory are mentioned with respect, in which the person of Theodore bishop of Mopsuestia is defended from deserving to be condemned after death.¹²⁹

125 For the full quotation see Facundus, *Pro defensione* VIII. 2.2–3.

126 For the full quotation see *ibid.* VIII. 2.6–7.

127 For the circumstances in which Cyril and Proclus disingenuously disclaimed a desire to see Theodore condemned see vol. 1, 275–6.

128 *Codex Iustinianus* I. 1.7 (533), according to which Chalcedon ‘confirmed the letter of the great Proclus written to the Armenians about the necessity to say that our Lord Jesus Christ, God’s Son and our God, is one of the holy Trinity’ (Coleman-Norton 1966, III, 1130). The Address to Marcian in the Acts of Chalcedon does indeed cite Proclus’ Tome (Price and Gaddis, III, 116), but not in reference to any particular doctrine.

129 The Address to Marcian also cites as a commendable example of doctrinal clarification the letters of John to Antioch to Proclus and Theodosius II ‘to shake off the slanders of the heretics and prove the straightforwardness of the apostolic teaching’ (*ibid.*), letters whose main concern was to oppose proposals to condemn excerpts from Theodore of Mopsuestia, for

(213) Subsequently we examined with yet greater care whether our predecessors of holy memory decreed anything about those who have already died and are not found to have been condemned in their lifetime. On investigating the matter we ascertained that the venerable decrees of our predecessors as presidents of the apostolic see handed down to us explicitly a formulation of the same circumspection and foresight. (214) For the most blessed Pope Leo, writing to Theodore bishop of Forum Livii, after other remarks speaks as follows: ‘Nor is it necessary for us to discuss the merits and actions of those who so died, since our Lord God, whose judgements cannot be comprehended, reserved for his own judgement what the priestly ministry could not accomplish.’¹³⁰ (215) Likewise the blessed Pope Gelasius, in a letter that he wrote to the bishops of Dardania on the case of Acacius,¹³¹ after other remarks speaks as follows:¹³²

He who, after he rightly deserved to be excluded from the apostolic communion for relapsing into fellowship with wickedness, died when persisting in this same condemnation, cannot now that he is dead obtain the absolution which when alive he neither sought at all nor deserved, since the apostles themselves were empowered by the words of Christ ‘what you bind upon earth’ and ‘what you loose upon earth’.¹³³ But now concerning one who is under divine judgement it is not right for us to decree anything contrary to how his last day found him.

(216) Likewise the aforesaid Pope Gelasius of blessed memory in the synodal proceedings concerning the absolution of Misenus bishop of Cumae taught this clearly when he says:¹³⁴

which see vol. 1, 274–5. The Address to Marcian was probably written by Theodoret and was attributed to the fathers of Chalcedon without their permission (Price and Gaddis, III, 105–7), but this was not suspected in the sixth century.

130 Leo, *ep.* 108, PL 54. 1012B, arguing that absolution is not to be refused to the dying but is too late for the dead.

131 Archbishop Acacius of Constantinople (471–89) was declared deposed and excommunicate in 484 by Gelasius’ predecessor Felix III because of his authorship, and acceptance, of the *Henotikon*, for which see vol. 1, 2–3.

132 This letter (JK 638), written in 494 is in the *Collectio Avellana*, CSEL 35, 464–8. The passage cited here is 467, 7–16. Gelasius is rebuking the Dardanian and Illyrian bishops who still honoured Acacius’ memory.

133 Mt 18:18.

134 Gelasius is speaking at a Roman synod of 495, at which Misenus, who as legate to Constantinople in 484 had betrayed the Roman position over the *Henotikon*, was finally absolved (Caspar 1933, 78–9). These acts are likewise in CSEL 35, 474–87; the passage cited here is 485, 10–20.

Everything that is above the little measure of our capacity let us leave to the divine judgement. They will not be able to blame us for pardoning the living for an offence of violation of duty, which by the gift of God is possible for the church, but let them not now demand that we grant forgiveness to the dead, which is manifestly not possible for us, because, when it was said ‘what you loose and bind upon earth,’ God reserved for his own and not for human judgement those who are known to be no longer upon earth; and the church does not dare to claim for itself what it sees was not granted to the blessed apostles themselves, because the cause of the living is one thing and that of the deceased another.

(217) It is a familiar fact that this rule was kept as regards the venerable memory of the saints John bishop of Constantinople, called Chrysostom, and Flavian bishop of the same city, in that, although they were violently deposed, they were not held to be condemned, because the Roman presidents preserved their communion inviolate,¹³⁵ and those whom apostolic authority judged to be united to itself inseparably could not, and shall not, be described as cut off from the church.

(218) In the seventh book of the history of Eusebius, surnamed ‘of Pamphilus’,¹³⁶ we read that Dionysius bishop of Alexandria, who was long before, acted as follows in the case of an Egyptian bishop, Nepos.¹³⁷ For this Bishop Nepos is said to have written about the thousand years during which after the first resurrection the saints will reign with Christ, as the blessed John says in the Apocalypse,¹³⁸ and he is described as having had a Jewish understanding of the matter. When after his death it came to the attention of Dionysius bishop of Alexandria that the whole of Egypt thought that in these very books left by Nepos it possessed some great and hidden mystery, he proceeded to the place (it is mentioned that the investigation took place in the Arsinoite nome) and wrote to discredit and refute these books, but added that Nepos who had written them, chiefly because he had already died, should not be subjected to any contumely. If anyone desires fuller information, he will find it in the afore-mentioned seventh book of the history of the same Eusebius.

(219) All this we investigated with care; and that our fathers, albeit in

135 For Chrysostom see Kelly (1995), 286–90 and for Flavian Price and Gaddis, I, 94 and III, 131–3.

136 Eusebius took the name ‘of Pamphilus’, after his teacher. The reference is to *Hist. Eccl.* VII. 24.

137 For Nepos see Quasten (1953), 103–5.

138 Rev 20:4–7.

varying modes of expression yet discoursing with a single current of understanding, preserved unharmed the persons of priests who had died in the peace of the church, and that, as we said above, the same was defined canonically by decrees of the apostolic see, namely that no one is permitted to pronounce any new judgement on the persons of the deceased but that they are to be left exactly as the last day found each one, and in particular what our holy fathers ordained concerning the name of Theodore of Mopsuestia, has been clearly expressed above. (220) We do not presume to condemn him by our sentence, and nor do we allow him to be condemned by anyone else. On the matter, however, of the doctrinal chapters recorded above, whose condemnation by us is clear from the interpretation appended, and of any statements prefixed by anyone's name that are neither congruent nor consonant with the teaching of the gospels and the apostles, of the four synods of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I and Chalcedon, and of the apostolic see, God forbid that we bear to admit them to not only our thoughts but even our hearing.

(221) On the subject of the writings that are produced under the name of the venerable man Theodoret, at one time bishop, we are puzzled first of all why it should be necessary for anything through the zeal of anyone to be cited in detraction of a bishop who a hundred and more years ago, when confirmed by the judgement of the holy and venerable Synod of Chalcedon, without anyone hesitating, gave his signature and in humble devotion assented to the letter of the most blessed Pope Leo.¹³⁹ (222) Then, because there were at that time Dioscorus and the Egyptian bishops, who said that he had anathematized the holy Cyril and that the same Theodoret was even a heretic,¹⁴⁰ it is known that, on hearing this, however, our holy fathers, after the same Theodoret had subsequently been examined most carefully in an investigation and interrogated when present by persons likewise present, demanded nothing more from him than that he should immediately anathematize and condemn Nestorius and his impious doctrines; and they declared themselves well satisfied when simply, in the presence of the whole council and in the hearing of all the fathers, he condemned in ringing tones Nestorius and his doctrines.¹⁴¹ (223) From this it is manifestly apparent (whatever is, or was, produced under anyone's name)¹⁴² that what seems to

139 Acts of Chalcedon IV. 9.41.

140 Ibid. I. 27–45.

141 Ibid. VIII, Price and Gaddis, II, 250–7.

142 A reference to the citation of Theodoret's writings against Cyril and in defence of Nestorius, for example in Justinian, *On the orthodox faith*, p. 94, Anathema 12.

agree with the doctrines of Nestorius was at that time condemned without hesitation by the venerable man Theodoret at that holy council, and that it is utterly contrary and indubitably adverse to the judgement of the Synod of Chalcedon for certain Nestorian doctrines now to be condemned under the name of a priest who at that time, as we have said, together with the holy fathers publicly anathematized and condemned the same impious Nestorius and his execrable doctrines. (224) For declaring that fathers attending the holy Synod of Chalcedon were untruthful or feigning a profession of the correct faith is nothing other than to say that some of those by whose judgement you may see that Nestorius and his doctrines had been condemned held the same tenets as Nestorius.

(225) Nor is it to be thought that the insults to Cyril of holy memory perpetrated by the criticism of his Twelve Chapters by the venerable man Theodoret, as it is thought,¹⁴³ were ignored by our most blessed fathers at the holy Synod of Chalcedon, but either, having everything before their eyes when dealing with recent events, they established that Bishop Theodoret had done nothing of the sort, or they judged that the example of the same Cyril of holy memory should be followed, who, after many and grave charges had been made against him in writing by the easterners at Ephesus, passed over them in silence through love of peace, as if they had not been made, at the time when he returned to concord with them, so that there might be fulfilled the words that the apostle wrote to the Corinthians, 'For to whom you have forgiven anything, so also do I.'¹⁴⁴ (226) Moreover, when the afore-said bishop Theodoret accepted with a devout mind the teaching of the holy Cyril (from the letters of his that were opened and received at the same synod) to the extent that he even used the testimony of his teaching to praise the letter of the most blessed Pope Leo,¹⁴⁵ the holy Synod of Chalcedon is to be believed to have paid attention to the fact that, even though it was recognized that he had defamed him [Cyril], he made the fullest satisfaction by respectfully embracing the faith of the man whom he had wrongly suspected to be in error. Therefore it is not appropriate for us to investigate or reconsider anything as if it had been omitted by our fathers; and we oppose in every way those who at this present time approve criticism

143 This refers to Theodoret's *Refutation of the Twelve Anathemas of Cyril*, from which a few extracts were read out at the council of 553 (Acts V. 94–9).

144 2 Cor 2:10. Vigilius is drawing attention to the fact that Cyril, when he made his peace with the Syrian bishops in 432/3, did not require them to withdraw their attacks on him, or to do anything beyond accepting Nestorius' condemnation.

145 Acts of Chalcedon II. 26.

of the holy Cyril or who think that this was approved by the same holy fathers of ours. (227) Therefore, now that we have weighed this, the truth of the matter, we decree and ordain that nothing is to be done or proposed by anyone in vilification or disparagement of a man fully approved at the Synod of Chalcedon, that is, Theodoret bishop of Cyrus, under mention of his name; but maintaining reverence for his person in all respects, we anathematize and condemn whatever writings or doctrines published under anyone's name clearly accord with the heresies of those criminals Nestorius and Eutyches. (228) For it ought adequately and indeed richly to suffice that, by condemning and anathematizing Nestorius together with Paul of Samosata and Bonosus¹⁴⁶ and at the opposite extreme Eutyches together with Valentinus and Apollinaris, and at the same time their errors and all other heretics together with their doctrines, we are also condemning those who have passed from the life of the present age complicit in their errors and permanently irreformable.

Even though we thereby omit no perverse teaching from being banned by apostolic authority from the holy church of God by means of this our verdict, we yet again, however, append specifically the following points:

(229) I. If anyone, preserving the immutability of the divine nature, does not profess that the Word was made flesh and from the very conception in the womb of the Virgin united to himself according to subsistence¹⁴⁷ the elements of human nature, but holds that it was as if God the Word was with an already existing man, with the result that the holy Virgin is not believed to be truly the Mother of God but is given this name in word alone, let him be anathema.¹⁴⁸

(230) II. If anyone asserts that the union of natures in Christ did not take place according to subsistence but that God the Word indwelt a man existing separately as in one of the just, and does not profess the union of natures according to subsistence in such a way that God the Word together with the flesh he took up continued and continues to be one subsistence or person, let him be anathema.

146 Paul of Samosata (*fl.* 270) was treated subsequently as the originator of Nestorianism, while the fourth-century bishop Bonosus of Sardica was charged posthumously with having denied Christ's divinity (Di Berardino 1992, I, 125).

147 *Secundum subsistentiam* translates Cyril of Alexandria's phrase 'according to hypostasis' (which I normally translate 'hypostatically').

148 This and the following anathema are directed against the Nestorian rejection of Cyril of Alexandria's doctrine of hypostatic union. There are closely related to the first and second of Cyril's Twelve Chapters (pp. 46–7 above).

(231) III. If anyone so divides the sayings in the gospels and apostles within the one Christ that he introduces as well a division between the natures united in him, let him be anathema.¹⁴⁹

(232) IV. If anyone says that the one Jesus Christ, true Son of God and the same true son of man, was ignorant of the future or of the day of the last judgement and was able to know only what the indwelling Godhead revealed to him as if to someone else, let him be anathema.¹⁵⁰

(233) V. If anyone, taking the words of the apostle in the Letter to the Hebrews, that he learnt obedience through experience and with a great cry and tears offered prayers and supplications to him who could save him from death,¹⁵¹ attributes¹⁵² them as if to a Christ lacking divinity who was made perfect by labours of virtue, with the result that he introduces two Christs and two Sons, and does not believe that one and the same Christ, Son of God and man, from two and in two¹⁵³ inseparable and undivided natures, is to be professed and worshipped, let him be anathema.¹⁵⁴

(234) Now that all these and similar blasphemies have been rejected and condemned by us in this way, we are making the greatest possible provision by the enactment of our present decree to ensure, as we said above, that there be no disparagement of persons who went to their rest in the peace and communion of the universal church on the basis of this our condemnation of perverse doctrine, (235) but that, now that the execrable doctrines in the heresiarchs Nestorius and Eutyches and all their followers have been condemned, no contumely should result for those priests who, as has been said, died in the peace of the catholic church, lest an occasion for defamation result from what should rather contribute to maintaining respect towards the holy fathers.

149 This anathema paraphrases the fourth of Cyril's chapters.

150 The reference is to debate over Mk 13:32 (and early MSS of Mt 24:36), 'Of that day or hour no one knows, not even the angels in heaven nor the Son, but only the Father.' The view that Christ's human knowledge was limited was upheld in the sixth century by the *Agnoetae*, who were mainly miaphysites (see Leontius Scholasticus, *De sectis*, PG 86A. 1232D, 1261D-1264B; van Roey and Allen 1994, 5-15; Grillmeier 1995, 377-81). Justinian condemned them in an edict that Michael the Syrian (vol. 2, 248) associates with the council of 553, a dating supported by Vigilius' mention of the issue here, as Gratsianskii (2007), 9 points out, *contra* Uthemann 1999, 44, who prefers a date in the late 530s.

151 Cf. Heb 5:7-8.

152 I follow Günther's suggestion of *deputat* for *deputans*, the simplest correction of a clause that (more probably through omission) lacks a main verb.

153 On this typically sixth-century combination of the 'from' and 'in' two natures formulas see vol. 1, 126.

154 This is directed against Theodore's interpretation of the text, as expressed above at 40-1.

(236) Concerning also the letter of the venerable man Ibas at one time bishop of the city of Edessa,¹⁵⁵ which you have equally examined, we have, nevertheless, investigated with diligent research whether anything was mooted or raised or investigated or decreed on the matter by our fathers in former times. And because, as is known to all and most of all to your piety, we are ignorant of the Greek language, now through our men who have knowledge of the same language, we have most carefully examined the acts of the holy and venerable Council of Chalcedon in the synodal codices, (237) and we have discovered clearly and plainly that the affair of the aforesaid venerable man Ibas was investigated at two sessions of the same synod,¹⁵⁶ and that there, out of the proceedings before Photius of Tyre and Eustathius of Berytus, this letter of his now under investigation was produced against him by his accusers, along with other documents, and that, when at the end of the discussion of this affair the venerable fathers were asked what it seemed right to decree about the affair of the same Ibas, there resulted verdicts of this kind, running as follows:

(238) 161.¹⁵⁷ Paschasinus and Lucentius the most devout bishops and Boniface the presbyter, representing the apostolic see, said through Paschasinus: ‘Now that the documents have been read, we have found from the verdict of the most devout bishops that the most devout Ibas has been proved guiltless, for from the reading of his letter we have found him to be catholic.’¹⁵⁸ Because of this we decree that both the honour of the episcopate and the church from which he was unjustly ejected in his absence should be restored. Therefore as for the most holy bishop Nonnus who replaced him a short time ago, it is for that most devout man the bishop of the church of Antioch to negotiate what ought to be decreed about him.’

(239) 162. Anatolius the most devout archbishop of Constantinople New Rome said: ‘The good faith of the most devout bishops and judges and the reading of everything that followed prove the most devout Ibas

¹⁵⁵ The text of the letter is given in Acts VI. 5 (pp. 6–10 above). For an analysis of the arguments used, as here, in its defence see vol. 1, 96–7.

¹⁵⁶ Acts of Chalcedon IX and X (Price and Gaddis, II, 258–309).

¹⁵⁷ The numbers 161 to 181 (of Acts X) are those in the edition of the Acts of Chalcedon in *ACO* 2. 1 and 3. The Latin version Vigilius uses (and which I translate here) is a form of the *versio antiqua* (for which see Price and Gaddis, I, 84). See *ibid.* II, 305–9 for an annotated translation of the Greek version.

¹⁵⁸ ‘Catholic’ here and in the rest of these verdicts means, and translates the Greek, ‘orthodox’.

guiltless of the charges brought against him. I therefore at this time reject all suspicion of him, since he both agrees and subscribes to the definition concerning the faith now issued by the holy council and to the letter of the most holy archbishop Leo of Rome; and I judge him worthy of the episcopate and to have charge of the church where he was previously. As for the most devout bishop Nonnus who was ordained in his place, the most devout bishop Maximus of Antioch will issue a decree.’

(240) 163. Maximus the most devout bishop of the city of Antioch said: ‘From what has just been read it is manifest that the most devout Ibas has been found innocent of everything charged against him; and from the reading of the text of the letter produced by his adversary his¹⁵⁹ writing has been shown to be catholic. I therefore decree that he is to recover the dignity of the episcopate and his own city, as has also seemed good to the most holy archbishops, both those representing the most holy archbishop Leo and also the most holy archbishop Anatolius of the imperial city. The most devout bishop Nonnus who was ordained in his place him should indeed continue in his proper episcopal dignity, so that with the most holy bishops I may deliberate about his consecration.’

(241) 164. Juvenal the most devout bishop of Jerusalem said: ‘Divine Scripture orders the receiving back of those who repent. This is why we also receive people returning from the ranks of the heretics. I therefore consider that the most devout Ibas deserves clemency, also because he is elderly, and to retain episcopal rank, being catholic.’

(242) 165. Thalassius the most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia said: ‘Since the most devout bishops Photius and Eustathius approved the case of Ibas and did not sit in judgement on him, I too, swayed by their opinion, wish him to retain the priesthood, as has seemed good to the most holy presiding bishops, especially because in the proceedings he undertook to anathematize the things that his accusers testified against him in writing.’

(243) 166. Eusebius the most devout bishop of Ancyra in Galatia said: ‘The reading of the judgement pronounced at Tyre by the holy bishops Photius and Eustathius has shown that in that court the most devout Ibas anathematized Nestorius and his impious doctrines, and assented to the correct doctrines. For this reason the aforesaid most devout bishops,

159 *Eius* here (unlike the Greek original) could mean ‘its’ (i.e. of the letter) rather than ‘his’, and this is how Latin writers of the time most often took it, influenced by their overestimate of the importance for the fathers of Chalcedon of the question of the orthodoxy of the letter. The second *Constitutum* (133) makes this mistake, but the first (see 268 below) does not.

receiving this assurance, approved his retention of the episcopate. And therefore, with the same most holy Ibas anathematizing Nestorius and his impious doctrines, I wish him to retain the priesthood.’

(244) 167. Stephen the most devout bishop of Ephesus said: ‘With the most devout Ibas anathematizing Nestorius and Eutyches and their impious doctrines, I too decree, as do the holy fathers, that he should be in episcopal orders.’

(245) 168. Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cyzicus said: ‘I have judged the decree issued concerning the most devout Ibas by the most holy bishops Photius and Eustathius to hold good, especially since his accusers there assent with their own signatures to the decision issued and which has now been read in the holy and universal council.’

169. Constantine the most devout bishop of Bostra said: ‘I too assent to the excellent decision of the holy council concerning the most holy bishop Ibas.’

(246) 170. Theodore the most devout bishop of Damascus said: ‘I too assent to the proper and canonical decision of the holy fathers regarding the person of the venerable Ibas.’

171. Meletius the venerable bishop of Larissa, representing Domnus the most devout bishop of Apamea in Syria, said: ‘I too assent to the excellent decision of the holy and reverend fathers concerning the most devout Ibas.’

(247) 172. Romanus the most devout bishop of Myra in Lycia said: ‘Since the reliability of the documents read out has persuaded us, I too judge that the same most devout bishop Ibas should remain in the priesthood, as the most holy archbishops have also decreed, assuredly with him anathematizing Nestorius and Eutyches and their impious tenets.’

(248) 173. Eunomius the most devout bishop of Nicomedia said: ‘Now indeed from the documents that have been read out the venerable Ibas has been proved guiltless. For as regards the statements in which he was seen to accuse the most blessed Cyril by speaking ill of him, he made a correct profession in his final statements and repudiated the charges he had brought. Therefore, with him anathematizing Nestorius and Eutyches and their impious doctrines and assenting to what was written by the most holy archbishop Leo and by¹⁶⁰ this ecumenical synod, I too judge him worthy of the episcopate.’

160 Rusticus’ revised edition of the Latin Acts of Chalcedon corrects this ablative (*hac*) to a dative (*huic*): ‘assents... to this ecumenical synod’ (ACO 2.3, p. 490). The Greek will have been a dative that could mean either ‘by’ or ‘to’, though probably the latter.

(249) 174. John the venerable bishop of Sebasteia, Seleucus the venerable bishop of Amaseia, Constantine the venerable bishop of Melitene, Patricius the venerable bishop of Tyana, Peter the venerable bishop of Gangra, and Atarbius the venerable bishop of Trapezus, also representing the most devout bishop Dorotheus of Neocaesarea, said: 'The decision of the most devout bishops Photius and Eustathius proves the most devout Ibas guiltless, and likewise his repudiation makes us more ready as regards what he accepted,¹⁶¹ for clemency is ever dear to Christ the Lord. Therefore, in accordance with the judgement of the holy presiding bishops and of the entire holy council, we too judge it right that he should recover episcopal rank.'

(250) 175. Francion the venerable bishop of Philippopolis and Basil the venerable bishop of Trajanopolis said: 'Since he was not present at the trial and was not summoned, we judge that he should in no way be penalized by the sentence passed against him.'

(251) 176. Nunechius the most devout bishop of Laodicea in Phrygia said: 'We agree to the decision of the holy fathers concerning the most holy Ibas.'

177. Florentius the most devout bishop of Sardis in Lydia said: 'I too equally agree with what has already been said concerning the most devout Ibas.'

178. Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum said: 'Now that so many most holy fathers restore the episcopate to the most devout Ibas, I too assent.'

(252) 179. All the most devout bishops exclaimed: 'We all say the same. Let him now anathematize Nestorius, let him now anathematize his doctrines, and let him now anathematize Eutyches and his doctrine.'¹⁶²

(253) 180. The most devout Ibas said: 'I have already in writing anathematized Nestorius and his doctrine, and now I anathematize him ten thousand times. For what has been done once with satisfaction, even if it be done ten thousand times, does not cause distress. And anathema to Nestorius and to Eutyches, and to whoever speaks of one nature! And I anathematize everyone who does not believe as this holy synod believes.'

(254) 181. The most glorious officials said: 'The judgements of the holy and venerable council concerning the most devout bishop Ibas shall keep their proper force.'

161 A mistranslation of the Greek, 'more ready to accept him' (Price and Gaddis, II, 308).

162 For the variant versions of these acclamations see Price and Gaddis, II, 309, n. 127.

(255) Since, therefore, this is what is to be found in the judgement and enactment of the holy Synod of Chalcedon, and these are the verdicts plainly delivered by the legates of the apostolic see, representing their venerable president, and by the other fathers, we note that it was said by those who are known to have represented our most blessed predecessor Pope Leo at the same holy Synod of Chalcedon, (256) ‘From the reading of his letter we have found him to be catholic,’ that it was said by Anatolius of Constantinople, ‘The reading of everything that followed proves the most devout Ibas guiltless of what his accusers had charged him with,’ and that it was said by Maximus of Antioch, ‘From the reading of the text of the letter produced by his adversary his writing has been shown to be catholic.’ The other bishops are to be acknowledged as not only not contradicting these verdicts but as giving their explicit assent.¹⁶³

(257) As for their asserting that in this same letter of his Ibas defended Nestorius by saying, ‘Because the same Nestorius refused to call holy Mary the Mother of God, many thought that he was of the heresy of Paul of Samosata who said that Christ was a mere man,’¹⁶⁴ no man may doubt that our holy fathers attentively perceived in the same letter a statement that Nestorius by not calling the holy Virgin Mary the Mother of God was deemed of the heresy of Paul of Samosata. (258) All the more did our holy fathers understand that Nestorius was impugned by Ibas’ judgement, because Ibas is shown by these words to have said nothing other than that Nestorius by denying that the blessed Virgin is the Mother of God implied that our Lord and God Jesus Christ was a mere man and the unsubstantial Son of God in accordance with the impiety of Paul of Samosata, although indeed Nestorius was the originator of his own heresy. (259) It was therefore in order rather to impugn the same Nestorius that the venerable man Ibas said that he was thought by some to be of the heresy of Paul of Samosata, as if he were to say, ‘Even though Nestorius created his own error, yet by not saying that the holy Virgin Mary is the Mother of God he appeared so impious as to be thought by many to teach without any difference the heresy of Paul of Samosata.’ (260) Ibas in his letter so magnified the crime of his error as to liken him to Paul of Samosata, whose baptism the universal church by the sentence of the holy Synod of Nicaea decreed was to be rejected;¹⁶⁵ since, however, it receives people returning to the holy catholic church from the Nesto-

163 Cf. 238–40 above. The other bishops are likely to have disagreed but were not free to say so; see vol. 1, 92–3, and Price and Whitby (2009), 86.

164 In Acts VI. 5.2 (p. 7 above).

165 Canon 19 of Nicaea, in Stevenson-Frend (1987), 343.

rian heresy after they have simply condemned the heresy itself, it transpires beyond doubt that in the letter of the venerable Ibas Nestorius is crushed by a heavier weight of execration, since his error is compared to one that lacks baptism. (261) And let no one, because he said ‘he was thought’, charge him with using the word as if in doubt, since the blessed Paul the apostle says affirmatively to the Corinthians, ‘For I think I too have the Spirit of God’;¹⁶⁶ for he did not doubt that he had the Spirit of God, since he said elsewhere, ‘Do you ask for proof that Christ is speaking in me?’¹⁶⁷ How can there be any doubt as to whether one in whom Christ speaks has the Spirit of God?¹⁶⁸

(262) Nevertheless in addition our holy fathers who attended the Synod of Chalcedon noted that Apollinaris with his doctrine, who affirmed one nature of Godhead and humanity in our Lord and God Jesus Christ, is condemned in the same letter of Ibas as impious and execrable, and they greatly approved what Ibas said in the same letter, ‘two natures, one power, one person, that is, one Son our Lord Jesus Christ.’¹⁶⁹ (263) In speaking of one power, he is to be recognized as following the teaching of the apostle Paul, who says on one occasion ‘Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God,’¹⁷⁰ and in another place that ‘although he was crucified through the weakness of the flesh, yet he lives from the power of God.’¹⁷¹ Ibas, when he was composing his letter, is to be believed to have had this in mind, with the result that, by speaking of one power (acknowledging the power of the Word who took up the flesh and recognizing within it the flesh taken up as proper to the same Word), he showed that he had grasped the supreme and inseparable unity, using the terms ‘one person’ and ‘one Son’ (that is, of our Lord Jesus Christ), expressions which he added immediately afterwards. He persevered in professing this orthodox faith when the fathers at the holy Synod of Chalcedon exhorted him to join their fellowship in doing likewise what they had done, namely condemning Nestorius and Eutyches together with their doctrines. (264) This Ibas faithfully performed and, after testifying that he had often done so, said in a bold voice in the presence of all the fathers, ‘Anathema to Nestorius and Eutyches,’ adding, ‘and to whoever

166 1 Cor 7:40.

167 2 Cor 13:3.

168 The truth is that Ibas’ criticisms of Nestorius were far more muted than his criticisms of Cyril, probably because he was writing to correspondents sympathetic to Nestorius.

169 In Acts VI. 5.3. Contrast the attempt to prove Ibas’ Christological formula heretical in Justinian, *On the orthodox faith*, pp. 97–8.

170 1 Cor 1:24.

171 2 Cor 13:4.

speaks of one nature';¹⁷² he knew that it was, of course, on account of his rejection of one nature in favour of a profession of two natures in one and the same Son that he had been declared orthodox. (265) This we have to make plain, lest anyone suppose that the letter of Ibas acquits Nestorius of the heresy of which he is the originator by saying, 'But Nestorius, because he was hated by his own city and the great men in it, could not return there.'¹⁷³ (266) These words are rather to be understood to signify that Ibas said that Nestorius was hated as a heretic by his own city and the great men then in it. It must be believed that our fathers at Chalcedon understood it in this way because earlier on in the same letter Ibas had said that the same Nestorius wrote harmful books which were a scandal to their readers and that he denied that the blessed Virgin Mary is the Mother of God. For it is right for us to understand correctly in this way a document that our fathers accepted, and not to suspect something else which the writer of the letter is not recorded as having said.

(267) We could indeed with the grace of God give an account of each passage and statement of the said letter in turn; but because the rest can fittingly be accommodated to the same interpretation with which we have expounded a few passages, and since, even if some obscurity were to be found in them, we should yield to the authority of the fathers and their deeper understanding,¹⁷⁴ for these reasons it is not necessary to delay over them any longer. (268) On account, therefore, of what we have said above, and on account of that profession of faith which through the offices of Paul bishop of the city of Emesa restored to concord Cyril bishop of Alexandria of venerable memory and the most devout John bishop of Antioch and all the bishops of the east (a profession that Ibas also praises and freely embraces in the letter),¹⁷⁵ the writing of Bishop Ibas was pronounced by the fathers to be orthodox.

(269) Those statements, however, in the priest Ibas' letter that censured Cyril of blessed memory through a mistake in interpretation, the fathers at the holy Synod of Chalcedon, when they pronounced the letter orthodox, in no way accepted; indeed, this censure was in various ways repudiated by

172 Cf. 253 above.

173 In Acts VI. 5.4.

174 For this appeal to the superior wisdom of the fathers of Chalcedon compare Ferrandus, *ep.* 6.6 (vol. 1, 117–8).

175 Cf. Acts VI. 5.7–8 for Ibas' commendation of the peace of 433, achieved by Cyril's acceptance of the Formula of Reunion in his *Laetentur caeli* letter to John of Antioch (in Price and Gaddis, I, 178–83).

this venerable bishop himself, when he had attained a better understanding of Cyril's chapters,¹⁷⁶ as is most clearly stated in the judgement of Eunomius bishop of the church of Nicomedia of venerable memory who attended the same holy Synod of Chalcedon, (270) which runs as follows:¹⁷⁷

Now indeed from the documents that have been read out the venerable Ibas has been proved guiltless. For as regards the statements in which he was seen to accuse the most blessed Cyril by speaking ill of him, he made a correct profession in his final statements and repudiated the charges he had brought. Therefore, with him anathematizing Nestorius and Eutyches and their impious doctrines and assenting to what was written by the most holy archbishop Leo and this ecumenical synod, I too judge him worthy of the episcopate.

(271) The judgement of Juvenal of venerable memory has the same meaning. Because Bishop Ibas, concerning his disparagement of the holy Cyril as a result of misunderstanding his chapters, subsequently professed that, once Cyril had explained them and he had understood them, he entered faithfully into communion with him and abandoned his previous misinterpretation, for this reason he pronounced that he should recover the episcopate, being orthodox as regards profession of faith. (272) He said:¹⁷⁸

Divine Scripture orders the receiving back of those who repent. This is why we also receive people returning from the ranks of the heretics. I therefore consider that the most devout Ibas deserves clemency, also because he is elderly, so as to retain episcopal dignity, being orthodox.

These words mean the following: 'If we receive people coming from the ranks of the heretics, how can we not receive Ibas, who is orthodox and who, when uncertain about the interpretation of the chapters of the blessed Cyril, seemed to disparage him but has now abandoned the interpretation in which he was in error, when it is agreed that he is orthodox?' For Juvenal would not have said that Ibas was orthodox, unless he had confirmed from the words of Ibas' letter that his profession of faith was orthodox.¹⁷⁹ (273) That it is clear that the judgement of Juvenal accords with that of Eunomius,

176 Cf. Acts of Chalcedon X. 122–33 (Price and Gaddis, II, 293–4).

177 Quoted from 248 above.

178 Quoted from 241 above.

179 Once the senior bishop, the Roman legate Paschasinus, has commended Ibas' orthodoxy, the other bishops could not contradict him. Juvenal's verdict in Ibas' favour remains frosty and grudging, as Theodore Ascidas pointed out in the sixth session (p. 17 above).

we are taught by the very words of Eunomius' judgement, which, among other remarks, runs as follows: 'For as regards the statements in which he was seen to accuse the most blessed Cyril by speaking ill of him, he made a correct profession in his final statements and repudiated the charges he had brought.' These words state extremely clearly that nothing was censured in Bishop Ibas' profession of faith, which (it is manifest) was praised, but that the same Ibas repudiated what he had wrongly thought about the blessed Cyril as a result of a faulty interpretation.¹⁸⁰ (274) For in the earlier proceedings, as is contained in the verdict of Photius and Eustathius, the same venerable bishop Ibas is explicitly said to hold and accept all the proceedings at the First Synod at Ephesus, to consider them equal to the decrees of Nicaea, and to acknowledge no difference between it and the others;¹⁸¹ and they declare that they strongly applauded his holiness because Ibas knew¹⁸² readily to heal those who, out of suspicion or in some other way, lowered their opinion of his teaching.¹⁸³ (275) For after the blessed Cyril had explained his Twelve Chapters and the interpretation that the holy Cyril gave to these chapters had been made clear to him, he declared that he and all the eastern bishops held him to be orthodox and remained in communion with him till his death. From this it is clear that the venerable Ibas, before he understood the Twelve Chapters of the blessed Cyril, when he suspected that they taught one nature in Christ, censured out of an orthodox understanding what he thought had been wrongly said, while, after they had been explained, he respectfully accepted, likewise with an orthodox understanding, what he had discovered to have been rightly said.

(276) But what is clear beyond doubt to the minds of all the faithful is that it was rather at the Second Synod of Ephesus that Dioscorus with Eutyches through an heretical interpretation inflicted contumely on the blessed Cyril and the First Council of Ephesus, for they believed that the holy Cyril in his

180 Vigilius does not follow those defenders of Ibas, such as Facundus (*Pro defensione* VI. 2.5), who interpreted Eunomius to be commending the latter part of the Letter to Mari as expressing a correct opinion of Cyril, which involved a strained interpretation of the letter.

181 Acts of Chalcedon IX. 7 (Price and Gaddis, II, 262).

182 The word *sapuerit* ('knew') is an early corruption (that appeared already in the uncorrected version of the *versio antiqua* of the Latin Acts of Chalcedon) of *rapuerit* ('he seized' [the opportunity]); see *ACO* 2.3, p. 457.

183 This section follows closely the wording of the judgement delivered by Bishops Photius of Tyre and Eustathius of Berytus, as included in the Acts of Chalcedon IX. 7 (Price and Gaddis, 2, pp. 262–3). Note that Vigilius understands Eunomius' approval of Ibas to relate to his declarations to Photius and Eustathius and not (as defenders of the Three Chapters generally claimed) to the latter part of his letter to Mari.

