

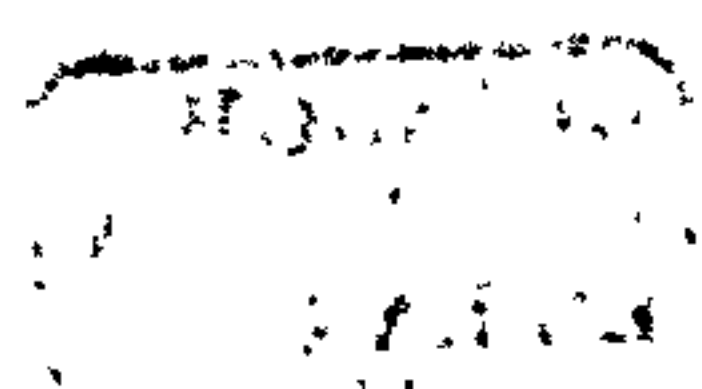
THE CONDEMNATION OF THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE
THREE CHAPTERS IN ITS HISTORICAL AND DOCTRINAL
CONTEXT: THE ASSESSMENT AND JUDGEMENT OF
EMPEROR JUSTINIAN AND THE FIFTH ECUMENICAL
COUNCIL (553)

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A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF THEOLOGY AND CHURCH
HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW IN FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

SEPTEMBER 2001

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*Εἰς τοὺς σαρκικοὺς μου γονεῖς
Νικόλαον καὶ Θέμιδα
καὶ εἰς τοὺς πνευματικοὺς
Τιμόθεον καὶ Ἰωάννην
τιμῆς καὶ εὐγνωμοσύνης ἕνεκα.*

ABSTRACT

This study examines — in its immediate and larger context — the exposition of the christological doctrine in the fifth and sixth centuries, and in particular, how Justinian and the Fifth Ecumenical Council (553) interpreted the Chalcedonian Definition through the condemnation of the Three Chapters, namely 1) the person and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, 2) the writings of Theodoret of Cyrus against Cyril of Alexandria and the Council of Ephesus, and 3) the Letter of Ibas of Edessa to Maris. All three theologians belonged more or less to what is conveniently called ‘the Antiochene school’ of thought and were in one way or another associated with the doctrine of Nestorius.

In tackling the heretical (Monophysite) teaching of Eutyches, the Council of Chalcedon proclaimed the christological doctrine in dyophysite terms: Christ is one hypostasis or prosopon in two natures. By it, Chalcedon meant to safeguard the oneness of the subject in Christ and its identification with that of the Logos as well as the ‘difference’ of the two natures in him. However, the terms it used (hypostasis, prosopon, nature) were not clearly defined. Thus the Definition was open to misinterpretation from two points of view.

Firstly, the ‘strict Cyrillians’ or ‘Monophysites’, with their Alexandrian background, regarded the Chalcedonian Definition with its ‘in two natures’ doctrine as a vindication of Nestorius. For them, to say ‘in two natures’ was to say ‘two Christs’ and ‘two Sons’. They contended that the only way to safeguard Christ’s oneness without abolishing the ‘difference’ of his natures was to confess Cyril’s ‘one incarnate nature of the God Logos’.

Secondly, a group of Christians with Antiochene background, concerned primarily about preserving the distinction of the two natures in Christ and the impassibility of God, refused to identify Chalcedon’s one hypostasis with that of the eternal Logos.

As a reaction to both interpretations of Chalcedon, a number of Cyrillian Chalcedonians or ‘neo-Chalcedonians’ undertook to show that, although they used different language, Chalcedon and Cyril were in essential agreement. In other words, they both taught that Christ is the same hypostasis or prosopon as the God-Logos who really became man by assuming perfect human nature. To these Cyrillian Chalcedonians belong Justinian and the fathers of the fifth ecumenical council.

Justinian and fifth council condemned the Three Chapters and in them the ‘strict Antiochene’ interpretation of Chalcedon. The condemnation of the Three Chapters was

correct given the material that was examined. At the same time they condemned the Eutychian interpretation of Cyril: Cyril's 'one physis' formula meant the same as Chalcedon's 'one hypostasis-two physes' formula. They re-affirmed the Chalcedonian Definition, but decreed that the 'two natures' should be understood in the sense that Christ is composed of two different elements—not in the sense that in him there are two subjects of attribution. Cyril's 'theopaschism' far from introducing 'change' and 'passibility' in the Divine nature, was meant to stress that Christ was the God-Logos himself.

The question that remained after Chalcedon was not only whether the hypostasis of Christ was that of the Logos, but also how the two perfect natures were united in the one hypostasis of Christ. The Cyrillian Chalcedonians contributed decisively to the solution of this problem. They distinguished between physis or nature and hypostasis. Physis was identified with ousia and hypostasis with prosopon. So two physes did not necessarily mean two hypostases. They professed the formula 'union according to hypostasis or synthesis'. By this, they meant that the human nature, did not subsist by itself, but in the hypostasis of the Logos. So the one hypostasis and prosopon of the Logos became the hypostasis and the prosopon of both the divine and the human natures. Thus both the oneness of the person of Christ and the duality of his natures are preserved.

Justinian and the fifth council intended primarily to clarify Chalcedon against misinterpretations. However, it cannot be denied that they were concerned about the Monophysite schism. By showing the Monophysites that Chalcedon was at one with Cyril, they hoped that they would reconsider Chalcedon. They did so without compromising the Chalcedonian doctrine.

The Fifth Ecumenical Council was not a political manoeuvre masterminded by Justinian as part of his plan to win over the Monophysites. Justinian and the fifth council produced a christology which lifted ambiguity in the theological stage between 451 and 553. It preserved the tenets of the christology of Ephesus, Cyril and Chalcedon and integrated them in a definition which should satisfy the sensitivities of both the orthodox Alexandrian and the orthodox Antiochene traditions.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The present study would have hardly been completed had my supervisor Dr Ian Hazlett not been a scholar of such knowledge, professionalism, compassion and most of all patience. To him I duly owe my deepest gratitude.

I am also very grateful to the Church of Scotland and, in particular, to the Department of World Mission and Unity for offering me a place among their bursars for my MTh course. Without their generosity I would never have managed to pursue a higher degree in an Institution such as the University of Glasgow.

Two people made it possible for me to carry on my research at a PhD level, at a time when both my resources and resilience had abandoned me. Dr Joan Bronte-Stewart has offered me incalculable support, both moral and material, inspiration and a quiet haven to work. I cannot even begin to thank her. Sir Reo Stakis came to my financial assistance in the manner which characterises him: generously and yet discreetly. To both of them my deepest gratitude is due.

Prof. Andrew Louth gave me valuable suggestions for which I am very grateful. Many thanks are also due to Susie Hancock for her support, valuable suggestions and the trouble she took to proof-read the draft of my thesis.

I would also like to thank the following persons who have been of great help in many ways during my studies in Scotland: Fr John Maitland-Moir, Fr George Dragas, Fr Themistocles Hadjioannou, Aris Bitzenis, Panayiotis Kontakos, the Fellowship of 'Christian Solidarity' at St Luke's, the Greek Orthodox Community of St Luke in Glasgow, Marina Kolovopoulou and John Agrafiotis.

It is on purpose that I left last the person to whom I owe the most throughout my studies in the University of Athens and Glasgow: Prof. Constantine Scouteris. Not only has he offered me knowledge and wise guidance through the fascinating ways of the history of Christian doctrine, but also honoured me through his recommendation for the Church of Scotland bursary.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ACO *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, ed. by E. Schwartz (Berlin: 1914-1940)
- Bindley *The Oecumenical Documents of the Faith*, ed. by T. H. Bindley-F. W. Green (London: 1950)
- CCG *Corpus Christianorum*, series graeca, (Turnhout: 1977-)
- CF Justinian, *Confessio fidei*, Schwartz, pp. 130-169
- Chalkedon I *Das Konzil von Chalkedon I: Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by A. Grillmeier and H. Bacht, (Würzburg: 1951)
- CI *Codex Iustinianus*
- CM Justinian, *Contra monophysitas*, Schwartz, pp. 6-79
- CN *Roman State and Christian Church: A Collection of Legal Documents to A. D. 535*, ed. by P. R. Coleman-Norton, 3 vols. (London: 1966)
- CSCO *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (Louvain: 1903-)
- CSEL *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna: 1866-)
- CTC Justinian, *Epistula contra tria capitula*, Schwartz, pp. 82-127
- DOP *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941-)
- DTC *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (Paris: 1903-1972)
- GOTR *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* (Brookline, Mass.: 1952-)
- HE *Historia Ecclesiastica*
- JTS *Journal of Theological Studies* (London: 1899-)
- Mansi *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, ed. by J. D. Mansi (Florence: 1758-1798; repr. Paris: 1903-1927)
- OCA *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* (Rome: 1935-)
- PG *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, series graeca, ed. by J. P. Migne, 161 vols (Paris: 1857-1912)
- PL *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, series latina, ed. by J. P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris: 1841-1864)
- PO *Patrologia Orientalis*, ed. by R. Graffin-F. Nau et al. (Paris: 1907-)
- SC *Sources Chrétiennes*, ed. by H. de Lubac-J. Danielou (Paris: 1944-)
- SP *Studia Patristica* (Berlin: 1957-)
- Schwartz *Drei dogmatische schriften Iustinians*, ed. by Ed. Schwartz, 2nd edn, *Legum Iustiniani Imperatoris Vocabularium*, Subsidia 2, ed. by M. Amelotti, R. Albertella and Livia Migliardi (Milano: 1973)
- TRE *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (Berlin: 1977-)

INTRODUCTION

This study aims to examine a highly controversial phase in the history of Christian doctrine: the christological ideas of the emperor Justinian I and the Definition of the Fifth Ecumenical Council (A. D. 553) which he convened and inspired. This resolution is the conclusion of a long process during which the Church, faced with questions regarding the person of Jesus Christ, and the *how* of his incarnation, attempted to formulate her essential faith. Amidst various social, political and philosophical movements that inevitably had a bearing on this process of doctrinal formulation, the Church fathers met in three councils between AD 431 and 553 and officially formulated their faith in Christ as the Son of God who for our salvation became man by assuming the human nature. They did so authoritatively but not without facing much misunderstanding and often opposition.

I. A HISTORICAL OUTLINE

The christological problem did not directly occupy the mind of the Church up to the 4th century. The priority in the first three centuries was the establishment of the trinitarian doctrine and, in particular, the confirmation of the divinity of the Logos and the holy Spirit. But any decision on these issues was bound to influence christology. Thus, the Council of Nicaea (325) condemned Arianism, which taught that Christ's humanity was imperfect, and included in its Creed the phrase 'the Logos became flesh'. Thereby it proclaimed Christ's real incarnation and his perfect humanity. By the Council of Constantinople (381) the christological problem proper was being addressed, through the teaching of Apollinarius (c. 360-c.390). In his attempt to safeguard the oneness of the subject in Christ, Apollinarius was faced with the philosophical principle that 'two perfect things cannot become one'. His solution was to deny the completeness of Christ's humanity. Christ consisted of a body in which the human soul was replaced by the Logos.¹ The condemnation of Apollinarius was a reiteration of the faith of Nicaea in the co-existence of perfect humanity as well as perfect divinity in Christ. Yet, since the Council of Constantinople was not primarily concerned with this issue it did not expand on the matter: if in Christ there were two perfect elements, divine and human, how were they united to form one perfect subject? Obviously, Apollinarius' challenge had opened the debate which was to last for more than two centuries.

¹ The works of Apollinarius in H. Lietzmann, *Apollinarius von Laodicea und seine Schule* (Tübingen: 1904).

The problem was viewed from mainly two angles corresponding to the basic schools of Christian thought of the time: 1) the Antiochene, represented by writers like Eustathius of Antioch (d. c. 337), Diodore of Tarsus (d. c. 390) and Theodore of Mopsuestia (350-428), and 2) the Alexandrian with Athanasius (c. 296-373) and Cyril of Alexandria (375-444) on the orthodox, and Apollinarius on its heterodox sides.² The Antiochenes, anxious to show the completeness of Christ's humanity and its significance for our salvation, spoke in terms which allowed a degree of autonomy of the human element in the Saviour. If there is one doctrine that characterises their christology, it is the distinction between the two natures ('Antiochene dyophysitism').³ The Alexandrians, on the other hand, were much more concerned with the intimacy of the union of the two natures and strove to safeguard that Christ was a single subject, that of the Logos.⁴ While both schools took pains to show that they taught one Christ, one Son, it was the Alexandrians, and especially Cyril of Alexandria, who succeeded in reflecting, much more convincingly than the Antiochenes, the liturgical faith that in Christ there was one subject, that of the Logos. Cyril never stopped proclaiming that God did not 'enter' a man as his Antiochene opponents appeared to teach but that He truly became man without undergoing any change. As Grillmeier has put it 'whereas for the Antiochenes "Christ" seems to emerge along-side the Logos as a new subject of christological expressions, in Alexandrian theology all expressions are directly orientated to the Logos'.⁵ However, we must note at the outset that the two schools of thought, on basic issues, were complementary and by no means account for all theological divisions in the early Church. Nor is it always feasible to categorise

² For a detailed analysis of the characteristics of the two schools see R. V. Sellers, *Two Ancient Christologies* (London: 1940); Often these two schools are associated with two types of christology: the 'Logos-Sarx' christology with the Alexandrians and the 'Logos-Anthropos' with the Antiochenes. Cf. A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition: From the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon (451)*, trans. by John Bowden, 2nd edn (London: 1975) I, (henceforth cited as *Christ I*) pp. 167-439; J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 4th edn (London: 1968), pp. 281ff. It is not our intention to discuss the validity of this schema — which, in turn, depends on the validity of the schema 'Alexandrian-Antiochene'; we should however mention that it has not gone unchallenged. E. g. G. Dragas has contended that, in at least the case of the major exponent of the 'Logos-Sarx' christology, Athanasius, the application of the schema is untenable. Dragas has shown that the Alexandrian uses the term *anthropos*, as well as *sarx*, when referring to Christ's humanity. See 'Ενανθρώπησις, or ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος. A neglected aspect of Athanasius' Christology', *SP* 16 (1985), 281-294.

³ See G. L. Prestige, *Fathers and Heretics* (London: 1963), pp. 133f; See also D. S. Wallace-Hadrill, *Christian Antioch: A study of early Christian Thought in the East* (Cambridge: 1982), pp. 117-150.

⁴ See J. A. Dorner, *History of the Development of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, trans. by D. W. Simon, 3 vols (Edinburgh: 1861), Division 2, vol. I, pp. 55-56.

⁵ *Christ I*, p. 476.

theologians according to that model for in many fathers' teaching both 'Alexandrian' and 'Antiochene' elements are to be found.⁶

The majority of the Christian East was much more sympathetic to the Alexandrian approach. With its more mystical, affirmative element, the latter had a wider appeal and especially among influential monks than the analytic Antiochene thought. Consequently, when Nestorius (d. c. 451) the Patriarch of Constantinople tried to impose the Antiochene outlook on christological understanding in the early fifth century, a fierce controversy broke out. The seeds of this had already been sown in the writings of theologians like Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia on the one hand, Origen (c. 185-c. 254) and Apollinarius on the other. As has been mentioned, all theological differences in the early Church may not be explained by ascribing them to the divergent principles of the two theological currents, but it seems certain that in the Nestorian controversy there was a serious clash between the two christological viewpoints. In one way or another this clash was at the heart of the christological controversies of the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries. The Third Ecumenical Council (Ephesus, 431), the Fourth (Chalcedon, 451) the Fifth (Constantinople, 553) and the Sixth (Constantinople, 680/1), all tackled christological problems posed by followers of the one or the other theological tradition.

This, however, does not mean that in the Nestorian controversy we simply had a clash between two different points of viewing the same truth. Nestorius' teaching was undermining the foundations of the christological and soteriological doctrine widely held in the Church. So when Cyril of Alexandria rose against him he certainly did so out of his deeply felt concern for the soundness of faith.

At Christmas in 428, Nestorius preached that Mary should not be called the 'Mother of God' (Theotokos), as an established Church tradition had it,⁷ but the 'Mother of Christ' (Christotokos). The latter was more compatible a term with the teaching of the radical Antiochene teachers and especially of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Nestorius'

⁶ E.g. Eustathius of Antioch who used the 'Alexandrian' title Theotokos for the Virgin Mary (for the significance of the title see Chapter II) and applied the *communicatio idiomatum*; John Chrysostom, an Antiochene by education and a close friend of Theodore of Mopsuestia, was also an advocate of the title Theotokos and the *communicatio idiomatum*.

⁷ The earliest reference to the title *Theotokos* is by Origen, *Selecta in Deuteronomium*, PG 12, 813C et al. Its use by the Cappadocians, John Chrysostom et al. shows that the title had been established in the East at least as early as the fourth century. In the West, Tertullian spoke in terms that imply the term *Dei Mater: Nasci se Deus in utero patitur matris*. *De patientia* 3, PL 1, 1363A. So important was the title Theotokos in the fourth century that Gregory of Nazianzus said that those who did not accept it were separated from God. *Ad Cledonium* I, PG 37, 177C.

mentor. The innovation was challenged by Cyril of Alexandria. He saw in Nestorius' denial of the title Theotokos the repudiation of the oneness of the person of Christ. If Mary was the Mother of Christ, but not the Mother of God, this could mean that Christ and the Logos were not one and the same subject. Indeed, Nestorius' teaching sounded as if he was dividing the subject in Christ into two distinct and independent agents. Nestorius of course would never admit such a charge, but Cyril's critique was effective in showing that the radical Antiochene party did not have the same focused perception of the union in Christ as he. Cyril's campaign culminated at the Council of Ephesus (431) (Ephesus I) where his doctrine prevailed at the expense of the Antiochene viewpoint.⁸

The controversy was protracted because a nucleus of uncompromising followers of the Cyrillian christological terminology, led by Dioscorus the Patriarch of Alexandria (441-451 AD) and encouraged by the dominance of their party, tried to eliminate the Antiochene ideas from the stage. In 449 they called a Council, again in Ephesus (Ephesus II or the 'Robber Council'), in which they hoped to repeat Cyril's triumph in the same city eighteen years ago, and seal the issue in favour of their ideas. This however did not happen.

Just a few years later, the imperial couple, Pulcheria and Marcian, who were concerned about the discomfiture of the Roman Church — which had been sidelined by Dioscorus at Ephesus — called for another Council which would rectify the procedural irregularities of Ephesus II. Indeed the Council of Chalcedon (451) restored order by declaring the actions of Dioscorus null and void. But, much more importantly, it came up with a statement of faith which was to become the cornerstone of orthodox christology in both East and West and a stumbling block for the strict Cyrillian followers of Dioscorus: Christ was one hypostasis or prosopon in two natures. The strict Cyrillians saw in the Chalcedonian Definition a vindication of Nestorius. Just like him, Chalcedon, with its 'in two physes (natures),' they believed, was dividing the one Christ into two.

One of the causes of the misunderstanding that followed Chalcedon was the variable usage of the terms 'ousia' (essence), 'hypostasis' (subsistence), 'physis' (nature), and 'prosopon' (person), all of them central to the debate.⁹ Up to the middle of

⁸ For all these events see Part One, Chapter II.

⁹ On this see G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought* (London: 1969); R. V. Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon* (London: 1953), p. 138, n. 7; A. Grillmeier and T. Hainthaler, *Christ in Christian Tradition: From the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Gregory the Great (590-604)*, II, pt. 2 (The Church of

the 4th c., with regard to 'theologia', i.e. the doctrine of the Trinity, ousia was used in the sense of real existence or essence. Hypostasis could mean just the same as ousia or it could mean individual being or person. The term 'physis' was also fairly vague; it could mean either ousia or hypostasis. At the council of Alexandria (362) the term 'hypostasis' was for the first time officially associated with the individual being or subsistence, again with regard to the Trinity.¹⁰ It was through the Cappadocians (Basil of Caesarea (330-379), Gregory of Nazianzus (329-389) and Gregory of Nyssa (c. 330-c. 395)), that the meaning of these terms was crystallised as regards the trinitarian doctrine: Ousia or physis would be used to denote the common essence, whereas hypostasis or prosopon the concrete being or subsistence.

Yet, in christology the situation remained confused. The Alexandrian theologians very often understood the terms physis, hypostasis and prosopon as synonymous, i.e. meaning the concrete being, and applied them interchangeably to the person of Christ. To denote the essence, they could use ousia as well as physis. The Antiochenes, on the other hand, used the term physis, and sometimes hypostasis, for the common reality or essence, whereas for the concrete being or subsistence they preferred the term prosopon rather than hypostasis. They opted for the latter term in the sense of the 'underlying reality' (they spoke of 'two hypostases' in Christ in order to show the reality of his divinity and humanity). But with prosopon originally meaning simply 'face' or the character that one assumes, and later on 'appearance',¹¹ the Alexandrians always suspected that the Antiochenes, by applying this term to the one subject in Christ, did not refer to a single concrete being, but to a theoretical one. Unlike the Alexandrians, the Antiochenes never used the term physis in the sense of the individual being or person. Finally in the christology of both schools ousia, just as in trinitarian theology, meant essence.¹²

Faithful to his native tradition Cyril spoke of 'one physis of the Logos incarnate'¹³ meaning apparently 'one hypostasis of the Logos incarnate'. This Cyrillian 'monophysitism' was the conventional mode the majority of the Eastern Christians were

Constantinople in the sixth century), trans. by J. Cawte and P. Allen (London: 1995) (henceforth cited as *Christ II*, 2), p. 430; M. G. Fouyas, *The Person of Jesus Christ in the decisions of the Ecumenical Councils* (Athens: 1997) (in Greek), p. 73, n. 7. For the philosophical origin of these terms see below.

¹⁰ Kelly, pp. 253-254.

¹¹ Prestige, *God*, p. 157; G. C. Stead, *Philosophy in Christian Antiquity* (Cambridge: 1994), p. 196.

¹² For the rather inconsistent use of philosophical terms by the fathers see the works by C. Stead, *Divine Substance* (Oxford: 1977); 'Greek influence on Christian Thought', in *Early Christianity*, ed. by I. Hazlett (London: 1991), 175-185; *Philosophy*.

¹³ This formula comes from Apollinarius, as we shall see in Part One, Chapter II.

accustomed to in describing the union in Christ. Thus, the Chalcedonian phrase 'in two natures', borrowed from Leo's Tome,¹⁴ was for the strict Cyrillians nothing but a clear vindication of Nestorius.

Much has been written about the motives of the fathers at Chalcedon and what they drew on for the final formulation of the Definition. The majority of Western scholars have asserted that the Chalcedonian Definition was more or less a triumph for the Antiochene dyophysitism which found its way to official recognition assisted by the equally dyophysite Latin christology of Leo's *Tome*.¹⁵ In this way, it is claimed, Chalcedon corrected the one-sidedness of Ephesus I and furnished the Church with a more balanced christological dogma. Some historians, (both Western and Eastern), more appreciative of the thought of Cyril, see a certain Cyrillian bearing on a Definition which on the whole favoured the Antiochenes,¹⁶ whereas, others ascribe to the council of Chalcedon an essentially Cyrillian character.¹⁷

The years that followed Chalcedon were turbulent. The Church suffered bitter clashes between the orthodox (Chalcedonians) and the 'strict Cyrillians' (Monophysites) which eventually resulted in the first serious and abiding schism. Such turmoil was no less painful for the Empire as well. The Monophysite schism fractured Church unity; important for political unity, it loosened the ties of the Empire with the increasingly Monophysite Egypt and Syria, both vitally important for the Roman state. Besides, the orthodox (i.e. Chalcedonian) church was herself divided into two factions: a) those who saw an agreement between Cyril and Chalcedon ('Cyrillian Chalcedonians') and b) those who saw in the Definition a vindication of the Antiochene dyophysitism ('strict Dyophysites').

This situation explains the concern of the emperors of the late fifth and sixth centuries to try and resolve the problem of the authority of Chalcedon, sometimes by abolishing it, sometimes by defending it. The latter was the approach of Justinian I. He immediately set out to terminate the debate on the basis of a universal acceptance of

¹⁴ The famous letter of Pope Leo I (d. 461) to Flavian (also known as *Epistola dogmatica*) which we discuss in detail in Chapter I.

¹⁵ E.g. S. Cave, *The Doctrine of the Person of Christ* (London: 1925, repr. 1962), pp. 112-115; J. Tixeront, *History of Dogmas*, trans. by H. L. B., 3 vols (London: 1920-1926), III, pp. 144; K. Aland, *A History of Christianity*, trans. by James Schaaf (Philadelphia: 1985), I, pp. 199ff.

¹⁶ E.g. H. R. Mackintosh, *The Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ*, 3rd edn (Edinburgh: 1914), p. 213; Kelly, p. 342.

¹⁷ E.g. J. Romanides, 'One physis or hypostasis of the God Logos incarnate and Chalcedon', *GOTR*, 10 (1964-65), 82-102; J. Meyendorff, *Christ in Eastern Christian Tradition* (New York: 1987), pp. 13-46 (esp. pp. 26-27); P. Gray, *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East (451-553)* (Leiden: 1979).

Chalcedon. A political motive was surely behind his actions, but his concern was primarily theological. He became convinced that the Cyrillian Chalcedonian viewpoint was the orthodox one and strove for its imposition. Undoubtedly his convictions were influenced by a group of theologians of the sixth century who undertook to defend the Cyrillian character of Chalcedon against the attacks of the Monophysite camp as well against the misinterpretation of the Definition by the Antiochene Chalcedonians whose christology was Nestorianising. To the efforts of these theologians Justinian contributed with significant theological works of his own which bear important witness to christological ideas of his time. The christology of these Cyrillian Chalcedonians, including that of Justinian and the Fifth Ecumenical Council is what certain historians have called 'Neo-Chalcedonianism' as we shall see below.

At the centre of Justinian's efforts to defend the orthodox faith was his initiative asking in 544 for the condemnation of the *Three Chapters*, namely, a) the person and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, b) Theodoret of Cyrus' writings against Cyril and Ephesus I, and c) a controversial Letter to a certain Maris which was attributed to Ibas of Edessa.

Theodore of Mopsuestia was one of the most gifted minds of the early Church. A staunch defender of the Nicene theology, he vigorously attacked the Apollinarian heresy. His christological ideas helped shape the outlook of the Antiochene school. Revered in his lifetime Theodore was later attacked by Cyril as the mentor of the Nestorian heresy.

Theodoret the bishop of Cyrus was a friend of Nestorius and an opponent of the Cyrillian 'monophysitism'. He was involved in the Nestorian controversy mainly by attacking Cyril's faith as expressed in the latter's most controversial work the *Twelve Anathemas*.¹⁸

Finally, Ibas of Edessa, sometime head of the catechetical school of that city, and then its bishop, was a keen promoter of Antiochene christology mainly through the writings of Theodore. He was believed to have been the author of a widely circulated letter which was addressed to a certain Maris. The letter included derogatory references to Cyril and the Council of Ephesus.¹⁹

Already during the Nestorian controversy the *Three Chapters* were at the core of the christological issue. For all those who shared Cyril's views the *Three Chapters*

¹⁸ See Part One, Chapter II and Appendix.

¹⁹ All these issues are discussed in detail in Part I.

embodied the same thinking as Nestorius and should be officially condemned. This was achieved — by dubious means — at the council of Ephesus II (449): Theodoret and Ibas — Theodore was already dead — were excommunicated. This decision, however, was reversed at Chalcedon and the two bishops rehabilitated to their sees. One can easily anticipate the reaction of the Alexandrians: the reception of two ‘Nestorians’ was for them a clear evidence that Chalcedon had indeed sided with Nestorius. Since then the *Three Chapters* were constantly a serious obstacle for the anti-Chalcedonians to reconsider their rejection of Chalcedon.

This association of Chalcedon with Theodoret and Ibas was also proper in the mind of some Chalcedonian circles, especially in the West. For them Chalcedon had irrevocably cleared Theodoret and Ibas of any suspicion. Therefore, any suggestion for a reconsideration of their place in the Church was, in essence, a disavowal of Chalcedon itself. Further, at the time of Justinian’s proposal all *Three Chapters* had long been dead. A posthumous condemnation of them would be canonically and morally hard to justify. Consequently these Chalcedonians fiercely opposed the imperial policy on the *Three Chapters* issue as well as its doctrinal outcome.

The *Three Chapters* controversy led to the Fifth Ecumenical Council (553) (Constantinople II). A general Council was deemed necessary by the emperor and Pope Vigilius to enable the Church to make a final decision on how the *Three Chapters* should be treated. Nonetheless, the decision that the Council was called to make was to be far more important than that. By judging the *Three Chapters* the fathers at Constantinople inevitably had to define the way the Church should interpret the Chalcedonian definition. Was that to be along the lines of the Antiochene approach, or was it to be compatible with the Alexandrian and, in particular, the Cyrillian tradition which advocated the intimate union of the natures in Christ and the singleness of his person? Eventually the Fifth Ecumenical Council condemned the *Three Chapters*, but far more importantly it condemned the Nestorian approach to Chalcedon by interpreting its Definition on the basis of the thought and language of Cyril.

II. THE INTERPRETATION OF CONSTANTINOPLE II IN MODERN SCHOLARSHIP

Modern scholarship has generally been unsympathetic of or puzzled by Constantinople II. Among all the Ecumenical Councils it is the one that raises the most problems. In the words of P. Gray: ‘if there is a problem child among Ecumenical Councils ,

Constantinople II must certainly be it'.²⁰ Taking the polarisation between Cyril and Chalcedon for granted, a great number of scholars charge Constantinople II with distorting or even completely disavowing the Chalcedonian doctrine. More specifically, it has been maintained that by reading christology only through Cyrillian spectacles the Fifth Ecumenical Council brought the christological doctrine back to the stage it was after the Council of Ephesus (431), i.e. the stage of Cyrillian exclusiveness. The whole work of the Council has been very often viewed through the lens of the allegedly sole political motivation of the emperor to reunite the Monophysites with the Church by condemning their arch enemies and thus bore no real theological importance.

A. Harnack represents a typical form of criticism of Constantinople II. For him the decisions of Constantinople II were a reversal of the Chalcedonian Creed and, by and large, a general condemnation of its sources, namely the Antiochene and the Latin theology. In his words: 'Rome had given the formula of the two natures to the East, but a hundred years later the East dictated to the West how this formula was to be understood, an interpretation of it which in no way corresponded to the actual wording of the formula'.²¹ Through the condemnation of the *Three Chapters* and the doctrine of the Fifth Council, the Church adopted for the first time 'a falsified tradition, by shutting out its true fathers as heretics under the patronage of Justinian'.²² In all 'the blow which the West gave to the East at the Fourth Council was parried by the Fifth Council'.²³

In the same vein, K. Aland sees in the Chalcedonian Definition a clear answer to the christological problem and that was due to the positive influence of the Latin christology. This achievement was annulled by Justinian and the Fifth Council whose christology closely resembled that of the Monophysites.²⁴ A 'leaning towards Monophysitism' in the decisions of the Fifth Council is also discerned by P. Schaff.²⁵ The same scholar in his *History of the Christian Church* sums up the general feeling as regards the significance of the Fifth Council: 'as to its [the Fifth Council's] importance, it stands far below the four previous councils'.²⁶

The whole *Three Chapters* controversy is often attributed to the influence of Theodore Ascidas, an adviser of Justinian's and allegedly an Origenist, who wanted to

²⁰ 'Ecumenical Dialogue, Ecumenical Council, and Constantinople II', *Toronto Journal of Theology* 3 (1987), 50-59 (p. 52).

²¹ *History of Dogma*, trans. by N. Buchanan et al., 7 vols (London: 1894-1899), IV, p. 250.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 247.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

²⁴ *A History*, p. 199f.

²⁵ *The Creeds of the Greek and Latin Churches* (London: Hodder, 1877), p. 73.

²⁶ *History of the Christian Church*, 3 vols (New York: 1867), II, p. 352.

divert Justinian's attention from the persecution of the Origenists of Palestine.²⁷ So C. Hefele says that Ascidas exploited Justinian's 'passion for dogmatizing'.²⁸ However, this author sees reasons for Justinian to denounce the *Three Chapters*: a) Theodore of Mopsuestia was 'the real father of that heresy which took its name from one of his disciples, Nestorius',²⁹ b) Theodoret's writings contained material which was erroneous and could be unhesitatingly anathematised³⁰ and finally c) an anathema on Ibas' letter 'was fully justified' as it unfairly denounced Cyril and the Council of Ephesus I; it was indeed 'penetrated with the Nestorian leaven'.³¹

How little attention is paid to the work of the Fifth Council is characteristically reflected by the space dedicated to it in large histories of doctrine like that of J. Pelikan. In the single paragraph dealing with it, Pelikan observes that 'the christological problem was not settled at the Second Council of Constantinople much more effectively than it had been at Chalcedon'.³² Similarly P. Tillich, in his *History of Christian Thought* does not think much of the Fifth Council. He concludes his brief reference to the post-Chalcedonian debate by observing that Chalcedon was never really adopted in the East but it was 'transformed' and 'swallowed up in the eastern Christian sacramental way of thinking and acting'.³³

J. B. Bury regards Justinian as 'a sort of imperial pontiff'.³⁴ For the sake of a reconciliation with the Monophysites, Bury maintains, Justinian stirred up an unnecessary controversy. In particular, he writes:

The Fifth Ecumenical Council differed from the four which preceded it in that while they pronounced on issues which divided Christendom and which called for an authoritative decision of the Church, the Fifth dealt with a question which had been artificially created [...] the purpose of the Council which Justinian summoned was to confirm a theological decision of his own which was incidental indeed to a vital controversy, but only incidental. His object was to repair the failure of Chalcedon and to smooth the way to reunion with the Monophysites; and it may be said that the *Three Chapters* were entirely in the spirit of the orthodox theological school of his time. But the question was

²⁷ For this issue see Part Two, Chapter II.

²⁸ C. J. Hefele, *A History of the Councils of the Church*, trans. by W. R. Clark *et al.*, 5 vols (Edinburgh: 1871-1896), IV, p. 230; Similarly, H.-G. Beck, 'The Early Byzantine Church' in *History of the Church*, ed. by H. Jedin and J. Dolan, trans. by A. Biggs, 10 vols (London: 1980-1981), II, pp. 450-456.

²⁹ *A History*, IV, p. 233.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

³² *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600)*, The Christian Tradition 1 (Chicago: 1971), p. 277.

³³ *A History of Christian Thought* (London: 1968), pp. 86-90.

³⁴ *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene (395 AD to 800 AD)*, 2 vols (London: 1889), II, p. 1.

provoked by himself; it was not one on which the decree of a General Council was imperatively required.³⁵

The fact that Constantinople II 'adopted theological tenets formulated by the Emperor' was for Bury 'the most characteristic manifestation of Justinianean Caesaropapism'.³⁶

Similarly, F. Dvornik regards the whole affair as stirred up by the emperor for the sake of a reunion with the Monophysites.³⁷

Particularly negative towards the Fifth Council are the works of E. Amann³⁸ and R. Devreesse.³⁹ These authors see no particular merit in the work of the Fifth Council which did not hesitate to use interpolated material to incriminate the *Three Chapters*, and in particular Theodore of Mopsuestia.

J. Tixeront⁴⁰ and I. Watkin⁴¹ consider Justinian's initiative to convoke a Council in order to condemn the *Three Chapters* unwise and eventually harmful for the unity of the Church, even though they do not see a fault in the doctrinal work of the Council in itself.

Other Western theologians, however, being more sympathetic of the work of Cyril tend to see less contrast between Cyrillianism and Chalcedonianism. J. N. D. Kelly, for instance, argues that Cyril clearly distinguished the two natures in Christ which made the differences between him and Leo less obvious than it has often been suggested.⁴² Even Cyril's much criticised insistence on employing the 'one physis' formula, far from denying the doctrine of the two natures, simply served as a safeguard against Nestorianism and on the assurance that it had been used by Athanasius. Moreover Kelly discerned the great part the Cyrillian christology played at Chalcedon thus challenging the traditional western view that it was due to Leo's contribution at Chalcedon that orthodoxy was saved even in the East. Kelly characteristically says that if Cyril had been present at Chalcedon 'he too would have acquiesced in the Chalcedonian

³⁵ *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian (AD 395-AD 565)*, 2 vols (London: 1923), II, pp. 391-392.

³⁶ *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, p. 5.

³⁷ *The Ecumenical Councils* (Washington: 1961), p. 33.

³⁸ 'Trois chapitres (affaire de)', *DTC* 15, pt. 2 (1950), 1868-1924.

³⁹ Cf. R. Devreesse, 'Le cinquième concile et l'œcuménicité byzantine,' *Studi e Testi* 123 (Vatican City: 1946); idem, *Essai sur Theodore de Mopsueste*, *Studi e Testi*, 141 (Vatican City: 1948).

⁴⁰ *History of Dogmas*, trans. by H. C. B., 3 vols (London: 1926), III, p. 144.

⁴¹ E. I. Watkin, *The Church in Council* (London: 1960), p.64.

⁴² *Early Christian Doctrines*, p. 342.

settlement and would have been embarrassed by the intransigence of his over enthusiastic allies'.⁴³

The validity of such an analysis is arguably limited by Kelly's acceptance of the theory of 'Neo-Chalcedonianism' in its slightly pejorative sense, namely that it 'subtly shifted the bias of the council [i.e. Chalcedon], interpreting its teaching in a positive Cyrilline sense'.⁴⁴

P. Gray is another Western historian who challenged the long established theory that Chalcedon represented the Latin/Antiochene christological point of view as opposed to the Cyrillian outlook of the Eastern Church. For him Chalcedon was a Cyrillian Council⁴⁵. In this sense he does not see anything wrong in 'Neo-Chalcedonianism' as an attempt to interpret Chalcedon through Cyril. He rather regards it as a natural development induced by the Churches themselves and by Justinian.⁴⁶ In particular, he argues, 'Neo-Chalcedonianism' was the product of a Cyrillian-Chalcedonian 'middle-ground' party who intended 'to integrate the two sides of its christology into a synthetic view. The synthetic christology of Neo-Chalcedonianism was precisely this developed christology'.⁴⁷

A positive evaluation of Constantinople II was that of H. M. Diepen.⁴⁸ Appreciative of Cyril's Christology, Diepen sees no disagreement between Ephesus I and Chalcedon. As regards the Three Chapters, this author believes that they were rightly condemned at Constantinople II. Theodoret and Ibas were accepted at Chalcedon but only because they concealed their true doctrine.

Certainly positive is the view of the Council taken by most Orthodox historians. J. Karmiris contends that the Fifth Council was summoned for the purpose of tackling the last Nestorians and also to bring back to the Church the separated Monophysites. It did not produce a new creed but reaffirmed the teaching of the previous Councils. The eventual condemnation of the *Three Chapters* did not imply any kind of disavowal of the Fourth Ecumenical Council which had not examined the teaching of the *Three Chapters* since Theodore and Ibas agreed to condemn Nestorius officially.⁴⁹ Similar is the view of M. Kalamaras who holds that The *Three Chapters* contained the Nestorian

⁴³ Ibid, pp. 341-42.

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 343.

⁴⁵ *The Defense*, pp. 7ff.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 78ff.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 79.

⁴⁸ *Les trois chapitres au concile de Chalcédoine. Une étude de la Christologie de l'anatolie ancienne* (Oosterhout, 1953)

⁴⁹ 'The Fifth Ecumenical Council', *Ecclesia* 40 (1953), 321-323 (in Greek).

aberration. In the teaching of those opposing the imperial policy, Kalamaras sees Nestorianism which was, in fact, creeping under the form of the so called 'strict Chalcedonianism'. For Kalamaras, the Council of Constantinople was as much Cyrillian as the Council of Chalcedon itself. The orthodox line on the matter was proclaimed by Cyril and the fathers of Chalcedon; Constantinople II did nothing else but to follow them. Justinian was sincere when he declared that the reason he issued the edict against the *Three Chapters* was to pacify the Church by eliminating the last remnants of Nestorianism. The Council of Constantinople by no means abolished the decisions of the Chalcedonian Council, but interpreted what the latter meant to proclaim.⁵⁰ For J. Meyendorff the idea that the imperial condemnation of the *Three Chapters* was a result of the intrigues of Theodore Ascidas, the Origenist advisor of the emperor, is 'rather naive and malevolent'. He substantiates his rejection on the fact that Antiochene christology had already been criticised not only by its natural opponents, the Severian Monophysites,⁵¹ but also many Chalcedonians.⁵²

Meyendorff maintains that Justinian 'was not raising a new issue, but trying to solve a standing difficulty in his relations with the Monophysites'. However, he admits that the issue involved persons who had died long before, thus, putting the validity of their proposed condemnation at stake. Finally, Constantinople II was for Meyendorff an ecumenical Council (in the modern sense of the word) aiming at reconciling the Monophysites with the Church on a sound theological basis.⁵³

Inspired by Meyendorff's approach, G. L. C. Frank saw the importance of the Fifth Council for the reconciliation between Chalcedonians and 'strict Cyrillians,' as the fathers of Constantinople managed to formulate the doctrine in language much more inclusive than Chalcedon's.⁵⁴

A less sympathetic view of the council was expressed by the Orthodox historian B. Giannopoulos. In his opinion the Fifth Ecumenical Council was conciliatory but eventually failed in its objective. Justinian called the Council to help a possible reunion with the Monophysites but the circumstances were not conducive to such a move. The work of the Council itself did not contribute anything new to the faith of the Church and this is why the following Councils — even those of the Orthodox Church — did not

⁵⁰ M. Kalamaras, *The Fifth Ecumenical Council* (Athens, 1985) (in Greek), pp. 119ff.

⁵¹ The moderate Monophysites who followed Severus the Patriarch of Antioch. See Part One, Chapter V.

⁵² *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions: the Church 450-680 AD* (New York: 1989), p. 236.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

⁵⁴ 'The Council of Constantinople II as a Model Reconciliation Council', *Theological Studies* 52 (1991), 636-650.

care to remember the personal anathemas that were pronounced by the fathers at Constantinople. It did, however, try very successfully to clarify the Chalcedonian Definition and the Cyrillian terminology in order to persuade the Monophysites that Chalcedon did not grant amnesty to Nestorius.⁵⁵ For Giannopoulos the Fifth Ecumenical Council did not really offer anything noteworthy to orthodoxy. Even the Greek Church did not take care to preserve the original Greek text. The decisions of the Fifth Ecumenical Council as regards the personal anathemas were taken on the basis of the needs of the time ('out of dispensation') and were practically forgotten when the situation changed. This is manifested in the Seventh Ecumenical Council where the anathemas of the Fifth Council were not mentioned.

V. Feidas accepts the theory of 'Neo-Chalcedonianism' but sees its positive aspect: by interpreting Chalcedon on the basis of the Cyril's christology, Constantinople II showed the coherence between Chalcedon and Ephesus I and removed any doubt as to the adherence of the Fourth Council to the Alexandrian theologian.⁵⁶ For Feidas the value of Constantinople II lies in the fact that it condemned the extreme wings of both theological schools (Alexandria and Antioch) by incorporating them in the already anathematised heresies (Monophysitism and Nestorianism).⁵⁷

The 'Neo-Chalcedonian' theory

Perhaps the most systematic attempt to interpret the theology of Justinian's era was made by J. Lebon, C. Moeller and M. Richard, three scholars of the University of Louvain who were the first exponents of the popular theory of 'Neo-Chalcedonianism'. J. Lebon was the first to use the term in order to describe the christological thought of those Cyrillian Chalcedonians who sought to interpret Chalcedon more firmly in the light of Cyril's christology and thus defend it (the Council) against the Monophysite attacks.⁵⁸ The so called 'Neo-Chalcedonians' would accept as legitimate both the dyophysite language of Chalcedon ('two natures or physēs-one hypostasis') and the monophysite one of the strict Cyrillians ('one nature or hypostasis after the union') provided that the terms physis and hypostasis are understood as synonymous.

⁵⁵ *The Ecumenical Councils and their Teaching* (Athens: 1995) (in Greek), p. 35.

⁵⁶ *Ecclesiastical History*, (Athens: 1992), pp. 657-726.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 722.

⁵⁸ *Le monophysisme sévérien* (Louvain: 1909).

This idea of 'Neo-Chalcedonianism' was adopted by C. Moeller, who in a lengthy article expanded on Lebon's idea.⁵⁹ It is with Moeller that the term 'Neo-Chalcedonianism' acquires a rather pejorative sense. Rather representing a genuine expression of the theology of the Church in the sixth century, it was a kind of 'phénomène induit' which appeared in the midst of the religious crisis that followed Chalcedon.⁶⁰ For Moeller, the 'Neo-Chalcedonians' distorted the achievement of the Chalcedonian Definition by interpreting it solely on the basis of Cyril and in particular on the basis of his *Twelve Anathemas*. The latter, in Moeller's view, had been completely ignored at Chalcedon. Justinian played a key role in this realignment of Chalcedonian orthodoxy by adopting the ideas of 'Neo-Chalcedonians' and finally sanctioning them at the Fifth Ecumenical Council.

Next in the succession of Lebon's idea was M. Richard. He made clear that what defines 'Neo-Chalcedonianism' was the simultaneous use of both the Chalcedonian formula 'one hypostasis in two physeis,' and the Cyrillian 'one physis of the Logos incarnate' as necessary for orthodoxy.⁶¹

The basic idea of 'Neo-Chalcedonianism' has also been adopted by A. Grillmeier. He examines the christological issues after the council of Chalcedon and accepts Richard's definition that 'Neo-Chalcedonians' are those theologians who availed of both christological formulae: a) the 'one physis' against Nestorianism and b) the 'two physes' against Eutychianism.⁶² Yet, Grillmeier goes even further to trace the existence of a tendency which he calls 'moderate Neo-Chalcedonianism'. The latter represents a christology which, while based upon Chalcedon, used strict Cyrillian language, and in particular the one that was established by the *Twelve Chapters*, without however regarding the use of the 'one physis' formula necessary.⁶³ This 'moderate Neo-Chalcedonianism' is, according to Grillmeier, the christological outlook of Justinian and the fathers of the Fifth Council since in the work of neither of them can we find allowance for simultaneous use of the formulae 'one physis-two hypostases' and 'one physis and hypostasis'.⁶⁴ Yet both made full use of the christology of Cyril's *Twelve Anathemas*, a central characteristic of all 'Neo-Chalcedonians'.

⁵⁹ 'Le chalcédonisme et le néo-chalcédonisme en Orient de 451 à la fin du VI^e siècle' in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by A. Grillmeier and H. Bacht, 3 vols (Würzburg: 1951), I, (hereafter cited as *Chalkedon* I) pp. 637-720.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 669.

⁶¹ 'Le néo-chalcédonisme', *Mélanges de science religieuse* 3 (1946), 156-161.

⁶² *Christ* II, 2, p. 434; Idem, 'Der Neu-Chalkedonismus', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 77 (1958), 151-166.

⁶³ *Christ* II, 2, p. 434.

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 434-35.

Grillmeier sees Justinian's christology in a positive light. The emperor's main contribution was his distinction between the terms *physis* or *ousia* and *hypostasis* or *prosopon*. Thus in his thought 'trinitarian and incarnational terminology are brought into harmony'.⁶⁵ Yet when it comes to Justinian's interpretation of Chalcedon (as expounded in the *Confessio fidei*⁶⁶) Grillmeier observes that 'the terminology is refined beyond Chalcedon in the sense of a cautious new interpretation'.⁶⁷

As regards the *Three Chapters* issue, Grillmeier subscribes to the interpretation of the events offered by Liberatus⁶⁸ and Facundus of Hermiana,⁶⁹ the sworn enemies of Justinian and his policy. Grillmeier maintains that the emperor's decision was mainly influenced by Theodore Ascidas.⁷⁰ Again Theodore is considered an Origenist who wanted to divert Justinian's attention from the case of the Origenists in Palestine. Although Grillmeier cites Justinian's assurance to the East Illyrian bishops that his motives in asking the condemnation of the *Three Chapters* was not to make any concessions to the Monophysites — the Severans in particular — but to eradicate the impiety of the accused theologians,⁷¹ he thinks that his main aim was to win back the Monophysites.⁷² Overall, Grillmeier thinks that the *Three Chapters* issue should not have been raised. For the three personages, long dead, 'caused no discernible damage in the Imperial Church of the East at that time nor in the Latin West'. In other words 'a Neo-Nestorianism within the Imperial Church was not a threat'.⁷³

Nevertheless Grillmeier maintains that one should make a distinction between the vigorous and partisan critique by the Council against the *Three Chapters*, on the one hand, and the Council's own doctrinal statement, on the other.⁷⁴

Concluding his analysis of Constantinople II Grillmeier observes:

The Council unfortunately did not address the real task at that time of presenting a definition of hypostasis-person in contradistinction to that of nature-essence... The Council also did not open people's eyes to the necessary distinction between the *unio in hypostasi et secundum hypostasin* on the one hand, and the *unio in natura et secundum naturam* on the other.⁷⁵

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 428.

⁶⁶ See Part Two, Chapter I.

⁶⁷ *Christ* II, 2, p. 429.

⁶⁸ *Breviarum causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum*, ACO II, 5, pp. 98-141; PL 68, 969-1050.

⁶⁹ Facundus of Hermiana, *Pro defensione trium capitulorum libri XII ad Iustinianum imperatorem*, CCL 90A, pp. 3-398; PL 67, 527-854.

⁷⁰ *Christ* II, 2, p. 418f.

⁷¹ See Part Two, Chapter II.

⁷² *Christ* II, 2, p. 421.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 461.

⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 453-54.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 462.

In addition, according to Grillmeier, the Council did not even achieve its express aim, i. e. to integrate Cyril's *Twelve Anathemas* and Chalcedon in one synthesis. In fact, 'the best synthesis between Cyril and Chalcedon still remained the definition of Chalcedon itself, especially if it was read against the background of the old Symbols and Cyril's *Laetentur* letter.'⁷⁶

Another exponent of 'Neo-Chalcedonianism' is W. de Vries. His view is quite interesting because it represents a cautious approach to the issue from a Roman Catholic point of view and in the context of the dialogue between the Roman Catholic and the Oriental Orthodox (Anti-Chalcedonian) Churches. This author regards Justinian's intervention as understandable if seen in the light of the imperial ideals of his time. As a Christian emperor he ought to care about the unity of the Church. Yet de Vries, too, thinks that the Cyrillian christology, for which Justinian was advocating, was abandoned at Chalcedon and replaced with the Antiochene one.⁷⁷ As regards the decisions of the Council they were they ones that the emperor had determined in advance. In fact, at Constantinople II 'maximum concession were admittedly made to the opponents of the Chalcedonian Council' save the complete disavowal of Chalcedon. This the Constantinopolitan fathers could not do for fear of reaction from the Western Churches.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, de Vries believes that Chalcedon and Constantinople II differed in terminology and theological attitudes, but were in agreement as regards their doctrine. Speaking from a Roman Catholic point of view de Vries observes that the 'innovations' of the Fifth Council were 'tolerated' by the church, but 'the entire theological work of the Second Constantinopolitan Council has never been established as a dogma'. In fact, this author maintains that the Church ranked the Fifth Council as an Ecumenical only as far as the condemnation of the *Three Chapters* is concerned. The validity of its particular interpretation of Chalcedon is open to discussion.⁷⁹

In general, the theory of 'Neo-Chalcedonianism' became widespread.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Loc. cit.

⁷⁷ Vries, W. de, 'The Three Chapters Controversy', *Wort und Wahrheit*, 2 (supl. issue) (1974), 73-82 (p. 76).

⁷⁸ Loc. cit.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 78.

⁸⁰ Other works on 'Neo-Chalcedonianism' include: P. Galtier, 'L' Occident et le néo-chalcédonisme', *Gregorianum* 40 (1959), 54-74; S. Helmer, *Der Neuchalkedonismus*, (Bonn: 1962); E. Ludwig, 'Neo-Chalcedonism and the Fifth Ecumenical Council of 553' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Berkeley, California: 1983).

Brief critique of the 'Neo-Chalcedonian' theory

As already indicated, we do not agree with either the traditional criticism against Constantinople II that it disavowed Chalcedon, or the 'Neo-Chalcedonian' theory in its pejorative sense. Both these interpretations are based on the false premise that Chalcedon and Cyril were more or less incompatible. Yet, as we shall see in the minutes of Chalcedon, the vast majority of the fathers of Chalcedon were Cyrillian. It is true that the eventual *Horos* did not make express use of Cyrillian language, but was endorsed only after it had been made sure that it agreed with Cyril. As we shall see, the Council was compelled by the Palace and the Roman legates to produce a document of faith which would incorporate the suspicious sounding dyophysite language used in Leo's *Tome*. But it is obvious to us that the committee in charge for the drafting of the final document qualified it with such clauses so that it would be faithful to the teaching of Cyril. Indeed the *Horos* reflects the orthodox (non-Nestorian) dyophysite faith of Leo and the majority of the (Cyrillian) fathers.

Therefore we are entitled to say that the Council of Constantinople II did nothing else but present the Chalcedonian Creed in the way its authors intended, i.e. as a confession of faith which would proclaim the union in Christ along the lines of Cyril of Alexandria.

This is why we believe that despite its popularity, 'Neo-Chalcedonianism', in its pejorative sense, is unhistorical. The so called 'Neo-Chalcedonians' did not express a 'new' theology but that of the mainstream. Thus, an interpretation of Chalcedon through Cyril was the natural reaction of the Church against the misinterpretation of the Definition of 451 by both Nestorians and Monophysites.

As regards the related issue of the *Three Chapters* we believe that Grillmeier is not right when he says that one should distinguish between the condemnation of the three theologians and the positive doctrinal work of the Council. It was exactly because of the teaching of the *Three Chapters* that Chalcedon was misinterpreted and, therefore, a clear condemnation of their ideas was necessary. If Constantinople II is to be credited for clarifying Chalcedon that was precisely because it removed the language of the *Three Chapters* from the theological stage.

III. THESES OF THIS STUDY

We consider that modern scholarship in general has been rather unfair to the work of Justinian and the Fifth Council. Our view is that the largely downplayed Fifth Ecumenical Council was in itself a significant moment in the history of the

christological doctrine. Its decisions helped eliminate both Nestorian and Monophysite interpretations of the Chalcedonian definition and elucidated the mystery of the incarnation.

In particular the theses of our study will be the following:

1. Chalcedon was predominantly a Cyrillian Council. Thus it was intrinsically in full accord with Constantinople II.

2. The crisis that followed 451 was caused because Chalcedon, having to tackle the Eutychian Monophysitism, shunned Cyrillian (i.e. orthodox) monophysite terms.

3. The *Three Chapters* issue was legitimately raised because it was on account of their teaching that Chalcedon was misinterpreted as Nestorianising.

4. The crisis could only be healed by a clear condemnation of the *Three Chapters* and the exclusion of their strict dyophysitism from the stage.

5. Justinian and the so called 'neo-Chalcedonians' did not impose a new christology on the Church. They tried to sanction the ideas of the majority in the Church.

6. Justinian's christological works were an important contribution to the clarification of the terms *ousia*, *hypostasis*, *prosopon* as well as the controversial formulae 'one physis' and 'out of two physes'. In this sense the emperor was instrumental in clarifying the Chalcedonian Definition.

7. There certainly was political pressure upon Constantinople II to condemn the *Three Chapters* — in any case not greater than that felt by the Chalcedonian fathers to proceed to the final formulation of the Definition. But it was not enough to diminish the theological importance of the Constantinopolitan decrees. In our view the bishops came up with an ecumenical document of faith which could satisfy both Cyrillian 'Monophysites' and Cyrillian 'dyophysites' without compromising the faith.

8. The Fifth Council did not disavow or distort Chalcedon as is often maintained. Rather it clarified the Chalcedonian *Horos* in the way the Chalcedonian fathers meant it, that is it showed that in Christ there was one subject, that of the Logos. It is true that the fathers of the Fifth Council were Cyrillians and their interpretation was akin to the spirit of the Alexandrian father. However, as we will see below in more detail, the same is

also true of the Chalcedonian fathers and the majority of the Church in the sixth century.⁸¹

IV. PLAN OF THIS STUDY

This study is divided into two parts. In the first part, 'The Background of Constantinople II', we describe briefly the political and philosophical context of the late Roman Empire. We highlight Justinian's military aspirations in the West as having an impact on his ecclesiastical policy (Chapter I). Then we trace the development of the christological debate from the Nestorian controversy up to the so called 'Neo-Chalcedonian' era. The thought of Cyril as the predominant christologist of the early Church, the decisions of Ephesus I, the clash between the Cyrillians and the Antiochenes in the late fifth century are all vital for the understanding of the issues that occupied the mind of Justinian and the Fifth Council. These are discussed in Chapter II. Chapter III inquires into the ideas of the *Three Chapters*. We do not intend to investigate their christology in the full as this would require a major study by itself. We only give an outline of their thought with special reference to the issues that occupied the mind of the fathers at the Fifth Council. Chapter IV briefly examines how the Chalcedonian Definition was formulated and what its significance was. Chapter V describes the clash between Chalcedonians and Monophysites, the rise of the Monophysite movement and evaluates the most significant attempts for reunion.

In Part Two, we examine the christology of the Cyrillian defenders of Chalcedon or 'Neo-Chalcedonians' (Chapter I). In Chapter II the christology of Justinian is discussed on the basis of his various writings with particular emphasis on his three major christological treatises. Then we study the work of the Fifth Council (Chapter III). In this Chapter III we first follow the events of the *Three Chapters* controversy that led to the convocation of the Fifth Council. After a brief account of the proceedings we consider the doctrinal definition of the Council, which interests us most. In Chapter IV we give our conclusions. Finally, we append Cyril's Twelve Anathemas, the Letter of Ibas to Maris, and a comparative table of the *Thirteen Anathemas* of Justinian (from his *Confessio fidei*) and the *Fourteen* of the Fifth Ecumenical Council.

⁸¹ A. Harnack, although resenting the way Constantinople II handled Chalcedon, does not deny that Justinian and the bishops at Constantinople II did nothing else but sanction 'the true feelings of the majority'. *History* IV, p. 247.

V. SOURCE TEXTS⁸²

Another issue that should be briefly mentioned in this introduction is that of the text of the Council proceedings. Although the original manuscript was in Greek, the only complete surviving copy of the minutes is in Latin and is found in the codex *Parisinus lat.* 16832, f. 125^r-189^v (9th c.). A shorter version of the proceedings, which includes only the first four sessions and the *Anathemas*, exists in the codex *Sangalensis* 672, f. 6-135. The proceedings were first published by L. Surius on the basis of an unknown manuscript.⁸³ Surius' version was shorter than that of the *Parisinus* codex. What is interesting here is that the shorter versions of the text omit the following crucial parts of the minutes: a) the letter of Pope Vigilius to Justinian, b) the letter of Pope Vigilius to the Empress Theodora, and c) the *Oath* of the Pope. They also differ considerably in other parts of the text such as Justinian's Letter to the Council (*Θεῖος Τύπος*). It is noteworthy that all the parts that the shorter tradition of the text omits show an inconsistent attitude by the Pope with regard to the condemnation of the *Three Chapters*.

A detailed comparative examination of the two textual traditions in the parts in question by Chrysos,⁸⁴ proved that the extended version of the cod. *Parisinus* is the oldest one. The *Parisinus* text is the one that has been used by most scholars who worked on the Fifth Ecumenical Council. In this study we will use the *Parisinus* text as published by J. Straub.⁸⁵

Finally we should note that some fragments of the original Greek have survived and are found in the following sources⁸⁶: a) cod. *Parisinus gr.* 1115, f. 31^v-38^v (13th c.), b) cod. *Ibiron* 381, f. 308^v-316^v (15th c.), c) cod. *Ambrosianus gr.* F 48 sup., f. 85^v-87^r (12th c.), d) cod. *Ambrosianus B* 107, f. 43^v-44^r (12th-13th c.), e) cod. *Ambrosianus E* 94 sup., f. 219^r and 235^r-235^v (15th c.), f) cod. *Venetus Marcianus gr.* 226, f. 43^v-44 (13th-14th c.), g) Evagrius' *Church History*,⁸⁷ h) Georgios Monachos' *Chronikon*,⁸⁸ i) Georgios

⁸² For the following information I am indebted to E. Chrysos, *The Ecclesiastical Policy of Justinian in the Dispute Concerning the Three Chapters and the Fifth Ecumenical Council*, Analecta Vlatadon 3 (Thessalonica: 1969) (in Greek), pp. 145-199.