Twelve Chapters had preached one nature in our Lord and God Jesus Christ, and for this reason some eastern bishops, who refused to accept the preaching of one nature, were condemned by Dioscorus.¹⁸⁴ (277) Among them Bishop Ibas also, particularly because of his profession of faith in which he explicitly professes ‘two natures, one power, one person, that is one Son our Lord Jesus Christ,’ was condemned by him as heretical, while Eutyches because of his preaching one nature was restored by him as catholic; Dioscorus also condemned the person of Flavian of holy memory because of his assertion of two natures.¹⁸⁵ It was rather Dioscorus himself who was found to be trying to annul the First Synod of Ephesus, for he defended it in the form of an execrable interpretation. Indeed Dioscorus and Eutyches calumniated Cyril more by praising him than Ibas did by criticizing him as a result of an error of mistaken interpretation. (278) For although praise and criticism related to the same interpretation, Dioscorus and Eutyches, who praised Cyril, were found to have praised him in an heretical spirit and were therefore condemned by the holy Synod of Chalcedon, while in contrast Bishop Ibas, who thinking in error that one nature was taught in them, first criticized the chapters and then, after their meaning had been made clear to him, declared himself with all the easterners to be in communion with the holy Cyril, was judged by the same Synod of Chalcedon to have remained in the correctness of the catholic faith. (279) Therefore as regards Dioscorus and Eutyches, who were trying to use the blessed Cyril as a false veil to hide themselves, this same synod, noting that Dioscorus and Eutyches were revealed, rather, as opponents of the preaching of the blessed Cyril in that with a blasphemous spirit they preached one nature after the union, condemned the same Dioscorus¹⁸⁶ with Eutyches by the same and like verdict, thereby annulling the Second Council of Ephesus and confirming the first.¹⁸⁷

(280) There is a reproach for us in the pronouncements of the prophet Ezekiel, in what he said in the person of the Lord to the priests of Jerusalem who did not discern good from evil: ‘Its priests, who despise my law, have

184 At Ephesus II (449) Dioscorus secured the condemnation of Theodoret, Ibas, and other Syrian bishops.

185 For Dioscorus’ sentence on Flavian see Acts of Chalcedon I. 962 (Price and Gaddis, I, 343–4). Flavian was condemned for infringing Canon 7 of the First Council of Ephesus (*ibid.* 323) by requiring of Eutyches assent to the doctrine of two natures after the union (*ibid.* 116).

186 For a discussion whether Chalcedon included heresy among Dioscorus’ offences see Price and Gaddis, II, 33–4.

187 The argumentation depends on seeing Ephesus I as dyophysite, through interpreting it in the light of the Formula of Reunion, an Antiochene formulation accepted by Cyril soon after the council.

also profaned my sanctuary; they do not distinguish between the holy and the polluted, and they do not discern the difference between clean and unclean.¹⁸⁸ On the basis of these words both your piety and together with you the hearts of all the faithful ought to caution us (281) not to have the presumption to reconsider the judgement of the Synod of Chalcedon, lest (God forbid!) the machinations of the heretics should inflict on the priests who attended it the stain of a charge of having been unable to discern between good and evil, between holy and polluted, and the difference between pure and impure, if they see us now for whatever reason reconsidering the questions that at the same holy synod were resolved with the assent of the apostolic see. (282) For this reason, therefore, we uphold in all respects the discernment and judgement of the holy fathers. Now that the resolution of all these issues has been clarified on the basis of the judgement of the Synod of Chalcedon according to the reasoning we have provided – since it is quite clear with the most evident truth from the words of the letter of the venerable man Ibas when perused with a correct and respectful interpretation, from the proceedings conducted before Photius and Eustathius, and from the discussion of the meaning of Bishop Ibas himself when present by those who were likewise present, that our fathers in session at Chalcedon most justly pronounced orthodox the faith of the same venerable man Ibas, and that his criticism of the blessed Cyril, which they recognized had resulted after the manner of men from an error in interpretation, had been atoned for through appropriate satisfaction –, (283) we decree and ordain with the authority of our present verdict that, as regards all matters and in particular the oft-cited letter of the venerable Ibas, the judgement of the fathers in session at Chalcedon is to remain inviolate. By this our constitution¹⁸⁹ we do not permit anyone with ecclesiastical rank or dignity ever to presume, whether by addition or abridgement or amendment or in any way, to make any rash innovation in the matter of the same letter or in other matters that at the Council of Chalcedon with the assent of the representatives of the apostolic see were resolved, ordained, defined and decreed, as if they were imperfect and open to criticism.

(284) For the same reason we decree that no one is to suppose that the letter of the blessed Cyril to which the Twelve Chapters are appended, or the chapters issued against the infidelity of Nestorius, are to be disparaged, since it is established that, after the meaning of the same chapters had been explained to them, the same venerable man Ibas and all the eastern bishops remained in communion with the blessed Cyril throughout his whole

188 Ezek 22:26.

189 The Latin word is *constitutum*.

lifetime. We reject and exclude from our correct understanding everything which (on the basis of the letter of the venerable man Bishop Ibas recorded above or of anything that at the holy Synod of Chalcedon was resolved, ordained, defined and decreed) contains something so contrived that on the authority of the same synod either the perverse teaching ascribed to Nestorius or Nestorius himself is claimed to stand acquitted.

(285) And lest anyone perchance should think it possible that the aforesaid legates and representatives of the apostolic see received a mandate from the most blessed Pope Leo only in the matter of the faith and not also for the reinstatement of bishops who had been improperly deposed, and should suppose that the case of Ibas bishop of the city of Edessa was raised to no purpose before the holy fathers, let him know that the most blessed Pope Leo wrote among other things the following to the holy Synod of Chalcedon:¹⁹⁰

But because we are not ignorant that through vicious factionalism the condition of many churches was disrupted and that a great many bishops who would not accept heresy were expelled from their sees and sent into exile, while others were put in the place of those still alive, the remedy of justice should first be applied to these wounds, lest anyone be deprived of his own or another enjoy what is not his own.

(286) And lest anyone should doubt whether the proceedings at the Synod of Chalcedon concerning the reinstatement of bishops were brought to the notice of the most blessed Leo and confirmed by him, let him not fail instead to read with due attention the report of the synod sent to our predecessor the most blessed Leo, in which, after other words, there were these at the end:¹⁹¹

We have taken care to inform you of the whole purport of our proceedings, to sustain our position and to win for our proceedings confirmation and approval.

(287) After being informed of them, the same most blessed Pope Leo, giving thanks to the Augusta Pulcheria of pious memory, wrote of the restored bishops as follows:¹⁹²

190 Leo, *ep.* 93 (26 June 451), *ACO* 2.4, p. 52, 19–23 (Price and Gaddis, vol. 1, 104).

191 This is the final sentence of the council's letter to Pope Leo at the close of the council (*ibid.*, vol. 3, 124).

192 Leo, *ep.* 79, *ACO* 2.4, pp. 37,34–38,1 (Price and Gaddis, vol. 1, 95). Unfortunately for Vigilius' argument this letter is dated 13 April 451, months before the council. It relates not to the decrees of Chalcedon but to the emperor Marcian's instructions to exiled bishops to return to their sees soon after his accession.

May therefore your clemency know that the whole Roman church sends you copious congratulations for all the works of your faith, both because you helped our legation in everything with pious affection and also because you restored catholic priests who by an unjust sentence had been ejected from their churches.

Note how by the dispatch of all the proceedings to the most blessed Pope Leo he was notified of the proceedings, and how in his expression of repeated thanks he declared his confirmation of the proceedings. (288) We do not doubt, therefore, that it is manifest to the minds of all the faithful what form of conducting business was mandated by the blessed Pope Leo to the representatives present at the synod in his place, what measures they were given to execute, and what was enacted by the general council at which the president of the apostolic see presided and gave his approval through his legates. It is not lawful for these things to be curtailed, expanded, infringed or be exposed to revision by anyone.

(289) That it is not permissible for the decrees of the venerable Synod of Chalcedon to be rescinded or revised under any colour or claim, we can learn from a few out of many decisions issued by our predecessors, particularly from the letters of that blessed Leo our predecessor, to whose supreme presidency in his representatives was due the success of the holy Council of Chalcedon. (290) For he speaks as follows in his letter to the Augustus Leo of pious memory:¹⁹³

These gifts of God are conferred on us from the deity only if we be not found ungrateful for what has been bestowed, and do not, as if what we have received were nothing, wait for its opposite. For to seek what has been revealed, to revise what has been perfected, and to rescind what has been defined, what else is it but to refuse thanks for what has been received, and to direct the depraved appetites of deadly desire to the fruit of the forbidden tree?

(291) A little further down he continues:¹⁹⁴

Your piety, venerable emperor, should therefore know in advance that those whom I undertake to send will set out from the apostolic see not to combat the enemies of the faith nor to contend against any persons, because on matters already defined, as it pleased God, both at Nicaea and at Chalcedon we do not have the presumption to enter into any discus-

193 Leo, *ep.* 162 (21 March 458), *ACO* 2.4, p. 105, 23–28.

194 *Ibid.* pp. 106,33–107,1.

sion, as if what so great an authority determined through the Holy Spirit were doubtful or insecure.

(292) And the same blessed predecessor of ours Pope Leo says to the aforesaid venerable Augustus in another letter:¹⁹⁵

You should not allow extinct disputes to rise up with revived motion against the triumphs of the Almighty's right hand, especially since this is totally forbidden to heretical ventures condemned long ago, and because this fruit is owed to pious labours that the whole plenitude of the church should abide secure in the firmness of her unity, and that nothing whatever of what has been satisfactorily settled should be reconsidered; for after lawful and divinely inspired decrees, to wish to contend is not of a peace-making but of a rebellious spirit, as the apostle says, 'To strive with words avails nothing save to ruin the hearers.'¹⁹⁶ For if human convictions are always to have the freedom to dispute, there will never be a lack of those who presume to oppose the truth and to trust in the garrulity of worldly wisdom.

(293) Likewise, a short way further down:¹⁹⁷

We must piously and constantly apply [it],¹⁹⁸ lest, by allowing such people to dispute, the authority of what has been defined with God's help suffer derogation.

Likewise, from the letter of Pope Leo to Anatolius bishop of Constantinople:¹⁹⁹

So that this exhortation may be able to come to the notice of all the brethren, may the diligence of your attentiveness perceive that, as should repeatedly be stated, the whole Christian religion will be thrown into confusion if any of the decrees of Chalcedon are rescinded and if you allow what was settled by divine inspiration to be profaned by any innovation.

195 Leo, *ep.* 164 (17 August 458), *ACO* 2.4, pp. 110,29–111,2.

196 2 Tim 2:14.

197 *ACO* 2.4, p. 111, 33–5.

198 Vigilius omits the object of the verb in the original, which is 'the earlier teaching of the Holy Spirit' (*ACO* 2.4, p. 111, 33).

199 If indeed addressed to Anatolius, this letter is otherwise unknown. The extract given is, however, identical to portions of *ep.* 149 (1 September 457), addressed to Basil of Antioch, *ACO* 2.4, p. 98, 17–24.

(294) In addition, our most blessed predecessor Pope Simplicius says to the Augustus Zeno among other things the following:²⁰⁰

Let not anyone hesitant in reasoning and timid in mind expect any innovation after the Council of Chalcedon to be reconsidered contrary to its decrees, because what has been ordained by the totality of priests is upheld with inviolable respect throughout the world.

(295) Likewise, the afore-mentioned Pope Simplicius to the Augustus Zeno:²⁰¹

Let pernicious minds be granted no access to the ears of your piety; let no presumption in revising the old be permitted... In this way the machinations of all the heresies, laid low by church decrees, will never be permitted to renew the once crushed struggles of opposition.

(296) Likewise, the aforesaid most blessed Pope Simplicius to the afore-mentioned Augustus Zeno, as follows:²⁰²

May you give orders that the decrees of the Synod of Chalcedon, and what my predecessor Leo of blessed memory taught with apostolic learning, are to be inviolate and in force, since what was put to rest by their enactment can in no way be reconsidered.

(297) It is therefore evident from the testimonies of the fathers cited above how we ought to show caution in view of the rightness of the apostolic see and out of consideration for the universal church. We too have long been mindful of this caution, in the letter we gave at that time to Menas bishop of Constantinople (the letter presented to your clemency by Menas bishop of holy memory in the presence of many priests and the glorious senate, and which, once received, your piety with his consent returned to us, and which, as far as relates to the case of the Three Chapters, we annulled).²⁰³

(298) And so, in no way departing from the circumspection of our position and purpose, we have taken care to exhibit in every way fitting respect to the

200 Simplicius, *ep.* 7.5 (Theil 1868, 192), addressed in October 477 to Archbishop Acacius of Constantinople. The erroneous mention of the emperor Zeno may well be a scribal error, since in the introduction to the next quotation he is introduced as if for the first time (without 'the aforesaid').

201 *Collectio Avellana* 56 (19 January 476), CSEL 35, p. 128, 8–10 and 15–17.

202 *Collectio Avellana* 60 (6 April 477), CSEL 35, p. 138, 6–10.

203 The reference is to Vigilius' *Iudicatum* of 548, approving the condemnation of the Three Chapters. The text is lost, apart from the five extracts given here (299–302) and one fragment in Justinian's Letter to the Council (Acts I. 7.11).

Synod of Chalcedon, as the sequence of the same letter testifies. To prove our caution, we append below a few passages of this letter out of many; these when examined with care show plainly how the holy Synod of Chalcedon remained and remains with us inviolate. On the subject of the same synod it is known that we in this our letter stated among other things the following:

(299) ...since it is clear to us with manifest reason that whoever attempts to do anything in disparagement of the aforesaid synod only harms himself.

Likewise, further down:

But if it was clearly shown to us that this on the contrary was contained in the Acts themselves, no one would dare to show such presumption as to judge open to doubt anything included in that most holy judgement, since it is to be believed that those then present on the basis of their immediate memory of the facts were able to investigate certain things more diligently, even beyond the written record, and to determine with greater certainty that which after such a passage of time now seems to us ambiguous (as if it were an unknown case), since indeed this is conceded out of respect to synods that in matters that are little understood we should yield to their authority.

(300) Likewise, further down:

...on condition everything is respected and remains in its everlasting validity that is known to have been decreed at the venerable councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I and Chalcedon and confirmed by the authority of our predecessors and ourselves, and on condition that all who were sentenced at the said holy councils are without hesitation condemned, and that those are no less acquitted whose acquittal was decreed by the same synods.

(301) Likewise, further down:

... subjecting indeed to sentence of anathema anyone whomsoever who accepts as having any validity in opposition to the aforesaid Synod of Chalcedon either present documents or whichever are found to have been transacted or written on this case whether by ourselves or by whomsoever. Let the holy Synod of Chalcedon, whose validity is great and unshaken, perpetual and venerable, as are those of Nicaea, Constantinople and Ephesus I, preserve its validity.

(302) Likewise, further down:

We anathematize anyone who does not faithfully follow and equally venerate the holy synod of Nicaea and of Constantinople, Ephesus I and Chalcedon, most holy synods which shared with the apostles the one and inviolable faith and were confirmed by the presidents of the apostolic see, or who wishes to correct as if wrongly uttered, or to supplement as if incomplete, the proceedings in these holy councils that we mentioned above.

(303) Behold, venerable emperor, it is proved with dazzling clarity that it has always been our will in respect of the reverence due to the four holy synods that whatever by the holy fathers assembled at the same was defined or decreed or resolved should remain inviolate. (304) Maintaining, therefore, everything that is contained in the verdicts of the holy fathers and the representatives of the apostolic see respecting the letter of Ibas and his person, let us and all catholics unanimously be satisfied by what the holy synod exclaimed would satisfy itself when it said at that point, 'Let him now anathematize Nestorius and his doctrines.'²⁰⁴ By this so often repeated anathema of the most wicked Nestorius and Eutyches Bishop Ibas satisfied the will of the synod.

(305) Now that this had been determined by ourselves with all and every care and caution, so as to preserve inviolable both reverence towards the above-mentioned synods and also their venerable decrees, we, remembering that it is written that we should not transgress the bounds of our fathers,²⁰⁵ enact and decree that no one with ecclesiastical dignity and rank is permitted to hold or write or produce or compose or teach anything about the oft-mentioned Three Chapters contrary to what we have declared and enacted in this present decree, or to raise any further inquiry subsequent to the present definition. (306) But if in the name of anyone with ecclesiastical dignity and rank there has been, or will have been, done, said and written, by whomsoever and wheresoever it so transpire, anything in breach of what we have here declared and enacted concerning these Three Chapters, this we totally annul with the authority of the apostolic see over which by the grace of God we preside.²⁰⁶

204 Cf. 252 above.

205 Cf. Prov 22:28.

206 This is followed by the scribal annotation, 'I have corrected [the text].'

- (307) *And the signature:* With the help of God and by his grace, I, Vigilius, bishop of the holy catholic church of the city of Rome, have signed this our decree.²⁰⁷
- (308) *And the signatures of the bishops:*
 John, bishop of the church of the Marsi: Assenting, I have signed this decree.
 Zacchaeus, bishop of the church of Scyllacum: Assenting, I have signed this decree.
 Pastor, by the mercy of God bishop of the church of the metropolis of Iconium: Assenting, I have signed this decree.
- (309) Vincentius, bishop of the metropolis of Claudiopolis: Assenting, I have signed this decree.
 Zacchaeus, bishop, at the request of my brother Bishop Valentinus of the church of Silva Candida, in his presence, with his consent, and at his dictation: I have signed this decree on his behalf.
 Julian, humble bishop of the church of Cingulum: Assenting, I have signed this decree.
- (310) Paul, humble bishop by the grace of God of the church of Ulpiana:²⁰⁸ Assenting to everything written above, I have signed this decree that the most blessed Pope Vigilius has issued on the case of the Three Chapters.
 Projectus, bishop of the city of Naissus: Assenting, I have signed this decree.
 Sabinianus, by the grace of God bishop of the city of Zapara: Assenting to everything written above, I have signed this decree that the most blessed Pope Vigilius has issued on the case of the Three Chapters.
- (311) Primasius, by the grace of God bishop of the city of Hadrumetum, which is also called Justinianopolis in the council of Byzacena: Assenting, I have signed this decree that the most blessed Pope Vigilius has issued on the case of the Three Chapters.
 Stephen, bishop of the church of Ariminum: Assenting, I have signed this decree.
 Paschasius, bishop of the church of Altinum: Assenting, I have signed this decree.

207 The word used is *constitutum*.

208 Called Justiniana Secunda in Acts II. 17–18.

- (312) Alexander, bishop of the church of Malta: Assenting, I have signed this decree.
 Lucian, bishop of the church of . . . :²⁰⁹ Assenting, I have signed this decree.
 Redemptus, bishop of the church of Nomentum: Assenting, I have signed this decree.
 Venantius, bishop of the church of Lippiae: Assenting, I have signed this decree.
- (313) Quodvultdeus, bishop of the church of Numana: Assenting, I have signed this decree.
 Theophanius, archdeacon of the holy Roman church: Assenting, I have signed this decree.
 Pelagius, by the mercy of God deacon of the holy Roman church: Assenting, I have signed this decree.
 Peter, by the mercy of God deacon of the holy Roman church: Assenting, I have signed this decree.

(314) Issued on the day before the Ides of May in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of our lord Justinian perpetual Augustus, and in the twelfth year after the consulship of the most illustrious Basil,²¹⁰ in the city of Constantinople,

209 The MS gives the reading *Meletensis*, which is identical to the place-name in the previous line. Mansi IX. 106 emends this second entry to *Melitensis*, that is, of Melitene in Armenia; but from its position in the list it must be a suffragan see in Italy, and bishop of Melitene at this date was Palladius (Acts I. 1.19). The simple explanation is that the copyist's eye slipped a line, which means that the original name is irrecoverable.

210 14 May 553.

2. THE SECOND LETTER OF VIGILIUS TO EUTYCHIUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

INTRODUCTION

The situation at the close of the council (2 June 553) was a bizarre one, with the eastern bishops having condemned the Three Chapters and anathematized their supporters, while Pope Vigilius and his loyal supporters had signed a decree, the first *Constitutum*, defending the chapters and declaring any condemnation of them invalid. The emperor refused to receive this document (Acts VII. 4.2), and at the end of Session VII the bishops had approved an imperial decree removing the pope's name from the diptychs; this was in effect a decree of suspension from office. There were only two ways in which the impasse could now be resolved – either by the formal trial and deposition of Vigilius or by his capitulation, in which case his name could be restored to the diptychs. Finally on 8 December he wrote to Patriarch Eutychius confirming the condemnation of the chapters.

The letter was short and largely repeated the conciliar canons. In it Vigilius ascribes his opposition to the council to the machinations of the devil, and compares his own volte-face to Augustine's composing of the *Retractions* in which he corrected some of his earlier statements. After all, if Augustine had been ready to confess that, for example, in his early *On Genesis against the Manichaeans* he had erred in taking *pabulum* at Genesis 2:5 to mean 'life',¹ why should Vigilius be ashamed to admit that his solemn and would-be definitive pronouncement on the greatest controversy of the age had somehow hit the wrong nail on the head? In now condemning the Three Chapters, he made no attempt at an independent judgement: his letter simply quotes the anathemas issued by the council.

The letter survives in a selection of documents from the council, where it is described as part of (meaning, attached to) the proceedings of the eighth and final session.² As expressing papal confirmation of the council's condemnation of the Three Chapters it was an essential part of the second edition of the acts, produced to celebrate the achievement of unanimity.³ It is striking that it was not preserved in the Latin manuscript tradition, whether accidentally or in consequence of Vigilius' poor reputation in the west.

1 Augustine, *Retractiones* 1.10.3 (CCSL 57, p. 31, 46–9).

2 See *ACO* 4.1, pp. xxiv–v.

3 See vol. 1, 104–5.

TEXT⁴

Vigilius to his beloved brother Euty chius.

(1) [245] No one is ignorant of the scandals that the enemy of the human race stirred up throughout the world, in such a way that, taking each person with a wicked purpose who was eager in whatever way to accomplish his own wish to overturn the church of God throughout the world, he made him concoct various things in speaking or writing not merely in his own name but also in ours and in that of others,⁵ to the extent that he attempted by the machinations of their so wicked ingenuity to separate us [two], who are residing with our brethren and fellow bishops in the imperial city, and who uphold the four councils with equal reverence and blamelessly persevere in the one and same faith of these four councils, with the result that we, who were and are in agreement over the one faith, spurned brotherly love and were seduced into discord.

(2) But because Christ our God, who is the true light that the darkness does not comprehend,⁶ has removed all confusion from our mind and recalled the universal church to peace, with the result that, through the Lord's revelation and the investigation of the truth, what needed to be defined by us has been savingly accomplished, therefore may your whole fraternity know that the four councils, that is, those of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I and Chalcedon, we together with our brothers in all respects accept, venerate with a devout mind, and uphold in unanimity; and whatever persons do not follow the same holy councils in everything they defined concerning the holy faith we judge to have no part in the communion of the holy and catholic church.

(3) [246] Therefore, wishing your brotherliness to be aware what we have done, we make it known to you by this letter, since no one can be in doubt about the debate over the Three Chapters, that is, over Theodore at one time bishop of Mopsuestia and his writings, also the writings of Theodoret,

4 *ACO* 4.1, pp. 245–7. Only the Greek version of the letter survives, but the Latin of §§5–11 can be recovered almost in its entirety from those sections of the second *Constitutum* that repeat the earlier text verbatim (for which see our annotation of the *Constitutum*, 149–66) and which show the Greek version to be scrupulously accurate. The close parallels between the letter, the second *Constitutum* and the canons of 553 are set out in full in Straub (1970), 360–75.

5 Vigilius is referring to his advisers and secretaries, notably the deacons Pelagius and Rusticus, who had pushed him into defence of the Three Chapters and open confrontation with the emperor and the eastern bishops. There may well be a special reference to the role of Pelagius in the composition of the first *Constitutum*.

6 Cf. Jn 1:5,9.

and the letter that is said to have been written by Ibas to Mari the Persian, or about the dissension in action and writing over the same chapters.

(4) Therefore, if indeed in every matter the dictate of wisdom requires the revision of what has been investigated, and if there should be no shame when out of zeal for the truth what was at first overlooked is subsequently discovered and published, how much more is it appropriate for this to be observed in ecclesiastical matters? For it is manifest that our fathers, and especially the most blessed Augustine, the teacher of Roman eloquence who shone forth in sacred literature, revised his own writings, corrected his statements, and added what had been overlooked and subsequently discovered. We likewise, following these examples in the matter of the afore-mentioned Three Chapters, never discontinued our search for what relating to the afore-said Three Chapters could be discovered in the writings of our fathers that was more true.

(5) As a result it has become clear through the most perspicuous truth that the utterances of Theodore of Mopsuestia, which are placarded everywhere, contain things contrary to the correct faith and the doctrines of the holy fathers; this, of course, is why the holy fathers, writing against him, bequeathed their books for the instruction of holy church. For among his other blasphemies⁷ we find that he clearly said that God the Word is someone other than Christ, who was molested by the passions of the soul and the desires of the flesh, gradually withdrew from things worse and attained to things better through progress in works and became faultless in his way of life, and that he was baptized as a mere man in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, received through his baptism the grace of the Holy Spirit, and was honoured with adoption, and that like an imperial image Christ was worshipped as representing God the Word, and after his resurrection became immutable in his thoughts and totally sinless. (6) He also said that the union of God the Word with Christ was of the same kind as that which the apostle ascribed to man and woman, 'The two will be in one flesh,'⁸ and that after the resurrection, when the Lord breathed on his disciples and said, 'Receive the Holy Spirit,'⁹ he did not give them the Holy Spirit. (7) In addition he had the audacity to assert that the profession that Thomas made, when he touched the Lord's hands and side after the resurrection, saying 'My Lord and my God,'¹⁰ was not said by Thomas about Christ

7 The rest of the paragraph is a quotation of the council's Canon 12 (p. 124 above).

8 Eph 5:31.

9 Jn 20:22.

10 Jn 20:28.

(for Theodore says that Christ was not God) but that Thomas, amazed at the miracle of the resurrection, said this to glorify God. (8) And what is even worse is that in the commentary which the same Theodore wrote on the Acts of the Apostles he made Christ like Plato, Mani, Epicurus and Marcion, by saying that just as each of these men from the teaching he devised caused his disciples to be called Platonists, Manichaeans, Epicureans and Marcionites, so in the same way when Christ had devised his teaching he caused Christians to be called after him. [247] For all these reasons, therefore, may the whole of the universal church recognize that we have proceeded to the contents of this our decree justly and in a way that is not open to criticism.

(9) Accordingly we condemn and anathematize, just like all the other heretics who, it is known, were condemned and anathematized by the aforesaid holy four councils and by the catholic church, also Theodore at one time bishop of Mopsuestia and his impious writings, and no less the writings of Theodoret against the correct faith and against the Twelve Chapters of the holy Cyril and against the First Synod of Ephesus, and his writings in defence of Theodore and Nestorius. (10) In addition we anathematize and condemn the letter said to be from Ibas to the heretic Mari the Persian, which denies that God the Word was incarnate from the holy Mary, Mother of God and ever-virgin, and became man, but says that he was born from her as a mere man, whom it calls 'temple', with the result that God the Word is understood to be someone other than Christ, and which accuses the holy Cyril, the teacher and preacher of the correct faith, of being a heretic and of writing things similar to Apollinaris, and censures the First Synod of Ephesus for supposedly condemning Nestorius without examination and investigation; the same letter calls the Twelve Chapters of the sainted Cyril impious and contrary to the correct faith, while it defends Theodore and Nestorius and their impious doctrines and writings.¹¹

We therefore anathematize and condemn the aforesaid three impious chapters, that is, the impious Theodore of Mopsuestia with his wicked writings, the things that Theodoret wrote impiously, and the letter said to have been written by Ibas, which contains the wicked blasphemies cited above. Whosoever at any time believes that these ought to be accepted or defended, or ever tries to rescind the present condemnation we condemn with an equal anathema, (11) while we hold as brethren and fellow priests those who, preserving the correct faith proclaimed by the aforesaid four

¹¹ This condemnation of the Letter to Mari the Persian is taken from the council's Canon 14.

synods, have condemned or condemn the afore-mentioned Three Chapters. But whatever was done by myself or by others in defence of the afore-mentioned Three Chapters we annul by the authority of our present letter. As for all the blasphemies we have inserted above, may it not happen in the universal church that anyone asserts that the aforesaid four synods or one of them accepted them or those who held or followed such tenets, since it is an established fact that the afore-mentioned holy fathers and especially the holy Council of Chalcedon accepted no one about whom there was suspicion, save him who rejected the blasphemies specified above or ones similar or the heresy of which he was suspected, or denied and condemned the blasphemies because of which he was under suspicion.

(12) May God preserve you in health, most honourable brother.

Issued on the sixth day before the Ides of December in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of our lord Justinian perpetual Augustus, and in the twelfth year after the consulship of the most illustrious Basil.¹²

¹² 8 December 553.

3. THE SECOND *CONSTITUTUM*

INTRODUCTION

Since Vigilius' brief Second Letter to Eutychius lacked weight in comparison with the first *Constitutum*, Justinian demanded more, and on 23 February there followed his long second *Constitutum*, which set out the case against one of the chapters, the Letter to Mari the Persian, at unparalleled length.¹

The beginning of the second *Constitutum* is lost, but manifestly it introduced the issue of the Three Chapters (cf. 16). The extant text begins with quotation of the Chalcedonian Definition and the Tome of Leo. Vigilius proceeds to a discussion of the Letter to Mari the Persian that takes up by far the greater part of the text (17–150). Most of this discussion is devoted to attempting to prove that so far from the letter being approved at Chalcedon Ibas was only acquitted because he disowned it. This presentation of a favourite argument of Justinian's is one of the curiosities of late antique literature, an unconscious self-parody in its verbosity and repetitiveness, as if to give the reader no space to express a doubt or raise a query. There is a grotesque contrast between the surface confidence of the text as it presents its arguments with such phrases as 'it is most patently clear' (22), 'it is proved with radiant clarity' (69), 'this establishes with obvious logic and manifest truth' (87), and the lack of confidence that is betrayed by the piling up of argument upon argument and their hectoring reiteration. There can rarely have been a text so open to a deconstructionist analysis.

A high point (or do I mean a low point?) is reached where Vigilius uses rhetoric to give force to the weakest point in the whole argumentation to prove the inauthenticity of the Letter to Mari (128–31). The papal legate Paschasinus, when delivering his verdict on Ibas, had said, 'From the reading of his letter we have found him to be orthodox.'² Whatever might be said about the authority of this verdict (a valid theme for discussion), it showed at the very least that the bishops recognized the letter to be Ibas'. Justinian's response was to argue that the phrase 'his letter' referred rather to the testimonial from the Edessene clergy in favour of Ibas' orthodoxy that was read

1 The authenticity of the second *Constitutum*, as of the Second Letter to Eutychius, has sometimes been questioned (the MS of the *Constitutum* lacks Vigilius' name and some of the letter is suspiciously derivative), but is established by Zetzl (1974, originally a dissertation of 1929), primarily on the basis of Pelagius, *In defensione*, a text only discovered late in the nineteenth century and first published in 1932.

2 Acts of Chalcedon X. 161.

out at Chalcedon between the reading of the Letter to Mari and the bishops' verdicts (Acts X. 141).³ Vigilius seeks to buttress this strained contention by an eloquent piece of bluster: 'Which letter, rather, would those most holy judges have deemed to be that of Ibas whom they were acquitting – that to Mari the Persian, which because of the great crimes contained in this letter Ibas' adversaries had cited to impugn him, or that of the Edessenes, which absolves him from all the allegations?' – and so on for a whole page.

It is not necessary to rehearse more of Vigilius' arguments.⁴ Although he identifies some weak points in the defence of the Letter to Mari the Persian (e.g. at 65), he exemplifies the adage that 'qui nimis probat, nihil probat' (he who proves too much proves nothing). A more general observation would be that the second *Constitutum* provides an extreme example of an obsession that marred the whole debate – the notion that the fathers of Chalcedon had sat in judgement on the Letter to Mari, when in fact its role in the discussion of Ibas' orthodoxy at the council had been altogether secondary.⁵

After its exhaustive (and exhausting) presentation of the case against the letter the *Constitutum* proceeds to the other two chapters. Its discussion of Theodore of Mopsuestia repeats the reason Justinian gave for condemning him, namely that Nestorians were exploiting his writings to propagate their heresy (152–4). The treatment of heresy in Theodore follows the council's Canon 12 rather than drawing on the hostile analysis of the excerpts from Theodore in the first *Constitutum* (157–60). The brevity of the discussion of these two chapters and their repetition of most of the earlier letter to Eutychius is evidence that Vigilius had lost patience (some time after his reader will have done so). He had had enough of the Three Chapters controversy, he had filled the requisite number of pages, his whole mind was now set on preparations for his return to Rome.

The second *Constitutum* won no plaudits either at the time or in later centuries, but its acceptance of the condemnation of the Three Chapters, and by implication of all the canons of the council of 553, was maintained by Vigilius' successors in the Roman see.

3 We may deduce from Facundus, *Pro defensione* V. 1.8,22 and 2.17–18 that this contention appeared in Justinian's first edict against the Three Chapters.

4 See my summary of the case against the letter in vol. 1, 93–6.

5 See vol. 1, 97.

TEXT⁶

(1)...⁷ [138] Aetius archdeacon of Constantinople New Rome said:

[The Chalcedonian Definition]⁸

The holy and great and universal synod that according to the grace of God and the decree of our most pious and most Christian emperors Valentinian and Marcian Augusti was assembled at Chalcedon, a metropolis in the province of Bithynia, and in the martyrdom of the holy and venerable martyr Euphemia, has issued the definition given below.

(2) Our Lord and Saviour Christ, confirming the knowledge of the faith, said to his disciples, ‘My peace I give you, my peace I leave to you,’⁹ in order that no one should differ from his neighbour over the doctrine of piety but should exhibit equally the proclamation of the truth. But because the most wicked one does not rest from assailing with his own tares and scattering them on the seeds of piety and from always inventing some novelty contrary to the truth, for this reason our Lord, taking thought for the human race as is his wont, has stirred up this pious and most faithful emperor to zeal for the faith¹⁰ and summoned to himself the leaders of the priesthood from everywhere, in order through the operation of the grace of Christ, the Lord of us all, to remove every disease of falsehood from the sheep of Christ and fatten them on the shoots of the truth.

(3) This we have indeed done, repelling the doctrines of error by a unanimous decree, renewing the pure faith of the fathers, proclaiming to all the creed of the 318, and recording as akin the fathers who received this expression of piety, who later assembled at great Constantinople as the 150, and who set their own seal on the same faith. (4) Preserving also on our part the order and all the dogmatic decrees of the holy synod that formerly took place at Ephesus of which the presidents were Celestine bishop of the city of Rome and Cyril of the church of Alexandria, [both] of holy memory, we therefore decree [139] the pre-eminence of the exposition of the true and irreproachable faith by the 318 holy and most

6 Text in *ACO* 4.2, pp. 138–68. The date of the document, 23 February 554, is given at the end.

7 The beginning of the document is lost. There follow the Acts of Chalcedon VI.7–8.

8 The Latin text that follows is that of the *versio antiqua* (on which see Price and Gaddis, I, 84). For a translation of the Greek text see pp. 61–4 above.

9 Jn 14: 27.

10 The word *fidei* (‘for the faith’) is not in the Greek text.

blessed fathers who convened at Nicaea under the emperor Constantine of pious memory, and also the validity of the definitions of the 150 holy fathers at Constantinople for the destruction of the heresies that had then sprung up and for the confirmation of our same catholic faith.

The symbol of the 318 fathers at Nicaea

(5) We believe in one God, almighty Father, maker of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ the only-begotten Son of God, who was born from the Father before all ages, true God from true God, born not made, consubstantial with the Father, through whom all things were made; who for us men and for our salvation descended and was enfleshed and became man and suffered and rose on the third day and ascended into heaven, and will come to judge the living and the dead; and in the Holy Spirit. But those who say, 'There was once when he was not,' and 'Before he was born he was not,' and that he was made from the non-existent, or say that the Son of God is from another subsistence or substance or is changeable or mutable, these the catholic and apostolic church anathematizes.

The same of the 150 holy fathers who assembled at Constantinople

(6) We believe in one God, almighty Father, maker of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, born from the Father before all ages, true God from true God, born not made, consubstantial with the Father, through whom all things were made; who for us men and for our salvation descended and was enfleshed from the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin and became man and was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate and was buried and rose on the third day and ascended into heaven and is seated at the right hand of the Father, and will come again with glory to judge the living and the dead, of whose kingdom there will not be an end; and in the Holy Spirit, lord and life-giver, proceeding from the Father, to be worshipped and glorified together with the Father and the Son, who spoke through the holy prophets; and in one catholic and apostolic church. We profess one baptism for the remission of sins. We await the resurrection of the dead, the life of the age to come. Amen.

(7) This wise and saving symbol of divine grace should indeed suffice for the full knowledge and confirmation of piety, for on the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit its teaching is perfect, and to those who receive it faithfully it sets forth the incarnation of the Lord. (8) But because those who try to refute the preaching of the truth have by

their own heresies concocted novel statements, [140] some presuming to pervert the mystery of the dispensation of the Lord which is for our benefit and refusing to give the Virgin Mary the title of Mother of God, others introducing fusion and mixture, foolishly feigning that there is one nature of flesh and Godhead, and preposterously affirming that as a result of fusion the divine nature of the Only-begotten is passible, for this reason the holy and great and universal synod now present, wishing to close off for them every contrivance against the faith, and teaching this message, unshaken from the beginning, has decreed first and foremost that the faith of the 318 holy fathers remains inviolable. (9) And because of those who fight against the Holy Spirit, it confirms the teaching on the substance of the Spirit that was handed down at a later time by the 150 fathers assembled at Constantinople. This teaching they made known to all, not as if implying that something was lacking in their predecessors, but rather making clear by the testimony of the Scriptures their understanding about the Holy Spirit in opposition to those who tried to reject his sovereignty. (10) But because of those who endeavour to pervert the mystery of the dispensation, and who shamelessly rave that he who was born from the holy Virgin Mary was a mere man, it has accepted as being in agreement [with these creeds] the synodical letters of the blessed Cyril, president of the church of Alexandria, to Nestorius and to others in the Orient, for the refutation of the insanities of Nestorius and for the instruction of those who with pious zeal for the saving symbol are desirous of knowledge. (11) To these it has also attached for the confirmation and understanding of the true doctrines the letter of the president of the great and senior city, the most blessed and most holy archbishop Leo, that was written to Archbishop Flavian of holy memory for the confutation of the wicked understanding of Eutyches, as being in agreement with the profession of the great Peter and a common pillar for us against false doctrines. (12) For it opposes those who strive to break up the mystery of the divine dispensation into two Sons, and it expels from the sacred assembly those who have dared to say that the Godhead of the Only-begotten is passible. It resists those who seek a mixing or fusion in the two natures of Christ, it rejects as insane those who say that the form of a servant which he took from us was heavenly or of some other substance, and it condemns those who invent two natures of the Lord before the union but imagine one after the union.