⁸³ *Tomus primus conciliorum omnium, tum generalium, tum provincialium atque particularium*, 5 vols (Cologne: 1567), II, p. 490. See Chrysos, *Justinian's Ecclesiastical Policy*, p. 155.

⁸⁴ *Ecclesiastical*, p.160-195.

⁸⁵ *Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum sub Justiniano habitum*, ACO IV (Berlin: 1971).

⁸⁶ See Chrysos, *Ecclesiastical*, pp. 145-146; Idem, 'Excerpts from the Minutes of the Fifth Ecumenical Council in Byzantine Chroniclers', *Kleronomia* 2, pt. 2 (1970), 376-400 (in Greek).

⁸⁷ PG 66, 2415-2906; Engl. tr. in *A History of the Church*, ed. by H. G. Bohn, (London: 1854), pp. 255-467.

⁸⁸ Ed. by C. de Boor, 2 vols (Leipzig: 1904), II, pp. 629-640.

Kedrinus' *Synopsis Historion*,⁸⁹ j) the minutes of the council of Lateran (649),⁹⁰ and k) the minutes of the Seventh Ecumenical Council (787).⁹¹

⁸⁹ PG 121, 24-1165.

⁹⁰ Mansi X, 1069-1070.

⁹¹ Mansi XI, 225E-228A.

PART ONE

THE BACKGROUND OF CONSTANTINOPLE II

CHAPTER I

THE POLITICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL ENVIRONMENT

The *Three Chapters* Controversy and its aftermath, the Fifth Ecumenical Council, are closely associated with Justinian I. He instigated the controversy and it was his guidelines that the Eastern Church came to endorse with the Fifth Ecumenical Council. Justinian's actions as well as many of the ecclesiastical developments in relation to the issue, can be better understood if studied in their historical setting in the later Roman Empire.

1.1 THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT**The Later Roman Empire**

The dawn of the sixth century found the Roman Empire in a situation far different from that in which it used to be two centuries ago. It had long passed the peak of its glory and was in decline. Dramatic changes had happened since the late first century which were to shape the future of the Roman world. Emperor Diocletian (284-305) divided the Empire into two spheres of administration: the Eastern and the Western. This move, on the one hand, implicitly recognised the diverse cultural and economic outlook of the two halves of the Empire and, on the other, marked a gradual but clear shift of the centre of political gravity from the West towards the East.

The importance of the Eastern part made Constantine decide to transfer the capital from Rome to Constantinople (330) — at the cross-roads of East and West and a far more suitable location for the regenerating Empire. This event, along with his previous decision, the Edict of Milan (313), making Christianity lawful, were two of the three major landmarks in the history of the later Roman Empire. The third was the collapse of its Western part in the fateful year 476. The end of Roman rule in the West that year was the climax of a long process of barbarian attrition afflicting the Western Empire. By the end of the fifth century the whole of the Western Empire was virtually ruled by barbarians: Italy by Ostrogoths, N. Africa by Vandals, Spain by Visigoths and Gaul by Franks. The consequences of the barbarian invasions were felt not only in the political sphere but also in the ecclesiastical one. The Goths from as far back as the fourth century had been converted to Arianism by their major missionary Ulfilas. That could not have been welcomed by their orthodox subjects.

These losses, however, by no means meant the end of the Roman world nor of the Roman Christian Church in the West. For the most part, the Eastern Empire was still intact, capable of not only surviving and weathering successive barbarian assaults but

also of thriving for another thousand years. The Emperor in Constantinople remained the only legitimate successor of the Roman Emperors and as such he was recognised even by the barbarian rulers.⁹² What somehow misleadingly came to be called the Byzantine Empire was still the Christian Roman Empire, if less universal, of the Mediterranean world.⁹³ The sovereigns based in New Rome, as Constantinople was called, never abolished their lawful rights over the lands once encompassed by their Empire. The Eastern Emperors still saw themselves as the guarantors of the integrity and welfare of their state and the orthodoxy of Christian faith.

Justinian

With such ideals Justinian I⁹⁴ (c. 483-565), ascended to the imperial throne. Born in Illyricum, he was the nephew of the Emperor Justin I (518-527).⁹⁵ Justin seems to have appreciated his nephew's brilliance and took care to promote him through the imperial high ranks.

As we shall see in more detail below, by the end of fifth century the unity of the Church and consequently that of the Empire was shaken. Numerous Christian communities in Egypt and Syria, the strongholds of 'Monophysitism', became virtually detached from the rest of the Empire as they did not accept the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon. Various attempts by the Roman rulers to heal the schism were futile.⁹⁶

Meanwhile, in Rome, relations between the orthodox Romans and the barbarian Arian rulers became even more fragile despite the benevolent reign of Theodoric. He felt rather insecure as Constantinople seemed to strengthen its power in the West. A worrying sign of that development was the conversion to orthodoxy of Clovis, King of the Franks (496), and Theodoric's son in law, Sigismund of Burgundy (510). The situation pushed Theodoric to take extreme actions such as the execution of the renowned Roman philosopher Boethius (524) on the grounds of alleged treason to the Romans. It was at this time of tension that Justin published an edict banning any activity by the Arians inside the Empire. The despair of the papacy under these circumstances

⁹² Theodoric the Ostrogoth ruler of Italy and Clovis the Frankish ruler of Gaul had to request that insignia of imperial power be granted to them from Constantinople in order to be accepted as heads of their states. Cf. A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, trans. by S. Ragozin, 2 vols (Madison: 1928-1929) I, p. 139.

⁹³ J. W. Barker, *Justinian and the Later Roman Empire* (Wisconsin: 1966), p. 37.

⁹⁴ On Justinian see P. N. Ure, *Justinian and his Age* (Middlessex: 1951); R. Browning, *Justinian and Theodora* (London: 1971); J. Moorhead, *Justinian* (London: 1994).

⁹⁵ On Justin and his policy see A. Vasiliev, *Justin the First*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 1 (Cambridge, Mass.: 1950).

⁹⁶ See Part One, Chapter V.

was such that Pope John I (523-526) had to travel to Constantinople in a mission of intervention on behalf of the Arians (526), and out of fear of a Gothic retaliation against the Roman orthodox in Italy.⁹⁷

These developments were influential factors in forming Justinian's policy towards the West. He was now more than ever convinced that it was in the best interests of the Western Catholics to get rid of the Arian rulers and return to the unity of the Empire under the one ruler in Constantinople. To this end he worked behind the scenes by advising his uncle in most matters, especially ecclesiastical ones.

The extent of Justinian's influence on his uncle, however, should not be exaggerated, despite the fact that Justin made him officially co-emperor in 527. Indeed, when Justinian became sole emperor he proceeded with a series of actions which, obviously, he had not been in a position to accomplish during his uncle's reign.⁹⁸

Justinian was a powerful personality with intellectual interests rarely found among the Roman sovereigns. Throughout his reign Justinian proved to be a man of strong convictions, inexhaustible energy and high ideals, ready to carry out, in an uncompromising manner, what he thought it was good for both the spiritual and the social welfare of his subjects. His genuine piety was manifested not only in his love for theology, in which he was very well versed, but also in his ascetic, almost monastic way of life.⁹⁹ In his undertakings Justinian was assisted and sometimes decisively influenced by his wife Theodora whose dubious past gave rise to bitter gossip by contemporaries and historians. Her strong religious and alleged Monophysite leanings¹⁰⁰ are believed to have influenced Justinian's ecclesiastical policy to some degree. All these factors played their part throughout Justinian's memorable reign.

Legal Achievements

Upon his elevation to the throne Justinian determined to reorganise Roman society. The most remarkable of his achievements was probably the codification of Roman law, an accomplishment which gained him universal fame. He set up committees of expert lawyers and jurists who, under his vigilant supervision, a) systematised the imperial

⁹⁷ See Meyendorff, *Imperial*, p. 220.

⁹⁸ Loc. cit.

⁹⁹ Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian*, pp. 24-25.

¹⁰⁰ Evagrius says that there was a kind of agreement between the couple, Justinian adhering to Chalcedon and Theodora to Monophysitism. *HE* IV, 10. J. Meyendorff disagrees with this designation of Theodora as a Monophysite. He thinks that she was also a Chalcedonian who saw that it was possible for the Severian Monophysites to return to the orthodox Church. To this end, in consultation with Justinian, she developed personal relations with them. *Imperial*, p. 222.

laws of the previous centuries and incorporated them into one much more manageable code (*Codex Iustinianus*, 529), b) collected and codified into one corpus (*Digest*, 533) the vast number of laws produced by the Roman jurists over the preceding centuries, and c) published a concise textbook for the law students (*Institutes*, 533). Further Justinian issued a number of complementary laws (*Novels*) dealing with particular issues. The *Corpus Juris Civilis*, as Justinian's corpus of legislative works came to be known,¹⁰¹ served as the basis for the legislation of many Western states.

Wars in the West

Central to Justinian's political ambitions was the recapture of the Western provinces. Throughout his reign, he was orientated towards the West, something which probably had to do with his coming from an area traditionally ascribed to the Western jurisdiction. However, the main reason for his dream to annex the West was his overt ambition to restore the Empire to its ancient glory, and free the Western Catholics from the yoke of the Arian rulers. He conceived this as his legitimate right, duty and mission as a Christian Roman Emperor.¹⁰²

Thus, after coming to terms with the Empire's old enemy, Persia (though on the basis of a humiliating for the Romans treaty), Justinian embarked on a gigantic military campaign for the recapture of the West. His first target was N. Africa and the kingdom of the Vandals which was based in Carthage. A relatively small army headed by the brilliant general Belissarius was enough to rout the Vandal troops and storm Carthage itself (533). After a few months, Belisarius had gained control of the greater part of N. Africa, Corsica, Sardinia and the Balearic Islands. Although a little short of Justinian's expectations (the Western part of North Africa was not annexed), this was a stunning achievement which was enthusiastically received in Constantinople.

Now it was the turn of Italy. After a relatively easy advance, Belisarius conquered the whole of South Italy and on 9 December 536 triumphantly entered Rome. He was joyfully welcomed by its Roman citizens. The establishment of imperial control in Italy was not an easy task though. The Ostrogoths soon struck back and besieged Rome. The siege, unsuccessful, lasted for almost one year during which time an interesting development occurred which is closely related to the Three Chapters issue.

When Belissarius entered Rome, Silverius (536-537) was the Pope, a cleric who had been installed with the help of the Goth rulers. That was enough for Silverius to be

¹⁰¹ Vasiliev, *History*, p. 179.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, p. 166.

accused by some of treason during the Gothic siege. This accusation combined with Silverius' refusal to lift the excommunication of the Patriarch of Constantinople Anthimus (536),¹⁰³ paved the way for Vigilius, a Roman deacon of Constantinople, to present himself as a possible candidate for the Papal throne. Being Theodora's friend made things much easier for Vigilius, who shortly afterwards was elected Bishop of Rome, while Silverius, charged with treason, was on his way to exile.¹⁰⁴ Vigilius was to be the Pope with whom Justinian hoped to have better co-operation in sorting out the Three Chapters issue.

While the foregoing ecclesiastical intrigues were taking place, Justinian's fortunes in the battle front changed. The Persians captured Antioch. The imperial army now had to battle on two fronts, a fact which weakened the imperial position in Italy. The Goths seized the opportunity and recaptured some of the land they had lost to Belissarius. Six years later (552) however, Justinian managed to establish imperial rule in Italy and gain control of nearly the whole of Mediterranean Sea.

Justinian's military successes had two sides. They doubtless raised the prestige of the Empire and showed the world that the imperial Romans had lost little of their old vigour. Yet, these huge expeditions had a serious impact on the finances of the Empire. To sustain his army, Justinian drained the resources of the treasury which in turn had to rely on heavy taxation. The wars in Italy, also, had devastating results on the social and economic life of the country which lasted for centuries. Furthermore, the Empire's preoccupation with Western enemies left its rear unprotected against the Eastern ones, Persia in particular, which proved to be deadlier. One, however, should not be quick to condemn Justinian for his choices, for at the time he made them one could hardly anticipate the way things could turn out.¹⁰⁵

Religious Policy

The basic principle of Justinian's ecclesiastical policy could be summarised in one phrase: unity of faith throughout the empire through universal adherence to the four Ecumenical Councils. For Justinian there should be not only one state and one law but also one faith and Church.¹⁰⁶ In the Christian Roman ideology of his time there was no

¹⁰³ Anthimus, a Chalcedonian who turned Severian, had been excommunicated by Pope Agapetus (535-536) during the latter's visit to Constantinople in 536, and replaced by Menas (536-552).

¹⁰⁴ Later on, Justinian looked at Silverius' case anew and accepted his innocence. However, Vigilius was not prepared to give up his throne and the unfortunate hierarch was sent to Palmaria a small island off the Italian coast where he died. See Moorhead, pp. 81-82.

¹⁰⁵ H. G. Koenigsberger, *Medieval Europe 400-1500* (New York: 1987), p. 37.

¹⁰⁶ Vasiliev, *History*, p. 181.

such clear divide between State and Church as we perceive it today. Although imperial authority and priesthood had distinct roles, they both had divine origin and shared the same mission: to unite all peoples under one God, one faith. In Justinian's view the Emperor had the responsibility to care for the Church and her priests as they, in turn, prayed for the rulers and the welfare of the state.¹⁰⁷

These ideals were put into practice already from Justinian's days as a Caesar under Justin. The edict of 527 (*De Haereticis*)¹⁰⁸ prescribed severe measures against all those who refused to accept Chalcedon. When he became Emperor his policy towards religious minorities remained equally rigorous. The Manicheans,¹⁰⁹ were among the first to face the new Emperor's measures. Those of them who refused to abandon their beliefs were burnt. Radical also were the imperial measures against the old Jewish heresy of the Samaritans¹¹⁰ whose synagogues were destroyed. Their attempt to push things harder by organising a separatist movement (529) along with threats of a possible approach towards Persia, the Empire's old enemy, only worsened their position. Justinian's army crushed the rebels.¹¹¹ Similarly, he persecuted the Montanists,¹¹² although a more tolerant attitude was taken towards orthodox Jews. Whilst seen with contempt and excluded from state positions, they were not deprived of their civil rights.¹¹³ That was, however, as far as their liberty could go. The pagans were also naturally targeted and were officially eradicated from the Empire. Justinian's hostile legislation against paganism resulted in the closure of the famous philosophical school of Athens (529).¹¹⁴

In the midst of all these major political, social and military undertakings Justinian decided to re-open the christological debate over the *Three Chapters*. The way he handled it is quite representative of the kind of ecclesiastical policy he imposed. He understood himself as having a legitimate right to intervene in theological matters or even initiate doctrinal debates. Certainly his theological learning enabled him to do

¹⁰⁷ *Preamble of the 6th Novella*.

¹⁰⁸ *CI I*, 5 (ed. by P. Krueger, (Berlin: 1877), pp. 73-86.

¹⁰⁹ A religious philosophy originating in Persia. Its teaching was characterized by an uncompromising dualism (a sharp conflict between spiritual and material realms). For the history of the heresy see G. Widengren, *Mani and Manichaeism*, trans. by C. Kessler (London: 1965).

¹¹⁰ The Samaritans accepted only the first five books of the Old Testament. Rejecting the traditional Judaism formed their own Synagogues. See A. D. Crow (ed.), *The Samaritans* (Tübingen: 1989).

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-81.

¹¹² Another early Christian heresy (second half of the 2nd c.) originated by a certain Montanos from Phrygia. The heresy had a strong apocalyptic and ascetic element in its teaching.

¹¹³ Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian*, p. 366.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 370; Moorhead, p. 27.

so.¹¹⁵ Justinian's involvement in Church affairs was well within the limits of previous practice in the Christian Empire, notably his respect for the Church Council as the only means of determining its doctrine.¹¹⁶

1.2 THE PHILOSOPHICAL ENVIRONMENT

It is commonly accepted that developing early Christian theology is influenced by Greek philosophy. As most theological developments of the Early Church took place in areas overwhelmingly dominated by the spirit of Hellenism, the impact of Greek culture, positive or negative, on Christian thinkers cannot be exaggerated. Not only were early theological treatises written in Greek, but also key terms which the Church used to clarify the subtle principles of her faith were Greek. Terms like 'Logos', 'ousia' (essence or substance), 'prosopon' (person), 'hypostasis' (individual existence), 'homousios' (of the same substance) were loan-words from philosophy that facilitated the expression of doctrine.

Christianity came into contact with Greek thought as soon as the Gospel was preached to Gentiles. In Athens Paul used dialectical arguments to defend Christian beliefs when challenged by Stoics and Epicurean philosophers.¹¹⁷ However, the most decisive and fruitful encounter between Christianity and Greek ideas occurred from c. 150-250 A. D.¹¹⁸ Then, the Apologists and especially theologians in Alexandria started assimilating Greek concepts into their thought. The philosophical systems dominant at that time were, mainly, Platonism, in particular the so called Middle Platonism, Stoicism, and Neoplatonism. Naturally, Christian thinkers drew on these philosophies. It is noteworthy that, perhaps with the exception of the Antiochene thinkers, Aristotelianism was not a dominant influence during that era. That was perhaps because the rather scientific and empirical nature of his thought did not appeal to the increasingly religious and idealistic intellectuals of the late Roman Empire, including Christians.

Let us now give a brief account of these Schools:

Platonism

A basic understanding of Plato's philosophical system, involves grasping his theory of 'ideas' (*ιδέαι*) or 'forms' (*εἶδη*). 'Ideas' are not mere concepts existing in our mind as

¹¹⁵ Chrysos, p. 200.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 17.

¹¹⁷ Acts, 17.16ff. See Stead, 'Greek influence,' p.175.

¹¹⁸ A. Theodorou, *The Influence of the Greek Thought on the Theological Schools of Alexandria and Antioch* (Athens: 1983) (in Greek), p. 24.

we consider them today. They are real entities existing outside the material world which is but a poor and defective imitation of those ideas. In other words whatever exists in the visible world has its analogous entity in the realm of ideas only that the former is defective whereas the latter perfect. An example is the idea of justice which exists in the realm of ideas and it is perfect. But what we achieved in the world as particular justice is an imperfect imitation of it.

The highest of the ideas and at the same time the summation of all is the idea of the 'Good'. The 'Good' as an idea is not a person, which means that in Plato's system there is no personal God. The 'Good' is the perfect 'Being,' unchanging and absolute.

The only way human beings can communicate with the realm of ideas is through the soul (*ψυχή*). Plato's teaching about the soul is perhaps the one that has left the deepest imprint on Western thought. Much of our modern understanding of the human being as the synthesis of body and soul goes back to Platonic teaching. The soul, is one of the two parts that human beings comprise — the other being the body. The body is inferior as belonging to the material world and in fact is the prison of the soul. The real home for the soul is the sphere of the planets, the realm of the ideas, from which it came and to which it longs to return. That return constitutes the redemption of the human soul from the material world. Unlike the body, the soul is eternal.

Human soul is divided by Plato into three parts: the rational part, the will and the appetites. Man's duty is to control the appetites by the rational part of the soul. Then he is rational and just. For each of these of parts, man has to cultivate the corresponding virtue: wisdom for the rational part, courage for the will, and self-control for the appetites.

Particularly interesting, especially from a Christian point of view, is Plato's theory of knowledge. Knowledge for Plato is attainable. Its attainment, however, does not result from experience but from recollection of what the soul already knew in its pre-existence before it entered the body. This knowledge was forgotten because the soul, before leaving the true world of ideas drank the water of *Lethe* and so it comes into the world oblivious of its origin.¹¹⁹ So all recollection is difficult and it requires an ascetic abandonment of the sensual world and an entrance into the real world of truth which is the world of ideas. This reality is represented in the 'Myth of the Cave'.¹²⁰ The myth has the following symbolism: the cave is the sensual world where people are chained by

¹¹⁹ *Respublica* 621c. See, W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greek Philosophers* (London: 1993), p. 97.

¹²⁰ *Resp.* 514-518.

their passions and appetites. The shadows are what we mistakenly take as truth not being able to discern what is really true. The climbing of the hill is the exercise of the virtues necessary to bring people to the truth which is symbolised by the sun.

Plato's deeply mystical view of the world and man, and in particular, the description of God as a 'craftsman' who created the world (an idea which matched the biblical teaching of God as creator¹²¹), the transcendence of God, the depreciation of the material world compared to the spiritual, the distinction of body and soul and the immortality of the soul, were particularly appealing to Christian thinkers. The great Alexandrian thinkers Clement of Alexandria (150-215 AD) and Origen (c.185-254 AD) were the first to look positively upon Plato's ideas and introduce them into their theological system.¹²² The Apologists (Aristeides, Athenagoras, Justin) before them were also positive towards Plato and ancient philosophy but not on the scale of Clement and Origen. After them, a whole sequence of theologians followed the lines of the Alexandrian School — most influential of them being the Cappadocians — and used Platonic ideas in order to express their faith.¹²³ This supports the hypothesis that during the patristic era there was a kind of florilegium of Platonic ideas helping to shape theology.¹²⁴

Aristotle¹²⁵

Some basic Aristotelian ideas are thought to have played an important part in the development of the formulation of the christological dogma. The most obvious seems to have been the Aristotelian teaching about physis, 'primary' and 'secondary substance' and the union of things which we examine below. Here it is necessary to mention Aristotle's general distinctions between form and matter, substance and 'accidents'. Aristotle, in contrast to Plato, taught that the substance of everything that exists is in the being itself and not in another ideal, immaterial world. Every individual being possesses substance. However, we normally do not see this substance because things are in constant motion; what we see is its 'accidents' which are properties of the being but which are external and do not belong to its substance.

¹²¹ Guthrie, *The Greek Philosophers*, p. 180.

¹²² See, H. Chadwick, *Early Christian Thought and Classical Tradition* (Oxford: 1966).

¹²³ Sellers, *Christologies*, pp. 2-3; On the influence of Platonic ideas on the Greek fathers see I. P. Sheldon-Williams, 'The Greek Platonist Tradition from the Cappadocians to Maximus and Eriugena', in *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy*, ed. A. H. Armstrong (Cambridge: 1967), pp. 432-456.

¹²⁴ A. Meredith, *The Cappadocians* (London 1995), p. 11.

¹²⁵ See W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy* (Cambridge: 1981), vol. VI.

Aristotle accepts a kind of 'forms' but for him they are not transcendent but immanent. The *εἶδη*, as he calls them, determine the particular mode of existence of beings and do not survive their death. Every being –which as we have said possesses its substance–ultimately consists of form and matter. Form cannot exist independently of the matter. Form is found only in the individual being, the concrete existence. Aristotle applies his theory to man: the body is the matter whereas the soul the form. It follows that a body cannot exist without a soul and vice versa.

The Aristotelian theory of form and matter seems to have had a bearing on both the Antiochene and the Alexandrian Christologies. When we consider that the term 'prosopon' (*πρόσωπον*) corresponds to the Aristotelian 'form' and 'physis' (*φύσις*) to 'matter', then we can explain why Nestorius –as we shall see– had great difficulty to accept an 'impersonal' human nature in Christ. For him 'every physis... must have its own...prosopon'.¹²⁶ Similarly, the strict Cyrillians of the Alexandrian school would refuse to accept the Chalcedonian 'two physes' because for them that implied 'two prosopa'.

Another interesting parallel seems to exist between Aristotle's idea that soul and body can be distinguished only in thought¹²⁷ and the later teaching of Constantinople II that the distinction between the natures in Christ is permissible only 'in thought' or 'contemplation' (*τῇ θεωρίᾳ μόνῃ*). But this we will discuss in detail in Part Two, Chapter II.

Stoicism

Another philosophical School that had a considerable impact on Christianity was Stoicism. Stoicism was the one of the two great philosophical Schools of the Hellenistic era — the other being the Epicureans. However, in the period prior to the emergence of Christianity Stoicism had become the most influential philosophical system in the Roman World.

The Stoic School was established in Athens in c. 330 BC by Zeno who along with his disciples Cleanthes of Assos and Chrysippus represent the first period of Stoic philosophy (300-200BC). The second period, usually termed as Middle Stoa, coincides with the introduction of Stoicism to the Romans and is represented by teachers such as Panaetius of Rhodes and Posidonius of Apamea in Syria. The third period of Stoicism

¹²⁶ F. Loofs, *Nestoriana* (Halle: 1905), pp. 71; 72; 78.

¹²⁷ E. Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity* (Michigan: 1993), p. 269.

or Later Stoa is Roman and includes Cato the Younger, Seneca, Epictetus and the Emperor Marcus Aurelius.

The Stoic view of the world is fundamentally materialistic. For them everything in the universe is matter; some parts of it grosser, some others finer. The grosser matter is the reality that surrounds us and is passive. The finer is a kind of fire ($\pi\upsilon\rho$) which is omnipresent pervading and holding together everything that exists. This fire which is also called breath ($\piνε\upsilon\mu\alpha$), providence ($\pi\rho\acute{o}\nuοια$), Zeus, or –very interestingly from a Christian point of view – ‘logos’ ($\lambda\acute{o}\gammaος$), is for the Stoics the ultimate Divine being. In this sense Stoicism is a pantheistic system.

Stoicism, like Platonism, sees in man two entities: body and soul. The former belongs to the realm of heavy matter, the latter to the realm of the light. As such the soul is a manifestation of the ‘logos’ in human beings. Like the ‘logos’ in the universe, so the soul pervades the whole body. The soul consists in eight parts: the five senses, voice, creative power and the ‘the leading part’ ($\eta\gammaεμονικόν$), which is the mind.

The moral advance of the person lies on the moral state of his soul: this is the main point of the ethical teaching of the Stoics. A moral person should be liberated from the passions and desires generated by the surrounding world and this is achieved through wisdom and restraint. Drawing on Plato the Stoics recognised four virtues: wisdom, courage, justice and self-control.

Another interesting, from a Christian point of view, aspect of the Stoic philosophy is their allegorical interpretation of Greek mythology. The Stoics held that the simple unsophisticated stories about the gods imply deeper truths which may not be obvious to the ordinary people but it is the duty of the true philosopher to discern them. The Stoic allegory was adopted by the Jewish philosopher Philo of Alexandria (c. 30 BC-c. 50 AD) and through him passed to Clement of Alexandria and Origen who established it as the official method of interpretation of the Alexandrian theological school.

However, the Stoic theory that is most relevant to the doctrine of incarnation is that of the union of things. This we intend to examine in the section of the ‘hypostatic union’.

Middle Platonism

What is known as Middle Platonism is in fact the kind of Platonism which we come across in the period between the first century B.C. and the second century A. D. Its philosophers sought a coalescence between Platonism, Stoicism, Aristotelian logic and Pythagoreanism. It is generally accepted as the form of Platonism that the Fathers were

most acquainted with. A characteristic development in the synthesis of Middle Platonism is the identification by Albinus of the Platonic form of 'Good' with the Aristotelian 'Supreme Mind'. Carrying this identification further, Philo, the learned Alexandrian Jew who was greatly influenced by Middle Platonism, teaches that the (Platonic) forms are thoughts in the mind of God.¹²⁸

Neoplatonism

By the sixth century, *Neoplatonism* had become the mainstream philosophical current in the Roman Empire. Neoplatonism is a collective name for a school of various thinkers who based their thought on Platonic metaphysical ideas but, in fact, they incorporated and developed many other philosophical and religious doctrines of the ancient Greek and Hellenistic era. It originated in Alexandria, in the third century. Its founder was Plotinus (c. AD 205-270), a pupil of Ammonius Saccas (fl. 200-250) — the same doctor who initiated Origen into the world of Greek philosophy. His ideas were published by one of his students, Porphyry (c. 232-305), in the form of nine treatises known as the *Enneads*.

In Plotinus' system¹²⁹ the universe is divided into three levels: a) the ultimate one which is occupied by the *One*, the highest authority in the universe, b) the *Nous* (Intelligence), and c) the *Soul*. The One is a perfect, infinite, absolutely transcendent reality which is the source of all values. It can be said that it is what remains when we transcend all duality (the material and the spiritual world).¹³⁰ Man can only desire and worship the One and if there is any proper way of referring to it that has to be the way of negation: all we can say of the ultimate being is what it *is not*. Being absolutely transcendent, the One cannot create the material or the spiritual world for that would necessarily involve it in the universe. The only way the One communicates with the material world is through 'emanations'.

Through such an emanation of the One came the *Nous* which is the highest intellectual principle, the ideal Mind. The *Nous* is the highest knowable reality. It was emanated — not created — from the One so that the One could consider itself.

The third reality in the universe which is also an emanation from the One, is the World Soul. It is the power that moves the whole universe. The World Soul lies between the Mind and the bodily reality.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 309.

¹²⁹ See R. T. Wallis, *Neoplatonism* (London: 1972), pp. 57-90.

¹³⁰ Ferguson, p. 368.

Plotinus' doctrine of man draws on Platonism. Man consists of immortal soul and mortal body. The soul belongs to the realm of the One to where it longs to return. The soul is redeemed and achieves happiness only when she is united to the One—that is her ultimate goal. To achieve that, however, man needs to live a strict ascetic life, purifying himself from the desires and passions caused by this corruptible world. Contemplation of the One is also required. When one eventually achieves the ultimate stage of union with the One then he experiences ecstasy. That stage, however, is very rarely achieved.

The influence of Neoplatonism on culture was immense. It is widely believed that Neoplatonic ideas lie under the teaching of almost all Christian teachers. Christian doctrine appropriated fundamental Neoplatonic ideas while Neoplatonic terms became *termini technici* of the Christian theology.

The greatest examples of Neoplatonic influence over Christianity are Augustine in the West and, in the East, the fifth century unknown author of the writings (*Areopagitica*) that came down to us under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite,¹³¹ Paul's first convert in Athens. This author is particularly interesting as his mystical thought has greatly influenced the doctrine and worship of the Christian Church and especially that of the Eastern Church. The whole structure of Christian beliefs in relation to the spiritual world, the angelic orders as well as the way God communicates with His creatures are largely based on the teaching contained in Pseudo-Dionysius' extraordinary treatises. In his *Divine names*, Pseudo-Dionysius gives an account of what is called affirmative (*καταφατική*) theology (theologising by means of affirmation) whereas in his *Mystical Theology* he develops the so called negative (*ἀποφατική*) theology (theologising by means of negation) which is also found in the platonic tradition. This apophaticism, which was to become the predominant theological method of the Eastern Church, was, however, not introduced by Pseudo-Dionysius; it had already been a central feature of the Eastern theology from as early as the time of Clement of Alexandria (2nd c.). Apophatic was also the theology of the Cappadocians, Gregory the Nazianzen (c. 330-c. 390), Basil the Great (c. 330-c. 379) and Gregory of Nyssa (d. 394).¹³² It is the thought of these theologians, along with the rest of the

¹³¹ *Opera*, PG 3.

¹³² For an analysis of the teaching of Dionysius and of the terms 'affirmative' and 'negative' theology see V. Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, trans. by a group of members of the Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius (London: 1957), pp. 23ff.

Alexandrian tradition, the later St. Maximus Confessor and Johannes Scotus Eriugena, that forms what is called Greek Christian Platonism.¹³³

When speaking of 'Christian Platonism,' however, we should make a crucial remark: the Fathers were attracted by the ideas of Plato as more compatible to their understanding of the Gospel and used mainly Platonic categories and terminology, but what they described thereby was their experience of the living Church tradition. This is clearly shown by the fundamental differences between the Platonic system and the Christian doctrine. For example the two traditions viewed the human soul differently: for Plato the human soul was a divine being of the same quality as the Divine itself. Contained in the body which is created and belongs to the material universe, the soul is imprisoned awaiting its freedom and return to the uncreated divine realm. For the Christians, on the other hand, the soul is created and of the same nature as the body. The goal of the human soul is not to be liberated from the body but in union with it to be illuminated and eventually be united to God by grace.

A brief history of the relevant christological terms

As already indicated, the influence of the Greek philosophical thought on the formulation of Christian doctrine is unquestionable. Key terms used by Platonists, Aristotelians, Stoics and Neoplatonists were borrowed by the Fathers to make the Christian faith more accessible to prevalent culture. Thus, terms heavily charged with philosophical connotations, such as Logos, ousia, physis, hypostasis, prosopon, — to mention only those used in Christology — played a crucial part in the various doctrinal formulae. Yet, one should never understand this as implying any kind of general hellenization of Christianity as has been suggested.¹³⁴ On the contrary, Greek thought and Christian patristic theology are often incompatible especially on issues such as creation and freedom as has been shown particularly by George Florovsky.¹³⁵ Even though terms and concepts very similar to the Christian ones are found in philosophical systems contemporary to the early Christian Fathers, such as the various triadic theologies, to say that Christianity was directly shaped by them is not provable.¹³⁶ As Meyendorff has put it 'such concepts as ousia, hypostasis, or physis acquire an entirely

¹³³ Sheldon-Williams, 'The Greek Platonist Tradition', p. 426.

¹³⁴ Most notably by Adolf Harnack, *History* II, pp. 169-380. Similar view in H. A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers* (Cambridge Massachusetts: 1964), (*passim*).

¹³⁵ G. Florovsky, 'The Idea of Creation in Christian Philosophy,' *Eastern Church Quarterly* 8 (1949), 53-57.

¹³⁶ See Stead, *Philosophy*, pp. 148-155. The author sees —correctly in our view— internal reasons for the development of the doctrine of the Trinity, i. e. the need for the Church to accommodate the Biblical explicit references to the Father, the Son-Wisdom-Logos and the Spirit.

new meaning when used out of the context of either the Platonic or Aristotelian systems of thought, and imply new personalistic (and therefore non-Hellenic) metaphysical presuppositions'.¹³⁷ Given the scope of our study we cannot expand on this immensely important issue. We ought however to give an outline of the history of the most important terms employed by the fifth and sixth century theologians.

Logos

The term 'logos' first appears in Heracletus (end of 6th-beg. of 5th c. BC) where it denotes the logical order that exists in the world. The Logos harmonises the contradictions and conflicts that operate in the universe. Plato thought of it as being the supreme Form which is the soul of the universe whereas Aristotle sees it from an anthropological point of view. In his thought man is a 'rational being' (ζῷον λόγον ἔχον).¹³⁸ The logos is the soul's rational and moral power which guides the irrational part of it and the passions to which it gives harmony. He also uses the same term for the supreme mind. Democritus called it the highest wisdom. In Stoicism, later on, the Logos is viewed as the universal spirit (λόγος τοῦ παντός). The Stoic understanding of the Logos is pantheistic; the logos permeates the world and vivifies it. It is called *Nous*, *Psyche*, *Pneuma*, *Eimarmene*, *Pronoia* and *Theos*. The Logos is a universal power but it is shared by the individual human beings through their spirits which are parts of the universal Logos and are called λόγοι σπερματικοί. In Stoic anthropology the individual σπερματικὸς λόγος is the guide of men towards God. It is called νοῦς, λογισμός or πνεῦμα ἡγεμονικόν. The passions (πάθη) of the soul should be submitted to the logos.

In the ensuing centuries the logos increasingly assumed divine characteristics in the Greek world. Neoplatonism taught that the logos was the supreme power which acts in the world and determines the hypostasis, the form and the motion of all beings.

In the mystical religions it is the sacred logos that reveals the gnosis to their followers. In the Alexandrian mystical religion the logos revealed Hermes the Trismegistos, the bearer of the gnosis. It seems that Hermes was sometimes identified with the logos himself.

The Gnostic systems also used the term. In them the Logos was a divine being which was sent by God to the world to bring it the supreme knowledge and redeem it.

¹³⁷ J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology* (New York: 1979), p. 24.

¹³⁸ *Ethica Nicomachea* 1098a3.

From the Christian point of view, however, the most interesting development in the history of the concept is found in Philo (c. 20 BC- c. AD 50). Being a Platonist, the Alexandrian Jewish philosopher firmly upheld God's absolute transcendence. Yet he could not accept the idea of his contemporary Platonists that God's transcendence and His care for His creation are both safeguarded by the principle that he communicates with the world through intermediary divine beings. That would undermine the Old Testament idea of the uniqueness of God. Thus he taught that God communicates with the world through powers (*δυνάμεις*) which he seems to have understood as God's operations.¹³⁹ The highest of all those powers is the Logos. Through the Logos God has created and governs the world. He is a divine hypostasis, 'a second God'. Having being created according to the image of God and also being His 'first-begotten Son' (*πρωτότοκος*) the Logos can reveal God to the world. Wolfson sees three stages of existence in the Philonian Logos: a) as a thought of God, b) as an incorporeal being created by God prior to the creation of the world, and c) as immanent in the world.¹⁴⁰

It is questionable whether Philo conceived the Logos as a person or an energy of God. Kelly says that when Philo speaks about the Logos in personal terms 'this personification should not be taken too seriously'.¹⁴¹ Philo's system seems to have been an attempt to harmonise the immanent God of the Old Testament with the transcendent 'supreme Being' of the Greek philosophy and in particular the platonic one. The created and impersonal nature of the Philonian Logos leaves very little room for arguing that it had any other than terminological bearing on the Logos of the Fourth Gospel.

The idea of 'Logos' is also prominent in the teaching of Justin Martyr (d. c. 165). He taught that in Christ there was the fullness of the eternal Logos. Yet 'seeds' (*σπέρματα*) of it were already present in the prophets of the Old Testament and Greek philosophers (*λόγος σπερματικός*).

Ousia-hypostasis -prosopon

The term 'ousia' seems to have first been used in a philosophical context by Pythagoras.¹⁴² In Plato the term has various meanings: a) existence as opposed to non

¹³⁹ Kelly, pp. 9-10.

¹⁴⁰ Wolfson, p. 364.

¹⁴¹ *Early Christian Doctrines*, p. 11.

¹⁴² C. Niarchos, *Fundamental Concepts of Philosophy I* (Athens: 1992), p. 217.

existence,¹⁴³ b) the existence of perceptible things,¹⁴⁴ c) the mode of existence of the 'true being' (τὸ ὄντως ὄν) i.e. the Forms.¹⁴⁵

'Ousia' assumes a particularly interesting meaning in Aristotle's *Categoriae* where it denotes the essence or substance of a thing, what a thing is. In particular, Aristotle distinguishes between 'primary essence' (πρώτη οὐσία) and 'secondary essence' (δευτέρα οὐσία). The former denotes the individual being, whereas the latter the species to which the individual belongs (e. g. 'this man' is 'primary essence', whereas 'man' –and even more generally 'animal'– is 'secondary essence').¹⁴⁶ Many historians of doctrine have seen this distinction as facilitating the formulation of the doctrine of the incarnation: the Logos did not assume 'a man' ('primary essence') but 'man' ('secondary essence').

Coming to hypostasis we must note at the outset that in many cases its meaning has been the same as that of ousia. Appearing rarely in classical Greek literature this term originally meant that which lies under or below, the basis or foundation.¹⁴⁷ In later Platonism hypostasis came to mean the actual reality of the intelligible principles. Thus, Albinus uses it regarding the soul.¹⁴⁸ Very significant from the point of view of the christological doctrine is the usage of hypostasis by the Stoic philosophers Chrysippus and Posidonius. In Stoicism –where something really exists when it possesses a material body and where 'reality presupposes matter'¹⁴⁹– hypostasis came to be understood as meaning –apart from foundation or basis– that which really exists and which came out of 'pure matter'.¹⁵⁰ In this sense hypostasis was very close to meaning the individual being.

Finally, hypostasis is used by the Neoplatonists; Porphyry ascribes it to the Plotinian three primary forms of beings: the One, Mind and Soul.

In the ancient Greek world the idea of prosopon does not seem to have had any philosophical usage; it merely meant 'face' and later on the role or the character that one assumes.¹⁵¹ In Latin the corresponding term was 'persona'.

¹⁴³ *Theaetetus.*, 185c, 219b.

¹⁴⁴ *Theaet.*, 186b.

¹⁴⁵ *Resp.*, VI, 509b.

¹⁴⁶ 2a 11-17.

¹⁴⁷ Stead, *Philosophy*, p. 174.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

¹⁴⁹ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 175-77.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 196; Prestige, *God*, p. 157.

The particular theological and philosophical significance of the term ‘prosopon’ was developed by the Christian Fathers who gradually gave it the meaning of the individual human being. By the 5th c. the term ‘prosopon’ had already acquired two meanings: a) outward appearance and b) person (in the modern sense of word).¹⁵² Undoubtedly the most significant development of this process was the identification by the Cappadocian Fathers of prosopon with hypostasis –in the sense of the individual being as opposed to the species– which helped overcome a serious theological confusion as we are about to see.

The schools of Alexandria and Antioch identified the meaning of the terms ‘prosopon’ and ‘hypostasis’ (as well as that of physis) in the pre-Nicene era and well after that. Cyril of Alexandria speaks of ‘one person and [one] nature, that is of one hypostasis’ (ένός προσώπου καί φύσεως, ἡγουν ὑποστάσεως μιᾶς). In this phrase apparently prosopon, physis and hypostasis all mean individual existence. That could be the cause of serious confusion in Triadology, given that hypostasis was most of the times synonymous to ousia. Thus, at least in the Alexandrian milieu, three prosopa would mean three ousiae which is obviously tritheism.

Furthermore the early Greek theologians — Origen in particular¹⁵³ — preferred the term ‘hypostasis’ for the three divine Persons, whereas the Latin the term ‘persona’. The latter, however, could mean mask (*prosopion*) and not real individual existence, which obviously was a denial of the Trinity — exactly as it was understood by Sabellius.¹⁵⁴

Things started getting clearer after Nicea, when there emerged the need for a distinct pair of terms to denote the oneness of the Trinity and the distinct divine Persons. Hypostasis was a good term for the latter and had already been used in this fashion at least since Origen as we have noticed. For the common essence (τὸ κοινόν) ousia was an obvious solution. Thus, ‘one ousia and three hypostases’ became the standard Eastern formula mainly through the contribution of the Cappadocian Fathers. However the previous identical meaning of the terms —even Athanasius had used ousia in the sense of hypostasis or ‘mere being’¹⁵⁵ and so did the Nicene Creed¹⁵⁶ — was bound to cause

¹⁵² Stead, *Philosophy*, p. 197.

¹⁵³ *Contra Celsum* 8. 12, PG 11, 1533C; *Commentarii in evangelium Joannis* 2. 10. 75.

¹⁵⁴ A third century heretic who taught that the three persons of the Holy Trinity are but mere modes in which the one God appears to the world (modalism).

¹⁵⁵ *Ἡ δὲ ὑπόστασις οὐσία ἐστί, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σημαίνονμενον ἔχει ἢ αὐτὸ τὸ ὄν. Epistula ad Afros episcopos* 4, PG 26, 1036B; Pelikan, p. 219.

¹⁵⁶ Bindley, p. 26.

misunderstandings. In the West the Latin theologians did not translate 'ousia' with 'essentia' — it had ceased to be in use¹⁵⁷ — which was an accurate translation of the Greek term, but opted for 'substantia' which is the Latin equivalent for hypostasis. Jerome, in particular, suggested the formula 'one hypostasis (in the sense of ousia) and three persons'.¹⁵⁸

In christology the term 'person' had been applied to the one subject of Christ at least since Tertullian who used the formula 'two natures—one person (*una persona*)'.¹⁵⁹ However, despite the general agreement that hypostasis and prosopon should be understood as synonymous in triadology, it is doubtful whether all sides realised the consequences of this development in Christology. In particular, the radical side of the Antiochene school, as represented by Nestorius in the fifth century, did not quite give prosopon the concrete meaning of hypostasis. In other words, in Nestorius' system 'prosopon' does not necessarily mean 'person'. Kelly is right in saying that when Nestorius speaks of the 'prosopon of the union' namely Christ's prosopon, he does not mean personality, but 'outward aspect of form'.¹⁶⁰ It is to avoid this ambiguity that Cyril of Alexandria, as we shall see when examining his teaching, preferred the term 'hypostasis' instead of 'prosopon' and stressed the hypostatic union (the union of the two natures in the one hypostasis of the God-Logos) against the unsafe 'one prosopon'.

Stead sees in this Nestorian usage of prosopon Platonic metaphysics. In Plato when a being from the true world of the Forms decides to be 'represented' in the material world by a temporal being, it either assumes this temporal being itself or its 'individual characteristics'. Both ideas are present in Nestorius, says Stead. The former is traced in Nestorius' assertion that in Christ there is 'one prosopon and one Son'. The latter is traced when Nestorius says that Christ's assuming the 'prosopon of a beggar' does not mean that the Saviour assumed the 'beggar' himself but only his 'individual characteristics'.¹⁶¹

As we shall see in Part Two, Chapter II it was the Fifth Ecumenical Council that gave ecumenical authority to the identical meaning of the terms 'prosopon' and 'hypostasis' thus removing the long-standing ambiguity.

¹⁵⁷ Stead, *Philosophy*, p. 160.

¹⁵⁸ *Ep. ad Damasum*, PL 22, 357.

¹⁵⁹ *Adversus Praxeam*, 27, PL 2, 213-216.

¹⁶⁰ Kelly, p. 315.

¹⁶¹ Stead, *Philosophy*, pp. 198-99.

Physis

The term 'physis' is central to the teaching of the Alexandrian theologians. It was discussed by Aristotle where it denotes the universe but also the 'nature of a thing' (in the modern sense of the word 'nature').¹⁶² It can also mean the 'species,' (i.e. the nature of things) or the individual being ('primary ousia'). In Stoicism the term is associated with nature and means the growth of plants.¹⁶³ In the Alexandrian theological milieu physis sometimes meant the individual being but mostly was identified with ousia (essence or nature of the Godhead).

According to Harnack, Origen was the first to use the term 'physis' with regard to the divine and human elements in Christ.¹⁶⁴ Tertullian also distinguishes between two substantiae or naturae in the Lord. In both cases physis is clearly identified with ousia which makes it strange that Apollinaris spoke of one nature in Christ.¹⁶⁵ As Stead explains,¹⁶⁶ the idea of two natures was for Apollinaris associated with Paul of Samosata.¹⁶⁷ Whatever Apollinaris' understanding of the union in Christ,¹⁶⁸ his formula 'one nature of the God-Logos incarnate' — mistakenly attributed to Athanasius — was to cause confusion and ultimately the Monophysite schism.

Union: natural, unconfused, hypostatic

The biblical doctrine of Christ's dual origin, divine and human, called for a convincing answer as to how it could be possible for two utterly different elements to unite into one indivisible subject. The Fathers are unanimous that this union of the two natures in Christ was not only real but also 'unconfused' (*ένωσις άσύγχυτος*).¹⁶⁹ For the Alexandrians, especially Cyril, as well as for the Cappadocians, that was not enough; a real union had also to be 'natural' (*φυσική*) and 'hypostatic' (*ύποστατική*). Following them Chalcedon proclaimed this teaching in its Creed.¹⁷⁰ Constantinople II expanded further the doctrine of the union by proclaiming a 'union according to composition' (*ένωσις σύνθετος*).¹⁷¹

¹⁶² *Metaphysica* 1014b, 16ff.

¹⁶³ Stead, *Philosophy*, pp. 46-7.

¹⁶⁴ Harnack, *History of Dogma* IV, p. 147, n. 2 (The reference is from Wolfson, p. 370).

¹⁶⁵ *Epistula ad Dionysium* 2, Lietzmann, p. 262; *Epistula ad Jovianum*, Lietzmann, pp. 250-151.

¹⁶⁶ *Philosophy*, p. 200.

¹⁶⁷ Paul was the founder of the School of Antioch. He taught the heresy of Adoptionism according to which Christ was a man adopted by God at his Baptism.

¹⁶⁸ It seems that the confusion had to do with the identification of physis and prosopon in Apollinaris' teaching. See the passage quoted by Stead, *Philosophy*, p. 200.

¹⁶⁹ E.g. Athanasius, *De incarnatione contra Apollinarium* I, 10, PG 26, 1109.

¹⁷⁰ See Part One, Chapter IV.

¹⁷¹ See Part Two, Chapter III.

Both the language and the concepts used by the Fathers in this context bear close resemblance to analogous teachings in the Aristotelian and Stoic philosophical systems. It is only natural that the Fathers used the language available to them to describe the faith of the Church as convincingly as they could.

Wolfson observes¹⁷² that the idea of the union of two natures in one being is found in Aristotle who calls the body and soul in man *physeis* or *ousiae* (natures or essences).¹⁷³ Although they are two distinct elements they constitute one man¹⁷⁴ who, as we have seen, in the Aristotelian system is 'primary ousia,' that is, one single individual, one person.¹⁷⁵

In his *De Anima* Aristotle tries to answer the question how body and soul can be united into one being. His answer is based on the theory of 'form' and 'matter': soul is the 'form' and body is the 'matter'. According to this theory, it is natural for these two categories to unite into one thing.¹⁷⁶

This could be an obvious authority to appeal to if the Fathers wanted to give a metaphysical account of the union in Christ. Yet, the christological doctrine posed a serious difficulty: the Fathers had to explain how, of the two elements (divine and human) conjoined in Christ, only one (the divine) retained its personality and, in fact, constituted the single subject of the union, whereas the other (human), although complete in its nature, is never a 'person'. A metaphysical solution to this can be found in Aristotle's account of the kinds of union.¹⁷⁷ For him two elements can be united according to: a) 'composition' (*σύνθεσις*) or 'juxtaposition' (*παράθεσις*); the elements remain unchanged and unmingled after the union like when mixing grains or beans, or b) 'mixture' (*μίξις* for solids-*κράσις* for liquids); the elements mingle without their nature turning into the nature of the one or the other. Nor is the resultant the sum of the two elements but rather a *tertium quid* which without being identified with either of the elements represents what is common between the two.¹⁷⁸ Although the union is real, if it dissolves the two elements return to their former state.¹⁷⁹ However, if the one of the elements is stronger or larger than the other the result is not a *tertium quid* but the stronger or larger element itself. As an example, Aristotle refers to the kind of

¹⁷² *The Philosophy*, p. 369.

¹⁷³ *Metaph.* V, 4, 1015a, 7-13.

¹⁷⁴ *De Anima* II, 1, 412b, 6-9.

¹⁷⁵ Wolfson, p. 370.

¹⁷⁶ *De Anima* II, 1, 412a, 16-21; Wolfson, p. 373.

¹⁷⁷ See Wolfson, pp. 374ff.

¹⁷⁸ *De Generatione et Corruptione* I, 10, 328a, 29-31.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 10, 327b, 28-29.

mixture that results when a little water is mingled with a large quantity of wine. The volume of both increases but the end result is still wine.¹⁸⁰ Wolfson calls this last kind of mixture ‘union of predominance’.¹⁸¹

The Stoics developed a similar teaching about the kinds of union. They also spoke about ‘juxtaposition’ and ‘mixture’ in almost the same terms as Aristotle.¹⁸² A notable difference as regards the category of ‘mixture’ is that the Stoics would not agree with Aristotle’s idea that it results in *a tertium quid*; even if a drop of wine is mixed with a large quantity of water, they maintained, it still retains its properties and permeates the whole amount of water.¹⁸³ Also the Stoics added a third kind of union which they called ‘confusion’ (σύγχυσις). In this union the elements interpenetrate each other to such an extent that they cannot return to their former state if the union resolves.

It is very tempting to assume that the Fathers adopted one or the other of the above theories, depending on how they viewed the union (Antiochene ‘dyophysite’ or Alexandrian ‘monophysite’). However, none of these theories seem to match exactly the way the Fathers described the incarnation. For instance one can argue that the union ‘according to juxtaposition’ or perhaps the Stoic ‘mixture’ was the model for Antiochene ‘dyophysitism’. But even the most radical Antiochenes would not accept the charge that their kind of union does not result in one agent. Similarly one can jump to the conclusion that the ‘hypostatic union’ of Cyril of Alexandria –which proclaims that the end result of the incarnation is the Person or Hypostasis of the Logos incarnate– draws directly on the theory of ‘predominance’.¹⁸⁴ But it is clear from the teaching of Cyril that although the only subject in Christ is the Logos the human element remains undiminished.¹⁸⁵ The same goes for the use of the term ‘union according to *synthesis*’ by Constantinople II as we shall see in detail in Part Two, Chapter II.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., I, 5, 321a, 33-321b, 2.

¹⁸¹ *The Philosophy*, p. 378.

¹⁸² See Stead, *Philosophy*, pp. 48, 208-10; Wolfson, pp. 379-382.

¹⁸³ Stead, *Philosophy*, p. 209.

¹⁸⁴ So Wolfson, p. 409.

¹⁸⁵ See Part One, Chapter II.

CHAPTER II

THE THEOLOGICAL DEBATE: CHRISTOLOGY FROM THE NESTORIAN CONTROVERSY TO EPHESUS II (449)

In 544 the Roman Emperor Justinian I issued an edict asking the Church to condemn a) the person and the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, b) the writings of Theodoret of Cyrus against Cyril of Alexandria and the Council of Ephesus and c) the letter of Ibas of Edessa to Maris the Persian. These three theologians were accused by Justinian of holding the heresy of Nestorius and thereby distorting doctrine as was proclaimed at the ecumenical councils of Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451). This imperial decision is regarded as the starting point of the so called 'Three Chapters Controversy'¹⁸⁶ which led to the Fifth Ecumenical Council (553) and disturbed the Church for almost 150 years.

However, the origins of the issue lie in the controversies surrounding the Councils Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451) and the associated doctrinal developments. In other words, the Three Chapters issue emerged out of the Church's struggle with the two christological heresies of the fifth and sixth centuries, namely Nestorianism and Monophysitism.

2.1 THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA AND NESTORIUS

Nestorianism evolved from the christological language used by the Antiochene theologians Diodore of Tarsus and, mainly, Theodore of Mopsuestia. Confronting the heresy of Apollinarius, who refused the completeness of Christ's human nature, they stressed the reality of his humanity to the point of appearing to accept its complete independence from the Godhead.

Theodore of Mopsuestia¹⁸⁷ (350-428), the first of the Three Chapters, distinguished himself in the interpretation of the Bible so as to become known as the 'Interpreter'.¹⁸⁸ He studied rhetoric and literature at Antioch under the famous sophist Libanius, but the teacher who influenced him most deeply was Diodore of Tarsus. In Diodore's monastery Theodore imbibed the Antiochene theology of which his master

¹⁸⁶ The term 'chapters' (κεφάλαια) was used to denote propositions for condemnation (anathematisms). This is how Cyril's Twelve Anathemas were called. Justinian himself in his *CF* (see Part Two, Chapter II) included 14 such anathemas which he also called 'chapters'. But this original meaning of the term does not apply in the literature of the controversy. In the sentence of the Council, Justinian's letter to the Council and in Pope Vigilius' letter to Eutychius of Constantinople and elsewhere, the term referred to the persons and their controversial writings. See Hefele, IV, pp. 231-232; Kalamaras, p. 31. Thus, whenever in the controversy we find the expression *Three Chapters* we should understand it as referring to: a) the person and the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, b) the writings of Theodoret of Cyrus against Cyril and the Council of Ephesus, and c) Ibas' letter to Maris.

¹⁸⁷ On Theodore's life and writings see J. Quasten, *Patrology*, (Utrecht, 1963) III, pp. 401-423.

¹⁸⁸ See R. Bultmann, *Die Exegese des Theodor von Mopsuestia* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1984).

was a great representative. In 383 he was ordained priest and in 392 elevated to the see of Mopsuestia in Cilicia where he remained until his death (428). Reserving a fuller analysis of his christology to the fourth chapter of this work, we can just note at this point that Theodore's teaching was based on Diodore's ideas although it is more advanced and systematic. Theodore's terminology gives one the impression that the union of the two natures is so loose as to imply the existence of two persons in Christ (that of the God-Logos and that of the man-Christ). This was obviously in contrast to the tradition of belief in one Christ who was the selfsame Son of God and Son of man and provoked the orthodox reaction against Theodore. This reaction did not occur in his life time. As the author of *De Sectis*¹⁸⁹ informs us, Theodore as well as his teacher Diodore were held in great esteem in their life time and died in peace in the Church.¹⁹⁰ In fact Basil of Caesarea, John Chrysostom and even Cyril of Alexandria praised them. Not that the seeds of the Nestorian heresy were not in their teaching but, as Leontius Scholasticus characteristically observes, 'the reason why nobody spoke against them in their life time was that the need to fight against the gravest heresies of the time covered their [erroneous] doctrines.'¹⁹¹ Yet reaction was bound to come when Nestorius, a pupil of Theodore preached the teaching of his master and made his thinking more known. It was then that Cyril had to write against Diodore and Theodore because Nestorius was claiming that he borrowed his ideas from them.¹⁹²

Nestorius (d. c. 451) was an ascetic monk and a gifted preacher of the Church of Antioch. His reputation caused Theodosius II (408-450) to call him to fill the see of the capital which was left vacant after the death of Patriarch Sisinnius I (426-427). Nestorius owed his theological education to Theodore of Mopsuestia from whom he borrowed his christological ideas.¹⁹³ However, his teaching was more modest than that of his master as we can see in his autobiography which has survived in Syriac under the title: 'Book of Heraclides'.¹⁹⁴ Like Theodore, Nestorius stressed the completeness and the independence of the two natures in Christ to the point of appearing to accept two persons: one divine and one human. As to the mode of union, Nestorius employed

¹⁸⁹ This work is preserved under the name of Leontius Scholasticus, a Chalcedonian, whose identification has not yet been made with certainty. See T. Hainthaler, 'The Chalcedonian writing *De Sectis*' in Grillmeier, *Christ*, II, 2, pp. 493-502.

¹⁹⁰ *De Sectis*, PG 86, 1221A.

¹⁹¹ Loc. cit.

¹⁹² Loc. cit.

¹⁹³ Evagrius, *HE*, I, 2.

¹⁹⁴ French tr. by F. Nau, *Le Livre d' Heraclide de Damas*, (Paris, 1910). English trans. by G. R. Driver and L. Hodgson, eds, *The Bazaar of Heraclides* (Oxford, 1925).

Theodore's concept, that the union was not natural (*φυσική* or *καθ' ὑπόστασιν*) but 'according to good will' (*κατ' εὐδοκίαν*).¹⁹⁵ In typical Antiochene language Nestorius taught that the God-Logos dwelt in the man-Christ according to his will and because of the virtue of the latter, and did not 'become man'. To be sure, Nestorius spoke of one person in Christ but this person is rather theoretical than real. Nestorius' 'person of the union' (*πρόσωπον τῆς ἐνώσεως*) is the theoretical sum of the two actual persons.¹⁹⁶ Denying the real or natural union of the natures, Nestorius inevitably rejected the 'communication of the idioms' (*communicatio idiomatum*) in Christ, i.e. the orthodox belief that the properties of the one nature, because of the real union, can be predicated of the other. This clear separation between the natures and the fact that the Antiochene christology could not find a satisfactory explanation of how the Logos could be born from a woman led Nestorius to refuse to accept that the Virgin Mary was Theotokos.¹⁹⁷ Thus, he preferred the title Christotokos which meant that Mary gave birth to the man Christ in whom the God-Logos dwelt as in a 'temple'.¹⁹⁸ These ideas provoked a general reaction.¹⁹⁹

2.2 CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA

The predominant personality in that reaction against the Nestorian heresy was Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444), undoubtedly the pre-eminent theologian of the Alexandrian tradition after Athanasius. Cyril's teaching not only sums up the ideas of his predecessors — especially that of Athanasius and the Cappadocians — but also contributes positively to clarifying the Christological doctrine of the Church. He developed his teaching during his sharp conflict with Nestorius, the outcome of which was the condemnation of the latter and the repudiation of the radical Antiochene doctrines at the 'Cyrillian' Councils of Ephesus I and Constantinople II.

As was the case with all the Alexandrian theologians, the undercurrent of Cyril's christology was the idea that Christ was a single being, one Person, that of the Logos:

¹⁹⁵ Loofs, *Nestoriana*, p. 220.

¹⁹⁶ *Bazaar* (ed. Driver), 2. 1, 348, p. 252.

¹⁹⁷ In fact, this idea was first preached at Constantinople by one of Nestorius' clerics, the *syncellus* Anastasius, whom he had brought from Antioch. Anastasius said in one of his sermons: 'No one should call Mary Theotokos; for Mary was a human being; and of a human being God cannot be born.' Evagrius, *HE*, I, 2; Socrates Scholasticus, *HE*, VII, 32. Nestorius publicly approved of this idea in his sermons.

¹⁹⁸ Loofs, p. 252.

¹⁹⁹ The traditional view of Nestorius as a heretic has been challenged by authors like J. F. Bethune-Baker, *Nestorius and his Teaching* (Cambridge, 1908); V. M. Anastos, 'Nestorius was Orthodox,' *DOP* 16 (1962), 117-140 et. al.

There is one Son, one Lord Jesus Christ, both before the incarnation and after it. For the Logos who came from God the Father is not one Son and the one who came from the holy Virgin another; rather the selfsame eternal [Son] is also born of a woman according to the flesh.²⁰⁰

This oneness of the Person of Christ was the result of a real union of divinity and humanity. The Johannine expression 'the Logos became flesh'²⁰¹ is the *locus classicus* of Cyril's system. The second person of the Trinity, he teaches, being always true God, at a particular time, underwent 'self emptying' (κένωσις), became incarnate by taking the 'form of a servant' and accommodated himself to earthly conditions. He did and said what is proper to a man without however alienating Himself from what is proper to a true God. That is, he continued to be what he was, i.e. the God-Logos, but now he is with body (ἐνσώματος).²⁰² The 'form of a servant' assumed by the Logos is the complete human nature consisting of human body and — contrary to what Apollinarius taught — rational soul.²⁰³

Cyril firmly denies that the realistic way he describes the union implies any idea of mutation or suffering in the divine nature as his critics complained: 'I have never held Arius' and Apollinarius' ideas; I neither say that the God-Logos changed into flesh nor that the flesh became Godhead, for the Logos of God is immutable and unchangeable.'²⁰⁴ The Logos' 'becoming flesh,' Cyril explains, does not mean that the divine nature was transformed into flesh but that the Logos really became man by uniting to Himself flesh animated with rational soul, while remaining God. In his *Second Letter to Nestorius*, Cyril explains his thought:

We do not say that the nature of the Logos became flesh by being changed, nor that it was changed into a whole man, consisting of soul and body; but rather this [we say], that the Logos became man by uniting to Himself according to hypostasis ineffably and incomprehensibly flesh ensouled with rational soul.²⁰⁵

The union of the two natures in Christ is called by Cyril 'natural' (φυσικῇ)²⁰⁶ and, most importantly, 'according to hypostasis' (ἐνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν).²⁰⁷ Defending

²⁰⁰ *Ad Succensum I*, ACO I, 1, 6, p. 152, 18-21.

²⁰¹ John 1.14.

²⁰² *Explanation*, ACO I, 1, 5, p. 18, 5-6.

²⁰³ σάρκα ἐψυχωμένην ψυχῇ λογικῇ ἐνώσας ὁ λόγος ἑαυτῷ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἀφράστως τε καὶ ἀπερινοήτως γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος. *Ad Nestorium II*, ACO I, 1, 1, p. 26.

²⁰⁴ *Ad Acacium Ber.*, ACO, I, 1, 7, p. 149, 20-27.

²⁰⁵ Loc. cit.

²⁰⁶ ACO I, 1, 1, p. 36. 40; I, 1, 5, p. 19.

²⁰⁷ ACO I, 1, 1, p. 26. 28. It has been contested that the *unio secundum hypostasim* is of Apollinarian origin. E.g. P. Galtier, 'L' unio secundum hypostasim chez Saint Cyrille', *Gregorianum* 33 (1952), 351-398). For its origin Athanasius' *De Incarnatione contra Apollinarem* (PG 26, 1113B) has been suggested. Grillmeier considers it of uncertain date and origin. *Christ I*, pp. 482-483, note 35. In any case it was Cyril who brought the expression into prominence as regards the christological doctrine, hence

this idea of ‘hypostatic union’ against the accusation that it introduces mixture and confusion, Cyril explains that it simply means that the hypostasis of the Logos was truly united to the human nature without mutation or confusion forming thus the one Christ.²⁰⁸ At this point, then, this crucial term signifies simply the fact that it was the single hypostasis of the Logos that was united to the human nature. As we shall see later this idea will be further clarified by Leontius of Jerusalem who will attempt to explain how the natures were accommodated ‘in’ the one hypostasis of the Logos.²⁰⁹

Cyril’s ‘natural’ or ‘hypostatic union’ was his answer to the radical Antiochenes who spoke of a union between the natures which was rather moral or ‘relative/relational’ (σχετική) and did not presuppose an appropriation of the flesh by the Logos. This kind of union or ‘conjunction’ (συνάφεια) — as Theodore of Mopsuestia calls it — brings together the divine and the human nature not in the way man’s body and soul are united and form one human being but rather in the way two mutually loving persons are associated. But this, Cyril says, is contrary to what the Bible teaches; ‘The Holy Scripture’, he writes, ‘did not record that the Logos united to Himself a human person but that he became flesh.’²¹⁰ Becoming flesh means union in the closest possible way and not ‘conjunction’. For the Alexandrian Patriarch there is no other sound description of the incarnation than to say that the Logos assumed and united to Himself the humanity naturally and ‘made our flesh his own flesh’ (ἰδίον τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἡμῶν ἐποίησατο).²¹¹ Nor is it right to maintain that the Logos ‘dwelt’ in an ordinary man who was born of the Virgin; the Logos, Cyril contends, was Himself born of Mary since he was united with the flesh in the Virgin’s womb and thereby appropriated the birth of his own flesh.²¹² Apparently Cyril teaches the basic Alexandrian doctrine of the ‘two births’ (δύο γεννήσεις) of the Logos: one eternal, of the Father according to his divinity, and one in time, of Mary according to his flesh.²¹³ That, obviously, means that the Virgin did not give birth to the eternal Logos but only to his manhood. Yet, because that manhood became Logos’ own from the very beginning, we are allowed, according to Cyril, to speak of Logos’ second birth.²¹⁴ This is why the Virgin is rightly called

Theodoret’s view that Cyril’s *unio secundum hypostasim* was a novelty (τὴν δὲ καθ’ ὑπόστασιν ἔνωσιν παντάπασιν ἀγνοοῦμεν). ACO I, 1, 6, p. 114.

²⁰⁸ *Apologia contra Theodoretum*, ACO I, 1, 6, p. 115.

²⁰⁹ See Part Two, Chapter I.

²¹⁰ *Ad Nestorium II*, ACO I, 1, 1, p. 28.

²¹¹ Loc. cit.

²¹² Ibid., p. 27.

²¹³ E.g. *Ad Monachos*, ACO I, 1, 1, 15.

²¹⁴ *Ad Nestorium II*, ACO I, 1, 1, p. 27.

Theotokos (the one who gives birth to God) — a title to which Cyril gave so much emphasis — and not 'Theodochos' (the one who conveys God) nor 'Christotokos' (the one who gives birth to Christ) nor 'Anthropotokos' (the one who gives birth to a man) as the Antiochenes suggested.

One consequence of the *hypostatic union* is the so called Cyrillian 'Theopaschism'. The appropriation (*οἰκείωσις*) of humanity by the Logos, teaches Cyril, is what allows us to say that God 'suffers'. Thus in his Twelfth Anathema against Nestorius he proclaims:

If anyone does not confess that the Word of God suffered in the flesh, and was crucified in the flesh, and tasted death in the flesh, and became the first-born from the dead,²¹⁵ even as he is both Life and Life-giving, as God, let him be anathema.²¹⁶

Although this idea is found in the Scriptures²¹⁷ it caused a strong reaction from the Antiochenes and Cyril had to strive to defend it. He replied that it is not the unquestionably impassible God who suffers but his passible body. Yet, again, because this body is his own we can say that the Logos hungers, thirsts, wearies or dies.²¹⁸ It is important, however, that we say that the Logos suffers because if it had not been Him who through his fleshly sufferings saved mankind from death and corruption, then a mere man must have done it for our sake. But this is beyond man's power.²¹⁹ Very characteristically Cyril says that the Logos 'suffered impassibly'.²²⁰

Sometimes Cyril uses a formula which was to provoke a long debate. The ambiguous phrase 'one nature (physis) of the God-Logos incarnate' (*μία φύσις τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένη* or *σεσαρκωμένου*)²²¹ is certainly not Athanasian, as Cyril thought, but Apollinarian. It is found in Apollinarius' *Ad Jovianum*²²², a work mistakenly attributed to Athanasius. In Apollinarius' system the *μία φύσις* formula was justified by his belief that in Christ there was only one active and life-giving principle, that of the Logos. The human element was never a nature because it was

²¹⁵ Col. 1. 18.

²¹⁶ See Appendix.

²¹⁷ Cf. I Peter 4.1.

²¹⁸ Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ γεγονὸς αὐτοῦ ἰδιον σῶμα πέπονθε ταῦτα, πάλιν αὐτὸς λέγεται παθεῖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. Ἦν γὰρ ὁ ἀπαθὴς ἐν τῷ πάσχοντι σώματι. *Ad Nestorium II*, ACO I, 1, 1, p. 27. Cf. C. Dratsellas, 'Questions on Christology of St. Cyril of Alexandria', *Abba Salama* 6 (1974) (reprint), p. 19.

²¹⁹ *Quod unus sit Christus*, in Cyrille d' Alexandrie, *Deux Dialogues Christologiques*, ed. by G. M. Durand, SC 97 (Paris: 1964), 775, 32-39, p. 504. Cf. Sellers, *Christologies*, p. 89.

²²⁰ ἔνωθεις δὲ μᾶλλον τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνθρωπότητι, πάθοι ἅν ἀπαθῶς σαρκὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα. *De recta fide*, ACO I, 1, 5, p. 50, 8-9. Cf. Sellers, *Christologies*, p. 88.

²²¹ *Ad Acacium Mel.*, ACO I, 1, 4, p. 26; *Ad Eulogium*, ACO I, 1, 4, p. 35, *et. al.*

²²² Lietzmann, p. 251.

defective, consisting only of flesh, the place of a soul being taken by the Logos. Yet Cyril was clearly not an Apollinarian as we have pointed out. His reverence for Athanasius made him adopt the *μία φύσις* and then try to make up for its apparent disadvantages. However, Cyril understands and qualifies it in an orthodox way. In his thought 'one physis' means one Christ, one 'Son,' not one ousia. He clearly accepts that in Christ there is perfect divinity and perfect humanity. But rather than being individuated, they are united in one being, one subject, which is not a *tertium quid* but the eternal Logos Himself made man. Christ is 'out of two natures' which 'came together forming an inseparable union without being confused or changed,' yet after the incarnation there is only 'one Son and as the Fathers have said, one nature of the Logos incarnate'.²²³ In his *Second Letter to Succensus*,²²⁴ where he answers crucial questions regarding the meaning of the 'one physis' formula, Cyril maintains that the 'one nature' formula by no means abolishes Christ's humanity. By adding the predicate 'incarnate' (*σσεσάρκωμένη*), claims Cyril, he clearly indicates the existence of perfect humanity in Christ.²²⁵ Further, since he makes clear that by *σάρξ* he means *ἄνθρωπος*,²²⁶ (not a person but body with a rational soul) the human element in Christ is complete and therefore is a 'nature'.²²⁷ As Grillmeier observes, not only does Cyril acknowledge a rational soul in Christ (as we mentioned above) but also attributes a theological significance to it: Christ's soul along with his body 'bore' his saving suffering.²²⁸

Cyril often in his writings acknowledges the 'difference of the natures'. For example in his *First Letter to Succensus* he says:

When we consider the manner of the incarnation, we see that two natures have been united without confusion (*ἀσυγχύτως*) or change (*ἀτρέπτως*); for the flesh is flesh and not Godhead though it has become the flesh of God; and the Logos is God and not flesh, though, in virtue of the economy, he has made the flesh his own.²²⁹

Even more clearly, in his *Second Letter to Nestorius*:

While the natures which are brought together into the real unity are different, yet out of both is the one Christ and Son — not as though the difference of the

²²³ *Ad Succensum I*, ACO I, 1, 6, p. 153.

²²⁴ ACO I, 1, 6, pp. 157-162.

²²⁵ *Ad Succensum II*, ACO I, 1, 6, pp. 160-161.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 158, 25.

²²⁷ Grillmeier, *Christ I*, pp. 473-8.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 475.

²²⁹ ACO I, 1, 6, p. 153; cf. *De incarnatione*, PG 75, 1471CD.

natures was abolished by the union — but rather they formed, for our sake, the one Lord and Christ and Son.²³⁰

In his *Apologia adversus Theodoretum* he goes even further. Here he says that the incarnation is real because the two natures are not mere ‘anhypostatic (i.e. unreal) similarities’ but ‘real existences’ (πράγματα) or hypostases.²³¹

As well as recognising the ‘difference of the natures’ in Christ, Cyril is very much concerned with preserving the oneness of the Saviour’s Person:

We should not define the one Lord Jesus Christ as if he is separately God and separately man, but we say that he is one and the same, Jesus Christ, though we recognise the difference of the natures (τὴν τῶν φύσεων εἰδότες διαφοράν) and preserve them without the one being confused with the other.²³²

Similarly, in his *Letter to John of Antioch*, Cyril writes: ‘There is one Lord Jesus Christ although the difference of the natures is not ignored, out of which we say that the ineffable union has been effected.’²³³ Although he distinguishes what is proper to each of the natures (growth, hunger, weariness etc. for the humanity and everything which was the Logos’ own before the incarnation for the Divinity) he still refers all of them to the one person by whom all the actions of the Saviour recorded in the Bible are done.²³⁴ The ‘hypostatic union’ allows us to understand the doctrine of the ‘communication of the idioms’ namely the fact that the God-Logos starves, thirsts, cries, suffers, is crucified and, on the other hand, the humanity of Christ is transfigured, resurrected, deified.

However, out of fear that an unqualified recognition of the ‘difference of the natures’ could lead to the Nestorian ‘two persons’, he insists that the natures should be considered as two only in contemplation (κατὰ μόνην τὴν θεωρίαν)²³⁵ and through the eyes of the soul.²³⁶ In other words, although the difference of the natures is

²³⁰ καὶ ὅτι διάφοροι μὲν αἱ πρὸς τὴν ἐνότητα τὴν ἀληθινὴν συνενεχθεῖσαι φύσεις, εἰς δὲ ἓξ ἀμφοῖν Χριστὸς καὶ Υἱὸς οὐχ ὡς τῆς τῶν φύσεων διαφορᾶς ἀνηρημένης διὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν, ἀποτελεσασῶν δὲ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν τὸν ἓνα Κύριον καὶ Χριστὸν καὶ Υἱὸν θεότητός τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος, διὰ τῆς ἀφράστου καὶ ἀπορρήτου πρὸς ἐνότητα συνδρομῆς. ACO I, 1, 1, p. 27. It is noteworthy that this formulation of Cyril was incorporated into the Chalcedonian Definition.

²³¹ οὐ γὰρ ὁμοιότητες ἀπλῶς ἀνυπόστατοι, καὶ μορφαὶ συνέβησαν ἀλλήλαις καθ’ ἔνωσιν οἰκονομικὴν, ἀλλὰ πραγμάτων, ἡγουν ὑποστάσεων γέγονε σύνοδος, ἵνα καὶ ὁ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως λόγος ἀληθῶς γενέσθαι πιστεύεται. *Apol. c. Theodoretum.*, PG 76, 396C; ACO I, 1, 6, 112.

²³² *Scholia*, ACO I, 5, 1, p. 222, 33.

²³³ ACO I, 1, 4, pp. 18-19.

²³⁴ πάσας τοίνυν τὰς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις φωνάς, τὰς τε ἀνθρωπίνας καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰς θεοπρεπεῖς, ἐνὶ προσώπῳ προσάψομεν. *Explanation*, ACO I, 1, 5, pp. 19-20.

²³⁵ *Ad Succensum II*, ACO I, 1, 6, p. 162; *Ibid.*, pp. 154; 158.

²³⁶ *Ad Succensum I*, ACO I, 1, 6, pp. 153-154.

acknowledged one should not separate them after the union, nor should one divide the one Son into two but one should confess 'one nature of the Logos incarnate'.²³⁷

What is then the significance of the 'one physis' formula in Cyril? As regards the term physis itself, we should note that in triadology he uses it in the sense of ousia, whereas in christology he identifies it with hypostasis or prosopon.²³⁸ In other words in Cyril physis, apart from its primary meaning of essence (ousia), could further denote the concrete life-giving basis upon which an individual being is established, which is the hypostasis. Thus in his *Third Letter to Nestorius*, Cyril uses the same formula, except that the term hypostasis has taken the place of the term physis (ὕποστάσει μιᾷ τῇ τοῦ Λόγου σαρκαωμένην).²³⁹ As we have seen above, he even speaks of 'a coming together of two hypostases', apparently meaning physes but in concrete and real manner. Obviously then, when he speaks of 'one physis' he means one being which for him is the Christ-Logos. The existence of two ousiai in Christ should not lead to the acceptance of two persons or sons. The 'one physis' formula was for Cyril a safeguard against such a danger:

Those who distort what is right ignored that there is truly one physis of the Logos incarnate. Because if the Logos who was born naturally and truly of God the Father in an ineffable manner and then came forward from a woman by assuming flesh (not soulless but rather ensouled with a rational soul) is one then, because of this, no one should divide him into two persons and sons. He rather remains one.²⁴⁰

However, the 'one physis' formula became the slogan of the later Monophysites, who based their argument on the authority of Cyril. But as we have seen Cyril was far from suggesting any kind of Monophysitism, despite his sometimes dubious language.

From this point of view we can understand why he speaks of 'one nature after the union' or why he says that the two natures are distinguished after the union 'only in contemplation' (ἐν θεωρίᾳ μόνῃ). These expressions taken out of their context could be considered as Monophysite, but, in fact, they have no other intention than to prevent the fracture of the one Son into two. In his second and third *Anathemas*, which Nestorius was called to subscribe to, Cyril clarifies:

If anyone does not confess that the Logos who comes from the Father has been united to flesh according to hypostasis (καθ' ὑπόστασιν) and that there is

²³⁷ Ibid., p. 153.

²³⁸ Grillmeier, *Christ I*, pp. 481-483; Romanides, 'St. Cyril's', p. 99.

²³⁹ *Ad Nestorium III*, ACO I, 1, 1, p. 38, 22; Bindley, p. 112, 206.

²⁴⁰ *Ad Succensum II*, ACO, I, 1, 6, p. 159.

one Christ along with his own flesh, who is at the same time God and man, let him be anathema.²⁴¹

And also:

If anyone divides the hypostases [i.e. physes] of the one Christ after the union, and only unites them by a mere conjunction according to dignity or authority or rule and not by a coming together in the sense of a natural union, let him be anathema.²⁴²

Cyril's insistence on the oneness of the Person of Christ is his most distinctive contribution to christological doctrine. His 'hypostatic' or 'natural' union became the standard manner by which the Church explained the mystery of the incarnation. It also served as the basis for the formulation of the doctrinal definitions not only of the Councils of Ephesus (AD 431) and Constantinople (AD 553) — which many scholars call 'Cyrillian' or 'Alexandrian' — but of the Council of Chalcedon itself.

In Cyril the Alexandrian theological thought found its most significant doctor after Athanasius. His christology expressed the core belief of the Catholic Church about the person of the Saviour and the way of the salvation of mankind. Hence, his teaching, despite some obscurities in his terminology, was adopted essentially by the next three Ecumenical Councils.

Cyril's christology was not substantively an innovation or a development of the ideas of the Alexandrian school as it is often maintained, rather a formulation of traditional essential belief. This christology is completely consistent with the biblical teaching about the God-man ('The Logos became flesh' [John 1. 14]) and in accordance with what the Cappadocians had said about the incarnation.²⁴³

In Nestorius' teaching, Cyril saw the subversion of the Nicene Creed which proclaimed 'One Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God'. Also, the Nestorian separation of the two natures seemed to him to be undermining the soteriological dogma of the Church according to which human salvation was established on Christ's assumption of the human nature, thereby the latter was united with the Godhead and was deified.

Cyril's struggle against Nestorius was, then, primarily theological. Yet it did not lack a political element. Ever since the Second Ecumenical Council ranked the previously ecclesiastically unimportant see of Constantinople higher than the ancient Patriarchate of Alexandria (the 3rd Canon provided that Constantinople become second

²⁴¹ ACO, I, 1, 1, p. 40, 25-27.

²⁴² ACO, I, 1, 1, p. 40, 28-30.

²⁴³ 'The part which assumed and the part which was assumed were both God; the two natures became one and constituted one Son and not two'. Gregory Nazianzene, *In dictum evangelii*, PG 36, 285 A.

in the rank of the Christian Patriarchates after Rome with Alexandria dropping into third place) the Alexandrian bishops kept undermining the position of their Constantinopolitan counterparts.²⁴⁴ The first victim of that rivalry was John Chrysostom (c. 347-407) who was harassed by Theophilus of Alexandria (385-412).²⁴⁵ Now it was Nestorius' turn to face the zeal of Theophilus' nephew and successor to the Alexandrian throne, Cyril.

Upon learning Nestorius' teaching and in particular his denunciation of the very popular title Theotokos, Cyril orchestrated his reaction. In his *Easter Sermon* of 429 he denounced the Nestorian ideas and defended the Alexandrian tradition on the christological issue. At the same time he sent an encyclical to the influential Egyptian monks informing them about the error of Nestorius' teaching and in particular his rejection of the title Theotokos.²⁴⁶ He also sent three treatises under the title *De recta fide* to the Emperor Theodosius II (408-450) and members of the royal house in which he was warning them about the danger that Nestorius was posing for orthodoxy.²⁴⁷

Cyril wrote to Nestorius himself urging him to accept the term Theotokos so that the peace of the Church would be restored.²⁴⁸ Nestorius' defiance²⁴⁹ prompted Cyril to send him his celebrated *Second Letter to Nestorius* in which he defended himself against the calumnies that his enemies had made known to Nestorius after his first letter and stated his faith on the christological issue.²⁵⁰ As Nestorius remained unswayed²⁵¹ Cyril appealed to Pope Celestine (422-432) who promptly took his side. It was definitely a lot easier for the bishop of Rome to favour Alexandria than the doctrinally dubious bishop of the city that now enjoyed the political primacy and was gradually being vested with ecclesiastical primacy. Besides, Nestorius' rejection of title Theotokos could not help his cause in Rome. Thus, Celestine summoned a council in Rome (August 430) which entrusted Cyril to rectify Nestorius. That encouraged Cyril to take a more rigorous attitude. He summoned his suffragans in Alexandria (November 430) and drew up his *Third Letter to Nestorius* to which he attached the celebrated *Twelve Anathemas*.²⁵²

²⁴⁴ Sellers, *Chalcedon*, pp. 3-4.

²⁴⁵ W. Walker, *A History of the Christian Church* (Edinburgh, 1970), p. 130.

²⁴⁶ *Ad Monachos*, ACO I, 1, 1, pp. 10-23.

²⁴⁷ PG 76, 1133ff; ACO I, 1, 1, pp. 42ff.

²⁴⁸ PG 77, 44-49; ACO I, 1, 1, pp. 23-25.

²⁴⁹ ACO I, 1, 1, p. 25.

²⁵⁰ ACO I, 1, 1, pp. 25-28; Bindley, pp. 95-104.

²⁵¹ ACO I, 1, 1, pp. 29-32.

²⁵² PG 77, 120-124. ACO I, 1, 1, pp. 33-42; Bindley, pp. 108-115. Engl. trans. in J. Stevenson, *Creeds Councils and Controversies*, rev. by W. H. C. Frend (London: 1989), pp. 301-308. For the full text see Appendix.

These *Anathemas* were a comprehensive statement of his christological doctrine. The main points of the *Anathemas* are:

- a) Christ is a single subject, that of the God-Logos who united the human nature to himself according to hypostasis and made it his own (*ἰδίᾳ σάρξ*). He is, therefore, the Selfsame, both God and man.
- b) The union in Christ is so close that one can say that the God-Logos was born of Mary according to the flesh.²⁵³ This is why She is rightfully called Theotokos.
- c) No one should divide the natures after the union but all the *idiomata* of both should be predicated of the one Christ.
- d) The natural appropriation of the 'flesh' (human nature) by the Logos allows us to say that he suffered and experienced death in his human nature (*σαρκί*). This is what constitutes Cyril's controversial, yet orthodox, 'theopaschism'.²⁵⁴

Nestorius had to subscribe to these *Anathemas* if he wanted to remain in communion with the Church of Alexandria. Quite predictably he rejected them without giving a specific explanation for this to Cyril. Nonetheless, he was in a difficult position as the majority of the eastern bishops along with Pope Celestine were on Cyril's side. Thus, he retreated a little and accepted the title Theotokos. However he adapted it to his system of thought which meant that the Virgin Mary was the mother of God in the sense that she gave birth to the man who 'bore' the Logos and not to the Logos Himself.

2.3 THE REACTION OF THE ORIENTALS — THEODORET OF CYRUS

Nestorius was not alone in rejecting Cyril's doctrine as proclaimed in the *Anathemas*. His fellow Antiochenes were also prepared to fight for their cause. John the Patriarch of Antioch (d. 441), who in the meantime had received the *Anathemas* from Nestorius, being unable to understand Cyril's terminology asked two of his most eminent theologians, Theodoret of Cyrus and Andrew of Samosata, to examine the *Anathemas* and give a verdict. This is where the second of the *Three Chapters* Theodoret of Cyrus became involved in the Nestorian Controversy. He was born at Antioch (c 393) where he received a classical and theological education.²⁵⁵ In 423, Theodoret was elected

²⁵³ γεγέννηκε γὰρ [ὁ Ἐμμανουήλ] σαρκικῶς σάρκα γεγονότα τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ Λόγον. *First Anathema*, ACO, I, 1, 1, p. 40, 22-24.

²⁵⁴ Formed from the Greek words *theos* and *pathos* 'Theopaschism' literally means the doctrine that ascribes passion to God. It could have a heretical meaning when ascribed to divine nature. Here, however, Cyril clearly ascribes it to the hypostasis of the Logos who suffers in his flesh. As the flesh is Logos' own flesh so is the suffering. As we shall see 'Theopaschism' will be the a central idea in the teaching of the Cyrillian defenders of Chalcedon.

²⁵⁵ He is said to have been a student of Theodore of Mopsuestia having Nestorius and John Chrysostom as his fellow students, but this cannot be proven. Quasten, *Patrology* III, p. 356.

bishop of Cyrus, a small town near Antioch. As a writer he was very effective as is shown in his writings which have come down to us. Among them there are important exegetical, historical and doctrinal treatises.

Theodoret's reply, a severe critique of the *Twelve Anathemas*, survived only through Cyril's refutation in his *Ad Euoptium*.²⁵⁶ Theodoret expressed his aversion to Cyril's 'realistic' terminology which to him implied mutation of the divine nature. The Cyrillian formula 'union according to hypostasis' was a novelty which entailed confusion of the two natures in Christ. For Theodoret, Cyril's *Twelve Anathemas* were clearly reviving Apollinarianism. This was Theodoret's first attack against Cyril and the reason why he was considered by the Cyrillians as pro-Nestorian. Later on he wrote another treatise under the title *Eranistes*²⁵⁷ (*Ἐρανιστής ἢ Πολύμορφος*) (Beggar) in which he argued against monophysite notions of the Alexandrian theologians in the form of a dialogue between an orthodox and a Monophysite. In this treatise Theodoret uses a less radical dyophysite language. In fact, Theodoret's doctrine, as we shall see when examining his teaching, is less akin to Nestorius' than that of Theodore of Mopsuestia. As Leontius Scholasticus points out, when Theodoret attacked Cyril's *Twelve Chapters*, he was fighting against what he thought to be Cyril's Apollinarianism rather than defending Nestorius.²⁵⁸

2.4 THE COUNCIL OF EPHESUS I (431)

This conflict between the two ways of approaching the mystery of the incarnation caused the Emperors Theodosius II in the East and Valentinian III in the West to convoke a general Council at Ephesus. Cyril was certainly the best prepared for that Council which was summoned in a place much friendlier to him and his party than to Nestorius. Indeed the popular sentiment in Ephesus favoured Cyril's thought and the local bishop Memnon was also on Cyril's side.

Things became worse for Nestorius as his Antiochene friends delayed their arrival by sixteen days thus, allowing Cyril to start the Council without them and of course with the overwhelming majority of the participants on his side. Cyril justified his decision to proceed without the Orientals by claiming that the bishops already gathered there were complaining for the delay (some of them had already died) which seemed to

²⁵⁶ PG 76, 389A-452; ACO I, 1, 6, 107-146.

²⁵⁷ The work was written in 447 or 448 and comprises a refutation of Monophysitism in the form of a dialogue between an orthodox and a Monophysite. The entire work is extant in PG 83, 27-336.

²⁵⁸ *De Sectis*, PG 86, 1224BC.

them deliberate aiming at a possible avoidance of Nestorius' condemnation.²⁵⁹ John of Antioch had informed Cyril that he was coming shortly and asked that the Council not commence its business before his contingent arrived.²⁶⁰ But nobody was prepared to wait any longer.

In one day the Council reviewed the whole controversy by examining the letters exchanged between Cyril and Nestorius, anathematised Nestorius and endorsed Cyril's teaching, particularly as expounded in his *Second Letter to Nestorius*.²⁶¹ Of course, Nestorius refused to participate and along with Count Candidian, the head of the imperial guard at Ephesus, protested against Cyril's haste.

Six days after the Council had commenced its proceeding the Antiochenes arrived at Ephesus (26 June 431). John immediately denounced Cyril's Council and its decisions as uncanonical and summoned his suffragans to another church. The Antiochene Council excommunicated Cyril and Memnon who they accused of being followers of Arius, Apollinarius and Eunomius.²⁶² The schism that seemed imminent was completed when the Council, in turn, denounced the assembly of the Orientals and deposed its members.²⁶³

In its sixth session the Council condemned a creed used by the Quartodecimans and Novatians enabling them to be accepted in the Church.²⁶⁴ The creed, according to which Christ was effected from the union of the Logos with the man Jesus, was associated with Nestorius but as Cyril informs us everybody knew it was written by Theodore of Mopsuestia.²⁶⁵ However, Theodore was not mentioned, let alone anathematised, in order that his numerous admirers in the East were not be provoked to break with the Church.²⁶⁶

By reason of this creed the Council issued a decree that no creed should ever be introduced other than that of Nicaea. This provision played a very important role later on when, as we shall see, the Monophysites used it in order to discard the Chalcedonian

²⁵⁹ ACO I, 1, 2, p. 67.

²⁶⁰ John justified his delay on the grounds that his suffragans could not be ready in time as they had to stay in their sees for the celebration of the New Lord's Day, namely the first Sunday after Easter. Evagrius, *HE* I, 3.

²⁶¹ ACO I, 1, 2, pp. 54ff.

²⁶² ACO I, 1, 5, pp. 119ff.

²⁶³ ACO I, 1, 3, pp. 24ff.

²⁶⁴ ACO I, 1, 7, pp. 97-100.

²⁶⁵ *Ad Proclum*, PG 77, 345A.

²⁶⁶ Loc. cit. Hefele holds that the main reason that Theodore was not condemned—although he was the 'father of Nestorianism'—was that he was already dead. *A History*, IV, pp. 233-234.

Definition as a doctrinal innovation. The decree, the 7th canon of the Council, reads as follows:

It is unlawful for anyone to bring forward or to write or to compose another Creed (*ἑτέραν πίστιν*) besides that determined by the holy Fathers assembled with the Holy Ghost in Nicaea. But those who shall dare either to compose another Creed or to introduce or to offer it to persons desiring to come to the acknowledgement of the truth, whether from paganism or from Judaism, or from any heresy whatsoever, shall be deposed if they be bishops or clerics — bishops from the episcopate, and clerics from the clergy — and if they be laymen, they shall be anathematised.²⁶⁷

Moreover, in the decisions of the Council the crucial term Theotokos was clearly proclaimed. The validity of the Cyrillian principle of Christ's double consubstantiality (with the Father eternally and with us in time), which was in essence the main point at stake during the Nestorian controversy, was therefore confirmed.

In the meantime, the Antiochenes, unconvinced by several imperial attempts to be reconciled with the Cyrillians, continued their own assembly, the product of which was a *Declaration of Faith*.²⁶⁸ This document, which expounded the christological doctrine in moderate Antiochene fashion, was to become the basis for the agreement between Cyril and the Orientals.

The Council of Ephesus concluded its proceedings without being able to impose its decisions and moreover to solve the problem. The Emperor Theodosius being at a loss as to which view ought to be adopted accepted only Nestorius' excommunication and ordered that he be exiled in Egypt where he remained until his death (c. 451).

The Council of Ephesus which was undoubtedly supported by the great majority of the Eastern Church (the decisions of the 'Cyrillian' Council were subscribed to by one hundred and ninety seven bishops whereas those of the Antiochenes by fifty four) was recognised as ecumenical as its decisions were also adopted by the Roman delegates (11 July 431).²⁶⁹

The Antiochenes, on the other hand, despite several mediation attempts by political and ecclesiastical figures, remained adamant in rejecting Ephesus and its decisions. The Antiochene theologians wanted to safeguard, at any cost, the dyophysite christology as opposed to the Alexandrian 'one nature' approach. Particularly offensive to their way of thinking were Cyril's *Twelve Anathemas* which were endorsed at Ephesus.

²⁶⁷ ACO I, 1, 7, pp. 105-106; Engl. trans. in Sellers, *Chalcedon*, p. 12.

²⁶⁸ Sellers, *Chalcedon*, p. 13.

²⁶⁹ ACO I, 1, 3, pp. 60ff.

It was, then, primarily a theological disagreement, but not just that; as Sellers points out, the Antiochene Oriental Churches, represented a relatively small ecclesiastical and political bloc surrounded geographically by churches influenced by the all powerful Alexandrian Patriarchate. Adherence, therefore, to their distinctive dyophysite christology was for the Antiochenes a matter of protecting their theological, ecclesiastical and political identity as well.²⁷⁰

2.5 THE FORMULARY OF REUNION (433)

A solution to the disagreement seemed to have been found when the two parties managed to agree on the basis of a confession of faith drawn up, as we mentioned earlier, by the Antiochenes²⁷¹ which has been known as the *Formulary of Reunion* (433).²⁷² The *Formulary* was joyfully endorsed by Cyril as is shown in his celebrated *Letter to John of Antioch (Laetentur Coeli)*²⁷³ which contains the Antiochene confession. The passage in question is as follows:

We confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-Begotten Son of God is perfect God and perfect Man with rational soul and body; before the ages he was begotten of the Father according to divinity, and in the last days the Selfsame [τὸν αὐτόν], for us and for our salvation, [was born] of the Virgin Mary according to humanity. [We also confess that] the Selfsame is consubstantial with the Father according to divinity, and consubstantial with us according to humanity. For two natures were united (δύο γὰρ φύσεων ἔνωσις γέγονε); this is why we confess one Christ, one Son, one Lord. In the sense of this unconfused union we confess that the Holy Virgin is Theotokos, because the God-Logos became incarnate and was made man, and from the very conception united to Himself the temple which he received from Her. Regarding the evangelical and apostolic sayings about the Lord, we know that the theologians regard some as common because they belong to the one Person, and others as divided because they refer to the two natures; [from the latter] those that meet for God they attribute to Christ's divinity whereas those that are humble they refer to humanity.²⁷⁴

The Antiochene document, without giving up the two natures christology, accepted central points of the Cyrillian christology, namely the term Theotokos, the 'communication of the idioms,' and, crucially, the related ideas of the 'two births' (one eternal of the Father and one in time of the Virgin Mary) and the 'double consubstantiality' of the God-Logos.

²⁷⁰ Sellers, *Chalcedon*, p. 6.

²⁷¹ It has been argued that the Formulary was written by Theodoret. Cf. Tixeront, p. 94; Kelly, p. 328, Feidas, p. 617. This is not our view since some of the principles of the Formulary are not compatible with Theodoret's teaching.

²⁷² PG 77, 172-176.

²⁷³ ACO I, 1, 4, pp. 15-20; PG 77, 173-181. Engl. tr. in Bindley, pp. 220-223.

²⁷⁴ ACO I, 1, 4, pp. 8-9; 17.

The acceptance of the Antiochene confession by Cyril was to be the cause of great embarrassment for his hard-line followers. For the Antiochene confession is clearly dyophysite. It accepts that Christ is 'out of two natures' as well as 'in two natures'. Cyril's acceptance of John's confession shows very clearly that for the Alexandrian father the doctrine of the Logos' double birth and double consubstantiality was the decisive safeguard against Nestorianism. Defending his subscription to the *Formulary*, Cyril makes clear that whoever accepts that the Logos was born of the Father according to his divinity and the self-same was born of the Virgin according to his own humanity cannot be a Nestorian.²⁷⁵ As Romanides has shown, this is exactly what Nestorius as well as Theodoret could not accept.²⁷⁶

Furthermore Cyril's acceptance of the *Formulary* showed that he was not as narrow-minded as his subsequent followers. For his concern was not with terms and formulae but with salvation. Cyril's point of view is primarily a soteriological one. Humanity is saved through its appropriation by the Logos who alone can save men. That entails that the Saviour Jesus Christ had to be the Logos himself in flesh. If this identification of Christ with the Logos as well as his 'double consubstantiality' (which safeguards both the completeness of his divinity and his humanity) are proclaimed then both the 'out of two natures' and 'in two natures' formulae are perfectly orthodox.

Yet, the acceptance by John of Antioch of those basic tenets of orthodoxy was not enough for Cyril. The latter wanted from John a clear anathema against Nestorius. John reluctantly submitted to political pressure by the Emperor's envoys and signed a declaration that included Nestorius' anathema.²⁷⁷

Despite the political intrigues, it is very important to note that, as the *Formulary* showed, the moderate Antiochenes, like John of Antioch, were not far away from the tradition that Cyril represented and that there were orthodox in both sides who kept the same tradition and could speak the same theological language.

The conciliatory text did not fulfil its aim. It did not bring about peace to the Church through a doctrinal consensus. For in both parties there were those who were not prepared to surrender what they had held dear up to then. In particular, the Antiochene theologians Theodoret of Cyrus, Andrew of Samosata and John of Germanicia decided collectively that, although willing to accept Cyril as orthodox, they could not subscribe

²⁷⁵ *Ad Acacium Mel.*, ACO I, 1, 4, p. 25, 2-28.

²⁷⁶ J. Romanides, 'St. Cyril's 'One physis or hypostasis of God the Logos Incarnate' and Chalcedon' *GOTR* 10, (1964-65) 84-85, 91ff.

²⁷⁷ Cyril, *Ad Donatum*, PG 77, 252C; ACO I, 1, 4, p. 6.

to Nestorius' anathema.²⁷⁸ Others, like Alexander of Hierapolis, broke communion even with John accusing him of betraying the true faith through accepting a document of 'ecclesiastical negotiation'.²⁷⁹

On the other hand, Cyril's position in his own party was not any easier. He also had to struggle to convince his followers that he did not surrender the basics of their christology and in particular that he did not withdraw his *Anathemas* for the sake of reconciliation. The exponents of the Alexandrian doctrine were worried that their slogan 'one nature after the union' had been compromised as no mention of it was made in the Formulary and the letters exchanged between Cyril and John. Thus Cyril had to reassure his friends that his acceptance of two natures concurring in the incarnation does not abolish the unity of Christ's one subject or Person.²⁸⁰

The question whether Cyril abandoned the christology of the *Twelve Anathemas* is a crucial one, for, as we have seen, it is this aspect of the Alexandrian bishop's thought that offended the strict dyophysites the most. The latter spread the rumour that, after the reconciliation, Cyril had indeed disowned the *Twelve Anathemas*.²⁸¹ This was not true. In his *Letter to Acacius of Beroea*, Cyril made it clear that he was not going to revoke anything of what he had said against Nestorius. He concedes, however, that the *Twelve Anathemas* were meant to serve a specific purpose, to censure Nestorius' doctrine, and as such they should be interpreted.²⁸² In his *Letter to Acacius of Melitine* he says: 'no argument will convince us that whatever we have written correctly against the ill words of Nestorius, was not rightly done'.²⁸³ It is our view that the *Formulary* does not abolish the *Twelve Anathemas* but rather complements them.

2.6 IBAS OF EDESSA

The victory of Cyril at the Council of Ephesus as well as in the *Formulary of Reunion* failed to eliminate the Nestorian heresy. Far from it, the Nestorian party became even more vigorous, especially in the East where harassment against the orthodox occurred.²⁸⁴ In those Oriental Churches hard-line Antiochenes broke the agreement by interpreting

²⁷⁸ Sellers, *Chalcedon*, p. 20; Hefele, IV, pp. 145ff.

²⁷⁹ Sellers, loc. cit.

²⁸⁰ *Ad Acacium Mel.*, ACO I, 1, 4, pp. 20-31. *Ad Succensum I*, ACO I, 1, 6, pp. 151-157.

²⁸¹ Theodoret, *Letter to John of Antioch*, ACO I, 1, 7, pp. 163-164.

²⁸² ἡ δὲ γε τῶν κεφαλαίων δύναμις κατὰ τῶν Νεστορίου δογμάτων γέγραπται μόνων. ἃ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος εἰρηκέ τε καὶ πεφρόνηκεν οὐκ ὀρθῶς, ταῦτα ἐκβάλλει... ὁψονται γὰρ τὰς τῶν κεφαλαίων ἐννοίας κατὰ μόνων τῶν ἐκείνου χωρούσας βλασφημιῶν. *Ad Acacium Ber.*, ACO I, 1, 7, p. 149.

²⁸³ *Ad Acacium Mel.*, ACO I, 1, 4, p. 21.

²⁸⁴ PG 77, 225.

the Formulary in the strict Antiochene-Nestorian fashion. Not being able to use the name of Nestorius for fear of excommunication or persecution, they launched a campaign of spreading the writings of Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia.²⁸⁵ Very active among them became Ibas of Edessa, the third person of the *Three Chapters*.

Ibas was at that time the head of the Catechetical School of Edessa in Osrhoene, which was founded by the great monastic figure, Ephraem the Syrian (c. 306-373).²⁸⁶ From this position, Ibas promoted the Antiochene cause, especially the teaching of Theodore of Mopsuestia, whose writings he translated into Syriac.²⁸⁷ Ibas was on bad terms with his bishop Rabbulas, a faithful exponent of the Cyrillian doctrine, who saw in Ibas' teaching the Nestorian heresy. Rabbulas' reaction was first to condemn Theodore's writings and forbid their circulation in the School and in his bishopric and, eventually, to close the School itself (431).²⁸⁸

This friction between Rabbulas and Ibas is shown in a letter that the latter addressed to Maris (433).²⁸⁹ In this letter Ibas accuses Cyril of falling into the heresy of Apollinarius, expresses admiration of Theodore of Mopsuestia — he calls him doctor of the Church — and questions the validity of Nestorius' condemnation asserting that the Council of Ephesus did not examine his case properly. This letter is of great importance as it manifests the thought of Nestorius' sympathisers at the time. Moreover, being included in the minutes of the Council of Chalcedon Ibas' letter served as evidence in the eyes of the Monophysites that the Council vindicated Nestorius.

Ibas' activities were facilitated when he became the bishop of Edessa in Osrhoene (438-449, 451-457) after the death of his enemy Rabbulas. From this position, he showed impressive energy in spreading Theodore's writings all over Syria, Mesopotamia and Armenia where he created tension and dispute. In Armenia, in particular, the missionary activities of Ibas and Meletius of Mopsuestia — another radical Antiochene who was exiled in Armenia²⁹⁰ — were not welcomed by the local bishops who complained to Proclus, the bishop of Constantinople (d. 446/447). The latter, in response, issued his famous *Tomus ad Armenios* by which he condemned

²⁸⁵ Liberatus, *Breviarum*, ACO II, 5, p. 110.

²⁸⁶ On the history of the school of Edessa see G. G. Blum, 'Rabbula von Edessa. Der Christ, der Bischof, der Theologe,' CSCO 300, Subsidia 34 (Louvain: 1969), pp. 169-174.

²⁸⁷ A. Vööbus calls Ibas 'the greatest protagonist of the Antiochian theology'. 'History of the School of Nisibis', CSCO 266, Subsidia 26 (Louvain: 1965), p. 31.

²⁸⁸ Grillmeier, *Christ*, II, 2, p. 413.

²⁸⁹ For the letter to Maris see Part One, Chapter III.

²⁹⁰ Kalamaras, p. 56.

Nestorianism, endorsed Cyril's terminology and asked for a condemnation of Theodore's writings.²⁹¹ In view of this increasing popularity of the Theodorene writings which were helping Nestorius' cause, Cyril himself decided to write a refutation of the ideas of Theodore and Diodore of Tarsus.²⁹²

In the meantime, Ibas' authoritarian behaviour as well as his favouring of Nestorian ideas caused disquiet in Osrhoene where a number of his clergymen turned to Antioch and Constantinople asking for intervention. At Antioch Domnus (443-450), John's successor and a dyophysite, was, predictably, not prepared to confront Ibas. In Constantinople, however, after what seems to have been an unsuccessful attempt to win over Flavian (447-449), Proclus' successor, and the Home Synod (*Ἐνδημοῦσα Σύνοδος*),²⁹³ Ibas' accusers managed (through the help of Eutyches, an influential Archimandrite of whom we will speak later on) to gain a hearing by the Emperor Theodosius. The outcome of this meeting was an imperial decree summoning Ibas to stand trial in an ecclesiastical court consisting of Photius of Tyre, Eustathius of Berytus, and Uranius of Himeria as judges. The trial took place in two stages; first in Berytus (26 October 448)²⁹⁴ and later in Tyre (25 February 449).²⁹⁵ Along with a series of charges of misconduct and breach of the canons, Ibas was faced with the accusation that he was a Nestorian and that he had called Cyril a heretic on the grounds of his *Twelve Chapters*.²⁹⁶ Some of his accusers even recalled that he had once publicly said: 'I do not envy Christ for becoming God, for if he became this, I too [could] have become the same'.²⁹⁷ Ibas emphatically denied that he ever said that.²⁹⁸ As for the accusation that he had called Cyril a heretic, he first said that he could not remember doing this but later admitted it. In fact, said Ibas, the whole of the Antiochene Church held Cyril a heretic until he clarified his faith to John of Antioch and accepted the Antiochene confession.²⁹⁹ After the reconciliation of 433, he and the whole of the Antiochene Church, considered Cyril orthodox and communicated with him.³⁰⁰ Then his accusers, in order to prove him wrong, showed the letter to Maris where, as we saw, Ibas accuses Cyril of falling into

²⁹¹ PG 65, col. 856-875; ACO IV, 2, pp. 187-195.

²⁹² Only Latin fragments exist. PG 76, 1437-1452.

²⁹³ ACO II, 1, 3, p. 20, no 31. For Flavian and the Home Synod see below.

²⁹⁴ ACO II, 1, 3, pp. 19ff.

²⁹⁵ ACO II, 1, 3, pp. 14-16.

²⁹⁶ ACO II, 1, 3, p. 25, no 73; pp. 30-31.

²⁹⁷ *Οὐ φθονῶ τῷ Χριστῷ γενομένῳ Θεῷ ἐφ' ὅσον γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐγένετο καὶ γὰρ ἐγενόμην*. ACO II, 1, 3, p. 27, no 81. Also *ibid.*, p. 18, no 20.

²⁹⁸ ACO II, 1, 3, p. 27, nos 83, 85.

²⁹⁹ ACO II, 1, 3, p. 31, no 133.

³⁰⁰ ACO II, 1, 3, p. 31, no 130.

the heresy of Apollinarius. However, — and after a declaration of the clergy of Edessa was read confirming Ibas' orthodoxy— Ibas was acquitted. But Ibas' troubles were far from over; his opponents were very soon to try him again in the council of Ephesus II.

2.7 DIOSCORUS, EUTYCHES AND THE HOME SYNOD OF 448

The mutual antipathy between the Cyrillians and the Antiochenes became even more intense after the death of the protagonists of the reconciliation John of Antioch (441), Cyril (444) and Proclus (446), and their succession by Domnus, Dioscorus (441-451) and Flavian respectively.

Dioscorus, Cyril's archdeacon, was an uncompromising Alexandrian whose ambition and unscrupulousness would surpass that of all his predecessors. He fought for the imposition of the Alexandrian-Cyrillian way of thinking, and in particular the christology of the *Twelve Anathemas* and the decisions of Ephesus. He also strove for the ecclesiastical supremacy of Alexandria in the East. In so doing he was confronted with Domnus of Antioch and Flavian of Constantinople. They represented the moderate sides of the Antiochene and the Cyrillian tradition respectively. It should be noted though, that Dioscorus was definitely not a Monophysite in the sense that the term assumed later on account of Eutyches' ideas. He certainly refused to accept the Antiochene formula 'two natures after the union,' stubbornly insisting on the scheme 'two natures before the incarnation—one after it,' yet he firmly proclaimed the reality of Christ's humanity, his double consubstantiality, and the distinction between the functions of the two natures after the union.³⁰¹

Dioscorus' struggle for the Alexandrian cause, however, inspired a fellow Cyrillian to defend the 'one physis' doctrine with such clumsiness that he eventually discredited his party in a way its enemies could not achieve. Eutyches, a respected Archimandrite (leader of a monastery) of Constantinople, was a faithful follower of Cyril, but his less than average grasp of theological matters did not help him to do justice to the thought of the great Alexandrian.³⁰² The starting point of Eutyches' thought was Cyril's 'one incarnate physis of the God-Logos'; for him, as for all strict Cyrillians, there was only one nature after the union. But, while Cyril and most of his followers took care to safeguard the reality of Christ's humanity, Eutyches was not clear on this point. Whereas, he accepted that Christ was perfect God and perfect man he

³⁰¹ See the quotation from Dioscorus' *Letter to Secundinus* in Zachariah of Mitylene, *The Syriac Chronicle*, trans. by F. J. Hamilton, and E. W. Brooks (London, 1899), III, 1, pp. 45-46.

³⁰² Leo calls him 'ignorant old man' (*ἀμαθὴν γέροντα*). ACO II, 1, 1, p. 40.

refused to acknowledge that his flesh was consubstantial with his mother's, and consequently with us.³⁰³

The whole question of Eutyches' doctrine was brought to light by Eusebius of Dorylaeum, the same person who first censured Nestorius at the Home Synod (*Ἐνδημοῦσα Σύνοδος*) of Constantinople without, however, specific mention of any heretical ideas. The moderate Flavian, reluctant at the beginning to address the issue (Eutyches was very popular with the people of the capital and many of the Palace officials) eventually agreed to examine the issue. Eutyches ignored the first two summonses by the Synod to appear and defend himself — he appealed to his monastic vow never to leave his monastery. Nevertheless, his communications with the delegates of the Synod are interesting. When asked whether he accepted that Christ was born 'out of two natures united in one hypostasis', Eutyches replied that this idea was a novel one. Even if it was found in the teaching of a Father it was not found in the Scriptures which are superior to the Fathers.³⁰⁴ He could only accept one nature of the God-Logos incarnate and made man.³⁰⁵ He also denied that he had taught that the flesh of the Lord came down from heaven (*ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος ἐξ' οὐρανῶν τὴν σάρκα κατενήνοχε*)³⁰⁶ but still did not want to specify where this flesh came from.³⁰⁷ When Eutyches eventually appeared at the Synod he very reluctantly admitted that the body of Christ was consubstantial with ours but insisted on his refusal to acknowledge that Christ was 'out of two natures' (apparently here meaning 'in two natures') even though he was reminded by the judges that this doctrine had been endorsed by Cyril in his letter to John (433). Eventually, and under the pressure of Florentius, he came up with this strange idea: 'I confess that our Lord was out of two natures before the union, but after the union I confess only one nature'.³⁰⁸ As it became clear that Eutyches was not prepared to confess 'two natures after the union' the Synod condemned and deprived

³⁰³ ACO II, 1, 1, pp. 38-39; 124.

³⁰⁴ ACO II, 1, 1, p. 124.

³⁰⁵ *μία φύσις τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σαρκωθέντος καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντος*. ACO II, 1, 1, p. 124. We should note here that — if the delegates of the Synod attributed Eutyches' words precisely — the participles *σαρκωθέντος* and *ἐνανθρωπήσαντος* qualify the *Θεὸς Λόγος* and not the *μία φύσις*, which makes the phrase sound even more monophysitic than if it had qualified the 'one physis' in which case it could have been taken as meaning one hypostasis as in Cyril.

³⁰⁶ ACO II, 1, 1, p. 92; 161, no 648, 18-20;

³⁰⁷ ACO II, 1, 1, p. 92.

³⁰⁸ *Ὁμολογῶ ἐκ δύο φύσεων γεγενῆσθαι τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν πρὸ τῆς ἐνώσεως, μετὰ δε τὴν ἔνωσιν μίαν φύσιν ὁμολογῶ*. ACO II, 1, 1, p. 143, 10-11.

him of the title of Archimandrite. All this shows that Eutyches' christology was rather confused and ill-informed.³⁰⁹

The proceedings of the Home Synod are very significant for both the formation of the Chalcedonian christology and the development of the later Monophysite movement. It was the first time that the 'in two natures' or 'two natures after the union' formula was proclaimed at a council,³¹⁰ and what is more, clearly considered as being in agreement with Cyril.³¹¹ Eutyches' monophysitism gave the bishops the chance to show that dyophysitism was not necessarily a Nestorian tenet but — properly understood — very Cyrillian indeed. Flavian as well as the other bishops of the Synod were Cyrillians. This is manifestly shown in Flavian's confession of faith which we shall see later on.

Eutyches appealed to Leo with a letter in which he anathematised the main heresies of the past and complained that he was not treated fairly by the Home Synod. Flavian wrote to Leo too, but his letter arrived later than Eutyches'. This explains why Leo, at first, took a sympathetic view of Eutyches' complaints. When, however, Leo received Flavian's letter along with the acts of the Home Synod he composed his celebrated *Tome*.

In the meantime, another minor Synod was held in Constantinople (449) with the aim of examining Eutyches' allegations that the Acts of the Home Synod had been tampered with. The result proved that the Acts were essentially authentic. Then Eutyches managed to have Theodosius examine Flavian's faith. In response, Flavian sent the Emperor a confession of faith. This is an extremely important text as it shows that Flavian's thought was Cyrillian. Moreover, this letter was influential in the shaping of the Chalcedonian Definition. Flavian's letter, acknowledges the doctrine of 'two natures in one hypostasis and person': '[although we believe that] Christ is out of two natures after the incarnation through the Holy Virgin and his becoming man, we confess one Christ, one Son, one Lord in one hypostasis and one person.'³¹² We must note here

³⁰⁹ Zachariah of Mitylene, a pro-Monophysite author, gives an interesting description of the way Eutyches understood the incarnation: 'He [Eutyches] taught many that [the Word became flesh]³⁰⁹ as the atmosphere assumes bodily form and becomes rain or snow under the influence of the wind, or as water by reason of the cold air becomes ice.' *Chronicle*, II, 2, pp. 20-21.

³¹⁰ ACO II, 1, 1, pp. 117-118.

³¹¹ ACO II, 1, 1, pp. 120ff.

³¹² *Καὶ γὰρ ἐκ δύο φύσεων τὸν Χριστὸν μετὰ τὴν σάρκωσιν τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου καὶ ἐνανθρώπησιν, ἐν μιᾷ ὑποστάσει καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ προσώπῳ ἓνα Χριστὸν, ἓνα υἱόν, ἓνα κύριον ὁμολογοῦμεν.* ACO II, 1, 1, p. 35.

that, although Flavian used the expression 'out of two natures',³¹³ he obviously meant 'in two' since he added 'after the incarnation'.

Further, Flavian emphatically repeats the Cyrillian doctrines of the double birth and double consubstantiality of the Logos and therefore his identity with Christ:

We proclaim that our Lord Jesus Christ, who was born eternally from God the Father according to the Divinity, and in these last days *the self-same* [was born] for us and for our salvation from Mary the Virgin according to the Manhood, is perfect God and perfect Man, *the self-same*, by assuming a rational soul and a body, [being] *consubstantial with the Father according to the divinity and the self-same consubstantial with the mother according to the humanity*.³¹⁴

Striking in this document is the use of the formula 'one physis of the God-Logos incarnate and made man' alongside the formula 'two natures-one person and hypostasis' (which was later on to be sanctioned by Chalcedon) as long as both refer to the one and the same Christ: 'And we do not refuse to confess one nature of the God-Logos incarnate and made man, too, because from both our one and the same Lord (is composed).'³¹⁵ Obviously Flavian here does not understand the formula 'one physis' in exactly the same way as Cyril. Whereas for Cyril physis is (in christology) synonymous with hypostasis, for Flavian it means ousia. This is why the latter can speak of two natures after the union. When Flavian accepts the 'one nature incarnate and man' he does so because for him the qualifiers 'incarnate' and 'made man' denote the second (human) nature.³¹⁶ In this respect Flavian — although not fully appreciating the usage of the term 'nature' in Cyril — is orthodox since for him Christ is out of and in two ousiai and at the same time one prosopon or hypostasis. Given his understanding of nature as meaning ousia, had he said that in Christ there was one nature he would have fallen into the heresy of Eutyches.³¹⁷

³¹³ There is a variation of Flavian's Confession which reads 'in two natures'. Bindley, p. 161. Could this be the result of interpolation (as Bindley suggests) in order that the text conforms with the Chalcedonian definition? In any case it seems to us that the meaning is the same.

³¹⁴ *Κηρύττομεν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, πρὸ αἰώνων μὲν ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἀνάρχως γεννηθέντα κατὰ τὴν θεότητα, ἐπ' ἐσχάτων δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν τὸν αὐτὸν δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, θεὸν τέλειον καὶ ἄνθρωπον τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν προσλήψει ψυχῆς λογικῆς καὶ σώματος, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα καὶ ὁμοούσιον τῇ μητρὶ τὸν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα.* ACO II, 1, 1, p. 35.

³¹⁵ *Καὶ μίαν μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου φύσιν, σαρκαωμένην μέντοι καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσασαν λέγειν οὐκ ἄρνούμεθα διὰ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστόν.* ACO II, 1, 1, p. 35.

³¹⁶ Romanides, 'St. Cyril's', pp. 97-99. This is how the 'one nature' formula will be interpreted by the so called 'neo-Chalcedonians'. See Part Two.

³¹⁷ Romanides, 'St. Cyril's', p. 100.

Similar was the doctrine of another influential member of the Home Synod, Basil of Seleuceia. The latter was clearly in favour of the 'two natures after the union' and at the same time at one with Cyril as regards the person of Christ. He confessed Christ, 'the Son of God, the only begotten, the God-Logos' as being

acknowledged in two natures after the union, [that is] perfect divinity and perfect humanity; the former he had from the Father before all ages, the latter from the mother according to the flesh, which [flesh] the self-same united to Himself according to the hypostasis and [thus] the Son of God became Son of man'.³¹⁸

What Basil said to Eutyches, in examining his doctrine, shows very clearly that he, like Flavian, understood nature as ousia. Basil told the Archimandrite that if he confessed one nature after the union without any qualification (*ἀπολελυμένως*) then he taught confusion and mingling. But, if he added 'incarnate and made man' to the 'one nature' and understood it like Cyril had done then he was orthodox.³¹⁹ Obviously here again, 'incarnate and made man' indicate Christ's second nature, his humanity.