(13) Following, therefore, the holy fathers, we all in harmony teach profession of one and the same Son and our Lord Jesus Christ, the same

perfect in Godhead, the same perfect in manhood, truly God and the same truly man of a rational soul and body, consubstantial with the Father in respect of the Godhead and the same consubstantial with us in respect of the manhood, in all things like us apart from sin, begotten from the Father before the ages in respect of the Godhead, and the same in the last days for us and for our salvation from the Virgin Mary Mother of God in respect of the manhood, one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, to be acknowledged in two natures without fusion, change, division, or separation (the difference of the natures being never removed because of the union, but rather the distinctive character of each nature being preserved) and coming together¹¹ into one person and subsistence, [141] not parted and divided into two persons, but one and the same only-begotten Son, God, Word, Lord, Jesus Christ, just as earlier the prophets and Jesus Christ himself taught us about him and the symbol of the fathers has handed down to us.

(14) Now, therefore, that these matters have been formulated by us with all precision and diligence in every respect, the holy and universal synod has decreed that no one is allowed to produce or write or compose another creed or to think or teach otherwise. But as for those who have presumed to construct another creed or to publish or to teach or deliver another symbol to those wishing to be converted to the recognition of the truth from paganism or Judaism or any heresy whatsoever, [the council decrees] that, if they are bishops or clerics, they are to be deposed, bishops from the episcopate and clerics from the clergy, while if they are monks or laymen they are to be anathematized.

[The Tome of Leo]¹²

(15) Leo to his most beloved brother Flavian

Having read the letter of your love, which we are amazed was so late, and having studied the sequence of the episcopal acts, we at length came to know what cause of offence occurring among you had arisen against the integrity of the faith, and that which earlier was hidden has now been revealed and made clear to us. As a result Eutyches, who

11 The Latin is 'concurrentem', in apposition to 'Christum', a mistake for 'concurrente', in apposition to 'proprietary utriusque naturae' (the distinctive character of each nature), as in the Greek. The same error comes in a number of MSS of the Latin Acts of Chalcedon; see *ACO* 2.3, p. 397.

12 Now, after the Definition, there follows the opening of the Tome of Leo. For the full text, which was presumably given at this stage in Vigilius' original text, before scribal abbreviation, see Acts VI. 19 (pp. 49–58 above).

appeared worthy of honour because of his title of presbyter, is shown to be extremely imprudent and utterly ignorant, with the consequence that the saying of the prophet applies precisely to him, ‘He refused to understand so as to do good; he meditated wickedness on his bed.’¹³ For what could be more wicked than to hold impious opinions and refuse credence to those more wise and more learned? But into this folly fall those who through a lack of clarity are hindered from recognizing the truth, and who have recourse not to the prophetic sayings or the writings of the apostles or the authority of the gospels but to themselves, and are consequently teachers of error because they have not been disciples of truth – and the rest that is contained in the same letter until its end.

Issued on the Ides of June in the consulship of Asterius and Protoprogenes.¹⁴

(16) Now that we have set out the teaching of the blessed Council of Chalcedon and the letter of the blessed Leo on the holy and orthodox faith, which is one and the same as that of the three preceding synods, that is, those of Nicaea, Constantinople and Ephesus I – and your fraternity and the universal church know that with the help of God we persevere in it with all the dedication of a sincere mind –, we believe it to be utterly necessary for preserving respect for it in all regards that on the questions recorded above concerning the Three Chapters we should discuss everything and define it by the careful promulgation of a verdict.

(17) We therefore deem it appropriate first, as we proposed, to make clear by explicit proof what [judgement should be pronounced]¹⁵ on the letter that is said to have been written by Ibas to Mari the Persian. Bishop Ibas was wrongly accused by Samuel, Maras and others of his clergy; and to support a serious charge of allegedly impugning the holy faith the Letter to Mari the Persian was cited against him by the same accusers. He was acquitted by Bishops Photius and Eustathius, to whom at that time the case had been entrusted by the emperor Theodosius of pious memory.¹⁶ Subsequently, on the same charges on which he had been acquitted he was in his absence declared guilty in the criminal proceedings of the Second Council of Ephesus by the replies of false witnesses whose principal claim was

13 Ps 35:4.

14 13 June 449.

15 These words fill a brief lacuna.

16 See Price and Gaddis, II, 265–8, summing up the evidence in the Acts of Chalcedon IX-X.

that this same Letter to Mari was his.¹⁷ When he came to the holy Synod of Chalcedon, he is recorded as giving the following testimony to clear himself:

[142] From [the Acts of] the Synod of Chalcedon in the session on Bishop Ibas after other minutes the following:¹⁸

(18) The most devout Ibas, bishop of the city of Edessa, entered and said: ‘After suffering injustice from Eutyches and false inventions, after quitting forty domiciles and being condemned in my absence, I came here to seek mercy, and I approached the sacred and immortal head, and he has ordered that your magnificence together with this holy and universal synod should examine the proceedings against me. I therefore entreat you to take cognisance of the fact that I have endured false accusation and calumny from certain clerics. Direct therefore that the judgement delivered by the most devout bishops Photius and Eustathius be read out; for Uranius bishop of Hemerium, doing everything to gratify Eutyches, contrived that certain clerics should accuse me and that the case should be entrusted to himself and the aforesaid. And I was found innocent of the blasphemies charged against me, and a judgement was delivered by the aforesaid most devout bishops refuting the accusations made against me out of calumny and testifying that I am catholic. Give instructions that all the proceedings at Ephesus in my absence be annulled and that I be granted justice, being guilty of nothing, and that my episcopacy and equally my church be restored to me. For all the clerics of Edessa through whom¹⁹ they wrote to the aforesaid bishops testify that I am catholic, and I am guiltless of the wicked blasphemies charged against me²⁰ – and the rest.

Again from Session XI of the same synod:²¹

17 In fact the Letter to Mari looms less large in the Acts of Ephesus II as evidence of Ibas’ alleged heresy than statements remembered from his sermons and addresses; see Doran (2006), 162–75.

18 Acts of Chalcedon IX. 4, Price and Gaddis, II, 260–1.

19 A mistranslation of the Greek $\delta\iota' \acute{\omicron}\nu$, which means ‘in what.’

20 The testimonial in favour of Ibas from the Edessene clergy was read at the next session (X. 141).

21 Acts of Chalcedon X. 1, Price and Gaddis, II, 273. It is to be noted that the *versio antiqua* of the Latin edition, which Vigilius is using, has the same numbering of sessions as in the Greek edition. In the later versions of the Latin edition (and in Price and Gaddis) this ‘eleventh’ session is numbered as the tenth.

(19) The aforesaid most devout man Ibas entered and said: ‘I have an appeal to make to your magnificence and this holy universal synod. Eutyches invented certain calumnies against me concerning the faith, and did not allow me to attend the holy synod.’²² And further down: ‘For this reason, as I have already informed you, I approached the sacred and immortal head, who has ordered your magnificence and the holy synod to hear the proceedings against me, and you have learnt from the verdict that in nothing was I found guilty.’

(20) It is therefore clear from the very start, when Ibas bishop of the city of Edessa is described as having entered the holy Synod of Chalcedon, that he denied as being his the letter which pretends to have been written by him to Mari the Persian, to the extent that he explicitly testifies that he had suffered injustice and false inventions from Eutyches in the criminal proceedings of the Second Council of Ephesus. (21) It is evident at the same hearing at Ephesus II against the aforesaid bishop in his absence that what was specially demanded was that through the replies of the witnesses who had been produced long beforehand his accusers should endeavour to show that Bishop Ibas had acknowledged as his own the letter that had been written to Mari the Persian.²³ (22) For this reason it is clear, as he himself complains, that he had been condemned by an unjust verdict. For from the fact that Bishop Ibas asserts that there was contrivance against him at the wicked hearing of Ephesus II with false inventions, a false accusation and calumny, [143] it is most patently clear that the oft-mentioned Bishop Ibas denied as being his the afore-mentioned letter written to Mari the Persian. (23) To this is to be added the fact that in the criminal proceedings of that council the presentation by Bishop Ibas’ adversaries of the replies of the witnesses, from which they endeavour to show falsely that the letter was his, indicates nothing other than that at the hearing before the afore-mentioned Photius and Eustathius it could not be proved that it was by the same Bishop Ibas. (24) For if it had been proved there, the accusers at the Second Synod of Ephesus would have used the proceedings before Photius and Eustathius rather than witnesses; for a need to produce witnesses arises in the case of matters that are not clear but uncertain. Therefore most justly does Bishop

22 The Second Council of Ephesus of 449.

23 In the record of the inquiry by Chaereas at Edessa in April 449 a whole series of witnesses testified that at the early hearing at Berytus Ibas had acknowledged the letter to be his (Doran 2006, 173–5). This was not because there was serious doubt about its authenticity, but simply because his accusers had produced a mere copy and Chaereas asked for proof of authenticity before sending the document on, as the accusers requested, to the higher church and state authorities.

Ibas, acting at the holy Council of Chalcedon and rebutting the same false witnesses, complain that he had suffered accusation in his absence at the Second Synod of Ephesus as a result of inventions rather than the truth, because of course he knew that at the hearing before the aforesaid Bishops Photius and Eustathius he had been proved guilty of no allegation by the same accusers; on the contrary, to prove his innocence more fully he demanded that the judgement of Bishops Photius and Eustathius be read out.²⁴

(25) At their hearing the accusers produced a petition, beginning as follows: ‘We were indeed hoping to live our whole lifetime without contention, but the outrages perpetrated by our venerable Bishop Ibas against our church and the most holy faith of our fathers, which are akin to injustice, have forced us to have recourse to this accusation’ – and the rest.²⁵ The same judges issued a ruling to the effect that, leaving aside the general accusation, the accusers should set out individually in writing their articles of accusation against Bishop Ibas.²⁶ In what pertains to matters of faith, that is, what appeared to impugn the faith of the fathers, as his accusers had alleged, the accusation presented by them in writing is known to contain nothing apart from the sole charge that he called blessed Cyril a heretic and was thereby proved to be a Nestorian. (26) For it says, ‘He is a Nestorian, and calls the blessed bishop Cyril a heretic.’²⁷ Now it is certain that this is contained to the utmost degree in the letter which is recorded as written to Mari the Persian, and that the judges declared at once in their own ruling that because of the gravity of heresy they had taken up this statement. They spoke as follows: (27) ‘When reproof follows from an article of accusation that imperils the soul, we judge examination of the other articles to be superfluous. Therefore select and press first of all those that are manifestly forbidden by both the canons and the laws and are clearly hateful to those who fear God. It is the following that we think essential: first, that he who exercises priesthood must be of sound faith, then that he be free from all depravity’ – and the rest.²⁸ (28) Who consequently could doubt that the judges said that this article pertains to what endangers the soul and that consequently a priest who called the blessed Cyril a heretic must be considered of unsound faith, since before the making of this ruling nothing else had been stated in the accusation on matters relating to the faith except ‘He is a Nestorian and

24 Acts of Chalcedon IX. 4–7.

25 Ibid. X. 56.

26 Ibid. X. 63.

27 Ibid. X. 73.12.

28 Ibid. X. 74.

called the blessed Cyril a heretic'? (29) Consequently, in relation to the letter written to Mari the Persian (which by declaring that the doctrines of the blessed Cyril are contrary to the correct faith – it is a known fact that Nestorius was condemned for not assenting to them – called the blessed Cyril a heretic), it is quite evident that it was in no way proved by Bishop Ibas' adversaries to have been from the same Ibas, and also that the same Ibas did not acknowledge that it was his, because if it could have been shown before the aforesaid judges that the letter had been written by Ibas, Ibas would never have secured an acquittal by their verdict, since with the great weight of their ruling they earnestly required the matter of the faith to be investigated first, which, as relating to the blessed Cyril who was said to have been called a heretic by Ibas, they considered to be the most grave.

(30) [144] The subsequent text of the decree can be clearly shown to cohere with this point from those passages of it that are appended below. For when at Ibas' request the sequence of the judgement of Bishops Photius and Eustathius was read out at the afore-mentioned holy Council of Chalcedon, it was revealed that the aforesaid judges, when they spoke about the sequence of accusation made against Bishop Ibas, pronounced after other points in their verdict the following:²⁹

(31) When therefore they presented certain articles and asked for there to be a minute examination of them, we pored over the articles and found in them some calumny³⁰ of the most devout bishop Ibas, as if he did not hold correct tenets but taught things other than pious doctrine; this forced us of necessity first to conduct an examination with great diligence. For we bade his accusers say what statements had been made by the most religious bishop Ibas that were, as they claimed, contrary to pious doctrine. They mentioned certain of them, and when many matters had been raised, which are contained in the acts...

(32) A few lines further down the same judges spoke as follows:

And after deliberation, giving priority to piety in every way in our examination, we induced the most devout bishop Ibas to do what he himself discerned³¹ to make up for what had been said frivolously,³² namely, to

29 Ibid. IX. 7 gives the full judgement of Photius and Eustathius, from which the following excerpts are taken.

30 This meaning of *immissio* is not recorded in Lewis and Short or Souter, but in the Latin translation of the Acts of Chalcedon it is used to translate διαβολή (*ACO* 2.3, p. 591).

31 Vigilius reads *sapuit*, a corruption of *rapuit*, meaning 'seized on' (the opportunity).

32 A bizarre rendering of the Greek, which means 'to satisfy those who claimed to have been

give in writing what he holds and thinks about our pious faith; and this he did. The aforesaid most devout man gave a fulsome promise to speak in the church of his own city and publicly anathematize Nestorius, the leader in malign impiety, and those who shared his beliefs and who used his books or codices. He professed that his beliefs accorded with the contents of the letters that passed between John bishop of the great city of Antioch and Cyril bishop of the very great city of Alexandria, [both] of most devout and most holy memory (which were expedited by Paul of blessed memory, bishop of the city of Emesa, and which brought about universal accord), that he assented to all the recent proceedings of the holy synod that met in the imperial and Christian city of Constantinople, that he accepted all the decrees of the metropolitan council of Ephesus, which was guided by the Holy Spirit, and that he judged them to be equal to what was resolved at Nicaea, and considered there to be no difference between the one and the other. We strongly praised his holiness because he readily discerned how to heal those who, out of suspicion or in some other way, might lower their opinion of his teaching – and the rest.

(33) Once, therefore, we have weighed the tenor of the decree issued by the venerable men Photius and Eustathius, in which it is said ‘when his accusers produced articles’ (which certainly had to be given in written, as can be read above), and have there found calumny of Bishop Ibas to the effect that he held and taught tenets other than pious doctrine, it is clear that the judges, after the matter had been minutely examined, as they themselves mention, made no other pronouncement than that the accusation against Bishop Ibas had been lodged calumniously through fabricated calumny [145] and not out of zeal for the truth. (34) And what is there in the matter of the faith that his accusers brought against Bishop Ibas in the articles they produced in writing save that he was a Nestorian in calling the blessed Cyril a heretic – who is asserted in the letter said to have been written to Mari the Persian to have fallen into the heresy of Apollinaris and to have written things heretical? It is clear from this that the same letter was not by Bishop Ibas, since the judges testify that the contents of the letter were cited against him in a false accusation. (35) It is manifest that this passage of the decree mentioned above accords with the investigation of Bishop Ibas at the holy

wronged.’ A note in *ACO ad loc.* detects in the erroneous and ungrammatical *levi* (‘lightly’) a corruption of *laedi* (‘to be harmed’). The translation of the whole extract contains a number of inaccuracies and should be compared to the Greek original translated in Price and Gaddis, II, 262–3.

and venerable Council of Chalcedon in which the complaint was made³³ that Bishop Uranius, acting to gratify Eutyches, induced certain clerics to press their accusation; from this it is quite clear that the judges Photius and Eustathius in their own verdict tore up that calumny (without giving the name of the person making it), which Bishop Ibas openly characterized at the holy Synod of Chalcedon by uttering the word ‘intriguer.’³⁴ There is then no doubt that what amounts to a charge against the blessed Cyril and is agreed to have been cited against Ibas as heresy and schism – and it is manifest that the letter indeed contains it – was proved by both the denial of the accused and the decree of the judges to have been fabricated by his accusers with the ingenuity of calumny.

(36) It is added in a page of the same decree that Bishop Ibas, ‘to make up for what had been said frivolously’ by his accusers, ‘discerned how to give in writing what he holds and believes about the pious faith.’ From this it is therefore clear that Bishop Ibas’ accusers were notorious for every kind of falsehood, for, having fallen through ill-advised heat of contention, they were proved to have accused Bishop Ibas frivolously rather than truthfully. The consequence was that, in opposition to what the tenor of the letter written to Mari the Persian asserted in detraction of the blessed Cyril and his Twelve chapters and which Ibas could not be proved to have said by the same frivolous and false allegations of his accusers, the same Bishop Ibas was to show in writing what he believed about the pious faith, as if he judged that the fact that he could not be proved to have said anything against the correct faith was not sufficient for his innocence unless he published by his own decision the faith as he had always retained it in his mind – something that would not have seemed necessary to either the judges or Bishop Ibas himself if the above-mentioned letter could have been shown both to be his and to have been written with an orthodox meaning. (37) For this reason we must pay careful attention to the fact that, ‘to make up for what had been said frivolously,’ Bishop Ibas was said to have readily discerned how to show in writing what he thought about the pious faith. For it is patently clear that the text of the letter to Mari was found to be so contrary to pious doctrine that, even though it was proved that Bishop Ibas was charged with it because of the frivolity of his accusers rather than the truth of the matter, nevertheless, lest what had been falsely attributed to him should detract from

33 By Ibas himself at Acts of Chalcedon IX. 4.

34 The Latin word is *concinuator*. The reference must be to Ibas’ accusation, made at *ibid.* IX. 4 and X. 1, that his enemies had schemed against him, although the word is not to be found in any of the Latin versions of these sections.

his orthodox faith, he promptly discerned that in opposition to its impiety he should declare what he believed about the pious faith. For it would not have been necessary for him to produce in writing his understanding of the purity of the orthodox faith unless that letter which had been cited against him clearly contained the stain of infidelity that he was trying to avoid. It is therefore established that he was not the author of the letter that is proved to have been cited by the frivolity of his accusers, which was contrary to the correct faith, and the allegation of which was to be countered by setting out the correct faith in writing.

(38) Consequently again, and evidently to clear Bishop Ibas, it is stated in the same judgement that Bishop Ibas is mentioned as having given a fulsome promise to publicly anathematize Nestorius, the leader in malign impiety, and those who shared his tenets and who used his books or codices, and as accepting all the decrees of the Council of Ephesus, which was guided by the Holy Spirit, and that it differed in nothing from the Council of Nicaea. (39) [146] But the letter recorded as written to Mari the Persian can be shown not only not to accept the proceedings of the First Council of Ephesus but even to have rejected and condemned them with bitter execration, since in fact it states that Nestorius was condemned without trial and investigation, declares that the blessed Cyril had fallen into the heresy of Apollinaris and had written like him in obstinate and sacrilegious error, and called the Twelve Chapters of the blessed Cyril full of all impiety and contrary to the correct faith. (40) Therefore the profession of Bishop Ibas, in which, as the judges testify, he fulsomely professes to maintain and accept all the proceedings of the First Council of Ephesus,³⁵ most evidently makes clear that he denied that the letter was his. For if it had been established that the letter was his, in which, as has been said, the First Synod of Ephesus is impugned, the judges would not have said that Bishop Ibas made fulsome promises, among others, to accept all the decrees of the First Council of Ephesus, but they would have said, by way rather of announcing a correction, that the aforesaid bishop had been compelled of necessity to accept things that earlier he had rejected in the letter: for Bishop Ibas would not have been described as making a fulsome profession if his profession for the sake of appearing orthodox had been forced on him by the pressure of the facts. (41) The clarity of this logic is further assisted by the words contained below in the same judgement, which say, 'For this reason we praised his holiness because he readily discerned how to heal those who,

35 Ibid. IX. 7 (Price and Gaddis, II, 262).

out of suspicion or in some other way, might lower their opinion of his teaching,' and the rest. These words show explicitly and abundantly that Bishop Ibas made this additional declaration to clear himself not of a truth (which had not been proved in his case) but merely of a suspicion, just in case it could have arisen. (42) Since, however, the letter written to Mari the Persian contains on being read not merely things that might arouse a certain suspicion but explicit and open charges against the First Synod of Ephesus and the Twelve Chapters of the blessed Cyril, no one can doubt that the letter was very far from being proved to be by Bishop Ibas, who was abundantly shown to be free even of grounds for suspicion. How will it be possible for someone to be convicted of the truth of a reprehensible fact whose desire it was to escape even suspicion?

(43) These being the concordant facts and the message of one and the same justice, there follows also the ruling uttered by the legates of the apostolic see, which on the basis of the decree of the venerable bishops Photius and Eustathius, on the subject of both the written depositions of his accusers and their statements during the proceedings, professes that Bishop Ibas was found guiltless and clear of every accusation, and asks simply that the venerable men Photius and Eustathius should indicate by their own profession whether they acknowledged their own verdict. For it runs as follows:³⁶

(44) Paschasinus and the remaining bishops said through [Boniface] the presbyter of the apostolic see: 'Let the most holy bishops who by their own decree pronounced the most devout Ibas clear and guiltless of every accusation state now if they acknowledge their own verdict.'

Photius the most devout bishop of Tyre said: 'Indeed. This is our decree.'

Eustathius the most devout bishop of Berytus said: 'This is my signature' – and the rest.

(45) This interrogation, when they simply admonished the judges to acknowledge their verdict, casting no doubts on the character of the sentence and indeed approving the fact that by it Bishop Ibas had been found guiltless of every accusation, clearly and explicitly demonstrates [147] that the decree of the venerable bishops Photius and Eustathius received the unhesitating assent of the legates of the apostolic see to the fact that, as has been said, Bishop Ibas had been found guiltless of every accusation. (46) So after the judgement of Bishops Photius and Eustathius, which Bishop Ibas had

36 Ibid. IX. 9–11.

produced in his own support, had been read out, it was acknowledged by the same judges (as has been said above), once their avowal had been sought.

When on the following day the hearing about the person of the same Bishop Ibas was continued, Bishop Ibas again entered and is recorded as having presented the following plaint:³⁷

(47) I have an appeal to make to your magnificence and this holy universal synod. Eutyches invented certain calumnies against me concerning the faith, and did not allow me to attend the holy synod. By various orders he posted me to forty domiciles in turn; I have changed prisons twenty times and more, as if there were not a prison in Antioch under the count's men, who said to me, 'You have been condemned.' If therefore it seems good to your magnificence and your holy synod to annul the proceedings against me without due trial and in my absence, this will be in your power. For this reason, as I have already informed you, I approached the sacred and immortal head, and he ordered your magnificence and the holy synod to hear the proceedings against me, and you have learnt from the verdict that in nothing was I found guilty.

(48) From this complaint it is clear that Bishop Ibas claimed in a most explicit protest that he had complained to a higher consistory that the proceedings against him concerning the faith in the criminal proceedings of the Second Synod of Ephesus had been fabricated by Eutyches, where, as has already been said above, through the admittance of replies by witnesses against him in his absence their principal endeavour was to show that the letter to Mari the Persian was his. (49) That in this passage as inserted above Bishop Ibas denied this letter is clearly apparent in two ways: *first*, because the very production of witnesses by his accusers was demonstrably unnecessary except in the case of someone who denied the charge, for no one needs the replies of witnesses against someone whom he sees confessing what he is charged with having done. This denial is still more clearly proved by Bishop Ibas from the anxiety of the accuser when he says, 'He did not allow me to attend the synod.' He testifies that he [Eutyches] had prepared false witnesses against him; and since he complains that his absence was engineered by the efforts of his adversary, he confirms that, if he had been present, he could not have been convicted. (50) And *secondly*, because at the holy and venerable Council of Chalcedon Bishop Ibas, being present, when he complained of fabrication in the proceedings against him at Ephesus II by

37 Ibid. X. 1.

means of witnesses and in other ways, professed beyond doubt that the letter which had been falsely ascribed to him there by the replies of witnesses had nothing to do with him. The consequence of this, and a fitting one, was that on the basis of the decree of Photius and Eustathius the holy judges in session there at Chalcedon found him guilty of nothing, while he explicitly professed that the charges relating to the faith which his accusers had brought against him – both in the plaint presented before Bishops Photius and Eustathius, in which they claimed that he had said many things against the faith of the fathers, and in the articles given in writing in which they said ‘He is a Nestorian and calls the blessed Cyril a heretic,’ and also in their statement in this context that he had said publicly, ‘I do not envy Christ becoming God, for in so far as he did so, so also have I’³⁸ (an accusation that clearly fell under the article in which they had said that he was Nestorian and had called the blessed Cyril a heretic) – [148] had been falsely levelled against him by his accusers. [He also testified] that it had been decreed by the judgement of the venerable bishops Photius and Eustathius that these charges had been brought frivolously and falsely, to the extent that by the same decree he was declared to have been cleared of every accusation and found guilty of nothing.

(51) This being so, it is clearly demonstrated that the letter written to Mari the Persian, which asserts that the Twelve Chapters of the blessed Cyril are full of all impiety and contrary to the correct faith and that Nestorius had been condemned without trial and investigation, was in no way proved to be by Ibas, since in fact he professed explicitly about himself that his accusers had spoken falsely in what they had alleged against him relating to the faith, and since, if he had confessed that the letter was his or if he had been convicted by his accusers through some proof, the judgement of Bishops Photius and Eustathius, in whose investigation these had been required,³⁹ would certainly not have ruled that Bishop Ibas had been charged by his accusers frivolously and falsely and through calumny. (52) In addition he both anathematized Nestorius without compulsion and testified in a voluntary profession that he accepted all the decrees of the First Council of Ephesus just as much as the acts of Nicaea, while assuredly it is a fact that these decrees were rejected, and Nestorius defended, by the letter which is said to have been written to Mari the Persian. Because of this no one should doubt that we declare in every way that the things we affirm to

38 Ibid. X. 81.

39 That is, whose investigation had required the accusers to present written charges.

be false allegations against us were neither said by us nor committed by us, and also that we are proved to have held even previously the things that we are asserted to have accepted wholeheartedly.⁴⁰

(53) To supplement the indubitable proof of the denial [by Ibas], the sequence of the following proceedings coheres neatly. For when already at the holy Synod of Chalcedon the judges⁴¹ attended to an objection to the acquittal of Bishop Ibas and ordered his accusers to enter, along with the others there entered Deacon Theophilus, who, when asked whether he had come to accuse Bishop Ibas, replied as follows: 'His accusers are known, and are not here. I am a deacon, and I know the violence of the city; and if I bring an accusation, the witnesses are not here, and he will simply deny it.'⁴² This reply by the accuser shows that Bishop Ibas denied the allegations made before Bishop Photius and Eustathius, in such a way that at the Synod of Chalcedon, when the same man acknowledged that he would make these allegations, he confirmed that Bishop Ibas would deny them. (54) For this reason the claim of certain people is utterly astounding, who, concerning the letter written to Mari the Persian, which was cited by his accusers as a major offence and was to be produced again at the Synod of Chalcedon from the proceedings before Bishops Photius and Eustathius to convict Bishop Ibas (as they imagined), assert falsely that the same Bishop Ibas confessed that the letter was his, even though, as was said above, his accusers, acquainted with his earlier denials, testified that he was most certainly going to deny the allegations that they knew they would make on the basis of the aforementioned proceedings. (55) For to such an extent did they know that in that court of Bishops Photius and Eustathius Bishop Ibas, relying on the veracity of his conscience, had denied the points put forward by his accusers, that at the holy Council of Chalcedon in the very presence of Photius and Eustathius themselves, in whose court the matter had earlier been aired, they confirm that he would again make denial; for the accuser would never have said that Bishop Ibas would make a denial, when the same people were again taking part in the hearing, if he knew that in their presence at the earlier trial he had already made a confession.

40 Vigilius is claiming that, despite all the evidence to the contrary (chiefly his first *Constitutum*), he had consistently condemned the Letter to Mari.

41 *Iudices* in this text generally means the bishops sitting in judgement, but sometimes, as here, echoing the terminology of the Latin Acts of Chalcedon, it means the lay officials who presided at most of the sessions. So as not to import a distinction absent from the text, I use the word 'judges' throughout.

42 Ibid. X. 8–12.

(56) After this, when a ruling of the judges in session at Chalcedon asked the accusers of Bishop Ibas whether they were able to produce written proofs of anything, Deacon Theophilus replied, 'I have the minutes of the proceedings relating to this matter both at Berytus and at Ephesus' – and the rest.⁴³ (57) It is therefore to be noted that [149] Bishop Ibas' adversaries said that they had nothing to produce against him at the Synod of Chalcedon except the minutes relating to him [from the proceedings] before Bishops Photius and Eustathius and subsequently at Ephesus II. (58) From this it is clear that they judged that it would not be adequate for them, and indeed considered that it would rather go against them, if only the proceedings against Ibas before the afore-mentioned Bishops Photius and Eustathius were read, in which he was proved guilty neither by witnesses nor by his own confession, unless they demanded the production also of the criminal acts of the Second Synod of Ephesus, in which they had used those false witnesses who affirmed mendaciously that Bishop Ibas had confessed that the letter written to Mari the Persian was his.⁴⁴ It is therefore certain that his accusers had no documented proof against Ibas, as they supposed it to be, save that alone which Bishop Ibas affirmed had been fabricated against him in his absence at that synod not to be mentioned.

(59) At the holy Synod of Chalcedon the judges in session, spurred by the truth of the matter, raised this point with the justice of their judgement when they asked Bishops Thalassius and Eusebius, who had at that time been present with others at Ephesus II, whether Ibas had attended their hearing in person. They replied, 'He was not present.' When this reply was known, the bishops of the east and of Pontus at the council of Chalcedon cried out, 'No one condemns someone in his absence.'⁴⁵ (60) Their ruling, thus delivered, evidently annulled the proceedings against Bishop Ibas at Ephesus II, and consequently made the whole matter depend on the acts of those men (that is, Photius and Eustathius), by whose verdict they already knew that Bishop Ibas had been acquitted. (61) In the sequel a seal was set on this by the still clearer ruling of the judges, who forbade the reading of the criminal proceedings of the Second Synod of Ephesus against Bishop Ibas, held in execration for their mendacity.⁴⁶ For, to show that it was clearly understood that Bishop Ibas had indubitably denied all the allegations that had been made against him by his adversaries at the hearing before Bishops

43 Ibid. X. 13–14.

44 Cf. the Acts of Ephesus II in Doran (2006), 173–5.

45 Acts of Chalcedon X. 17–19.

46 Ibid. X. 144–59.

Photius and Eustathius, and which were now to be made at the holy Council of Chalcedon on the basis of the proceedings produced by Theophilus, the question put by the judges in session at Chalcedon and the reply by Bishop Photius made this plain without the hindrance of any ambiguity. They run as follows:⁴⁷

(62) The most magnificent and most glorious judges said: ‘So was the most devout Ibas proved guilty by his accusers?’

Photius the most devout bishop said: ‘No’ – and the rest.

What could be clearer or more evident than this proof, namely the fact that Photius himself, the judge before whom the previous proceedings had been conducted, by acknowledging that Bishop Ibas had not been found guilty, testifies that he undoubtedly denied the allegations, which, after all, the accuser who was to produce them had confirmed that Bishop Ibas would deny?

(63) That this denial particularly relates to the letter recorded as written to Mari the Persian is made clear by the sequence of the following proceedings. For when, to document the charges they had given in writing at the hearing before Photius and Eustathius, that is, that he was a Nestorian and had called the blessed Cyril a heretic, they produced the blasphemies that they thought they could prove by witnesses, that is, ‘I do not envy Christ becoming God,’ but were in fact, once the witnesses had been rejected, able to prove none of them, they returned to the charges they had earlier given in writing, and cited the contents of the letter written to Mari the Persian, that is, that he had called Cyril of blessed memory and his Twelve Chapters heretical. (64) The judges Photius and Eustathius, as they themselves declared above, poring diligently over this part of the case, now questioning the same Bishop Ibas and now demanding proofs from his accusers as to whether anything [150] had been said by the oft-mentioned Bishop Ibas in disparagement of the blessed Cyril after the union of the churches, investigated the matter keenly and most shrewdly. Bishop Ibas, raising all his objections in response to this, impugned the letter recorded as written to Mari the Persian, asserting that after union and peace had been made between the blessed Cyril and the easterners he had in no respect defamed the blessed Cyril. (65) But the oft-cited letter written to Mari the Persian even after the restoration of union and peace to the churches both affirms that the blessed Cyril fell into the heresy of Apollinaris and wrote like him and asserts that his Twelve Chapters

47 Ibid. X. 23–4.

are contrary to the correct faith and that Nestorius was condemned without trial and investigation. The writer of the letter does not attribute the cause of this to him or anyone else making a mistake in interpretation, with the result that the blessed Cyril was *thought* to have composed heretical doctrines, but the same forger of the letter, persevering in his wickedness, affirms that the orthodox doctrines of the blessed Cyril are themselves heretical, with the consequence that he asserts that the blessed Cyril, as if repudiating what he had written wrongly, in fact abandoned them.⁴⁸ (66) That all this is contrary to Bishop Ibas' profession with which he protects himself from the allegations of his adversaries will be understood by anyone who reads it with a pious and orthodox heart. Neither would the judges themselves, investigating with such diligence if anything had been said after the union that was even faintly derogatory, have allowed Bishop Ibas to go unpunished or have said he had not been found guilty if they had proved that the so openly blasphemous letter was his. (67) For what greater insult to the blessed Cyril could be made or devised than to declare his doctrines heretical – those he enunciated at Ephesus I, and for the orthodox preaching of which he, living and dead, deserves the honour and respect of all? Since it is manifest that these doctrines of the blessed Cyril are variously impugned in profane utterance in the letter that was written to Mari the Persian *after* Bishops Cyril and John of the city of Antioch, [both] of blessed memory, had been united, who with a sane mind could suppose that Ibas, who denied that he said anything against the blessed Cyril after the union, did not deny the letter, which even after that union declares his doctrines heretical? (68) – unless perchance someone so departs from the logic of human reasoning as to believe that Ibas said nothing hostile about the blessed Cyril even if he testified that he wrote heresy, and as to think that the same Ibas maintained respect towards his person even if he accused the holy doctrine for which he deserves the respect of all. Therefore if it is an exceptional insult to the blessed Cyril to have condemned his doctrine, and if it is an open profession of heresy to disparage catholic preaching, then if the letter that manifestly contains both of these were proved to be Ibas', Bishop Ibas would never by denying both have been acquitted of both.

(69) From this it follows that it is proved with radiant clarity that no time can be found, neither before the union nor after the uniting of the blessed

48 For this part of the letter see Acts of Constantinople VI. 5.7–8 (pp. 9–10 above). The defenders of the Three Chapters, however, read it in the light of Ibas' claim at Berytus that he had ceased to regard Cyril as a heretic once he had 'explained' his Twelve Chapters (Acts of Chalcedon X. 130); cf. first *Constitutum* 269–75.

Cyril with the easterners, in which this same letter could be affirmed to have been written by Bishop Ibas. For since the tenor of the letter clearly shows that it was composed in disparagement of the blessed Cyril and his doctrines after the restoration of unity and peace in the churches, while Ibas testifies that after the union of the blessed Cyril with the easterners he never said anything of the kind, it is established that the said letter had been composed by the same Ibas neither before the union, because this is contrary to the tenor of the same letter, nor after the union, because Ibas denies this in his profession. (70) And lest, in fine, anyone should be uncertain that Bishop Ibas persisted in the same denial with which he had begun, or that the judges realized this from the words of Ibas when present, or that his accusers wanted, but failed, to prove him guilty despite his denials, [151] it is necessary that we weigh the words of the judges' ruling and of his accusers' prosecution that were read out at the holy Synod of Chalcedon from the proceedings of Photius and Eustathius, and which run as follows:⁴⁹

The most devout bishops (that is, Photius and Eustathius) said: 'If after the death of the blessed Cyril the most devout bishop Ibas called him a heretic and held him to be a heretic, demonstrate it.'

Maras said: 'We can prove it.'

It is beyond doubt that neither would the judges have sought proof nor would his accusers have promised to provide it, if Bishop Ibas had not denied this.