Despite this critical difference in understanding the 'one nature' formula, Flavian and the Home Synod intended to be Cyrillian, seeing no contradiction between Cyril's 'one physis' and the doctrine of 'two natures after the union' as well as between the *Twelve Chapters* and the *Formulary of Reunion* or the other writings of Cyril. Speaking on behalf of all present, Basil declared: 'we therefore accept *everything* [italics are mine] which was written and sent by Cyril as being true and full of piety and worship, our one Lord Jesus Christ being acknowledged in two natures.'³²⁰

2.8 THE TOME OF LEO

As a result of Eutyches' appeal to Rome a correspondence between Flavian and Leo took place. Flavian wrote two letters to Leo justifying his actions at the Home Synod.³²¹ The delayed arrival of Flavian's first letter, was the reason why the Pope did not initially realise the seriousness of Eutyches' aberration. Having known only the latter's version of the events, the Pope expressed his concern that the Archimandrite might have been unfairly treated. However, when he received Flavian's letters Leo replied with his

³¹⁸ ἐν δύο φύσεσιν γνωριζόμενον μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν, θεότητι τελεία καὶ ἀνθρωπότητι τελεία. τὴν μὲν γὰρ εἶχεν ἐκ πατρὸς προαιώνιον, τὴν δ' ἐκ τῆς κατὰ σάρκα μητρὸς λαβὼν ὁ αὐτὸς ἤνωσεν ἑαυτῷ καθ' ὑπόστασιν καὶ κεχρημάτικεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου. ACO II, 1, 1, p. 93.

³¹⁹ Loc. cit.

³²⁰ ACO II, 1, 1, p. 117.

³²¹ ACO II, 1, 1, pp. 36-37; 38-40.

famous *Tomus ad Flavianum*³²² — also known as the *Epistola Dogmatica* — in which he clearly condemned the Eutychian Monophysitism and expounded the teaching of the Roman Church on the general issue of the union of the natures in Christ. This letter was to play a major part in the following theological developments. Its significance lies in the fact that it made clear what the great Cappadocians and Cyril had taught somehow ambiguously: the existence of two natures in the one person of Christ after the union. Christ is perfect in his humanity and in his divinity which have been united without losing their own properties. Each nature despite its integrity acts in communion with the other ('communion of the idioms'). However, the degree of independence that Leo assigns to each nature and moreover the very fact that he prefers the term *natura* — instead of the established in the West term 'substantia' — which in the Alexandrian vocabulary meant not *ousia* but *hypostasis*, gave to many the impression that his christology came dangerously close to Nestorianism. The controversial passages are the following three:

Original Latin Text

a) *et ad resolvendum conditionis nostrae debitum natura inviolabilis naturae est unita passibili, ut, quod nostris remediis congruebat, unus atque idem mediator Dei et hominum, homo Iesus Christus, et mori posset ex uno et mori non posset ex altero.*³²³

b) *Agit enim utraque forma cum alterius communione quod proprium est; Verbo scilicet operante quod Verbi est, et carne exsequente quod carnis est. Unum horum coruscat miraculis, aliud succumbit iniuriis.*³²⁵

and

Translation

a) '...and to pay the debt of our condition the inviolable nature was united to a passible nature; so that, as was necessary for our healing, there was one and the same "Mediator between God and men, the man Jesus Christ," who was capable of death in one nature and incapable of it in the other.'³²⁴

b) 'For each nature performs what is proper to itself in communion with the other; the Word, that is, performing what is proper to the Word, and the flesh carrying out what is proper to the flesh. The one of these is brilliant with miracles, the other succumbs to injuries.'³²⁶

and

³²² PL 54, 755-782; ACO II, 2, 1, pp. 10-20. Latin text and English translation in *Bindley*, pp. 168-173 and 224-231.

³²³ *Bindley*, p. 169.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

c) *Quamvis enim in Domino Iesu Christo Dei et hominis una persona sit, aliud tamen est unde in utroque communis est contumelia, aliud unde communis est gloria. De nostro enim illi est minor Patre humanitas; de Patre illi est aequalis cum Patre divinitas.*³²⁷

c) 'For although in the Lord Jesus Christ there is One Person of God and man, yet that whence the suffering is common to both is one thing, and that whence the glory is common to both is another; for from us he has the Humanity inferior to the Father, and from the Father he has the Divinity equal to the Father.'³²⁸

Commenting on the *Tome* Harnack says that 'in Leo's view the "Person" is no longer entirely the one subject with two "properties", but the union of two hypostatic natures'.³²⁹

We will confine ourselves to saying that the pro-Antiochene bias of the *Tome* should not be exaggerated. First of all one should always have in mind that Leo's letter was written for a very particular purpose: to combat the Eutychian heresy, i.e. the denial of the reality of Christ's humanity. Just as Cyril, in fighting Nestorianism ran the danger of sounding Apollinarian, so Leo in fighting the opposite heresy might sound 'Nestorian'. Yet, a careful reading of the *Tome* shows that Leo did not compromise Cyril's basic tenets, still less had a Nestorian tendency. As we have noticed, at the heart of Cyril's teaching were the doctrines of the 'double birth' and 'double consubstantiality' of the Logos which the Patriarch expressed through the theopaschite language of the *Twelve Anathemas*. Leo proclaims the very same doctrines with amazing clarity:

³²⁷ Ibid., p. 171.

³²⁸ Ibid., p. 228

³²⁹ Harnack, pp. 205-6.

Latin Original

*...idem vero sempiterni Genitoris unigenitus sempiternus natus est de Spiritu sancto et Maria virgine. Quae nativitas temporalis illi nativitati divinae et sempiternae nihil minuit, nihil contulit, sed totam se reparando homini, qui erat deceptus, impendit, ut et mortem vinceret et diabolum, qui mortis habebat imperium, sua virtute destrueret*³³⁰

And then:

*In integra ergo veri hominis perfectaque natura verus natus est Deus, totus in suis, totus in nostris.*³³²

Translation

'...But the Self-same [Logos], who was the Only-begotten and Everlasting One of the Everlasting Parent, was born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary. And this birth in time takes away nothing from that divine and eternal birth, nor does it add anything to it, but it is entirely concerned with the reparation of man who had been deceived, so that it might both conquer death and by its own power destroy the devil, who held the sovereignty of death'³³¹

And then:

'In the complete and perfect nature, therefore, of very man, very God was born — complete in what belonged to Him, complete in what belonged to us'.³³³

We have seen that, in Cyril's mind, anyone who would identify Christ with the Logos ('the Self-same') cannot be a Nestorian. Leo's faith is perfectly clear on that:

Latin Original

*Proinde qui manens in forma Dei fecit hominem, idem in forma servi factus est homo.*³³⁴

*Qui enim verus est Deus, idem verus est homo.*³³⁶

Unus enim idemque est, quod saepe dicendum est, vere Dei Filius et vere hominis Filius. Deus per id quod 'in principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum;' homo per id quod 'Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in

Translation

He who, remaining in the "form of God", made man was the Same who was made man in the "from of a servant."³³⁵

For the Self-same who is very God is also very Man.³³⁷

For he is One and the Same — a fact which we must often insist upon — truly the Son of God, and truly the Son of Man. God, inasmuch as 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and the Word was God'; Man, inasmuch as 'The

³³⁰ Bindley, p. 168.

³³¹ Ibid., pp. 224-225.

³³² Ibid., p. 169.

³³³ Ibid., p. 226.

³³⁴ Ibid., p. 170.

³³⁵ Ibid., p. 226.

³³⁶ Ibid., p. 170.

³³⁷ Ibid., p. 227.

*nobis.*³³⁸

Word was made Flesh and dwelt
among us.³³⁹

Another very 'Cyrillian' doctrine, that of the Logos' *appropriation* of the human nature is also asserted by Leo: *Non enim superare possemus peccati et mortis auctorem, nisi naturam ille susciperet et suam faceret.*³⁴⁰ ('For we should not have been able to overcome the author of sin and death had he not taken our own nature and made it his own').

In Chapter V of his *Tome* Leo is little short of teaching exactly what Cyril taught in his *Twelfth Anathema*:

Latin Original

*Propter hanc ergo unitatem personae in utraque natura intelligendam et Filius hominis legitur descendisse de caelo, cum Filius Dei carnem de ea virgine, de qua est natus, assumpserit, et rursus Filius Dei crucifixus dicitur ac sepultus, cum haec non in divinitate ipsa, qua Unigenitus consempternus et consubstantialis est Patri, sed in naturae humanae sit infirmitate perpressus. Unde unigenitum Filium Dei crucifixum et sepultum omnes etiam in Symbolo confitemur secundum illud apostoli: 'Si enim cognovissent, numquam Dominum maiestatis crucifixissent.'*³⁴¹

Translation

'It is on account of this Unity of Person which is to be understood as existing in both the Natures that, on the one hand, the Son of Man is read of as descending from heaven when the Son of God took flesh from the Virgin from whom he was born, and on the other hand, that the Son of God is said to have been crucified and buried, although he suffered these things not in his Godhead itself, in virtue of which the Only-begotten is both Co-eternal and Co-essential with the Father, but in the weakness of the Human Nature. And this is the reason why we all confess, too, in the Creed that "the Only-begotten Son of God was crucified and buried" in accordance with that saying of the Apostle, "For had they known they would not have crucified the Lord of Majesty." [1 Cor. 2. 8]'³⁴²

Although Leo stood by Theodoret when he was under attack by the Alexandrians between 449-451, the christological agreement between Leo and Cyril shows that the christology of the *Tome* is not akin to that of Theodoret as has been suggested.³⁴³

2.9 THE COUNCIL OF EPHESUS II (449)

The decision of the Home Synod of 448 with its insistence on the dyophysitism of the *Formulary* of Reunion did not please Dioscorus. Along with Eutyches he worked

³³⁸ Ibid., p. 170.

³³⁹ Ibid., p. 227.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 168.

³⁴¹ Ibid., p. 171.

³⁴² Ibid., p. 228.

³⁴³ E.g. Bindley, p. 162.

successfully behind the stage for the rehabilitation of the Archimandrite and the acceptance of the Alexandrian viewpoint. Persuaded by their intrigues, the Emperor Theodosius decreed (30 March 449) that another Ecumenical Council be summoned, again in Ephesus, to rectify what had gone wrong since 431, and especially to do justice to Eutyches. Leo too gave his consent. In a letter which was meant to be read at the council, the Pope asked for the condemnation of the Eutychian ideas, but was happy to have Eutyches reinstated if he renounced his error.³⁴⁴

The 'Robber Council' (*Latrocinium*) of Ephesus (449) as it came to be called,³⁴⁵ started its business.³⁴⁶ Dioscorus, contrary to the canons, was given the presidency.³⁴⁷ He and his party easily imposed their will on the rest of the participants. Firstly Eutyches' case was examined. He presented a 'Confession of Faith' in which he declared his adhesion to the faith of Nicaea, Cyril and Ephesus I especially pointed to the provision of the latter that nothing should be added to or taken away from the creed of Nicaea.³⁴⁸ This confession was regarded satisfactory and Eutyches was reinstated. The council reaffirmed the formula 'one nature of the Logos incarnate and made man' (*σεσαρκωμένη καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσασα*) and deposed the 'innovators' Flavian,³⁴⁹ Eusebius of Dorylaeum,³⁵⁰ Domnus of Antioch,³⁵¹ Theodoret of Cyrus³⁵² and Ibas of Edessa.³⁵³ The last two were not summoned to the Council but this did not deter their angry opponents from condemning them.³⁵⁴ In the case of Ibas, in particular, the fury of Dioscorus' followers was such that on hearing the letter to Maris, which was read at the

³⁴⁴ ACO II, 1, 1, pp. 43-44.

³⁴⁵ This name was given to Ephesus II by Pope Leo in his Letter to the Empress Pulcheria ('non iudicium, sed latrocinium'). ACO II, 4, p. 51, 4.

³⁴⁶ The main part of the minutes in ACO II, 1, 1, pp. 68-101. The Syriac text with German translation in J. Flemming, ed., *Akten der Ephesinischen Synode von 449* (Berlin: 1917). Engl. tr. (from the Syriac) in S. G. F. Perry, *The Second Council of Ephesus* (Dartford, 1881). A synopsis of the minutes is extant in Latin: *Breviculus Historiae eutychianistarum*, PL 58, 929ff.

³⁴⁷ Evagrius tells us that that was the result of the intrigues of Eutyches' friend Chrysaphius, an influential eunuch in Theodosius' court, out of animosity against Flavian who, according to the canons, should have presided over the council. *HE*, 1, 10. However, a fair objection to this allegation is that according to the imperial edict (*ibid.*) the council's objective was to examine the lawfulness of the judgment that Flavian's Home Synod had passed on Eutyches and, therefore Flavian could not be a judge himself, let alone the president of the council.

³⁴⁸ ACO II, 1, 1, pp. 90-91.

³⁴⁹ Mansi VI, 908.

³⁵⁰ Loc. cit.

³⁵¹ Perry, pp. 356ff.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 257.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 134.

³⁵⁴ The Emperor Theodosius had suggested that Theodoret should not be present at the council. ACO II, 1, 1, p. 69.

council, they burst into shouts such as these: 'Let Ibas be burnt in the middle of the city of Antioch...let him be burnt along with Nestorius.'³⁵⁵

As Dioscorus later emphasised at Chalcedon, Ephesus II did not intend to proclaim a new definition but to reaffirm the faith of Nicaea.³⁵⁶ Obviously for Dioscorus and his followers the Home Synod (448), by decreeing 'two natures after the union', had introduced a new faith and thus violated the provision of Ephesus I that no creed should be added to that of Nicaea. Dioscorus justified the deposition of Flavian and Eusebius of Dorylaeum on this very canon of Ephesus I which provided that if a bishop introduced a new creed he should be deposed.³⁵⁷ It seems then that, by reinstating Eutyches, Dioscorus meant more to abolish the 'novelty' of 448, than to confirm the ill thought-out faith of the Archimandrite.

Those offended by the decisions of the council of 449 accused Dioscorus — as it will be shown after three years in Chalcedon — for serious irregularities in the course of the Council, not least the use of force. These allegations, it should be noted, emerged at the Council of Chalcedon and, of course, are not recorded in the minutes of Ephesus II. If and to what extent Dioscorus used unlawful practices to have his line sanctioned cannot be attested. On the contrary, when one examines the minutes one has to agree with A. Harnack that 'as regards its proceedings the Council does not compare unfavourably with other Councils'.³⁵⁸ It is true that given the composition of the council, Dioscorus would hardly need any force to impose his will.³⁵⁹

The main issue here is why Dioscorus vindicated Eutyches. As it will be shown clearly at Chalcedon the Alexandrian did not share Eutyches' confused doctrine. This is also the case with the majority of the Egyptians. When they heard Basil of Seleuceia saying that the 'one nature' formula by itself could mean confusion and mingling in a Eutychian fashion, they complained strongly. But they agreed with him when he explained that the same formula was orthodox, when qualified as by Cyril — i.e. in a way that safeguards Christ's perfect humanity.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁵ Perry, pp. 124ff.

³⁵⁶ ACO II, 1, 1, pp. 189-190.

³⁵⁷ ACO II, 1, 1, p. 191.

³⁵⁸ *History* IV, p. 208.

³⁵⁹ Contrary to the usual—negative—way Ephesus II is seen Harnack maintains that the irregularities of the Council were surpassed in malice by the 'calumnies spread regarding it on the part of those who two years later had to extenuate their dastardly treachery... That Flavian was trampled on and left half dead is anything but certain, and a Council which more than any other gave expression to the tradition of the religious feeling of the time and to what it considered of vital importance, does not deserve the name "Robber-Council"'. *Ibid.*, p. 210.

³⁶⁰ ACO II, 1, 1, p. 93.

Ephesus II seemed to have been another triumph for Alexandria, and Dioscorus must have felt that he had repeated the victory of his predecessor Cyril. He was to be proved wrong very soon. Not only was Dioscorus obviously lacking Cyril's theological and political skills, but also the political and ecclesiastical circumstances were not favourable. This time he could not even count on Rome, Alexandria's traditional ally; Leo had no reason to be happy with what had happened at Ephesus II. Later on, while on his way to Chalcedon Dioscorus exacerbated the situation by excommunicating Leo on the grounds that he had taught Nestorianism through his *Tome*.³⁶¹

³⁶¹ Mansi VI, 1009.

CHAPTER III

THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE THREE CHAPTERS

As we have already mentioned the main task of the Fifth Ecumenical Council was to judge the Three Chapters, namely Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrus (his anti-Cyrillian writings) and Ibas of Edessa (his letter to Maris). Justinian and many others in the East — certainly the Monophysites—considered the teaching of the three theologians as Nestorian. The fact that their rehabilitation at Chalcedon (as we shall in the next chapter) was seen by the Monophysites as an evidence of its ‘nestorian’ leanings must have played a significant role in Justinian’s decision to ask for their condemnation. Furthermore, their christological outlook was still popular in some Chalcedonian circles. For Justinian and the fifth council, such an interpretation of Chalcedon was a distortion of the doctrine of Chalcedon and so they condemned it. It is then obvious that a brief examination of the ideas of the Three Chapters with special emphasis on the points that Justinian and the fifth council took issue with is necessary.

3.1 THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA

Theodore was a great exponent of the Nicene theology and struggled for the acceptance of its Creed. Like all Antiochenes, he fought the Arians and Apollinarius who undervalued Christ’s human nature. This is why Theodore stressed the truth of the reality of Christ’s humanity. In Christ, alongside the Logos’ divinity, Theodore wanted to secure the existence of the perfect man, Jesus. So in his *Commentary on the Nicene Creed* he writes:

Our blessed Fathers said that he became incarnate so that you might understand that He assumed a complete man, who was man not only in appearance but a man in a true human nature, and that you might believe that He assumed not only the body but the whole man who is composed of a body and of an immortal and rational soul.³⁶²

Theodore was clearly not an exponent of the Alexandrian literal interpretation of the phrase ‘the Logos became flesh’. Such an interpretation, he believes, implies that the Logos turned into flesh. For Theodore, the Logos ‘became flesh’ only ‘seemingly’ (*κατὰ τὸ δοκεῖν*). What really happened was that the Logos ‘assumed’ flesh.³⁶³ This flesh was a complete man, the ‘assumed man,’ (*ὁ λαμβανόμενος*) the ‘one from

³⁶² Ed. and tr. by A. Mingana, Woodbrooke Studies V (Cambridge: 1932), p. 60.

³⁶³ *De incarnatione*, PG 66, 981CD.

David's seed'. The Logos was united with this man at the moment of his 'formation' in Mary's womb³⁶⁴ and made him his 'temple', a favourite Antiochene expression.³⁶⁵

To describe the manner of the incarnation Theodore used a notion that alarmed the Alexandrians. For him the union consisted in God's 'dwelling' (*ἐνοίκησις*)³⁶⁶ in the 'assumed man'. As we see in the Scriptures, says Theodore, God dwells in those who please him by their virtuous life (e.g. prophets, apostles). However, his 'dwelling' in Christ is of a different, far greater kind; God dwelt in him 'as in Son' (*ὡς ἐν υἱῷ*).³⁶⁷ What is special about this kind of 'indwelling' is that through it God enabled the 'assumed man' to partake in all the 'honour' (*τιμὴ*) that by nature belongs to the Son who now dwells in Christ, i.e. the Logos. This happens because the 'assumed man' meets with the Logos in the one prosopon of Christ.³⁶⁸

This one prosopon of Christ is the result of the coming together of two perfect physes, the divine and the human. In Theodore's christology physis and ousia are synonymous. So in Christ there are two physes or ousiai which, in spite of the union, remain in their own limits distinct (*διακεκριμέναι*) and undissolved (*ἀδιαλύτως*).

However, in Theodore's thought a complete physis is also a hypostasis. A hypostasis, in turn, has to have its own prosopon. Therefore, each of the two physes, when considered separately, possesses its own prosopon. Yet, when the 'conjunction' (*συνάφεια*) is considered then Christ is one prosopon. In his words:

When we try to distinguish the natures, we confess that the nature of the God-Logos is perfect and perfect is the prosopon. For we cannot say that there is an hypostasis without a prosopon; [We confess that] perfect is the human nature and the person alike. But when we consider the conjunction then we confess one prosopon.³⁶⁹

Examining the possible modes of 'indwelling,' Theodore identifies three: a) 'according to ousia' (*οὐσίᾳ*), b) 'according to energy' (*ἐνεργείᾳ*)³⁷⁰ and c) 'according to good will' (*εὐδοκίᾳ*). A union 'according to ousia' should be rejected for many

³⁶⁴ Ibid., PG 66, 976D.

³⁶⁵ *Contra Apollinarium*, PG 66, 997B.

³⁶⁶ *De Incarnatione*, PG 66, 972BCD;

³⁶⁷ Ibid., PG 66, 976B.

³⁶⁸ *Τὶ δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ ὡς ἐν Υἱῷ; Ὡστε ἐνοικήσας, ὅλον μὲν ἑαυτῷ τὸν λαμβανόμενον ἤνωσεν, παρεσκεύασε δὲ αὐτὸν συμμετασχεῖν αὐτῷ πάσης τῆς τιμῆς, ἧς αὐτὸς ὁ ἐνοικῶν Υἱὸς ὧν φύσει μετέχει ὡς συντελεῖν μὲν εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον.* Ibid., PG 66, 976BC.

³⁶⁹ Ibid., PG 66, 981B.

³⁷⁰ In line with the rest of the fathers Theodore distinguishes in God the divine nature or ousia from the divine 'energy' (*ἐνέργεια*). Divine ousia is God's being in Himself, which is absolutely inaccessible to all created beings, whereas divine energy is God's being in his manifestation towards his creation and particular towards human beings. Man according to the Eastern patristic tradition can partake in the divine being by communicating with God's energy which fills the universe.

reasons. Firstly, it leads to confusion.³⁷¹ Secondly, God could not dwell in Jesus 'according to ousia' for that would mean his restriction within the limits of created flesh, thereby undermining his omnipresence. God, says Theodore, dwells only in those holy men whom he chooses, not in everybody. But if this is the case, then God's ousia is not present in everyone, which obviously undermines his omnipresence.³⁷² In fact, a union 'according to ousia' is impossible because God cannot unite himself to things not consubstantial with him ('the reason of the union according to essence is true only in the case of consubstantials, but in the case of things not consubstantial it is not applicable').³⁷³ Thus the nature of the man Christ as that of a created being cannot communicate with the uncreated nature of the God-Logos. If it could, then the Logos would cease to be omnipresent as he would be contained in a finite created being.

Theodore also rejects the union 'according to energy'. God acts in the world and sustains it by his 'energy'. If he dwelled in a being 'according to energy,' that would limit his ability to act in every place and at any time.³⁷⁴

The only mode of 'indwelling' which preserves both God's omnipresence and omnipotence is the one 'according to good will'. Theodore gives the definition of 'good will': it is God's highest will towards those who please him by their godly zeal.³⁷⁵ By 'good will' God can be at the same time 'close' to those who are worthy of it, 'far away' from sinners, and (by ousia and energy) everywhere.

As a result of the union or 'indwelling' 'according to good will,' in Christ there is one 'name,' 'will,' 'energy' and 'authority'. However, this is not because of the formation of one indivisible subject, but because the two independent natures share one common 'name' (*τῷ τῆς ὁμωνυμίας λόγῳ*).

In Theodore's thought acts done by will are morally superior to acts done by nature.³⁷⁶ This is because whatever is done by nature is not done freely but out of necessity (*ἀνάγκη*). As opposed to the union of the three persons of the trinity who are united by nature, God's union with or 'dwelling' in his creatures is an act of his free will. Theodore is keen to emphasise that in 'economy' God does not act by necessity:

³⁷¹ *Epistula ad Domnum*, PG 66, 1013A.

³⁷² *De incarnatione*, PG 66, 972BCD.

³⁷³ *Epistula ad Domnum*, PG 66, 1013A.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, PG 66, 1013D-1013A.

³⁷⁵ *De incarnatione*, PG 66, 973A.

³⁷⁶ According to Romanides, an explanation to this may be the fact that in the Hellenistic philosophical environment of Syria there was developed a tradition which tried to overcome determinism (philosophical or cosmological) by emphasizing the moral superiority of acts done by will over against acts done by nature. 'Highlights,' p. 167-168.

For thus God's infinity is better preserved, when he does not appear to work by some necessity on account of the uncircumscribed nature. For if he is omnipresent by nature,³⁷⁷ he will again be found working by necessity, no longer being present by opinion, but by the infinity of nature, and having the will following.³⁷⁸

Thus God's dwelling in Christ 'according to good will' has one more advantage against the other theories: if Christ was united with the Logos according to essence or energy that union would have been out of necessity and it would not have had any moral merit. Whereas, now, the God-man is a result of God's 'good will' towards his chosen one and of the free response of the latter whose moral freedom is thereby safeguarded. God unites himself to man freely and in anticipation of Christ's merits.³⁷⁹ The latter, in turn, freely accepts the gift he is granted and responds supremely by achieving perfection.

Theodore describes the union as one of 'co-operation' (*συνέργεια*)³⁸⁰ between two self-existent subjects. The indwelling Logos guided and eventually led the 'assumed man' to perfection:

From the very beginning the God-Logos was in that being (*in ipso plasmato*) [the assumed man]. Indeed, he was in it not only when it was raised to heaven, but also when it was resurrected for, according to his promise, it was he who resurrected it. In the same manner, he was in it when it was crucified, baptised, preached the gospel [...] for it was he who set the plan as regards the dispensation and it was also he who was leading it [the assumed man] to perfection.³⁸¹

Also:

The Logos after he had led this assumed man to the baptism and then to death he raised him from the dead and ascended him to heaven and put him on the right hand of God [...]. Therefore, according to his good will the Logos dwelled in the man and led him to perfection...³⁸²

Jesus, according to Theodore, grew physically and developed morally as any other man.³⁸³ However, because of his own desire for the highest morals, the 'co-operation' of the indwelling Logos, and the help of the Holy Spirit the 'assumed man' progressed

³⁷⁷ Migne's Greek text has 'good will' (*εὐδοκία*) which does not make sense. The parallel Latin translation has 'substantia' which should be the correct reading.

³⁷⁸ *De incarnatione*, PG 66, 973D.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, PG 66, 980B.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, PG 66, 977B.

³⁸¹ *C. Apollinarium*, PG 66, 994C; ACO, IV, 1, p. 45.

³⁸² *Loc. cit.*

³⁸³ *De incarnatione*, PG 66, 976D-980A.

faster and surpassed all men. This superiority was also due to the fact that he was born not in the natural way, but by the holy Spirit³⁸⁴

Indeed, Jesus is presented in Theodore's thought as striving against and eventually overcoming sin to which he was also subject as a perfect human being. In particular, Theodore says that Jesus was disturbed by passions, not so much those of the body as those of the soul. However, he opposed those passions with godly thoughts and, with the help of the divinity which was in him, subdued them.³⁸⁵ In his struggle Christ was aided by the holy Spirit. Reproaching Apollinarius' idea that in Christ the Logos replaced the intellect, Theodore writes:

If the Divinity had taken the place the of the intellect, as they say, why would Christ have needed the concurrence of the Holy Spirit for all these [that He performed]? Of course, the Divinity of the Only-Begotten did not need the Holy Spirit for his justification. But Christ did need the Spirit to defeat the Devil; did need him to perform miracles; did need him to know what he [Christ] was going to perform; did need the Spirit in order to become irreproachable.³⁸⁶

Fighting the same Apollinarian idea, Theodore not only does point to the clear distinction between divine and human natures or subjects in Christ but also to the weakness of the latter:

If the Logos had taken the place of the intellect in Christ — according to what you [Apollinarius] say — then why did he fear during the Passion?... Why did he need the coming and support of the angel who strengthened his will, ... persuaded him to endure courageously the hardship, showed him ... the transformation towards the glory that would happen to him after the Passion?³⁸⁷

At his Baptism, Jesus received the 'adoption' and the 'sonship' which he participated in only by grace and on account of his union with the Logos, who is God's Son by nature.³⁸⁸ At the same time he became the first man to receive the grace of the Holy Spirit.³⁸⁹

Eventually Jesus was granted 'moral perfection' after his death. Like us men, says Theodore, whose body and soul will be completely governed by the spirit only when we depart this life, Jesus' 'energy' was perfectly identified with the Logos' only after his death.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁴ Ibid., PG 66, 977A.

³⁸⁵ Ibid., PG 66, 992C.

³⁸⁶ *Contra Apollinarium*, ACO, IV, 1, p. 47.

³⁸⁷ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 45-46.

³⁸⁸ *De incarnatione*, PG 66, 984D-985B; 988A.

³⁸⁹ Ibid., PG 66, 980C-981A.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., PG 66, 976CD.

However, even before his death Christ's will was identified with that of the Logos. This is in fact where the union is realised: the identification of the divine and the human wills (*ταυτοβουλία*) unites the energy or function of the two respective persons (*ταύτουργία*) who consequently constitute one person. This kind of union, says Theodore is the closest possible (*ὧν οὐδέν ἐστι συναφέστερον*).³⁹¹ In his *Ad Domnum*, Theodore writes: 'the manner of union according to good pleasure or will preserves the natures unconfused and undivided and shows that there is one person of both [natures] and one will and energy and one authority and lordship that follows.'³⁹²

Theodore is aware of the criticism against him that by acknowledging the existence of two personalised natures in Christ he teaches the idea of 'two Sons'. His reply is that he proclaims Christ to be one Son, since the 'division' of the natures does not affect the 'union of the prosopon'.³⁹³

Theodore does speak of one prosopon in Christ but the question is whether he safeguards that singleness with a real union. This is not sufficiently done if we judge by the terms he uses to describe the union: 'indwelling' (*ἐνοίκησις*), 'connection' or 'conjunction' (*συνάφεια*), 'correlation' or 'participation' (*σχέσις*) are terms which relate to a moral rather than a real union.

Moreover, Theodore's 'prosopic' union, as against Cyril's 'hypostatic' one, gives the impression of introducing two separate agents in Christ. Commenting on the eighth Psalm Theodore asks: 'How is it not apparent that the Holy Scripture teaches clearly that the God-Logos is one person and the man another?'³⁹⁴ Here, Theodore distinguishes the two natures by using the antithesis *ἕτερος* and *ἕτερος*. This clearly implies duality of person as the Greek pronoun *ἕτερος* denotes a subsisting and independent personality.³⁹⁵ In his *Contra Apollinarium*, he complains against those who do not distinguish between the 'form of God' and the 'form of the servant,' between the 'assumed temple' and the 'one who dwells in the temple'.³⁹⁶ It is characteristic that as an

³⁹¹ *Ad Domnum*, PG 66, 1013A.

³⁹² 'Ὁ τῆς κατ' εὐδοκίαν ἐνώσεως τρόπος ἀσυγχύτους φυλάσσων τὰς φύσεις καὶ ἀδιαιρέτους ἐν ἀμφοτέρων τὸ πρόσωπον δείκνυσι καὶ μίαν τὴν θέλησιν καὶ μίαν τὴν ἐνέργειαν μετὰ τῆς ἐπομένης τούτοις μίας αὐθεντίας καὶ δεσποτείας. loc. cit.

³⁹³ Ibid., PG 66, 985BC

³⁹⁴ Πῶς οὐ πρόδηλον, ὅτι ἕτερον μὲν ἡμᾶς ἡ θεία Γραφή διδάσκει σαφῶς εἶναι τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον, ἕτερον δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον; PG 66, 1004C.

³⁹⁵ Gregory Nazianzene's rejection of the use of the schema 'another person' and 'another person' (*ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος*) in christology became a classic reference for the Cyrillians. *Ad Cledonium* I, PG 37, 180AB.

³⁹⁶ PG 66, 999D-1001A.

example of how the union resulted in one prosopon without abolishing the duality of the natures Theodore uses the analogy of the union of man and woman 'in one flesh'.³⁹⁷

The degree of independence that Theodore attributes to Christ's manhood is manifestly shown in the *Commentary on John's Gospel* where the 'assumed man' (*assumptus homo*) refers to himself by the personal pronoun 'I' (*ego*): *Deus Verbum qui me assumpsit sibi que conjunxit, dat mihi cum fiducia victoriam iudicii. Me enim semel pro semper fecit suum, quando assumpsit me; atque evidens est eum me non derelinquere, ne temere agam.*³⁹⁸

Now one can easily understand why Theodore would not accept the Cyrillian interpretation of the title 'Theotokos': 'It is silly to say that God was born of the Virgin.' The Virgin gave birth to the one 'from the seed of David,' the man who was formed from her essence by the Holy Spirit.³⁹⁹ The Virgin can be called Theotokos only metaphorically (*τῇ ἀναφορᾷ*). In a proper sense and according to nature (*τῇ φύσει*) she is Anthropotokos:

On the one hand she [Mary] is Anthropotokos according to nature, for the one who was in her womb was a man [...] on the other hand she is Theotokos for God was in the man who was born. In being in the man God was not limited according to his nature, but he was in him in a relation according to [identified] will.⁴⁰⁰

In essence, the controversy over the title Theotokos had to do with the acceptance or not of the double consubstantiality of Christ. Nestorius rejected the title because he never accepted that Christ was consubstantial with God as He was with us. This was exactly the essence of the disagreement between Diodore and Apollinarius and not the question of the soul of Christ or the mixture of natures as is commonly believed. Diodore strongly reacted to Apollinarius' firm belief in Christ's double consubstantiality and so did Theodore. Apollinarius' thesis that 'Christ was by nature God and by nature man'⁴⁰¹ is the main reason Theodore attacks him in his *Contra Apollinarium* where he wrote:

How, then, do you insist [...] that we should acknowledge him who was born of the Virgin to be God from God, consubstantial with the Father, unless, at the same time, you command us to impute his creation to the Holy Spirit? The truth is that the one who is God and from God and consubstantial with the

³⁹⁷ *De incarnatione*, PG 66, 981AB.

³⁹⁸ *Commentarius in evangelium Ioannis apostoli*, 12, 32., ed. by J. M. Vosté, CSCO, scriptores syri, 62-63, p. 174 (Cited by McNamara, 'Theodore', p. 275).

³⁹⁹ *Contra Apollinarium*., PG 66, 997BC.

⁴⁰⁰ *De incarnatione*, PG 66, 992C.

⁴⁰¹ *Ad Petrum*, Lietzmann, p. 247, 14.

Father dwelled in the one who was born of the Virgin and formed (*plasmatus est*) by the Holy Spirit according to the Scriptures and had his existence in the womb of the woman for as soon as he was formed he became the temple of God. We should not, therefore, believe that God was born of the Virgin for in that case we would also have to identify the temple who was born and the God Logos who was in the temple. Nevertheless neither according to your definition is it at all possible to proclaim him who was born of the Virgin to be God from God, consubstantial with the Father. For, if as you say, the one who was born of the Virgin was not an assumed man but God incarnate, how could the one who was born be called God from God and consubstantial with the Father since the flesh cannot appropriate such an attribute? For it is foolishness to say that God was born of the Virgin [...]. But it was not the divine nature who was born; what was born was the one who was formed of the essence of the Virgin. It was not the God-Logos who was born; of Mary there was born the one from the seed of David [...] He who is consubstantial with the Father was not born from a womb but in these last days he was formed in the womb of the mother by the power of the holy Spirit.⁴⁰²

Theodore's denial of Christ's double consubstantiality makes one suspect that the one prosopon effected by the union that he teaches is not the second hypostasis of the Trinity. This is, as we have already seen, because God cannot be united by nature to his creatures. At this point Theodore is at one with Nestorius.

As we mentioned earlier for Theodore the incarnation was not a 'becoming' but an 'assuming'. Theodore's idea that the Logos could not be changed into a human being was based on his characteristically Antiochene doctrine of the immutability of the divine nature. This is certainly a basic Christian doctrine but it also relates to the Hellenistic idea that change or mutability is evil and negative whereas changelessness is conducive to happiness and beatification. In Theodore, immutability and impassibility are not only properties of God, but can be achieved by men and in fact it should be their ultimate goal.⁴⁰³ Man sins because he is mutable. In this life he must strive to become impassive and immutable although he will never achieve it fully until his resurrection. Then he will be granted immutability of the soul and immortality of the body and enjoy eternal happiness. This will happen because he will be participating in God's natural immutability.

The road to achieving immutability was shown by Christ who was the only one to become absolutely immutable. God made Christ 'immortal, incorruptible and immutable' after his resurrection.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰² *Contra Apollinarium*, PG 86, 993B-994B; 997BC. Cf. Romanides, 'Highlights,' p. 160.

⁴⁰³ Pelikan, p. 232; Romanides, 'Highlights', p. 169; Florovsky, *The Byzantine*, p. 209.

⁴⁰⁴ On Theodore's teaching about Christ's immutability and its criticism by Justinian see V. M. Anastos, 'The Immutability of Christ and Justinian's Condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia', DOP, 6 (1951), 125-160.

The things that the ancients held as figures and shadows came now into reality when Our Lord Jesus Christ who was assumed from us and for us died according to the human law, and through his Resurrection became immortal and for ever immutable, and as such ascended into heaven, as by his union with our nature he became to us an earnest of our own participation in the event.⁴⁰⁵

This is why he is the unique example of a human being perfectly fulfilling his calling. It is very significant that Theodore attributes Christ's achievement to the moral struggle of his human nature. God in the case of Christ and in any man's case only blesses and rewards the effort. This is another sign of how much the Theodorene christological and soteriological thinking was focused on the human factor. Hence to Theodore's thought has been attributed the element of 'anthropological maximalism' as opposed to the Alexandrian 'anthropological minimalism'.⁴⁰⁶

Theodore of Mopsuestia in modern scholarship

Theodore's christology has sharply divided theologians ever since his condemnation at the Fifth Ecumenical Council. The opponents of the Fifth Ecumenical Council at that time, especially Facundus of Hermiana, deemed Theodore's condemnation unfair. They accused Justinian and his supporters of presenting an unjust picture of Theodore by using certain phrases of his isolated from their context as evidence against him.⁴⁰⁷ Yet as the Fifth Council was subsequently recognised as ecumenical in East and West it became customary to treat Theodore as the originator of Nestorianism.⁴⁰⁸ This judgement was based mostly on the evidence presented at the Fifth Ecumenical Council as the complete doctrinal works of Theodore's had been lost. That was until the beginning of this century, when a great discovery challenged the traditional approach to the Theodorene works.

In 1932 A. Mingana published two Syriac versions of Theodore's lost Commentaries on the Nicene Creed,⁴⁰⁹ the Lord's Prayer, and the Sacraments of Baptism and Eucharist with English translation.⁴¹⁰ The material contained in the manuscripts was viewed by quite a few scholars as representing a christology considerably different from the one which had been usually attributed to Theodore up to

⁴⁰⁵ *Commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Lord's Prayer and on the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist*, ed. and tr. by A. Mingana, Woodbrooke Studies VI (Cambridge: 1933), pp. 19-20.

⁴⁰⁶ Florovsky, *The Byzantine*, p. 209.

⁴⁰⁷ *Pro Defensione*, PL 67, 745B.

⁴⁰⁸ Bardenhewer sums up the traditional criticism against Theodore: 'Theodore was a Nestorius before Nestorius. Like Diodore [of Tarsus] he taught that in Christ there were two persons. The divine nature is a person, and the human nature is a person.' *Patrology*, Engl. tr. by T. Shahan (Freiburg: 1908), p. 321.

⁴⁰⁹ *Op. cit.*

⁴¹⁰ *Op. cit.*

then, a fact which cast doubt on the validity of his condemnation at the Fifth Council. In Mingana's collection Theodore seems to proclaim a kind of real union between the natures in Christ and denounce the existence of two distinct persons. In the light of this discovery a number of scholars took a positive stance towards Theodore. E. Amann, in two articles, argued that Theodore was not the heretic the Fifth Ecumenical Council had made him out to be. His christology was on the whole orthodox.⁴¹¹ The defence of Theodore was carried on by R. Devreesse who in a systematic study entitled *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste*⁴¹² argued that the condemnation of Theodore was unfair since it was based on material which had been interpolated by his enemies. A careful comparison between the recently discovered complete texts and the excerpts that the Fifth Council based its verdict upon, proves that. Theodore, in Devreesse's view, did not teach Nestorianism. He did divide the natures very emphatically but at the same time he proclaimed the oneness of his subject. Thus Theodore was in fundamental agreement with Chalcedon. This view was shared by M. Richard.⁴¹³

Other scholars, however, being more critical of Theodore's thought, contended that there was not enough reason to discard the decisions of the Fifth Council, and produced evidence that it was the Syriac extracts that should be considered with caution⁴¹⁴. F. Sullivan maintained that

[...] in not a single case the alleged forgery, interpolation, or textual alteration remains as the only possible, or indeed as the more probable explanation of textual variants between the hostile fragments, and independent versions of Theodore's work. It should be noticed that there is not a single case where the text of the a hostile fragment differs from a reliable Greek citation of the same passage. The case for textual alteration rests entirely on the witness of translations: in particular, Syriac translations.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹¹ 'La doctrine christologique de Théodore de Mopsueste (à propos d'une publication récente),' *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 14 (1934), 161-190; Idem, 'Théodore de Mopsueste', *DTC* 15, pt. 1 (1946), 235-279.

⁴¹² *Studi e Testi* 141 (Vatican City: 1948).

⁴¹³ M. Richard, 'Les traités de Cyril d' Alexandrie contre Diodore and Théodore', in idem *Opera minora* II (1977), no 51, pp. 99-116.

⁴¹⁴ E.g. K. MacNamara, 'Theodore of Mopsuestia and the Nestorian Heresy', *Irish Theological Quarterly* 19 (1953), 73-84; F. A. Sullivan, 'Some Reactions to Devreesse's New Study of Theodore of Mopsuestia', *Theological Studies* 12 (1951), 179-209; Idem, *The Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia*, *Analecta Gregoriana* 82 (Rome: 1956); J. Romanides, 'Highlights in the Debate over Theodore of Mopsuestia's Christology and some Suggestions for a fresh Approach', *GOTR* 5, pt. 2 (1959-1960), 140-185.

⁴¹⁵ *The Christology*, pp. 156-157 (cited by Romanides, 'Highlights,' pp. 143-144).

The same scholar, although he recognised Theodore's orthodox intentions, concluded his study with the assertion that the bishop of Mopsuestia 'was indeed what he has long been called: "the Father of Nestorianism"'.⁴¹⁶

Similarly, MacNamara finds Devreesse's total rejection of the conciliar fragments unsubstantiated. He writes:

Granted that there was a spirit of animosity abroad against Theodore at the time of the Council, yet the evidence produced is far from sufficient to cast doubts on the reliability of the extracts as a whole. Only in very few fragments — scarcely more than six out of a total of about forty dealing with his Christology — has Devreesse shown differences of any consequence between the text presented to the Council and that transmitted to us through other channels and [...] even in these instances the Conciliar text does not misrepresent Theodore's characteristic manner of expression, as it reveals itself in those of his works which come down to us in their integrity.⁴¹⁷

Although it is beyond the scope of this study to investigate fully if and how much Theodore's works were interpolated for the purpose of his condemnation in 553, we cannot altogether shun the question. Given that the critics of the Fifth Council consider Mingana's manuscripts as a more reliable source of Theodore's thought it is interesting to see how they compare with the text used by the Fifth Council. Mingana himself has identified in the Syriac MS of Theodore's *The Nicene Creed* six passages which were used by the Fifth Ecumenical Council. In his preface the editor pointed out that, judging from its comparison with the Syriac version, the Latin translation of the original Greek passages of Theodore's work was not always successful. Rather than attributing this to interpolation by the Council, Mingana assumed that it must have been the fault of the official Latin translator of the Acts.⁴¹⁸ Let us compare the passages in question in their Latin and Mingana version:

Constantinople II

I. *Sed Christum quidem secundum carnem et assumptam servi formam, eum autem qui eam assumpsit, super omnia nominans Deum, intulit tamen hoc secundum conjunctionem nominum naturarum, manifestam et divisionem faciat. Nemo igitur neque eum qui secundum carnem ex Judaeis est, dicat Deum qui est super omnia, secundum carnem ex*

Mingana

I. [...] but he professed that the form of man which He assumed was Christ in the flesh, and Him who assumed that form he called God over all; he, however, mentioned these two things together in order to show the distinction found between the natures. Nobody believes that He who is from the Jews according to the flesh is God by nature, nor that

⁴¹⁶ *The Christology*, p. 288.

⁴¹⁷ 'Theodore', pp. 258-259.

⁴¹⁸ Mingana, V, p. 15.

Judaeis.

II. *Quando enim dicit, 'De Filio suo, qui factus est ex semine David secundum carnem' [Rom. 1.3] certum quidem quod filium hic eum qui ex semine David factus est secundum carnem, non Deum dicit Verbum, sed assumptam servi formam. Nec enim Deus secundum carnem, nec Deus ex semine factus est David, sed sumptus pro nobis homo, quem filium beatus Apostolus manifeste vocat.*

III. *Deinde ostendens cujus gratia passus est, diminutionem infert, Quatenus circa Deum pro omnibus gustaret mortem [Heb. 2]: quia, divina natura ita volente, separata illa, ipse per se pro omnium utilitate gustavit mortem; et ostendens quod deitas separata guidem erat ab illo qui passus est secundum moris experimentum, quia nec possibile erat illam mortis experimentum accipere, non tamen illi qui passus est, abfuerat secundum diligentiam.*

IV. *Permanens autem, donec secundum suam creaturam et virtutem solvens mortis dolores, liberavit eum ineffabilibus illis vinculis, et de mortuis resuscitans, transtulit quidem in immortalem vitam; incorruptum autem et immortalem efficiens, in caelum duxit.*

V. *Christum justificatum et immaculatum factum virtute Sancti Spiritus, sicut beatus Paulus modo quidem dicit, 'Quod justificatus est in spiritu [1Tim. 3]: modo vero.'*

God who is above all is from the Jews by nature.

II. When it says: 'Concerning His Son who was made of the seed of David according to the flesh,' it is evident that it calls here Son the one who was made of the seed of David in the flesh and not God the Word but the form of the servant which was assumed. Indeed it is not God who became flesh nor was it God who was made of the seed of David but the man who was assumed for us, and it is Him that blessed Paul clearly called Son.

III. And in order to teach us why He suffered and became 'a little lower' he said: 'Apart from God He tasted death for every man.' In this he shows that Divine nature willed that He should taste death for the benefit of every man, and also that the Godhead was separated from the one who was suffering in the trial of death, because it was impossible for Him to taste the trial of death if (the Godhead) were not cautiously remote from Him, but also near enough to do the needful and necessary things for the nature that was assumed by it.

IV. [...] but He remained with him until He helped him to loose the pains of death, and He delivered his soul from the bonds which were indissoluble; and He raised him from the dead and transferred him to immortal life, and made him immortal, incorruptible and immutable; and He caused him to go up to heaven where he is now sitting at the right hand of God.

V. [...] He was justified and became blameless by the power of the Holy Spirit, as the blessed Paul said: 'He was justified in the Spirit', and again: 'Who through the eternal

Qui per Spiritum aeternum, immaculatum se obtulit Deo [Heb. 9], mori quidem facit secundum legem hominum, utpote autem impeccabilem virtute Sancti Spiritus factum, resuscitavit de mortuis, et ad vitam constituit meliorem: immutabilem quidem animae cogitationibus, incorruptum autem et indissolutum et carne faciens.

VI. *'Deo autem gratias, quod inobis dedit victoriam per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum' [1 Cor. 15.57]; istorum causam fuisse nobis dicens Deum, qui contra omnes adversarios nobis dedit victoriam, sive mortis, sive peccati, sive cujuscumque hinc nascendi mali: qui Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum pro nobis hominem sumens, et ipsum per resurrectionem de mortuis ad meliorem transtulit finem, et in dextera sua sedere fecit et nobis ad eum donavit communionem.*

Spirit offered Himself without spot to God'. If He suffered death according to the law of men, because He had no sin He rose from the dead by the power of the Holy Spirit and became worthy of a new life in which the wishes of the soul are immutable, and He made the body immortal and incorruptible.

VI. 'Who gave us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.' This shows that it is God who was for us the source of all good things, and it is He who gave us the victory over all adversaries, either death or sin or any other evil born of them: He who for us put on the man our Lord Jesus and transferred Him through His resurrection from the dead to a new life, and placed Him at His right hand, and gave us by His grace communion with Him [...].

Although the two texts do not match word for word, the ideas they convey are the same. In my view in the last passage (vi), the Mingana version seems to prove the point of the Fifth Council more clearly than its own text does. Whereas in the Council's text the participle *sumens* could be understood as referring to Christ's Assumption to Heavens by the Father (to whom St. Paul naturally addresses the doxology in the quoted passage), Mingana's 'put on' leaves no doubt that by 'the man our Lord Jesus' Theodore meant Christ's human nature. Obviously, in this case 'God' refers to the Logos. In either case the expression 'the man our Lord Jesus Christ' is indicative of Theodore's leaning towards attributing a personalised existence to Christ's humanity and, thus, was bound to be considered blasphemous by the Cyrillian Fathers of the Fifth Council.

It seems to us that the Mingana collection does not change much the traditional view of Theodore as teaching two separate agents in Christ. In the seventh homily on the Nicene Creed, Theodore teaches the existence of one prosopon in Christ: 'Consider the power of their [the Nicene Fathers'] definition from the fact that in speaking of His humanity, His Passion, and His Resurrection they affirmed that the very same prosopon

to whom all this happened shall sit in judgement.'⁴¹⁹ However, in the eighth homily, he gives a clear impression that he does accept two persons in Christ, although he does not call them 'Sons' because only the divine one can be 'Son' nature:

Here also [in the case of Christ] if each of them were Son and Lord by nature it would be possible for us to say that there are two Sons and two Lords, according to the number of persons, but one being Son and Lord by nature and the other being neither Son nor Lord by nature, we believe that the latter received these [attributes] through His close union with the Only-Begotten God the Word, and so we hold that there is one Son only; and we understand that the one who is truly Son and Lord is the one who possesses these [attributes] by nature, and we add in our thought the temple in which He dwells.⁴²⁰

In the same homily he writes: 'The one who assumed is not the same as the one who was assumed, nor is the one who was assumed the same as the one who assumed, but the one who assumed is God while the one who was assumed is a man.'⁴²¹

Commenting on Christ's Baptism Theodore not only divides the subjects, but he comes dangerously close to Adoptionism:

There was also the Son [the God-Logos] in the One who was baptised [Christ], and by His proximity to Him [i.e. to Christ] and by His union with the one who was assumed, He was confirming the adoption of children.⁴²²

It follows, then, from what it has been said, that in Theodore's system the idea of the 'communication of the attributes', which gave the Alexandrians the means of explaining the divine and human function by the same Person, is absent. Throughout his writings Theodore distinguishes the attributes of each nature; he predicates the attributes of the divine nature exclusively of the Logos and the attributes of the human nature exclusively of the man Christ. What is most important here is the fact that Theodore sees the human nature as an independent subject of attribution. As MacNamara points out: 'Theodore looks upon Christ's manhood as *tota in se*, that is, as completely independent in its being and, therefore, as a human person in our sense.'⁴²³ On this point he is in agreement with Nestorius.

Concluding our brief inquiry into Theodore's christology we can observe that Theodore's distinctiveness is explicable by a basic metaphysical presupposition of his thought: he was not distinguishing between the terms *physis* (nature) and *hypostasis*. As these terms are identical in Theodore's mind, the second hypostasis of the Trinity could

⁴¹⁹ Mingana, V, p. 80.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., pp. 90f.

⁴²¹ Mingana, V, p. 83.

⁴²² Mingana, VI, pp. 66-67.

⁴²³ 'Theodore', p. 268.

not have become incarnate, for the divine physis is immutable and cannot transform into a creature. Besides, as we have seen, his metaphysical conviction that nature is related to necessity, whereas will is related to freedom makes an acceptance of the 'natural union' in Christ, unacceptable. Because Theodore does not distinguish the hypostases from the immutable nature, for him the person who was effected by the union, lived and suffered as a real and perfect man could not have been the Second Hypostasis of the Trinity.⁴²⁴ This is the heart of the problem that Theodore's christology seems to have and its essential difference from the Cappadocian and Alexandrine christology.

3.2 THEODORET OF CYRUS

Theodoret elaborated his christological teaching during the Nestorian controversy. He seems to have been the mastermind behind the christological positions that the Orientals took during the eventful period between 431-451. He certainly was the predominant figure at the 'counter-Council' of the Orientals at Ephesus (431) which rejected the decisions of the General Council and deposed Cyril. He is also believed⁴²⁵ to have been the author of the 'Formulary of Reunion' (433) — a thesis which in our view seems very unlikely as we shall explain below — commonly attributed to John of Antioch.

Refutation of the Twelve Anathemas

As we have seen, asked by John of Antioch to answer Cyril's *Twelve Anathemas*, Theodoret wrote a treatise refuting Cyril's teaching as crypto-Apollinarianism.⁴²⁶ In it, Theodoret uses language which is very much akin to that of Theodore and Nestorius, although, he takes care to be on more orthodox lines than the other two.

Almost every doctrine of the Antiochene School is found in the teaching of Theodoret. At the outset the bishop of Cyrus proclaims the basic Antiochene principle of God's immutability: 'the God-Logos has not become flesh by nature nor was He turned into flesh; for the Divine nature is immutable and unchangeable.'⁴²⁷ It ensues that the biblical 'the God-Logos became flesh' does not mean that he became flesh by changing his nature, but that he assumed flesh and dwelt among us: 'if it is impossible for the immutable to change, then the God-Logos did not become flesh by undergoing change, but He assumed flesh and dwelt in us according to the Gospel.'⁴²⁸ To support

⁴²⁴ Romanides, 'Highlights', pp. 184-185.

⁴²⁵ See e.g. Tixeront, p. 94; Kelly, p. 328.

⁴²⁶ As mentioned the original text of this treatise called 'Refutation of the Twelve Anathemas of Cyril of Alexandria' is lost; the entire work or probably its main points are preserved in Cyril's *Epistola ad Euoptium adversus impugnationem duodecim capitum a Theodoreto editam*, PG 76, 385-452.

⁴²⁷ Ibid., PG 76, 392 B.

⁴²⁸ Ibid., PG 76, 392C.

this, Theodoret uses Paul's: 'who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but made himself of no reputation and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of all men' [Philip. 2. 6-7]. This is the *locus classicus* of the Antiochene School.

Coming to the decisive issue of the title Theotokos and answering Cyril's anathema against those who reject it, Theodoret distances himself from Theodore and Nestorius and accepts the term Theotokos, but only in respect of the union, whereas in regard to the growth, development and birth of Christ, the applied term is Anthropotokos.⁴²⁹

As a typical Antiochene, Theodoret holds the doctrine of 'distinguishing the natures' most firmly. Either nature is perfect and remained as such after the union being unmixed and unconfused.⁴³⁰ At the same time he is careful to avoid the Nestorian notion of accepting an already formed human hypostasis in whom the Logos dwelt. Thus for him, before the incarnation there were not two natures but only one. The union was accomplished at the very moment of the conception in Mary's womb (ἐν τῇ συλλήψει).⁴³¹ However, after the incarnation there were two natures in Christ, the assuming (ἡ λαβοῦσα) and the assumed (ἡ ληφθεῖσα).⁴³² Although this is an absolutely orthodox position, the way Theodoret divides the natures engenders suspicion that he effectively understands the union as a conjunction of two independent subjects: 'one is the one who dwells [in the temple] according to the reason of nature, and another the temple' (ἕτερος δὲ ὁ κατοικήσας τὸν λόγον τῆς φύσεως, καὶ ἕτερος ὁ ναὸς).⁴³³ In his answer to Cyril's *First Anathema*, Theodoret speaks of a co-existence between the 'temple' and the 'one who dwells in it':

Therefore, it is obvious, from what it has been said, that the form of God did not turn into the form of a servant, but, while remaining what it was, it assumed the form of a servant. Thus, the God-Logos did not become flesh (σάρξ), but assumed living and rational flesh; He was not born of the Virgin according to nature, as if he was conceived, shaped, formed and began to exist from thereafter...but having formed himself a temple in the virgin womb, coexisted with the one who was formed and born. For this reason we call that Holy Virgin *Theotokos*, not because she gave birth to God according to nature, but [because she gave birth] to a man who was united to God who shaped him.⁴³⁴

⁴²⁹ Ibid., PG 76, 393 AB.

⁴³⁰ Ibid., PG 76, 404 BC.

⁴³¹ *Eranistes*, II, PG 83, col. 144, 137, 140, 324.

⁴³² *De incarnatione Domini*, PG 75, 1472B.

⁴³³ Ibid., PG 75, 1452A.

⁴³⁴ Cyril, *Ep. ad Euoptium*, PG 76, 393A.

The union of the natures is indivisible but the distinction between them and their idioms is so sharp that Theodoret appears to deny the 'communication of the attributes'. The human acts of Christ belong strictly to the 'temple', whereas the divine to the Logos.⁴³⁵ In the answer to the *Fourth Anathema* Theodoret emphatically asks:

To whom should we attribute that 'My God, my God why hast thou forsaken me?' [Math. 27.46] and that 'O, my father if it be possible, let this cup pass from me' [Math. 26.39]? To whom should we attribute the hunger and the thirst; the toil and the sleep; the ignorance and the cowardice? How can He [the Logos] have everything that belongs to the Father and not have the knowledge? For He says 'only the Father knows that day [of the last Judgement]. Therefore the ignorance does not belong to the Logos but to the form of the servant who knew, at that time, only as much as the Divinity who was dwelling in him revealed to him.'⁴³⁶

Also, in the answer to the *Twelfth Anathema* commenting on the saying 'But now ye seek to kill me, a man that hath told you the truth' [John 8.40], Theodoret remarks: 'What is threatened is not the very Life, but he that has the mortal nature.'⁴³⁷

The bishop of Cyrus has no difficulty proclaiming one person in Christ, one Son.⁴³⁸ Nonetheless, he refuses to accept the hypostatic union as the manner of safeguarding the perfection of the union. In his answer to Cyril's *Second Anathema*, he writes:

Following the divine teaching of the apostles we confess one Christ; and we call the Selfsame God and man because of the union. However, we ignore the hypostatic union altogether, as alien and foreign to the divine scriptures and the fathers who interpreted them.⁴³⁹

For him the union according to hypostasis means mixture (*κρᾶσις*) of the natures which inevitably leads to confusion (*σύγχυσις*) and this, in turn, to abolition of the particularities of each nature. It suffices, Theodoret teaches, to speak of a mere union which would both preserve the idioms of either nature and the oneness of Christ.⁴⁴⁰ Here we can once more observe the reluctance of the Antiochene teachers to give a convincing explanation of how they mean the natural and perfect union, since, on the

⁴³⁵ Ibid., PG 76, 437; *De incarnatione*, PG 75, 1437D.

⁴³⁶ Ibid., PG 76, 409C-412 A.

⁴³⁷ Ibid., PG 76, 449C.

⁴³⁸ ἓν μὲν πρόσωπον, καὶ ἓνα υἱὸν καὶ Χριστὸν ὁμολογεῖν εὐσεβές. Ibid., PG 76, 404B.

⁴³⁹ Ἐνα μὲν Χριστὸν ὁμολογοῦμεν, ταῖς θεαίαις τῶν ἀποστόλων διδασκαλίαις πειθόμενοι καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν Θεόν τε καὶ ἄνθρωπον ὀνομάζομεν τὴν δὲ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἔνωσιν παντάπασιν ἀγνοοῦμεν, ὡς ξένην καὶ ἀλλόφυλον τῶν θείων Γραφῶν, καὶ τῶν ταῦτας ἡρμηνευκότων Πατέρων. Ibid., PG 76, 400A.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., PG 76, 400C.

one hand, they want to proclaim the oneness of Christ, as Theodoret here does, and on the other reject Cyril's hypostatic union.