(71) Although the points above from the proceedings before Photius and Eustathius and their judgement have been perfectly clear as a multifaceted proof of Ibas' denial from the rulings of the judges, the charges of his accusers, and the counterpleas of Ibas himself, and would therefore be abundantly sufficient even if less were stated expressly in the judgement of Bishops Photius and Eustathius, yet one could be satisfied by Bishop Ibas' simple denial of the letter in the profession that is contained in [the Acts of] the Synod of Chalcedon. (72) For when the letter written to Mari the Persian had been read from the proceedings before Photius and Eustathius, Ibas immediately opposed his voice in denial, saying: 'Let your clemency order that the letter of the clergy of Edessa be read out, so that you may learn that I am guiltless of the charges brought against me and have suffered violence.'⁵⁰ (73) Here it is first to be carefully noted that after the reading of the text of

49 Ibid. X. 136-7.

50 Ibid. X. 139.

the letter written to Mari the Persian the judges in session at Chalcedon are shown to have passed by the same letter in silence, doubtless because they knew that it had already been repudiated so many times by the denials of the accused. For if they had seen that there was anything in it that would advance the acquittal of Bishop Ibas, soon, struck by its reading, they would have [seen that they had] decreed in vain that his accusers should produce from the proceedings of Bishops Photius and Eustathius in support of a charge of heresy things that on the contrary showed Bishop Ibas to be orthodox; finally they would not in their rulings have ordered an examination of the letter of the Edessenes (which Bishop Ibas demanded to be read out in his own support in opposition to the letter said to have been written to Mari the Persian),⁵¹ if the letter that the accuser had produced proved the deserts of the accused to be more worthy of praise than censure. (74) What are we to make of the fact that Bishop Ibas himself when the same letter to Mari the Persian was read out did not attempt to defend its character or to prove the correctness of his faith from the same letter's profession? If he had admitted that the letter was his own or contained true doctrines, he would immediately have risen against his accusers and said, 'They attack me in blindness of heart, in alleging against me to support a charge of heresy something from which I can be proved to be orthodox; they have indeed shown themselves to be heretics in charging as heretical a letter whose writing affirms the catholic faith.' (75) But Bishop Ibas, knowing that the letter was not his and that it was hostile in all respects to pious doctrines, opposed to it the Edessenes' letter that testified that he had said nothing at any time contrary to the catholic faith, in accordance with what he had claimed above, on entering the holy Council of Chalcedon, when he said, 'For all the clerics of Edessa through whom they wrote to the aforesaid bishops testify that I am catholic.'⁵² By denying authorship of the letter to Mari the Persian cited against him already at that time at the hearing before Photius and Eustathius as well as afterwards at the holy Synod of Chalcedon, he acknowledged it to be contrary to the orthodox faith, to the extent that he demanded proof of his own faith not from its text but from the testimonial of the Edessene clergy. (76) If therefore the judges, deeming that nothing in it [152] could help the interests of the accused Bishop Ibas and indeed perceiving it to be absolutely contrary to them, determined by their rulings that another letter should be

51 This is the testimonial on behalf of Ibas' orthodoxy that was signed by 65 of his clergy in mid-February 449 and read out, at Ibas' request, at Chalcedon (X. 141), immediately after the reading of the Letter to Mari.

52 Already cited at 18 above; see the textual note *ad loc.*

read out, the one the accused requested to clear himself, and if the accused Bishop Ibas himself did not defend the letter to Mari the Persian but rather sought to refute it by demanding the reading of the letter of the Edessenes, it is established that the letter written to Mari the Persian was denied to be his both by the ruling of the judges and by the profession of Bishop Ibas, and also that it was proved that it contains criminal doctrines. (77) Therefore Bishop Ibas, stirred by the fervour of his own innocence of heart, and in his eagerness to add still more evident proof of his denial at the Synod of Chalcedon, demanded a reading of the Edessenes' letter from the proceedings before Photius and Eustathius which his adversary had produced; this part of the proceedings, as is shown by what follows, had been deliberately omitted by the accuser, clearly because he knew that it would help Ibas.

(78) Next we must examine what the very words of Bishop Ibas lucidly affirm. As we mentioned above, there now follows: 'Let your clemency order that the letter from the clergy of Edessa be read out, so that you may learn that I am guiltless of the charges brought against me and have suffered violence.'⁵³ (79) As these words explicitly make known (because it was immediately after the reading of the letter to Mari the Persian that Bishop Ibas affirmed that he was guiltless of the charges brought against him and had suffered violence and that for this reason the letter of the Edessene clergy ought to be read out), clearly as if pointing with his own hand to the reading of the letter to Mari the Persian in his eagerness to be cleared of the crime it involved, he said, 'I am guiltless of the charges brought against me,' showing that he was proved guiltless in all respects both of the other allegations that had been made against him in the preceding passage⁵⁴ and of the letter written to Mari the Persian, which had been read out immediately beforehand. (80) Here after the reading of the letter Bishop Ibas did not now omit to mention in addition the grave complaint he is recorded above as having made on entering the holy Synod of Chalcedon, that he had been assailed by false accusations at Ephesus II, had not been allowed to attend the council, and had changed prisons twenty times or more, with the result that the complaint which, as has been said, he made on entering the holy Synod of Chalcedon about the injustice inflicted on him at Ephesus II is shown to relate to the case of this letter, since after its reading, while affirming that he was guiltless of the charges brought against him, he mentioned in addition the violence that he had suffered from Eutyches.

⁵³ Ibid. X. 139.

⁵⁴ The reference must be to the itemized charges listed at X. 73.

(81) When therefore, as Ibas had requested, there had been read from the proceedings of the judges Photius and Eustathius, to whom, of course, it was addressed, the letter of the Edessene clergy, who had requested that Photius and Eustathius should include it in the proceedings (the proceedings that were produced at the Synod of Chalcedon by Bishop Ibas' adversaries), the reason for the desire to have this same letter read is acknowledged in its very wording, which runs as follows:⁵⁵

(82) From many and divers people visiting us from Phoenice we have learnt of the proceedings of those who have risen up against our most holy and most devout bishop Ibas. We shuddered at the report (for those who are without God, infidels, heretics, Jews and pagans, are surpassed by what has been reported to us) that in our presence the same most devout bishop said, 'I do not envy Christ having become God, since I too, if I want, can become like him.' All of us, who are alleged to have heard this that they allege, make known to your reverence, in the presence of the divine mercy, that neither from him nor from anyone else have we ever heard such a statement, nor did anything of the kind ever reach our ears. We anathematize ourselves and make ourselves liable to the horrors of hell if we know of any such statement by him or any other [153] contrary to the orthodox faith. For if after such a statement we had tolerated being in communion with the one who said it or celebrating masses with him, we would have been liable to the ultimate penalty for participating in such a heresy – and the rest.

(83) This text clearly shows that the Edessene clergy had testified that Bishop Ibas did not say any of the things that he was charged with having said by his accusers whether in writing, in the plaint they presented, or in what they subsequently stated in the course of the proceedings. For when they say that they did not acknowledge that Bishop Ibas had made such a statement, that is, 'I do not envy Christ having become God,' or something similar to this, that is, which seemed in some way to agree with the doctrines of Nestorius, or anything else contrary to the correct faith, it is most patently manifest that by their attestation they cleared Bishop Ibas from the statements contained in the letter written to Mari the Persian. (84) For since the oft-cited letter, by saying that the blessed Cyril had fallen into the heresy of Apollinaris and written like him, that his Twelve Chapters were full of all impiety and contrary to the correct faith, and that Nestorius had been

55 Ibid. X. 141.

condemned without trial and investigation, not merely says something against the correct faith but impugns and rejects the correct faith itself, while the Edessene clergy testify that their bishop Ibas had said nothing contrary to the correct faith, it is established by the attestation of the Edessene clergy that the afore-mentioned letter recorded as written to Mari the Persian was not by Ibas. And so that it may be recognized still more clearly that it was specifically the letter recorded as written to Mari the Persian that was refuted by the letter that was produced from the Edessene clergy, it is necessary to attend carefully to what the accuser Theophilus proceeded to say immediately afterwards.⁵⁶ (85) It was not because he judged that this letter of the Edessenes was irrelevant and would contribute nothing to the refutation of the letter written to Mari the Persian that he believed it should have been omitted: rather, with the whole exertion of his mind he strove earnestly to assert that this letter of the Edessene clergy had been falsified, strongly impelled, doubtless, by the fact that they testified that Ibas had said nothing contrary to the Catholic faith. Noting at once that this statement impugned the letter written to Mari the Persian, which spoke quite openly against the correct faith, he wanted to convict the Edessenes' letter of falsity, since he saw that it had refuted all his allegations.

(86) This assertion has the support of the following sequence of the proceedings. For when Ibas' adversary Theophilus, at this point just as he had earlier,⁵⁷ demanded from the whole council of bishops in session at Chalcedon that what he was endeavouring to affirm should be investigated from the proceedings of Ephesus II, an examination of the proceedings at Ephesus II was forbidden.⁵⁸ This prohibition establishes that Bishop Ibas' assertion was proved correct in which he said that he had been accused by Eutyches through calumny and with false inventions; here it is established that the statement that Bishop Ibas had admitted that the letter written to Mari the Persian was his had been fabricated through the production of lying witnesses. (87) In the resolutions pronounced by the fathers on the annulling

56 Ibid. X. 142. The translation in Price and Gaddis, II, 303 has been corrected in the 2007 reprint as follows: 'Theophilus the deacon said: "I have something to ask you. The one who brought this declaration (I don't know the name of the deacon who brought it), after he was expelled from there, didn't he confess before all the clergy, 'I altered that wording in order to please the bishop'? And afterwards a report was received from the whole city, and that wording comes in the report. Order inquiry to be made if the deacon didn't confess, 'I altered the wording.' He sent him from Berytus.'"

57 Cf. X. 14 and 143. At 143 it is in fact the chairman not Theophilus who asks for the reading of the proceedings of Ephesus II.

58 Ibid. X. 144–59.

of the Second Synod of Ephesus it is certain that nothing was confirmed apart from the deposition of Domnus and the ordination of Maximus; and it is clear that Domnus had been condemned for no other crime than that he had forbidden the preaching of the Twelve Chapters of the blessed Cyril. This establishes with obvious logic and manifest truth that, if the holy fathers in session at Chalcedon had discovered that Bishop Ibas had been in any way the author of the letter to Mari the Persian which declares that the Twelve chapters of the blessed Cyril are heretical and that the blessed Cyril himself had written like Apollinaris, they would in no way have decreed that the same Ibas should be acquitted of a yet graver charge of the same offence, since they did not allow the rescinding of the condemnation of Domnus bishop of Antioch for merely forbidding the preaching of the same Twelve Chapters [154] but instead confirmed the ordination of Maximus.⁵⁹ (88) For how could the same judges on one and the same matter, the condemnation of Ibas and Domnus at the Second Synod of Ephesus, have decreed by their sentence Ibas' acquittal and yet allowed Domnus' condemnation to stand, unless they had proved that the one whose acquittal they decreed was not implicated in the same offence? For since at the holy Synod of Chalcedon the disparagement of the blessed Cyril and his Twelve Chapters was so execrated that on their account they allowed Domnus' condemnation to stand, even though he had been sentenced at the discredited Second Synod of Ephesus, how greatly must the innocence of Bishop Ibas have shone forth at the afore-mentioned holy Synod of Chalcedon, with the result that it decreed his acquittal, even though at the nefarious hearing at the same Ephesus II he had been convicted of the same offence! His innocence in this matter would never have shone forth if it had been possible to show that the criminal letter to Mari the Persian was by the same Bishop Ibas. (89) Now, therefore, that everything has been treated and analysed with lucid reasoning, it has become clearly apparent, both from the proceedings before Bishops Photius and Eustathius and from their verdict and in numerous other ways, that Bishop Ibas consistently denied the letter written to Mari the Persian to be his, and that it was never possible to convict him on the basis of this allegation.

There yet remains for us to make plain with similar veracity how from the understanding or decree or professions of the venerable fathers in session at Chalcedon the oft-cited letter written to Mari the Persian was alien and

⁵⁹ It is true that the fathers of Chalcedon allowed Domnus' deposition at Ephesus II to stand (Acts X. 144–59), but the reason they gave was that Pope Leo had confirmed Maximus' election. It had nothing to do with Domnus' attitude towards the Twelve Chapters.

incurred their sentence. (90) To make this obvious to the minds of all, we must first examine what our fathers in session at the Synod of Chalcedon professed about the publication and reception of the letter of our predecessor Pope Leo of blessed memory and about the expounding of the holy faith and what they handed down to be held by pious teaching, so that it may be shown by this examination how dissonant and contrary is the letter written to Mari the Persian to what they decreed and handed down, and so that it may appear from this that this letter was in no way approved by the verdicts of our fathers. (91) In the fourth session of the Synod of Chalcedon, when after the reading of the letter of Pope Leo of blessed memory our fathers spoke about the confirmation of the same letter, they spoke as follows:⁶⁰

Anatolius the most devout archbishop of imperial Constantinople said: ‘The letter of the most holy and the apostolic archbishop Leo accords with the creed of the 318 holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea and of the 150 subsequently at Constantinople, who confirmed the same faith, and also with the proceedings of the universal and holy council at Ephesus under the most blessed and most holy Cyril, when it condemned the accursed Nestorius. Therefore I have assented and willingly signed the same letter.’

Those most devout men Bishops Paschasinus and Lucentius and the presbyter Boniface, representatives of the apostolic see, said through Paschasinus: ‘It is manifest and cannot be doubted that the one faith of the most blessed pope and ruler of the apostolic see is maintained and accords with that of the 318 fathers at Nicaea, and also of the 150 priests convened at Constantinople, who confirmed the same faith, and also that the decrees of Cyril, a man of holy memory, at the Council of Ephesus, when Nestorius was condemned for his heresy, differ in no respect at all. Therefore it is apparent that the letter of the most blessed pope also, [155] which is acknowledged to have expounded this faith because of the case of Eutyches’ heresy, is united to the same faith by one meaning and one spirit.’

Maximus the most devout bishop of Antioch in Syria said: ‘The letter of the most holy Leo archbishop of imperial Rome accords with the teaching of the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea, of the 150 at Constantinople New Rome, and with the faith enunciated at Ephesus by the most holy bishop Cyril, and I have signed.’

60 Ibid. IV. 9. 1–5.

(92) After the rest had made similar declarations thirty-two Illyrian bishops from a document declared in memoranda through Sozon bishop of Philippi:⁶¹

The faith of the 318 holy fathers, which is our salvation, we both uphold and pray to complete our life with it. And that of the 150 accords with the aforesaid faith. We also continue to uphold all the acts and decrees of the First Synod of Ephesus, whose presidents were the most blessed Celestine, head of the apostolic see, and the most blessed Cyril of the great city of Alexandria. And we know that our holy father Archbishop Leo is orthodox.

The rest of the bishops also made similar professions.

(93) In view of this text no one can doubt that our fathers believed that the letter of the blessed Leo was to be received with respect, since they asserted that it agreed with the doctrines enunciated at the Nicene and Constantinopolitan synods and those of the blessed Cyril at Ephesus I. And if it was a requirement that this letter of so great a pontiff, resplendent with so great a light of the orthodox faith, had to be approved by means of these comparisons, how can it be believed that the letter to Mari the Persian, which specifically rejected the First Synod of Ephesus and declared heretical the doctrines enunciated by the blessed Cyril, was called orthodox by the same fathers, even though it condemned those very doctrines by comparison with which the teaching of so great a pontiff, as has been said, earned its praise?

(94) For the acclamations also of the universal Synod of Chalcedon most clearly defined that the faith and teaching of both, that is, of the blessed Leo and the blessed Cyril, were one, when they declared: 'Leo taught piously and truly. Cyril taught accordingly. Eternal is the memory of Cyril. Leo and Cyril taught the same. Anathema to whoever does not believe accordingly!'⁶²

(95) It follows from this that the letter to Mari the Persian is proved not only not to have been accepted but also to have been anathematized, since it calls heretical the doctrines of Cyril enunciated at Ephesus I, while whoever does not follow them is condemned to the penalty of anathema by the sentence of the holy Synod of Chalcedon.

(96) To this is to be added also the sentence of the same venerable Synod of Chalcedon for the clarification of the faith, which appositely runs as follows:⁶³

61 Ibid. IV. 9, after 98.

62 Ibid. II. 23.

63 From 4 and 10 above.

Preserving also on our part the order and all the dogmatic decrees of the holy synod that formerly took place at Ephesus of which the presidents were Celestine bishop of the city of Rome and Cyril of the church of Alexandria, [both] of holy memory, we therefore decree the pre-eminence of the exposition of the true and irreproachable faith by the 318 holy and most blessed fathers who convened at Nicaea under the emperor Constantine of pious memory, and also the validity of the definitions of the 150 holy fathers at Constantinople for the destruction of the heresies that had then sprung up and for the confirmation of our same catholic faith. The symbol of the 318 fathers at Nicaea...

And further down:

But because of those who endeavour to pervert the mystery of the dispensation, [156] and who shamelessly rave that he who was born from the holy Virgin Mary was a mere man, it has accepted as being in agreement [with these creeds] the synodical letters of the blessed Cyril, president of the church of Alexandria, to Nestorius and to others in the Orient, for the refutation of the madness of Nestorius – and the rest.

(97) See how patent it is to the minds of all the faithful that our holy fathers in session at Chalcedon, when they were enacting the clarification of the catholic faith, professed that they were preserving with equal care the order and all the dogmatic decrees of Ephesus I, at which Celestine of blessed memory and the blessed Cyril bishop of Alexandria presided, just as those of Nicaea and Constantinople, testifying that the definitions of these men were without doubt their own faith. From this it is apparent that everything whatever that differs from the order and decrees of the First Council of Ephesus and is shown to be contrary to them also impugns the verdicts of the blessed fathers of Chalcedon. (98) But the letter written to Mari the Persian, in saying that the blessed Cyril was a heretic and his Twelve Chapters impious and contrary to the correct faith and that Nestorius was condemned without trial and investigation, is thereby shown to be contrary to the whole order and all the decrees of the First Synod of Ephesus.⁶⁴ As a result it is proved to be utterly absurd to suppose that their verdicts accepted that letter which explicitly impugned their judgement on the faith, with the result that they would in consequence have confounded through a contra-

⁶⁴ The force of the argument depends on Chalcedon's having confirmed Cyril's Twelve Chapters, which was doubtful in point of fact but generally accepted by the time of Vigilius. See vol. 1, 67–9.

diction not only the earlier fathers but even themselves, something that it is wrong even to utter.

(99) That everything of this kind that had been said or could be said in disparagement of the First Council of Ephesus was condemned in the clarification of the faith produced by the holy fathers of the Synod of Chalcedon can be seen with the light of most evident truth from what follows, which runs like this:⁶⁵

Now that these matters have been formulated by us with all possible precision and diligence, the holy and universal synod has decreed that no one is allowed to produce or write or compose another creed or to think or teach otherwise. But as for those who presume either to construct another creed or to publish or teach or deliver another symbol to those wishing to be converted to the knowledge of the truth from paganism or Judaism or any heresy whatsoever, [the council decrees] that, if they are bishops or clerics, they are to be deposed, bishops from the episcopate and clerics from the clergy, while, if they are monks or laymen, they are to be anathematized.

(100) When therefore our fathers said that they preserved the order and all the dogmatic decrees of the First Council of Ephesus and that no one is allowed to produce or write or believe or hand down another faith or teach otherwise and that all who attempt such things are condemned, while we do not doubt that the letter written to Mari the Persian, which impugns in every respect the teaching of the blessed Cyril enunciated at Ephesus I, makes assertions that are not merely different but contrary, it is obvious that it was included by synodical enactment in the same sentence of condemnation, and accordingly it is still more clear that the letter to Mari the Persian was not accepted by those who are recorded as having explicitly condemned it in advance.

(101) Nor should it stir any of the faithful that some people by selective quotation attempt to affirm that some things in this letter to Mari are said in such a way that they can be shown to be seemingly consistent with things that are well said, since it is the custom of heretics to hide their poisons with counterfeit speech and to utter words that have a semblance of agreeing with orthodox professions, and through being tolerated to maintain that malign access through which the pestilence of their error can infiltrate, as the prophet testifies about them: ‘They made their speeches smooth above oil, [157] and they are darts,’⁶⁶ and again, ‘Because they were with me in

65 The last paragraph of the Chalcedonian Definition, given at 14 above.

66 Ps 54:22.

great number,⁶⁷ and the apostle who was the teacher of the Gentiles says of them, ‘Keeping the form of piety but denying its power.’⁶⁸ (102) For neither did it benefit Nestorius to profess two natures and one Son, even though this profession is shared with the orthodox, since the same Nestorius by refusing to affirm one subsistence of the two natures, which is proper to orthodoxy, patently reveals that he affirms two natures and one Son deceitfully. (103) Accordingly, as a result of the so manifest evil that the aforesaid letter to Mari the Persian asserted about the blessed Cyril and the fathers who assembled at Ephesus I, there can be no doubt about the intentions of its writer in defending Nestorius and receiving his perverse teaching (for he wrote such impious and heinous things about those who condemned the same Nestorius and their holy doctrines), and therefore it is known in plain truth that the same letter to Mari the Persian was written with the deceit and perversity of a Nestorian meaning.

In consequence, although this on its own seems enough and more than sufficient to preserve the respect due to the holy Synod of Chalcedon and to frustrate the plots of the heretics who assert falsely that the letter to Mari the Persian was approved by our fathers, namely the impossibility of our fathers’ judging that this letter should be received (as evidenced in many ways by the statements discussed above, in which Bishop Ibas, from the first moment he entered the holy Synod of Chalcedon, complained that he had suffered violence and false accusations at Ephesus II), yet it has become clear from the proceedings of Photius and Eustathius and their judgement that the letter was not by Ibas. (104) Following the reading at the Council of Chalcedon of the text of the same letter from the proceedings of Photius and Eustathius, this is most clearly shown also by the denial uttered by Ibas, when to exclude the letter to Mari he demanded in his own support the reading of another letter, that of the Edessenens; it is proved with evident logic (even though without the recommendation of the truth) by the recommendation of Bishop Ibas’ enemy Theophilus, who did not presume to stress the letter to Mari, which he had cited as an allegation, but rather attempted, albeit ineffectively, to convict of falsification the letter that Bishop Ibas had demanded to be read out in his own support. It is also made plain without ambiguity by the verdict of these fathers of ours in session at Chalcedon that allowed Domnus’ condemnation to stand and Ibas to be acquitted, although they had been accused of the same offence. The same thing is patently shown

67 Ps 54:19.

68 2 Tim 3:5.

in many ways by the decrees of the same venerable Synod of Chalcedon, which declared that the faith impugned by this letter to Mari was its own and thereby that the letter had been condemned by the very judgement of those whose verdict is falsely claimed to have accepted it.

(105) Therefore it appears indubitably by the light of truth from what has been written above that we are constrained by no necessity to inquire which letter it was of which the text led some of the fathers in session at Chalcedon to pronounce in their sentences that Bishop Ibas was seen to be catholic,⁶⁹ since it is quite sufficient for us that it has been patently proved that they could have uttered no such judgement on the basis of the letter written to Mari the Persian; for this is sufficient support for us against the machinations of heretics who want it to appear that this letter written to Mari the Persian was accepted by the holy Synod of Chalcedon, although we have not only shown that it was not received but have proved that it was rejected in every way by our fathers, who indeed patently condemned it by the sentence they delivered as being hostile to their correct faith. (106) Therefore, because, as we have said in opposition to the adversaries of the holy Synod of Chalcedon, we perceive the issue to have been whether it can truly be shown to have been accepted or not to have been accepted, and since, while they conjecture to no effect that it was accepted, we instead have demonstrated from the very statements of the fathers that it was rejected, there is no compulsion on us to feel compelled to identify the letter [158] that our fathers judged in their verdicts, since abundantly sufficient for us is the fact that they were not judging the letter on which the case depends; nevertheless, by examining the verdicts of individual fathers and making them accord with the truth we have expounded above, this question also, of which letter they spoke, will easily become plain to those in quest of a pious interpretation.

(107) First of all we must carefully and sagely observe that the verdicts pronounced by our fathers for the acquittal of Bishop Ibas were in agreement, with one meaning and one intention, when they said that the same Bishop Ibas had been proved guiltless of all the allegations brought against him by his accusers. (108) The verdict of the legates of the apostolic see runs as follows in its first section: 'Now that the documents have been read, we have found from the verdict of the most devout bishops that the most devout Ibas has been shown to be guiltless.' This is followed, of course, by the verdict delivered by Anatolius bishop of Constantinople, stating that he

⁶⁹ This refers to the verdicts of Bishops Paschasinus and Maximus (Acts of Chalcedon X. 161, 163; first *Constitutum* 238, 240).

had been found innocent of what his accusers had charged him with; for he speaks as follows: 'The good faith of the most devout bishops and judges and the reading of everything that followed prove the most devout Ibas guiltless of what his accusers had charged him with.' Delivering a judgement that is even plainer than those above, the sentence of Maximus of Antioch follows appropriately, and runs as follows: 'From what has just been read, it is manifest that the most devout Ibas has been found innocent of everything charged against him.'⁷⁰

(109) It must therefore be observed how at the very beginning the meaning of the verdicts of these three judges who held the first place, differently expressed but inspired by one spirit, concurs in rejecting and condemning the letter to Mari the Persian. For what is it that is meant by Ibas being proved guiltless of everything his accusers charged him with by the decree of Photius and Eustathius and by the documents that had been read out, save that this letter in disparagement of the teaching of the blessed Cyril and in defence of Nestorius, that attempts to undermine the foundations of the orthodox faith itself, so to say, and which his adversaries cited against Bishop Ibas as a grave offence, as indeed it is, was found to have nothing to do with him and was patently condemned, as has been said, by the decrees of the three fathers mentioned above? (110) For he will not appear to have been rightly pronounced innocent of all the charges brought against him by his accusers, if the letter to Mari the Persian, which forms the main part of the charges, and which indeed contains all the charges brought against him, were not proved by their sentences to have been rejected. Therefore, because it is certain that, if the letter had been shown to be his, he could not have been declared innocent, it is manifest, because he was pronounced innocent, that the letter was not his.

(111) Now that it has been explicitly demonstrated that these sentences were pronounced with the principal intention to reject and repudiate the letter to Mari the Persian and with a congruent meaning and zeal to acquit Bishop Ibas, it follows that we ought with equal truthfulness to examine the verdicts of the other fathers who held the same opinion, leaving aside for a while the sentences of the most devout Bishops Juvenal and Eunomius, which, as we shall demonstrate in their turn, come to the same meaning, albeit in a different way. (112) Thalassius bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia speaks as follows: 'Since the most devout bishops Photius and Eustathius approved the case of Ibas and did not sit in judgement of him, [159] I too,

70 Acts of Chalcedon X. 161–3; first *Constitutum* 238–40.

swayed by their opinion, wish him to be retained in the priesthood, as has seemed good to the most holy presiding bishops also, especially because in the proceedings he undertook to anathematize the things that his accusers had testified against him in writing.⁷¹ (113) To whom of the faithful and to what lover of clear truth is it not plain that the whole reasoning that we gave above for the rejection and repudiation of the letter to Mari the Persian, and which we showed accorded with the sentences of the preceding fathers, is set out fully and concisely also in this verdict pronounced by the most devout Thalassius? (114) For when he says that he is following the sentence of Photius and Eustathius who approved Ibas' case and did not sit in judgement of him and consequently adds that Bishop Ibas, to crown his innocence, himself condemned the allegations his accusers had made against him in writing, he shows beyond doubt that both in the examination conducted at the Synod of Chalcedon and in the hearing before Photius and Eustathius the writing and thought of Ibas were found to be incompatible with the allegation of this letter to Mari the Persian, with the result that all those statements were there disproved not merely by the adversaries failing to prove them or Bishop Ibas denying them, but also by his condemning them. This establishes that the letter to Mari the Persian, containing the allegations of his accusers, were condemned not only by the judgement of the fathers in session at Chalcedon but also by the sentence of Ibas himself, as the afore-mentioned fathers affirm that they learnt from the decree of Photius and Eustathius.

(115) The sentences pronounced by Eusebius of Ancyra, Stephen of Ephesus, Diogenes of Cyzicus and Romanus of Myra in Lycia, at various places [in the text] but with one meaning, confirm the decrees of the above judges. For some by making mention of the judgement of Photius and Eustathius and others by proving the innocence of Bishop Ibas from his condemnation of Nestorius and his heresy testify alike that the letter to Mari the Persian, which defends Nestorius and calls the blessed Cyril a heretic, not only does not belong to Bishop Ibas but was even condemned by him. (116) John bishop of Sebasteia, Seleucus bishop of Amaseia, Constantine bishop of Melitene, Patricius bishop of Tyana, Peter bishop of Gangra and Atarbius⁷² bishop of Trapezus gave a similar judgement, saying: 'The decree of the most devout bishops Photius and Eustathius proves the most devout Ibas to be guiltless, and likewise his denial makes us more ready as regards

⁷¹ Acts X. 165, first *Constitutum* 242.

⁷² In the MSS of Vigilius' *Constituta* this name appears in the incorrect forms Artanius or Artanus.

what he accepted.⁷³ It is clearly apparent from the sentence of the aforementioned priests that Bishop Ibas was found guiltless of the accusations brought against him on these two grounds, that is, the decree of Bishops Photius and Eustathius and his own denial. (117) Moreover, it was declared in the judgement of Bishop Photius and Eustathius that, although he had been falsely assailed by his accusers, yet to appease even false allegations he discerned readily how to profess in writing his opinions on the correct faith, amply anathematized Nestorius, and said that he upheld all the decrees of the First Council of Ephesus; then also his denial (by which also at the Council of Chalcedon after the reading of the letter to Mari the Persian, which is contrary to the explicit and pious profession of the same Bishop Ibas, he asserted that he was guiltless of the charges brought against him) made the minds of the judges more ready to believe that, by spurning and rejecting what he denied, he had held even previously only those things that he professed he had held and accepted.

(118) Now that all this has been demonstrated, it is clear that the letter to Mari the Persian, which is contrary to everything that Ibas said he had accepted and which instead defends those things that Bishop Ibas anathematized, had in no way been composed by Bishop Ibas. For in order that it might become manifest to all [160] that Ibas, by denying the charges of his accusers, made certain what he professed about the pious faith, the judgement runs as follows: ‘And his denial makes us more ready as regards what he accepted,’ as if to say, ‘We accept what he professed about the pious faith with all the more trust because he denied the allegations made against him, with the result that it was not convicted by the truth of the allegations, as if correcting his opinions on the pious faith under compulsion, that he revealed his opinions on the pious faith, but rather, cleared by his denial of the allegations, he was believed to have held, even before, those opinions that he [now] professed to hold. For just as the confession of a deed can make someone retrospectively guilty, so a denial of something unproven makes someone retrospectively innocent.’

(119) With this denial by which Bishop Ibas is shown to have rejected the letter to Mari the Persian, the verdict of Bishops Eunomius and Juvenal aptly accord. That these sentences are consonant with each other must first be proved with the help of God, and then it must be shown how they confirm that Ibas denied the letter. They run as follows:⁷⁴

⁷³ Acts X. 174, first *Constitutum* 249. The final phrase is a poor rendering of the Greek that means ‘more ready to accept him’ (Price and Gaddis, II, 308).

⁷⁴ Acts X. 164, 173.

(120) Juvenal the most devout bishop of Jerusalem said: 'Divine Scripture orders the receiving back of those who repent. This is why we also receive people returning from the ranks of the heretics. I therefore consider that the most devout Ibas deserves clemency, also because he is elderly, and to retain episcopal rank, being catholic.'

Eunomius the most devout bishop of Nicomedia said: 'Now indeed from the documents that have been read out the venerable Ibas has been proved guiltless. For as regards the statements in which he was seen to accuse the most blessed Cyril by speaking ill of him, he made a correct profession in his final statements and repudiated the charges he had made against him. Therefore, with him anathematizing Nestorius and Eutyches and their impious doctrines and assenting to what was written by the most holy archbishop Leo and by this ecumenical synod, I too judge him worthy of the episcopate.'

(121) We must therefore first inspect Eunomius' sentence, which, by stating Bishop Ibas' mind more plainly, sets out what Bishop Juvenal also thought about the same matter. For by saying, 'From the documents read out the venerable Ibas has been proved guiltless,' he expresses unambiguous approval of the judgement of Photius and Eustathius, as did also the previous fathers, in such a way that by these words he includes also Bishop Ibas' denial and the testimonial of the letter in support of the same Ibas from the Edessene clergy. (122) In this matter, if one appropriately studies the sequence of the proceedings conducted in the presence of Photius and Eustathius, to leave no scruple against Bishop Ibas in the minds of any, the fact that sometime before the union he had as a result of misinterpretation criticized the teaching of the blessed Cyril is necessarily atoned for by the fact that Ibas, after he corrected his interpretation, by accepting the orthodox doctrines of the blessed Cyril and acknowledging their rightness repudiated the error of the earlier interpretation that had been his before the uniting of the churches, providing patent proof of Bishop Ibas' denial of the authorship of the letter addressed to Mari the Persian. (123) For since this proves that Ibas, withdrawing what he had said about the blessed Cyril before the uniting of the churches, had acknowledged after the union that they [Cyril's doctrines] were correct, [161] while the letter written to Mari the Persian after the union asserts falsely that the words of the blessed Cyril were heretical and feigns that he had fallen into the heresy of Apollinaris, it is certain from the testimony of the present verdict that Ibas had denied this letter. (124) The sentence of Bishop Juvenal fits this meaning without ambiguity. When it

asserts that Ibas was orthodox, it shows that he had denied the letter to Mari the Persian as indeed hostile to the correct doctrines, and in accord with the decrees of the others it approves the judgement of Photius and Eustathius; and when it says, agreeing with the verdict of Eunomius, that Ibas should be accepted because he had changed his mind about the doctrines of the blessed Cyril of which before the union he had held a different opinion, it proves that now after it he had a correct and proper opinion, and had so changed his mind as to discern a fitting interpretation. This establishes, as has already been shown in so many ways, that the letter which says the opposite after the union was not by Bishop Ibas.

(125) Although, therefore, from all the above-mentioned statements and from the verdicts of the fathers in session at Chalcedon for the acquittal of Bishop Ibas, which agree with each other in all respects, it has been adequately and sufficiently demonstrated that the letter to Mari the Persian, hostile to the correct doctrines and contrary to the profession of the same Ibas, was denied by the same and rejected in numerous ways by the judgement of the fathers, and although it is clear from this that no one from the same company of fathers could have accepted a letter that had been repudiated with a denial by the very person charged with it, and which had been condemned in every way by the declaration on the pious faith issued by the same fathers, nevertheless it is relevant to infer from abundant evidence which letter it was that the verdict of the legates of the apostolic see and of Maximus⁷⁵ expressed a view about, and also that we should demonstrate that nothing can be found in the decrees of the fathers contrary to what ought to lodge in the minds of the faithful.

(126) It is most certainly to be believed that it was the letter of the Edessene clergy, the one Bishop Ibas demanded to be read out in his own support, that our fathers mentioned in their verdicts. To be sure, he hastened to have this letter of the Edessene clergy read out from that part of the proceedings conducted in the presence of Photius and Eustathius which his adversary had cunningly and deceitfully omitted; this was in order to refute the letter to Mari that had been read out against him from the same proceed-

⁷⁵ These are the two verdicts (X. 161 and 163) that on the most natural interpretation refer to Ibas' letter as evidence of his orthodoxy. Vigilius' argument that the reference is rather to the testimonial of the Edessene clergy that was read out immediately after the letter is stigmatized by Hefele-Leclercq (1909), 140 as both original and wholly unnecessary. However, it was already familiar to Facundus, *Pro defensione* V. 2.18, and some such contention was essential if these passages were not to disprove the claim that the Chalcedonian fathers rejected the authenticity of the Letter to Mari.

ings – the aforesaid letter to Mari the Persian which his adversaries were attempting to use to show that Bishop Ibas had impugned the correct faith and asserted that the doctrines of the blessed Cyril that had been transmitted at the First Synod of Ephesus were full of all impiety and contrary to the correct faith. (127) This is why it was necessary for Ibas, in order to clear himself, to ask to have read out also at the Synod of Chalcedon the letter sent by the Edessene clergy that had previously been transmitted to Bishops Photius and Eustathius, reviewed in their judgement, and inserted in the proceedings. Among other things this letter says the following: ‘We anathematize ourselves and make ourselves liable to the horrors of hell if we know of any such statement by him or any other contrary to the catholic faith; for if after any such statement we had tolerated being in communion with the one who uttered it or celebrating masses⁷⁶ with him, we would have been liable to the extreme penalty for participating in such a heresy’ – and the rest.⁷⁷ This declaration by the Edessene clergy that he had said nothing of the kind or anything else contrary to the orthodox faith excludes all the things contrary to the correct faith contained in the letter to Mari the Persian and whose utterance by Bishop Ibas was invented by his adversaries in order to impugn him, while the same Bishop Ibas had explicitly confirmed his denial by saying shortly before, ‘Of the charges brought against me I am guiltless.’⁷⁸

(128) Therefore the legates of the apostolic see, having before their eyes this letter of the Edessene clergy, while they had already said that Ibas was proved guiltless by the reading of the documents and by the judgement of Bishops Photius and Eustathius, followed it up by saying, ‘For from the reading of his letter we have found him to be catholic;’⁷⁹ in order that first of all, from the very sequence of the proceedings before [162] Photius and Eustathius, they would be believed to have expressed a judgement in their verdict about this letter, that is, the one from the Edessenes, which is shown to have been read out in their presence last of all. (129) Because they referred to this letter as ‘his’, that is, Bishop Ibas’, by calling expressly ‘his’ the letter he had asked to be read in his own support, they show that the one to Mari the Persian, which had been produced against him, was in

⁷⁶ *missas tenere*: this very western terminology was replaced in the corrected versions of the Latin edition of the Acts of Chalcedon by the more appropriate *communistrare in sacrificio*.