Theodoret's difficulty to understand Cyril's hypostatic union explains why he would not predicate all 'names' of the one prosopon of the Logos. For him the names belong to their respective natures. Cyril's idea is akin to the doctrine of Arius and Eunomius, says Theodoret in his answer to the *Fourth Anathema*. These heretics, he says, having held that the Only-Begotten was 'created' and a 'servant' who came into being 'from non-existence,' went on to predicate Christ's humble human idioms of his Divinity.⁴⁴¹ Even worse, Theodoret goes on, Cyril surpassed the foregoing heretics in impiety, as he held Christ's immutable divinity to have suffered, been crucified, died and buried. That not even the Arians and Eunomians would have dared to say.

The way Theodoret explains the union of the two natures is very similar to that of Theodore and Nestorius: the union was accomplished according to God's good will, love to man, and grace.⁴⁴² Again like Theodore, Theodoret rejects a natural union; such a union subordinates God to necessity. If God unites himself to humanity by reason of nature he does not act freely and out of love, but He obeys to a need, for what is done by nature is done out of necessity (e. g. we eat because we obey to the natural need of hunger).⁴⁴³ It is significant here to note that whereas Theodoret in his debate with Cyril clearly rejected the natural union, in his *Eranistes*, along with other concessions to Cyril, he accepted it: 'yet, although the union is natural, the idioms of each nature remained intact.'⁴⁴⁴

Although in his writings Theodoret often repeats his belief in one Christ to whom one worship and veneration should be addressed, in his Answer to Cyril's *Tenth Anathema* he again gives the impression that the union he teaches is a rather loose one. In particular, to Cyril's assertion that Christ as the Logos incarnate, and not as a man, is the High-Priest of the Scriptures who offered sacrifices for us and not for himself (he would not need it as he was sinless), Theodoret answers in a way reflecting the general Antiochene understanding of the person of Christ. Using examples from the Scriptures he contests that the High-Priesthood referred to man-Christ who offered sacrifices for us and for himself as well. For Christ, says Theodoret, was in a process of a moral progress

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., PG 76, 409BC

⁴⁴² *Eranistes*, PG 83, 145.

⁴⁴³ Cyril, *Ep. ad Euoptium*, PG 76, 401D-404B.

⁴⁴⁴ *πλὴν καὶ φυσικῆς ἐνταῦθα τῆς ἐνώσεως οὐσης ἀκεραία μεμένηκε τὰ τῶν φύσεων ἴδια.* PG 83, 145A.

and therefore needed God's aid. The same, of course, did not apply to the perfect and sinless Logos. In particular, Theodoret asks:

Who is it who became perfect through the working of virtues, and who was not perfect by nature? Who is it who learned obedience through experience while not knowing it until he had experienced it? Who is it who lived in reverence, who with a loud cry and tears offered prayers, who did not have the strength to save himself, but who prayed to the All-Mighty to save him and asked to be spared from death?

And he answers:

Not God the Logos who is impassive, immortal, and incorporeal. But it is the one whom He received from David's seed, who was mortal, passive and afraid of death. Although he later on defeated the sway of death; but he did it because of the union with God who had assumed him. He received the name of High Priest according to the order of Melchizedek; he was clothed in the weakness of our nature — not the All-Mighty Logos of God. No one who professes the orthodox faith should call a creature the one who is uncreated and made by nobody, the God-Logos who is coeternal with the Father. But [one should call a creature the one who is from the seed of David, who being free from every sin became our High Priest and Sacrifice. He offered himself to God having in him the God-Logos united with him and joined inseparably.⁴⁴⁵

In the last passage we see that Theodoret, in line with Theodore, views the person of Christ through the optic of a moralistic, anthropological approach which values human effort towards perfection above any ontological change of the human state.

In Theodoret's christological thought one can trace the differences between christological and trinitarian language. Thus, whereas in the Trinity one can speak of three hypostases in the sense of *prosopa*, in christology Theodoret (like Cyril) identifies the term *hypostasis* with nature and oppose them to *prosopon*.⁴⁴⁶ This is why Theodoret speaks of 'two hypostases' in Christ.⁴⁴⁷ But is this a sufficient reason to explain his sharp distinction between divinity and manhood in Christ? There is no doubt that Theodoret rejects the idea of two Sons, as did Theodore before him, but the means he uses to describe the union are not adequate to safeguard the completeness of the union and the oneness of the subject in Christ in the orthodox sense. The 'one person' he proclaims resembles the Nestorian and Theodorene theoretical '*prosopon of the union*' since he refuses to accept Cyril's 'natural' or 'hypostatic union' and its immediate consequence which is the 'transference of the names'.

⁴⁴⁵ Cyril, *Ep. ad Euoptium*, PG 76, 436B-437C.

⁴⁴⁶ Grillmeier, *Christ I*, p. 420f.

⁴⁴⁷ Cyril, *Ep. ad Euoptium*, PG 76, 404B.

Theodoret's view of Christ's manhood as being so distinctively independent that he constantly calls him the 'assumed temple' or 'God bearing man', gives one the impression that his thought lacks coherence. For, while he confesses a real union, in his struggle to exclude any mixture or change in Christ's nature, he went further than he probably meant to. This is shown in the *Eranistes* where he uses a language much closer to that of his opponent Cyril. Yet even when he comes close to the thought of Cyril there are still significant differences between the two approaches. Be as an example Theodoret's almost Cyrillian confession of faith in his *Letter to Oriental Monks*. This seems to be basically a reiteration of the *Formulary of Reunion*. Yet as Romanides has pointed out⁴⁴⁸ it differs crucially from it. In the following quotation of Theodoret's confession (following Romanides' suggestion) we will insert in brackets the text of the *Formulary* that Theodoret omits and will underline a phrase that Theodoret adds to the *Formulary*:

We confess our Lord Jesus Christ, [the Only Begotten Son of God] to be perfect God and perfect man, with rational soul and body; before the ages born of the Father according to divinity, and in the last days [the Selfsame], for us and for our salvation, of the Virgin Mary according to humanity; the selfsame consubstantial with the Father according to divinity, and consubstantial with us according to humanity.⁴⁴⁹

Apparently here Theodoret endorses the 'double consubstantiality' of Christ, i.e. the very principle which essentially differentiated Cyril's christology from that of Nestorius. This is a development in his thought as he does not proclaim the 'double consubstantiality' in his previous works. However, as Romanides observes, Theodoret still could not come to terms with the idea that Christ's attributes could be predicated of the Son of God, the Logos himself. Thus Theodoret's version omits the crucial prerogatives 'the Only Begotten Son' and the 'Selfsame' which shows us that the bishop of Cyrus would accept *Christ's* double consubstantiality but not the *Logos*'. The difference is more important than it looks at first: in Theodoret's mind Christ as God-man includes the Logos which entitles us to speak of Christ's 'double consubstantiality'. He cannot however say the same of the Logos — i.e. that the Son of God who is born eternally of the Father was also born in time of the Virgin Mary — as Cyril would have liked him to.

⁴⁴⁸ Romanides, 'St. Cyril's', p. 93

⁴⁴⁹ *Ad eos qui in Euphratesia*, PG 83, 1420A; For the *Formulary of Reunion* see Part One, Chapter II.

Theodoret's christology after Chalcedon

Although the Fifth Ecumenical Council condemned only those writings of Theodoret which criticised Cyril and the Council of Ephesus I, it is important for the purpose of our study to see what Theodoret taught after Chalcedon, i.e. after he had condemned Nestorianism. This would give us an insight as to how the Antiochene camp interpreted Chalcedon.

As we can gather from his post-Chalcedonian *Haereticarum fabularum compendium* (published ca. 453)⁴⁵⁰ Theodoret still proclaimed the predication of things divine and human separately to the respective natures, rejecting thus any form of theopaschism. At the same time, however, he was effectively rejecting the attribution of all idioms to the one hypostasis of the Incarnate Logos.⁴⁵¹ In doing so not only did he go against Cyril's teaching but also against that of the Chalcedonian fathers who had encapsulated the Cyrillian 'hypostatic union' in the 'one hypostasis' of the Creed.

More important information for the doctrine of Theodoret after Chalcedon is to be found in a letter which he is believed to have sent to the Nestorian John of Aegaea.⁴⁵² As emerges from the letter, John of Aegaea was alarmed by Chalcedon's 'two natures-one hypostasis'.⁴⁵³ Such a statement sounded illogical to him since he understood hypostasis in the sense of physis.⁴⁵⁴ Theodoret reassures him that by hypostasis Chalcedon meant prosopon.⁴⁵⁵ As we have seen Theodore and Nestorius were much happier with the term prosopon than hypostasis, for the former, in its vague sense of 'appearance' could be the result of a union of two distinct subjects. Moreover, Theodoret appears to define hypostasis as the meeting point of many concurring individuals, in other words as the 'prosopon of the union' of Theodore and Nestorius.⁴⁵⁶ If this interpretation is true then this letter is an evidence that Theodoret, although nominally a Chalcedonian, never appreciated the intention of the Chalcedonian fathers to stress the unity of the person in

⁴⁵⁰ PG. 83, 340C-556A.

⁴⁵¹ See Gray, *The Defense*, pp. 84-85.

⁴⁵² The fragments in F. Nau, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'église nestorienne*, PO 13 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1919), pp. 188-191 and in J. B. Chabot, ed., *Chronique de Michel le syrien II* (Paris, 1901), pp. 225 and 227 (syriac text) and pp. 103 and 106 (Fr. trans.). Analysis of the letter in M. Richard, 'La lettre de Théodoret à Jean d' Egées', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 30 (1941-1942), 415-423. Also published in Idem, *Opera minora*, II, no 48; Gray, *The Defense*, pp. 85-88; Idem, 'Theodoret on the 'One Hypostasis': An Antiochene Reading of Chalcedon,' *SP* 15, pt. 1 (1984), 301-304.

⁴⁵³ PO 13, p. 189.

⁴⁵⁴ As we shall see Justinian pointed out that the (erroneous) identification of physis and hypostasis was a tenet of the Monophysites as well as the Nestorians. See Part Two, Chapter II.

⁴⁵⁵ PO 13, pp. 190-191.

⁴⁵⁶ *Chronique*, p. 106. See Richard, 'La lettre', pp. 419-420; Gray, *The Defense*, pp. 87-88; Idem, 'Theodoret', p. 302.

Christ by using the term hypostasis in the sense of Cyril, i.e. the sense of concrete being. Rather than loosening the meaning of hypostasis, the Chalcedonian Definition concretised the meaning of prosopon by identifying it with hypostasis.

All in all, Theodoret's christology, though elaborate and ingenious, lacks precision which makes it out to seem problematic. It is certain that Theodoret wanted to proclaim the oneness of Christ but since he could not accept the hypostatic union his idea of the union lacks depth. To the ultimate question whether Christ's one hypostasis and prosopon was that of the Logos, Theodoret could not provide an answer as convincing and profound as Cyril's.

3.3 THE LETTER OF IBAS

The third of the Three Chapters is a letter which has been preserved⁴⁵⁷ under the name of Ibas the bishop of Edessa. It was written in 433, after the reconciliation between Cyril and the Orientals,⁴⁵⁸ and was addressed to a certain Maris about whom nothing is known. There have been various suggestions as to who this person was (e.g. the bishop of Ren-Ardashir in Persia, the Metropolitan of Edessa,⁴⁵⁹ the Catholicos Dadiso of Seleucia-Ctesiphon⁴⁶⁰ et. al.) of which the most convincing appears to be that of M. Esbroeck who on the basis of an Arabic letter of 452, which he published, argues that Maris was an Archimandrite of the Monastery of the 'Sleepless' monks (*Ἀκοίμητοι*).⁴⁶¹ Among other evidence, Esbroeck points to the phrase 'your Holiness trains in God's teaching *night and day*, so, that you may help many', in the last sentence of the letter, which suggests that the letter could have been addressed to a 'Sleepless' monk.⁴⁶² Obviously this discovery sheds new light on the question of the importance of this letter. Esbroeck even suggests that the Letter — through the influential 'Sleepless' monks — was instrumental in shaping the policy of Pulcheria and Marcion in favour of a dyophysite solution to the christological problem.⁴⁶³

The aim of the Letter, as we gather from its last paragraph was to give Maris an account of how the reconciliation between Cyril and the Orientals (433) was

⁴⁵⁷ ACO II, 1, 3, pp. 32-34 (Greek trans.); ACO IV, 1, pp. 138-140 (Latin trans.). For an English translation of the whole letter see Appendix.

⁴⁵⁸ See Part One, Chapter II.

⁴⁵⁹ The bibliography in M. van Esbroeck, 'Who is Mari, the addressee of Ibas' letter?' *JTS* 38 (1987), 129-135.

⁴⁶⁰ Meyendorff, *Imperial*, p. 166.

⁴⁶¹ For the 'Sleepless monks' see Part One, Chapter V.

⁴⁶² 'Who is Mari', p. 134.

⁴⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

accomplished.⁴⁶⁴ To do so Ibas gives an outline of the events related to the council of Ephesus (431). He certainly sees these developments through a strict Antiochene optic which became increasingly unpopular in the East after the council of Ephesus. The author is critical of the language that both Cyril and Nestorius used in their correspondence.

There has been a quarrel (on account of which your Godliness was here) between these two men, namely Nestorius and Cyril, who wrote against each other harmful words that scandalised those who heard them.⁴⁶⁵

Whereas Ibas refers to Nestorius' denial of the title Theotokos without passing judgement on him,⁴⁶⁶ against Cyril he is much more caustic:

Cyril, on the other hand, willing to counter Nestorius' arguments he slipped and found himself fallen into the doctrine of Apollinarius. For, he, like the latter, wrote that the God-Logos himself became man, as if there was not any difference between the temple and the one who lives in it. He wrote the *Twelve Chapters*, which I think your Godliness knows well, and which proclaim that the nature of both the divinity and the humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ is one, and that we should not, he [Cyril] contends, divide what has been said of Christ either by himself or by the evangelists.

The *Twelve Chapters* are 'filled with impiety' as they teach that the eternal Logos was born of Mary, as if there was no difference between the eternal Logos and 'the temple who was born of Mary'. This is against the doctrine of the 'fathers' who always taught that 'there are two natures and at the same time one power, one person which means that there is one Son Lord Jesus Christ'.⁴⁶⁷ Obviously here Ibas, with his 'two natures-one power-one person' reiterates the doctrine of Theodore.

Ibas' criticism against Cyril extends to the council of Ephesus itself. There, Cyril and his supporters, says Ibas, condemned Nestorius before the arrival of the Orientals, and without proper examination. Cyril's motive for such a haste was his 'hatred' against his opponent.⁴⁶⁸ In Ibas' view the council of Ephesus ratified the 'impious' *Twelve Chapters*.⁴⁶⁹

Then Ibas describes the unrest that followed Ephesus and expresses his indignation against his own bishop, Rabbulas. Ibas says that after Ephesus Rabbulas, 'the tyrant of his city' as he calls him, campaigned against many who were not followers of Cyril. His attack was directed not only against the living but also the dead among

⁴⁶⁴ ACO II, 1, 3, p. 34.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 32, 16-18.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 32, 18-21. See Appendix §3.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 32, 21-33, 2. See Appendix §5.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 33. See Part One, Chapter II.

⁴⁶⁹ *Τὰ δώδεκα κεφάλαια...ἀνέθηκαν καὶ ἐβεβαίωσαν.* ACO II, 1, 3, p. 33, 9-10.

whom was 'the blessed' Theodore of Mopsuestia. Ibas does not hide his admiration for Theodore:

Among them [i.e. those persecuted by Rabbulas even though they were dead] was the blessed Theodore the herald of the truth and teacher of the Church, who not only buffeted the heretics with his right faith during his life time but also after his death he left through his treatises a spiritual weapon to the children of the Church. This your Godliness came to know when you met him and you were convinced [about his right faith] by reading his writings. This man the one who dares to do everything [i.e. Rabbulas] dared to anathematise publicly in the Church, [this man] who out of zeal for God not only his own city brought from error back to the truth, but also edified by his teaching the far away Churches.⁴⁷⁰

Theodore, says Ibas, was posthumously anathematized by Rabbulas and his books were destroyed not because they were not orthodox but because of the antipathy that the bishop of Edessa had against him.⁴⁷¹

Finally Ibas expresses his adherence to the profession of faith produced by John of Antioch (or probably Theodoret of Cyrus) which was accepted by Cyril and brought about peace to the Church. According to Ibas, the reconciliation was achieved because Cyril agreed to renounce his 'one physis' and his 'theopaschism'.⁴⁷² This is indicative of the way the Antiochenes interpreted Cyril's agreement to the Formulary of Reunion.⁴⁷³

Ibas' rehabilitation by the Council of Chalcedon and the fact that the Council included his letter in the conciliar minutes created tension and disbelief between the Monophysites, the Nestorianizers and the orthodox. Both the Monophysites and the Nestorianizers, each for their own obvious reasons, saw the inclusion of the letter in the minutes as a proof that the Council of Chalcedon favoured the radical Antiochene interpretation of the christological doctrine and apparently the rejection of the Cyrillian one. For the Monophysites that was one more reason to reject the Chalcedonian decisions and split from the Church.

The *Letter to Maris*, however, found supporters beyond the Nestorian party. In fact, champions in the struggle against its condemnation were the Latin theologians Facundus, Rusticus, Pelagius and for some time the Pope Vigilius. It is interesting that the defence of the letter by these theologians and, in particular by Facundus, is not

⁴⁷⁰ ACO II, 1, 3, p. 33.

⁴⁷¹ Loc. cit.

⁴⁷² ACO II, 1, 3, p. 34.

⁴⁷³ Cyril's reaction to such an interpretation is recorded in his *Ep. ad Acacium Melit.* ACO I, 1, 4, pp. 20-31.

limited to the reasonable argument that a condemnation of the Letter would impair the authority of Chalcedon, but extends to the acceptance of its canonicity and orthodoxy.⁴⁷⁴

This ambiguity, and the calumnies the Monophysites addressed against Chalcedon were, according to Justinian, the reason why he asked for the condemnation of the letter.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷⁴ Facundus maintains that Chalcedon declared the Letter catholic (*catholicam judicavit*) (*Pro Defensione*, PL 67, 527B) and orthodox (*pronuntiavit orthodoxam*). Ibid., PL 67, 561C.

⁴⁷⁵ See Part Two, Chapter II.

CHAPTER IV

THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON

As soon as the events of Ephesus II (431)⁴⁷⁶ became known in Rome, Pope Leo asked the Emperor Theodosius to convoke an ecumenical council in Italy to rectify what he regarded as the unlawful actions of Dioscorus.⁴⁷⁷ But Theodosius saw nothing wrong with Ephesus II and rejected the request.⁴⁷⁸ It was only after the latter's death (28 July 450) that things would go Leo's way. The new sovereigns, Marcian and Pulcheria, were in favour of the dyophysite christology and seemed determined to restore peace and order in the Church. Those who felt ill-treated by Dioscorus at Ephesus II appealed to the imperial couple for justice. The papal legates in the capital complained to Marcian that Dioscorus did not read Leo's letter at the council.⁴⁷⁹ Very vocal among the protesters was Eusebius of Dorylaeum who demanded that a council be immediately summoned to rectify the unjust decisions of Ephesus II on account of which he and the late Flavian had been deposed. He even made the serious allegation that Flavian was killed by Dioscorus himself.⁴⁸⁰ Theodoret of Cyrus, too, appealed against the decisions of Ephesus II to the Pope as well as to Marcian asking for his reinstatement. Thus the convocation of a new general council with the task to solve the problems that Ephesus II had caused seemed inevitable.

4.1 THE PRELIMINARY SESSIONS

In 451 the greatest Council of the Christian Church, in terms of participation, (more than five hundred bishops took part) commenced its deliberations. In the presence of a large delegation of state officials who were to act as referees in the theological debate, the bishops took their seats according to their theological sympathies. On the left of the imperial representatives there were positioned the papal legates (Paschasinus, bishop of Lilybaeum in Sicily and the presbyter Boniface), Anatolius of Constantinople, Maximus of Antioch, Thalassius of Caecarea of Cappadocia, Stephen of Ephesus, and their respective suffragans. On the right hand side there were Dioscorus of Alexandria, Juvenal of Jerusalem, the representative of the bishop of Thessalonica and the bishops of Egypt, Palestine and Illyricum.

⁴⁷⁶ See Chapter II.

⁴⁷⁷ ACO II, 1, 1, pp. 3-4. Similar requests were made by Valentinian (*ibid.*, p. 5), Galla Placidia (*ibid.*, pp. 5-6) and Eudoxia (*ibid.*, pp. 6-7).

⁴⁷⁸ ACO II, 1, 1, pp. 7-8.

⁴⁷⁹ Evagrius, *HE*, II, 2.

⁴⁸⁰ *Loc. cit.*

From the very beginning it became evident that Rome was seeking the severe punishment of Dioscorus. The papal legates demanded that Dioscorus be expelled from the Council or they would leave. Asked by the imperial commissioners what their specific accusation against Dioscorus was, they replied that he had summoned Ephesus II without having been authorised by the Pope. The commissioners were not convinced and Dioscorus took his place in the Council. It is significant that none of the other members of the Council seemed to support the papal demand.⁴⁸¹

After an appeal again by Eusebius of Dorulaeum, the Council decided to consider the minutes of Ephesus II. During that process the imperial representatives asked that Theodoret of Cyrus enter the Church and take part in the Council as Dioscorus' accuser. Theodoret's mere appearance in the Church created turmoil among the bishops of Egypt, Palestine and Illyricum who shouted: 'The faith is lost! The canons excommunicate him! Expel the teacher of Nestorius!'⁴⁸² On the other hand the bishops of the Orient, Pontus, Asia, and Thrace shouted against Ephesus II and Dioscorus: 'We signed blank documents! We signed because we were beaten...Expel the Manichaeans! Expel the enemies of the faith'⁴⁸³ The imperial representatives, however, insisted on their initial decision that Theodoret should stay and even act as an accuser since he had been rehabilitated by Leo and the Emperor had ordered that he participate in the Council.⁴⁸⁴

During the examination of the acts of Ephesus II, the Orientals kept complaining that force and threats had been used by Dioscorus and his acolytes to make the dissidents sign his decisions.⁴⁸⁵ The Egyptians replied that the orthodox should confess their faith and not yield to force and threats.⁴⁸⁶

Crucial for the evaluation of both the faith of Eutyches and the decisions of Ephesus II were the proceedings of the Home Synod of 448 which were read out to the Council. During the course of the reading of the minutes, the bishops had the chance to show their loyalty to Cyril. When his letters to Nestorius (*Obloquuntur*) and to John of Antioch (*Laetentur coeli*) were read, they all shouted: 'We believe as Cyril did; those who do not believe so, let them be anathema'.⁴⁸⁷ Then a part of Flavian's confession was

⁴⁸¹ ACO II, 1, 1, pp. 65-66.

⁴⁸² Ibid., p. 69.

⁴⁸³ Ibid., pp. 69-70.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 69.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 75-76.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 76.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 111, 13-14.

read where the formula 'two natures after the union' is acknowledged as is the 'double birth' and 'double consubstantiality'.⁴⁸⁸ It is of great importance that the Orientals found this faith orthodox.⁴⁸⁹ As we have seen in chapter II, Flavian's faith was Cyrillian dyophysite with room for both 'two natures' and 'one nature incarnate and made man' if properly qualified. Its acceptance by the Orientals shows how much room there was for agreement between the two parties and how genuine was the rapprochement of 433.

We think it was not a coincidence that at this point, when Flavian's faith was made clear, a dramatic move took place: Juvenal of Jerusalem, Eustathius of Berytus, Eusebius of Ancyra, Thalassius of Caesarea of Cappadocia acknowledged that the faith of the late Flavian was in full accordance with that of Cyril, abandoned Dioscorus and acceded to the opposition. Their example was followed by the bishops of Palestine, the bishops of Illyricum, the bishop of Corinth and many bishops from Egypt.⁴⁹⁰ Dioscorus was left almost alone to fight for the strict Alexandrian cause but he did not yield. He defended to the last moment the Alexandrian slogan 'one incarnate nature of the God Logos' as he interpreted it, for, as he contended, that was the teaching of the Fathers and he could prove that by quoting a number of passages from Athanasius, Gregory and Cyril. Dioscorus was happy to accept the formula 'out of two natures' but not 'two after the union' (*τὸ ἐκ δύο δέχομαι· τὸ δύο οὐ δέχομαι*).⁴⁹¹

4.2 THE DEPOSITION OF DIOSCORUS

After the reading of the acts of Ephesus II had finished, the imperial representatives concluded that Flavian's condemnation was unjust and that the leaders of Ephesus II should be given the same sentence as the one they had given to Flavian. At this point the Council could have prevented the subsequent dramatic events for the Christian Church had it espoused the wise suggestion of the bishops of Eastern Illyricum that 'since all had done wrong, all should be granted pardon'.⁴⁹² But the imperial representatives insisted upon the condemnation of the Alexandrian bishop which they achieved in the next session (second). The Council duly deposed Dioscorus.⁴⁹³ At this point one should note that Dioscorus was not deposed — at least officially — on account of his faith but because he failed to appear to the Council despite three summonses.⁴⁹⁴ In any case

⁴⁸⁸ See Part One, Chapter II.

⁴⁸⁹ ACO II, 1, 1, p. 114.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 115 ff.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid., p. 120.

⁴⁹² *Πάντες ἐσφάλημεν, πάντες συγγνώμης ἀξιωθῶμεν*. Ibid., p. 195, 27-28.

⁴⁹³ ACO II, 1, 2, pp. 41, 33-42, 3.

⁴⁹⁴ This was also the view of Anatolius as we will see below.

Dioscorus' faith was not examined thoroughly. As we have already mentioned, one can charge Dioscorus with blindly clinging to the Cyrillian terminology but his was definitely not the Eutychian confused doctrine. In reply to the accusation that he taught as Eutyches, Dioscorus said that 'if Eutyches believes differently from the Church, he is not only worthy of punishment but also of fire. I am concerned about the catholic faith, not about a man'.⁴⁹⁵ He clearly did not use the 'one nature' formula in the sense of confusion or mingling of the human nature since he taught so emphatically Christ's consubstantiality with us according to the manhood. When accused by the Orientals that his was the heresy of confusion of the natures, he proclaimed: 'We do not teach confusion, nor division nor change. Whoever teaches confusion or change or mixture let him be anathema.'⁴⁹⁶ Similar was the teaching of an eminent member of his party, Eustathius of Berytus who, while he could not accept 'two natures after the union,' would qualify his 'monophysitism' in an orthodox way: 'Those who say "one nature" in order to abolish Christ's flesh — which is consubstantial with us — and those who say "two natures," in order to divide the Son of God, let them be anathema.'⁴⁹⁷ Even more astonishingly Eustathius admitted that this was also the faith of Flavian and therefore he had mistakenly signed the latter's condemnation in 449.⁴⁹⁸ It is clear that Dioscorus and his followers meant 'physis' in the way Cyril did, i.e. as 'hypostasis,' and not as 'ousia' (essence).

4.3 THE DEFINITION OF THE COUNCIL

What happened in the third session is indicative of the fact that, at least in the mind of the majority of bishops, the council of Chalcedon did not meet to draft a definition of faith but only to reprimand Eutyches. When the imperial representatives asked the council to proceed to the formulation of a clear statement of the faith the bishops seemed to be taken by surprise. They had obviously thought that they gathered to condemn Eutyches and rectify the irregularities of Ephesus and not to issue a new *Horos*. They unanimously declared that Pope Leo's *Tome* had dealt with the problem of Eutyches properly and there was no need for a new formulation of the faith.⁴⁹⁹ Regardless of the protests, the imperial representatives went on to suggest that a committee consisting of each patriarch with one or two of his suffragans should meet

⁴⁹⁵ ACO II, 1, 1, p. 92.

⁴⁹⁶ Οὐτε σύγχυσιν λέγομεν οὔτε τομήν οὔτε τροπήν. ἀνάθεμα τῷ λέγοντι ἢ σύγχυσιν ἢ τροπήν ἢ ἀνάκρασιν. Ibid., p. 112.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 113.

⁴⁹⁸ Loc. cit.

⁴⁹⁹ ACO II, 1, 2, p. 78, 16-24.

and make a clear statement of the faith. Again the bishops protested: 'we are not going to make a written statement of the faith; there is a canon [i.e. the canon of Ephesus I] which declares that what had been stated is enough; the canon enjoins that no other definition should be made; let us hold on to what the fathers have said'.⁵⁰⁰

At this point it was deemed necessary that the basic documents of the faith be read, i.e. the Creed of Nicaea-Constantinople (325 and 381) and the letters of Cyril to Nestorius (*Obloquuntur*) and to John of Antioch (*Laetentur coeli*). This gave the bishops the chance to show once more their Cyrillian persuasion: 'This is what we all believe; this is what Pope Leo believes; this is what Leo and Anatolius believe; we believe as Cyril did; blessed be the memory of Cyril; we believe as the letters of Cyril teach; Leo, the Archbishop believes and wrote likewise.'⁵⁰¹ With the same enthusiasm they received the *Tome* in which they saw the faith of Cyril: 'This is the faith of the Fathers. This is the faith of the Apostles. We orthodox believe thus. Those who do not believe [thus] let them be anathema. Leo and Cyril taught the same. Cyril taught thus. Eternal be the memory of Cyril.'⁵⁰²

These acclamations as well as the adherence to the faith of Ephesus' show beyond any doubt that the vast majority of the bishops at the Council were Cyrillians. What, however, has often been doubted, and in fact is of great importance for our study, is whether they adhered to the Cyril of the *Twelve Anathemas*, and not just to the Cyril of 433. A motion proposed by the bishops of Illyricum and Palestine during the reading of the *Tome* is very enlightening at this point. These bishops expressed reservations with regard to three controversial passages of the *Tome*⁵⁰³ which sounded Nestorian to them. To appease them, Aetius, the Archdeacon of Constantinople, compared the Leonine passages with three similar ones from Cyril which pleased the majority of the bishops.⁵⁰⁴ However, Atticos of Nicopolis was not fully convinced. So, he suggested that time should be allowed for the *Tome* to be carefully studied and, in particular, be compared with Cyril's *Twelve Anathemas*.⁵⁰⁵ The imperial representatives granted his request and, thus, five days were allowed for a committee under Anatolius to do so.⁵⁰⁶ During the deliberations of the committee the papal legates Pascasinus and Lucensius had to give

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 78, 32-34.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid., p. 81, 7-13.

⁵⁰² Ibid., p. 81, 24-31.

⁵⁰³ See Part One, Chapter II.

⁵⁰⁴ ACO II, 1, 2, p. 82ff.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 82-83.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 83.

the Illyrians and Palestinians assurances that the controversial passages did not imply a division of the natures. In particular, they anathematised whoever divided the flesh from the divinity and refused to predicate both human and divine attributes of the one and the same Christ, without confusion, mutation, or division (*ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως καὶ ἀδιαιρέτως*).⁵⁰⁷ The committee concluded that Leo was in agreement with Cyril,⁵⁰⁸ and, subsequently, the *Tome* was subscribed to by all members of the Council, including the leaders of Ephesus II (except Dioscorus who was not present) who were thereby accepted by the Council.⁵⁰⁹

In the fifth session the Council discussed the draft of a definition proposed by Anatolius and his committee.⁵¹⁰ Unfortunately — and rather curiously — the document was not recorded in the minutes but it is certain that it used the formula ‘out of two natures’ instead of the ‘in two natures’ of the final Definition.⁵¹¹ The vast majority of the bishops expressed their full endorsement of Anatolius’ definition with acclamations like: ‘We all like the *Horos*. This is the faith of the fathers. Whoever does not believe thus is a heretic. Expel the Nestorians. Let those who do not anathematise Nestorius leave the Council...God liked the *Horos*...It must be stated that the Holy Mary is Theotokos; this should be part of the definition...Expel the Nestorians. Christ is God.’⁵¹² The only dissenting voices were those of the papal legates and a number of Oriental bishops. The former threatened that they would leave the council if the document was accepted.⁵¹³ It was obvious that they would not be satisfied with anything which was not making full use of the terminology of the *Tome* and the Western christology at large, central to which was the idea that Christ was ‘in two natures’.

The imperial representatives made several attempts to convince the Council that a new definition should be made that would make express use of the teaching of the *Tome*.⁵¹⁴ They argued that if the bishops kept the ‘out of the two natures’ formula they would be in agreement with Dioscorus whom they had just deposed.⁵¹⁵ To this argument

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 102, 36-41; 103, 21-28.

⁵⁰⁸ What is astonishing is that this was the view of Theodoret of Cyrus who was also a member of the committee! Ibid., p. 98, 27-31.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. 109-110.

⁵¹⁰ Grillmeier believes that Anatolius was ‘the driving force’ behind the work of the committee. *Christ I*, p. 543.

⁵¹¹ ACO II, 1, 2, p. 124, 16.

⁵¹² Ibid., pp. 123-124.

⁵¹³ Ibid., p. 123, no 9.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid., p. 124, no 15.17.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid., p. 124, no 13.

Anatolius replied that Dioscorus was not deposed for his faith, rather because he had excommunicated Leo and not obeyed the three summonses of the Council.⁵¹⁶

The majority of the bishops remained adamant in their refusal to draft a new definition since Anatolius' *Horos* 'lacked nothing'. It is important that the bishops saw an agreement between Anatolius' document, with its 'out of two natures' formula, and Leo's *Tome*. For them there was no difference between Cyril, Leo and the *Horos* in question, but rather the last two were confirming the faith of the former: 'The *Horos* confirmed the letter [the *Tome*]. Archbishop Leo believes as we believe. Leo taught as Cyril did. Celestine confirmed the teaching of Cyril. Xestus⁵¹⁷ confirmed the teaching of Cyril.'⁵¹⁸ The tension was such that when John of Germanicia, one of the dissenting Orientals, attempted to confer with the papal legates, the majority of the bishops angrily shouted: 'Expel the Nestorians! Expel those who fight God!'⁵¹⁹

Before we follow the events any further we should note here that in our view Anatolius' 'out of two natures' and the 'in two' of the final statement were used in exactly the same sense, namely, that Christ was at the same time perfect God and perfect man. In other words, Anatolius' 'out of two' was used in the same sense as in Flavian's confession of faith. The importance, however, of the insistence of the bishops on adopting Anatolius' formula lies in showing once again how deeply Cyrillian they were, since 'out of two' was the formula the Alexandrine Patriarch had sanctioned.⁵²⁰

In the face of this stubborn resistance by the majority of the bishops the imperial representatives decided to refer the dispute to the Emperor. Marcian's reply to the Council could not have been more clear. The bishops would either produce a clear statement of faith or the Council would be moved to the West.⁵²¹ It is remarkable that even this blatant threat was not to deter the bishops who, in turn, threatened that they would walk out if Anatolius' document was not going to be the *Horos* of the Council.⁵²² Obviously they were not convinced that the Leonine formula without the Cyrillian qualifications could guarantee orthodoxy. This is why in the heat of the debate about the

⁵¹⁶ Ibid., p. 124, no 14.

⁵¹⁷ This is Pope Xestus (or Sixtus) III (432-440), the successor of Pope Celestine. He defended the decisions of Ephesus I, while seeking a reconciliation between Cyril and the Orientals.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid., p. 124, no 20.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 123-124, no 12.

⁵²⁰ *Ad Succensum* I, ACO I, 1, 6, p. 153, 21.

⁵²¹ ACO II, 1, 2, pp. 124, 38-125, 8.

⁵²² Ibid., p. 125, 9-10.

Horos the bishops called the papal legates Nestorians ('those who disagree are Nestorians! Those who disagree should go back to Rome').⁵²³

Nonetheless, the Emperor's will was always going to prevail, especially since the bishops were faced with a dilemma: were they to side with Leo and the 'in two natures' formula or with Dioscorus and the 'out of two'?⁵²⁴ Thus, another committee was formed with the task of producing a document that would make specific use of the Leonine language. Indeed, the statement that they produced, the final Definition (*Ὁροϛ*) of the Council of Chalcedon, included the controversial 'in two natures'. The main part of the Definition reads as follows:

Following, then, the holy Fathers, we all unanimously teach that our Lord Jesus Christ is to us One and the same Son, the Self-same [τὸν αὐτόν] Perfect in Godhead, the Self-same [τὸν αὐτόν] Perfect in Manhood; truly God and truly Man; the Self-same of a rational soul and body; consubstantial with the Father according to the Godhead, the Self-same consubstantial with us according to the Manhood; like us in all things, sin apart; before the ages begotten of the Father as to the Godhead, but in the last days, the Self-same, for us and for our salvation (born) of Mary the Virgin Theotokos as to the Manhood; One and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten; acknowledged in Two Natures unconfusedly, unchangeably, indivisibly, inseparably [ἐν δύο φύσεσιν ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως]; the difference of the Natures being in no way removed because of the Union,⁵²⁵ but rather the property of each Nature being preserved, and (both) concurring into One Prosopon and One Hypostasis; not as though He were parted or divided into Two Prosopa, but One and the Self-same Son and Only-begotten God, Word, Lord, Jesus Christ.⁵²⁶

The Definition was received with enthusiasm and was signed by all the members of the Council. It seemed that all were genuinely pleased this time. For the Definition succeeded in incorporating Leo's dyophysitism without harming any of Cyril's basic tenets. So Christ is 'in two natures' which retain their own 'idiomata'. However, they do not form two prosopa, but, rather, they concur in one prosopon and one hypostasis. In Cyrillian fashion the fathers declared that Christ was one subject, the selfsame Son and only-begotten God, Logos and Lord. The selfsame is perfect in divinity and perfect in humanity, consubstantial with the Father according to divinity and with us according to humanity ('double consubstantiality'), the Selfsame born of the Father before all ages according to divinity and of the Theotokos, in the last days, according to humanity

⁵²³ Ibid., p. 125, 14-15.

⁵²⁴ Ibid., p. 125, 16-20.

⁵²⁵ Cf. Cyril's *Ad Nestorium II*, ACO I, 1, 1, p. 27, 3.

⁵²⁶ ACO II, 1, 2, pp. 129, no 34, 23-130, 3; Engl. tr. in *Bindley*, p. 235.

(‘double birth’). It has been shown⁵²⁷ that the fathers borrowed entire clauses from Cyril’s *Second* and *Third Letter* to Nestorius, his letter to John of Antioch (*Laetentur coeli*), the Formulary of Reunion, Flavian’s Confession of faith, the confession of Basil of Seleucia and the *Tome* of Leo. Apparently, then, the Definition was intended to ward off not only Monophysitism but also Nestorianism.

Yet, despite its obvious Cyrillian character, the Definition crucially proscribed the use of the ‘one physis’ formula at two points: a) ‘others introduce confusion and mixture and foolishly imagine that the nature of the flesh and the divinity is one’⁵²⁸ and b) ‘[the council] anathematizes those who falsely proclaim that there were two natures before the union but one after it’.⁵²⁹ It must be said here that, as is apparent from the context, this condemnation of the ‘one physis’ formula was made in relation to the Eutychian understanding of it, i.e. the understanding of physis as ousia which inevitably leads to confusion and mixture. It is very probable, as Romanides suggests, that the fathers of Chalcedon were not acquainted with those writings of Cyril’s which contained the ‘one physis’ formula but only with his letters to Nestorius which contain only the ‘out of two natures’ formula.⁵³⁰ Hence their insistence on the latter formula. In any case, it is our view that ‘one physis’ formula, as Cyril meant it, i.e. in the sense of ‘one hypostasis,’ was not excluded by the Definition.

How much influence did the strict dyophysite circles of Constantinople and especially the influential monastery of the ‘Sleepless’ Monks (*Ἀκοίμητοι*)⁵³¹ exert on the Emperor and his representatives in order that they favour the Leonine ‘in two natures’ cannot be examined here. It must be taken for granted, however, that the Palace did not want to displease the West, not only for ecclesiastical but for political reasons too. A possible friction with the Western Church could have unpleasant consequences for the unity of the Empire especially at a moment when Attilas’ Huns were threatening its borders.⁵³²

⁵²⁷ See G. Martzelos, *The Formation and Sources of the Definition of Chalcedon* (Thessalonica: 1986) (in Greek) (*passim*). Detailed analysis of the text and theology of the *Definition* in I. Ortiz de Urbina, ‘Das Symbol von Chalkedon: Sein Text, sein Werden, seine dogmatische Bedeutung’, in *Chalkedon* I, pp. 389-418.

⁵²⁸ οἱ δὲ σύγχυσιν καὶ κρᾶσιν εἰσάγοντες, καὶ μίαν εἶναι φύσιν τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τῆς θεότητος ἀνοήτως ἀναπλάττοντες. ACO II, 1, 2, p. 128, 21-22.

⁵²⁹ καὶ τοὺς δύο μὲν πρὸ τῆς ἐνώσεως φύσεις τοῦ κυρίου μυθεύοντας, μίαν δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν ἀναπλάττοντας ἀναθεματίζει ACO II, 1, 2, p. 129, 21.

⁵³⁰ ‘St. Cyril’s’, p. 100.

⁵³¹ On the teaching of the ‘Sleepless’ monks see Part One, Chapter V.

⁵³² Sellers, *Chalcedon*, p. 118.

4.4 THE CASE OF THEODORET

In the eighth session, after the doctrinal matters were solved, the Council dealt with the outstanding issue concerning those who were deposed by the *Latrocinium*. Chief among them was Theodoret of Cyrus who, as we mentioned earlier, had been suspect of Nestorianism since he attacked Cyril's Anathemas and openly supported his friend Nestorius. We have already seen that by the order of the imperial representatives he was accepted as member of the council. Now he had to give assurances about his faith in order to be reinstated to his see. The bishops received him with obvious suspicion if not contempt. They asked him straight away to anathematise Nestorius.⁵³³ Theodoret replied that he had given the papal legates statements of his faith which could sufficiently prove his orthodoxy.⁵³⁴ Unswayed, the bishops insisted that he pronounce an unequivocal anathema against Nestorius at once. After Theodoret failed to comply to four demands to specifically condemn Nestorius, the bishops lost patience: 'He is a Nestorian!...Expel the Nestorian!'⁵³⁵ In the face of an anathema against himself this time Theodoret was quick to submit: 'Anathema to Nestorius, and to everyone who does not call the Holy Virgin Mary "Theotokos" and divides the only-begotten Son into two Sons. I have also subscribed the definition of faith and the letter of Leo and I believe alike.'⁵³⁶ After that he was reinstated as the bishop of Cyrus.

4.5 THE CASE OF IBAS

The case of Ibas was examined in sessions X and XI. As we have seen the former bishop of Edessa had been accused by some of his clerics of misconduct and Nestorian beliefs. Subsequently he was tried in Berytus (26 October 448) by Photius of Tyre, Eustathius of Berytus and Uranius of Imeria and in Tyre (25 February 449) by the first two bishops but was acquitted for lack of substantial incriminating evidence. One year later, however, at Ephesus II, he fell victim of Dioscorus' unscrupulousness and was deposed. Now at Chalcedon, and in the process of the revision of the decisions of Ephesus II, it was his turn to plea for his vindication and reinstatement.

The council first examined the minutes of the trials in Berytus and Tyre. It is interesting that after the Letter to Maris had been read, Ibas said that he was innocent of the accusations made against him.⁵³⁷ Did this mean that he denied that he was the author

⁵³³ Θεοδώρητος ἄρτι ἀναθεματίσῃ. ACO II, 1, 3, p. 9, 3.

⁵³⁴ Ibid., p. 9, 4-7.

⁵³⁵ Ibid., p. 9, 25-26.

⁵³⁶ Ibid., p. 9, 27-31. This denunciation of Nestorius by Theodoret was later to be dismissed by the Monophysites as insincere.

⁵³⁷ καὶ τῶν ἐπαχθέντων μοι ἀλλότριός εἰμι καὶ βίαν ἔπαθον. Ibid., p. 34, no 139.

of the controversial letter as Justinian will argue later on? We cannot be certain, although this is a possible interpretation of his words. In any case, in our view, it became clear that Ibas denounced the content of the letter.

The proceedings of Ephesus II were not read. The papal legates saw no point in consulting the minutes of a council which was not recognised by the Pope and therefore was null and void.⁵³⁸ The rest of the bishops also rejected the validity of the *Latrocinium*. Then the imperial representatives asked the council to give its verdict on Ibas. Following the lead of the papal legates the bishops reinstated Ibas. At this point it must be noted that from the minutes the council does not appear to have passed judgement specifically on the *Letter to Maris*. The only specific references to the Letter were made by the papal legates and Maximus of Antioch (he was appointed by the Council to succeed Domnus). In particular the papal legates said: 'Now that his letter has been read, we ascertain that he is orthodox'.⁵³⁹ Similarly Maximus declared: 'from the reading of the copy of the letter which was submitted by his [Ibas'] accuser, his faith was proven orthodox'.⁵⁴⁰ Juvenal of Jerusalem (among the leaders at Ephesus II), who spoke immediately after Maximus, offers a different viewpoint. He said that he accepted Ibas as one who returns from heresy and for reasons of charity.⁵⁴¹ All the other bishops whose views are recorded said that they accepted Ibas since he denounced all the accusations brought against him by his accusers (i.e. including the ideas expressed in the *Letter to Maris*).⁵⁴² Even so, and after the above favourable views had been expressed, the council demanded that Ibas once again clearly anathematise Nestorius and Eutyches.⁵⁴³ To this demand Ibas promptly replied that he once again anathematised both heretics.⁵⁴⁴

We think that it is evident that the council did not spare time to examine theologically the content of the controversial letter. If it had done, there is no doubt that it would have clearly denounced it. Such a clearly Cyrillian council would have never

⁵³⁸ Ibid., p. 38, nos 143-144.

⁵³⁹ ἀναγνωσθείσης γὰρ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπέγνωμεν αὐτὸν ὑπάρχειν ὀρθόδοξον. Ibid., p. 39, no 161.

⁵⁴⁰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγνωσθέντος δὲ ἀντιγράφου τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ προσκομισθέντος παρὰ τοῦ ἀντιδίκου αὐτοῦ ὀρθόδοξος ὥφθη αὐτοῦ ἡ ὑπηγορία. Ibid., p. 40, no 163.

⁵⁴¹ τοὺς ἐπιστρέφοντας ἢ θεία γραφὴ κελεύει δεχθῆναι, δι' ὃ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ αἵρετικῶν δεχόμεθα. ὅθεν συνορῶ τὸν εὐλαβέστατον Ἰβαν φιλανθρωπίας τυχεῖν τῷ καὶ γέροντι εἶναι ἐπὶ τῷ ἔχουσθαι αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐπισκοπικοῦ ἀξιώματος ὀρθόδοξον ὄντα. Ibid., p. 40, no 164.

⁵⁴² Ibid., pp. 40-41.

⁵⁴³ Ibid., p. 42, no 179.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 42, no 180.

endorsed as orthodox a letter that calls Cyril's teaching 'apollinarian' and questions the propriety of the actions of Ephesus I. Just like Theodoret, Ibas was received only so long as he repeatedly anathematised Nestorius and, subsequently, *de facto* the contents of the *Letter to Maris*. Yet, the question remains: what did the papal legates and Maximus of Antioch mean by saying that Ibas was proven orthodox after the letter was read? If by saying that, they agreed that Cyril's *Twelve Anathemas* were indeed Apollinarian and that Ephesus I was unfair to Nestorius, the papal legates, in particular, would have been in opposition to their own christological outlook and the actions of Pope Celestine, Xestus and, even Leo, who had praised Cyril and Ephesus I. Even if that was the case, why did the rest of the council not react against such a clear attack on Cyril? In our view, at least in the case of the papal legates, this ἀναγνωσθείσης γὰρ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς αὐτοῦ means simply that 'now that this letter has been read and *Ibas has denounced its teaching* we can safely say that he is orthodox'.

This vague attitude towards the Letter of Maris conduced to the great misunderstanding that surrounded the council of Chalcedon by giving the Monophysites one more reason to dismiss the Chalcedonian doctrine as a vindication of Nestorius.

This summary of what happened at Chalcedon showed that the overwhelming majority of the bishops at Chalcedon strongly favoured a doctrinal solution on the basis of Cyril's teaching. The final result should not have disappointed them. It might not have included the 'out of two natures' formula which they so strongly favoured, yet that was not necessarily a disadvantage. For the final *Horos* definitely gave a more precise answer to the Eutychian challenge while remaining faithful to Cyril. The 'in two natures' formula was orthodox and Cyrillian as long as it was properly qualified. This qualification was adequately given by the committee in stressing the one hypostasis of Christ and its identification with the Logos.

However it should be noted that, despite their Cyrillian outlook, the Chalcedonian fathers had departed from the usage of terms employed by the Alexandrine father (who often identified physis with hypostasis) if not from his central idea. Crucially, Chalcedon sanctioned a terminological shift that had happened in a matter of a few years, and which identified physis with ousia and hypostasis with prosopon. This change became obvious, as we have seen, in the confession of Flavian who, taking physis to mean ousia, interpreted the 'one physis' formula as a dyophysite statement (the 'one physis of the Logos' was indicating the divinity while the 'incarnate' the humanity). Chalcedon, too, used nature or physis as synonymous to ousia. This is why it

rejected any use of the 'one physis' formula: in the new terminology that meant 'one ousia' which was apparently heretical. In any case it is certain that by saying 'in two natures' Chalcedon meant 'two ousiai' and not 'two hypostases'.

This terminological shift perfectly preserved all the Cyrillian tenets. Given that in Cyril's system physis is the concrete 'being,' namely the Chalcedonian hypostasis, it is our view that the Chalcedonian fathers would not have objected to the use of the 'one physis' formula in the sense that two perfect ousiai formed one Christ whose hypostasis is that of the Logos.

But that was not at all obvious to the Alexandrines who could not be happy by the developments at Chalcedon. In addition to not making use of the Cyrillian language, Chalcedon said nothing against Theodore, the author of Nestorianism, whose ideas were very much alive at the time of Chalcedon, as we saw in the case of Ibas. The reinstatement of the Nestorianisers, Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas of Edessa only reinforced the strict Cyrillians' view of Chalcedon as a vindication of Nestorius. In addition to this, the mere fact that Chalcedon issued a Definition was seen as a violation of the provision made at Ephesus I that no other Creed should be added to that of Nicaea. There is no doubt that on the face of it the accusers of Chalcedon had a point. One can argue that if the Chalcedonian fathers had wanted to be faithful to Cyril, as the majority of them so many times declared in the Council, they should have made more express use of his language, and reproach his enemies. However, one must appreciate the special circumstances, i.e. the need for a clear condemnation of the Eutychian Monophysitism. For this purpose the terminology of the *Tome* was very fitting. As regards the provision of Ephesus I that no new creed other than that of Nicaea should be issued, we have seen that it was only with great reluctance that the fathers drafted the *Horos*. The sole purpose of this was to declare the reality of Christ's humanity against the Eutychian confused doctrine and not to add to the previous symbols. It is fair to say that the Definition was not meant to be a new creed, but only an interpretation of the Nicene one in the light of the new circumstances, just as the letters of Cyril were used at Ephesus I to clarify the faith.⁵⁴⁵

In any case an effort to explain this cohesion between Chalcedon and Cyril and to clarify the usage of the terms physis and hypostasis at Chalcedon was badly needed. This sensitive task is exactly what the so-called 'Neo-Chalcedonians' along with

⁵⁴⁵ Romanides, 'St. Cyril's', pp. 82-83.

Justinian and ultimately the Fifth Ecumenical Council would be called on to carry out in the ensuing years.

Finally a non-theological parameter of the issue should be briefly mentioned. Apart from the *Horos*, Chalcedon issued a number of canons dealing with practical issues of the life of the Church. Most controversial of all was canon 28, which decreed that the church of New Rome should enjoy the same honour as that of the Elder. This, in effect, was changing the order of seniority of the five patriarchates of the Church (Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem) as it had been decided by the third canon of Constantinople I (381) according to which the bishop of Rome was the most senior ecclesiastical head with the bishop of Constantinople following in second place. This decision affected not only the church of Rome whose position as the *prima sedes* was threatened but also the other ancient Patriarchates who were superseded by the upstart Church of the capital. Especially Alexandria had every reason to be disappointed as it saw itself being relegated from second place (before the second Ecumenical Council) to third. It is often maintained that this rivalry for supremacy played a part in the theological quarrels between the senior churches and especially Rome, Constantinople and Alexandria. Although there is truth in this claim, the motives of the doctrinal struggles of the fifth and sixth centuries, in particular, were first and foremost theological. Like Cyril and Dioscorus before them, the Monophysites of the fifth and sixth centuries strove primarily for the prevalence of what they believed was the orthodox faith.

CHAPTER V

THE AFTERMATH OF CHALCEDON

As Evagrius put it,⁵⁴⁶ the change of one letter (ἐν instead of ἐκ) in the Chalcedonian definition was reason to cause an uproar in the strict Cyrillian strongholds in the East. For these Christians, Chalcedon, by adopting Leo's *Tome*, had vindicated Nestorius.⁵⁴⁷ In Alexandria, a violent uprising was only temporarily suppressed by the imperial army. The Chalcedonian replacement of Dioscorus, Proterius, was ignored by the Dioscorian majority who went on to elect Timothy 'Aelurus' ('the Weasel') as their bishop. At the alleged instigation of the latter, the mob murdered Proterius in the baptistery of the great Church of Alexandria.⁵⁴⁸ In Jerusalem, Juvenal was also angrily received by the monks who could not forgive him for his change of sides at Chalcedon. The opposition was such that Juvenal had to flee. In his absence his opponents elected a certain Theodosius as their new bishop who was however later on arrested and brought to Constantinople, whereas Juvenal was reinstated.⁵⁴⁹ In Antioch, too, the former centre of dyophysitism, the anti-Chalcedonian party gained so much ground as to impose its own bishops, first Peter 'the Fuller' (κναφεύς) (470), and sometime later Severus (512). The pressure on the Antiochene camp was so strong that even the famous School of Edessa, depleted already by the death of its head, Ibas (457), had to move to Nissibis in Persia.⁵⁵⁰ This city was to become the power-base of the Nestorian Church led by the bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon.⁵⁵¹

The dramatic impact that the Chalcedonian definition had on the unity of the Church was soon to be realised. The Monophysites having rejected the Definition on the grounds that, according to them, it was dividing the one Christ into two, became alienated from the rest of the Church — although, temporarily, they remained in nominal communion with the Chalcedonian bishops — and caused unrest in the areas where they were dominant. This time the Eastern Church was not to be faced with a

⁵⁴⁶ HE II, 5.

⁵⁴⁷ How unfair this accusation was is shown by Leo's letter to the Council of Chalcedon whereby he urged the Fathers to remain particularly faithful to the decisions of Ephesus against Nestorius: οἱ μέντοι γε τῆς προτέρας ἐν Ἐφέσῳ συνόδου, ἥστινος ὁ τῆς ἀγίας μνήμης Κύριλλος τότε προήδρευεν, κατὰ Νεστορίου ἰδικῶς ὄροι διαμενέτωσαν, μή πως ἡ τότε καταδικασθεῖσα δυσσέβεια διὰ τοῦτο καθ' ὅτι οὖν ἑαυτὴν ἀπατήσῃ, ὅτι περ Εὐτυχῆς δικαίως ἀναθεματισθεῖς καταβέβληται. ACO II, 1, 1, p. 32.

⁵⁴⁸ Evagrius, HE II, 8. A different account is given by Zachariah according to which Proterius was killed by an imperial soldier. *Chronicle*, IV, 2, p. 66.

⁵⁴⁹ Evagrius, HE II, 5; Zachariah, III, 3, 5, 9.

⁵⁵⁰ For the history of the School of Nisibis see A. Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, CSCO, Subsidia 26 (Louvain, 1965).

⁵⁵¹ Meyendorff, *Imperial*, p. 194.

mere theological disagreement. The Monophysite movement carried along masses of Christian population in Egypt, Syria, Palestine and Armenia shaking thus the unity of not only the Church but the Empire as well. It was a bitter conflict gradually to be evolved — one century later — into a schism with enormous theological, ecclesiastical and political consequences. The gravity of the matter provoked a series of attempts by the Roman Emperors of the fifth and sixth centuries to solve the dispute by favouring the side that they thought was right or politically important.

5.1 LEO AND THE *CODEx ENCYCLIUS*

Emperor Leo I (457-474) turned to the problem. In a letter (October 457), he asked the bishops⁵⁵² to consult their provincial synods and give him their views on the two burning questions of the day: a) whether Timothy Aelurus was legitimately made the bishop of Alexandria, and b) whether the latter was right to reject Chalcedon and call for a new council.⁵⁵³ In other words, Leo was calling for an episcopal referendum on Chalcedon. In their replies, which form the *Codex Encyclius*,⁵⁵⁴ the vast majority of the bishops supported Chalcedon and rejected the validity of Timothy's consecration.⁵⁵⁵ Only one synod, under the presidency of Amphilochius of Sidon, rejected Chalcedon.⁵⁵⁶ But even they disapproved of the way Timothy had become the bishop of Alexandria.

In the thought of some of the bishops, we can see the early signs of what was to be called 'Neo-Chalcedonianism'.⁵⁵⁷ For instance the letter of the synod of Armenia Prima regarded Chalcedon as agreeing not only with Nicaea and Constantinople I, but also with Ephesus I and Cyril's Twelve Anathemas. The Chalcedonian Definition was a correct exposition of faith provided that it was correctly understood.⁵⁵⁸ Similarly, Alypius of Caesarea, in Cappadocia, claims that Chalcedon and Cyril are at one. The latter's faith, especially as expressed in the Twelve Anathemas, is universally accepted.⁵⁵⁹ Also, the letter of Epiphanius of Perge,⁵⁶⁰ in Pamphylia, stated that Chalcedon was not in itself a symbol of faith (*mathema fidei*) but a 'shield' (*scutum*)

⁵⁵² Evagrius informs us that the Emperor sent his letter to distinguished ascetics, too, best known among them being Simeon the Stylite. Simeon's reply was in favor of Chalcedon. *HE* II, 10.

⁵⁵³ ACO II, 5, p. 11; Evagrius, *HE* II, 9; Zachariah, *Chronicle*, IV, 5.

⁵⁵⁴ ACO II, 5, pp. 11ff.

⁵⁵⁵ Zachariah attributes this result to the influence exerted on the bishops by Anatolius. *Chronicle*, IV, 8.

⁵⁵⁶ Evagrius, *HE* II, 10; Zachariah, *Chronicle*, IV, 7, ed. Hamilton, p. 74. The text of Amphilochius' reply is not included in the *Codex Encyclius*, but is found in Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, ed. by J. B. Chabot, II (Paris, 1901), pp. 145-148. Zachariah attributes this result to the influence exerted on the bishops by Anatolius. *Chronicle*, IV, 8.

⁵⁵⁷ See Moeller, 'Le chalcédonisme', p. 667-669.

⁵⁵⁸ ACO II, 5, p. 70. Moeller, 'Le chalcédonisme', p. 668.

⁵⁵⁹ ACO II, 5, p. 76.

⁵⁶⁰ ACO II, 5, pp. 58-59.

against those who denied Christ's perfect humanity. Even more importantly Epiphanius does not see any difference between Chalcedon's 'in two natures', and Cyril's 'out of two' and 'one incarnate nature'. In fact, the latter formula makes its point much more clearly.⁵⁶¹

The replies of the bishops obviously do not touch upon the theological intricacies of the debate. However, they indicate that the agreement between the Alexandrian father and Fourth Council, rather than being a later day invention by the 'Neo-Chalcedonians', was a firm conviction of a majority in the Church at the time of Chalcedon and immediately after it.