⁷⁷ Ibid. X. 141. Ibas’ request for its reading at Chalcedon is at 139.

⁷⁸ Ibid. X. 139.

⁷⁹ Ibid. X. 161.

contrast not his – by means of that mode of speech which indubitably all men are wont to employ about others and about themselves, so as to refer to pages of a letter as the documents ‘of’ those people who use them in their own support and whose interests they are shown to serve. (130) For which letter, rather, would those most holy judges have deemed to be that of Ibas whom they were acquitting – that to Mari the Persian, which because of the great crimes contained in this letter Ibas’ adversaries had cited to impugn him, or that of the Edessenes, which absolves him from all the allegations? Is it that to Mari the Persian which, when cited against him, Ibas himself denied, as has abundantly been shown, or that of the Edessenes, which he required to be read out in order to impugn that letter to Mari and prove the orthodoxy of his own faith? Is it that to Mari the Persian which, if proved to be his, reveals that he impugned the correct faith, or that of the Edessenes, which testifies that he had said nothing against the catholic faith? Is it that to Mari the Persian after whose reading Bishop Ibas immediately interjected that he was guiltless of the allegations against him, or that of the Edessenes, which his adversary Theophilus, recognizing that it refuted him, attempted to nullify by a charge of falsification?⁸⁰ Therefore the letter to Mari the Persian was most justly considered by all, or ought to be considered, to belong to the accuser who produced it and could not authenticate it rather than to Ibas who denied it.

(131) Nevertheless we must now more shrewdly examine which letter, rather, led Bishop Ibas to be judged orthodox by the representatives of the apostolic see – that to Mari the Persian which, by explicitly contradicting Ephesus I and the faith of the blessed Cyril enunciated there and confirmed and followed by the Council of Chalcedon, showed its author to be a heretic, or that of the Edessenes which, by confirming with the imposition of a fearsome oath and anathema that Bishop Ibas had never said anything contrary to the catholic faith, cleared him of his adversaries’ allegation and made him be pronounced orthodox? Is it that to Mari the Persian which, together with those whose beliefs do not accord with the teaching of Cyril at Ephesus I, was struck by the holy Synod of Chalcedon with the penalty of anathema, or that of the Edessenes which, in accord with the judgement of the same fathers, imposes an anathema even more on those merely in communion with people who say anything contrary to the catholic faith?

(132) It can be seen with truth that all these same points that have been

80 Ibid. X. 142, for which see n. 56 above.

made apply also to the verdict of Maximus bishop of Antioch.⁸¹ In referring to the copy of the letter he can be shown to have been thinking not of the one to Mari the Persian but of the letter of the Edessene clergy. For how can the afore-mentioned Maximus be supposed to have said there was anything orthodox about the letter to Mari the Persian, which, it is certain, impugned the First Synod of Ephesus and the teaching of the blessed Cyril proclaimed there, considering that Maximus, as we have already stated fully above when examining the reception of the letter of Pope Leo of blessed memory, declared that it ought to be accepted precisely for the reason that it agreed with the faith of the blessed Cyril enunciated at Ephesus? For he spoke as follows: ‘The letter of the most holy Leo archbishop of imperial Rome accords with the teaching of the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea and of the 150 at Constantinople New Rome and with the faith enunciated at Ephesus by the most holy Cyril, and I have signed.’⁸² (133) Who then can be found so distant from the rationality of the whole human race as to believe that this priest so contradicted himself in the cause and definition of the faith (since he had judged orthodox the letter of so distinguished a pontiff and teacher, that is, of the blessed Leo, [163] which explicitly contains pious doctrines, by comparing it to the teaching of the blessed Cyril enunciated at Ephesus) as on the contrary to describe as orthodox the text of that letter which by a charge of heresy attempts to refute the very doctrines of the blessed Cyril? Since therefore it is impossible for one and the same judge in the definition of the faith to have rejected his own decision or to have adopted as his decision something he had rejected, it must necessarily be clear to all that he passed judgement not on the letter to Mari the Persian but instead on that of the Edessenes which was read subsequently, since its writing is declared to be orthodox. (134) And let no one be so influenced by the reference in the same verdict to ‘the copy of the letter produced by his adversary’ as on the basis of these words (in accordance with the desire of the enemies of the orthodox faith to use them to impugn the First Synod of Ephesus) to understand Maximus bishop of Antioch to be passing judgement on the letter addressed to Mari the Persian that Bishop Ibas’ adversaries had produced against him at the hearing before Photius and Eustathius. That this was far removed from the mind of the same Maximus we have proved above by sufficient and manifold reasoning. (135) For it

81 Maximus’ verdict (X. 163) contained the words, ‘From the reading of the copy of the letter produced by his adversary his [or its] writing has been seen to be orthodox.’ See my note on the first *Constitutum* 240.

82 Ibid. IV. 9.5, Price and Gaddis, II, 128.

is not to be doubted that his reference to ‘the copy produced by his adversary’ was spoken about the letter of the Edessene clergy. For Bishop Ibas’ adversary Theophilus produced against him at the Synod of Chalcedon nothing other than the proceedings conducted in the presence of Photius and Eustathius and, maliciously suppressing (as is clearly apparent) that part of the proceedings which contains the letter of the Edessene clergy, got to be read out only that part which he thought told against Bishop Ibas; at this Bishop Ibas, in order to refute him all the more clearly out of the very pages that the same adversary had produced, asked for a reading of the part he had deceitfully omitted, that which proved the inadmissibility of the letter that had been read out against him, in order that from the very text that his adversary Theophilus had himself produced he might be shown to be all the more effectively refuted. (136) This is why Bishop Maximus, expressing the force of this sufficient proof, after the letter of the Edessene clergy had been read out from the pages produced by his adversary, pronounced that Ibas had been proved orthodox.

(137) To defeat more completely the contentious spirits of the heretics, it can be shown in various ways, however, that this letter of the Edessenes was not produced by Ibas at the Council of Chalcedon as a novelty, but had previously been presented to Bishops Photius and Eustathius and inserted in their proceedings: first, from the record that it was given to them at the time of the hearing, for it can in no way be doubted that it was presented to those to whom it was addressed, since assuredly Ibas needed its help at their hearing in order to be cleared of the allegations against him; (138) next, because the Edessene clergy are recorded in the same letter to have strongly entreated the afore-mentioned Photius and Eustathius to ensure that it was inserted in their proceedings, which in any case was required by the proper order of the hearing. That this was done is not only shown by the truth of the present reasoning, but is also certified by the profession uttered by Ibas himself both at the Synod of Chalcedon and at the investigation by Photius and Eustathius, since Bishop Ibas on entering the holy Council of Chalcedon, when he asserted that he had been acquitted by the decision of Photius and Eustathius, spoke as follows, ‘For also all the clergy of Edessa through whom they wrote to the aforesaid bishops testify that I am catholic,’⁸³ showing most certainly that it had been written to them and that already at their hearing he had been cleared of all the allegations by the letter of the Edessene clergy and declared catholic. (139) Next, when (in that

83 Ibid. IX. 4. Already cited at 18 above; see the textual note *ad loc.*

part of the proceedings before Photius and Eustathius which, as has been said, his adversaries asked to be read out as evidence against him) the aforementioned Bishop Ibas rejected three witnesses whom his adversaries were attempting to produce against him at the hearing of Photius and Eustathius, he spoke as follows: ‘Our clergy consists of around two hundred names or even more; I don’t remember the number. All the clerics have testified [164] whether I am orthodox or a heretic, both in written depositions that have been sent to the most holy bishop Domnus, and they have also written to your reverence. Whether the testimony of so many clerics agrees with the three witnesses he mentions, who accompanied them to Constantinople to bring an accusation and are with them now, is for you to judge.’⁸⁴ (140) It is clearly apparent from this that to refute the witnesses to be produced by his adversary he mentioned the letter of the Edessene clergy at the very hearing of Photius and Eustathius, so that he might prove that it had already been presented to the judges and, on the grounds of the same judges’ knowledge of the letter of the whole Edessene clergy,⁸⁵ might demand that the testimony of a few clerics should not be admitted. It is therefore not to be doubted that the part of the proceedings in which the letter of the Edessene clergy in support of Ibas was inserted and preserved was deliberately omitted by his adversaries,⁸⁶ that Ibas was compelled to demand the reading of this very letter of the Edessenenes from the part that had been suppressed, and that because of this Bishop Maximus, on the basis of the copy read out from the proceedings produced by the adversary, pronounced that the writing of the copy of the letter, that is, of the Edessenenes, had been declared orthodox.⁸⁷

(141) That the part of the proceedings which quite manifestly cleared Bishop Ibas of the allegations was omitted by his adversaries can be shown in other ways as well. For in the same sentence of Photius and Eustathius, where they refer to all the things that were done by Bishop Ibas at his trial, is contained the information that Bishop Ibas discerned readily how to give in writing his opinions on the pious faith, copiously anathematized Nestorius, and promised to declare this in the church of his own city, and also

⁸⁴ Ibid. X. 92.

⁸⁵ An exaggeration: only 65 clerics signed the testimonial.

⁸⁶ Vigilius’ reasoning is plausible but false: the Edessene testimonial cannot have come in the document produced by Ibas’ accusers, the Acts of Berytus, since it was composed after the hearing there (to which it refers in its opening lines); see further Price and Gaddis, II, 299, n. 112. This means that the testimonial referred to in the same acts (X. 92) must be a different one, despite my note *ad loc.*

⁸⁷ But as Facundus pointed out (*Pro defensione* V. 1.15) the orthodoxy of the Edessene clergy was not the point at issue.

other things that are set out in the content of the same judgement. (142) None of this is contained in that part of the proceedings which was read out at the Synod of Chalcedon at the request of Bishop Ibas' adversaries, but that this was transacted at the hearing before Photius and Eustathius is declared in their sentence.⁸⁸ This establishes beyond doubt that those parts were maliciously suppressed by his adversaries which they knew would be of greater advantage to Bishop Ibas. (143) For that it should not at all be doubted that this had been inserted in the acts in the presence of Bishops Photius and Eustathius is shown without ambiguity by the sentence of Thalassius bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, present at Chalcedon, which after other statements runs as follows: '... most of all because he undertook in the proceedings to anathematize the things that his accusers had testified against him in writing.' (144) Because assuredly this is not recorded in that part of the proceedings which was examined at the behest of Bishop Ibas' adversaries, it is manifest from what Photius and Eustathius relate of the proceedings at their hearing that the afore-mentioned Bishop Thalassius knew that it had been inserted in the acts; and therefore it is proved by every light of truth that the part of the proceedings which contained the letter of the Edessene clergy had also been suppressed by the adversaries, just as there was omitted from the reading this part also which is stated to come not from the part that the adversaries wanted to be read out but from the sentence of Bishops Photius and Eustathius.⁸⁹ (145) It is therefore plain beyond doubt from the proceedings which were indeed produced by the adversaries but deliberately suppressed in part that Bishop Ibas demanded the reading of the Edessenes' letter in his own support, and that it was about the copy of this letter, produced by his adversary, that Maximus bishop of Antioch spoke in his verdict. (146) That the writing of this letter could be pronounced orthodox has been utterly proved above, and will appear all the more manifest because in the earlier prosecution Ibas asserted that he was proved orthodox by the Edessenes' letter. Therefore the writing of the same letter of the Edessenes was appositely said to be orthodox, since it was on its basis that he asked to be considered orthodox by his judges and was indeed declared orthodox by their sentence.

(147) May therefore the impudence yield of the perverse followers of both the Eutychian and Nestorian heresies, who strive to urge with heret-

⁸⁸ Their 'sentence', issued at Tyre, was read out at IX. 7. Like the Edessene testimonial, it was not suppressed by Ibas' adversaries, for it formed no part of proceedings at Berytus.

⁸⁹ I omit the words *quae apud eos acta sint* ('which were transacted in their presence') which, in the place where they come, are both intrusive and ungrammatical.

ical deceit that anyone attending the Synod of Chalcedon [165] could say or think there was anything orthodox about the letter to Mari the Persian that was full of all impiety. For since Bishop Ibas, when at the very start he appeared at the hearing at the holy Synod of Chalcedon, proceeded to say that on account of the testimonial of the Edessene clergy he had been considered (and ought to be considered) orthodox,⁹⁰ and since he asserted in the presence of Bishops Photius and Eustathius that the testimonial to his orthodoxy from the Edessene clergy in the professions they wrote to the same bishops ought to suffice to clear him,⁹¹ (148) and since, maintaining the same defence, he demanded, after the reading of the letter to Mari the Persian, that the letter of the Edessene clergy, which he had often mentioned, should be read out on his behalf,⁹² who is an impugner of such lucid truth as not to recognize that it was on the basis of the text of the Edessenes' letter (because of which the accused Ibas asked to be considered orthodox) that the writing was pronounced orthodox by the fathers and the same Ibas was pronounced catholic, but instead to suppose that it was the writing of the letter to Mari the Persian that was judged orthodox, although it had been cited against him in a charge of heresy and, if it had been proved to be his, he could have been judged a heretic?

(149)⁹³ We therefore anathematize and condemn the afore-mentioned letter that Ibas is falsely alleged to have written to the heretic Mari the Persian, which denies that God the Word was incarnate from the holy Mary, Mother of God and ever-virgin, and became man, but says that he was born from her as a mere man, whom it calls 'temple', with the result that God the Word is understood to be someone other than Christ, and which accuses the holy Cyril, who was a teacher and preacher of the correct faith, of being a heretic and writing things similar to Apollinaris, and censures the First Synod of Ephesus for supposedly condemning Nestorius without examination and investigation; the same letter calls the Twelve Chapters of the holy Cyril impious and contrary to the correct faith, while it defends Theodore and Nestorius and their impious doctrines and writings. (150) We therefore anathematize and condemn the aforesaid letter to Mari the Persian which contains the above-mentioned wicked blasphemies; and whoever at any time believes that these things are to be accepted or defended or tries at some time

90 Acts of Chalcedon IX. 4, cited at 18 above.

91 Ibid. IX. 92, though this must in fact refer to a different testimonial (see n. 86 above).

92 Ibid. IX. 139.

93 This section (149) is taken over almost verbatim from Vigilius' Second Letter to Euty chius (10), which itself reproduces the council's Canon 14.

to rescind the present condemnation we condemn with an equal anathema. Those moreover who from now on, though informed by the sequence of our decree, argue that the said letter to Mari the Persian, containing the blasphemies described above, was accepted by the holy Synod of Chalcedon, or who strive to assert that it was pronounced orthodox by any of the same fathers present at Chalcedon, we strike with an equal penalty of anathema, because they not only attempt to inflict injury on the holy and venerable Council of Chalcedon, but also declare themselves the fomenters and revivers of an extinct scandal by which the universal church could again be shaken, with the result that they are justly smitten by the sentence of the apostle who was the teacher of the Gentiles, in which he says, 'Would that those who disturb you be mutilated!'⁹⁴

(151) Having exhausted what needed to be expounded or defined in order to put to rest the question of the first chapter, that is, about the letter to Mari the Persian, it is incumbent on us to explain what the logic of ecclesiastical unity and the care for the faith handed down by the holy fathers require to be done about Theodore of Mopsuestia and his statements. We have therefore weighed the fact that the origin of this question also issued from the polluted fount of the heretics. (152) For when many years ago the Nestorians were no longer able to insinuate his impious doctrines under the name of the condemned Nestorius himself to deceive the minds of some, they discovered here an opportunity to promote their heresy by an ingenious deceit, namely, that they would strive to reintroduce Nestorius' impious doctrines, renewed by yet more atrocious blasphemies, from the books of Theodore of Mopsuestia, who, they boasted, had died in the peace of the church. [166] Their venom, creeping secretly for long periods but now flowing in open profession, has stirred the minds of ourselves, of the most Christian prince and of all the orthodox, who consider that remedies should no longer be deferred where, with dissimulation being fed by toleration, the plague of so great an evil has clearly increased. (153) For no one doubts that this is affirmed publicly and incessantly by the afore-mentioned Nestorians, who say: 'We venerate as our father not so much Nestorius as Theodore of Mopsuestia, and we embrace his books with the total devotion of our minds, nor will there be anyone able to resist us when our doctrine is thus affirmed by the books, disseminated everywhere, of the ancient doctor Theodore.' In consequence of the statements of these Nestorians a sizeable number of the uneducated throng are deceived every day by wicked corruption. (154)

94 Gal 5:12.

Since therefore it is clear that through the name and writings of the deceased Theodore the error of the Nestorian heresy is introduced into the congregations more than Nestorius when alive could achieve, we believe that we shall incur a charge not so much of negligence as of connivance if we allow to be deferred any longer the remedies of so necessary a correction that is demanded by the state of the endangered church.⁹⁵ (155) For it is not the case, as some people were noising abroad to no purpose, that the defence of Theodore and his statements can profit from the fact that in the letter to Mari the Persian the name of Theodore and his writings receive copious praise,⁹⁶ since the preceding argument has proved in so many ways that the same letter was justly condemned both by us and by the holy fathers in session at Chalcedon, and furthermore that it suffices abundantly to prove the evils of Theodore that his name and writings there receive praise where the blessed Cyril and the First Synod of Ephesus are impugned.

(156)⁹⁷ This being the case, we do not, however, desist from examining the writings of the same Theodore by means of the more faithful interpreters, even though they had been made known to us in one way or another even before, as a result of which it has now become clear with the most perspicuous truth that the books of the aforesaid Theodore of Mopsuestia contain things contrary to the correct faith and the doctrines of the holy fathers, which is why the holy fathers, writing against him, bequeathed their books for the instruction of holy church. (157) For among his other blasphemies we find that he clearly said that God the Word is someone other than Christ, who was molested by the passions of the soul and the desires of the flesh, gradually withdrew from things worse and attained to things better through progress in works and became faultless in his way of life, and that he was baptized as a mere man in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, received through his baptism the grace of the Holy Spirit, and was honoured with adoption, and that like an imperial image Christ was worshipped as representing God the Word, and after his resurrection became immutable in his thoughts and totally sinless. (158) He also said that the union of God the Word with Christ was of the same kind as that which

95 Vigilius is reproducing Justinian's claim that Theodore's condemnation was made necessary by the exploitation of his writings by a new wave of Nestorianism. Compare Acts I. 7.8 and VIII. 4.2.

96 In Acts VI. 5.6 (pp. 8–9 above).

97 The whole of this paragraph (156–60), from 'as a result of which it has now become clear' (line 3), is taken from Vigilius' Second Letter to Eutychius of Constantinople (5–8), which is itself quoting the council's Canon 12.

the apostle ascribed to man and woman, 'The two will be in one flesh,'⁹⁸ and that after the resurrection, when the Lord breathed on his disciples and said, 'Receive the Holy Spirit,'⁹⁹ he did not give them the Holy Spirit. (159) In addition he had the audacity to assert that the profession that Thomas made, when he touched the Lord's hands and side after the resurrection, saying 'My Lord and my God,'¹⁰⁰ was not uttered by Thomas about Christ (for Theodore says that Christ was not God) but that Thomas, amazed at the miracle of the resurrection, said this to glorify God. (160) And what is even worse is that in the commentary which the same Theodore wrote on the Acts of the Apostles he made Christ like Plato, Mani, Epicurus and Marcion, by saying that just as each of these men from the teaching he devised caused his disciples to be called Platonists, Manichaeans, Epicureans and Marcionites, so in the same way when Christ had devised his teaching he caused Christians to be called after him.

(161) While the wickedness of these blasphemies is found in the books of Theodore of Mopsuestia, [167] it is patently apparent that certain promoters of the statements of Theodore opine most falsely that the afore-mentioned Theodore was not condemned in his lifetime, since on examining the synodical decrees of our predecessor Damasus of blessed memory, which were published after the Council of Nicaea when the catholic bishops (including Ambrose of blessed memory, bishop of the city of Milan) discussed the Holy Spirit and convened in the city of Rome, long before Theodore took up the office of bishop of Mopsuestia,¹⁰¹ we find it comprehensively decreed that those who affirm two Sons, one before the ages and the other after the taking of flesh from the Virgin, as it was proved above that Theodore asserted, are struck by the penalty of anathema, and where not only those who at that time were followers of this heresy but those also in succeeding ages might follow the same error are found to have been bound by the fetters of the same anathema.¹⁰² (162) To this condemnation Theodore of Mopsuestia was

98 Eph 5:31.

99 Jn 20:22.

100 Jn 20:28.

101 Theodore became bishop of Mopsuestia in 382. The Roman council referred to here issued a series of dogmatic canons, known as the 'Tome of Damasus', largely on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. The information given here on Ambrose's involvement enabled Galtier (1936) to date the council to 382, a date that has been widely accepted.

102 Cf. Canon 6 of the Tome of Damasus, 'We anathematize those who assert two sons, one before the ages and the other after the taking of flesh from the Virgin' (Denzinger-Schönmetzer 1967, 68). Vigilius' statement that the anathema applied to future as well as present heretics is correct, though not spelt out in the Tome.

necessarily subject, since he became the follower and preacher of a heresy that had been condemned in advance; for those whom we now find implicated in the Arian or any other heresy we accept as already condemned by the penalty of anathema for no other reason than that they too are found to have been condemned for the errors they follow, which had been condemned in advance.

We observe also that it should not escape notice that those who in their books and disputations teach belief in two Sons nevertheless deny that they profess two Sons, since it can be of no benefit to them that they deny with empty words what they are condemned by their books for asserting deceitfully in their doctrines. (163) For accordingly Nestorius, as we have already said above, by pretending to profess two natures and one Son while continuing to urge in his disputations with every intention to deceive that the one born from God the Father is someone other than the one engendered from the Virgin Mary, could not escape the penalty of due condemnation, nor could he be freed by that deceptive profession of one Son when his doctrine was convicted of containing something else, because the followers of wickedness of this kind are the authors of their own punishment, since they do not cease to teach what they blush to confess, and what they deny should be spoken they write to be read.¹⁰³

(164)¹⁰⁴ For all these reasons, therefore, may the universal church recognize whose benefit it is our intention to serve, lest the people of Christ our God be seduced any further. That this benefit is being impaired by Theodore's name and writings [was stated] above..., and we mention that we have proceeded to this decree of our present authority justly and in a way that is not open to criticism.¹⁰⁵ Accordingly we condemn and anathematize, just like all the other heretics who it is known were condemned and anathematized by the holy four councils and by the catholic church, also Theodore at one time bishop of Mopsuestia and his impious writings, and no less the writings of Theodoret against the correct faith and against the Twelve Chapters of the holy Cyril and against the First Synod of Ephesus,

103 The Latin text reads *legenda non scribunt* ('they do *not* write to be read'), but *non* must be a scribal error: what Vigilius is saying is that the heretics' verbal profession of orthodoxy is contradicted by what they actually write.

104 This paragraph (the first part of 164) is an expanded version of Vigilius' Second Letter to Eutychius 8 *fm.*-9.

105 Something has dropped out of the text, and Schwartz thought to detect a lacuna in which Vigilius will have made reference to his first *Constitutum*. In any case, the point being made is that the severe stance towards Theodore of Mopsuestia adopted in this second *Constitutum* is necessitated by a mounting Nestorian threat.

and his writings in defence of Theodore and Nestorius.

For the cause of the good of the church demands that the aforesaid writings of Theodoret be also condemned, for the reason that the oft-mentioned Nestorians under the name of this bishop (who is recorded as having been accepted by Pope Leo of blessed memory and by the holy Synod of Chalcedon) adduce these same writings in support of the assertion of their heresy, ignoring the fact that not only did the holy fathers assembled at Chalcedon, when they condemned Nestorius with his doctrines, condemn these writings as well, but also Bishop Theodoret himself by public profession at the holy Synod of Chalcedon rejected all the statements that appeared to contradict the doctrines of the blessed Cyril enunciated at Ephesus I, as well as accepting the Definition of the holy Council of Chalcedon, which manifestly proclaims the doctrine of the blessed Cyril enunciated at Ephesus I; this is how, according to the sentence of the whole council at the holy Synod of Chalcedon, he was, as is well-known, accepted by the same synod. It is therefore clear that we are enacting nothing new by this condemnation, [168] but have anathematized things both rejected by the holy Synod of Chalcedon and also condemned there by the profession of Bishop Theodoret himself.¹⁰⁶

(165)¹⁰⁷ We therefore anathematize and condemn the aforesaid three impious chapters, that is, the letter said to be from Ibas to Mari the Persian, which contains the wicked blasphemies cited above, and the impious Theodore of Mopsuestia with his wicked writings, and the things that Theodoret wrote impiously. Whosoever at any time believes that these ought to be accepted or defended,¹⁰⁸ or ever tries to rescind the present condemnation, we condemn with an equal anathema, while we hold as brethren and fellow priests those who, preserving the correct faith proclaimed by the aforesaid four synods, have condemned or condemn the afore-mentioned Three Chapters. (166) But whatever is produced or found anywhere whether under my name or that of anyone else in defence of the afore-mentioned Three Chapters we annul by the authority of our present most comprehensive decree.¹⁰⁹ As for all the

106 The fathers of Chalcedon required Theodoret to anathematize Nestorius (Acts of Chalcedon VIII. 6–13), but did not require him to withdraw his writings against Cyril.

107 The following paragraph (165–6) is taken almost verbatim from Vigilius' Second Letter to Eutychius (10 *fm.*-11).

108 *ACO* prints *deferenda* ('to be offered'), but comparison with 150 above, and with the still closer parallel in the Second Letter to Eutychius, shows that this is an error (ancient or modern) for *defendenda* ('to be defended').

109 This constitutes a formal rescinding of the first *Constitutum*.

blasphemies we have specified, may it not happen in the universal church that anyone asserts that the aforesaid four synods or one of them accepted them or those who held or followed such tenets, since it is an established fact that the afore-mentioned holy fathers and especially the holy Council of Chalcedon accepted no one about whom there was suspicion, save him who rejected the blasphemies specified above or ones similar or the heresy of which he was suspected, or denied and condemned the blasphemies because of which there were doubts about him.

(167)¹¹⁰ And therefore those who from now on, though informed by the sequence of our decree, wish to assert that the said letter to Mari the Persian, containing the blasphemies described above, was accepted by the holy Synod of Chalcedon, or who strive to assert that it was pronounced orthodox by any of the same fathers present at Chalcedon, we strike with an equal penalty of anathema, because they not only attempt to inflict injury on the holy and venerable Council of Chalcedon, but also declare themselves the fomenters and revivers of an extinct scandal by which the universal church can again be shaken, with the result that they are be justly smitten by the sentence of the apostle who was the teacher of the Gentiles, in which he says, 'Would that those who disturb you be mutilated!'¹¹¹

(168) And after the subscriptions: Issued at Constantinople on the seventh day before the Kalends of March, in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of the lord Justinian perpetual Augustus, and in the thirteenth year after the consulship of the most illustrious Basil.¹¹²

110 This final section is virtually identical to 150 above.

111 Gal 5:12.

112 23 February 554.

APPENDIX I

THE ANTI-ORIGENIST CANONS (543 AND 553)

INTRODUCTION

There was once a protracted debate over whether the council of 553 issued a series of canons condemning Origenism.¹ The acts contain no such canons and no discussion of Origenism and, since the numbering of the sessions is continuous and corresponds to that cited at the ecumenical council of 680–1,² they appear to be complete. Moreover, the letter from Justinian that was read out at the opening of the council (Acts I. 7) makes no reference to the Origenist controversy; nor does the long summary of the work of the council read out at the beginning of the eighth session (Acts VIII. 4).

Against this silence stands the witness of a number of accounts, of which the earliest was written immediately after the council – the *Life of Sabas* written by Cyril of Scythopolis before his death in around 558:

Our most pious emperor decreed that Eustochius should become patriarch, and gave orders for there to be an ecumenical council.³ Abba Conon, when sending Eustochius on his way to Jerusalem, asked him to send Eulogius, superior of the monastery of blessed Theodosius, so that he too should be present at the council that was assembling. Eustochius, entering into his patriarchate, sent three bishops to represent him at the council,⁴ and also sent Abba Eulogius with two other superiors, Cyriacus of the lavra called ‘The Spring’ and one Pancratius, a stylite. When the fifth holy ecumenical council had assembled at Constantinople a common and universal anathema was directed against Origen and Theodore of Mopsuestia and against the teaching of Evagrius and Didymus on pre-existence and a universal restoration, in the presence and with the approval of the four patriarchs.⁵

1 See Hefele-Leclerq (1909), 72–7, though Diekamp (1899) should have concluded the debate.

2 *ACO*, ser. 2, 2.2, 640–8 refers repeatedly to the ‘seventh’ session.

3 Cyril’s claim that the council was convened in response to Conon’s representations against the Origenists is manifestly false.

4 Three bishops representing Eustochius appear prominently in the attendance list, Acts I (and VIII). 1.4–6.

5 *Life of Sabas*, pp. 198,20–199,9.

Cyril completed his work in the Great Lavra, Abba Conon's own monastery, and must have been extremely well informed. His account is confirmed by the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius Scholasticus, completed in 593/4, which after treating the council's handling of the Three Chapters proceeds to its condemnation of Origenism:

But when depositions against the doctrines of Origen, who is also called Adamantine, and those who follow his impiety and error, were submitted by the monks Eulogius, Conon, Cyriacus and Pancratius, Justinian asked the assembled synod concerning these matters,⁶ after attaching both a copy of the deposition and the missives to Vigilus concerning these things... Accordingly a reply to Justinian was given by the synod, after it had made acclamations against Origen and his companions in error.⁷

Similar testimony can be found in many seventh-century sources.⁸

Finally there is the evidence of the anathemas. Two distinct sets of anathemas of Origenism issued by Justinian survive. One of them was part of the condemnation of 543. The second, which reflects subsequent developments in the controversy, needs a context of its own, and the council of 553 provides one, as modern scholars are now agreed.

But why, then, is this second condemnation not to be found in the conciliar acts?⁹ The favoured solution among modern scholars is to attribute the condemnation of Origen and the Origenists to a meeting of the bishops who had assembled at Constantinople for the council of 553, but prior to its formal opening.¹⁰ The opening of the council was delayed by

6 This need not imply Justinian's physical presence (which is most unlikely), but simply that an official representing him consulted the council on his behalf (cf. Acts I. 7 and VII. 4).

7 Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.* IV. 38, trans. Whitby, 248. This is immediately followed by an account of a lengthy anti-Origenist document that included allegations against various Palestinian monks and even Ascidas himself. Although this has sometimes been taken to be part of the bishops' reply to Justinian, it is manifestly a summary of the deposition presented by the anti-Origenist monks.

8 Diekamp (1899), 107–15 cites (*inter alia*) Sophronius of Jerusalem, Anastasius Sinaita, and the Acts of the Council of Constantinople of 680–1. See also Richard (1970), de Halleux (1977, 1978), and the early-seventh century *Chronicon Paschale*, trans. Whitby and Whitby, 133.

9 George the Monk claims that the condemnation was to be found in the conciliar acts (Richard 1970, 262), but this must simply mean that its documentation was preserved together with the acts of the eight formal sessions.

10 This was first proposed by Diekamp (1899); for the general acceptance of his thesis see the list of concordant voices in Hombergen (2001), 21, n. 2. That the condemnation of Origenism preceded the eight formal sessions is implied by the references to it in the fifth session (V. 87) and in the council's Canon 11, which adds Origen's name to the heretics already listed in Anathema 10 of Justinian's edict *On the orthodox faith*.

unavailing negotiations with Pope Vigilius; condemning Origenism was one of the activities that filled the bishops' time.

We are fortunate to find preserved in the chronicles of Georgius Harnotolus (or Monachus) and Cedrenus the letter from Justinian addressed to the bishops that instructed them to investigate and condemn Origenism. The correspondence between the exposition of Origenism in this letter and the anathemas that the bishops approved is sufficient to show both that these anathemas were the articles (or 'chapters') mentioned at the end of the letter, and also that Georgius is right to date the letter to 553. I translate below the letter and both sets of anathemas (or canons).

The Origenists and the condemnation of 543

Who were the Origenists of sixth-century Palestine? Cyril of Scythopolis' *Life of Sabas* (d. 532) covers events down to the aftermath of the council of 553. Cyril was one of a group of monks who were sent to the New Lavra to replace the Origenists after their condemnation in 553; his account of this the 'Second Origenist Controversy', as we call it, is vivid and well-informed, though marred by animosity. We learn that the leader of the New Lavra Origenists was Nonnus, and one of their chief members Leontius of Byzantium, of whom Cyril writes, 'Though claiming to support the Council of Chalcedon, he was detected holding the views of Origen.'¹¹ By the views of Origen (to whose name he adds those of the later Origenists Evagrius and Didymus) Cyril understands indebtedness to Pythagoras and Plato and belief in the pre-existence of all rational beings and their eventual restoration to their original perfect and bodiless state.¹² To this he adds:¹³

They deny that Christ is one of the Trinity. They say that our resurrection bodies pass to total destruction, and Christ's first of all. They say that the holy Trinity did not create the world and that at the restoration all rational beings, even demons, will be able to create aeons. They say that our bodies will be raised ethereal and spherical at the resurrection, and they assert that even the body of the Lord was raised in this form. They say that we shall be equal to Christ at the restoration.

All of this can be paralleled in the anti-Origenist anathemas of 553. It gives the views of one particular Origenist group, the 'Isochrists', and is not there-

¹¹ *Life of Sabas*, p. 176, 15–16.

¹² Cyril, *Lives*, pp. 124–5, 199, 230.

¹³ Cyril, *Life of Cyriacus*, p. 230, 3–10. On eventual equality with Christ compare the name 'Isochrist' ('equal to Christ') attributed to the Origenists in the New Lavra, according to the *Life of Sabas*, p. 197, 17.

fore a fair account of the movement as a whole. But the inadequacy of Cyril's account of the 'Origenists' does not stop here.

We are fortunate that the works of Leontius of Byzantium survive in bulk. The puzzle is that they are perfectly orthodox, offering a sober interpretation of Chalcedonian Christology. They not only contain no direct hint of Origenism but also explicitly reject the Origenist doctrines of the pre-existence of rational beings and their eventual return to a bodiless state.¹⁴ In the one place where Leontius names Origen he describes him as a writer 'we do not admire'.¹⁵ The suggestion that Leontius' writings were an elaborate disguise, a deliberate attempt to hide his real convictions,¹⁶ does no justice to their seriousness and elaboration. Far more convincing is the suggestion of Brian Daley that the 'Origenists' of the age of Justinian were not all adherents of an Origenist system but intellectuals who believed that theology should not consist of repeating slogans but of intellectual inquiry and debate as in the school of Origen; what is distinctive about Leontius' writings is the boldness with which he applied the tools of logical analysis to making sense of the formulae of Chalcedonian Christology.¹⁷

Cyril's misrepresentation of Leontius' position should make us suspicious of his treatment of Theodore Ascidas and his ally Domitian of Ancyra, whom he introduces in the context of the Synod of Constantinople of 536 that condemned Patriarch Anthimus and the miaphysites:¹⁸

Domitian, superior of the monastery of Martyrius, and Theodore surnamed Ascidas, who ruled over those of the New Lavra, both of them partaking to satiety of the plague of Origen, sailed to Constantinople, where they pretended to be battling for the Council of Chalcedon... Veiling their heresy by abundant hypocrisy and enjoying immediate access to the palace, Domitian received the first see of the province of Galatia, while Theodore succeeded to the see of Caesarea of Cappadocia.¹⁹

Cyril proceeds to narrate the support Ascidas gave the Origenists during the subsequent controversy, and down to the council of 553.²⁰ That Ascidas

14 Daley (1976), 356–8.

15 PG 86.1. 1377BC.

16 This is argued by Evans (1970).

17 Daley (1976), 366–9. Note Daley (1978), xiii: 'It is far from clear that the so-called Origenist party among the Palestinian monks were all committed Origenists in any theological sense... The "Origenists" were held together not so much by their belief in such doctrines as the pre-existence of souls or apocatastasis as... by their intellectual curiosity and their interest in free-ranging theological inquiry.'

18 See vol. 1, 13–14.

19 *Life of Sabas*, pp. 188,25–189,7.