5.2 THE *HENOTIKON* OF ZENO

The attempts to bring about peace and reconciliation in the Church continued in the reigns of Zeno (474-475 and 476-491) and Anastasius I (491-518). Zeno's reign was interrupted by the usurper Basiliscus' (475-476) short spell in power. Basiliscus thought that having the Monophysites on his side would consolidate his rule. Thus, in his *Encyclical*, a letter to the exiled Timothy Aelurus, he anathematised Chalcedon and the Tome of Leo in so far as they went beyond the faith of the three first Ecumenical councils. The Eutychian doctrine — though anonymously — was condemned, too.⁵⁶² The reception of this anti-Chalcedonian document is a clear indication of the degree of at least the uncertainty about, if not clear rejection of, Chalcedon in the East. The *Encyclical* was subscribed by about five hundred⁵⁶³ or seven hundred⁵⁶⁴ bishops in Asia and the East, including, of course, Timothy Aelurus and Peter the 'Fuller'. Yet this rather clumsy attempt to annul Chalcedon eventually foundered on the resolute reaction of Acacius of Constantinople (472-489) and the monks of the capital who forced Basiliscus to a humiliating withdrawal of the *Encyclical*.⁵⁶⁵

More prudent an effort was that of Zeno. In a letter, again to the Alexandrians, known as the *Henotikon*⁵⁶⁶ (instrument of unity) (482) he tried to bypass the issue of the Chalcedonian doctrine rather than address it. The importance of the *Henotikon* is greater

⁵⁶¹ *Nihil enim differt sive duarum naturarum unitas inconfusa dicatur sive ex duabus eodem modo referatur. sed neque si una dicatur verbi natura, inferatur autem incarnata, aliud quid significat, sed idem honestiori sermone declarat.* ACO II, 5, p. 59, 20-25.

⁵⁶² Evagrius, *HE* III, 4; Zachariah, V, 2; Engl. trans. in P. R. Coleman-Norton, *Roman State and Christian Church: A Collection of Legal Documents to A. D. 535*, 3 vols (London: SPCK, 1966), III, no 524, pp. 915-917.

⁵⁶³ Evagrius *HE* III, 5.

⁵⁶⁴ Zachariah, V, 2-3.

⁵⁶⁵ Evagrius *HE* III, 7; Zachariah, V, 5.

⁵⁶⁶ Evagrius, *HE* III 14; *CN* 527, pp. 925-927.

than is usually acknowledged as it was the only conciliatory attempt by any post-Chalcedonian Emperor which was successful, even though temporarily. This document acknowledged the union of divinity and humanity in Christ but did not make clear whether there was one or two natures after the union. To avoid conflict, Zeno shunned the use of both the 'in two natures' and 'one nature after the union' formulae. In fact, he made no use of any of the controversial terms (physis, hypostasis and prosopon). He did, however, make it clear that the criteria for orthodoxy were the Creed of Nicaea and Cyril's *Twelve Anathemas* which he considered part of the *credo* of Ephesus I. Christ was acknowledged as one Son, one subject, of whom both the miracles and the sufferings were predicated. He truly became man having united in Him divinity and humanity in a manner that excludes division or confusion. In Cyrillian as well as Chalcedonian fashion, the Emperor proclaimed Mary to be Theotokos and acknowledged the Logos' double consubstantiality which, as we have seen, was the key anti-Eutychian as well as anti-Nestorian principle. In fact both Nestorius and Eutyches are condemned by name. The so called 'theopaschite formula' ('one of the Trinity became incarnate') is also professed.

Although, there was no direct attack on the doctrine of Chalcedon in the *Henotikon*, the fact that it proscribed any definition other than that of Nicaea combined with the vague anathema against 'every one who has held or holds any other [i.e. than the symbol of Nicaea] opinion, either at the present or another time, whether at Chalcedon or in any synod whatever'⁵⁶⁷ was a *de facto* annulment of Chalcedon's special contribution. Nevertheless, the *Henotikon* judged on its own was not deviant, for, as we mentioned, it acknowledged one Christ in perfect divinity and perfect humanity. What it was lacking was a mention of the distinct existence of the natures in Christ as formulated at Chalcedon. It was obvious that Zeno attempted to show that it was possible to confess the orthodox faith without the use of the controversial terms and formulae. Such a doctrinal minimalism, however, was risky.

The *Henotikon* was remarkably successful in the East. Acacius,⁵⁶⁸ in an act of moderation, subscribed to it as did the anti-Chalcedonian bishops who were now reunited with the Catholic Church. Remarkably, in his letter to Acacius, the archbishop of

⁵⁶⁷ Engl. tr. from *A History of the Church*, ed. by H. Bohn, pp. 353-354.

⁵⁶⁸ Zachariah says that Acacius was an anti-Chalcedonian and that prior to his elevation to the throne of Constantinople he had promised to abolish Leo's *Tome* and the decisions of Chalcedon. *Chronicle*, IV, 11, pp. 80-81. This however was not justified by his policy which was rather one of moderate Chalcedonianism.

the Monophysite majority in Alexandria, Peter Mongos, acknowledged that Acacius had convinced them that the 'holy' and 'ecumenical' council of Chalcedon was consonant with the symbol of Nicaea.⁵⁶⁹ Yet this reunion was to be short-lived. Almost immediately after the union, the hard-liners of both camps reacted. Certain monastic communities of Alexandria broke communion with Peter Mongus on account of his acceptance of Chalcedon and established autonomous communities without a bishop; hence they were called *Akephaloi* ('the headless ones').⁵⁷⁰ At the same time, Pope Felix III (483-492) excommunicated Acacius (484). The schism between West and East was completed when Acacius reciprocated. This separation between 'old' and 'new Rome' was to last for 35 years (484-519).⁵⁷¹

If Zeno implicitly disavowed Chalcedon by side-stepping it, his successor Anastasius openly supported Monophysitism, despite his profession at his enthronement to protect the orthodox doctrine. In his *Letter against all heretics*⁵⁷² (505), Anastasius confirmed his loyalty to the councils of Nicaea, Constantinople and Ephesus I, as well as the *Henotikon*. He also confessed his faith in one Christ after the incarnation, which for him necessarily meant that one should confess Christ to be 'out of two natures' before the union and in 'one incarnate nature' after it. Accordingly, Anastasius anathematised Chalcedon, Leo and his *Tome* adding that their error lay in their being contrary to Cyril's *Twelve Chapters*.⁵⁷³

Anastasius' reign saw the rise of Monophysitism. The leading Monophysite theologians Philoxenus (or Xenaias) of Mabbug (Hierapolis) (d. 523) and Severus of Antioch (d. 539) found in him a supporter. Severus was even made Patriarch of Antioch (512).

Obviously that was a time of great confusion, both theological and ecclesiastical. As Evagrius tells us 'during these times...the synod of Chalcedon was neither openly proclaimed in the most holy churches, nor yet was repudiated by all...the churches in general were divided into distinct factions, and their presidents did not even admit each other to communion'.⁵⁷⁴ A great step towards the prevalence of Chalcedon will be made with the ascension of Justin I (519) and later Justinian I to the throne of Constantinople.

⁵⁶⁹ Evagrius, *HE*, III, 17.

⁵⁷⁰ Leontius Schol., *De sectis*, PG, 86, pt I, 1229B; See Frend, p. 180.

⁵⁷¹ Evagrius, *HE*, III, 30.

⁵⁷² The letter survived in Armenian. Eng. trans. by F. Conybeare, 'Anecdota Monophysitarum,' *American Journal of Theology* 9 (1905), 719-740 (pp. 739-740); and *CN*, 542, pp. 950-951.

⁵⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 951.

⁵⁷⁴ *HE*, III, 30. Engl. tr. in Bohn, p. 367.

From the very beginning of his reign Justin showed that he was determined to restore peace in the Church on the basis of a universal acceptance of Chalcedon. He did this not only out of conviction but also in order to restore unity between East and West. Subjugation of the anti-Chalcedonians in Alexandria and Antioch would satisfy Rome and thus help remove the Acacian schism. The resistance of the Monophysites was naturally met with persecution.⁵⁷⁵ The first to face it was Severus of Antioch who was deposed and replaced by the Chalcedonian Paul.⁵⁷⁶

5.3 THEOLOGICAL DIVISIONS

In purely theological matters the second half of the fifth century and the first of the sixth were dominated by Monophysite theologians. The anti-Chalcedonians could pride themselves in having in their ranks such competent theologians as Philoxenus and Severus who could campaign for their cause in a very efficient way. At the same time the Chalcedonian majority was hardly capable of convincingly defending its position. Not only did it lack the capable theologians required for such a task, but, worse even, its apologetics almost exclusively rested with such strict dyophysites as Theodoret of Cyrus, the 'Sleepless' monks, and the patriarchs Gennadius and Macedonius (of whom we speak below) whose interpretation of Chalcedon was not doing justice to its true — Cyrillian as well as Leonine — character.

After Chalcedon Christians in the East found themselves divided into mainly three parties.⁵⁷⁷:

i. The strict Cyrillians or Monophysites.⁵⁷⁸

These could be subdivided into a) moderate Monophysites who were followers of Timothy Aelurus, Philoxenus and Severus and were the majority in the anti-Chalcedonian camp, and b) a small group of strict Monophysites who were followers of Eutyches. Both groups were not able to discern the identity of the Cyrillian thought with the Chalcedonian definition. The Cyrillian formula 'one incarnate physis of the God-Logos' being their watchword the Monophysites have ever since rejected the Chalcedonian 'in two natures' formula.

⁵⁷⁵ See Zachariah, VIII, 5, pp. 207-210.

⁵⁷⁶ Evagrius, *HE*, IV, 4.

⁵⁷⁷ Cf. Meyendorff, *Christ*, pp. 29-30.

⁵⁷⁸ We use the term Monophysites retrospectively. As Frend points out, the term Monophysites is a relatively modern one. Contemporaries called those who opposed Chalcedon 'Hesitants' (*διακρινόμενοι*) and later on 'the ones who broke away' (*ἀποσχίσται*) or, 'Headless ones' (*ἀκέφαλοι*) in the sense that they did not have a canonical ecclesiastical head. The term Monophysitism can properly be attributed to the dissidents of the Chalcedonian teaching only after they had established their own autonomous hierarchy in the second half of Justinian's reign. *The Rise*, p. xiii.

We must note, however, that the moderate Monophysites, from the very beginning strove to show that, while they rejected what appeared to them to be Nestorianism, they did not hold Apollinarian or Eutychian ideas. Timothy Aelurus, in his letter to the Emperor Leo I,⁵⁷⁹ expresses his adherence to the doctrine of Nicaea and then, goes on to condemn both those who 'introduce into Him [Christ] the cleavage in two, and divide asunder even the dispensation of the only-begotten Son of God' and those who 'say with respect to His Body that it was taken from Heaven, or that God the Word was changed, or that He suffered in His own Nature; and who do not confess that to a human body what pertains to the soul derived from us was united'.⁵⁸⁰ For Timothy, Leo's *Tome*, just like the doctrine of Nestorius, was contrary to Nicaea, which did not speak of 'natures, and persons, and properties', still less divide them. What Nicaea did was to predicate all properties of the One incarnate Logos. Chalcedon must also be rejected for it too divides 'the dispensation'.

Similarly, Timothy expressed his adherence to the doctrine of Christ's perfect humanity in two letters against the Eutychians Isaiah, bishop of Hermopolis and Theophilus, a presbyter of Alexandria.⁵⁸¹ In his second letter Timothy says that the condition for these Eutychians' acceptance into the Church is to confess that Christ's body was consubstantial with ours.⁵⁸² Clearly for Timothy, as for Philoxenus and Severus, divinity and humanity are united in the one physis of Christ without confusion or change of the one into the other. Timothy and Philoxenus, in particular, would firmly advocate for the one physis or hypostasis formula as the only safeguard against the Nestorian doctrine of 'two Sons'. Any mention of the number 'two' with regard to natures introduces 'enumeration' in Christ which is what Nestorius did. But no one should think that the 'one physis after the union' is the same as Eutyches' 'two natures before the union—one after it'.⁵⁸³ For there were never two natures, either before or after the union, but only one.⁵⁸⁴

Whereas the doctrine of these Monophysites was formally Cyrillian, it is not at all certain if it was essentially so. Like Dioscorus, Timothy and Philoxenus refused to take into account Cyril's dyophysite statements. According to Leontius of Jerusalem, Timothy, in particular, went even further. He blamed Cyril for the confusion in the

⁵⁷⁹ This is Timothy's answer to the *Codex Encyclius*.

⁵⁸⁰ Zachariah, IV, 6, p. 71.

⁵⁸¹ Zachariah, IV, 12, pp. 96-99.

⁵⁸² Ibid., p. 97. Cf. *ibid.*, V, 4.

⁵⁸³ See Part One, Chapter II.

⁵⁸⁴ Sellers, *Chalcedon*, p. 261-262.

churches because he did not abide by his original 'one physis' doctrine, but tried to analyse it unnecessarily and so ended up using the phrase 'two natures'.⁵⁸⁵

Severus of Antioch

Severus⁵⁸⁶ is considered by the Monophysites the most revered theologian after Cyril and Dioscorus.⁵⁸⁷ His polemic against Chalcedon as expressed especially in his major anti-Chalcedonian works *Philalethes*⁵⁸⁸ and *Liber contra impium Grammaticum*⁵⁸⁹ consisted in the following points: Chalcedon a) rejected the 'one physis of the Logos incarnate' as established by the Fathers, b) did not clearly mention the Cyrillian 'union according to hypostasis', c) did not include the also Cyrillian formula 'out of two natures'; instead it used the 'Nestorian' 'in two natures'.⁵⁹⁰

Despite this criticism against Chalcedon Severus' doctrine was not that of Eutyches whom he clearly condemned. In his thought Christ was perfect God and perfect man, both consubstantial with God according to His divinity and with us according to His humanity. Yet after the incarnation one could only speak of 'one nature of the Logos incarnate'. Severus was adamant in his rejection of the 'in two natures' formula. Christ truly became man but his humanity was never a nature. He was a single physis or hypostasis, that of the Logos. Where is then this real humanity realised? Severus' answer was that the one Christ, being perfect man as well as God, possessed all the idioms (*ιδιώματα*) proper to manhood.

In Severus' christological thought 'physis' is understood not in the sense of 'ousia' but in that of 'hypostasis,' of the concrete being. This is why he never spoke of 'one ousia' in Christ. He is aware that 'physis' can mean 'ousia' (as in triadology) but he refuses to make this identification in Christology, because Christ is a unique being. In him hypostasis and physis are identified since He is the only person who is both God and man.

Obviously then Severus' 'one physis' does not mean 'one ousia,' one element. He is even prepared to accept the existence of two physes in Christ. Yet he clearly refuses

⁵⁸⁵ *Contra Monophysitas*, PG 86, pt II, 1849BC and also PG 86, pt I, 276.

⁵⁸⁶ On the life of Severus see J. Lebon, 'La christologie du monophysisme syrien', *Chalcedon* I, p. 426f, n. 4; W. A. Wingram, *The Separation of the Monophysites* (London: 1923), pp. 57-60; Frend, pp. 201ff; R. Chesnut, *Three Monophysite Christologies* (Oxford: 1976), pp. 4-5.

⁵⁸⁷ On Severus' christology see Lebon, *Le monophysisme*; idem, 'La christologie,' Chesnut, pp. 10-55; N. Zabolotsky, 'The Christology of Severus of Antioch', *Ekklesiastikos Pharos*, 58 (Pts. 3-4) (1976), 357-386; Meyendorff, *Christ*, pp. 40-45; Iain R. Torrance, *Christology after Chalcedon: Severus of Antioch and Sergius the Monophysite* (Norwich, 1988); Grillmeier, *Christ* II, 2, pp. 21-173.

⁵⁸⁸ *Le Philalèthe*, ed. and trans. by R. Hespel, CSCO, Scriptorum Syri 69 (Louvain: 1952).

⁵⁸⁹ J. Lebon, ed. and trans., CSCO, Scriptorum Syri, Series IV, 4-6 (Paris and Louvain: 1929-1938)

⁵⁹⁰ Sellers, *Chalcedon*, pp. 256-259.

to consider them separately. Rather, as Cyril taught they can only be considered 'in contemplation', i.e. theoretically (*κατ' ἐπίνοιαν*, or *ἐν θεωρίᾳ*).⁵⁹¹

The only legitimate 'dyophysite' formula for Severus was the 'out of two natures' (*ἐκ δύο φύσεων*) which was used by Cyril in his *Laetentur Coeli*. There, says Severus, by using the 'out of two' formula, Cyril showed that his agreement with the *Formulary* did not mean an acceptance of the Antiochene 'in two natures'. A logical question at this point is: does Severus' 'out of two' mean that there existed two natures before the incarnation? This idea is absurd, he answers, since only the divine nature is eternal, whereas the flesh came into existence at the moment of the incarnation.⁵⁹² Then what is the meaning of the formula 'out of two natures'? Samuel, a modern anti-Chalcedonian author, interprets it as meaning two things: 'On the one hand, it conserves the emphasis that in Christ there was a union of God the Son with an individuated manhood, and on the other that Christ was unceasingly a continuation of that union. So Christ was always "of (*ἐκ*) two natures"; and thus He was at once perfect God and perfect man being "of the same substance with God the Father" and "of the same substance with us"'.⁵⁹³

Since he clearly admits that both elements are real in Christ, Severus needs to explain how they were accommodated in the one nature or hypostasis. His explanation was that that one physis or hypostasis was 'composite' (*μία φύσις* or *ὑπόστασις σύνθετος*).⁵⁹⁴ This one physis or hypostasis of the Logos incarnate was the one who performed all the actions (*ἐνεργήματα*) although these can be distinguished in divine and human.

These ideas became the official christology of the main Monophysite body as Severus was acknowledged as their leading theologian in the sixth century and beyond.

It is then apparent that the Severian Monophysites were not far away from the Chalcedonian faith, however strange that might have sounded to the rival parties at that time. Both the Severians and the Chalcedonians (at least the Cyrillian ones) strove to show that Christ was perfect God and perfect man and at the same time one being, one hypostasis, that of the Logos. The difference was mainly terminological and, in particular, due to the different meaning they attributed to the term 'physis': for the Chalcedonians it denoted the common substance of many hypostases, i.e. 'ousia,' for the Monophysites the concrete individual reality. This observation is very important for

⁵⁹¹ Meyendorff, *Christ*, p. 41.

⁵⁹² V. C. Samuel, 'One Incarnate Nature of God the Word', *GOTR*, vol. 10, pt. 2, (1964-65) p. 47.

⁵⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

⁵⁹⁴ Meyendorff, *Christ*, p. 41; Feidas, p. 680.

the study of the Monophysite movement and our study, in particular, as it was the Severian Monophysites that Justinian's conciliatory policy aimed at.

ii The strict dyophysites or Antiochene Chalcedonians

These were steadfast adherents of the Antiochene Christology and in particular the Theodorene doctrine. Although they officially rejected Nestorius, their ideas were very much akin to his. For them Chalcedon clearly rehabilitated Theodoret and Ibas, and by implication endorsed the teaching of Theodore of Mopsuestia, while it disavowed the christology of Cyril's Twelve Anathemas. This group was encouraged by the presence and teaching of Theodoret himself who, though being less radical than Nestorius in his christological teaching, interpreted Chalcedon in the strict Antiochene way taking no account of the express adherence of the Chalcedonian fathers to Cyril, as we have seen.

To this group also belonged the 'Sleepless monks' (*Ἀκοίμητοι*), of the *Eirenaion* monastery, the most influential centre of dyophysitism in Constantinople.⁵⁹⁵ It is believed that with them there originated a collection of forged letters allegedly sent by various bishops to Peter the Fuller,⁵⁹⁶ the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch who, somehow curiously, had been a monk of the *Eirenaion*. The forged letters reprimand Peter for allegedly interpolating the *Trisagion* hymn (*τρισάγιον*, 'thrice Holy'), a popular hymn of the Eastern Church.⁵⁹⁷ The interpolation consisted in adding to the original version of the hymn ('Holy God, Holy Strong, Holy Immortal have mercy upon us') the phrase 'the one who was crucified for us'.⁵⁹⁸ The addition could be understood both in an orthodox way (if the phrase was addressed to Christ) and in a heterodox one (if it was addressed to the Trinity), i.e. in a way that was abolishing God's impassibility. In any case, the tenor of the forged letters shows that the 'Sleepless' monks would not tolerate the attribution of suffering to the Logos. What suffered was Christ or the human nature. Characteristic are the following passages:

- a) Neither do we say that the divinity is passible, as you [Peter the Fuller] say, nor that the Logos stripped [of his human nature] was crucified, but [we say that] Christ Jesus [was crucified]. [Neither do we say] that he [was crucified] with the Trinity. For Christ is one of the holy Trinity made man

⁵⁹⁵ On the 'Sleepless' monks see R. Riedinger, 'Akoimeten' in *TRE* 2 (1978), 148-153.

⁵⁹⁶ There are three collections of these letters. The earliest and the latest collections in *Collectio Sabbaitica*, ACO III, pp. 217-231 (earliest) and pp. 6-25 (latest). On the history of these letters see E. Schwartz, ACO III, pp. XI-XIII.

⁵⁹⁷ The earliest recorded occurrence of the 'Trisagion' is in the Acts of Chalcedon. ACO II, 1, 1, p. 195, 30.

⁵⁹⁸ Evagrius, *HE* III, 44.

but the Cross happened and is believed with regard to the human nature (τὸ ἀνθρώπινον) of Christ.⁵⁹⁹

- b) [The strong God] assumed our weak body; it is the latter that suffered. Him being the strong God, he willingly gave up his own body towards the Cross.⁶⁰⁰
- c) He [Peter the apostle]⁶⁰¹ says 'Christ suffered' and you [Peter the Fuller], opposing him, say 'God suffered'. To say 'God suffered' implies that the mere (ψιλήν) Divinity [suffered] stripped of its 'garment', deprived of assumed 'temple' and the 'form of the servant'.⁶⁰²
- d) If God suffers according to flesh (σαρκί), how does He not suffer in his divine nature as well? If He does not suffer in His divine nature, in which nature does He suffer according to the flesh? If God suffers according to the flesh, how does He not suffer in Himself? If also to say 'God suffered according to flesh' is the same as to say 'Christ suffered according to flesh', how is it not the same to say that the divine spirit suffered according to flesh, since God is spirit?⁶⁰³

Obviously the 'Sleepless' monks, in their struggle against Monophysitism, rejected the hypostatic union and the *communicatio idiomatum* on which the Cyrillian 'theopaschism' was based. Consequently they refused to call Mary 'Theotokos' in a real sense.⁶⁰⁴

Similar was the approach of Patriarch of Constantinople Gennadius (458-471). He was an admirer of the Antiochene fathers and maintained his links with the Nestorian party. In his *Encomium on the Letter of Leo the Most Holy Pope of Rome*,⁶⁰⁵ Gennadius gives a clear indication as to how the Antiochenes understood Chalcedon and in particular its 'one hypostasis'. Although technically orthodox, Gennadius seems to ignore the Chalcedonian doctrine of hypostatic union altogether. For instance he writes in his *Encomium*:

Did he [Leo] not proclaim that the property of either nature (τὴν ἑκατέρας φύσεως ιδιότητα) is preserved and remains unconfused in the one prosopon (ἐν ἐνὶ προσώπῳ) of the Son and thus reproached those who foolishly say that he suffered elimination (ἀφανισμόν) [i.e. of his human nature] or change (τροπήν)?⁶⁰⁶

⁵⁹⁹ *False letter of Anteon of Arsenoe*, ACO, III, p. 217, 13-16.

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 217, 22-24.

⁶⁰¹ The author of the letter refers to 1 Pet. 4. 1: 'Forasmuch then as Christ hath suffered for us in the flesh...'

⁶⁰² *False letter of Pope Gelasius*, ACO, III, p. 220, 18-21.

⁶⁰³ *False letter of Quintian of Asculanum*, ACO III, p. 228, 28-31.

⁶⁰⁴ ACO, IV, 2, p. 210.

⁶⁰⁵ F. Diekamp, *Analecta patristica*, OCA 117 (Rome, 1938), pp. 77-78. See Gray, *The Defense*, p. 80.

⁶⁰⁶ Diekamp, *Analecta*, p. 78, 1-3.

For Gennadius Chalcedon's one hypostasis meant one prosopon, which could have very well been a Cyrillian-Chalcedonian interpretation of it had it not been understood in its vague 'Nestorian' sense.

Exponents of this approach were found in Syria where celebrations in memory of Theodore, Theodoret and Diodore of Tarsus took place (519),⁶⁰⁷ and the West where the Antiochene interpretation of Chalcedon seemed the only effective way to fight Eutychianism.⁶⁰⁸

Thus, whereas Chalcedon had essentially reiterated Cyril's doctrine of the hypostatic union, though complementing it with the orthodox Leonine dyophysitism, these Chalcedonians were reciprocating from the Definition with an exclusively Antiochene understanding of the incarnation.

iii. The Cyrillian Chalcedonians

To this group there belonged the majority of the Chalcedonian bishops who regarded Cyril as a measure of orthodoxy and saw in the Chalcedonian definition nothing else but a clarification of the doctrine of the Alexandrian father. For them Chalcedon's 'Horos' was in accordance with the decrees of all the previous Ecumenical Councils including Ephesus I.

As we have already seen, within the Cyrillian Chalcedonian party, some scholars identify a specific group of theologians, the 'Neo-Chalcedonians.' These appeared in the first half of the sixth century and strove to show the inner cohesiveness between the Cyrillian Christology and Chalcedon. Such theologians were Nephalius of Alexandria, John of Scythopolis, John the Grammarian, Leontius of Jerusalem, the Scythian monks, Ephraem of Amida, Theodore of Raithu, Justinian and the fathers of Constantinople II. In our view these theologians belong naturally to the Cyrillian Chalcedonian majority whose arguments they elaborated and clarified. But their teaching we will examine in Part Two.

⁶⁰⁷ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 199-200.

⁶⁰⁸ Meyendorff, *Imperial*, pp. 217-218.

PART TWO
THE CYRILLIAN INTERPRETATION OF CHALCEDON

CHAPTER I

CYRILLIAN DEFENDERS OF CHALCEDON

We have already noted that within the Chalcedonian camp soon after 451, there emerged a need for clarification of the Chalcedonian Definition, not only because of the Monophysite opposition to it but also because of the two conflicting interpretations within the Chalcedonian ranks: the Antiochene or strict dyophysite and the Cyrillian.⁶⁰⁹ A clarification of Chalcedon was attempted by theologians of both currents. This chapter will look into the thought of the Cyrillian Chalcedonians or, according to the definition of J. Lebon, 'neo-Chalcedonians'.⁶¹⁰ They represented the majority of bishops — at least in the East — as the *Codex Encyclius* as well as the reception of the *Henotikon* have shown.⁶¹¹ To this group belonged Nephalius, John of Scythopolis, John of Caesarea ('the Grammarian'), Leontius of Jerusalem, Ephraim of Amida, Theodore of Raithu, Justinian and the fathers of the Fifth Ecumenical council.

These theologians wanted to defend Chalcedon both against Monophysitism and Nestorianism by showing that Chalcedon not only was compatible with Cyril, but also was grounded in the thought of the Alexandrian father. In our view these 'neo-Chalcedonians' are more accurately designated as simply Cyrillian Chalcedonians.⁶¹²

As we have already mentioned, 'neo-Chalcedonianism,' as a designation of a theological movement that manipulated the Chalcedonian christology to make it compatible with that of Cyril, is misleading.⁶¹³ The 'neo-Chalcedonians' clarified the christology of the majority of the Chalcedonian fathers, who were Cyrillians and saw in Leo's dyophysitism an effective way of warding off the Eutychian danger. Chalcedon was essentially a Cyrillian council and as such it was understood by the majority of the Chalcedonians during and after the council.

⁶⁰⁹ See chapter IV.

⁶¹⁰ See Introduction. Whereas most scholars agree on the existence of a group of Cyrillian Chalcedonians or 'neo-Chalcedonians,' the designation of the rest of the Chalcedonians varies. E.g. Gray identifies three approaches: the 'Antiochene,' the 'Origenist' (allegedly represented by Leontius of Byzantium, of whom we speak below) and the 'neo-Chalcedonian' (*The Defense, (passim)*). This division presupposes that Leontius of Byzantium was an Evagrian Origenist, a thesis first advocated by D. Evans, *Leontius of Byzantium: An Origenist Christology* (Washington: 1970). However, Evans' arguments have been refuted (see e.g. B. E. Daley 'The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium' *JTS* 27 (1976), 333-369). Thus Grillmeier divides the Chalcedonians into 'strict Chalcedonians' (including Leontius of Byzantium) and 'neo-Chalcedonians' (which he divides into 'moderate' and 'extreme' ones) (*Christ II*, 2, *passim*).

⁶¹¹ See chapter IV.

⁶¹² As an alternative to 'neo-Chalcedonism', Grillmeier has also suggested the term 'neo-Cyrillianism'. *Christ II*, 2, p. 434, n. 481).

⁶¹³ See Introduction.

It should be pointed out that what these Cyrillian Chalcedonians attempted to show was not simply that Chalcedon was compatible with the Cyril of the *Formulary of Reunion* (433) — that would have been superfluous since it was more or less accepted by everybody — but also with the Cyril of the *Twelve Chapters*,⁶¹⁴ the ‘bone of contention’ in the christological debate of the fifth and sixth centuries. Hence they firmly upheld the following Cyrillian doctrines: a) the hypostatic union, b) the ‘double birth’ and ‘double consubstantiality of the Logos and c) the ‘suffering’ of the Logos. The latter they expressed through the formula ‘one of the Trinity suffered in the flesh’. At the same time they tried to clarify Cyril’s terminology along the lines of Chalcedon. Thus they advocated the application of the Cappadocian terminology (‘physis’ as synonymous with ‘ousia’ and ‘hypostasis’ as synonymous with ‘prosopon’) in christology.⁶¹⁵

It has been maintained⁶¹⁶ that what distinguished the ‘neo-Chalcedonians’ from the other Chalcedonians was that the former allowed the use of both christological formulae (i.e. ‘two physeis-one hypostasis or prosopon’ and ‘one incarnate physis of the God-Logos’) to ward off Nestorianism and Monophysitism. As we shall see, this is not the case as regards the major ‘neo-Chalcedonian’ figures like Leontius of Jerusalem,⁶¹⁷ Justinian and the Fathers of the Fifth Ecumenical council.

Furthermore, it has been suggested that the ‘neo-Chalcedonians’ created a ‘synthesis of language’ to mediate between the extremes of the ‘one physis’ and the ‘two physes’ christologies.⁶¹⁸ In our view the primary aim of the ‘neo-Chalcedonians’ was to clarify the Chalcedonian definition *against* those two extremes. This is clearly seen in the dual polemic by such eminent ‘neo-Chalcedonians’ as Leontius of Jerusalem and Justinian. They wrote both against the Nestorians (the *Three Chapters* in the case of Justinian) and the Monophysites, as we shall see below.

To provide an idea of the contribution the ‘neo-Chalcedonians’ made to the interpretation of Chalcedon, we will now inquire into the thought of four of them. In particular, we will outline the thought of Nephalius and John of Scythopolis, whereas

⁶¹⁴ Moeller, ‘Le chalcédonisme,’ p. 666.

⁶¹⁵ For an overview of the theory of ‘neo-Chalcedonism’ see Grillmeier, *Christ* II, 2, pp. 429-434.

⁶¹⁶ This was first suggested by M. Richard (‘Le néo-chalcédonisme,’ pp. 156-161) then accepted by Moeller: ‘Il faut, pour qu’il y ait réel néochalcedonisme, l’utilisation des deux formules christologiques (une nature, deux natures) comme une condition essentielle d’une proposition correcte de la foi,’ see ‘Le chalcédonisme,’ p. 666.

⁶¹⁷ Grillmeier has correctly pointed out Moeller’s mistake to include Leontius of Jerusalem in the ‘neo-Chalcedonians’ on the basis of such parallel use of the two formulae. See *Christ* II, 2, pp. 432-433.

⁶¹⁸ Grillmeier, *Christ* II, 2, p. 175.

we will be more analytical with the thought of John of Caesarea and Leontius of Jerusalem. The latter seems to have been the main influence on Justinian and the Fifth Ecumenical council. As our interest lies with the christology of Justinian and the Fifth Ecumenical council we examine them separately below.

1.1 NEPHALIUS OF ALEXANDRIA

Nephalius of Alexandria is the first known apologist of Chalcedon and its Cyrillian character against the anti-Chalcedonians. The uncertainty as to who he exactly was has been considerably cleared by Ch. Moeller, who was able to provide us with a fairly consistent biography of this theologian.⁶¹⁹ Nephalius, an Alexanrian monk,⁶²⁰ was initially a staunch anti-Chalcedonian⁶²¹ who opposed the moderate policy of Zeno (as expressed in the *Henotikon*) and Peter Mongus (482).⁶²² Later on though (certainly by 507), he became a supporter of Chalcedon and attacked the stronghold of the 'one physis' supporters, the monastery of Maiuma where Severus was a monk. This attack forced the latter to flee to Constantinople to defend his cause in front of the Emperor. Since no work of Nephalius is extant, it is not certain whether Nephalius defended Chalcedon in writing or orally. Zachariah informs us that Nephalius addressed an *Apologia* in defense of Chalcedon.⁶²³ In any case our only source for Nephalius' arguments is Severus' *Orationes ad Nephalius*,⁶²⁴ a refutation of the *Apologia*.

From Severus' refutation we assume that Nephalius' primary aim was to defend the 'two natures' formula. To do so he produces a *florilegium* of patristic passages which intended to show that the 'two natures' formula can be found in the writings of some of the greatest Fathers. The authorities quoted were Gregory of Nazianzus,⁶²⁵ Proclus of Constantinople,⁶²⁶ John Chrysostom,⁶²⁷ and most importantly, Cyril of Alexandria⁶²⁸. Severus also suggests that Nephalius meant to show that Cyril's acceptance of the *Formulary of Reunion* (433) with its dyophysite outlook, was

⁶¹⁹ C. Moeller, 'Un représentant de la Christologie néochalcédonienne au début du sixième siècle en Orient: Nephalius d'Alexandrie,' *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 40 (1944-45), 73-140

⁶²⁰ Zachariah, *Vita Severi*, ed. by M. A. Kugener, PO 2 (Paris, 1907), p. 100.

⁶²¹ J. Lebon thought that Nephalius was pro-Chalcedonian from the beginning (*Le monophysisme*, p. 33, n. 4) but Moeller proved this assumption wrong, see 'Un représentant', pp. 80-101. See also P. Gray, *The Defense*, p. 106.

⁶²² Evagrius, *HE* III, 22; Zachariah, *Chronicle*, VI, 2, ed. Hamilton, pp. 134-135, Idem, *Vita Severi*, ed. Kugener, p. 101.

⁶²³ *Vita Severi*, ed. Kugener, p. 103f.

⁶²⁴ J. Lebon, ed., CSCO, scriptores syri, 64-65 (Louvain, 1949).

⁶²⁵ Severus, *Ad Nephalius*, CSCO, 64-65, pp. 31-32.

⁶²⁶ Ibid., pp. 33-34.

⁶²⁷ Ibid., pp. 34-35.

⁶²⁸ Ibid., pp. 15, 31-33; 22-23.

evidence that the Alexandrian endorsed orthodox dyophysitism as well.⁶²⁹ Severus replied that Cyril accepted the *Formulary* for reasons of 'economy' ('condescensione').⁶³⁰

From Severus' hints we assume that Nephalius acknowledged that Chalcedon could have been more precise in the formulation of its Definition so as to better safeguard the unity of Christ and not to leave room for a Nestorian interpretation. In particular, Severus refers to Nephalius as having said that Chalcedon, in its fight against the Eutychian aberration, used 'imprecise words' (*crassa verba*) in its formulation.⁶³¹ Yet Nephalius was convinced that Chalcedon held a sound faith as regards the person of Christ and this is why he undertook to defend it.

Was then Nephalius willing to mediate between the pro and anti-Chalcedonians? It seems he did but only to a certain extent. As mediation between the 'out of two' and 'in two natures' Nephalius appears to have suggested the formula 'in two united natures' (*δύο φύσεις ἐνωθείσαι, duae naturae unitae*).⁶³² In one of the several passages that allude to such a formula, Severus says that Nephalius, when confronted with the fact that Cyril did not permit the distinction of the natures after the union, deceitfully (*dolosus*) replies: 'I call them united' (*ego autem illas unitas dico*).⁶³³

Moeller pointed out that Nephalius considered the use of the 'one nature' formula — alongside the 'two natures' — as necessary for orthodoxy.⁶³⁴ It is very probable that Nephalius wanted to prove the harmony between Cyril and Chalcedon by arguing that there is no essential difference between confessing 'one nature of the Logos incarnate' and 'two natures after the union'. Occasioning this hypothesis was Severus' question: "*Quomodo dicunt adversarii idem esse dicere 'duas naturas unitas' vel individuas et 'unam naturam incarnatam'?*"⁶³⁵ Grillmeier thinks that there is no evidence that Nephalius attempted to show that 'one nature' means the same as 'in two natures'.⁶³⁶ Gray, however, has convincingly shown that Nephalius accepts the 'one physis' formula

⁶²⁹ Ibid., p. 19.

⁶³⁰ Ibid., p. 19, 14-16.

⁶³¹ *Cum enim stultus Nephalius et sodales eius, defensores synodi chalcedonensis, dicerent hanc synodum pugnando adversus phantasiam Eutychetis crassis verbis usam esse, ipsam instantiam apposui, in iis quae ad illum ipsi...* Ibid. p. 3, 10-13. Cf. Gray, *The Defense*, p. 107; Grillmeier, *Christ*, II, 2, p. 48.

⁶³² E.g. Severus, *Ad Nephalius*, p. 22, 25-28. Cf. Grillmeier, *Christ*, II, 2, p. 49; Gray, *The Defense*, p. 107.

⁶³³ Severus, *Ad Nephalius*, p. 13, 25-30.

⁶³⁴ 'Nephalius déclarait que la formule de l' "unique nature" était indispensable à une saine orthodoxie'. 'Le chalcédonisme', p. 671.

⁶³⁵ Severus, *Ad Nephalius*, p. 46, 10-12. Quoted by Gray, *The Defense*, p. 109.

⁶³⁶ Grillmeier, *Christ*, II, 2, p. 51.

but he gives it a dyophysite interpretation: by 'incarnate' (σεσαρκωμένη) Cyril indicated the second (human) nature.⁶³⁷

What differentiates Nephalius from the later neo-Chalcedonians is his unease with the idea of 'theopaschism' which, as we shall see, was central in the neo-Chalcedonian apologetics. In particular, Nephalius accuses Severus of teaching theopaschism (in the heretical sense) with his understanding of the 'one physis' formula.⁶³⁸

More importantly, Nephalius does not seem to have touched the key theme of the neo-Chalcedonian solution, i.e. the 'union according to hypostasis' issue. Like other apologists of Chalcedon at that time, he concentrates on interpreting the 'two natures' formula to show that Chalcedon meant to proclaim the perfect unity of the person of Christ. This last feature of his teaching, however, ranges him among the neo-Chalcedonian theologians.

1.2 JOHN OF SCYTHOPOLIS

No work of John of Scythopolis has survived. Everything we know about him is again derived from other sources. Leontius of Jerusalem⁶³⁹ and Photius⁶⁴⁰ tell us that John was bishop of Scythopolis.⁶⁴¹ According to Photius John wrote a work entitled *Against the Aposchistae*,⁶⁴² and an *Apologia for the council of Chalcedon*.⁶⁴³ Photius gives us information only of the latter work.

The *Apologia* was attacked by Basil of Cilicia, a presbyter of the Church of Antioch in the days of Flavian (498-512). Basil seems to have been a typical case of a crypto-Nestorian within the Chalcedonian camp. Photius tells us that, although Basil was a Nestorian, he denounced Nestorius. Instead, he claimed to be a follower of Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia.⁶⁴⁴

From Basil's critique, it becomes obvious that John taught the Cyrillian 'theopaschite' doctrine. Basil criticised John for teaching that 'the Logos suffered in the

⁶³⁷ Gray, *The Defense*, pp. 109-110.

⁶³⁸ Severus, *Ad Nephalium*, p. 42, 4-13.

⁶³⁹ *Contra Monophysitas*, PG 86, pt. II, 1865C.

⁶⁴⁰ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, ed. Henry, V, p. 66, 23-24; In an earlier reference, Photius calls John 'Scholasticus'. Ibid., II, p. 48, 5-6.

⁶⁴¹ The ancient city of Bethsam in Palestina Secunda. It was the see of a titular metropolitan.

⁶⁴² Photius, *Bibl.* II, p. 48, 5-6.

⁶⁴³ Ibid., V, p. 66, 24-25; II, pp. 74ff.

⁶⁴⁴ καὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν Νεστορίου νοσῶν Νεστόριον μὲν οὐκ οἰκτιοῦται, Διόδωρον δὲ καὶ Θεόδωρον ἐπιγράφεται πατέρας. Ibid., II, p. 78, 5-7.

flesh' (ὁ λόγος ἔπαθε σαρκί)⁶⁴⁵ and for his use of the 'theopaschite' formula 'one of the Trinity suffered' (ὁ εἷς τῆς Τριάδος παθών).⁶⁴⁶

Being a true Cyrillian, John teaches one subject in Christ whom he identifies with the Logos. He argued against the idea of 'two Christs'⁶⁴⁷ and 'two Sons'.⁶⁴⁸ Basil takes exception to John's teaching that 'to say "Christ" is the same as to say "God"' (ταυτόν ἐστι τὸ λέγειν Χριστὸν τῷ λέγειν Θεόν)⁶⁴⁹

John's Cyrillian outlook is also evident in such classic Cyrillian proof texts as a) 'the Word became flesh', b) 'for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory', c) 'no one has ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, the Son of Man who is in heaven', d) 'Who has seen me has seen the Father' et al.

In Basil's view John's doctrine was the result of his dependence on the christology of Cyril's *Twelve Anathemas*, and in particular the Twelfth manifestly proclaiming theopaschism.⁶⁵⁰

John of Scythopolis is therefore a clear example of a Chalcedonian who is at the same time perfectly Cyrillian and moreover, an advocate of the christology of the *Twelve Anathemas*.

1.3 JOHN OF CAESAREA

John the Grammarian (fl. 510-520), was one of the Chalcedonian authors who posed a serious challenge to Severus. We know nothing of him apart from that he was bishop⁶⁵¹ or a presbyter⁶⁵² of Caesarea, and wrote in defence of Chalcedon.⁶⁵³ Grillmeier regards him 'the real promoter of the attempt to mediate between Cyril...and Chalcedon with its fresh start'.⁶⁵⁴ Severus might call him an amateur theologian, but his contribution to the post-Chalcedonian discussion was significant.

Two works of the Grammarian are of interest for our study, the *Apologia concilii Chalcedonensis* and the *XVII Capitula contra Monophysitas*. The Greek original of the

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 75, 25.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 77, 22.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 77, 22.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 77, 27-28.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 75, 25-26.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 78, 5-14.

⁶⁵¹ Gray, *The Defense*, p. 115.

⁶⁵² Grillmeier, *Christ II*, 2, p. 52.

⁶⁵³ John of Caesarea, *Apologia Concilii Chalcedonensis*, CCG 1, ed. by M. Richard, (Turnhout: 1997), pp. 6-46.

⁶⁵⁴ Grillmeier, *Christ II*, 2, p. 52.

former work exists only partially.⁶⁵⁵ Excerpts of it, preserved in Syriac, have been translated into Latin by J. Lebon.⁶⁵⁶ A fair picture of its contents can also be acquired from Severus' *Contra impium grammaticum*. The Greek original of the *Capitula* exists in its entirety.⁶⁵⁷

Definition of ousia, physis, hypostasis, prosopon

To facilitate the discussion and encourage Severus to accept his line of thought, the Grammarian favoured the term ousia to physis, although in his thought they mean the same thing (*Ἡ γὰρ φύσις, ὃ ἐστὶν οὐσία*).⁶⁵⁸ It is true that Severus could not speak of two physeis in Christ because he identified physis with the subject of the acts of every being, i.e. with the being itself.⁶⁵⁹ But he could not argue much against the term *οὐσία* especially as qualified by John, i.e. as meaning the *κοινόν* (class or *genus*) which is considered in many 'particulars,'⁶⁶⁰ as opposed to the *ἴδιον* ('the particular') which was signified by hypostasis.⁶⁶¹ The Grammarian points to the Basilian origin of this distinction: Basil had compared the analogy between the *κοινόν* and the *ἴδιον* with the analogy between ousia and hypostasis in the Trinity.⁶⁶² The former was the common essence by itself, whereas the latter the common essence with the *ιδιώματα* ('individual attributes' or idioms).

Continuing, the Grammarian says that ontologically (*τῷ εἶναι*) there is no difference between ousia and hypostasis; they both refer to actual beings. Their difference is that ousia is the common property of many beings (*τῷ κοινῶς εἶναι*) or that which exists equally in all the 'particulars' that belong to the same *genus* and which has no existence outside those 'particulars,'⁶⁶³ whereas hypostasis is the 'particular' 'when in addition to the general and common property it also has something peculiar to it' (*ὅταν μετὰ τῶν καθόλου καὶ ἰδικόν τι ἔχῃ*).⁶⁶⁴ Obviously, the Grammarian does not perceive ousia in the platonic sense of the universal 'form'.

⁶⁵⁵ CCG 1, pp. 49-58.

⁶⁵⁶ CCG 1, pp. 6-46.

⁶⁵⁷ CCG 1, pp. 59-66.

⁶⁵⁸ CCG, 1, 1, 2, p. 49.

⁶⁵⁹ Grillmeier, *Christ*, II, 2, p. 55. See chapter IV.

⁶⁶⁰ 'Whatever is seen in equal quantity in many [particulars], this is called ousia'. *Apologia* (excerpta graeca) I, CCG 1, p. 49, 1-2.

⁶⁶¹ *Apologia* (ex. graeca) II, CCG 1, p. 49.

⁶⁶² *ὃν ἔχει λόγον τὸ κοινόν πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον, τοῦτον ἔχει ἡ οὐσία πρὸς τὴν ὑπόστασιν* (loc. cit.).

⁶⁶³ *Contra Monophysitas*, Cap. IX, CCG 1, p. 64.

⁶⁶⁴ *Apol.* (ex. gr.) IV, 6, CCG 1, p. 55, 204-205.

Crucial in Grammarian's system is the term 'characteristic hypostasis' (*ὑπόστασις χαρακτηριστική*). An hypostasis has the meaning of prosopon when it is qualified as 'characteristic'.⁶⁶⁵ In this case it signifies the individual being which is singled out of its class by its 'idioms' which is what the Grammarian means by 'character' (*χαρακτήρ*). It is interesting that although he identifies ousia with physis, and hypostasis with prosopon, the Grammarian says that hypostasis could mean ousia when it is considered without 'character'. In his view, this is exactly how the Monophysites use the term hypostasis, i. e. without 'character'.⁶⁶⁶

Against the 'one physis', the Grammarian uses an argument that will also be employed by Justinian as we shall see later on. The argument consists in refuting the monophysite use of the union of body and soul to show that Christ is one physis. 'Man', although he consists of body and soul that are two different physeis, is one physis. Similarly Christ can also be one physis, although he consists of divinity and humanity. The Grammarian replies that man, although he is made of body and soul, is indeed one ousia, because humanity is a *κοινόν* as is predicated of all men. If on the strength of this premise, one now says that Christ is also one ousia then one has to accept that this one ousia can be predicated of many individuals. But this is blasphemous because it means that there are many Christs.⁶⁶⁷

As mentioned earlier, the Grammarian employs Basilian metaphysics in his christology and thereby identifies ousia with physis and hypostasis with prosopon.⁶⁶⁸ The Monophysites on the other hand, while accepting this scheme in triadology, refused to transfer it to christology. This inconsistency is fully exploited by the Grammarian. If the Monophysites, argues John, refuse to identify physis with ousia, then, how do they say 'out of two physeis'? They either mean 'out of two ousiai', which means that they also identify the two terms, or 'out of two hypostaseis' which is exactly what Nestorius said.⁶⁶⁹

John must have been the first to advance the idea of Christ's 'double consubstantiality' as an argument against the anti-Chalcedonians. He argued that if Christ was really of the same ousia with the Father (according to his divinity) and with us (according to his humanity), then he would have to be in two ousiai, because a single

⁶⁶⁵ *Apol.* (ex. gr.) IV, 3, CCG 1pp. 54-55.

⁶⁶⁶ *Apol.* (ex. gr.) III, 2, CCG 1, p. 51.

⁶⁶⁷ *Apol.* (ex. gr.) I, CCG 1, p.

⁶⁶⁸ 'the characteristic hypostasis has the same meaning as prosopon.' *Apol.*, (ex. gr.) III, 2, CCG 1, p. 51.

⁶⁶⁹ *Apol.* (ex. gr.) III, CCG 1, p. 51.

ousia cannot be consubstantial with God and men.⁶⁷⁰ Relevant is also the Grammarian's following argument: if Christ is one incarnate physis of the Logos, and the 'incarnate physis' was consubstantial with the Father, then the Father would be a creature, because Christ's flesh is a creature. But if the Monophysites agree that Christ is partly 'homousios' (according to divinity) and partly 'heterousios' (according to humanity) with the Father, then they have to admit two natures.⁶⁷¹

The Grammarian also attempts to refute two arguments often posed by the Monophysites: a) 'there is no physis without a prosopon' (*οὐκ ἔστι φύσις ἀπρόσωπος*) and b) 'there is no ousia without a hypostasis'. Both arguments are based on the Aristotelian understanding of physis as a concrete reality. If there is no physis without a prosopon, says the Grammarian, then when the Monophysites say 'out of two physeis' they must mean that Christ is also 'out of two prosopa'. At this point the Grammarian makes interesting metaphysical observations as to the modes of union. He says that two prosopa cannot be united in one hypostasis or prosopon. Their union can only be either essential or relational (*κατ' οὐσίαν καὶ σχέσιν ἔνωσιν ἐπιδέχονται*) but not 'enhypostatic' (i.e. they cannot be united in one single being or hypostasis) which is the only one that can form a prosopon. Essential is the union between the persons of the Trinity who are united according to their essence, whereas relational is the union between the disciples who are united through their being disciples and their mission. It is true, says the Grammarian, that physis necessarily subsists in prosopa; it cannot exist independently. But this is not applicable when two physeis are united 'according to synthesis' (*ἐν συνθέσει*) or 'enhypostasis' (*ἐνυποστάτως*), that is, when they form one prosopon and hypostasis. In this case it is not necessary that both have their own (*ἰδιάζον*) prosopon. To support this idea John refers to the example of the four elements (fire, water, air, earth) which, though different ousiai, can form one body or hypostasis. However, this example, he admits, might imply mixture and confusion, so he resorts to the classic example of man. Although body and soul are two different ousiai, when they come together, they form one prosopon and hypostasis while still remaining two. Yet, even this analogy, John says, is inadequate to represent the mystery of the union in Christ which transcends human comprehension.⁶⁷²

⁶⁷⁰ Loc. cit.

⁶⁷¹ *C. Mon., Cap. XV*, CCG 1, p. 65.

⁶⁷² *Apol. (ex. gr.) IV, 2*, CCG 1, pp. 53-54.

Synthetic hypostasis

As mentioned above, the Grammarian teaches that the union in Christ was effected 'according to synthesis'. This means, as John explains through the use of the examples of the four elements and man, that in the union the concurring elements, while forming one indivisible subject (prosopon or hypostasis), remain unconfused. The resulting one hypostasis is accordingly called 'synthetic' (σύνθετος ὑπόστασις). Explaining this further, John makes some interesting observations. A hypostasis is 'simple,' he says, when the ousia in which it is considered is 'simple' (an example of this is the Logos). A hypostasis is 'synthetic' when it is considered in either one synthetic ousia or in two or more united ousiai. An example of a synthetic hypostasis is man who, in fact, fits both descriptions because: a) his ousia can be called one 'synthetic ousia' (or 'synthetic community') since the union of body and soul is shared by all men, and b) 'body' and 'soul' are ousiai (or 'communities') in their own right shared respectively with the other bodies and souls. In the case of Christ, however, his synthetic hypostasis is not considered in one synthetic ousia, because the union of divinity and humanity is not shared by anybody else (no other person is both God and man). Rather, his synthetic hypostasis is considered in two ousiai (divinity and humanity) or 'communities', each one of which shares exclusively with its respective kind. Divinity shares with the Father, humanity with us.⁶⁷³

Enhypostaton

This union 'according to synthesis' is also called 'enhypostatic' (ἐνυπόστατος ἔνωσις). This christology of the 'enhypostaton' is the major contribution of the neo-Chalcedonians to christological doctrine. The primary meaning of the term is 'union of two or more ousiai in one hypostasis'. Yet, like Leontius of Jerusalem, the Grammarian allows for a second meaning, that of true existence. Thus, he accepts the axiom that all ousiai are 'enhypostatic' as long as this means that they really exist (ὑπαρχούσας). Only in this sense does he agree to call Christ's human ousia 'enhypostatic': in so far as it subsists in the Logos' one hypostasis and therefore truly exists (καθὸ ὑφέστηκε τε καὶ ἔστιν) and is not in itself a 'characteristic hypostasis' and prosopon. For this reason, he explains, one can give hypostasis the meaning of ousia. Because when hypostasis is devoid of 'characteristic idioms', then it means mere subsistence which is

⁶⁷³ C. Mon., Cap. VII, CCG 1, p. 63.

the same as ousia.⁶⁷⁴ This is also why the fathers, says the Grammarian, often used hypostasis instead of ousia.⁶⁷⁵

The second Monophysite argument (i.e. 'there is no ousia without a hypostasis') is also wrong, says the Grammarian. Firstly because there is no difference between ousia and physis, and secondly because that would mean two hypostaseis in Christ. But, he asks, what is the need to say that there are two 'particular' (*ἰδικάς*) hypostaseis in Christ since all the actions, divine and human, are predicated of the one and the same subject? Christ's own 'flesh' did not exist on its own but subsisted in him as his own 'flesh' (*ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ ἡ ἰδικὴ αὐτοῦ ὑπέστη σάρξ*). This 'flesh' was only an ousia, for it only had the 'common property' of the human nature, i.e. its being flesh animated with rational soul. In Grammarian's terms, Christ's human ousia was not a 'characteristic hypostasis'. But by its union with the hypostasis of the Logos it acquired 'particular characteristics', that is, its being the flesh of the God-Logos and nobody else's. 'How can such an ousia, which never subsisted by itself, be called another [besides the divine] hypostasis?' asks the Grammarian.⁶⁷⁶

Therefore, if by saying that Christ is one, the Monophysites mean that he is one 'characteristic hypostasis,' they are pious and consonant with Chalcedon, says the Grammarian. For the two ousiai remained two after the union without confusion or change. The flesh remained what it was, although it was appropriated by God, and God never changed into flesh. But if they say that the two physeis became one ousia, they introduce confusion or change. As in the Trinity, the three hypostaseis, although united in one ousia, remain three, so in Christ the two ousiai remain two, although they formed one hypostasis. At this point it is worth noticing that the Grammarian uses the formula 'one incarnate hypostasis of the God-Logos' (*μία ὑπόστασις τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη*)⁶⁷⁷ echoing authentically the Cyrillian 'one physis'.

The Cyrillianism of the Grammarian is clear in the way he speaks of the real appropriation of the 'flesh' by the God-Logos. On account of the closeness of the enhypostatic union, the Logos and his flesh can be said to be 'one'. Thus, although the human characteristics belong to the 'flesh', because this 'flesh' is his, he also

⁶⁷⁴ *Apol.* (ex. gr.) IV, 6, CCG 1, pp. 55-56.

⁶⁷⁵ The Grammarian quotes Cyril's 3rd anathema (*Εἴ τις ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνός Χριστοῦ διαιρεῖ τὰς ὑποστάσεις μετὰ τὴν ἐνωσιν...*) and a passage from Athanasius' *Ad Afros* (...*ἡ γὰρ ὑπόστασις καὶ ἡ οὐσία ὑπαρξίς ἐστιν ἔστιν γὰρ καὶ ὑπάρχει*. PG 26, 1036B, 5-9). *Apol.* (ex. gr.) IV, 5, CCG 1, p. 55.

⁶⁷⁶ *Apol.* (ex. gr.) IV, 3, CCG 1, pp. 54-55.

⁶⁷⁷ *Apol.* (ex. gr.) V, CCG 1, p. 56.

appropriates what is proper to it.⁶⁷⁸ It is on the strength of the enhypostatic union that the disciples could say 'we have seen the Lord' [John 20.25]; although they had only seen the 'flesh' of the Lord, or Paul could say 'for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory'.

In *Cap. 1* of the *Contra Monophysitas*, John of Caesarea juxtaposes the orthodox and heterodox christological doctrines. If one wants to be orthodox, one must confess that 'Christ is perfect God and perfect man, in the sense that the Logos united to himself our own dough (τὸ ἡμέτερον φύραμα), which is our humanity'. The heretics, however, say that Christ is a) only God (Manichaeism), b) only man (Paul of Samosata), c) perfect God but not perfect man (Apollinarianism), d) perfect God and perfect man, but the man is considered independently (ἰδιοσυστάτως καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος θεωρουμένου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου) although he is governed by the Logos (Nestorianism).⁶⁷⁹

The Grammarian is also against the idea that the incarnation resulted in a *tertium quid*. One must be careful when using the term 'God-man' (θεάνθρωπος),⁶⁸⁰ he says. This should be understood in the sense that in Christ both natures were perfect and not that Christ was neither God nor man but a different species, like the mythical goat-stag (τραγέλαφος) who was neither goat nor stag but a third kind of animal.⁶⁸¹

Critique of 'one physis' and 'out of two physeis'

It is very significant that the Grammarian allows for the use of the 'one physis' formula only when it is properly qualified ('you are orthodox when you maintain the [true] meaning of the confession')⁶⁸². These qualifications are: a) the addition to the formula of the expression 'with flesh animated with rational soul' (σαρκὶ ἐμψυχωμένη ψυχῇ λογικῇ) (to ward off Apollinarianism) and, b) the understanding that two perfect physeis were united and preserved in one 'characteristic hypostasis' ('if you profess two perfect [natures] preserved in one characteristic hypostasis, you are orthodox').⁶⁸³ In other words, here the Grammarian is asking the Monophysites, as regards the 'one physis' formula, to use physis in the sense of hypostasis.

⁶⁷⁸ ἡ δὲ σὰρξ αὐτοῦ ἐν τι ὑπάρχουσα πρὸς αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν ἄκραν καὶ ἐνυπόστατον ἔνωσιν. *Apol.* (ex. gr.) VI, CCG 1, p. 57-58.

⁶⁷⁹ *C. Mon.*, *Cap. 1*, CCG 1, p. 61.

⁶⁸⁰ The term was first used by Origen, *Homily on Ezekiel* 3, 3.

⁶⁸¹ *C. Mon.*, *Cap. 1*, CCG 1, p. 61.

⁶⁸² ὀρθόδοξος ὑπάρχεις, εἰ ἄρα τὸν νοῦν φυλάξεις τῆς ὁμολογίας. *Loc. cit.*

⁶⁸³ Εἰ δὲ δύο τελείας καὶ ἐν μιᾷ χαρακτηριστικῇ ὑποστάσει σωζόμενας ὁμολογεῖς, ὀρθόδοξος ὑπάρχεις. *Loc. cit.*

If however the Monophysites reject the 'two physeis united indivisibly in one hypostasis' as the only orthodox interpretation of the 'one physis,' then they are faced with a serious problem: how would they justify their 'out of two physeis'? They will inevitably have to say that the 'two physeis' existed either before the union or in the union. To say the former is obviously erroneous to them, as it presupposes a pre-existent human nature. To affirm the latter is to agree with Chalcedon, since the eternal character of the union means that the duality of the natures is also eternal.⁶⁸⁴

The Grammarian has no objection for the use of the formula 'out of two physeis'. He, however, qualifies it in the way Cyril did before him: before the union the two natures of Christ can only be regarded 'in contemplation' (*θεωρίᾳ*), for there was never a time that the two natures existed separately.