20 Ibid. 191, 23; 192, 22; 197, 19; 198, 8.

attempted to protect the Origenists need not be doubted, but was he an Origenist himself? Throughout this period he was a close adviser of Justinian and played a public role at the council of 553 second only to that of Patriarch Eutychius of Constantinople. As a leading agent over a long period of the ecclesiastical policy of Justinian, in which the condemnation of Origenism was a main plank, he cannot have been an Origenist in any real sense of the term. Similar difficulties arise over his close associate Bishop Domitian of Ancyra: he is called an Origenist by Cyril, but in the one surviving fragment of his writing he appears as a defender of the Three Chapters, accusing the Origenists of having initiated the campaign against them.²¹

In all, it is impossible to consider this trio as genuine Origenists. It need not, however, be doubted that the circles in which they moved included some genuine Origenists, and that Leontius, Ascidas and Domitian were tarred by association. Indeed, however deceptive Cyril of Scythopolis' description of these three as Origenists, it is impossible to make any sense of his account of a schism between rival Origenist groups of 'Proctostists' and 'Isochrists' without accepting that some of the dissident monks were convinced and dogmatic Origenists. But taking the group as a whole, it emerges that a faction defined by Cyril by reference to Origenism (and to a particular brand of Origenism at that) contained a far wider range of opinion and was united above all by opposition to the intolerant and narrow orthodoxy that was the most powerful faction in Palestine and is represented by the *Lives* of Cyril of Scythopolis.²²

Tension between the pro- and anti-Origenist factions came to a head in 543, when the patriarchs of both Jerusalem and Antioch wrote to Justinian, pressing for a condemnation of Origen. The moment proved propitious, because of the emperor's concern to reaffirm the orthodoxy of the empire in the wake of the disasters of the early 540s, particularly the great plague.²³ Despite the influence of Ascidas and pro-Origenist voices in Constantinople, Justinian issued an edict and a set of canons condemning Origenism.²⁴

21 Fragment in Facundus, *Pro defensione* 4.4.15, quoted and discussed below. Manifestly this distinguishes Domitian sharply from Ascidas, despite Cyril's treatment of them as close allies. Even if Ascidas did not, as alleged, initiate the condemnation of the Three Chapters, he was active in their condemnation, not least at the council of 553.

22 Hombergen (2001), 206–22 suggests that the group was united by a respect less for the theological speculations of the fourth-century Origenist Evagrius Ponticus than for his spirituality.

23 See vol. 1, 16.

24 Cf. *Life of Sabas*, pp. 191–2 and Grillmeier (1995), 385–402. The canons are translated below; the edict is in *ACO* 3, pp. 189–214.

Anti-Origenism and the Three Chapters Controversy (544–53)

The anti-Origenist edict of 543 was followed in 544/5 by a second edict condemning the supposedly Nestorian Three Chapters. This sequence of condemnation was repeated in 553. What was the relation between the two heresies? One possibility is that Origenism and the Nestorianism of which the chapters stood accused were perceived as closely related, with the result that the condemnation of one led naturally to the condemnation of the other. It is striking that Cyril of Scythopolis frequently links the two heresies; he does not go so far as to treat Origenists and Nestorians as a single group, but he leaves the impression that they were closely associated.²⁵ I shall offer below an analysis of how the anti-Origenist canons 553 seem concerned to imply a link with Nestorianism. It appears, however, that the perception of this supposed link was late and contrived; certainly there is no trace in the canons or edict of 543 of an attempt to link Origenism to Nestorianism.²⁶

A very different possibility, which will require fuller examination, is that the Origenists and the defenders of the chapters, so far from natural allies, were in fact two factions bitterly opposed to each other. Antagonism between the pro-Origenists and the defenders of Theodore of Mopsuestia first surfaces in the writings of Leontius of Byzantium, who claimed that in his youth he had belonged for a time to a group devoted to Theodore, until he was rescued by a rival group, most probably the pro-Origenists with whom he was later associated.²⁷ Not long before his death in the mid 540s he wrote a diatribe against Theodore (*The Unmasking and Rout of the Nestorians*); the lack of any mention of Theodoret and Ibas implies a date prior to the opening of Justinian's campaign against all three chapters.²⁸

Further evidence for Origenists campaigning against Theodore's memory is to be found in a fragment of Domitian of Ancyra preserved by Facundus,

25 *Lives*, pp. 83, 9; 176, 7–20; 179, 4; 194, 19–22; 199, 1–6; 221, 20.

26 Daley (1976), 364–6 argues that associating Origenism with Antiochene Christology (accused of Nestorianism) was widespread at the time, but too much of his evidence is from Cyril of Scythopolis and therefore reflects Cyril's attempt to disguise the closer links between Antiochene thought and the anti-Origenist faction.

27 Leontius, PG 86A. 1357C–1360B. Loofs (1887), 307–8 views the condemnations of 543 and 544/5 as the outcome of the rivalry between these two groups. The Origenists' hostility to Theodore is more probably to be attributed to the anti-Origenist convictions of the contemporary admirers of Theodore than directly to Theodore's own criticism of Origen, for which see Facundus, *Pro defensione* III. 6.13.

28 Daley (1979), xlviii–liv. It would appear that Leontius died shortly before the publication of Justinian's first edict against the chapters.

from a petition addressed to Pope Vigilius:²⁹

They leapt forward to anathematize most holy and most glorious teachers for the reason of the doctrines that were aired concerning pre-existence and restoration, in the manner of Origen, anathematizing all the holy men who had been before or after him.³⁰ Those who had resolved to defend this doctrine could in no way accomplish it; but abandoning this struggle, they changed over to agitate against Theodore, once bishop of Mopsuestia, and they began to bestir themselves to obtain his anathematization as well, in order to annul, as they thought, the decrees issued against Origen.

Facundus refers elsewhere to this passage as constituting ‘a confession extorted by God’.³¹ He has noticed the oddity: it is an alleged Origenist plotter³² who brings against the Origenists a charge of plotting. This is further evidence that the allegedly Origenist faction was far from united and contained critics as well as admirers of Origen. But what is important for our present discussion is that Domitian, who will have been excellently informed, accused the Origenists of campaigning for Theodore’s condemnation.

The best-known evidence for such a campaign, and one that has influenced accounts of the Three Chapters controversy ever since, is the story penned by Liberatus in the 560s of how the condemnation of the chapters was contrived by Theodore Ascidas, who in revenge for Origen’s condemnation and mindful of Theodore of Mopsuestia’s hostility to Origen persuaded Justinian to condemn the chapters, hiding his real motive and claiming that this would win over the miaphysites.³³ The story is malicious gossip, intended to discredit the condemnation of the chapters; as I have argued already,³⁴ it is most unlikely that this is the correct explanation of why Justinian condemned the chapters. But the evidence from Leontius and Domitian does indeed prove that the pro-Origenists campaigned against Theodore.

If the Origenists and their allies reacted to the edict of 543 by campaigning against Theodore, the implication is that their enemies in Palestine were sympathetic to Theodore. There are a number of indications that the condem-

²⁹ Facundus, *Pro defensione* IV. 4.15.

³⁰ So convinced is Facundus that Domitian must be criticizing not the Origenists but their opponents that he takes this last sentence to refer to the latter (*ibid.* 14), but it is manifestly the Origenists who are accused of anathematizing anyone who was not an Origenist.

³¹ *Pro defensione* I. 2.4.

³² Facundus calls him ‘an open advocate of the Origenist heresy’ (*ibid.*).

³³ Liberatus, *Breviarium* 24, *ACO* 2.5, p. 140, cited in vol. 1, 18–19.

³⁴ See vol. 1, 19.

nation of Theodore and the Three Chapters was deeply unwelcome to the anti-Origenist bishops and monks of Palestine. The edict of 544/5, when published in Jerusalem, was rejected by Patriarch Peter and an indignant assembly of monks; there followed an appeal against the condemnation signed by Peter and many of the monks.³⁵ Although a Palestinian delegation was present at Constantinople in 552–3 to press for a fresh condemnation of Origenism, strikingly few Palestinian bishops chose to attend the examination and condemnation of the chapters at the great council that followed.³⁶ Finally, the account of the council in Cyril of Scythopolis puts the condemnation of Origenism at the centre of the stage, as if it had been both the reason for the council's convocation and its essential work, and reduces the condemnation of Theodore to a brief, incidental mention, making no mention whatsoever of the other two chapters (the condemned writings of Theodoret and Ibas). In all, it is plausible to describe the infighting in Palestine in terms of collision between two factions, of which one was sympathetic, or at least tolerant, towards Origenism and the other opposed to the condemnation of the Three Chapters.³⁷

To sum up, the condemnation of the Origenists in both 543 and 553 was brought about by their Palestinian opponents. After the edict of 543 the Origenists and their allies retaliated by starting a campaign against Theodore of Mopsuestia, while their opponents clearly shared the fears of the western Chalcedonians that the campaign against Theodore would be seen as a concession to the miaphysites and would undermine the standing of Chalcedon.³⁸

This does not, however, explain the motive or timing of the imperial and conciliar decrees. I argued above that in 543, in the wake of the unparalleled disasters of the time, Justinian was keen to recover divine favour by averting schism between Chalcedonians and non-Chalcedonians and at the same time reaffirming orthodoxy. This accounts very adequately for his condemnation both of Origenism in 543 and of the Three Chapters in 544/5. The allegation that the condemnation of the chapters was brought about by an Origenist

35 Facundus, *Pro defensione* IV. 4.2–9. *Life of Sabas*, p. 194, 22–4.

36 See the list on pp. 292–3 below.

37 Hombergen (2001) argues convincingly that the hostility to Theodore and the chapters displayed by Cyril of Scythopolis reflects a belated change of position (which he dates to as late as 554) and thereby a distortion of the real lines of division during the preceding controversy.

38 Cyril of Scythopolis' hostility towards the contemporary miaphysites of Palestine takes a very different form from his hostility towards the Origenists: he simply ignores their existence (for which John Rufus is our best evidence). But they need to be remembered if we are to account for Palestinian sympathy with Theodore of Mopsuestia.

intrigue must be dismissed. The inclusion in the condemnation of 544/5 of the writings of Theodoret and Ibas against Cyril of Alexandria suggests that miaphysite criticism of Chalcedon (as at the conference at Constantinople in 532) was more influential. Above all we must not overlook Justinian's personal interest in the issues and the independence of his judgement.³⁹

To what extent did the situation change in the decade leading up to the renewed condemnations of 553? The account in Cyril of Scythopolis makes plain that the edict of 543 failed to end the infighting among the monks of Palestine.⁴⁰ The Origenists of the New Lavra were at first forced to abandon the monastery, but were then allowed to return by Patriarch Peter of Jerusalem, acting under pressure from Theodore Ascidas, who continued to patronize the Origenists. They managed to get one of their supporters, George, made superior of the Great Lavra itself, the leading monastery of Palestine, and for two months in 552 another of their supporters, Macarius, even occupied the patriarchal throne of Jerusalem. From 547, however, the Origenists were fatally weakened by internal discord, as they split into two factions, the 'Protoctists' (holding that the saints will forever be surpassed by Christ as the 'first created', πρωτόκτιστος) and the 'Isochrists' (holding that the saints attain equality with Christ); the former preserved the purer Origenist tradition, while the latter had come to adopt the speculations of Evagrius of Pontus (d. 399). The former group actually formed an alliance with the anti-Origenists, now again in control of the Great Lavra, and their leader Isidore joined Conon, the new superior of the Great Lavra, in going to Constantinople in September 552⁴¹ to seek government support against the Isochrists. At Constantinople, despite obstruction from Theodore Ascidas (still patronizing the Origenists), they won the support of the emperor, and the consequence was the renewed condemnation of Origenism at the council of 553. A comparison of the anathemas of 543 to those of 553 shows that the latter are directed specifically against the Evagrian Origenism of the Isochrists.⁴²

Specially to be noted in the anathemas of 553 is the considerable expansion in the treatment of Origenist Christology. The 543 text referred to the following beliefs: that Christ's human soul existed before the incarnation and the creation of his body, that the Word of God took on angelic as well as human form, and that in the age to come Christ will be crucified anew to redeem the demons. The 553 text is much richer, and includes the following

39 See vol. 1, 20 and 123.

40 For the following narrative see *Life of Sabas*, pp. 192–9.

41 For the date see Hombergen (2001), 289.

42 This was argued by Diekamp (1899) and confirmed by Guillaumont (1962).

ideas: that Christ was a pre-existent soul that alone of all the souls ‘remained constant in the love and contemplation of God’ (Canon 6), that it was this pre-existent soul and not the divine Logos that, in the words of St Paul (Phil 2) emptied itself to take on human nature (Canons 7 and 8), that it attained to divine union ‘through knowledge of the monad’ (that is, of the Father), and that at the end of time, when all rational powers recover their state before the original fall, they will all be equal to Christ in nature and power (Canons 12–13).⁴³ Striking is the way in which the anathemas bring out those aspects of Evagrian Origenism that make it akin to Nestorianism – in treating the Godhead and the manhood of Christ as two distinct subjects, in denying a real incarnation of God the Word, and in reducing Christ to the same level as other human beings.⁴⁴

I noted above that the condemnation of 543 made nothing of any link or similarity between Origenism and Nestorianism. Who thought it up in 553? It is generally accepted that the content of the anathemas of 553, and of the letter from Justinian that presented them to the bishops, must have derived from documentation provided by the anti-Origenist deputation from Palestine led by the monks Conon and Eulogius.⁴⁵ What interest had they in linking the cause they had at heart, the condemnation of Origenism, with a cause for which they would appear to have had no enthusiasm, the condemnation of the Three Chapters? We may hazard an answer if we consider the situation they will have encountered when they arrived at Constantinople (Conon in the autumn of 552 and the other members of the delegation early in 553). They will have found bishops gathering in the city to give a conciliar stamp of approval to Justinian’s condemnation of the chapters. They are likely to have found little immediate support for a renewed condemnation of Origenism; Cyril of Scythopolis tells us that Ascidas, at the height of his ascendancy and still sympathetic to the Palestinian Origenists, did his best to thwart Conon’s mission.⁴⁶ It would appear that the Palestinians

43 Grillmeier (1995), 407–10.

44 Perrone (1980), 216–17. Cf. also Anastasius Sinaita, *Hodegos* 21.1.73–4, ‘Origen taught that Christ is a mere man’ (CCSG 8, 286).

45 Richard (1970) is confident that Justinian’s letter and the canons, as well as the account of the Evagrians in George the Monk, *Against heresies*, must all derive from this original Palestinian plaint, itself lost. In view of the critical treatment of Theodoret at the council it is ironic that the second half of Justinian’s letter, on the errors of the Platonists, consists of unacknowledged quotations from Theodoret, doubtless included in the Palestinian plaint without the author being named. This is consonant with the evidence that the Palestinians had no enthusiasm for the condemnation of the Three Chapters.

46 *Life of Sabas*, p. 198, 7–9.

thought of an ingenious way to win support, by presenting Origenism (in its Isochrist variety) as closely akin to Nestorianism; they could therefore urge that a renewed condemnation of Origenism would not be an irrelevance but would contribute directly to the work of the council.⁴⁷ This meant, of course, abandoning their resistance to the condemnation of the Three Chapters, but this resistance was already a lost cause.⁴⁸

In all, the relation between the condemnations of Origenism under Justinian and those of the condemnation of the Three Chapters was a complex and shifting one. At first the two issues were independent, and the condemnation of the chapters in 544/5 cannot be reduced to an Origenist intrigue. But in 553 the renewed condemnation of Origenism was much assisted by a belated perception at Constantinople (as the result of Palestinian lobbying) of a similarity between Origenism and Nestorianism.

Finally, it should be noted that the concentration of the anathemas of 553 on the Evagrian tenets of the Isochrists enables modern admirers of Origen such as Henri Crouzel to claim that Justinian's anathemas pass him by.⁴⁹ This neglects the fact that Origen's name was included among the heretics anathematized in the eleventh of the canons formally approved at the end of the council. Western defenders of Origen need therefore to claim in addition that the first eleven canons of 553 were never formally approved in the west, but this is an equally tendentious claim.⁵⁰ By the sixth century the speculations of Origen certainly appeared heretical; but they were not a danger to post-Nicene orthodoxy, and Origenist spirituality and Origenist biblical interpretation had exerted an immense and positive influence on the development of Christian thought. The condemnation of Origen is evidence of an increasing narrowness of outlook, and is an indelible blot on the ecclesiastical policy of Justinian.

47 It would appear that the condemnation of 553 did not permanently settle the Palestinian dispute, despite the claims of Cyril of Scythopolis, for in 563/4 Macarius, the Origenists' candidate for the see of Jerusalem, recovered the see (Victor of Tunnuna, 168).

48 Cyril claims that Sabas, as far back as 532, was distressed to find some of the monks who accompanied him to Constantinople in that year 'siding with Theodore of Mopsuestia when disputing with the Aposchists' (*Life of Sabas*, p. 176, 7–9). This acknowledges the presence of admirers of Theodore among the anti-Origenists and yet marginalizes them, in line with the orthodoxy of 553.

49 So Crouzel in Di Berardino (1992), II, 621–4. Cf. Victor of Tunnuna 170, who attributes to Eutychius of Constantinople a condemnation of Didymus and Evagrius but not of Origen; he clearly did not understand the anathemas of 553 to apply to Origen.

50 See vol. 1, 100–1.

1. THE CANONS OF 543⁵¹

1. If anyone says or holds that the souls of human beings pre-exist, as previously minds and holy powers, but that they reached satiety with divine contemplation and turned to what is worse and for this reason grew cold in the love of God and are therefore called souls,⁵² and were made to descend into bodies as a punishment, let him be anathema.

2. If anyone says or holds that the Lord's soul pre-existed and came into being united to God the Word before the incarnation and birth from a virgin, let him be anathema.

3. If anyone holds or says that the body of our Lord Jesus Christ was first formed in the womb of the holy Virgin and that afterwards both God the Word and the soul, being pre-existent, were united to it, let him be anathema.

4. If anyone says or holds that the Word of God became like all the heavenly orders, becoming cherubim for the cherubim, seraphim for the seraphim, and becoming (in a word) like all the powers above, let him be anathema.

5. If anyone says or holds that at the resurrection the bodies of human beings will be raised spherical and does not profess that we shall be raised upright, let him be anathema.

6. If anyone says or holds that heaven, sun, moon, stars, and the waters above the heavens are ensouled and rational powers, let him be anathema.

7. If anyone says or holds that in the age to come Christ the Master will be crucified on behalf of demons as well as on behalf of human beings, let him be anathema.

8. If anyone says or holds that God's power is finite and that he created [only] what he could grasp and comprehend, or that creation is coeternal with God, let him be anathema.

9. If anyone says or holds that the punishment of demons and impious human beings is temporary and that it will have an end at some time, and that there will be a restoration of demons and impious human beings, let him be anathema.

51 Denzinger-Schönmetzer (1967), 140–2.

52 By a false etymology the word 'soul' (ψυχή) was taken by the Origenists to derive from 'that grew cold' (ἀποψυχείσα).

2. LETTER OF JUSTINIAN TO THE HOLY COUNCIL ABOUT ORIGEN AND THOSE LIKE-MINDED⁵³

Our zeal was and is to protect from disturbance the holy, catholic and apostolic church of God and to condemn whatever springs up in any way that is contrary to the orthodox faith. Since therefore it has become known to us that there are indeed some monks at Jerusalem who follow Pythagoras, Plato, Origen the Adamantine and their impiety and error and teach accordingly, we have thought it necessary to take thought and carry out an investigation concerning them, lest through their pagan and Manichaean deceit they utterly destroy many. For, to mention a few things out of many, they assert that there were minds without any number or name, with the result that there was a *henad*⁵⁴ of all the rational beings through identity of substance and operation and through power and their union with and knowledge of God the Word, and that when they reached satiety with divine love and contemplation, corresponding to the turning of each to what is worse, they clothed themselves with more subtle or denser bodies and were allotted names, and that this is the origin of the existence of the heavenly and ministering powers. Moreover, [they assert] that the sun, the moon and the stars, belonging themselves to the same *henad* of rational beings, became what they are through turning to what is worse, while the rational beings who for the greater part grew cold in divine love were named souls and were decked in our more dense bodies, and those who had reached the acme of evil were bound to cold and dark bodies and became and are named demons; and that from the state of the angels originates that of the soul, and from that of the soul that of demons and human beings, and from the whole *henad* of rational beings one mind alone remained undeviating and constant in divine love and contemplation, and it became Christ and King and a human being; and that there will be a total destruction of bodies with the Lord himself first shedding his own body and [then] of all the others; and that all will be raised again to the same *henad* and become minds (as they were in their pre-existence), when indeed the devil himself and the other demons are restored to the same *henad*, and when impious and godless human beings will be with godly and

53 The text is preserved in the Byzantine chroniclers Georgius Monachus (or Hamartolus) and Cedrenus. CPG 6886 refers to editions in Migne, but the best text is that in de Boor's edition of Georgius Monachus' *Chronicon*, II, 630–3. The heading I give is based on that in Georgius and does not go back to the original despatch of the letter. The date of the letter must be the spring of 553.

54 A 'henad' is a unity distinct from, and dependent on, the unity of God himself, the 'monad' (Wallis 1972, 147).

inspired men and the heavenly powers and will enjoy the same union with God that Christ too enjoys, just as in their pre-existence, with the result that there will be no difference at all between Christ and the remaining rational beings, neither in substance nor in knowledge nor in power nor in operation. For Pythagoras said that the origin of everything was the monad;⁵⁵ and again Pythagoras and Plato, after asserting there is a whole company of bodiless souls, say that those who fall into some sin or other are made to descend into bodies as a punishment. Plato in consequence called the body a fetter and a tomb, since the soul is (as it were) fettered and buried in it.⁵⁶ Then about the coming judgement and retribution of souls he says again, ‘The soul of one who has been a lover of boys and lived guilelessly with philosophy is set free in a third thousand-year cycle,⁵⁷ and having thereby grown wings is released and departs in the thousandth year, while as for the others, when they end this life, some will enter the places of punishment under the earth and pay the reckoning and penalty, while others, raised by justice into a place in heaven, will lead a life worthy of how they have lived.’ It is easy to realize the absurdity of this account; for who taught him the cycles of thousands of years, and that after the elapse of a thousand years each of the souls then departs to its own place? As for what is said incidentally, it would be unsuitable for the utterly licentious, let alone such a philosopher; for to those who had achieved pure philosophy he united the dissolute and lovers of boys and declared that both would enjoy the same rewards.⁵⁸ So Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus and their followers, who agreed that souls are immortal, declared that they exist prior to bodies and that there is a great company of souls, of which those that transgress descend into bodies, as I said above, the vindictive and wicked into leopards, the ravenous into wolves, the treacherous into foxes, and those mad after women into horses.⁵⁹ But the church, following

55 The preceding sentence comes verbatim (doubtless via the plaint presented by the Palestinian monks) from Theodoret, *Cure of Hellenic Maladies* II. 22 (SC 57.1, p. 144, 13–14).

56 The preceding two sentences are taken verbatim from Theodoret, *Cure of Hellenic Maladies* V. 13 (SC 57.1, 229–30). Plato, *Gorgias* 493a mentions as a traditional saying that the body (σῶμα) is a tomb (σῆμα).

57 The Byzantine writers who preserve Justinian’s letter, incredulous that even Plato could have been so favourable to pederasty, give the text, ‘The soul of one who has been a lover of boys and lived wickedly with philosophy is set free after being punished in a third thousand-year cycle.’ But it is likely that the original text followed Theodoret more closely (see the following note) and I emend accordingly.

58 The quotation from Plato (*Phaedrus* 249AB) and the comment that follows are taken almost verbatim from Theodoret, *Cure of Hellenic Maladies* XI. 40–1 (SC 57.2, 405–6).

59 The preceding sentence (save for the final phrase, ‘and those mad after women...’) comes verbatim from Theodoret, *Epitome of Heretical Myths* V. 9 (PG 83. 480C).

the divine scriptures, affirms that the soul is created together with the body, not first one and the other later, according to the insanity of Origen.

On account of these wicked and destructive doctrines, or rather ravings, we bid you most sacred ones to assemble together, read the appended exposition attentively, and condemn and anathematize each of these articles together with the impious Origen and all those who hold or have held these beliefs till death.

3. THE CANONS OF 553⁶⁰

Fifteen Canons of the holy 165 fathers of the holy fifth council at Constantinople⁶¹

1. If anyone advocates the mythical pre-existence of souls and the monstrous restoration that follows from this, let him be anathema.

2. If anyone says that the origin of all rational beings was incorporeal and material minds without any number or name, with the result that there was a henad of them all through identity of substance, power and operation and through their union with and knowledge of God the Word, but that they reached satiety with divine contemplation and turned to what is worse, according to what the drive to this in each one corresponded to, and that they took more subtle or denser bodies and were allotted names such that the powers above have different names just as they have different bodies, as a result of which they became and were named some cherubim, some seraphim, and others principalities, powers, dominations, thrones, angels, and whatever heavenly orders there are, let him be anathema.

3. If anyone says that the sun, the moon and the stars, belonging themselves to the same henad of rational beings, became what they are through turning to what is worse, let him be anathema.

4. If anyone says that the rational beings who grew cold in divine love were bound to our more dense bodies and were named human beings, while those who had reached the acme of evil were bound to cold and dark bodies and are and are called demons and spirits of wickedness, let him be anathema.

5. If anyone says that from the state of the angels and archangels origi-

⁶⁰ *ACO* 4.1, pp. 248–9.

⁶¹ This heading is not original. The figure 165, based on the subscription list of the council (Acts VIII. 6), was a standard Byzantine designation of the council, like the 318 holy fathers (of Nicaea) and the 630 (of Chalcedon).

nates that of the soul, and from that of the soul that of demons and human beings, and from that of human beings angels and demons originate again, and that each order of the heavenly powers is constituted either entirely from those below or those above or from both those above and those below, let him be anathema.

6. If anyone says that the genus of demons had a double origin, being compounded both from human souls and from more powerful spirits that descend to this, but that from the whole *henad* of rational beings one mind alone remained constant in divine love and contemplation, and that it became Christ and king of all rational beings and created the whole of corporeal nature, both heaven and earth, and what is intermediate, and that the universe came into being containing real elements that are older than its own existence, that is, the dry, the liquid, heat and cold, and also the form according to which it was fashioned, and that the all-holy and consubstantial Trinity did not fashion the universe as the cause of its creation but that mind, as they assert, existing before the universe as creator, gave being to the universe itself and made it created, let him be anathema.

7. If anyone says that Christ, described as existing in the form of God, united to God the Word even before all the ages, and as having emptied himself in the last days into what is human,⁶² took pity, as they assert, upon the multifarious fall of the beings in the same *henad* and, wishing to restore them, passed through everything and took on various bodies and received various names, becoming all things to all, among angels an angel, among powers a power, and among the other orders or genera of rational beings took on appropriately the form of each, and then like us partook of flesh and blood and became for human beings a human being, [if anyone says this] and does not profess that God the Word emptied himself and became a human being, let him be anathema.

8. If anyone says that God the Word, consubstantial with God the Father and the Holy Spirit, who was incarnate and became man, one of the holy Trinity, is not truly Christ but only catachrestically, on account of the mind which, as they assert, emptied itself, because it is united to God the Word and is truly called Christ, while the Word is called Christ because of this mind and this mind is called God because of the Word, let him be anathema.

9. If anyone says that it was not the Word of God, incarnate in flesh ensouled by a rational and intelligent soul, who descended into hell and the same ascended back to heaven, but rather the mind they mention, whom

62 Cf. Phil 2:6–7.

impiously they assert to have truly been made Christ through knowledge of the monad,⁶³ let him be anathema.

10. If anyone says that the Lord's body after the resurrection was ethereal and spherical in form, and that the same will be true of the other bodies after the resurrection, and that, with first the Lord himself shedding his own body and [then] all likewise, the nature of bodies will pass into non-existence, let him be anathema.

11. If anyone says that the coming judgment means the total destruction of bodies and that the end of the story will be an immaterial nature, and that thereafter nothing that is material will exist but only pure mind, let him be anathema.

12. If anyone says that the heavenly powers, all human beings, the devil, and the spirits of wickedness will be united⁶⁴ to God the Word in just the same way as the mind they call Christ, which is in the form of God and emptied itself, as they assert, and that the kingdom of Christ will have an end, let him be anathema.

13. If anyone says that there will not be a single difference at all between Christ and other rational beings, neither in substance nor in knowledge nor in power over everything nor in operation, but that all will be at the right hand of God as Christ beside them will be, as indeed they were also in their mythical pre-existence, let him be anathema.

14. If anyone says that there will be one henad of all rational beings, when the hypostases and numbers are annihilated together with bodies, and that knowledge about rational beings will be accompanied by the destruction of the universes, the shedding of bodies, and the abolition of names, and there will be identity of knowledge as of hypostases, and that in this mythical restoration there will be only pure spirits, as there were in their nonsensical notion of pre-existence, let him be anathema.

15. If anyone says that the mode of life of the minds will be identical to that earlier one when they had not yet descended or fallen, with the result that the beginning is identical to the end and the end is the measure of the beginning, let him be anathema.

63 The 'monad' is God, in contrast to the 'henad', or unity, made up of the whole rational (or spiritual) creation.

64 Literally 'are united', but the reference is to the perfecting of all rational beings at the end of time.

APPENDIX II

THE ATTENDANCE AND SUBSCRIPTION LISTS*

The attendance list

Of the two extant editions, both Latin, of the Acts of 553 the first edition provides a full attendance list for Sessions I and VIII and an abbreviated list (including only the first ten names) for the remaining sessions, while the second gives the full list for Sessions I-IV and VIII and the abbreviated list for Sessions V-VII; it is likely that the original Greek editions will have included the full attendance list in the acts of each session. The full attendance lists are all identical, apart from an omission at two points, best ascribed to mere scribal error.¹ It is clear that a single attendance list was compiled and prefaced to each session. Why should the editors have gone out of their way to record for posterity the occasions when a bishop played truant? The total number of council fathers comes to 152, very close, as it happens, to the traditional figure (150) for the fathers of the First Council of Constantinople.

The names of sees given in the attendance list are as follows, set out under patriarchates, dioceses (groups of provinces) and provinces; the number before each name indicates its place in the list. The cities I mark as ‘great *metropoleis*’ were provincial capitals with suffragan sees under them. I designate as ‘autocephalous’ the so-called ‘autocephalous *metropoleis*’, which did not have provinces of their own but were not technically subject to the bishop of the provincial capital.² Where I mark a city as in the person of its bishop representing another, the latter is always the provincial metropolis. It is to be noted that Justinian, when reorganizing provinces, normally

* The major study is Chrysos (1966).

1 This is the omission of John of Hadrianopolis in Haemimontus from the attendance list of Session III in the second edition of the Acts (the first edition does not give the names at this point) and of Conon of Magyodus from the attendance list of Session VIII in the first edition of the Acts. These omissions could have occurred centuries later, during copying of the Latin versions.

2 I take the terminology of ‘great’ and ‘autocephalous’ *metropoleis* from the *Notitia Antiochena* of 570.

exempted the ecclesiastical arrangements, which remained unchanged.³ But there were exceptions: the see of Mocissus, now Justinianopolis, was awarded a province (Cappadocia III) carved out of Cappadocia II.⁴

(A) Patriarchate of Constantinople

Patriarchal see: (1) Constantinople

Thrace

Europa

(55) Druzipara (autocephalous)

(11) Heraclea (great metropolis)

Haemimontus

(45) Hadrianopolis (great metropolis)

Rhodope

(57) Cypsela Justiniana Nova (autocephalous)

(50) Maximianopolis (autocephalous)

Asia Minor

Armenia I

(122) Colonia

(141) Sebasteia (great metropolis)

(71) Verisa

Armenia II

(67) Arca

(140) Comana

(19) Cucusus (representing Melitene)

Asia

(86) Antandrus

(65) Arcadiopolis

(77) Cyme

(9) Ephesus (great metropolis)

(74) Erythrae

(139) Gargara

(68) Myrina

Bithynia

(17) Chalcedon (autocephalous)

(126) Justinianopolis⁵

³ Chrysos (1966), 84. Examples are the ignoring in the ecclesiastical lists of the new province of Theodorias (carved out Syria I and II) and of the new division of Armenia.

⁴ Cf. Acts V. 48–9.

⁵ The city called Mela in Jones (1971), 537.

- (98) Leontopolis⁶
- (16) Nicaea (autocephalous)
- (15) Nicomedia (great metropolis)
- (144) Praenetus
- (83) Prusa
- Cappadocia I
 - (8) Caesarea (great metropolis)
 - (59) Justinianopolis in Armenia⁷
 - (61) Justiniana Nova Camuliana
 - (60) Nyssa
- Cappadocia II
 - (25) Tyana (great metropolis)
- Cappadocia III
 - (47) Justinianopolis⁸ (great metropolis)
- Caria
 - (130) Anastasiopolis
 - (39) Aphrodisias (great metropolis)
 - (105) Cibyra
 - (151) Cnidus
 - (100) Halicarnassus
 - (99) Tabae
- Galatia I
 - (12) Tavium (representing Ancyra)
- Galatia II (Salutaris)
 - (95) Myriangeli⁹
- Helenopontus
 - (149) Amaseia (great metropolis)
- Hellespontus
 - (13) Ilium (representing Cyzicus)
- Honorias
 - (78) Cratia

6 The city called Helenopolis in the subscription list, p. 135 (94) above.

7 Despite its far easterly location and despite becoming the capital of Justinian's new Armenia I, it remained for ecclesiastical purposes part of Cappadocia I (Chrysos 1966, 94).

8 Formerly Mocissus. See Acts V. 48–9.

9 The city called Germa in Jones (1971), 533.

Islands

- (152) Carpathus
- (138) Lerus
- (34) Rhodes (great metropolis)
- (127) Tenus

Lycia

- (90) Limyra
- (29) Myra (great metropolis)
- (94) Phellus

Lydia

- (124) Ceraseis
- (31) Sardis (great metropolis)
- (123) Tralles

Pamphylia I

- (38) Perge (great metropolis)
- (114) Isinda
- (82) Magydus

Pamphylia II

- (143) Casae
- (142) Sennea
- (42) Side (great metropolis)

Paphlagonia

- (23) Gangra (great metropolis)
- (56) Pompeiopolis (autocephalous)

Phrygia Pacatiana

- (117) Aezani
- (119) Alia
- (118) Anastasiopolis
- (116) Dionysopolis
- (49) Hierapolis (autocephalous)
- (125) Sanaus
- (133) Tiberiopolis
- (44) Trajanopolis (representing Laodicea)

Phrygia Salutaris

- (134) Augustopolis
- (96) Dorylaeum
- (113) Meirus
- (111) Midaeum
- (112) Prynnessus

- (148) Stectorium
- (41) Synnada (great metropolis)
- Pisidia
 - (36) Antioch (great metropolis)
 - (73) Hadrianopolis
 - (132) Laodicea
 - (72) Philomelium
 - (75) Sozopolis
- Pontus Polemoniacus
 - (27) Neocaesarea (great metropolis)
- (B) Patriarchate of Antioch¹⁰
 - Patriarchal see (3) Theopolis (Antioch)
 - Arabia
 - (137) Adraa
 - (28) Bostra (great metropolis)
 - Cilicia I
 - (87) Corycus
 - (101) Mallus
 - (18) Tarsus (great metropolis)
 - Cilicia II
 - (51) Anazarbus (great metropolis)
 - (115) Epiphaneia
 - Euphratensis I
 - (26) Hierapolis (great metropolis)
 - (106) Neocaesarea
 - (136) Zeugma
 - Euphratensis II
 - (43) Sergiopolis (great metropolis)
 - Isauria
 - (150) Adrassus
 - (121) Domitiopolis
 - (30) Seleucia (great metropolis)
 - (91) Zenonopolis
 - Mesopotamia
 - (40) Amida (great metropolis)

¹⁰ Antioch was renamed Theopolis when it was rebuilt after the earthquakes of 526 and 528 (Chrysos 1966, 115).

- (131) Dadima
- (135) Ingila
- Osrhoene
 - (145) Batnae
 - (109) Circesium
 - (97) Constantia
 - (107) Dausara
 - (22) Edessa (great metropolis)
- Phoenice I
 - (92) Aradus
 - (93) Botrys
 - (66) Byblus
 - (146) Rachla
 - (14) Tyre (great metropolis)
- Phoenice Libanensis
 - (62) Barcusa
 - (129) Coradea
 - (33) Damascus (great metropolis)
 - (128) Danaba
- Syria I¹¹
 - (52) Chalcis
 - (58) Gabala
 - (48) Laodicea
 - (54) Seleucia
- Syria II
 - (24) Apamea (great metropolis)
 - (108) Balaneae

(C) Patriarchate of Jerusalem

Palestine I

- (20) Caesarea (great metropolis)
- (4) Raphia (representing Jerusalem)
- (110) Sebaste
- (6) Sozusa (representing Jerusalem)

¹¹ Three of the bishops of the four sees given for Syria I (52, 48, 54) are styled 'most religious' (the honorific for metropolitans) in the attendance list, while in the *Notitia Antiochena* (Honigmann 1925, 73) Laodicea is listed as an 'autocephalous metropolis' and the holders of the other three sees 'archbishops or *synkelloi*' (associates), forming the council to advise the patriarch of Antioch (Chrysos 1966, 116).

Palestine II

(5) Tiberias (representing Jerusalem)

(D) Patriarchate of Alexandria¹²

- Patriarchal see (2) Alexandria
- Suffragan sees (120) Antinoopolis
- (81) Antipyrgus
- (70) Clysmā
- (89) Cusae
- (88) Diocletianopolis
- (64) Cynopolis Justiniana Nova
- (80) Leontopolis
- (84) Ptolemais
- (76) Tamiathis¹³

(D) Under Rome's jurisdiction

Africa

Africa Proconsularis

(10) Tunis (representing Carthage)

Byzacena

(21) Victoriana¹⁴Numidia¹⁵

- (46) Cuicul
- (79) Milevum
- (53) Obba
- (35) Tipasa
- (63) Zattara

12 Two of the following sees, Leontopolis and Ptolemais, were major *metropoleis*, but in ecclesiastical affairs Egypt counted as a single province, where all bishops were suffragans of the patriarch (Chrysos 1966, 154–70).