However, the manner the Monophysites profess 'out of two natures' brings them very close to teaching the existence of a human prosopon or hypostasis in Christ, contends the Grammarian. He tries to prove that on the strength of the definition of ousia as the *genus* which exists only in the particulars. If this definition holds true, he argues, then the 'out of two natures' — if the natures were real — means that they existed 'peculiarly' (*ἰδιαζόντως*) in their corresponding particulars (*ἐν τισι τῶν καθ' ἑκάστων*), which is none other than saying that they existed in two prosopa. This is not at all what the orthodox mean, explains the Grammarian, when they say 'in two natures'. They rather mean that when the union is enhypostatic then in the one and the same prosopon two or more natures can be considered. If the union was not enhypostatic then they would necessarily have their own, 'idihypostatic' (self-existent, *ἰδιοὑπόστατον*) prosopon.⁶⁸⁵

In his attempt to differentiate the two natures in Christ, the Grammarian gives the impression of departing from the 'theopaschite' principle of the other 'neo-Chalcedonians'. In fact, he does nothing else but clarify the Cyrillian 'theopaschism'. He tells his opponents that if they accept that in Christ both the impassible of the divinity and the passible of the humanity are preserved and are both predicated of the one and the same person, then they have to admit that both natures are preserved in him. If now they say that the suffering belongs to his flesh they are orthodox. But in this case they have to clarify if this 'flesh' is the same as his divinity according to ousia or different. If the former is the case then they teach 'theopaschism' (*θεοπαθεία*). If the

⁶⁸⁴ *C. Mon., Cap. III, CCG 1, p. 62.*

⁶⁸⁵ *C. Mon., Cap. IX, CCG 1, p. 64.*

latter is the case, then they have to say 'two natures' in Christ.⁶⁸⁶ Obviously here the 'theopaschism' that John condemns is clearly heretical, and not that of Cyril and the neo-Chalcedonians who predicated Christ's suffering of his one person or hypostasis and not of his divine nature.

The Grammarian repudiates the charge that his doctrine implies separation of the natures after the union because he confesses one incarnate hypostasis. For him, as for the rest of the Cyrillian Chalcedonians, it is not the nature of the Logos but his hypostasis, which became incarnate.

Similarly he rejects any idea of confusion of the two natures in one ousia (οὐσιότης). Following Cyril and Chalcedon, he proclaims that the difference of the natures was not abolished because of the union.⁶⁸⁷ How the close union and the difference are preserved at the same time is explained again through the idea of 'synthesis'. This gives the Grammarian the means to express an impressively coherent and balanced christology. Christ's synthetic hypostasis means that he can be one and, at the same time, in two elements. This is because the category 'one' (ἓν) can be applied not only to single hypostaseis or prosopa, but also to synthetic ones. The only difference between a single 'one' and a synthetic 'one' is that the former is considered in one ousia whereas the latter in two. On the other hand, the eternal difference of the natures is preserved because the very nature of 'synthesis' which runs through the whole Christ guarantees it. Christ is synthetic as a whole (divinity and humanity) and at the same time this 'synthesis' renders him one indivisible prosopon. This means that the whole Christ is God, that is, with his human body, but not according to it, and at the same time the whole Christ is a man, that is, with his divinity, but not according to it.⁶⁸⁸ In this words, we think, the Grammarian shows the maturity of the christological doctrine of the Cyrillian Chalcedonians, an achievement greatly facilitated by the idea of 'synthesis'.

The Grammarian's contribution to a Cyrillian-Chalcedonian settlement was significant. His methodical use of current concepts and formulae (especially the Cappadocian usage of ousia and hypostasis) made it possible for him to convincingly accommodate in one system both Chalcedonian dyophysitism and Cyrillian

⁶⁸⁶ C. Mon., Cap. VI, CCG 1, pp. 62-63.

⁶⁸⁷ See Cyril's *Ad Nestorium II* and Chalcedon's Definition.

⁶⁸⁸ ὅλον θεόν τὸν Χριστὸν κηρύττοντες μετὰ τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ὅλον ἄνθρωπον τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογοῦντες καὶ μετὰ τῆς θεότητος, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα (C. Mon., Cap. X, CCG 1, p. 64)

‘monophysitism’. Especially the two concepts of the ‘enhypostatic union’ and the ‘synthetic hypostasis’ are particularly fundamental for the christology of the Fifth Ecumenical council.

1.4 LEONTIUS OF JERUSALEM: THE CHRISTOLOGY OF *SYNTHESIS*

The problem of the identity of this theologian has occupied scholars over a long time as there is no biographical information about him. The only thing we know is that under the name Leontius of Jerusalem, ‘the most wise monk,’ there have survived two works: the *Adversus Nestorianos*⁶⁸⁹ (henceforth referred to as *AN*) which is divided in eight books of which the last has been lost, and *Contra Monophysitas*⁶⁹⁰ (henceforth referred to as *CM*). In Migne’s *Patrologia Graeca* both works are included in the corpus of the works of Leontius of Byzantium. To make things more complicated, a whole list of persons with the name Leontius are recorded in the sources of about the same time (6th c.). Loofs, in his important study on the issue, maintained that Leontius of Jerusalem should be identified with a) Leontius of Byzantium, b) Leontius Scholasticus, the author of the *De Sectis*, and c) Leontius, the Scythian monk who participated in the ‘theopaschite’ controversy.⁶⁹¹ This was not the view of M. Richard, whose careful study of the corpus showed that Leontius of Byzantium and Leontius of Jerusalem are two different and even irreconcilable authors.⁶⁹² Since Richard’s study the majority of scholars have been distinguishing the two Leontii.⁶⁹³ Further, it has been contested that Leontius of Byzantium is either a strict Chalcedonian and an Origenist⁶⁹⁴ or simply a strict Chalcedonian⁶⁹⁵ leaving thus the author of *AN* and *CM* as the only representative of the ‘neo-Chalcedonian’ christology. This study takes for granted this view. Dating the two works is also difficult although Gray’s suggestion that they must have been written sometime between 538-550 seems quite reasonable.⁶⁹⁶

⁶⁸⁹ PG 86, 1399-1768^l.

⁶⁹⁰ PG 86, 1769-1902.

⁶⁹¹ F. Loofs, *Leontius von Byzans und die gleichnamigen Schriftsteller der griechischen Kirche* (Leipzig, 1887).

⁶⁹² M. Richard, ‘Léonce de Jérusalem et Léonce de Byzance’ *Mélanges de science religieuse*, 1 (1944), 35-88 (pp. 35-38).

⁶⁹³ However there are still those who are not convinced. Cf. J. H. I. Watt, ‘The authenticity of the writings ascribed to Leontius of Byzantium’, *SP* 7 (1966), pp. 321-336; S. Rees, ‘The literary activity of Leontius of Byzantium’, *JTS* 19 (1968), pp. 321-326; I. Fratsea, *Leontius of Byzantium: His Life and Writings* (Athens, 1984); Feidas, p. 686.

⁶⁹⁴ Evans, ‘*The Origenism*’; Meyendorff, *Christ*, pp. 61-68; Gray, *The Defense*, pp. 90-103.

⁶⁹⁵ Daley, ‘*Leontius*’; Grillmeier, *Christ*, II, 2, pp. 181-229.

⁶⁹⁶ *The Defense*, pp. 122-123.

Adversus Nestorianos

In the *AN* we come across a milestone in the post-Chalcedonian christology. In it, Leontius tries to defend the Chalcedonian doctrine on the basis of the Cyrillian principle of the 'hypostatic union' or union 'according to hypostasis' (as against the union 'according to physis' which could be erroneous as in the case of Apollinarius) and through the concepts of 'synthesis' and 'enhypostaton'. In response to a series of objections by an unidentified 'Nestorian', Leontius explains his innovative thought. Also as it quotes the arguments of Leontius' opponent, the *AN* provides us with invaluable information about the Nestorian and Antiochene theology at large. Unfortunately the loss of the eighth book deprives us of a fuller picture of the Nestorian ideas in the sixth century since in that book Leontius attacked his opponents understanding of the union.⁶⁹⁷

Synthesis

The basic premise of Leontius' teaching is that the two natures were synthesised and subsist without confusion in the one hypostasis of Christ which is the eternal hypostasis of the Logos. Throughout the *AN* one notices Leontius' preference for the term 'synthesis' (σύνθεσις) instead of simply 'union' (ένωσις). For him the former illustrates better the closeness of the unity between the natures as well as their duality in the one hypostasis.⁶⁹⁸ Leontius presents 'synthesis' as the orthodox Chalcedonian doctrine which opposes both the Nestorian and the Monophysite heresies.

The entire first Book of the *AN* is dedicated to the defence of the 'union according to synthesis' which came under attack by the Nestorian. Such a union, complains Leontius' opponent, by making God a part of a 'synthesis,' abolishes the Logos' infinity and renders God divisible (ἐμμερής) and circumscribable (περιγραπτός). This is because a 'synthesis' can only take place between whole things (ὅλον ὅλῳ) or between parts of things (μέρος μέρει), or between a part and a whole (μέρος ὅλῳ). But these categories cannot be applied to the uncircumscribable God. Leontius' reply is very interesting, as it reveals the way the Byzantine theologians understood God's transcendence. He puts his opponent's difficulty to appreciate the idea of 'synthesis' down to the Nestorian understanding of the union as 'parathesis' (juxtaposition). 'Parathesis', argues Leontius, can be applied only to bodies (σώματα) and quantities (ποσά). By treating the union as one of measurable bodies (σώματος μεγέθει) the

⁶⁹⁷ Grillmeier, *Christ* II, 2, p. 273.

⁶⁹⁸ PG 86, 1632D-1633A; Grillmeier, *Christ*, II, 2, p. 294.

Nestorians do not perceive the incarnation in a manner befitting God (*θεοπρεπῶς*).⁶⁹⁹ God circumscribes the material world, says Leontius, but not in the manner a larger body circumscribes a smaller one. For in this case, God becomes himself a 'continuous quantity' (*συνεχὲς ποσόν*) and a body like all other bodies. That would make God divisible (*ἐμμερής*) and compound (*σύνθετος*). God circumscribes the world, not because there is not a larger body than him, but because by nature he transcends all other beings as well as time and space.⁷⁰⁰ God is synthesised with the human nature not as a body or as a divisible nature (*μεριστή τις φύσις*), so that he could be considered divisible as a part or as whole. He is synthesised rather with human nature without any change in his own nature. Leontius suggests that this happened because God became man not out of necessity (*οὐκ ἀναγκαίως αὐτῷ γέγονεν ὁ τοῦ σώματος λόγος*) which would mean a change in his nature — often in the metaphysics of that time necessity is associated with nature⁷⁰¹ — but freely. But above all, it is God's omnipotence that could make even this union of the infinite with the finite possible. The greatness of the uncircumscribable God, says Leontius, is shown in the fact that it was contained within the circumscribable humanity.⁷⁰² This is clearly taught in Paul's 'for in him dwelt all the fullness of the Godhead bodily' [Col. 2. 9].

The Nestorian opponent claimed that 'synthesis' means that the Logos became part of the resulting one physis or hypostasis, and therefore he shares the passions (*συμπάσχει*) with the other constituent (the human nature) by necessity (*ἀνάγκη*), which is impious. Leontius firstly points out that the Nestorian, just like the Eutychians, wrongly identifies physis with hypostasis.⁷⁰³ Against this he readily puts forward the triadological argument: if physis is the same as ousia, then there must be either three ousiai or one hypostasis in the Trinity. In any case this Nestorian claim that 'synthesis' introduces mutation to the immutable nature of God would have some value if it was addressed to the Monophysites who speak about one 'synthetic physis' and not to the Chalcedonians who say one 'synthetic hypostasis'.⁷⁰⁴

Definition of hypostasis

Leontius realises that for his argument to be understood, a definition of hypostasis is necessary. In fact he gives a number of definitions of which the following three are

⁶⁹⁹ PG 86, 1409B.

⁷⁰⁰ PG 86, 1409D-1412A.

⁷⁰¹ See a similar idea in Theodore of Mopsuestia, Part One, Chapter III.

⁷⁰² PG 86, 1412A.

⁷⁰³ PG 86, 1420D.

⁷⁰⁴ PG 86, 1420D-1421A; 1425A.

relevant to our subject. A hypostasis is formed: a) when different 'particular' natures (*φύσεις ἰδικαί*) (not *prosopa*) with their 'idioms' are united in one individual,⁷⁰⁵ b) when not several different natures but several partial 'idioms' of a single nature come together to form one general 'idiom' which belongs to one subject.⁷⁰⁶ At this point Leontius explains what constitutes a hypostasis is the union of the partial 'idioms' of one or several natures united in one particular. In other words hypostasis is mainly what singles out a 'particular' from all the other 'particulars' which belong to the same class. The hypostasis designates the particular as an individualised being (*τόδε τι*) by concretising the general species. In other words, the hypostasis is what individualises the 'particulars' (*καθ' ἑκάστα*) of a class and distinguishes them from one another by their 'most peculiar attribute' (*ἰδικώτατον ἰδίωμα*).⁷⁰⁷ In this sense, says Leontius, the fathers identified hypostasis with *prosopon*.⁷⁰⁸

Leontius agrees with Basil and the other Cappadocians who defined hypostasis as the individualised general species (*ousia*). In other words hypostasis is the *ousia* with the 'idioms' which are predicated of a being. But Leontius gives a more specific meaning to it which facilitates his argumentation. For him hypostasis can be defined as the concurrence (*σύννοδος*) of 'idioms' of one (as in the Trinity) or many united natures (as in Christ). So whereas in the Trinity the hypostasis of the Logos is constituted from the sum of his divine 'idioms',⁷⁰⁹ Christ's hypostasis is formed from the concurrence of the 'idioms' of the nature of the Logos and the 'idioms' of the human nature.⁷¹⁰ In other words, for Leontius, Christ is the one pre-existent hypostasis of the Logos in which the divine nature and its 'idioms' are united with the human nature and its 'idioms'.

Christ's one unique hypostasis sets him apart from any other hypostasis either divine or human, He is 'heteroypostatic' (*ἑτεροϋπόστατος*). As mentioned, this is the function of the hypostasis: to distinguish the subject from all the rest by showing it in its monad.⁷¹¹ Thus, Christ's one hypostasis distinguishes him both from the other two persons or hypostases of the Trinity and from the other men. However, at the same time, it makes him partly consubstantial both with the other two Persons of the Trinity and

⁷⁰⁵ PG 86, 1529C.

⁷⁰⁶ Loc. cit.

⁷⁰⁷ PG 86, 1552B.

⁷⁰⁸ PG 86, 1529D.

⁷⁰⁹ Leontius says that the Logos has many 'idioms' of which he mentions his: a) being begotten from the Father, b) not being able to beget a consubstantial Logos, c) not being the source of the procession of the Holy Spirit, and d) not being able to proceed from the Father like the Holy Spirit. PG 86, 1585C.

⁷¹⁰ PG 86, 1585C.

⁷¹¹ PG 86, 1544A.

with us. To the Nestorian question how one hypostasis could do that, Leontius replies that we call Christ's one hypostasis consubstantial with both the Father and us, not in itself, but because it is 'with ousiai' (*ἐνούσιος*). It is the two ousiai, which are enhypostatic in the one hypostasis, that are respectively consubstantial with the Father and with us, and not the hypostasis as such. Thus, on the one hand, the oneness of Christ's hypostasis does not abolish the duality of his natures and his double consubstantiality and on the other, the duality of his natures does not cancel the oneness of his person.⁷¹²

Enhypostaton

Leontius makes absolutely clear that only the divine nature has always had its own hypostasis. The human nature, however, has never had a hypostasis of its own. An obvious question is raised by the 'Nestorian': if hypostasis is the nature plus the 'idioms' and if Christ's human nature does have its own 'idioms' as Leontius clearly admits, then why does Christ's human nature not have its own hypostasis? Furthermore, if having a hypostasis primarily means being real — an assumption that Leontius accepts — will a human nature without a hypostasis not be 'anhypostatic' (*ἀνυπόστατος*), i.e. non existing?⁷¹³ Leontius' replies that one should distinguish between a) 'anhypostaton' i.e. something that does not have a hypostasis at all, b) 'idiohypostaton' (*ιδιουπόστατος*) i.e. something that exists in its own hypostasis and c) 'enhypostaton', i.e. something that subsists in somebody else's hypostasis on account of their union.⁷¹⁴ Christ's human nature is neither 'anhypostatic' nor 'idiohypostatic'; it is 'enhypostatic' (*ἐνυπόστατος*), that is, it exists in the pre-existent hypostasis of the Logos. In fact both natures of Christ are 'enhypostatic' for both subsist in one common hypostasis, that of the Logos.

For we say that both natures subsist in the one and the same hypostasis. By this we do not mean that either of them can exist by itself without a hypostasis, but that they can both subsist in one common hypostasis. This way they are both 'enhypostatic' according to the one and same hypostasis.⁷¹⁵

The discussion about the 'enhypostaton' throws up the basic Nestorian tenets with regard to physis and hypostasis. They are: a) a real physis has to be a hypostasis, otherwise it is 'anhypostatic', i.e. non existing, b) if each physis has its own hypostasis then two physeis cannot subsist in a single hypostasis, c) to say that two physeis subsist

⁷¹² PG 86, 1544B.

⁷¹³ PG 86, 1556A.

⁷¹⁴ Loc. cit.

⁷¹⁵ PG 86, 1561B.

in one hypostasis is to divide this hypostasis which is impossible.⁷¹⁶ Leontius says that it is perfectly possible for many physeis to subsist in one hypostasis. From the natural world he uses the example of things sharing the same colour. If one thing is coloured that means that there is a colour, like when there is a physis, there is also a hypostasis. This, however, does not mean that when there are many things in the same colour there are also many colours. It is true, that for a physis to exist it has to be a hypostasis, but this does not mean that it has to exist in its own hypostasis (*ἰδίᾳ*).⁷¹⁷ True, because the physeis in Christ exist, they have to subsist and be 'enhypostatic'. Yet, because they are united they do not have to subsist independently, i.e. each one of them having its own exclusive hypostasis ('heterohypostatic'); that would be true if they existed on their own. In the case of Christ they subsist in one common hypostasis, that of the God-Logos. This is how their being 'enhypostatic' should be understood. Thus, says Leontius, the one hypostasis of the Logos is not divided into two as the Nestorian perceives it. In the Lord, the difference is not between hypostaseis but between the 'particular hypostatic idioms' (*ὑποστατικῶν μερικῶν ιδιωμάτων*) of the two physeis. This is because, what happened in the incarnation was not a union of hypostaseis, but a 'synthesis' of two different physeis in the one pre-existent hypostasis of the Logos.⁷¹⁸

To support this idea Leontius uses rather unconvincing examples from the physical world: the members of the human body (hand, foot, nail, liver etc.) exist not by themselves but in the hypostasis of the individual human being.⁷¹⁹

To answer the Nestorian claim further that two real natures must equal two hypostaseis Leontius resorts to theology. In the Trinity, he argues, we have three hypostaseis who are not 'anousioi' (without nature, i.e. not existing) but 'enousioi' (with nature, i.e. real). In saying this we do not divide the one ousia into three. Similarly, in Christ we have two natures which are not 'anhypostatic' (not real) but 'enhypostatic', that is, they exist, in one hypostasis. Just because the natures are 'enhypostatic' (real) it does not necessarily follow that they constitute two hypostaseis.⁷²⁰

Leontius summarises his teaching on the 'enhypostaton' in his 'Canon of Orthodoxy':

⁷¹⁶ PG 86, 1560CD.

⁷¹⁷ PG 86, 1561B.

⁷¹⁸ PG 86, 1561CD

⁷¹⁹ PG 86, 1553B.

⁷²⁰ PG 86, 1560B.

We know that for both [natures] there is one and the same common hypostasis, which existed before the human nature, being exclusive (*ἰδική*) to the Logos in the common ousia of the Divinity. This hypostasis having created for itself the nature of the Lordly Man (*Κυριακός ἄνθρωπος*) and embracing and uniting to itself its own nature, and at the same time being the hypostasis of the nature of the flesh as well, and being shared by it as well, while before [this hypostasis] was exclusive it became manifold (*ποικιλλωτέρα*).⁷²¹

The Logos's hypostasis is now 'manifold' and inclusive; before the incarnation it was distinguished from that of the Father and the Spirit only by its 'idiom' of being begotten and now in addition to that it is distinguished by its possession of one more physis with its 'idioms'. This last observation is one of Leontius' new and worthwhile ideas. As have we noticed, for Leontius hypostatic union means the union of the 'idioms' of the two natures in the one hypostasis of the Logos. This one hypostasis, has now become richer, since it incorporates the 'idioms' of the humanity as well:

Not the nature, but the hypostasis of the Logos received an addition; not [an addition] of a hypostasis, but of the 'idioms' which are regarded as elements of the hypostasis (*στοιχεῖα ὑποστάσεως*) and which are attached to it [the Logos' hypostasis] through the union of his nature to another nature.⁷²²

The incarnation has increased the 'particular idioms' of the hypostasis of the Logos, but has not transformed him into something else. He was not 'one person' (*ἄλλος*) before and 'another person' (*ἄλλος*) now, rather before, he existed 'in a different manner' (*ἄλλως*) than he exists now (that is to say the Logos was bodiless and thus invisible before, whereas now he is with body and thus visible).⁷²³

After the incarnation, the particular 'idiom' of the Logos' hypostasis became 'less synthetic' (*ἁσυνθετώτερον*) with the addition now of the human particular 'idiom'.⁷²⁴ Obviously here Leontius presents us with a paradox. One expects that the addition of more particular attributes would make Logos' particular 'idiom' 'more synthetic' (*συνθετώτερον*). Ch. Moeller's suggestion that the original should have read 'more synthetic' is, in my view, correct.⁷²⁵

Since Leontius rejected the idea that the 'man' in Christ had his own hypostasis, he was inevitably faced with the problem: did the Logos unite himself to the universal man (*τὸν καθόλου ἄνθρωπον*)? If this is the case, argues the Nestorian, then Leontius must regard this universal man either as a mere concept deprived of ousia, or

⁷²¹ PG 86, 1568A.

⁷²² PG 86, 1501D.

⁷²³ PG 86, 1496D.

⁷²⁴ PG 86, 1485D.

⁷²⁵ 'Chalcédonisme', p. 702, n. 22.

as the concurrence in one man (*ὑπάρξει ἰδίᾳ*) of all the particular human beings, which apparently means that the Logos was united to all men. In his reply, Leontius again makes use of Aristotelian metaphysics. He accuses the Nestorian of confusing ousia with ‘accidents’ (*συμβεβηκότα*).⁷²⁶ For Leontius, Christ’s human nature is not the ‘universal man’ or the human nature in general. It is a ‘particular physis’ (*φύσις ἰδική*), but that does not mean that it is a hypostasis. It is wrong, he says, to equate ‘particular physis’ with hypostasis as the Nestorians do. If that was the case, then the three hypostaseis in the Trinity would also be three ‘particular physeis’, which is obviously blasphemous. Similarly, if the Nestorian principle held true, all human hypostaseis and prosopa should be identified because all men share the same physis and therefore have identical ‘particular physeis’.⁷²⁷ Leontius makes clear that he calls only the human physis ‘particular’. The divine physis cannot be called so because, although it is enhypostasised in the ‘particular’ hypostasis of the Logos, it still remains indivisible and common to the three Divine persons.⁷²⁸

Another obvious question posed by the Nestorian was: ‘how can ‘the man’ have his own physis in Christ but not his own hypostasis?’ If the human physis came into being outside the Logos and then subsisted in the hypostasis of the Logos, how is it possible that a physis be formed before it is a hypostasis? First of all, says Leontius, by its definition as distinguisher, hypostasis cannot be united to another hypostasis and result in one being. In other words, if the Logos had his own hypostasis and the man had his own hypostasis, the union would not be real because the two hypostaseis would separate his two natures.⁷²⁹ ‘Do you say that there would be any sort of union if divinity and humanity each had their own hypostasis?’ asks Leontius.⁷³⁰

It is not true, says Leontius, that the ‘specific human nature’ (*ἰδική φύσις ἀνθρωπεία*) of Christ preceded its hypostasis. In fact it never existed before the conception,⁷³¹ which in Leontius’ terms means that it never existed outside the Logos. As soon it came into being the human nature was enhypostasised, not in a hypostasis of its own but in the pre-existent hypostasis of the Logos. The concurrence of the human nature with its ‘idioms’ and the divine nature with its ‘idioms’ formed the one hypostasis and one prosopon of Christ. This one hypostasis and one prosopon is not

⁷²⁶ PG 86, 1549A.

⁷²⁷ PG 86, 1549B.

⁷²⁸ PG 86, 1548B.

⁷²⁹ Leontius here plays with words and calls the hypostaseis *apostaseis* (distances) (PG 86, 1552B).

⁷³⁰ PG 86, 1553C.

⁷³¹ PG 86, 1563B.

human, emphasises Leontius, but it is the hypostasis and prosopon of the Logos, 'the one of the holy Trinity'. Thus, the Logos no longer has in his hypostasis the divine nature and its 'idioms' only, but now he has added to himself this 'newer' physis (*καινοτέρα φύσις*) and its 'idioms'.⁷³²

Although Leontius most vigorously rejects any idea of the human nature ever having its own hypostasis, at one point he appears to allow this possibility, but only as a hypothesis. He says that he cannot accept that the hypostasis of the Logos was united to a human hypostasis, but, he adds, even if there was a human hypostasis before the union (which obviously is only a theoretical hypothesis), it was completely and as a whole united to the hypostasis of the Logos, so that we cannot say that it exists on its own any more.⁷³³

The Nestorian asks: 'if the hypostasis of Christ is the hypostasis of the Logos, and if in Christ the God Logos and the human nature are united, then the God Logos is part of himself. Leontius answers that the God Logos is not a part of the hypostasis of Christ but rather Christ is the Logos himself only that now he is incarnate.'⁷³⁴

The Nestorian sees a contradiction in Leontius' assertion that Christ's human nature does not have a hypostasis and still is consubstantial with David who does: 'if the human nature does not have its own hypostasis then it cannot be consubstantial with David, because an anhypostaton cannot be consubstantial with an enhypostaton.' Leontius replies:

If Christ is both God and man then how can one say that there are two different hypostases, one for the God and one for the man? Even if one considers divinity and humanity parts of the one Christ, that does not mean that they exist on their own, but each one of them can only be regarded in the whole of Christ. We do not need to accept two hypostases in Christ in order to safeguard his double consubstantiality. His one hypostasis is consubstantial both with the Father and with David which makes Christ the mediator between God and men.⁷³⁵

As regards the usage of the term 'synthetic hypostasis,' Leontius is not very consistent. Sometimes he uses it and sometimes he rejects it. An alternative which he seems to be more comfortable with is 'synthetic Christ'.⁷³⁶ This is because, strictly speaking, a 'synthetic hypostasis' (*σύνθετος*) is the one which is formed out of many

⁷³² PG 86, 1552D-1553A.

⁷³³ PG 86, 1552C.

⁷³⁴ PG 86, 1537A.

⁷³⁵ PG 86, 1539D.

⁷³⁶ PG 86, 1488A; 1768°D.

hypostaseis, which of course is rejected by Leontius.⁷³⁷ He would, however, accept the term 'synthetic hypostasis' only if it is understood in the sense that the union was effected 'out of natures' and not 'out of hypostaseis'.⁷³⁸ In fact Leontius could also call the hypostaseis of the Father and the holy Spirit 'synthetic': he says that as the Logos' hypostasis is synthetic because it has many 'idioms', so are the hypostaseis of the Father and the holy Spirit, because they also have many divine 'idioms', if not human ones. Yet there cannot be 'enumeration' (*ἀρίθμησης*) in the hypostasis of the Father; it is one, single hypostasis. In the same way the divine and human 'idioms' of Christ do not divide his one hypostasis.⁷³⁹ Nor should this hypostasis be considered mutable on the grounds of the addition of the human 'idioms' to it; because like the divine nature it remains what it was before.⁷⁴⁰

In the same way that he rejects the 'out of two hypostaseis one synthetic hypostasis' formula, Leontius also rejects the 'synthetic physis' and 'synthesis of hypostaseis' formulae.

In this one hypostasis of the Logos there is communication between humanity and divinity (*communicatio idiomatum*). Leontius stresses that this 'communication' takes place between the 'idioms' of the two natures in the Logos' hypostasis and not the natures themselves. The natures remain unaffected.⁷⁴¹

Throughout his work Leontius emphasises the identity of the subject of Christ with that of the Logos. Like Cyril before him, Leontius teaches that through the idea of the Logos' 'double birth':

[We teach] that the Only-begotten Son of the One Father existed before all ages through his own one and single birth; and also we confess that [the Only-begotten Son], in these last days, by his own merciful and good will, accomplished again his very own (*ἰδικωτάτην*) second birth in the union with the man who is like us, and [we confess] that [the Only-begotten Son] was born from the holy Virgin through fleshly generation, exactly as it happens in birth.⁷⁴²

It follows that the 'double consubstantiality' is also upheld by Leontius. The one hypostasis of the Logos, which is the hypostasis of Christ, is peculiar (*ἰδική*) to the Christ-Logos and separates him from the Father and the Spirit, as well as all other men,

⁷³⁷ PG 86, 1485D.

⁷³⁸ PG 86, 1585C.

⁷³⁹ PG, 86, 1585D.

⁷⁴⁰ PG, 86, 1485D.

⁷⁴¹ Grillmeier, *Christ*, II, 2, pp. 292-293.

⁷⁴² PG 86, 1669B.

but it is common to the divinity of the Logos and the particular human nature that the Logos received from the Virgin.

The 'synthesis' produced neither a new physis nor a new hypostasis. Leontius uses his favourite example, that of the iron which when heated does not turn into another physis or hypostasis. What happens is that the physis of the fire by subsisting in the hypostasis of the iron, from being anhypostatic (*ἀνυπόστατος*) in itself, becomes 'synhypostatic' (*συνυπόστατος*), which is to say that it shares the hypostasis of the iron with the physis of the iron.

The soteriological effects of synthesis

This 'synthesis' or hypostatic union has for Leontius a great soteriological significance. In fact it is the source of our salvation. By allowing our human nature to subsist in his hypostasis the Logos made it possible for all of us to subsist in God. We all benefit from the consequences of the hypostatic union: As Christ's human nature becomes immortal and immutable through its union with the divinity so are we.⁷⁴³ The Logos, says Leontius, unable to mutate himself (being by nature immutable and impassible), changed the mutable humanity and made it impassible (*συναπαθίζει*) and immutable like himself.⁷⁴⁴ In this manner the union was real and our benefit was secured.

The consequences of the incarnation affected the entire cosmos.⁷⁴⁵ The Logos, moved by his natural goodness (*τῇ γὰρ ἐκ φυσικῆς ἀγαθότητος εὐδοκίᾳ*), offered himself completely to his creatures and was united with them, although they were so different from him. He brought them from the non-being to being and, even further, to a higher state of being, by 'enhypostatizing' them in his own divine hypostasis. The assumed humanity, in which we all partake through our kinship with it, exists now not in its former corrupt state, but in the divine existence. In this manner, humanity is not only freed from corruption but also becomes incorruptible.⁷⁴⁶

Like Athanasius, Cyril and the rest of the Cyrillian Chalcedonians, Leontius sees deification as the ultimate benefit of the incarnation. The Logos deifies the flesh in the

⁷⁴³ P. T. R. Gray, 'Leontius of Jerusalem's case for a "synthetic" union in Christ' *SP* 18, pt. 1 (1989), 151-154 (p. 151).

⁷⁴⁴ PG 86, 1425C.

⁷⁴⁵ Leontius uses the word *πάντα* (all things), not just *πάντας* (all human beings), to denote the beneficiaries of God's salvific work, although, obviously, humanity alone was assumed.

⁷⁴⁶ PG 86, 1425D-1428A. John of Damascus says that the term 'corruption' (*φθορά*) could be understood either as liability to 'blameless' passions (*ἀδιάβλητα πάθη*) (e.g. hunger, thirst, weariness, death) or as decomposition of the human body after death (*φθορά* or *διαφθορά*). To deny that Christ's body was 'corruptible' in the former sense (as did the Monophysites Julian and Gaianus in the 6th c.) is heretical (*De fide orthodoxa*, III, 28, PG 94, 1097B-1100C). Leontius apparently applies 'corruption' to Christ in the former sense.

most direct way since he is united to it by a natural union (*φυσικὴ συμπλοκή*).⁷⁴⁷ The first to receive the 'riches of deification' (*ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς ἐκθεώσεως*) was the 'lordly man' (*ὁ Κυριακὸς ἄνθρωπος*). He was able to receive these 'riches' in his own nature because he was born with and attached to God (*ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν συμφυΐας*) through the hypostatic and complete (*συνανακρατική*) union. And on account of his being head and brother and of the same nature as the rest of men, the human 'dough' (*ἀνθρώπινον φύραμα*), the body of the Church, can also receive this gift, indirectly and by participation (*μεταληπτικῶς*).⁷⁴⁸ This mystical yet ontological relationship between the 'lordly man' and humanity is, for Leontius, what makes 'the man Christ Jesus' 'the one mediator between God and men'.⁷⁴⁹

One of the benefits of the incarnation was the defeat of the Devil. Leontius says that the 'union according to hypostasis,' in its 'synthetic' sense, is the only kind of union which is so intimate as to allow no room in the hypostasis of Christ for demonic possession.⁷⁵⁰

The 'synthetic union' between God and the 'lordly man' wrought the 'renewal' (*ἀνανέωσις*) of the 'image' of God in men. Leontius describes this with a very interesting analogy. He likens the fallen human nature with a piece of wax on which a seal has been imprinted. The wax falls on the ground and the seal becomes smeared by dirt. Then the owner of the seal renews the tinted imprint by pressing the seal-ring even harder against the wax. This new act of God is even more vigorous than the original bestowal of the divine image to Adam since he himself now becomes entwined with man.⁷⁵¹ Leontius obviously draws on the tradition of Athanasius, the Cappadocians and Cyril which ascribed this deep ontological meaning to the incarnation.

Leontius insists that 'synthesis' is the source of the impassibility and incorruptibility of the human nature. To the Nestorian claim that since Christ's body became impassible and incorruptible through his resurrection,⁷⁵² there is not much point for 'synthesis', Leontius answers that such an idea is fundamentally wrong because it ignores the axiom that attributes such as impassibility and incorruptibility belong to ousiai and therefore are only given by an ousia to another ousia. 'Resurrection' is not an ousia so as to be able to bestow these attributes to Christ's body. It was therefore the

⁷⁴⁷ PG 86, 1757AB.

⁷⁴⁸ PG 86, 1468BC.

⁷⁴⁹ 1Tim. 2. 5. PG 86, 1468C.

⁷⁵⁰ PG 86, 1505BCD; Gray, 'Leontius', p. 153.

⁷⁵¹ PG 86, 1469D-1472A.

⁷⁵² This is the teaching of Theodore of Mopsuestia as we have seen. See Part One, Chapter IV.

divine ousia, which naturally possessed them and which only can give them to men, that through the synthesis granted them to Christ's body and through it to the rest of us.⁷⁵³ Besides, Christ was not resurrected by somebody else but he (as God) raised himself from the dead, since, again on account of the synthesis, Christ and the Divine Logos are one and the same person. Christ's resurrection, says Leontius, was his 'self-action' (*αὐτοενέργεια*).⁷⁵⁴

Similarly, Christ's extraordinary birth is a proof of the 'synthesis'. Only through 'synthesis' could two 'heterousia' result in one being.⁷⁵⁵

Leontius' explanations did not satisfy the Nestorian. The latter argues that if the Logos is simple in his nature as well as his hypostasis (as befits God) and if he is immutable in his nature and his hypostasis then the idea that after the incarnation his hypostasis became synthetic should be rejected. Leontius refutes this argument on the basis of the definition of hypostasis as physis with 'idioms'. He says that if this definition stands then according to the Nestorian a simple hypostasis should be either one physis with one simple 'idiom' or many physeis with one simple 'idiom'. But in this case, says Leontius, even the three divine hypostaseis would not qualify as simple, because each one of them has more than one simple 'idiom' (the Father is unbegotten, Father of the Logos and proceeder of the holy Spirit; the Son is begotten, Son of the Father and sender of the holy Spirit).

As already mentioned, for Leontius the two physeis or ousiai in Christ are complete and perfect. The Logos is true God and the flesh is true man (*ἄνθρωπος*). Christ is truly both God and man. Yet the two complete physeis are not enough to make Christ who he is. Christ, says Leontius is 'according to the Logos' (*κατὰ Λόγον*) not 'according to physis' (*κατὰ φύσιν*). His personal being is that of the Logos and his hypostasis is Logos' hypostasis.⁷⁵⁶

Leontius makes a distinction between the 'natural union' (*ένωσις φυσικῇ*) and the 'hypostatic union' or 'union according to hypostasis'. The former is the union

⁷⁵³ PG 86, 1476B.

⁷⁵⁴ PG 86, 1476C. Could this idea of Leontius have been the background of Justinian's *apthartodocetism*, i.e. the belief that Christ's body was incorruptible before the resurrection? Although a connection looks likely, it seems that the only thing that Leontius is concerned about here is to show that it was the *synthesis* that made the incorruptibility of the human nature possible and not the fact of the resurrection. He does not make it clear if through the *synthesis* Christ's body became incorruptible before the resurrection.

⁷⁵⁵ PG 86, 1476D-1477B.

⁷⁵⁶ *Οὕτως μοι νόει τόν τε Λόγον Θεόν ὄντως καὶ τὴν σάρκα ἄνθρωπον ὄντως καὶ Χριστὸν τὸν κατὰ Λόγον οὐ φύσιν καὶ τὸν ἀληθῶς Θεόν καὶ ἄνθρωπον* (PG 86, 1488BC).

proclaimed by the Severans as well as the Nestorians. At first Leontius rejects it because it results in a *tertium quid*, a physis other than the ones that are united.⁷⁵⁷ However, when specifically asked by the Nestorian, he does call the union in Christ not only hypostatic but also ‘natural’ because (two) natures were united. He explains that he would not accept a ‘natural union’ in the sense that it happened ‘according to nature’ (λόγῳ φυσικῶ) because in that case not only the Son but also the Father and the holy Spirit should have become incarnate, and on the other hand all of us should have been assumed by the Logos.⁷⁵⁸

Christ’s sinlessness

The major problem of the sinlessness of Christ is also touched by the Nestorian. If, according to the hypostatic union, the flesh was united with divinity in the hypostasis and prosopon of the Logos, then it was he who defeated sin on behalf of the flesh. Therefore, no moral merit could be ascribed to the flesh. Leontius replies that it was only natural that the Logos helped the flesh to prevail over sin, because to defeat sin and the Devil without any help belongs only to the sinless physis of God. Our weak physis needed a power to indwell (ἐμφωλευούσης) it and strengthen it, so that we would not be dominated by the adverse power of the Devil who stung us with the sting of death, which is sin, and made us mortals. The influence of the Devil was neither external nor temporary because he is immortal and has the capacity of entering our hearts.⁷⁵⁹ Therefore, the disease which causes us to sin and die has affected our very own physis. This is why God’s physis ‘was entangled’ (συνεπλάκη) with our physis and assumed us all in his hypostasis. By uniting us with him according to hypostasis, God no longer allows the Devil to find our physis unguarded, enter it and even somehow unite himself with us hypostatically. Through the union the Logos made his own flesh sinless, and then because we are all consubstantial with it, we all became partakers of this spiritual sinlessness partly now and perfectly in the age to come.⁷⁶⁰

‘One of the Trinity suffered in the flesh’

In the seventh book of his *AN*, Leontius defends the cornerstone of the ‘neo-Chalcedonian’ christology, namely the formula ‘one of the Trinity suffered in the flesh’. Ever since Cyril proclaimed that not the ‘assumed man’ but, the God-Logos himself suffered in his flesh, the radical Antiochene theologians have attacked this Cyrillian

⁷⁵⁷ Πᾶσα γὰρ φυσικὴ ἔνωσις φύσιν τινὰ μίαν παρὰ τὰ ἐνωθείσας δείκνυσι (PG 86, 1488C).

⁷⁵⁸ PG 86, 1512B-1513B.

⁷⁵⁹ PG 86, 1505C.

⁷⁶⁰ PG 86, 1505D.

thesis as introducing suffering into the impassible divine essence. Here again the Nestorian puts forward the classic argument: 'If the Holy Trinity is impassible whereas Christ passible, and if Christ is one of the Holy Trinity, then either the Holy Trinity is passible as well, or Christ is not one of the Holy Trinity'. The qualifier 'suffered in the flesh' does not make any difference, says the Nestorian, since the suffering subject remains the same.⁷⁶¹ Predictably, Leontius' reply is based on the idea of the 'hypostatic union'. In his one hypostasis the God-Logos united, not hypostases, but physes and now has the natural idioms of both. The suffering belongs to the human physis, but it is predicated of the one hypostasis in which this human (as well as the divine) physis exist. The qualifier 'in the flesh' does not mean that only a part of the Logos suffered (just as when we say that a man is wounded in the flesh we do not mean that only his flesh suffered but the whole man, i.e. both body and soul); nor does it mean that the flesh is the vehicle through which suffering was introduced into the impassible divinity. Rather, since the passible flesh is Christ's own flesh, then Christ (as the sole hypostasis in which the flesh subsists) is the bearer of its sufferings. But Christ, adds Leontius, ever since the incarnation has been and will always be the Logos himself.⁷⁶² At this point, Leontius focuses on the most fundamental issue of the whole debate: whether Christ is completely identified with the Logos. The 'theopaschite' question reveals the shortcomings of the radical Antiochene christology which, while proclaiming Christ to be both passible and impassible, fails to do so with regard to the incarnate Logos.

Explaining further what 'one of the Trinity' means, Leontius says that it obviously refers to the hypostasis of the Logos and not to his divine physis, because the divine physis is one, undivided and common to all three divine Persons. As it is the hypostasis of the Logos which was incarnate, and not the divine physis, the Nestorian is wrong in claiming that the 'one of the Trinity' formula involves the whole Trinity in the incarnation.⁷⁶³ In contrast to the divine physis which is common, the three divine hypostaseis have always been distinct, both before and after the incarnation.⁷⁶⁴ However, not all has remained unaffected by the assumption of the flesh. The common physis of the Trinity remained unchanged indeed. But the hypostasis of the pre-existent Logos, by

⁷⁶¹ PG 86, 1761BA.

⁷⁶² *Καὶ λέγοντες τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον, Χριστὸν νοοῦμεν μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν τῶν φύσεων αἰεί* (PG 86, 1764B).

⁷⁶³ PG 86, 1768AB.

⁷⁶⁴ PG 86, 1768BC.

becoming the hypostasis of Christ,⁷⁶⁵ is now both passible and impassible.⁷⁶⁶ Indeed the hypostasis of Christ-Logos suffered on account of its passible constituent, the human nature.⁷⁶⁷

Leontius' deep insight of the union is manifested in chapter ten of this seventh book of *AN*. There the Nestorian argues that if the Cyrillian party says that the Logos suffered merely because he had appropriated the passible nature, then he did not truly suffer himself. 'To appropriate (*οἰκειοῦσθαι*) a suffering thing,' says the Nestorian, 'is not necessarily to suffer.' Leontius replies that it is not simply the 'appropriation' (*οἰκείωσις*) of the flesh that makes the orthodox say that the Logos himself suffered or was born. But it is the 'hypostatic union' according to which the 'names' (*ὀνόματα*) of the united parts are all transferred to and predicated of the one hypostasis.⁷⁶⁸

Contra Monophysitas

Leontius challenges the errors of the Monophysites with equal acuteness. In a series of logical arguments he tries to show that the 'one physis' formula is unpalatable.

He begins with a common anti-Monophysite argument of the 'neo-Chalcedonians': If Christ is one ousia and at the same time consubstantial both with the Father and with us, then we must also be consubstantial with the Father.⁷⁶⁹ Also, if the union of two physes results in one physis, then this 'one physis' has to be either 'homonymous' with the original two, in which case Christ is neither God nor man, or 'synonymous' with one of them, in which case Christ is either God or man but not both.⁷⁷⁰

Leontius also poses the question of the origin of Christ's alleged 'one ousia'. If this ousia has always been one (i.e. even before the union) then there was no need for a union. If it had its beginning at the moment of the union, then Christ is not eternal.⁷⁷¹

The unconfused 'synthesis' of two physes, says Leontius, results in nothing more or less than the union of these two physes. If it results in 'one physis' then this union must involve 'alleosis' (*ἀλλοίωσις*) which is tantamount to confusion (*σύγχυσις*).⁷⁷² Of course, the Monophysites would deny that they teach the confusion of the natures. 'If

⁷⁶⁵ 'He [i.e. the Logos] has the same hypostasis as he had before [i.e. before the incarnation]' says Leontius, 'even though he has now added to himself a *physis* which he did not have.' PG 86, 1768^aA.

⁷⁶⁶ PG 86, 1768^dD.

⁷⁶⁷ PG 86, 1768^{cd}; 1768^hA.

⁷⁶⁸ PG 86, 1768^hBCD.

⁷⁶⁹ PG 86, pt II, 1769A.

⁷⁷⁰ PG 86, pt. II, 1769AB.

⁷⁷¹ PG 86, pt. II, 1772BC.

⁷⁷² PG 86, pt. II, 1773B.

two natures united without confusion,' asks Leontius, 'result in one nature, then what different happens when they are united in a confused manner?'

The Monophysites should accept the number 'two,' argues Leontius. It is not good enough to say that they see the 'two natures' in Christ 'in contemplation' (*τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ*) if by this they mean that the natures are different only in fantasy. This is a 'false contemplation' (*ἐπίνοια ψευδῆς*). The 'true contemplation' (*ἐπίνοια ἀληθῆς*) is the one according to which 'two natures' exist really even though we cannot see both of them.⁷⁷³ To underline this truth Leontius uses language which sounds Theodorene: 'After the union the apostle saw [in Christ] the assuming and the assumed form or nature. These are neither one nor similar.'⁷⁷⁴

If by saying 'two,' according to the Monophysites, one introduces division, then, asks Leontius, how do they not do the same when they recognise the difference between the divine and human attributes (*ἰδιότητες*) in Christ? The Monophysites might reply that 'recognising the difference' does not divide the nature as is seen in triadology. But there, says Leontius, the difference of the attributes is what makes the hypostases different. And one would suppose that the Monophysites do not want to teach two hypostases in Christ.⁷⁷⁵

The Severan 'synthetic physis' is not satisfactory either. If Christ's physis is synthetic then he is not consubstantial with the Father whose physis is simple.⁷⁷⁶ Similarly if Christ is 'one physis incarnate,' then he is not consubstantial with the Father whose physis is not incarnate.⁷⁷⁷

Leontius distinguishes between the variants of the monophysite formula: 'one incarnate physis of the God-Logos' (*μία φύσις τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένη*) ('incarnate' qualifies 'physis') and 'one physis of the God-Logos incarnate' (*μία φύσις τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένου*) ('incarnate' qualifies 'the God-Logos').⁷⁷⁸ He rejects the latter, whereas the former could be understood in an orthodox way: the 'incarnate' denotes the human physis.⁷⁷⁹

Leontius, also, points to Cyril's identical use of the terms 'physis' and 'hypostasis' in the *oikonomia*. In fact, says Leontius, in the *oikonomia*, the fathers do

⁷⁷³ PG 86, pt. II, 1774D-1777A.

⁷⁷⁴ PG 86, pt. II, 1777C.

⁷⁷⁵ PG 86, pt. II, 1785D-1788A.

⁷⁷⁶ PG 86, pt. II, 1792BC.

⁷⁷⁷ PG 86, pt. II, 1792CD.

⁷⁷⁸ The later formula is also used by Cyril. *Ad Ac. Mel.*, ACO I, 1, 4, p. 26, 8-10.

⁷⁷⁹ PG 86, pt. II, 1793D-1796A.

not always use 'ousia', 'physis', 'hypostasis' and 'prosopon' in their proper sense (*κυρίως*).⁷⁸⁰ This is why Cyril spoke of two hypostases in Christ.⁷⁸¹

Leontius is concerned to show that Cyril, by saying 'one physis', did not mean to exclude the duality of the natures.⁷⁸² The Monophysites might argue that Cyril taught that the 'two natures', even when considered 'indivisibly' (*ἀδιαίρετως*), to be contrary to the 'one physis'.⁷⁸³ Leontius replies that Cyril said that with the Nestorians in mind, who also say 'indivisibly' but by it they mean that the one Christ is indivisible according to 'equality' (*ἰσοτιμία*), 'identification of wills' (*ταυτοβουλία*) and 'authority' (*αὐθεντία*).⁷⁸⁴

Even Athanasius, the supposed source of the 'one physis' formula, did not mean to say that Christ was one physis, claims Leontius. The celebrated passage from *ad Jovianum*⁷⁸⁵ teaches that Christ should not *be worshipped* in two natures as if they were different. It is interesting that Leontius suggests that the passage might not be Athanasius' (*εἰ ὁντως Ἀθανασίῳ εἴρηται*) and associates its Monophysite interpretation with Apollinarius.⁷⁸⁶

The 'out of two natures' when used without qualification is also wrong. For these two natures must be either 'common' (*κοιναί*) or 'particular' (*ἰδικαί*). If they were 'common' then the entire Trinity and the entire humanity were born of Mary and crucified in Christ. If they were 'particular' (Leontius admits that this hypothesis does not really apply to the divine nature which beyond the categories of 'common' and 'particular') then the human nature was a pre-existent individual which is clear nestorianism.⁷⁸⁷

The orthodox, however, confess both 'out of two' and 'in two natures'. The 'out of two natures' means that Christ is out of the two pre-existent natures of divinity and humanity but more specifically it refers to the 'assuming' of a 'particular' humanity from the 'common' human nature and its union with the divinity. However, this can be considered only 'in contemplation' since it refers to a hypothetical time before Christ.

⁷⁸⁰ PG 86, pt. II, 1852A-C.

⁷⁸¹ See Cyril's fourth anathema, ACO, I, 1, 1, p. 40, 28.

⁷⁸² PG 86, pt. II, 1852ff.

⁷⁸³ See Cyril's *ad Succensum* II, ACO, I, 1, 6, pp. 161, 22-162, 2.

⁷⁸⁴ PG 86, pt. II, 1853B.

⁷⁸⁵ 'Ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ εἶναι αὐτὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θεὸν κατὰ πνεῦμα, υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου κατὰ σάρκα, οὐ δύο φύσεις τὸν ἕνα υἱόν, μίαν προσκυνητὴν καὶ ἀπροσκύνητον, ἀλλὰ μίαν φύσιν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένην καὶ προσκυνουμένην μετὰ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ μιᾷ προσκυνήσει. Lietzmann, p. 251.

⁷⁸⁶ PG 86, pt. II, 1864A-C.

⁷⁸⁷ PG 86, pt. II, 1797D; 1880C-1801A.

The 'in two natures', on the other hand, means that in Christ there are the divine nature (which as we mentioned above is *sui generis* and thereby cannot be classified as 'common' or 'particular') and the 'particular' human nature which subsisted in the hypostasis of the Logos. This is why, according to Leontius, those who say 'in two natures,' that is 'two physes united in Christ' (*δύο φύσεις...ἡνωμένας ἐν Χριστῷ*), acknowledge the reality of Christ's humanity more emphatically than those who say 'out of two'.⁷⁸⁸

One reason why the Monophysites rejected 'in two natures' was because such a formula is not found in the fathers. Leontius criticises this terminological fundamentalism. If that was the criterion of orthodoxy, he says, then the Arians and the Eunomians would be right to reject the 'homousion' and the 'synaidion' (co-eternity) of the Logos since these words are not found in the Bible. In fact, the 'one physis' formula should not be accepted either, since it cannot be found in any source before Athanasius. What is really important for Leontius is the intention of the biblical authors or the fathers and not the terms or formulae. The 'one physis' formula is again a good example. It is not found in the Scriptures. What is found is 'the Logos became flesh' from which we inferred the meaning (*δύναμις*) of the 'one physis' formula (when understood in an orthodox manner). To take the point further, biblical fundamentalism, in the sense of literal interpretation is not a guarantee for the truth, according to Leontius. Since the 'letter kills, whereas the spirit gives life' one should always give more heed to the meaning (*διάνοια*) of a passage than the 'saying' (*ρητόν*).⁷⁸⁹

Church unity

Nevertheless, Leontius' concern is not simply to expose the errors of his opponents. He sincerely intends to help heal the division by trying to understand the concerns of the Monophysites without however compromising the truth. In this respect his work anticipates the conciliatory character of the Fifth Ecumenical council.

For Leontius the Monophysites separate themselves from the Chalcedonians for no serious reason. Severus himself, says Leontius, admitted that many of the Fathers spoke of two natures.⁷⁹⁰ As regards the one physis formula, when properly understood, it is in full agreement with Chalcedon. Cyril used it to fight those who taught 'two self-

⁷⁸⁸ PG 86, pt. II, 1801B.

⁷⁸⁹ As an example of a passage of which not the letter but the meaning should be observed Leontius refers to the 'if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee'. (Matt. 5. 29) (PG 86, pt. II, 1805A-1808B).

⁷⁹⁰ PG 86, pt. II, 1805A.

existent physeis', i. e. 'two hypostaseis'. Yet the formula clearly proclaims the duality of natures, the human nature being indicated by 'incarnate'. But because 'physis' could also mean 'ousia' or 'hypostasis', some understood the 'one physis' formula as teaching 'change' or 'confusion'. This is why Chalcedon intervened by introducing what is essentially a clarification of the same doctrine. In other words, by proclaiming 'two physes of the one Christ united according to his one hypostasis', as Leontius puts it,⁷⁹¹ Chalcedon taught the same thing as Cyril did with his 'one physis', but in a clearer manner.⁷⁹²

Therefore it is irrational, says Leontius, on the part of the Monophysites to separate themselves from the Church on such grounds. Thus he suggests that they can keep the 'one incarnate physis of the God-Logos' formula as long as they also confess that 'two physes of Christ exist united according to his one hypostasis' and do not condemn Pope Leo and the council of Chalcedon. If they do so, he is even willing to accept Severus, Dioscorus and Timothy and leave the ultimate judgement of all to God.⁷⁹³

Leontius' teaching of the hypostatic union, of the oneness of the person and hypostasis of Christ, of the dominance of the divine subject in him, all point to his Cyrillianism. Yet the most important evidence for that is Leontius' theopaschism. He uses the theopaschite formula and defends it against its opponents. Like all other 'neo-Chalcedonians', Leontius attributes all actions of Christ to the Logos.

The advance in the clarification of the Chalcedonian doctrine that Leontius brought about is noteworthy. Grillmeier observes that the Chalcedonian Fathers 'knew that the whole event of the union had as its starting-point the perfect Logos and Son in the pre-existence. Nevertheless the concept of the "one hypostasis" was not applied to this, but to the final form of him who had assumed flesh and in the "one hypostasis" let the two natures be recognised.'⁷⁹⁴ In other words the 'one hypostasis' of Chalcedon referred to the 'end result' and not to the pre-existent Logos. In our view the fact that the Definition proclaimed the 'double consubstantiality' of Christ shows beyond doubt that in the mind of the Chalcedonian fathers the one subject of the union was that of the Logos. Subsequently the one hypostasis, in which the union resulted, had to be that of

⁷⁹¹ δύο φύσεις τοῦ ἑνὸς Χριστοῦ ἡνωμένας κατὰ τὴν μίαν αὐτοῦ ὑπόστασιν. PG 86, pt. II, 1809A. Leontius' formula reminds us of the one suggested by Nephalius (*duae naturae unitae*).

⁷⁹² PG 86, pt. II, 1809AB.

⁷⁹³ PG 86, pt. II, 1881B.

⁷⁹⁴ *Christ* II, 2, p. 277.

the Logos since a human hypostasis was out of the question. At all events, the work of Leontius makes this identification clear.

Furthermore, with his elaborate exposition of 'synthesis' Leontius gave a satisfactory explanation of the union of the two natures in Christ. His terms and ideas will be adopted and crystallised by Justinian and the Fifth Ecumenical council.

CHAPTER II

THE CHRISTOLOGY OF JUSTINIAN

When Justinian I succeeded his uncle Justin to the throne, things had already changed in favour of Chalcedon. Pursuing reconciliation with the West which had been displeased by the pro-Monophysite policy of Anastasius, Justin had imposed — at Justinian's instigation — a general acceptance of Chalcedon.⁷⁹⁵ Justinian himself was undoubtedly an exponent of Chalcedon⁷⁹⁶ whose decrees he tried to impose throughout the Empire both as Justin's adviser in ecclesiastical matters and as emperor. However, he was circumspect with the Severian Monophysites for both political and theological reasons. As already mentioned, Egypt and Syria were vital provinces for the Empire that Justinian was not prepared to abandon on account of theological quarrels. But beyond that, capable theologian that he was, Justinian could see little separating Cyrillian Chalcedonians and Severian Monophysites. Thus he tried — without compromising Chalcedonian orthodoxy — to clarify the Definition of 451 in Cyrillian terms and thus remove the misunderstanding between the two parties.

2.1 THE 'THEOPASCHISM' OF THE SCYTHIAN MONKS AND JUSTINIAN'S RESPONSE

Justinian's first involvement in the christological debate was in connection with the 'theopaschite' formula of the Scythian monks. Shortly after the restoration of Chalcedon by Justin (519) a group of Cyrillian Chalcedonian monks from Scythia⁷⁹⁷ led by the Archimandrite John Maxentius visited Constantinople, in order to participate in the theological discussions designed to end the Acacian Schism.⁷⁹⁸ From what followed we can assume that these monks aimed not so much at reconciling the Eastern Church with the Western one or the Chalcedonians with the Monophysites, as to mediate between the divided Chalcedonians.⁷⁹⁹ This they attempted to do by submitting to the Patriarch of Constantinople John the Cappadocian (517-520) a *Libellus fidei*,⁸⁰⁰ written by John Maxentius. This represented a Cyrillian understanding of Chalcedon. Its christology was meant to oppose the strict dyophysite reading of Chalcedon made by the 'Sleepless' monks, and the other strict dyophysites. The Scythian monks explained that Chalcedon did not teach that the Logos assumed a human subject, rather, proclaimed what Cyril

⁷⁹⁵ See Vasiliev, *Justin*, pp. 136ff; Gray, *The Defense*, pp. 44ff.

⁷⁹⁶ Evagrius, *HE* IV, 10.

⁷⁹⁷ Scythia was a Latin-speaking Roman province on the lower Danube, between north-Eastern Bulgaria and south-Eastern Romania. Today is known as Dobrudza. See Bury, p. 270.

⁷⁹⁸ See Part One, Chapter V.

⁷⁹⁹ Grillmeier, *Christ* II, 2, p. 330.

⁸⁰⁰ John Maxentius, *Opuscula*, ed. by Glorie, CCL 85A, (Turnhout: 1978), pp. 5-25; PG 86, pt. I, 79-86; ACO IV, 2, pp. 3-10.

had taught: Christ's hypostasis was that of the Logos of whom, according to the hypostatic union, all actions performed by Christ should be predicated. Consequently, one could legitimately say with regard to Christ's suffering that *unus ex trinitate passus* or *crucifixus est carne* ('one of the Trinity suffered' or 'was crucified in the flesh'). This is the so called 'theopaschite' formula which was to be a stumbling block for the strict dyophysite party.