13 Probably the modern Damietta, but possibly identical with 'Thamiaris', a see in Arcadia. See Pauly-Wissowa II. 4, 2136–7.

14 Its high position in the list and the designation of its bishop in the attendance list as simply 'bishop of Byzacena' imply that he claimed to represent his province, despite the presence in the city of Primasius of Hadrumetum, active in opposition to the council.

15 Three of the following bishops are listed with the metropolitans, the bishop of Tipasa because he was at the time the primate of the province, and those of Cuicul and Obba possibly to raise the profile of the African delegation (Chrysos 1966, 174).

- Dacia¹⁶
- Praevalitana¹⁷
- (37) Stobi (autocephalous)¹⁸
- Macedonia
- Achaea
- (104) Aegium
- (102) Megara
- (103) Opus
- (147) Porthmus
- Crete
- (32) Gortyna (great metropolis)
- Epirus Nova
- (85) Aulon
- Macedonia I
- (69) Amphipolis
- (7) Heraclea in Pelagonia (representing
 Thessalonica)

The subscription list

The attendance list just given is to be compared to the subscription list of signatories to the conciliar canons given at the end of the Acts (VIII. 6) and preserved in the Latin version of the second edition of the Acts. The subscription list consists largely of the same names as in the attendance list. Two of the names in the attendance list are lacking – Bishops Firmus of Tipasa in Numidia and Phocas of Stobi in Praevalitana. This cannot be attributed to discretion on their part, a decision to distance themselves from the condemnation of the Three Chapters: a well-informed contemporary, Victor of Tunnuna, tells us that ‘Firmus, corrupted by the emperor’s gifts, gave his assent to the condemnation of the same chapters,’¹⁹ while Phocas’ very presence at the council (in contrast to the non-attendance by three

16 Justinian made Dacia (and its primatial see of Justiniana Prima) a separate diocese and papal vicariate from that of Illyricum (and Thessalonica); see *Nov.* 11 and 131.3 (ed. Schoell/Kroll, III, 94, 655–6).

17 Cf. Acts I. 13 for Stobi being assigned at this date to Praevalitana, although earlier it had been the metropolis of Macedonia II (Stein 1949, 662, n. 1). It preserved its metropolitan rank, as its position in the attendance list shows.

18 This appears consistently in the Acts in the adjectival form *Staliensis*, akin to the form ‘*Stoli*’ in Hierocles. See Pauly-Wissowa II. 4, 47.

19 Victor of Tunnuna, *Chronicle*, anno 552.2.

bishops of his region staying in Constantinople) is evidence of his readiness to collaborate.²⁰ The omission of these names would appear to be a mere error of manuscript transmission. At the same time 16 new names are added, creating a total of 166 names.²¹ The new names are as follows, the numbers indicating their place in the list:

Patriarchate of Constantinople

Bithynia

(166) Hadriani

Chersonesus Taurica

(160) Cherson

Europa

(158) Arcadiopolis

(164) Bizye (autocephalous)

Haemimontus

(165) Anchialus

Hellespontus

(161) Hadrianutherae

Moesia Inferior

(127) Dorostolum

Phrygia Salutaris

(163) Amadassa

Pisidia

(162) Apamea

Rhodope

(49) Aenus (autocephalous)

(44) Maronea (autocephalous)

(157) Trajanopolis (great metropolis)

Patriarchate of Antioch

Mesopotamia

(159) Justiniana Nova *or* Dara (autocephalous)

Osrhoene

(105) Hemerium

²⁰ Phocas' amenability in contrast to the behaviour of his three colleagues from the diocese of Dacia was pointed out at the council itself, Acts II. 19.

²¹ It was a form of this list that led later Byzantine historians, from the eighth century, to refer to the council as the '165 holy fathers'. See Chrysos (1966), 45.

Under Rome's jurisdiction

Africa Proconsularis

(117) Bossa

(112) Sinna

Of the new names 10 come at the end of the list (157–66): these must have been late additions to the original list, since otherwise the three cities with metropolitan status (Bizye, Dara, Trajanopolis) would have come higher up among the other metropolitan sees. Since the first edition was compiled immediately after the council closed, while the second edition appeared probably in 554/5,²² it is very possible that these additional names appeared for the first time in the second edition, though since our one manuscript of the first edition of the Acts gives only the first nine names in the subscription list we cannot be certain.

Of the new names that appear earlier in the list, two (Sinna at 112 and Bossa 117) are of African bishops. Now we learn at Acts II. 12 that at an early stage in the council a deputation was sent to summon to the council those bishops from Africa and Illyricum who were known to be in the city but were not attending the council. The names of these absentees is given and do not include either of the two bishops listed here: it follows that they must have arrived later, most probably after the end of the council. We may conclude that in all likelihood the new names in the subscription list are all late additions of bishops who had not been present at the council. If the decrees had been circulated to collect signatures, the new names would be more numerous and more distinguished. We can only presume that these were bishops who happened to visit Constantinople before the list of signatures was closed; it is to be noted that half of them come from provinces near the capital. The small number of additional names (if we consider the frequency with which bishops visited Constantinople) implies that the list did not remain open for long.

Compilation of the attendance list

What may we surmise about the relationship between the attendance list and the subscription list and about the process of compilation? Apart from the additional names in the subscription list, the two lists are largely identical, in order as well as content. Of the 152 names in the attendance list nos 1–69 appear in exactly the same order (apart from the reversal of 51 and

²² See vol. 1, 104–5.

52), as do 126–52, while 70–125 occur in largely the same order, though with a number of displacements. Evangelos Chrysos has looked carefully to ascertain whether the order of the names follows a pattern supported by other conciliar lists or a detectable logic; apart from the first twelve names in the lists (patriarchs and exarchs)²³ and the separation of metropolitans and suffragans he found no signs of a set order of precedence.²⁴ This means that the only explanation of the extremely similar order of names in the two lists is that one is copied from the other. Surely the most probable reason for this is that the order of names is the order in which, as it turned out, the bishops signed the conciliar canons, and that the attendance list reproduced this. To add a precision, the attendance list will have been based on the first version of the subscription list, before the late names were added.²⁵

This theory accounts well for one oddity in the lists: two metropolitan bishops are placed far down among the suffragans – Rufinus of Sebasteia, the metropolis of Armenia I, and Stephen of Amaseia, the metropolis of Helenopontus.²⁶ It is easy to imagine that, when the metropolitans signed the subscription list, before the suffragans, two of their number arrived late and had to sign among the suffragans.²⁷ This irregularity was compounded when the compiler of the attendance list failed to restore them to their proper place, and added insult to injury by giving them the honorific reserved for suffragans – ‘very devout’.²⁸

This mode of compiling attendance lists was no novelty: the attendance lists in the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon are, with one exception, based on the subscription list to the Definition.²⁹ It means, of course, that the attendance list for 553 is not wholly reliable: strictly it is a list of cooperative bishops who were in Constantinople on the day of signing. It is possible that not all of them had actually attended the council.

23 Exarchs were bishops of superior metropolitan status (7–11 in the lists).

24 Chrysos (1966), 160–85.

25 This strengthens the supposition that the omission of two names from the subscription list is merely the error of a later copyist.

26 They come as, respectively, nos 141 and 149 in the attendance list and 145 and 153 in the subscription list. Helenopontus had been united with Pontus Polemoniacus for civil purposes in 535/6, but kept its independence as an ecclesiastical province (Justinian, *Nov.* 28.2).

27 This need not mean that they skipped the eighth session: the signing may well have taken place on a different day.

28 No honorifics occur in the subscription list.

29 See Price and Gaddis, III, 196–201.

Attendance at the council

The fact that few western bishops could be prevailed upon to attend the council is obvious from the attendance list. It includes no Italians, seven unrepresentative Africans (since the African Church was still strongly against the emperor), eight from the diocese of Macedonia and one from that of Dacia. To this we may compare the western bishops, almost identical in number, who were in Constantinople during the council but absented themselves to form a rival assembly under the chairmanship of Pope Vigilius, where they signed his first *Constitutum*: of these eleven were Italian, one an African, and three from Dacia.³⁰

What were the loyalties of the bishops of the Greek-speaking part of Illyricum (the diocese of Macedonia) under the papal vicariate of Thessalonica? It has been suggested that the papal vicariate was by now a dead letter,³¹ though the fact that the newly independent Dacia was placed under Rome (*Nov.* 131.3) implies that Thessalonica was still, at least officially, in the same position. But even back in 451 the bishops of Illyricum had been strikingly independent: they showed respect for Roman authority by refusing to sign Canon 28, which assigned nearby Thracica to Constantinople, but they were prominent among those who interrupted the reading of the Tome of Leo.³² By 553, after the period of the Acacian schism, the bishops of the Greek-speaking part of Illyricum must have felt closer to Constantinople than to Rome.

Quite apart from the minimal western attendance there are notable imbalances in the list of eastern bishops. That it is dominated by bishops from the patriarchate of Constantinople is not surprising, in view both of the dominant role at the council of Eutychius of Constantinople and of ease of travel. The attendance from the patriarchate of Antioch is respectable – 39 out of the total of 154 bishops of the region, according to the contemporary *Notitia Antiochena*.³³ The mere ten bishops from Egypt are a predictable reflection of the weakness of the Chalcedonian Church in the region. Most striking is the poor attendance from the patriarchate of Jerusalem. The

30 First *Constitutum*, 308–13. Dacia's support for the Three Chapters was shown when it rejected its archbishop Benenatus when he recommended the *Iudicatum* to them (Victor of Tunnuna, *Chronicle*, anno 549). I omit here the two Anatolian bishops (Pastor of Iconium and Vincentius of Claudiopolis) who also formed part of Vigilius' group.

31 For the various opinions see Chrysos (1966), 130 and 156–7.

32 Acts of Chalcedon XVI. 9 (the list of signatories to Canon 28, containing no bishops from Illyricum) and II. 24–6.

33 Honigmann (1925), 75. The *Notitia* is dated 570.

patriarch sent three bishops as his representatives, assisted by four leading monks, as part of a campaign against the Origenists.³⁴ But the failure of the Palestinian bishops to turn up in respectable force to confirm the condemnation of the Three Chapters bears witness to continuing doubts in their region as to whether the condemnation was faithful to Chalcedon; the hostility that had greeted Justinian's edict of 544/5 had clearly not died down.³⁵

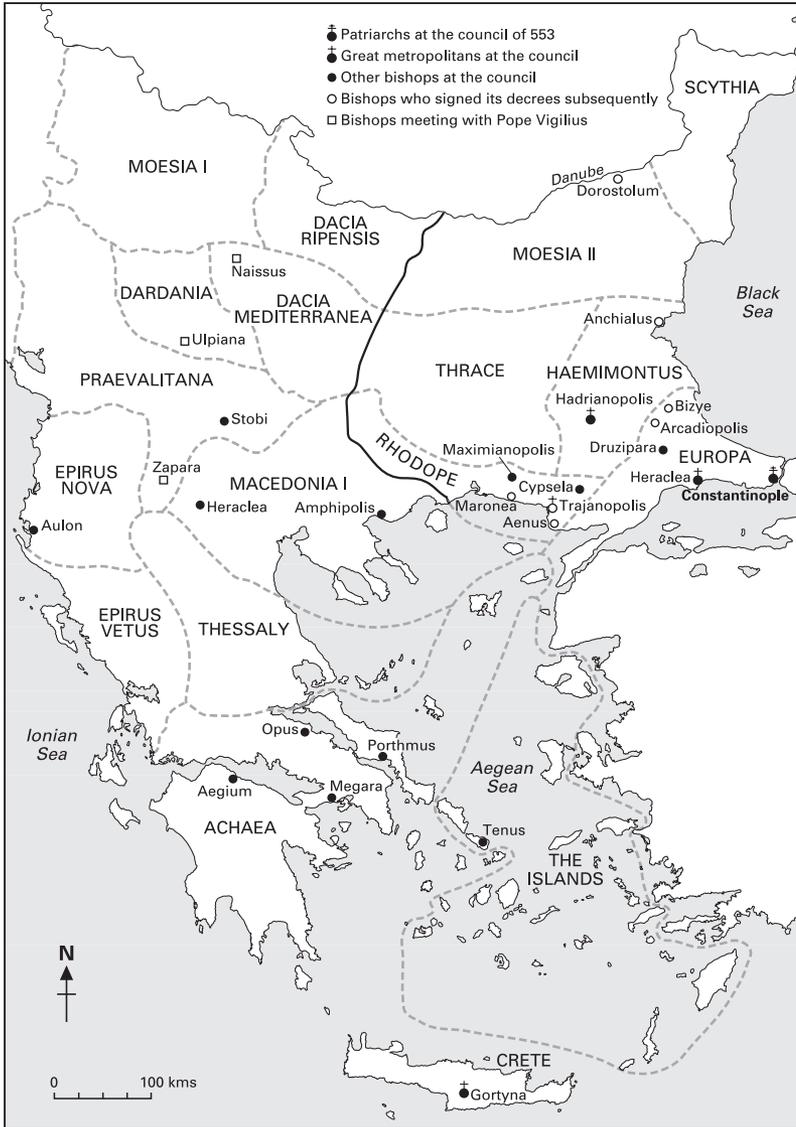
Since the role of the bishops at the council was to be a limited one, that of confirming Justinian's edicts of 544/5 and 551, the decision to summon representatives of the episcopate rather than bishops *en masse*, as at Chalcedon, was sensible enough. The patriarchates of Constantinople and Antioch were adequately represented. But hostility to the emperor's programme in Palestine and the west and the indifference of overwhelmingly non-Chalcedonian Egypt made its ecumenicity depend rather too heavily on imperial and (subsequently) papal confirmation.

34 See Cyril of Scythopolis, *Life of Sabas*, p. 198.

35 See p. 277 above.



Map 1: Patriarchates and Provinces



Map 2: The Balkans



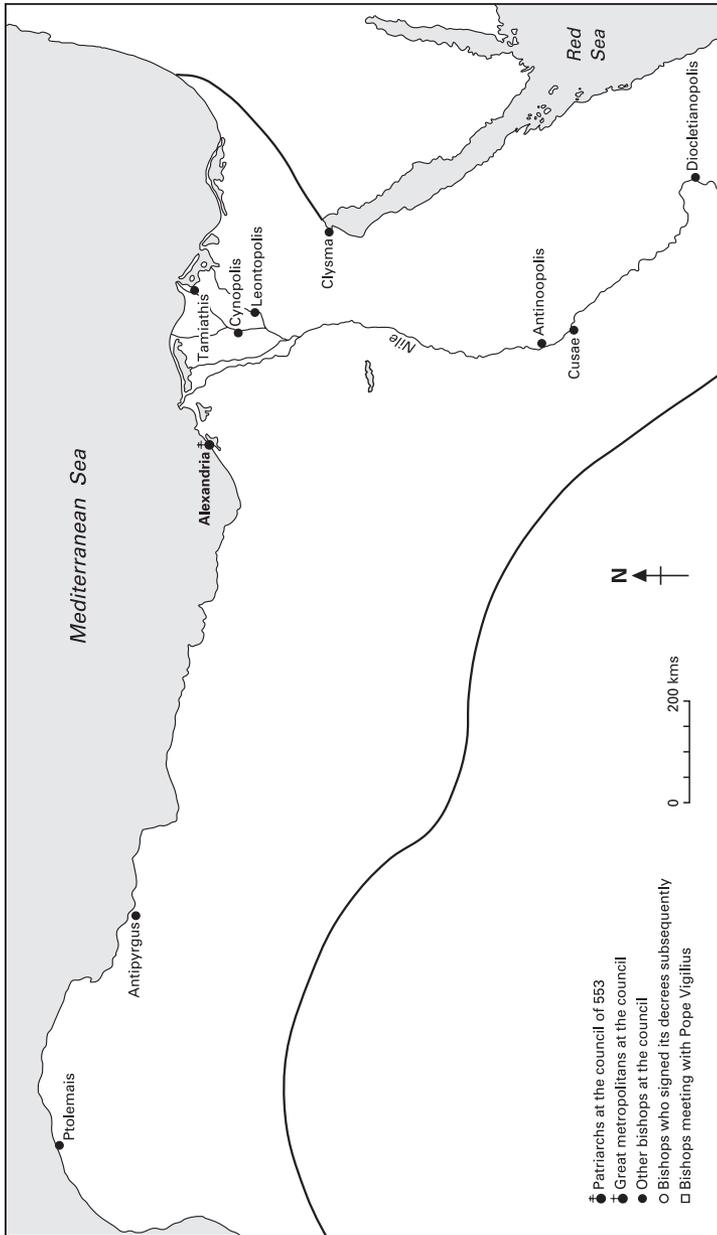
Map 3: Western Asia Minor



Map 4: Eastern Asia Minor



Map 5: Syria and Palestine



Map 6: Egypt



Map 7: Italy and Africa

GLOSSARY

- Acacian Schism** The schism (484–519) between the Latin west and the Byzantine east occasioned by the *Henotikon* (q.v.) of 482, issued by the emperor Zeno and unacceptable to Rome, and named after Archbishop Acacius of Constantinople, who drafted it.
- Acephali** The extreme miaphysites who broke off communion with those miaphysites who accepted the communion of Chalcedonians under the terms of the *Henotikon* (q.v.). The name (the ‘headless ones’) derives from the fact that they were in communion with none of the patriarchs.
- Adoptionism** The heresy that regarded Christ as a mere man ‘adopted’ by God as his Son.
- Agens in rebus** An agent of central government entrusted with delivering despatches and with police work.
- Agnoetae** Those who held that Christ on earth had limited knowledge. Its main champions in the age of Justinian were a group of miaphysites, who treated this as part of the ‘self-emptying’ (Phil 2:7) of the divine Word when he became flesh.
- Alexandrian Christology** The teaching developed by Athanasius (d. 373) and Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444) that stressed both the full divinity of Christ and a union between Godhead and manhood in Christ so close that the Godhead directed the manhood and made all its experiences his own.
- Anathema** To be anathematized, or declared anathema, was to be condemned for heresy, implying degradation from any clerical rank and expulsion from the church.
- Antiochene Christology** This was developed in its classic form by Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428) and then spread by Nestorius (d. 450/1) and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (d. in 460s). It argued that the two natures in Christ, Godhead and manhood, are united not on the level of substance (which would imply their alteration) but on the level of relationship and representation. Christ, though two in his inner constitution, is one in his relations with others, in that, in the eyes of both God the Father and his

human worshippers, his manhood shares the glory and dignity of the eternal Word to which it is conjoined. The Antiochenes were reserved in their use of *communicatio idiomatum* (q.v.), and hostile to theopaschite (q.v.) expressions, since they could suggest that in the union the two natures are changed and lose their distinctive properties.

Apocrisarius The representative of a bishop, in particular the permanent representative of a patriarch or metropolitan at Constantinople.

Apollinarian(ism) The heresy, associated with the Apollinarius of Laodicea (d. c. 390), which taught that in Christ the divine Word took the place of a rational human soul.

Apostolic see The see of Rome, as founded by Sts Peter and Paul.

Archdeacon The senior deacon (q.v.) of a diocese, acting as the bishop's chief deputy and assistant, with a role like that of a vicar general in the Catholic Church today.

Canon A church rule, generally issued by a council, though sometimes issued by an emperor and then approved by the bishops.

Canonical Canons were obviously 'canonical', but so were other documents that had been formally approved by a council, such as the letters of Cyril specially associated with the Council of Ephesus of 431.

Catachresis The misuse, or loose use, of terms.

Catholic Often used, like 'pious', to mean orthodox in doctrine.

Chalcedonian Definition The chief work of the Council of Chalcedon was the production of a *ὄρος* or 'definition' (pp. 61–4 above) canonizing various documents (including some letters of Cyril of Alexandria and the Tome of Pope Leo) and defining that Christ is one person and hypostasis (q.v.) in two natures.

Chapter Generally a short statement or citation or article or anathema. See 'Three Chapters' and 'Twelve Chapters' below.

Christology Doctrine about Christ. The word appears to have been coined by the Lutheran divine Friedrich Balduin (1535–1627) in his *Commentary on Romans* (1611).

Communicatio idiomatum The 'sharing of attributes/characteristics' between the two natures of Christ, e.g. the ascription of Christ's experiences in the flesh to God the Word and conversely the ascription to Christ the man of the functions of the eternal Son. It was a mode of speaking intended to bring out how, even though the two natures remain radically different, they are united and make up the one Christ. The classic exposition of the notion is in Cyril of Alexandria's Second Letter to Nestorius (pp. 21–3 above).

- Consubstantial** The Greek word (ὁμοούσιος) can also be translated ‘of the same essence’. A major concern of the Council of Chalcedon (451) was to secure Christ’s ‘dual consubstantiality’ (denied by Eutychianism, q.v.), according to which he is both consubstantial with the Father in his Godhead and consubstantial with all human beings in his manhood.
- Count** (*comes*) A rank held by those holding high office in the imperial service.
- Deacon** The third clerical rank, after bishop and presbyter (q.v.). Though their liturgical functions were restricted, deacons could serve as the principal assistants of their bishops, sometimes called ‘archdeacons’ (q.v.).
- Defensor** The *defensor civitatis* was the chief official in any city, with a special responsibility to protect the rights of individuals in dealings with government officials and hear minor cases. There were also ecclesiastical *defensores*, who guarded the legal interests of a see and served as clerical policemen (Jones 1964, 911).
- Diocese** A group of secular provinces: the eastern dioceses were Dacia, Macedonia, Thrace, Asiana, Pontica, Oriens and Egypt. Sometimes used of the whole region under a patriarch.
- Diptychs** Lists of names of the living and the dead read out at the eucharist.
- Dispensation** This translates *dispensatio* or οἰκονομία (‘economy’), meaning the dispensation (or divine plan) of salvation, concretely the Incarnation of the Son.
- Docetism** The heresy that attributes to Christ only the semblance of a human nature.
- Dyophysite** ‘Two-nature’, of the Christology, formally adopted at the Council of Chalcedon, that ascribes two natures (Godhead and manhood) to Christ. Although it is the one Christ who possesses both divine and human attributes, the two sets are not commingled or confused: the Godhead, for example, remains impassible (q.v.), while the manhood remains fleshly and subject to change. Miaphysites (q.v.) accused dyophysites of splitting Christ into two distinct beings or persons.
- Ecumenical** When used of a council the term meant empire-wide, or general, as contrasted to local.
- Eutychianism** The heresy attributed (unfairly) to the archimandrite Eutyches and condemned at the Council of Chalcedon which denied that Christ shared our humanity and by attributing the human sufferings directly to his Godhead made the latter passible.

Excommunication The word and its cognates is frequently used to refer to a bishop, or group of bishops, declaring a person or persons excluded from the communion of the Church, that is, from participation in worship or the sacraments. When applied to a cleric, excommunication implied suspension from ecclesiastical office.

Fathers Either (1) the bishops attending a council, or (2) those earlier churchmen who had a special place in the church's tradition as the champions and expounders (in a few cases the anticipators) of the Nicene faith (q.v.). This is to be distinguished from the modern use of 'the Fathers' to refer to all the (more or less orthodox) theologians of the early church.

Filioque The description in the Nicene Creed of the Holy Spirit as 'proceeding from the Father' was supplemented by the words 'and from the Son' (*Filioque* in Latin) first in the Church of Persia in 410 (see Bruns 2000) and later in the west. As a doctrine, it was taught by Augustine, implied by Cyril, and rejected by the Antiochenes (see vol. 1, 361 with n. 376).

Florilegium The Latinate equivalent of the Greek-derived word 'anthology'. The Acts of Constantinople contain several florilegia, either of excerpts from the Fathers (q.v.) or of heretical excerpts deserving condemnation.

Formula of Reunion A Christological statement composed by the Antiochenes (q.v.) and accepted by Cyril of Alexandria in early 433.

Henotikon A doctrinal declaration issued by the emperor Zeno in 482 as a compromise between the Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian positions (see vol. 1, 2–3). It made acceptance of Chalcedon optional.

Home Synod (σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα). A council that met frequently at Constantinople, chaired by the bishop of Constantinople, and attended by both bishops from the neighbouring region and whatever bishops happened to be in the capital at the time.

Homoousion 'The homoousion' is the statement in the Nicene Creed (q.v.) that the Son is 'consubstantial (ὁμοούσιον) with the Father'. The meaning is that the eternal Son (or God the Word) possesses the divine attributes just as fully as the Father and in union with him.

Hypostasis/hypostatic The Chalcedonian Definition (q.v.) defined that Christ is 'one person and one hypostasis', meaning a single being, viz. the eternal Son of God who took on manhood in the incarnation. 'Hypostatic union' meant a real union of natures in Christ, whereby the Word of God incarnate is the sole personal subject to whom all Christ's actions and attributes are to be attributed.

- Impassible** Incapable of suffering or (more broadly) of being changed or affected by other realities. This was regarded as a key attribute of divinity. It made theopaschite (q.v.) expressions highly paradoxical.
- Impiety** Used to mean ‘heresy’, as the antonym of ‘piety’ (q.v.).
- Lector** Alternatively translated ‘reader’, this was the junior clerical rank, held by those appointed (sometimes in childhood) to read the scriptures in church.
- Martyrium.** A martyr’s shrine, or simply a church or chapel commemorating a martyr.
- Master of the offices** (*magister officiorum*) He had control over a number of government departments, and among civilian officials ranked only after the praetorian prefect of the east and the prefect of the city of Constantinople. See Jones (1964), 368–9, 575–84.
- Metropolitan** Metropolitan bishops were the bishops of cities that were provincial capitals (known as *metropoleis*). According to Canons 4 and 5 of Nicaea, the metropolitan had to confirm all episcopal elections in his province and to chair the provincial synod that was supposed to meet twice a year. Some others sees were granted the title of metropolitan sees but without a province attached, ranking as ‘autocephalous *metropoleis*’ between the ‘great *metropoleis*’ and the suffragan (q.v.) sees.
- Miaphysite** ‘One-nature’ (from μία φύσις), the antonym of dyophysite (q.v.). The term is a recent coinage, intended (out of ecumenical courtesy) to replace ‘monophysite’ (q.v.). Miaphysite Christology, which is still the doctrine of the Oriental Orthodox churches (including the Copts, the Ethiopians, the Syrian Orthodox, and the Armenians), rejects the Chalcedonian formula of two natures in Christ, and insists that he is one nature, in the sense of a single being, albeit possessing both divine and human attributes. The difference between miaphysite and dyophysite Christologies has often been merely terminological.
- Monophysite** This term, referring to the tenet that Christ has *only* one nature (from Greek *monos* and *physis*), is to be generally avoided, since, though used innocently by historians (as swear-words are by children), it is pejorative like ‘papist’. The terms ‘miaphysite’ or ‘non-Chalcedonian’ are to be preferred.
- Mother of God** In the form *dei genetrix* this was the Latin translation of *Theotokos* (q.v.).
- Nature** The Godhead and manhood of Christ constitute ‘two natures’, according to the Chalcedonian Definition (q.v.). Though the reference is to two sets of attributes, miaphysite (q.v.) critics understood this to

mean the Nestorian (q.v.) teaching that Christ is made up of two distinct existents, even persons, God the Word and the man Jesus Christ. To exclude this misinterpretation, Byzantine Christology from the sixth century redefined the two natures as in themselves generic, though possessing individualizing characteristics (distinguishing them from other persons whether within the Trinity or in the human race) through instantiation in God the Word.

Neo-Chalcedonianism A sixth-century reinterpretation of the Christology of the Chalcedonian Definition (q.v.) that sought to reconcile its dyophysite (q.v.) terminology with the full teaching of Cyril of Alexandria. It was adopted by both the emperor Justinian and the council of 553 and formed the basis of subsequent Byzantine orthodoxy.

Nestorian(ism) The heresy that separates the two natures of Christ, Godhead and manhood, into two distinct persons, two distinguishable ‘Sons of God’, associated with each other in harmony of will and status but not united ontologically. It was a misrepresentation, conjured up by its opponents, of Antiochene Christology (q.v.).

Nicaea/Nicene The Nicene Creed, issued by the Council of Nicaea (325) and included in the Chalcedonian Definition (q.v.), was regarded as the fundamental expression of Christian dogma. By the time of the council of 553 it was used liturgically in the east in the revised form associated with the Council of Constantinople of 381, which was also included in the Chalcedonian Definition.

Non-Chalcedonian The favoured modern term, in preference to ‘monophysite’ (q.v.), for the miaphysites (q.v.) who rejected the Council of Chalcedon because it defined that Christ has two natures.

Notaries Imperial notaries were secretaries and civil servants. Ecclesiastical notaries, generally deacons, acted as secretaries and assistants of bishops.

Patriarch As an unofficial term for bishops of prestigious sees the word was of old date, but as the title of the archbishops of the patriarchal sees of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria it was an innovation of the age of Justinian, introduced by 535. See Lampe, *PGL*, 1051–2 and Schieffer (1991), 436–40.

Patrician An honorary title conferred permanently on the most senior officers of state.

Person ‘Person’ (πρόσωπον) was the favourite Antiochene (q.v.) expression for the unity in Christ, since it refers to role and relationships rather than to inner ontological structure; it lacked the modern sense of a single,

conscious subject. Unfortunately the term was very loose in meaning: in an anonymous fourth-century sermon (PG 43, 461B) Adam and Christ, as indwelling in Adam, are said to constitute ‘a single and indivisible *πρόσωπον*’. Chalcedon therefore found it inadequate to express the unity in Christ, and added to ‘one person’ the less ambiguous expression ‘one hypostasis’ (q.v.).

Piety, pious Often used to refer to doctrinal orthodoxy.

Prefect The praetorian prefects were the heads of the civil service in the various regions of the empire, the prefect of the east (extending from Thrace to Palestine) being the emperor’s chief civilian minister.

Presbyter The second clerical rank, intermediate between bishop and deacon (q.v.). In the pre-Nicene period the prime role of the presbyters was to form the council that advised the bishop. With the multiplication of churches after Constantine, the presbyter became the celebrant of the liturgy in non-cathedral churches.

Priest The word derives from ‘presbyter’ (q.v.), but is used as the translation of *ιερεύς* or *sacerdos*, a term used most often of bishops.

Primicerius The ‘first’ of a group of civil or ecclesiastical functionaries, in conciliar acts usually of notaries (q.v.).

Psilanthropism The heresy of which Nestorius and Theodore of Mopsuestia stood accused that held that Christ was a ‘mere man’ (*ψιλόζ ἄνθρωπος*).

Quaestor of the sacred palace The chief legal minister, who drafted imperial laws and rescripts.

Referendary The referendaries were notaries who acted as the emperor’s judicial clerks and messengers (Jones, *LRE*, 575).

Silentiary An imperial usher, who kept guard at the doors during important state meetings, but could also be entrusted with various special missions, often relating to church affairs.

Subsistence Latin *subsistentia* was a sixth-century neologism to translate Greek *hypostasis* (q.v.).

Suffragans Bishops of non-metropolitan sees (sometimes called ‘micro-politan’ bishops), who were consecrated by their metropolitan and met regularly with him at provincial synods.

Symbol A synonym of ‘creed’.

Synod A church council. Note that the distinction in English between ‘council’ and ‘synod’ (the latter term being reserved for local councils) does not exist in Greek, where *σύνοδος* is used for both. Latin texts use *synodus* and *concilium* as synonyms.

Synodical This adjective (συνοδικός) is applied in the acts to letters sent by, or approved as orthodox by, a synod or council. In my translation I sometimes use the word ‘conciliar’.

Synousiasts A name given to the Apollinarians (q.v.) as expressing the notion that in Christ the essences (*ousiai*) are so united (*syn-*) that a single essence results.

Theopaschite The word means ‘attributing suffering to God’, a particular form of *communicatio idiomatum* (q.v.). Pre-Nicene Christians had found it natural to use theopaschite expressions of Christ, since he suffered and yet is divine. Cyril of Alexandria reconciled their use with the doctrine of divine impassibility (q.v.) by explaining that God the Word suffered only in the human nature he had assumed and not in his divine nature. But Antiochene Christology (q.v.) rejected them and the Chalcedonian Definition (q.v.) avoided them. Their use was formally approved in both east and west under Justinian (see vol. 1, 12).

Theotokos A traditional title of the Virgin Mary (first attested by Origen in the early third century), meaning ‘God-bearer’ and normally translated into English (as into Latin) as ‘Mother of God’. Nestorius criticized it for confusing the manhood (created in Mary’s womb) with the divine Word (born of the Father and not of Mary). But it was generally accepted, even by Nestorius’ Antiochene allies such as Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret, as a form of *communicatio idiomatum* (q.v.).

Three Chapters The emperor Justinian in 544/5 and then the Council of Constantinople of 553 issued a condemnation of three items (the ‘Three Chapters’): the person and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the writings of Theodoret against Cyril of Alexandria, and the purported letter of Ibas of Edessa to Mari the Persian. Note that ‘the Three Chapters’ meant the persons or writings condemned at the council and not their condemnation; the ‘defenders’ of the Chapters were therefore the supporters not of the condemnation but of the persons and writings condemned.

Tome of Leo The Tome of Leo (pp. 49–58 above) was a Christological manifesto in the form of a letter (dated 13 June 449) to Flavian of Constantinople. It confirmed the condemnation of Eutychianism (q.v.) at the Home Synod (q.v.) of November 448. It was formally approved in the Chalcedon Definition (q.v.).

Tribune A rank held by various government officers, military or civil, including notaries.

Trisagion ‘Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us.’ This

chant surfaces at the Council of Chalcedon, where it was uttered by the Syrian bishops (Acts I. 1071). More controversial was the theopaschite (q.v.) variation introduced by the miaphysite Peter the Fuller in 468, which added the words 'who was crucified for us'.

Twelve Chapters Cyril of Alexandria's 'Twelve Chapters' (or 'Twelve Anathemas') were appended to his Third Letter to Nestorius of November 430 (pp. 46–8 above) They summed up Cyril's Christology in a series of anathematizations. Though ignored at Chalcedon, they were accorded canonical (q.v.) status in the sixth century (see vol. 1, 67–9).

150 fathers, The The bishops of the Council of Constantinople (381), accorded ecumenical status from the time of Chalcedon. The figure, though possibly accurate, had symbolic significance as half that of the 318 holy fathers (q.v.), signifying that the council simply completed the work of its predecessor and did not claim independent authority.

318 fathers, The The bishops of the Council of Nicaea (325). The figure does not represent the actual number of bishops who attended (which was under 300), but was inspired by the 318 servants of Abraham at Gen 14:14.

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INDICES

(A) PERSONS IN THE TEXTS

Since the attendance lists for the council of 553 were identical (see p. 287 above), only the first (vol. 1, 184–8) is indexed here.

- Abramius of Sergiopolis (Euphratensis II) I. 186 (43); II. 133 (41)
Aemilianus of Antipyrgus (Egypt) I. 187 (81), 204, 210, 214; II. 134 (72)
Aetherius of Anazarbus/Justinopolis (Cilicia II) I. 186 (51); II. 133 (51)
Alexander of Amphipolis (Macedonia I) I. 186 (69); II. 134 (69)
Alexander of Dionysopolis (Phrygia Pacatiana) I. 187 (116); II. 136 (119)
Alexander of Gangra (Paphlagonia) I. 185 (23); II. 132 (23)
Amazonius of Edessa (Osroene) I. 185 (22), 204, 210, 214; II. 132 (22)
Ammonius (presbyter of Constantinople) I. 216
Anastasius of Rachla (Phoenice I) I. 188 (146); II. 138 (150)
Anastasius of Tavium (Galatia I) I. 185 (12); II. 130 (12)
Anastasius (cleric of Arles) I. 169
Anatolius of Cyme (Asia) I. 186 (77), 216–17; II. 135 (78)
Anatolius of Sebaste (Palestine I) I. 187 (110); II. 136 (109)
Andrew of Ephesus (Asia) I. 184 (9), 203, 210, 213–14; II. 14, 129 (9), 147
Apollinarius of Alexandria (Egypt) I. 163, 184 (2), 188, 203, 210; II. 126 (2), 148
Aristodemus of Philomelium (Pisidia) I. 186 (72); II. 134 (73)
Asignius of Trajanopolis (Phrygia Pacatiana) I. 186 (44); II. 133 (42)
Asyncretius of Aradus (Phoenice I) I. 187 (92); II. 135 (87)
Athanasius of Alexandria I. 151
Atticus of Constantinople II. 30–1
Augustine of Hippo I. 120, 157, 196, 224, 321–3; II. 115, 216
Aurelian of Arles I. 169, 194; II. 77, 93
Auxanon of Hierapolis (Phrygia Pacatiana) I. 186 (49); II. 133 (47)
- Basil of Caesarea I. 139
Basil of Justiniana Nova Camuliana (Cappadocia I) I. 186 (61), 324; II. 134 (61)
Bassus of Tamiathis (Egypt) I. 186 (76); II. 135 (77)
Belisarius (patrician) I. 170, 214; II. 76
Benignus of Heraclea (Macedonia I) I. 184 (7), 203, 210, 213–14, 323; II. 76, 128 (7), 149–50, 186
Bosporius of Neocaesarea (Pontus Polemoniacus) I. 195 (27); II. 132 (27)

- Callinicus of Opus (Achaea) I. 187 (103); II. 136 (102)
 Calonymus (notary) I. 235, 250; II. 10, 20, 109
 Capreolus of Carthage I. 117
 Cethegus (patrician) I. 170, 214; II. 76, 78, 88, 96–7
 Childebert (King of the Franks) II. 95
 Christopher of Arcadiopolis (Asia) I. 186 (65); II. 134 (64)
 Conon of Hadriani (Bithynia) II. 139 (166)
 Conon of Magydus (Pamphylia I) I. 187 (82); II. 135 (79)
 Conon of Sennea (Pamphylia II) I. 188 (142); II. 138 (146)
 Constantine of Chalcedon (Bithynia) I. 185 (17), 203, 210, 213–14; II. 131 (17)
 Constantine of Midaeum (Phrygia Salutaris) I. 187 (111); II. 136 (113)
 Constantine (quaestor) I. 171, 213–15; II. 75, 78, 99
 Constantinianus (*magister militum*) II. 76
 Cosmas of Mallus (Cilicia I) I. 187 (101); II. 135 (100)
 Crescens of Cuicul (Numidia) I. 186 (46); II. 134 (57)
 Cresciturus of Bossa (Africa Proconsularis) II. 136 (117)
 Cresconius of Zattara (Numidia) I. 186 (63); II. 136 (108)
 Cyprian of Corycus (Cilicia I) I. 187 (87); II. 135 (91)
 Cyprian of Hadrianotherae (Hellespontus) II. 139 (161)
 Cyriacus of Amida (Mesopotamia) I. 185 (40); II. 133 (37)
 Cyriacus of Casae (Pamphylia II) I. 188 (143); II. 138 (147)
 Cyril of Alexandria I. 134–6, 139, 327, 331, 333, 341; II. 7–10, 65–8, 70–1, 114–16,
 125, 186–7, 192–3, 201–5, 228–30, 245, 247, 259
 Cyrion of Dadima (Mesopotamia) I. 187 (131); II. 137 (135)
- Damian of Sozusa (Palestine I) I. 184 (6), 198; II. 128 (6)
 Datus of Milan I. 162–4, 168–9, 178
 Diodore (notary) I. 188, 209, 210, 213, 223, 283, 313, 319, 340; II. 6, 75, 79, 109
 Diogenes of Augustopolis (Phrygia Salutaris) I. 187 (134); II. 137 (138)
 Diogenes of Cratia (Honorias) I. 186 (78); II. 135 (80)
 Diogenianus of Sozopolis (Pisidia) I. 186 (75), 216–17; II. 134 (76)
 Dionysius of Alexandria II. 190
 Dionysius of Megara (Achaea) I. 187 (102); II. 135 (101)
 Dionysius of Seleucia (Syria I) I. 186 (54); II. 133 (53)
 Dioscorus (pope) I. 158, 324; II. 115
 Dominicus of Callipolis (Italy) I. 164
 Domitius of Chalcis (Syria I) I. 186 (52); II. 133 (50)
 Dominus of Antioch/Theopolis (Syria I) I. 184 (3), 188, 203, 210; II. 127 (3), 148
 Domnus of Antioch II. 15–16, 67, 245
 Dorotheus of Ancyra (Galatia I) I. 185 (12); II. 130
 Dorymenius of Adraa (Arabia) I. 188 (137); II. 137 (141)
- Ecdicius of Tenus (Islands) I. 187 (127); II. 137 (131)
 Eleusinius of Trajanopolis (Rhodope) II. 138 (157)
 Erasimus of Cibyra (Caria) I. 187 (105); II. 136 (104)
 Eulogius of Danaba (Phoenice Libanensis) I. 187 (128); II. 137 (132)
 Eulogius of Perge (Pamphylia I) I. 185 (38); II. 132 (36)

- Eunomius of Nicomedia II. 202–3, 254–5
 Euphrantas of Tyana (Cappadocia II) I. 185 (25), 318–19; II. 132 (25)
 Euprepus of Cyzicus (Hellespontus) I. 185 (13); II. 130 (13)
 Eusebius of Tyre (Phoenice I) I. 185 (14), 203, 210, 213–14; II. 14, 130 (14)
 Eustathius of Damascus (Phoenice Libanensis) I. 185 (33); II. 132 (33)
 Eustathius of Maximianopolis (Rhodope) I. 186 (50); II. 133 (48)
 Eustochius of Jerusalem I. 184 (4–6); II. 127–8 (4–6)
 Eutychius of Constantinople I. 184 (1), 188, 198 (and n. 69), 200, 203, 210, 214–17, 223, 234–5, 270, 283, 313, 315, 319, 321, 340, 358, 368; II. 6, 10, 14, 20, 60, 64, 70–1, 75, 79, 99, 101, 109, 126 (1), 148
 Evander of Cnidus (Caria) I. 188 (151); II. 138 (155)
- Felix (monk of Africa) II. 87, 90
 Firmus of Tipasa (Numidia) I. 185 (35); II. 294–5
 Florentius of Matelica (Italy) I. 164
- Gelasius (pope) II. 189–90
 Genethlius of Dorylaeum (Phrygia Salutaris) I. 187 (96); II. 136 (116)
 Gennadius of Zenonopolis (Isauria) I. 187 (91); II. 135 (99)
 George of Cypsela Justiniana Nova (Rhodope) I. 186 (57); II. 134 (56)
 George of Ptolemais (Egypt) I. 187 (84); II. 135 (82)
 George of Justinianopolis (Armenia I/Cappadocia I) I. 186 (59); II. 134 (59)
 George of Tiberias (Palestine II) I. 184 (5), 198; II. 127 (5)
 Glaucus of Alia (Phrygia Pacatiana) I. 187 (119); II. 136 (122)
 Gregory of Nazianzus I. 138, 156
 Gregory of Nyssa I. 139, 339
- Helias of Diocletianopolis (Egypt) I. 187 (88); II. 135 (83)
 Helias of Thessalonica (Macedonia I) I. 184 (7); II. 128 (7), 148
 Helpidophorus of Anastasiopolis (Caria) I. 187 (130); II. 137 (134)
 Hieron of Anastasiopolis (Phrygia Pacatiana) I. 187 (118); II. 136 (121)
 Hilary of Poitiers I. 113
 Honorius of Salona (Dalmatia) II. 85
 Hypatius (*magister militum*) II. 79, 97–8
- Ibas of Edessa and the Letter to Mari the Persian
 criticism of I. 147–9, 192, 194, 196–7; II. 12–20, 65–71, 80, 100, 117–9, 125–32, 217, 225–64
 defence of I. 111–16; II. 87, 195–205, 211
- John of Anazarbus/Justinopolis (Cilicia II) I. 341–5, 356
 John of Antioch I. 157, 297, 327, 365
 John of Apamea (Pisidia) II. 139 (162)
 John of Barcusa/Justinianopolis (Phoenice Libanensis) I. 186 (62); II. 134 (62)
 John of Bostra (Arabia), I. 185 (28); II. 132 (28)
 John of Caesarea (Palestine I) I. 185 (20), 204, 210, 213–14; II. 132 (20)
 John of Ceraseis (Lydia) I. 187 (124); II. 137 (129)

- John Chrysostom I. 157, 305, 338; II. 190
 John of Colonia/Theodorias (Armenia I) I. 187 (122); II. 137 (125)
 John of Cucusus (Armenia II) I. 185 (19); II. 132 (19)
 John of Durostorum (Moesia Inferior) II. 137 (127)
 John of Hadrianopolis (Haemimontus) I. 186 (45); II. 133 (43)
 John of Ilium (Hellespontus) I. 185 (13); II. 130 (13)
 John of Laodicea (Phrygia Pacatiana) I. 186 (44); II. 133 (42)
 John of Lerus (Islands) I. 188 (138); II. 138 (142)
 John of the Marsi (Italy) I. 164; II. 86, 88, 90
 John of Maronea (Rhodope) II. 133 (44)
 John of Myrina (Asia) I. 186 (68); II. 134 (68)
 John of Neocaesarea (Euphratensis I) I. 187 (106); II. 136 (106)
 John of Nicomedia (Bithynia) I. 185 (15), 203, 210; II. 130 (15)
 John of Nyssa (Cappadocia I) I. 186 (60), 324; II. 134 (60)
 Jordanes of Croton (Italy) I. 164
 Julian of Batnae (Osrhoene) I. 188 (145); II. 138 (149)
 Julian of Cingulum (Italy) I. 164; II. 83, 86, 88, 90
 Julian of Sardis (Lydia) I. 185 (31); II. 132 (31)
 Julian of Zeugma (Euphratensis I) I. 188 (136); II. 137 (140)
 Justin I (emperor) II. 79
 Justin (*cura palatii*, later Justin II) I. 170; II. 76
 Justinian (emperor) I. 111, 163, 166–8, 171–3, 178, 188–9, 209, 211, 213–15; II. 75–9, 99, 110, 145, 148–9

 Leo (pope) I. 156, 158, 174, 338; II. 48, 117, 189, 206–8, 247
 Leontius of Amadassa (Phrygia Salutaris) II. 139 (163)
 Leontius of Arca (Armenia II) I. 186 (67); II. 134 (67)
 Liberius (patrician) I. 213–15

 Macarius of Prymnessus (Phrygia Salutaris) I. 187 (112); II. 136 (114)
 Macedonius of Justinianopolis/Mela (Bithynia) I. 187 (126); II. 137 (130)
 Magnus the Apollinarian I. 142, 189
 Marcellus (consular) I. 171
 Marcian (emperor) I. 190–1
 Marthanes (*magister militum*) I. 340–4
 Maximus bishop of Antioch II. 199, 245, 252, 256, 259–62
 Maximus deacon of Antioch I. 300, 328–9
 Megas of Meirus (Phrygia Salutaris) I. 187 (113); II. 136 (115), 137 (138)
 Megethius of Heraclea (Thrace) I. 185 (11), 203, 210, 213–14; II. 14, 129 (11)
 Menas of Carpathus (Islands) I. 188 (152); II. 138 (156)
 Menas of Constantinople I. 162, 164; II. 78, 147, 209
 Menas of Myriangeli (Galatia II) I. 187 (95); II. 135 (90)

 Nepos of Arsinoe II. 190
 Nestorius I. 297–9; II. 67–70
 Nicetas of Epiphaneia (Cilicia II) I. 187 (115); II. 136 (118)
 Nonnus of Dausara (Osrhoene) I. 187 (107); II. 136 (110)

Origen I. 338; II. 123, 282, 284

Palladius of Melitene (Armenia II) I. 185 (19); II. 132 (19)

Paschasius of Aegium (Achaea) I. 187 (104); II. 136 (103)

Paschasius of Altinum (Italy) I. 164

Patricius (patrician) I. 213–15; II. 78

Paul of Adrassus (Isauria) I. 188 (150); II. 138 (154)

Paul of Aenus (Rhodope) II. 133 (49)

Paul of Anchialus (Haemimontus) II. 139 (165)

Paul of Justiniana Secunda/Ulpiana (Dardania) I. 216–18

Paul of Stectorium (Phrygia Salutaris) I. 188 (148); II. 138 (152)

Paul (Roman deacon) II. 81–4

Pelagius of Aezani (Phrygia Pacatiana) I. 187 (117); II. 136 (120)

Pelagius (Roman deacon, later Pope Pelagius I) I. 112; II. 83–4, 149

Peter of Domitiopolis (Isauria) I. 187 (121); II. 137 (124)

Peter of Side (Pamphylia II) I. 185 (42); II. 133 (40)

Peter of Tarsus (Cilicia I) I. 185 (18); II. 131 (18), 147

Peter (Master of the Offices) I. 170, 213–15; II. 78

Peter (*referendarius*) I. 173, 178

Philip of Myra (Lycia) I. 185 (29); II. 132 (29)

Philip of Phellus (Lycia) I. 187 (94); II. 135 (89)

Phocas of Stobi (Praevalitana) I. 185 (37), 204, 210, 214, 218; II. 76, 294–5

Photinus (notary) I. 320–1

Photius of Tyre II. 15–17

Phronimus of Sanaus (Phrygia Pacatiana) I. 187 (125); II. 137 (126)

Plato II. 282–3

Pompeianus of Victoriana (Byzacena) I. 185 (21), 204, 210; II. 132 (21)

Primasius of Hadrumetum (Byzacena) I. 164, 216

Primus of Carthage I. 185 (10); II. 129 (10)

Proclus of Constantinople I. 296, 299, 301, 326, 331–3; II. 14, 187–8

Procopius of Antinoopolis (Egypt) I. 187 (120); II. 136 (123)

Projectus of Naissus (Dacia Mediterranea) I. 216–18

Reparatus of Carthage I. 167

Restitutus of Milevum (Numidia) I. 186 (79); II. 135 (92)

Romanus of Gabala (Syria I) I. 186 (58); II. 134 (58)

Romulus of Numana (Italy) I. 164

Rufinus of Sebasteia (Armenia I) I. 188 (141); II. 138 (145)

Rusticus (Roman deacon) I. 194; II. 77, 81–93

Rusticus (patrician) I. 214

Sabadius of Arcadiopolis (Europa) II. 138 (158)

Sabinianus of Zapara I. 216–18

Sapatus (Roman deacon) II. 82, 88, 90

Sebastian (Roman deacon) I. 194; II. 77, 81–93

Senator (Roman senator) II. 88

Sergius of Cynopolis Justiniana Nova (Egypt) I. 186 (64); II. 134 (63)

- Sergius of Cyrrhus (Euphratensis I) II. 79, 97–8
 Sergius of Hemerium (Osrhoene) II. 136 (105)
 Servusdei (Roman subdeacon) II. 76–8, 90
 Severianus of Aphrodisias (Caria) I. 185 (39); II. 133 (38)
 Severus of Pompeiopolis (Paphlagonia) I. 186 (56); II. 133 (55)
 Severus of Synnada (Phrygia Salutaris) I. 185 (41); II. 133 (39)
 Severus of Tabae (Caria) I. 187 (99); II. 135 (95)
 Sextilian of Tunis (Africa Proconsularis) I. 185 (10), 321; II. 128 (10)
 Silas of Tiberiopolis (Phrygia Pacatiana) I. 187 (133); II. 137 (137)
 Simplicius (pope) II. 209
 Sisinnius of Praenetus (Bithynia) I. 188 (144); II. 138 (148)
 Stephen of Amaseia (Helenopontus) I. 188 (149); II. 138 (153)
 Soterus of Aulon (Epirus Nova) I. 187 (85); II. 135 (98)
 Stephen of Ariminum (Italy) I. 164
 Stephen of Balaneae (Syria II) I. 187 (108); II. 136 (111)
 Stephen of Botrys (Phoenice I) I. 187 (93); II. 135 (88)
 Stephen of Cherson (Chersonesus Taurica) II. 139 (160)
 Stephen of Clysma (Egypt) I. 186 (70), 204, 210; II. 134 (65)
 Stephen of Justiniana Nova/Dara (Mesopotamia) II. 138 (159)
 Stephen of Laodicea (Syria I) I. 186 (48); II. 133 (46)
 Stephen of Nicaea (Bithynia) I. 185 (16), 203, 210; II. 131 (16)
 Stephen of Raphia I. 184 (4), 198; II. 127–8 (4)
 Stephen (notary) I. 188, 199, 200; II. 60, 99
 Surgentius (Roman notary) II. 82, 86, 90
- Thalelaeus of Hadrianopolis (Pisidia) I. 186 (73); II. 134 (74)
 Thalelaeus of Isinda (Pamphylia I) I. 187 (114); II. 136 (107)
 Theoctistus of Erythrae (Asia) I. 186 (74); II. 134 (75)
 Theoctistus of Halicarnassus (Caria) I. 187 (100); II. 135 (96)
 Theoctistus of Prusa (Bithynia) I. 187 (83); II. 135 (81)
 Theodora (empress) II. 77
 Theodore of Antioch (Pisidia) I. 185 (36); II. 132 (35), 147
 Theodore Ascidas of Caesarea (Cappadocia I) I. 161–4, 172, 178, 184 (8), 203, 210,
 213–14, 324; II. 14, 76, 96–7, 128 (8), 147
 Theodore of Bizye (Europa) II. 139 (164)
 Theodore of Comana (Armenia II) I. 188 (140); II. 138 (144)
 Theodore of Coradea (Phoenice Libanensis) I. 187 (129); II. 137 (133)
 Theodore of Druzipara (Europa) I. 186 (55); II. 133 (54)
 Theodore of Gargara (Asia) I. 188 (139); II. 138 (143)
 Theodore of Gortyna (Crete) I. 185 (32); II. 132 (32)
 Theodore of Hierapolis (Euphratensis I) I. 185 (26); II. 132 (26)
 Theodore of Ingila (Mesopotamia) I. 188 (135); II. 137 (139)
 Theodore of Laodicea (Pisidia) I. 187 (132); II. 137 (136)
 Theodore of Leontopolis/Helenopolis (Bithynia) I. 186 (98); II. 135 (94)
 Theodore of Leontopolis (Egypt) I. 186 (80), 204, 210, 214; II. 134 (71)
 Theodore of Limyra (Lycia) I. 187 (90), 216; II. 135 (85)
 Theodore of Mopsuestia I. 234, 305–7, 338, 341; II. 79, 97–8

- criticism of I. 145–6, 151–8, 192, 194, 196, 250, 270, 283–309, 314–15, 327–40;
 II. 67–8, 80, 82, 85, 112–16, 119, 124–31, 216–17, 264–7
- defence of I. 111, 311–13; II. 8–9, 88, 186–91
- Theodore of Porthmus (Achaëa) I. 188 (147); II. 138 (151)
- Theodore of Seleucia (Isauria) I. 185 (30), 204, 210, 214; II. 132 (30)
- Theodore of Tyana I. 156, 315–19
- Theodore (decurion of the palace) II. 149
- Theodore (notary) I. 340; II. 6
- Theodore (silentiary) I. 188, 198
- Theodoret of Cyrrhus II. 79, 97–8
- criticism of I. 146, 192, 194, 197, 308, 368; II. 80, 116, 119, 125–31, 217,
 267–8
- defence of I. 111, 191–3
- Theodosius of Byblus (Phoenice I) I. 186 (66); II. 134 (66)
- Theodosius of Mocissus/Justinianopolis (Cappadocia III) I. 185 (47), 319; II. 133
 (45)
- Theodosius of Rhodes (Islands) I. 185 (34); II. 132 (34)
- Theodulus (notary) I. 315
- Theonas of Cusae (Egypt) I. 187 (89); II. 135 (84)
- Thomas of Apamea (Syria II) I. 185 (24), 204, 210; II. 132 (24)
- Thomas of Circesium (Osrhoene) I. 187 (109); II. 135 (97)
- Thomas of Constantia (Osrhoene) I. 187 (97); II. 135 (93)
- Thomas of Verisa (Armenia I) I. 186 (71); II. 134 (70)
- Thomas (notary) II. 65
- Turranius (*magister militum*) II. 82
- Uranius of Tralles (Lydia) I. 187 (123); II. 137 (128)
- Valentinian of Tomi (Scythia) I. 194; II. 77, 91
- Valentinus of Silva Candida I. 164
- Valerian of Obba (Numidia) I. 186 (53); II. 133 (52)
- Verecundus of Junca (Byzacena) I. 164
- Victor of Sinna (Africa Proconsularis) II. 136 (112)
- Vigilius (pope) I. 165–70, 193–5, 198–9, 203–4, 210–16, 338; II. 75–101, 110
- Vincentius (Roman subdeacon, then bishop of Claudopolis, Honorias) II. 78, 83,
 90
- Zacchaeus of Scyllacum (Italy) I. 164; II. 90
- Zoilus of Alexandria I. 163
- Zosimus of Antandrus (Asia) I. 187 (86); II. 135 (86)

(2) DOCUMENTS

- Augustine texts on Caecilian of Carthage I. 321–3
 Basil of Caesarea *ep.* 244 to Patrophilus of Aegae I. 337
 Canons against Origenism of 543 II. 281
 of 553 II. 284–6
 Canons against the Three Chapters of 553 II. 120–6
 Celestine of Rome Letter to Nestorius II. 30–8
 Council of Chalcedon Definition II. 61–4, 221–4
 Session II/III. 2–31 II. 49–59
 Session IV. 3–9 II. 59–60
 Session X. 161–81 II. 195–8
 Council of Constantinople 553 Canons against Origen II. 284–6
 Canons against the Three Chapters II. 120–6
 Council of Ephesus I (431) First Session II. 20–48
 Council of Mopsuestia (550) Acts I. 340–58
 Cyril of Alexandria *Against the Synousiasts* I. 330–1
Against Theodore I. 284–95, 314–15, 320, 333–4
ep. 4, Second Letter to Nestorius II. 21–3
ep. 17, Third Letter to Nestorius II. 38–48
ep. 55, to the monks (on the Creed) I. 302–4, 320–1
ep. 67, to John of Antioch I. 327–8
ep. 68, to Acacius of Melitene I. 301
ep. 69, to Acacius of Melitene I. 328–9
ep. 70, to Lampo and others I. 300–1
ep. 71, to Theodosius II I. 328–30
ep. 72, to Proclus of Constantinople I. 331–3
ep. 74, to Rabbula of Edessa I. 301–2
ep. 91, to John of Antioch I. 325–7; II. 187
 Twelve Chapters II. 46–8
 Eutychius Letter/Profession to Vigilius I. 199–200; II. 147–8
 Ferrandus *ep.* 6, to the Roman deacons I. 112–21
 Gregory Nazianzen Letters to Theodore of Tyana I. 315–18
 Gregory of Nyssa *To Theophilus against the Apollinarians* I. 310, 339
 Hesychius *Ecclesiastical History* I. 305–7
 Ibas of Edessa Letter to Mari the Persian II. 6–10
 Justin I Letter to Hypatius II. 97–9
 Justinian Decree suspending Vigilius II. 99–101
 Edict *On the orthodox faith* I. 129–59
 Letter to the Council I. 189–98
 Letter on Origenism II. 282–4
 Tome II. 49–58
 Leo, Pope Letter to Frankish envoys I. 165–70
 Milan, Church of Profession to Vigilius II. 145–7
 Menas and others Second Letter to Cyril II. 24–9
 Nestorius Letter to Justinian I. 111–12
 Pontianus of Africa

- Proclus
Tome to the Armenians I. 299–300, 334–5
Letter to John of Antioch II. 10–14
- Rabbula
Letter to Cyril of Alexandria I. 304–5
- Theodore of Mopsuestia
'Criminal creed' I. 267–70
Florilegium of excerpts I. 235–67; II. 150–85
Other excerpts I. 288–94
'Armenian' diatribe against I. 295–9
- Theodoret
In defence of Diodore and Theodore I. 310–12
Letter on the death of Cyril I. 365–7
Letter to Irenaeus of Tyre I. 312–13
Refutation of the 12 Anathemas of Cyril I. 358–60
Other excerpts I. 360–5, 367
- Theodosius II
Edict against Nestorius (original version) I. 369–70
Edict against Nestorius (interpolated versions) I. 307–9
- Theophilus of Alexandria
Letter to Porphyry of Antioch I. 309–10
- Vigilius, Pope
Affirmation to Justinian (547) II. 79–80
Affirmation to Theodora (547) II. 80–1
First *Constitutum* II. 145–213
Second *Constitutum* II. 221–69
Encyclical *Dum in sanctae Euphemiae* I. 170–9
Iudicatum (excerpts) I. 194; II. 210–11
Letter to Ascidas and Menas I. 161–5
Letter to Aurelian of Arles II. 93–6
Letter 1 to Eutychius of Constantinople I. 200–03
Letter 2 to Eutychius II. 215–18
Letter to Rusticus and Sebastian II. 81–90
Letter to Valentinian of Tomi II. 91–3
Oath to Justinian (550) II. 96–7

(3) THE COMMENTARY

- Aachen, Council of (809) I. 101
- Acacian Schism I. 3; II. 189 n. 131
- African church
accepts decrees of the council (553) I. 31–2
bishops in Constantinople in 553 I. 24, 27–9; II. 293, 296, 298
- Agapitus I (pope 535–6) I. 13–14, 42
- Alexandria, patriarchate
during Acacian Schism I. 4
- Anastasius (emperor 491–518) I. 3–6
church factions under I. 3–5
- Anthimus (patriarch of Constantinople 535–6)
an ecumenical Chalcedonian I. 12–14, 42–4
- Antioch, patriarchate
during Acacian Schism I. 4

- Ascidas, *see* Theodore Ascidas
- Augustine
 on Caecilian of Carthage I. 321 n. 235
 standing in the east I. 280 n. 42
- Baronius, Cardinal (d. 1607)
 hagiographer of Vigilius I. 43–4, 46, 58
- Basil deacon of Constantinople (430s) I. 273, 298 n. 128; II. 36 n. 163
- Belisarius I. 170 n. 24
- Benenatus of Justiniana Prima (Dacia) I. 32, 47, 206, 218 n. 29
- ‘Caesaropapism’ I. 37
- Chalcedon, Council of
 authority attributed to its acts I. 97–8, 110
 canons accepted by non-Chalcedonians I. 12
 status of Cyril’s Twelve Chapters at I. 67–9
- Chalcedonian Definition I. 1, 69–70, 73–4
- Christology
 in first four centuries I. 59–61
 ‘Antiochene’ I. 61–2
 see also Cyril of Alexandria, Justinian, neo-Chalcedonianism, Theodore of Mopsuestia
- Constantinople
 Hagia Sophia I. 15, 48, 123
 Hormisdas Palace I. 14, 49, 173 n. 35
 patriarchate during Acacian Schism I. 4
 Placidia Palace (residence of Vigilius) I. 46, 48–50, 160–1
 St Peter’s in Hormisdas I. 27
- Constantinople, Conference of (532) I. 10–12, 36, 68
- Constantinople, Council of (553)
 Acts, editions of I. 104–8; II. 287, 296
 attendance I. 27–8, 51; II. 287–99
 canons II. 103–5
 convocation I. 27
 location I. 184 and n. 3
 proceedings, summary of I. 29–30
 purpose I. 28
 reception of I. 30–5, 99–103
 subscription list II. 294–6
- Constantinople, Council of (680–1)
 ‘detects’ interpolations in acts of 553 I. 105–7
- Cyril of Alexandria
 accused of heresy by the Syrians I. 85, 89, 361 n. 373
 Against Diodore and Theodore I. 228–9
 campaign against Theodore of Mopsuestia I. 271–7
 Christology I. 63–6; II. 122 n. 79
 Twelve Chapters I. 2, 64–71; II. 4, 58 n. 272, 144

- Cyril of Scythopolis, *Lives* I. 6, 17, 33; II. 270–9
 Cyrus (patriarch of Alexandria 631–42)
 ‘union’ with non-Chalcedonians I. 102
- Datius of Milan (d. 552) I. 45, 49, 50, 160
 Diocletian (emperor 284–305) I. 8
 Domitian of Ancyra II. 273–4
 on the Origenists I. 19; II. 275–6
 Domnus (bishop of Antioch 442–9)
 not reinstated by Chalcedon II. 67 n. 298
- emperors as ‘priests’ I. 38
 Ephraem (patriarch of Antioch 526–45)
 opponent of Origenism I. 17
 persecutor of non-Chalcedonians I. 14
 signs condemnation of Three Chapters I. 23
 Eustochius (patriarch of Jerusalem 552–63/4) I. 184 n. 5
 Eutychius (patriarch of Constantinople 552–65, 577–82) I. 32, 51, 53, 101
 role at the council of 553 I. 29–30, 183, 205–6, 219, 226, 281–2; II. 5, 6, 73, 102
 Evagrius of Pontus
 his teaching condemned in 553 II. 279–80
 Evagrius Scholasticus, *Hist. Eccl.* I. 6–7; II. 271
- Facundus of Hermiane I. 31–2, 46, 229
 defends Ibas I. 96
 defends Theodore of Mopsuestia I. 80–3
 Ferrandus (deacon of Carthage) I. 109
 on authority of Chalcedon I. 98
 Ferrara, Council of (1438)
 cites acts of 553 I. 108
Filioque, *see* procession of the Spirit
 florilegia, *see* Theodore of Mopsuestia
- Henotikon* I. 2–7, 68
 Hormisdas (pope 514–23)
 Libellus (515) I. 11–12, 36
 hypostatic union I. 132 n. 37
- Ibas of Edessa
 controversial career I. 90–1, 148 n. 107
 reinstated at Chalcedon I. 91–3
 Letter to Mari the Persian: content and context I. 88–90; criticized I. 93–6;
 defended I. 46, 96–7; II. 143; discussed at Constantinople (532) I. 10. 93
 and Theodore of Mopsuestia I. 273–4
 Istrian Schism I. 32–3

- Jacobatius, *Tractatus de concilio* (1538) I. 36–7
- Jerusalem, patriarchate
 during Acacian Schism I. 4–6
 hostile to condemning the chapters II. 276–7, 298–9
- John (bishop of Antioch 429–42)
 and Theodore of Mopsuestia I. 272–6
 elicits edict against Nestorius I. 368
- John of Ephesus (missionary and historian) I. 14–15
- John Philoponus
 Four Tmêmata against Chalcedon I. 34, 131 n. 36
 Letter to Justinian I. 25
- John II (pope 533–5)
 approves theopaschism I. 12
- Junillus Africanus I. 262 n. 169, 265 n. 169
- Justin I (emperor 518–27) I. 7; II. 73
- Justin II (*cura palatii* under Justinian; emperor 565–78) I. 171 n. 27
- Justinian I (emperor 527–65) I. 8–36, 40–1
 adopts theopaschism I. 12
 condemns the agnoetic heresy I. 359 n. 359; II. 194 n. 150
 condemns Origenism I. 17–19, 28, 33–4; II. 271, 274
 condemns Three Chapters, reason for I. 16–23
 negotiations with non-Chalcedonians I. 10–15, 25–6, 35–6
 role at council of 553 I. 29–30
 theological writings I. 22
 Against the Monophysites I. 123, 143 n. 73
 Edict *On the orthodox faith* I. 24–5, 48, 70–3, 97, 101, 122–9
 Edict on the Three Chapters I. 16, 119 n. 41, 128, 150 n. 112
 Letter on the Three Chapters I. 24; II. 19 n. 69
 theology I. 71–3, 124–8
 treatment of Pope Vigilius I. 23–4, 27, 46–49, 52–5; II. 72–4
- Leo I (emperor 457–74)
 Encyclia I. 1
- Leo (pope 440–61)
 confirms decrees of Chalcedon I. 99–100; II. 143–4
- Leontius of Byzantium
 Christology I. 123; II. 273
 The Unmasking and Rout of the Nestorians I. 227–8; II. 275
 alleged Origenism II. 272–3
- Leontius of Jerusalem I. 123
- Liberatus (African deacon) I. 31
 on Theodore Ascidas I. 18–19
- Magnus the Apollinarian I. 142 n. 71
- Maximus the Confessor
 a neo-Chalcedonian I. 102–3
- Menas (patriarch of Constantinople 536–52)

- consecrated by Pope Agapitus I. 13–14
- signs condemnation of Three Chapters I. 23
- relations with Pope Vigilius I. 23–4, 27, 46–50
- miaphysite
 - definition of I. 1
 - not deemed heretical I. 8–9, 11
- Mopsuestia, Synod of (550) I. 280–1

- neo-Chalcedonianism I. 71–4, 102–3; II. 47 n. 220
- Nestorianism in 6th century I. 17–18
- non-Chalcedonians
 - divisions among I. 26
 - lose their sees in 518/9 I. 10
 - negotiations with Justinian I. 10–15, 25–6, 35–6
 - ordinations of I. 21
 - see also* Severus of Antioch

- Origenism/Origenists
 - condemned in edict (543) I. 17; II. 274
 - condemned at the council (553) I. 28, 101–2; II. 270–2, 278–80
 - in Palestine II. 272–4, 278, 280 n. 47
 - strife with admirers of Theodore of Mopsuestia I. 19; II. 275–7

- Palestine, *see* Jerusalem, patriarchate
- papacy
 - claimed superiority to councils I. 56–7
 - this rebutted by the council of 553 II. 102
- Pelagius (Roman deacon; pope 556–61) I. 30–2, 49, 52, 54–6, 85, 109; II. 144
- Pelagius II (pope 579–90)
 - letters to the bishops of Istria I. 99–100, 105
- Peter (patriarch of Jerusalem 524–52)
 - reaction to edict of 544/5 I. 23, 45; II. 277
- Pontianus, African bishop I. 109
- posthumous condemnation
 - debate over propriety of I. 279–81
- Price, Richard
 - errors of I. 37 n. 98, 150 n. 112; II. 19 n. 68, 244 n. 56, 261 n. 86
- Primasius of Hadrumetum I. 31, 167 n. 19, 206
- Primosus of Carthage I. 31, 195 n. 6
- procession of the Spirit through the Son
 - in eastern theology I. 361 n. 376
 - Antiochene rejection of I. 268 n. 180
- Proclus (bishop of Constantinople 434–46)
 - campaign against Theodore and Ibas I. 272–6

- Reparatus of Carthage I. 24, 31
- Roman deacons, *see* Pelagius, Rusticus, Sebastian, Tullianus

- Rouen, Councils of (1072, 1074) I. 101
 Rusticus (Roman deacon) I. 47, 58 n. 64; II. 72, 83 n. 31
- Samaritan revolt (529) I. 8
 Sebastian (Roman deacon) I. 47; II. 72, 85 n. 35
 Severus of Antioch (d. 538)
 under Anastasius I. 5–6
 under Justin I. 7
 under Justinian I. 12–14
 on Theodore of Mopsuestia I. 279 n. 39
 on Theodoret I. 359 n. 360
- Sextilian of Tunis
 at the council (553) I. 29
- Silverius (pope 536–7) I. 43–4
- Theodora (empress, d. 548)
 patron of non-Chalcedonians I. 14–15, 18
 and Vigilius I. 24, 42–4, 46; II. 80 n. 19
- Theodore Ascidas of Caesarea in Cappadocia
 as adviser of Justinian I. 18–9, 161 n. 5
 alleged Origenism I. 18–19; II. 271 n. 7, 272–4
 patronizes the Origenists II. 273–4, 278–9
 relations with Pope Vigilius I. 24, 27, 48, 50, 160–1
 role at council of 553 I. 277–8; II. 3–4, 102
- Theodore of Mopsuestia I. 61–2, 69, 77–84, 297 n. 126, 338 nn. 308–9; II. 9 n. 20
 as biblical commentator I. 77–9
 campaign against (432–9) I. 271–9
 charges against I. 225–6
 Christology I. 79–84, 240 n. 45, 249 n. 97, 253–4 nn. 120–7, 269 n. 186, 293
 n. 106, 294 n. 107, 304 n. 159, 306 n. 171; II. 7 n. 14
 and the diptychs of Mopsuestia I. 280 and n. 48
 florilegia from works of, origin and reliability I. 227–30; II. 142
 On the incarnation I. 81–3, 296 n. 120
- Theodoret
 as one of the Three Chapters I. 84–8
 cited by anti-Origenists II. 279 n. 45
 commemorated at Cyrrhus (520) I. 73
 controversy with Cyril I. 1. 61–6, 84–5
 defended in Vigilius, first *Constitutum* I. 87–8; II. 142–3
 discussed at Constantinople (532) I. 10
 discussed and condemned at Constantinople (553) I. 281–2
 on *Theotokos* I. 147
 treatment at Chalcedon (451) I. 86–7
- Theodosius I (emperor 379–95)
 edict *Cunctos populos* I. 38, 40
 praised Theodore of Mopsuestia I. 275

- Theodosius II (emperor 408–50)
 edict against Nestorius I. 278, 368
 suppresses campaign against Theodore I. 275
- Theodosius of Alexandria I. 13, 14
- theopaschite/theopaschism I. 9, 11, 12
- Three Chapters
 condemned I. 16–17, 30
 emergence of I. 76–7
see also Ibas, Letter; Theodore of Mopsuestia; Theodoret
- Tullianus (Roman deacon) I. 49
- Vigilius (pope 537–55) I. 23–4, 42–58
 becomes pope I. 42–3
 confirms Origen's condemnation I. 45, 338 n. 307
 at Constantinople I. 45–55
 First *Constitutum* I. 51, 57, 104; II. 72–3, 141–4
 Second *Constitutum* I. 54–5, 57, 105; II. 219–20
 during the council I. 183, 205; II. 72
 encyclical *Dum in sanctae Euphemiae* I. 27
Iudicatum I. 24, 47, 194 n. 47
 monenergist I. 106–7; II. 80 n. 18
 relations with Menas I. 23–4, 27, 46–50
 relations with Theodora I. 42–4, 46
 relations with Theodore Ascidas I. 48, 50
 suspended by Justinian (in 553) I. 53; II. 73–4, 99 n. 92
 yields to Justinian (Dec. 553) I. 54; II. 214
- Vitalian I. 6, 9
- Zeno (emperor 474–91) I. 2–3
- Zoilus (patriarch of Alexandria 542–51)
 signs edict of 544/5 I. 23
 refuses to sign edict of 551 I. 163 n. 8