The Scythian monks believed that the acceptance of this formula by the Chalcedonians would exclude any 'Nestorian' interpretation of Chalcedon. True, a christology that would predicate both Christ's miracles and sufferings of the Logos could not be Nestorian. As we have seen, what Nestorius as well as his more moderate friend, Theodoret of Cyrus, could not tolerate about Cyril's teaching was this 'theopaschism'. The 'theopaschism' of the Scythian monks was not, however, welcomed either by the Patriarch John the Cappadocian or the legates of Pope Hormisdas (514-523), who were also at Constantinople participating in the discussions.⁸⁰¹

Hoping that Hormisdas himself would be more sympathetic, Maxentius made a draft of the 'theopaschite' confession and sent it to Rome with a delegation of his followers under Peter the deacon (518-519). Hormisdas realised that the issue was too important to commit himself. His vacillation caused a serious complaint from Maxentius.⁸⁰² Eventually Hormisdas too, encouraged by Justinian as we shall see, rejected the Scythian suggestion. However, the Scythians were not altogether unsuccessful. They gained a hearing from a group of African bishops who had been exiled to Sardinia by the Arian king, Thrasamund. Their spiritual leader was Fulgentius (c. 462-527), the eminent bishop of Ruspe in N. Africa. To these bishops the monks sent an *Epistula*,⁸⁰³ which was a revision of Maxentius *Libellus fidei*. Fulgentius, writing on behalf of the group, confirmed the orthodoxy of the Scythian faith.⁸⁰⁴ Also through their compatriot in Rome, Dionysius Exiguus, the Scythians managed to have translated into Latin important christological documents hitherto unknown to the West, such as Proclus' *Tomus ad Armenios* and, importantly, Cyril's *Twelve Anathemas*.⁸⁰⁵ In any

⁸⁰¹ These events are described in Maxentius' work *Dialogus Contra Nestorianos*, CCL 85A, pp. 51-100.

⁸⁰² John Maxentius, *Ad Epistolam Hormisdæ responsio*, CCL 85A, pp. 123-153; PG 86, pt. I, 93-112.

⁸⁰³ *Epistula scytharum monachorum ad episcopos*, CCL 85A, pp. 157-172; PL 62, 83-92. Engl. tr. in J. A. McGuckin, 'The 'Theopaschite Confession' (Text and Historical context): a Study in the Cyrilline Re-interpretation of Chalcedon,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 35 (1984), 239-255.

⁸⁰⁴ PL 65, 451-93. See Tixeront, p. 126; McGuckin, p. 245.

⁸⁰⁵ G. Every, *The Byzantine Patriarchate (451-1204)* (London: 1947), p. 60.

case, with the Pope's refusal to endorse the 'theopaschite' christology, one can argue that a great opportunity for restoring the unity of the Church was missed.⁸⁰⁶ Although, the Scythian proposal, as has been noted, was intended to mediate between Chalcedonians, its christology, being at the same time Cyrillian and perfectly Chalcedonian, stood a good chance of pleasing the Severians as well.

The teaching of the Scythian monks

Let us now see in more detail the teaching of the Scythian monks, as emerges primarily from the *Libellus* and the *Epistula ad episcopos*.

It must be stressed at the outset that these Scythians were committed Chalcedonians. In the aforementioned works, they often express their adherence to the definition of the fourth council and its 'in two natures' as well as the teaching of Leo.⁸⁰⁷ Yet they are also true Cyrillians and supporters of the *Twelve Anathemas*. Like Cyril they proclaim that the impassible God was united to passible human nature.⁸⁰⁸ They uphold the Logos' 'double consubstantiality' (*homousion patri secundum divinitatem, homousion nobis eundem secundum humanitatem*)⁸⁰⁹ and 'double birth' (*ante saecula a patre secundum divinitatem and in novissimis temporibus secundum humanitatem a virgine sancta*).⁸¹⁰ Therefore they confess 'one and the same' (*unum eundemque*) person to be the natural (*naturalem*) Son of both the father and the mother.⁸¹¹ To this incarnate Logos they ascribe both the miracles and the sufferings.⁸¹²

Since the Logos was 'naturally' born of God the Father and Mary, the latter is rightly called Theotokos or *dei genetrix*. Maxentius points out that whereas the Nestorians call Mary 'Theotokos', only in so far as she gave birth to the one who was God 'by grace' (*gratia*) and not 'by nature' (*natura*), the orthodox call her 'Theotokos' 'truly and properly' (*vere et proprie*).⁸¹³

The Scythians make absolutely clear that hypostasis (*subsistentia*) and prosopon (*persona*) are one and the same thing (*Nos autem, unum et idem sentientes subsistentiam esse quod et personam*).⁸¹⁴ Maxentius feels the need to stress this because, as he says,

⁸⁰⁶ McGuckin, p. 245.

⁸⁰⁷ E.g. John Maxentius, *Libellus fidei* VI, 10, CCL 85A, pp. 10, 115-11, 122; *Ep. ad Episcopos* II, 3, CCL 85A, p. 158, 33-36; *Ibid.*, v, 11, CCL 85A, p. 164.

⁸⁰⁸ Maxent. *Libellus* VII, 11, CCL 85A, pp. 11-12.

⁸⁰⁹ Maxent. *Libellus* VI, 10, CCL 85A, p. 10, 107-112.

⁸¹⁰ E.g. Maxent., *Libellus* XIII, 24, CCL 85A, p. 20.

⁸¹¹ *Loc. cit.*

⁸¹² Maxent., *Libellus* XIII, 26, CCL 85A, p. 21.

⁸¹³ Maxent., *Libellus* XII, 23, CCL 85A, pp. 18-19; *Ep. ad episcopos* III, 4, CCL 85A, p. 159, 53-59.

⁸¹⁴ Maxent., *Libellus* IX, 14, CCL 85A, p. 14.

some hold the impious view that the 'one prosopon' of the Chalcedonian Definition referred to the 'man', whereas the 'one hypostasis' to the God-Logos. They do this, says Maxentius, not because they do not know that for Chalcedon hypostasis and prosopon are one and the same thing, but because they do not want to appear to introduce two hypostases and two prosopa.⁸¹⁵ The Chalcedonian faith, however, is that the 'one hypostasis' and 'one prosopon' of Christ proclaimed at Chalcedon, is none other but 'the Logos incarnate and made man'.⁸¹⁶

Therefore it is proper to say that Christ is 'one of the hypostases of the Trinity' (*unum de tribus subsistentiis*). The orthodox, says Maxentius, do not hold that the Divinity 'dwelt' in Christ (as do 'Nestorius and Theodore of Mopsuestia, the heretics, who say that Christ is outside the Trinity') but that Christ is 'one of the three hypostases of the one divinity'.⁸¹⁷ The man Christ was the God-Logos himself, emphasise the Scythians. Very characteristically they affirm that the child who was born of the Virgin and was wrapped in swaddling clothes was by nature God.⁸¹⁸

The Scythians explain that Christ is one of the Trinity not because the substance of the flesh changed into divine substance, but because 'it is the flesh of the God-Logos who is one of the Trinity'. Since the subject in Christ is the Logos one can say that Christ is one of Trinity without thus adding a fourth person to Trinity.⁸¹⁹

The so called 'theopaschite' formula is found in its classic form in the *Libellus*: 'Christ is one of the Trinity, who for us suffered in the flesh' (*unus est Christus de trinitate, qui pro nobis passus est carne*).⁸²⁰ Maxentius cites three passages which he says are from Proclus' *Tomus ad Armenios* as a witness to the 'theopaschite' formula. Although this passages are not found in the *Tomus* as it has come down to us, 'theopaschism' is taught by Proclus through the formula 'one of the Trinity became incarnate' (*τὸν ἕνα τῆς Τριάδος, σεσαρκῶσθαι*).⁸²¹

⁸¹⁵ Loc. cit.

⁸¹⁶ *Unam vero duarum naturarum subsistentiam sive personam, quam nobis veneranda Chalcedoniensis synodus tradidit, nullus alterius nisi dei verbi incarnati et hominis facti confitemur* (Maxent., *Libellus* VIII, 13, CCL 85A, p. 13, 161-164).

⁸¹⁷ *Deum verbum unigenitum filium patris, dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, qui pro nobis passus est carne, unum de tribus subsistentiis unius deitatis credimus esse* (Maxent., *Libellus* IX, 14, CCL 85A, p. 14, 177-188).

⁸¹⁸ *Ep. ad episcopos* IV, 9, CCL 85A, pp. 162-163.

⁸¹⁹ Loc. cit.

⁸²⁰ *Libellus* XI, 20, CCL 85A, p. 17, 262-263.

⁸²¹ ACO IV, 2, p. 192. See Grillmeier, *Christ*, II, 2, pp. 317-318.

The Scythians also affirm the idea that the union of the natures was made according to synthesis (*compositio*). The fathers, say the Scythians, proclaim Christ to be composite (*compositus*) from divinity and humanity.⁸²²

This Cyrillian approach in regard to Chalcedonian dyophysitism causes the Scythians to see no contradiction between Chalcedon's 'in two natures' and Cyril's 'one incarnate nature of the God-Logos' when properly qualified. The 'one nature' formula, says Maxentius, is not contrary to Chalcedon if by it we understand 'one hypostasis or prosopon in two united natures' (*unam subsistentiam sive personam in duabus naturis [...] unitis*). As a witness to this, Maxentius refers to Flavian and his confession of faith.⁸²³ Similarly, the Scythians, in the *Epistula*, affirm:

We do not agree with those who proclaim one incarnate nature of the God-Logos and thus avoid the faith of the venerable council of Chalcedon; nor do we accept those who deceitfully profess two natures but are reluctant to confess one incarnate nature of the God-Logos because they believe that this is contrary to the profession of two natures, as if 'one incarnate nature of the God-Logos' signifies something other than two united natures.⁸²⁴

In the *Epistula*, the witness to such a duophysite interpretation of the 'one nature' formula is Cyril himself who, in his second letter to Succensus, points to the predicate 'incarnate' as an evidence that the perfect human nature is inferred.⁸²⁵

Being true Cyrillians, the Scythians strove to safeguard the close unity of the person of Christ. For them the two *naturae* or *subsantiae* were united *naturaliter* or *substantialiter*.⁸²⁶ This is in direct opposition to the union according to 'good will' or 'grace' which was characteristic of Theodore of Mopsuestia. In fact, in the Scythian writings we see the growing attack against the doctrine of Theodore which will culminate in Justinian and the Fifth Council.

Justinian's response

Justinian's attitude towards the question of the Scythian monks is quite indicative of the uncertainty that characterised the early days of his theological activities. At first he wrote to Hormisdas advising him to turn the monks away (29 June 519). Their teaching, he said, was a novelty not to be found either in the four councils or Leo's *Tome*. It also had caused disturbances everywhere.⁸²⁷ Only a few days later, however, for reasons

⁸²² *Ep. ad episcopos* III, 6, CCL 85A, p.160.

⁸²³ *Libellus* VIII, 13, pp. 13-14. For Flavian's understanding of the 'one nature' formula see Part One, Chapter II.

⁸²⁴ *Ep. ad episcopos* II, 3, CCL 85A, p. 158.

⁸²⁵ ACO I, 1, 6, p. 160, 19-24.

⁸²⁶ *Libellus* VII, 11, CCL 85A, p. 11, 126-127.

⁸²⁷ *Collectio Avellana*, CSEL 35, no 187; Engl. tr. in CN III, no 551.

unknown to us, he changed his mind.⁸²⁸ In a new letter (July 519) he urged Pope Hormisdas to reply to the monks' suggestion and send them back to Constantinople as soon as possible. From this letter it emerges that the teaching of the monks had sparked a controversy which Justinian wanted settled by an unequivocal decision by the Pope.⁸²⁹ Hormisdas' reluctance to take a stance led Justinian to send him a third letter which also was not acknowledged.⁸³⁰ When Justinian wrote to Hormisdas again (520) it was to ask the Pope to specifically subscribe to the 'theopaschite' formula because, Justinian claimed, it was taught in the Bible,⁸³¹ and was generally accepted by the Eastern bishops. In fact, according to the emperor, it was necessary for orthodoxy to say that Christ, who suffered for us, was indeed one of the Trinity.⁸³² It is important that Justinian is careful to ascribe the suffering to *the person* of the Logos which is the person of Christ. Thus he protects 'theopaschism' from the accusation of teaching that the whole Trinity was crucified or that the divine physis of the Logos endured suffering. However, not even this refined presentation of the 'theopaschite' christology was able to move Hormisdas from his initial refusal to accept the Scythian confession.

The Scythian confession was not received any more favourably in Constantinople. The influential 'Sleepless' monks again rose against what they thought was an annulment of Chalcedon and became entangled in a battle of words with the Scythians who remained in Constantinople. The whole stance of the 'Sleepless' monks with their total rejection of the *communicatio idiomatum* (to the point of rejecting the title Theotokos as has been noted) must have caused Justinian to think that he had a clear case of crypto-Nestorianism in his backyard. The opposition to the formula by the 'Sleepless' monks is most probably what persuaded him to espouse the 'theopaschite' christology and sanction it as a key orthodox doctrine in a series of legal as well as theological documents. He also must have realised that the Scythian christology could facilitate his plans for restoring unity in the Church: 'theopaschism', a central Cyrillian doctrine, could lead to an agreement between Chalcedonians and Monophysites.

In an edict setting down the penalties against the heretics (527), Justinian included a confession of faith which acknowledges the basic Cyrillian tenets: Christ and the

⁸²⁸ Tixeront suggests that some of the monks had stayed with Justinian and managed to convince him about the correctness of their ideas. *History of Dogmas* III, p. 125.

⁸²⁹ CSEL 35, no 191; Engl. tr. in CN III, no 552.

⁸³⁰ CSEL 35, no 188; Engl. tr. in CN III, no 553.

⁸³¹ Justinian refers to 1 Peter 4.1.

⁸³² To support his view, Justinian quotes three passages from Augustine: 'an aliqua ex trinitate persona', 'solus in trinitate corpus accepit' and 'unus trium'. CSEL 35, no 196, Engl. tr. in CN III, no 562.

Logos are one and the same Person, consubstantial with the Father according to his divinity and with us according to his humanity. This is why both the miracles and the sufferings are to be predicated of this one and the same Person.⁸³³ Because Christ is the Logos, the incarnation of the latter, who is 'one of the Holy Trinity', did not result in an addition of a fourth person to the Trinity (as it would have been presumed if Christ had been another—human—person).⁸³⁴ It is significant that in this edict, Justinian links the 'theopaschite' doctrine with the christological article of the Nicene Creed. He obviously sees this as proclaiming that it was the Logos who was born of the Virgin, suffered, died and was raised from the dead. According to Justinian, this was not the view of Nestorius who taught that 'the Logos who comes from the Father is 'one person' (ἄλλος) and the one who was born of Mary 'another' (ἄλλος). The latter became God by grace and on account of his proximity to the God-Logos'.⁸³⁵ This orthodox 'theopaschism' is equally alien from the teaching of Eutyches who denied the 'double consubstantiality' of the Logos, and effectively the reality of the incarnation.⁸³⁶

In 533 Justinian issued his *Edict on Theopaschism*⁸³⁷ where he used the full theopaschite formula. He accused the Nestorians of not confessing 'our Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God and our God, who was incarnate and made man and was crucified, to be one of the holy and consubstantial Trinity'.⁸³⁸

In his letter to Epiphanius of Constantinople (520-536)⁸³⁹ Justinian stressed the accord of the Ecumenical Councils on the issue of the true incarnation of the God-Logos. Chalcedon, in particular, claims Justinian, endorsed the idea that Christ was 'one of the Trinity' by receiving and confirming Proclus's *Tomus ad Armenios*.⁸⁴⁰

In 533 Justinian made a new attempt to have the Scythian 'theopaschism' approved by Rome. In a letter to Pope John II (533-535),⁸⁴¹ clearly referring to the 'Sleepless' monks, he wrote:

Some unbelieving and foreign to the holy, catholic and apostolic Church of God [...] deny that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God and our God who was born of the holy Spirit and Mary, the holy and glorious Virgin and Theotokos (*Dei genetrix*), and was made man and was crucified, is

⁸³³ CI I, 1, 5, 1-2 (Krueger, p. 10).

⁸³⁴ Ibid.

⁸³⁵ CI I, 1, 5, 3 (Krueger, p. 10).

⁸³⁶ Loc. cit.

⁸³⁷ CI I, 1, 6 (Krueger, pp. 10-11; Engl. tr. in CN III, no 636).

⁸³⁸ CI I, 1, 6, 7 (Krueger, p. 11).

⁸³⁹ CI I, 1, 7 (Krueger, pp. 12-14).

⁸⁴⁰ CI I, 1, 7, 17 (Krueger, p. 13).

⁸⁴¹ CI I, 1, 8 (Krueger, pp. 14, 35-16, 31); *Collectio Avellana*, CSEL 35, no 84, pp. 344-347.

one of the holy and consubstantial Trinity (*unum esse sanctae et consubstantialis trinitatis*), worshipped and glorified together with the Father and the holy Spirit, consubstantial with the Father according to divinity and the Selfsame consubstantial with us according to humanity; passible as to the flesh and the Selfsame impassible as to the divinity. By refusing to confess our Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God and our God to be one of the holy and consubstantial Trinity, [these people] make it clear [...] that they follow the wicked teaching of Nestorius, as they say that Christ is the Son of God 'by grace' and that the God-Logos is one person and Christ another (*alium dicentes deum verbum et alium Christum*).⁸⁴²

For Justinian the 'theopaschite' formula has become necessary for orthodox christology. To deny it is to profess Nestorianism.

The 'theopaschite' formula was endorsed by John — a great success for Justinian. In a letter to the emperor (533)⁸⁴³ the Pope commended the 'theopaschite' teaching of Justinian as expounded in the emperor's letter to Epiphanius and confirmed its accordance with the apostolic doctrine. In his letter to the Roman senators, John repeated his approval of the Scythian 'theopaschism' and condemned the 'Sleepless' monks as Nestorians.⁸⁴⁴

At the same time the emperor introduced the 'theopaschism' of the Scythian monks in the hymnography of the Church of Constantinople through the hymn 'Only Begotten Son,' (*Ὁ Μονογενὴς Υἱός*) which in all probability was written by him.⁸⁴⁵ The hymn which is still sung in the Liturgy of the Orthodox Church is as follows:

Only-begotten Son and immortal Logos of God who for our salvation condescended to be incarnate of the holy Theotokos and ever-virgin Mary and who became man immutably and was crucified, thereby trampling down death by death; O Christ our God who are one of the Holy Trinity, glorified with the Father and the Holy Spirit, save us.

The 'theopaschism' of the hymn is irreproachable and in this form should cause no problem to the orthodox in both the Cyrillian and the Antiochene tradition. This mildly formulated 'theopaschite' christology will characterise the christology of Justinian and the Fifth council.

The 'theopaschite' christology, being at the heart of the christological debate of the sixth century ('was the Logos himself or the human nature the subject of Christ's sufferings?'), was the main characteristic of the so called 'neo-Chalcedonianism' as we

⁸⁴² CI I, 1, 8, (Krueger, p. 15, 13-25).

⁸⁴³ CI I, 1, 8 (Krueger, pp. 14; 17-18); *Collectio Avellana*, CSEL 35, no 84, pp. 320-328 (includes Justinian's letter).

⁸⁴⁴ ACO, IV, 2, p. 210, 9-11.

⁸⁴⁵ Georgios Monachos, *Chronikon*, PG 110, 776C (ed. de Boor, p. 627); V. Grumel, 'L'Auteur et la date de composition du tropaire "Ὁ Μονογενὴς," *Echos d'Orient* 22 (1923), pp. 398-418.

saw in the previous chapter. Justinian was to develop his thought on the issue drawing on the work of other Cyrillian Chalcedonians such the Scythian monks and Leontius of Jerusalem.

2.2 ATTEMPTS FOR RECONCILIATION WITH THE SEVERIANS AND THE THREE CHAPTERS ISSUE

Justinian's obvious care to bring about unanimity in the Church by eliminating the christological differences between Chalcedonians and Severians had to take into consideration an issue that seemed to be a stumbling block for such a development: the Three Chapters. As we have already seen, Theodore was the main target of the Monophysites, as he was deemed the real father of Nestorianism. Also the rehabilitation of Nestorius' friends, Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas, at Chalcedon only fuelled the Monophysite fury against the Council. Indeed, one of the accusations that the Monophysites raised against Chalcedon was that it 'accepted heretics',⁸⁴⁶ i.e. Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas of Edessa. If the Monophysites were ever to reconsider the decisions of Chalcedon, that would presuppose a clear condemnation by the Chalcedonians of these radical Antiochene theologians.

It seems that the first to urge such a condemnation was the above mentioned Philoxenus of Mabbug.⁸⁴⁷ Philoxenus, says Evagrius, accused Flavian of Antioch, of being Nestorian. Flavian openly anathematised Nestorius, but Philoxenus was not satisfied: for Flavian to prove his orthodoxy he had to anathematise Diodore of Tarsus and the Three Chapters.⁸⁴⁸

The colloquy of 532

Justinian was faced with the same Monophysite demand, when in one of his conciliatory attempts he convened a conference between Chalcedonians and Severians at Constantinople in 532.⁸⁴⁹ The six Chalcedonians (Hypatius of Ephesus, John of Vesina, Stephen of Seleucia, Anthimus of Trebizond, Innocent of Maronia, and Demetrius of Philippopolis) and the seven Severians (Sergius of Cyrus, Thomas of Germanicia, Philoxenus of Dulichium, Peter of Theodosiopolis, John of Constantina, and Nonnus of Ceresina) who assembled were requested by the emperor to discuss the differences in

⁸⁴⁶ Leontius Schol., *De Sectis*, PG 86, pt. I, 1236D.

⁸⁴⁷ Feidas, p.702.

⁸⁴⁸ Evagrius, *HE*, III, 31.

⁸⁴⁹ Our information for this conference comes mainly from a letter of one of the orthodox members, Innocent of Maronia, ACO IV, 2, pp. 169-184.

their faith and try to find a way of overcoming them. The emperor was represented by the State official Strategius except for the last day when he appeared in person.

In the colloquy, the Severians unhesitatingly anathematised Eutyches and his doctrine,⁸⁵⁰ but did not do so with Dioscorus and Ephesus II. Although they accepted that Chalcedon was right in rectifying Dioscorus' error of restoring Eutyches in 449, they complained that it did not have the right to impose a new doctrine which was not to be found in the fathers, namely the 'in two natures' formula. Again, they defended the 'one nature after the union' formula, the authority of which they tried to establish by appealing to teachers like Cyril, Athanasius and Dionysius the Areopagite.⁸⁵¹ To these claims Hypatius of Ephesus replied that the source texts were Apollinarian forgeries. The Severians said that even if those texts were spurious indeed, Cyril's *Twelve Anathemas* were not, and these were rejected at Chalcedon. Hypatius' reply is interesting: since Chalcedon confirmed all the Cyrillian writings endorsed at Ephesus I (431), it also accepted the *Twelve Anathemas*. The reason why Chalcedon did not make express use of the *Twelve Anathemas* was to avoid misunderstanding, since they contained the expression 'two hypostases' (which Cyril understood to mean physes) whereas Chalcedon spoke of 'one hypostasis (in the sense of prosopon). As regards the formula 'in two natures,' said Hypatius, it was orthodox since it was taught by Cyril himself, although the Council of Chalcedon did not exclude the 'out of two natures' approach, either. As to the exclusive adherence to the Cyrillian doctrines, Hypatius made the remark that only those which were approved by a council can be safely considered as authoritative and directive. But, he added, the doctrine of the union of two unconfused and indivisible natures was Cyril's anyway.

Then the Severians advanced another objection to Chalcedon: it sympathised with Nestorius since it rehabilitated his friends Theodoret and Ibas.⁸⁵² The Chalcedonians' reply that the two Antiochenes were rehabilitated only after they had denounced Nestorius, and that Cyril himself never ceased to be in communion with Theodoret did not convince them.

On the last day of the colloquy, the issue of 'theopaschism' was brought forward by the emperor himself. He asked the Patriarch Epiphanius if it was right to predicate

⁸⁵⁰ They called him 'a prince of heresy' (*tamquam hereticum, magis autem principem haeresis*). Innocent, ACO IV, 2, p. 170, 32.

⁸⁵¹ This is the first time Dionysius the Areopagite has been mentioned in history. Zacharias of Mitylene, however, tells us that the Severians, already before the colloquy, had referred to Dionysius' description of Christ as simple as a witness for the 'one physis' doctrine. *Chronicle*, p. 250.

⁸⁵² Innocent, ACO IV, 2, pp. 180ff; See Hefele, IV, p. 179.

both the suffering and the miracles of one and the same subject, and therefore to say that the he who suffered in the flesh was 'one of the Trinity'.⁸⁵³ The Patriarch agreed, but the Severians did not seem to be impressed although 'theopaschism' was one of their doctrines. At the end of the conference only Philoxenus of Dulichium, joined the Chalcedonians. The rest adhered to their positions.

The disappointing outcome of the foregoing conference was a good indication of Justinian's general failure to convince the Monophysites of the merits of his conciliatory plans. In fact, during his reign the Monophysites started ordaining their own bishops, thereby setting up an autonomous ecclesiastical hierarchy which existed parallel to the canonical one (537). Later on, Jacob Bar' Addai, a Monophysite bishop, consecrated at Constantinople at Theodora's request, established — through intense missionary activities in Asia Minor, Armenia, Syria, and Egypt (542-578) — the so called 'Jacobite' Church.⁸⁵⁴

The colloquy of 532 was a turning point for Justinian's conciliatory policy. He must have realised that there was very little hope of the Monophysites coming back to the ecclesial communion on the basis of the acceptance of Chalcedon. In fact, four years later, Justinian endorsed the deposition of Severus along with the pro-Monophysite Anthimus of Constantinople, at the Home Synod (*σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα*) of Constantinople (536). At this synod, Chalcedon was reaffirmed beyond any doubt.⁸⁵⁵

However, for many historians Justinian's efforts to win over the Monophysites continued through another plan: the universal condemnation of the Three Chapters. In 544,⁸⁵⁶ as already mentioned, Justinian issued an edict against the Three Chapters. In it, he asked the Church to condemn a) the person and the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, b) the writings of Theodoret of Cyrus against Cyril of Alexandria and the Council of Ephesus and c) the letter of Ibas of Edessa to Maris the Persian.

The Origenist crisis

Justinian's initiative to ask for the condemnation of the Three Chapters is often linked to a development not immediately related to the christological issue. In 531 a controversy about Origen broke out among the monks in Palestine.⁸⁵⁷ In the *Lavra*, the famous

⁸⁵³ Innocent, ACO IV, 2, p. 183.

⁸⁵⁴ On the advance of the Monophysite cause during Justinian's reign see Frend, pp. 255-295.

⁸⁵⁵ ACO III, p. 27, 11ff.

⁸⁵⁶ This is the commonly accepted date of composition of the edict, the years 543, 545, 546 having also been suggested. Cf. Hefele, IV, pp. 242-243. The edict has been lost. Information about its content is found in Facundus of Hermiana, *Pro defensione trium capitulorum* II, PL 67, 537D and Pontianus, *Letter to Vigilius*, Mansi IX, p. 45. Excerpts in E. Schwartz, 'Zur Kirchenpolitik Justinians', pp. 321-28;

⁸⁵⁷ For details of the controversy see E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Scythopolis* (Leipzig: 1939), pp. 85-200.

monastery headed by the great ascetic, Sabbas, some monks caused unrest by their overt adherence to Origen's ideas.⁸⁵⁸ Sabbas, a supporter of Chalcedon who considered many of Origen's theses as heretical, complained to the emperor asking for their expulsion from Palestine (531). The Origenist monks, however, managed to remain in Palestine and, expelled from Sabbas' monastery, to establish a community of their own, the *New Lavra*, from where they continued their activities. Chief among them was Theodore Ascidas, who became Justinian's theological adviser and bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia (537).

Yet, despite the presence of influential Origenists in the imperial environment, the increasing complaints against the extreme behaviour of the Origenist monks — they even tried to destroy the *Lavra*⁸⁵⁹ — and the influence of the papal delegate to Constantinople, Pelagius, convinced Justinian to issue an edict against Origen and his followers (543).⁸⁶⁰ The edict contained ten anathemas against basic heretical theses of Origen (pre-existence of the souls, general restoration, eternal creation etc.) which were supported by references to the fathers who had spoken against Origen (Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Basil of Caesarea, Cyril of Alexandria et al.). The content of these anathemas was ratified by the Home Council of Constantinople (543) in its own fifteen anathemas against Origen, and the Fifth Ecumenical Council. This condemned Origen in its eleventh anathema having incorporated the fifteen anathemas of the Home Council in its minutes.⁸⁶¹

According to many historians who base their judgement on the witness of Facundus of Hermiana⁸⁶² and Liberatus of Carthage,⁸⁶³ the foregoing Origenists, and in particular Theodore Ascidas, persuaded Justinian to issue the edict which stirred up the Three Chapters Controversy.⁸⁶⁴ Thus the emperor's plans to win the Monophysites over would be facilitated; a condemnation of the Three Chapters would satisfy them and help

⁸⁵⁸ Origen's ideas of the pre-existence of human souls and the eventual restoration of all beings in God (*ἀποκατάστασις*) were the background of a christology developed mainly by Evagrius Ponticus (346-399). According to this, Christ's soul had existed before the incarnation in union with God. Thus, the Logos did not exactly assume humanity but, by uniting flesh to himself, he revealed Christ's partly existing hypostasis to the world. The Logos unites himself to humanity 'according to essence' (*κατ' οὐσίαν*) or 'according to hypostasis' (*καθ' ὑπόστασιν*). Meyendorff, *Imperial*, p. 233.

⁸⁵⁹ Schwartz, *Kyrrillos*, pp. 190ff.

⁸⁶⁰ *Collectio Sabbaitica*, ACO III, pp. 189-214; PG 86, pt 1, 945-993.

⁸⁶¹ The traditional opinion that the Fifth Council dealt with Origen has been challenged by historians. This suggestion should be dismissed. See Grillmeier, *Christ* II, 2, pp. 402-410.

⁸⁶² Facundus, *Pro Defensione*, IV, 4, PL 67, col. 627.

⁸⁶³ Liberatus, *Breviarum causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum* 24, ACO II, 5, p. 140.

⁸⁶⁴ Hefele, IV, pp. 229-230; Bury, p. 384; Sellers, *Chalcedon*, p. 324; Feidas, p. 702; D. Constantelos, 'Justinian and the Three Chapters Controversy', *GOTR* 8 (1962-63), p. 82; Grillmeier, *Christ*, II, 2, pp. 419-421, et al.

remove their suspicion of Chalcedon. However, Ascidas' real motive was allegedly 'to divert Justinian and the other theologians from the persecution of Origen'⁸⁶⁵ by engaging them in another doctrinal dispute. At the same time Ascidas would take revenge against Theodore of Mopsuestia who had written against Origen.⁸⁶⁶

Although this explanation seems to be very plausible we think that it is unfair to Justinian.⁸⁶⁷ For his entire ecclesiastical policy reveals a quite independent character and a deep knowledge of theology. We agree with the following remarks by E. Chrysos:

The fact that Justinian fought simultaneously and systematically against the Origenism of the monks of Palestine, significant representatives of whom belonged to his environment, and against the Nestorianism of the Three Chapters despite the opposite opinion of other of his colleagues, indicates that his theological treatises and his ecclesiastical policy sprung up from an advanced and mature theological thought.⁸⁶⁸

To support this view we could add that Justinian continued prosecuting the Origenists even more strongly after stirring up the Three Chapters controversy and finally managed to have the condemnation of Origenism sanctioned at the Fifth Ecumenical Council with the assent of Theodore Ascidas.

We think that the emperor was sincere when he said that he asked for the condemnation of the Three Chapters, not for the sake of a possible reunion with the Monophysites,⁸⁶⁹ but because of their 'impiety', and the fact that 'some pretending that they denounced Nestorius himself tried to introduce him and his erroneous belief through the Three Chapters, claiming that their impiety is identified with the teaching of the Catholic Church'.⁸⁷⁰

As we have seen, Justinian was certainly not stirring up a new issue when he asked for the condemnation of the Three Chapters. Nor was it only the Monophysites

⁸⁶⁵ Hefele, IV, pp. 229. This is also Evagrius' account of events although in his view Theodore's suggestion to Justinian for a condemnation of the Three Chapters was not wrong; rather through it God was taking care so that the impiety of both the Origenists and the Three Chapters would be dealt with (HE IV, 38).

⁸⁶⁶ Liberatus asserted that Theodore Ascidas apart from an Origenist was also a Monophysite and, in particular, an *Acephalos* ([Theodorus], *secta Acephalus*) (*Breviarum*, ACO II, 5, p. 140, 14). But this cannot be seriously taken into account as nowhere else Theodore Ascidas is charged with Monophysite tendencies. Cf. Hefele, IV, p. 241.

⁸⁶⁷ Meyendorff considers the theory of Theodore Ascidas' intrigue based on the witness of two sworn enemies of the emperor as 'rather naïve and malevolent'. *Imperial*, p. 236.

⁸⁶⁸ *Ecclesiastical*, pp. 24-25 (my tr. from the Greek).

⁸⁶⁹ It should be noted, however, that even Justinian's friends thought that his actions against the Three Chapters were intended to bring the Monophysites back. See Leontius Schol., *De sectis*, PG 83, pt I, 1237.

⁸⁷⁰ *Epistula contra tria capitula*, Schwartz, p. 82, 30-33. Similarly, Leontius of Byzantium tells us that the supporters of Theodore of Mopsuestia claimed that their doctrine was that of Chalcedon and thus deceived the simple people. *C. Nestorianos et Eutychianos*, PG 86, pt I, 1361A; 1364A.

who considered them Nestorian. The teaching of the Three Chapters had been condemned before Justinian by authoritative orthodox fathers. In particular, Theodore of Mopsuestia was criticised not only by Cyril but also by Proclus of Constantinople. In his celebrated *Tomus ad Armenios* the Patriarch calls Theodore's teaching 'a weak spider web' and 'words written with water'.⁸⁷¹ As regards Theodoret of Cyrus, he was treated as a Nestorian not only by the Monophysites but also by Chalcedonians, despite his rehabilitation at Chalcedon. An evidence of this is a letter by Emperor Justin (a Chalcedonian beyond suspicion) to Hypatius, a military man. In this letter, which was written in 520, the emperor orders Hypatius to investigate reports according to which Sergius, the bishop of Cyrus, organised celebrations in honour of Theodoret, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Diodore of Tarsus and 'a certain Nestorius' (*Nestorii cujusdam*) who was treated as 'a martyr'. Justin refers to Theodoret as a man 'who everywhere is accused of error in faith' (*qui undique inculpatur propter fidei errorem*).⁸⁷²

With these remarks, we do not mean to question the undoubted fact that Justinian sought to reconcile the Monophysites with the Catholic Church, but as regards the Three Chapters issue it seems to us that his actions are better understood as resulting from his own commitment to Cyrillian-Chalcedonian orthodoxy (which excludes both the Eutychian Monophysite and the strict Antiochene approach of the Three Chapters) and not so much as stemming from expediency.

2.3 JUSTINIAN'S MAIN CHRISTOLOGICAL WORKS

Justinian's main christological works are three: a) *Contra Monophysitas* (henceforth cited as *CM*).⁸⁷³ This is a copy of a letter that Justinian sent to a group of Alexandrian monks (542-543) who having first professed the 'one physis' later rejoined the Chalcedonians. To this letter Justinian appended twelve anathemas. b) *Epistula contra tria capitula* (henceforth cited as *CTC*).⁸⁷⁴ This is Justinian's reply to letters of

⁸⁷¹ ACO IV, 2, pp. 191-2.

⁸⁷² Mansi IX, 364; ACO IV, 1, pp. 199-200. Engl. tr. of the letter in CN 3, 559.

⁸⁷³ Schwartz, pp. 6-79; PG 86, pt. I, 1104-1146. We shall use the Greek text of Schwartz as edited by M. Amelotti and refer to page numbers of this edition — not the original ones by Schwartz. When applicable we will also refer to lines.

⁸⁷⁴ Schwartz, pp. 82-127; Mansi 9, 589-645; PG 86, 1041-1095; PL 69, 275-327. The date and the recipients of the letter are not known. Grillmeier suggests that it was sent to the members of an Illyrian synod who had not subscribed the imperial edict of 544, *Christ*, II, 2, p. 422. This is also the view of Schwartz who identifies the council with one held in Eastern Illyricum (c. 549) (*Drei dogmatische Schriften Justinians*, p. 173). Gerostergios dates the letter at a time after 553 assuming that Justinian's phrase: 'we have asked the priests of the Church to give us their judgment on them (the Three Chapters)' refers to the Fifth Ecumenical Council. *Justinian the Great: Emperor and Saint*, p. 45. We think that there is good reason to believe that the recipients were not Illyrian but the Latin bishops who were opposing the edict. In our view Justinian's reference to the recipients' dioceses as 'a land where the true faith had always been kept in purity (i.e. before the recipients were influenced by erroneous teaching)'

unidentified supporters of the Three Chapters. And c) *Confessio fidei* (henceforth cited as *CF*).⁸⁷⁵ This is the edict of 551 (for the historical context see next chapter) which includes thirteen anathemas mostly directed against the Three Chapters. To these works we should add a minor one, the *Epistula dogmatica ad Zoilum*.⁸⁷⁶ In all these works, the emperor's objective is to fight both the Monophysite and the Nestorian heresy. For the former task the occasion was the Severian ideas, for the latter the Three Chapters. Throughout his work Justinian constantly defends both Cyril and Chalcedon striving to show that they are perfectly compatible.

Definition of terms

Justinian's struggle against the Three Chapters and the Monophysites was not only theological and conceptual but also terminological. In his *CM*, Justinian remarks that both the Nestorian and the Monophysite heresies were due to the fact that their authors identified physis with hypostasis and prosopon.⁸⁷⁷ It is true, however, that Justinian's efforts at terminological clarification were mainly directed towards the Severians. With them Justinian was in agreement as regards the main theological question, that of the identity of the Saviour: for both Christ was the Logos himself.⁸⁷⁸ What mainly separated them was the different understanding of physis and hypostasis. Just like Cyril, the Severians could use physis both as a synonym of hypostasis to signify the particular being, and as a synonym of ousia to signify the general species. Justinian will make a serious attempt to clarify those terms.

At the beginning of the *CM* as well as the *CF*, Justinian tries to clarify the relevant terms starting from their usage in triadology. Following the classic Cappadocian definition, he identifies physis with ousia and distinguishes both from hypostasis.⁸⁷⁹ Thus, in the Trinity there is one ousia but three hypostases. It is interesting that Justinian sees the ousia through the hypostases: 'we worship one ousia in three hypostases; in each hypostasis we see the same ousia.'⁸⁸⁰ In other words, in Justinian's thought hypostasis is the foundation of 'being'.⁸⁸¹ This is in line with the Cyrillian understanding

(*CTC*, Schwartz, p. 84, 15-17) fits the rebel dioceses of North Africa or Italy. Furthermore the 'impious teacher' who misleads them to support the Three Chapters (*CTC*, Schwartz, p. 84, 17-19) is very likely to be a reference to one of the main opponents of the emperor namely Facundus or Rusticus.

⁸⁷⁵ PG 92, 901-952; Mansi IX, 537-582; Schwartz, pp. 130-169.

⁸⁷⁶ PG 86, pt. 1, 1145D-1149A.

⁸⁷⁷ *CM*, Schwartz, p. 64, 28-30.

⁸⁷⁸ K. Wesche, *On the Person of Christ: The Christology of Emperor Justinian* (New York: 1991), p. 19.

⁸⁷⁹ *CM*, Schwartz, p. 6, 26-30; *CF*, Schwartz, p. 130, 13-28.

⁸⁸⁰ μία γὰρ οὐσίαν ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσει προσκυνούμεν, ἐν ἐκάστη ὑποστάσει τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιθεωροῦντες οὐσίαν. *CM*, Schwartz, p. 6, 29-30.

⁸⁸¹ Wesche, pp. 13-14.

of the union in Christ as being hypostatic, i.e. the two physes or ousiai in Christ are 'seen' in his hypostasis which is the hypostasis of the God-Logos.

The 'enumeration' in the Trinity (i.e. the distinction of the three hypostases), says Justinian, does not abolish the 'monarchy' in God. Although there are three hypostases in the Trinity and each of them is God, there is no division in the divine ousia. When we think of the divine hypostases individually we separate them, but only in our mind (*μόνον τοῦ νοῦ χωρίζοντος τὰ ἀχώριστα*), since they are all of the same indivisible physis.⁸⁸² Here Justinian obviously pre-empts the question of how the two natures do not divide the one Christ.

Elsewhere Justinian becomes even more specific, again drawing on the Cappadocians. Physis, ousia or form (*μορφή*),⁸⁸³ he says, are the same thing and denote the 'community' or the common essence (*τὸ κοινόν*) which can be predicated of many prosopa, whereas prosopon and hypostasis denote the 'particular' (*τὸ καθ' ἑκάστον* or *ἰδικόν*).⁸⁸⁴ The individuality or 'particularity' of the prosopon is such that no prosopon can be 'seen' in another prosopon.⁸⁸⁵ This is the faith of the fathers:

All the holy fathers teach, in accordance with us, that physis or ousia or form is one thing and hypostasis or prosopon another and that physis or ousia or form signifies the community whereas the hypostasis or prosopon the particular.⁸⁸⁶

What individuates the ousia and thus distinguishes it in hypostases or prosopa are the idioms (*ιδιώματα*). The idioms of the Father are different from those of the Son and the holy Spirit, and those of the Son different from those of the holy Spirit.

We worship a monad in a trinity and a trinity in a monad whose union and distinction is extraordinary; it is a monad as regards the ousia or divinity, yet a trinity as regards the idioms or the hypostases or prosopa.⁸⁸⁷

Therefore, in christology, the Monophysites are wrong in proclaiming that Christ is 'one physis of the Logos incarnate'. Because by this 'one physis' they either mean one ousia which is the heresy of Eutyches, or 'one hypostasis' which is also wrong

⁸⁸² CM, Schwartz, p. 6, 35-37.

⁸⁸³ The use of 'form' is apparently a reference to Leo's *forma* (e. g. *agit enim utraque forma cum alterius communione quod proprium est...*).

⁸⁸⁴ CM, Schwartz, p. 64, 32-34. Justinian refers to Gregory Nazianzen and Gregory of Nyssa as witnesses that hypostasis is the same thing as prosopon. CM, Schwartz, pp. 68, 23-70, 7.

⁸⁸⁵ ἄλλο γὰρ ἐστὶ φύσις καὶ ἄλλο ὑπόστασις ἥτοι πρόσωπον, καὶ ἡ μὲν φύσις τὸ κοινῶς καὶ γενικῶς κατὰ πάντων προσώπων κατηγορούμενον σημαίνει, ἡ ὑπόστασις δὲ ἥτοι πρόσωπον τὸ ἰδικόν δείκνυσιν. CTC, Schwartz, p. 92.

⁸⁸⁶ CF, Schwartz, p. 144, 15-21.

⁸⁸⁷ CF, Schwartz, p. 130, 16-18.

because physis and hypostasis are two different things. Justinian makes clear that to confess 'one hypostasis' in Christ is not the same as to confess 'one physis'.⁸⁸⁸

Nestorius confused the terms too. He identified physis with hypostasis and prosopon and thus understood the two natures separately (*ἀνὰ μέρος*) as if they were self-existent (*ἰδιοὑποστάτως*). This is why he rejected the union and spoke of 'two Sons and two Christs'.⁸⁸⁹

Hypostatic union—Synthetic hypostasis

The union of the two natures in Christ was made 'according to hypostasis'. This means that the God-Logos was united not to a 'pre-existent' man (*προὑποστάντι ἀνθρώπῳ*), but rather, created for himself, in the Virgin's womb and out of her physis, flesh animated with rational soul.⁸⁹⁰ For Justinian to say that 'the Logos became flesh' is to say that he united human nature to himself.⁸⁹¹ This kind of union did not bring about any change either to the eternal Logos or to the human being which he became.⁸⁹² At the same time it preserved both the oneness of the person of Christ and the completeness of both the divine and the human natures: 'For this reason [i.e. because of the hypostatic union] our Lord Jesus Christ is one having in him perfect divine nature and perfect human nature.'⁸⁹³

Justinian sees a witness for the 'hypostatic union' even in the *locus classicus* of the Antiochene christology: 'Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but made himself of no reputation and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of all men' [Philip. 2, 6]. By the 'form of God,' says Justinian, the apostle means the ousia of God in which there was the hypostasis of the Logos, whereas by the 'form of a servant' he means the ousia of man. Justinian points out that Paul did not say 'he assumed the one who is in a form of a servant'; that would have meant that the human physis was pre-existent and had its own hypostasis as Nestorius taught. Thereby, the human physis or flesh (as Justinian calls it) existed in the hypostasis of the Logos so that Christ, although in two physes or forms, is known in a single hypostasis.⁸⁹⁴

⁸⁸⁸ CF, Schwartz, p. 144, 15-18.

⁸⁸⁹ CM, Schwartz, p. 56, 18-22.

⁸⁹⁰ CF, Schwartz, p. 132, 24-27.

⁸⁹¹ CF, Schwartz, p. 132, 35-36.

⁸⁹² CF, Schwartz, p. 134, 2-3.

⁸⁹³ CF, Schwartz, pp. 132, 36-134, 1.

⁸⁹⁴ τῇ ὑποστάσει τοῦ Λόγου τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔσχευεν ἡ σὰρξ, ἵνα εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν μιᾷ ὑποστάσει ὑπάρχων, ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ μορφῇ, τουτέστι φύσει, γνωρίζηται τῇ θείᾳ τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνῃ. CM, Schwartz, pp. 50, 40-52, 2.

It is not enough to say that Christ is one prosopon in two physes. This even Nestorius confessed. However he was condemned at Ephesus because he rejected the 'union according to hypostasis'.⁸⁹⁵

After the incarnation, the Logos' eternal hypostasis became 'synthetic'. The same eternal Logos is now the one 'synthetic' Christ (*ἓνα Χριστὸν σύνθετον*) who is composed of divinity and humanity. 'Synthesis', says Justinian has the advantage of excluding both 'confusion' and 'division' while the two natures remain in their integrity:

Regarding the mystery of Christ the union according to synthesis excludes confusion and division and preserves the idiom of each nature. It also manifests the God-Logos, united with flesh, to be one prosopon or hypostasis, the Selfsame being perfect in divinity and perfect in humanity. [The Logos is] not considered in two hypostases or prosopa, but in divinity and humanity, in such a way as to be both one prosopon, perfect God and perfect man, the Selfsame our Lord Jesus Christ, the one of the Trinity who is glorified together with the Father and the Holy Spirit.⁸⁹⁶

In the synthetic Christ, the two natures, although united in one hypostasis, remain within their ontological limits (*ἐν τῷ τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως ὄρω τε καὶ λόγῳ*).⁸⁹⁷ Christ is seen in his entirety in each of the two natures yet this does not entail division of his one hypostasis. Rather, this shows the difference and the integrity of the natures. This is the advantage that Justinian — like Leontius, as we have seen — sees in 'synthesis: 'when we acknowledge the synthesis, both the parts exist in the whole, and the whole is seen in the parts.'⁸⁹⁸

We have seen that Leontius of Jerusalem was reluctant to use the term 'synthetic hypostasis' and preferred the term 'synthetic Christ'. Justinian does not hesitate to use both.⁸⁹⁹ Since he makes clear that for him the union is one of physes and not of hypostases there is no danger that the term 'synthetic hypostasis' would be construed as a union of hypostases, as Leontius feared. However, Justinian is quick to distinguish 'synthetic hypostasis' from 'synthetic physis'. As physis or ousia is one thing and hypostasis another so are 'synthetic physis' and 'synthetic hypostasis'. This is a very important remark. For Justinian the union takes places on the level of hypostasis

⁸⁹⁵ CF, Schwartz, p. 156, 28-30.

⁸⁹⁶ CF, Schwartz, p. 134, 32-38.

⁸⁹⁷ CF, Schwartz, p. 132, 23. Cf. the expression *σωζομένης δε μάλλον τῆς ἰδιότητος ἑκατέρας φύσεως* in the Chalcedonian Definition. ACO II, 1, 2, p. 169, no 32; Bindley, p. 193, no 119-124.

⁸⁹⁸ CF, Schwartz, p. 132, 20-21.

⁸⁹⁹ CF, Schwartz, pp. 134, 31; 136, 12-13; 144, 21-22.

(according to hypostasis) and on the level of physis (according to physis). The latter would have meant mixture of the two natures.

Justinian claims that the Monophysites, trying to accommodate both their doctrine of the one physis in Christ and the indisputable fact that Cyril taught that the two physes exist in Christ without confusion, came up with the idea of one 'synthetic physis'. For Justinian this idea is fundamentally wrong: if physis is the common property (*κοινόν*) which can be predicated of many hypostases, then in what way can this be applied to Christ who is a unique being? This, says the emperor, is against the mystery of Christ, who is one hypostasis or prosopon known in two different ousiai.⁹⁰⁰ Also, if one accepts that Christ's is one 'synthetic physis', argues Justinian, then one has to accept that the physis of the Son is now different from that of the Father and the holy Spirit, since the physis of the latter Persons is simple and not synthetic.⁹⁰¹

It is obvious that the issue is about how one defines physis. Justinian is right in his criticism so long as physis is defined as the *κοινόν* (ousia or essence). But he seems to ignore that for the Monophysites, as for Cyril, physis can also mean hypostasis, i.e. the *ἴδιον* (particular). In any case the Monophysite terminology is certainly confused as against that of Justinian who makes the very important distinction between hypostasis and physis. As he rightly argues, if one speaks of one physis instead of one hypostasis in Christ then one risks suggesting the mingling of the two united physes and the creation of a third entity which as the result of the mixture of two elements would be neither of those. Of course the Monophysites would deny such an accusation, but as long as they do not use the more precise term hypostasis, their argument would be at least liable to misunderstanding. The two physes, emphasises Justinian, did not form a 'synthetic physis' but the 'synthetic Christ'.⁹⁰²

To show how wrong it is to speak of Christ as 'one synthetic physis' Justinian resorts to Trinitarian doctrine again. In the Trinity, says the emperor, we confess one physis or ousia, but three hypostases, and in each hypostasis the same one ousia is seen. One of those three hypostases, that of the Logos, was united to flesh. Nobody, says the emperor, has said that as we have three hypostases in the same way we have three physes, and therefore one of those three physes was united to flesh.⁹⁰³ Justinian attempts

⁹⁰⁰ *CM, Schwartz*, p. 24, 13-26.

⁹⁰¹ *CM, Schwartz*, p. 24, 31-33. Justinian attributes the idea of the 'synthetic physis' to Apollinaris. *CM, Schwartz*, p. 24, 34-36.

⁹⁰² *CM, Schwartz*, p. 28, 9-11.

⁹⁰³ *CF, Schwartz*, p. 144, 23-29.

here to refute the Monophysite arguments by transferring the terminology of theology into christology, something that not only the Severans but Cyril himself had carefully avoided.

In discussing the mode of the union, Justinian makes an important remark: it was the one hypostasis of the Logos that united itself to the human physis and therefore became 'synthetic' and not simply the divine physis. In other words, it is not a union of two impersonal physes but of a hypostasis with an impersonal physis. The reason for this, says Justinian, is that a physis, if it is not enhypostasised by the attachment of a particular person (*ἰδικοῦ τινὸς προσώπου*) to it, is something indeterminate (*ἀόριστον*) and 'anhypostatic' (*ἀνυπόστατον*, i.e. not individuated), and such a thing cannot be united to anything. On the other hand, Justinian says that after this clarification, if anyone still argues that because Christ has a human nature therefore he must also have a 'particular' hypostasis and prosopon, he obviously teaches that the Logos was united to 'pre-existent man' (*προϋποστάντι ἀνθρώπῳ*). Such a union, i.e. one between two hypostases or prosopa, is 'relational' and surely cannot be a union 'according to hypostasis'.⁹⁰⁴

Therefore for Justinian the union in Christ was a union between a hypostasis and an impersonal or anhypostatic physis, provided that this (human) physis is never considered outside the Logos; it never existed on its own, both before and after the union. In fact, what happened was that the human physis had its beginning in the hypostasis of the Logos, himself becoming the hypostasis of the human physis from the very moment of its creation.⁹⁰⁵ This is why one can say that the God-Logos became man and not that he entered a man, that he was born of the Virgin, and that she is Theotokos. If the Logos had been united to a human physis with its own hypostasis there would have been four hypostases in the Trinity now, which is obviously irreverent.⁹⁰⁶

Justinian strongly opposes any idea of two subjects of attribution in Christ. In becoming man, the Logos did not assume a human person, for that would have meant an addition of a fourth person in the Trinity. Therefore, one cannot say that the God-Logos is one person and Christ another. Repeating Gregory Nazianzen's expression, Justinian says that Christ's constituents are two different things (*ἄλλο* and *ἄλλο*) but not two

⁹⁰⁴ CF, Schwartz, p. 144, 36-146, 7.

⁹⁰⁵ οὐτε γὰρ ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπλῶς ποτὲ λέγεται, ἀλλ' οὐτε ἰδίαν ὑπόστασιν ἤτοι πρόσωπον ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ὑποστάσει τοῦ λόγου τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ὑπάρξεως ἔλαβεν. CF, Schwartz, p. 146, 10-12.

⁹⁰⁶ CF, Schwartz, p. 146, 12-17.

different persons (*ἄλλος* and *ἄλλος*).⁹⁰⁷ This *ἄλλο* and *ἄλλο* shows the elements that constitute Christ and their difference and not that he could be said to be a union of 'two Sons' or 'two hypostases or prosopa'.

What is the role then of the human physis in Christ according to Justinian? Like Cyril, Justinian sees no independent role for Christ's humanity. Although he confesses the completeness of the human physis, Justinian sees it as an instrument through which the Logos wrought the human works for our salvation.⁹⁰⁸ For Justinian, the Logos is the sole subject of all of Christ's actions, both the divine and the human, except that when it comes to the latter, the fathers rightly add the qualification 'according to the flesh' (*κατὰ σάρκα*).⁹⁰⁹

Christ is 'one of the Trinity'

Justinian's treatment of the unity of the person of Christ places him firmly within the tradition of Athanasius, the Cappadocians and Cyril. The cornerstone of his christology is the idea that Christ is the God-Logos himself. He is the 'one of the Holy Trinity who was incarnate and became man'.⁹¹⁰ The eternal Logos 'emptied himself' by uniting himself to flesh with rational soul to purify the human nature. Without ceasing to be what he had always been, the Logos also became everything a man is, save sin, in order to save him.⁹¹¹ Of this Selfsame Logos, Justinian predicates all of Christ's actions, both the lofty and the humble ones.⁹¹²

Justinian identifies Christ with the Logos in true Cyrillian fashion. Both the doctrines of the 'double birth' and 'double consubstantiality' are firmly upheld. Since the Selfsame Logos underwent two births one eternal from the Father and one in time from Mary we are entitled to call her 'Theotokos', asserts the emperor. Not that the Logos had his beginning from the Virgin, he explains, but because he became incarnate from her.⁹¹³ In the fourth anathema of the *CM*, Justinian sums up his doctrine on this point:

If anyone does not confess that the Self-same one person of the only-begotten Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ underwent two births, one eternally from

⁹⁰⁷ *CM*, Schwartz, p. 8, 25-32.

⁹⁰⁸ *Ep. ad Zoilum*, PG 86, pt 1, 1148BC.

⁹⁰⁹ *CTC*, Schwartz, p. 90.

⁹¹⁰ *ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες οἱ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸν θεὸν λόγον σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα ἓνα τε ὄντα τῆς ἁγίας Ἀγίας Τριάδος ὁμολογοῦντες*. *CTC*, Schwartz, p. 92, 2-5. Here Justinian uses the less offensive for the strict Antiochenes version of the theopaschite formula which, as we have seen, is found in Proclus' *Tomus ad Armenios*.

⁹¹¹ *CM*, Schwartz, p. 8, 1-16.

⁹¹² *CTC*, Schwartz, p. 102, 25-28.

⁹¹³ *CF*, Schwartz, p. 134, 7-9.

the Father according to divinity and one in these last days from the holy Virgin and Theotokos Mary according to humanity; and also that the Self-same is one of the holy Trinity, namely one hypostasis out of the three hypostases, let him be anathema.⁹¹⁴

Justinian emphasises that the Logos' becoming man did not affect his immutability. In his second birth, of the Virgin, the Son of God became the Son of man, without ceasing to be what he was before.⁹¹⁵

Nestorius' rejection of this doctrine, says the Justinian, led him to speak of two Sons, the God-Logos who is begotten from the Father and a mere man who is born from the Virgin.⁹¹⁶

Justinian also ascribes 'double consubstantiality' to Christ which means that Christ can be called 'one of the Holy Trinity,' since the Self-same is at the same time homousios with God the Father according to divinity and homousios with us according to humanity; passible as to the flesh, and yet the Selfsame also impassible as to the divinity'.⁹¹⁷

Since Christ is the Logos himself it follows that it was the eternal and impassible Logos who 'fulfilled everything', including suffering and death in his flesh:

Nor was somebody else, other than the Logos, who undertook suffering and death, but the Selfsame, impassible and eternal Logos of God who fulfilled everything by undergoing birth of human flesh. This is why we do not know the God-Logos who performed the miracles as being one Person and the Christ who suffered another, but rather we confess one and the same, our Lord Jesus Christ who is the Logos of God incarnate and made man and to whom belong both the miracles and the sufferings, which he endured in his flesh willingly.⁹¹⁸

In his second anathema Justinian proclaims:

If anyone says that the God-Logos who performed miracles is one person and the Christ who suffered is another, or [if anyone] says that the God-Logos coexisted with Christ who was born of the woman or was in him as one person in another, but that he was not the one and the same our Lord Jesus Christ the God-Logos incarnate and made man, and that his miracles and sufferings which he voluntarily endured in the flesh were not of the same person: let him be anathema.⁹¹⁹

⁹¹⁴ *CM, Schwartz*, p. 76.

⁹¹⁵ *CF, Schwartz*, p. 134, 2-3.

⁹¹⁶ *CM, Schwartz*, p. 18, 32-38.

⁹¹⁷ *CF, Schwartz*, pp. 130, 29-132, 1; *CTC, Schwartz*, p. 94, 34-36

⁹¹⁸ *CF, Schwartz*, p. 132, 1-7.

⁹¹⁹ *CF, Schwartz*, p. 148.

In his sixth anathema, Justinian endorses the 'theopaschite' christology but he does not use the provocative formula in its original form (*ὁ εἷς τῆς τριάδος ἔπαθε σαρκί, unus ex trinitate passus est carne*):

If anyone does not confess that our Lord Jesus Christ who was crucified in his flesh is true God and Lord of Glory and one of the Holy Trinity, let him be anathema.⁹²⁰

Therefore it is wrong to say that God the Logos performed the miracles and that only Christ suffered. On the contrary, both the miracles and the sufferings should be predicated of the one Christ, the incarnate Logos, the only difference being that he underwent the sufferings 'in flesh' (*σαρκί*).⁹²¹

Ascribing Christ's suffering to the Logos, explains Justinian, by no means introduces passion to the ousia of God, but it is the result of the hypostatic union and the *communicatio idiomatum*. The Self-same Christ is according to his humanity passible (*παθητὸς σαρκί*) but impassible according to his divinity (*ἀπαθὴς ὁ αὐτὸς θεότητι*).⁹²² For this Justinian refers to Cyril who teaches that it is correct to say that the Logos suffered in his human flesh and not to predicate the suffering of his divinity. But, stresses Cyril, one should always hold both principles: that the Logos did not suffer according to his divinity (*μὴ πάσχειν θεϊκῶς*) and that he suffered in his humanity (*παθεῖν ἀνθρωπίνως*); because what suffered was his flesh.⁹²³

If Christ was only God, explains Justinian, he would not have been able to suffer, because suffering is 'foreign' (*ἀλλότριον*) to God. Again, if he had been only man, he would not have been able to save and vivify us, because this is beyond man's power. But Christ is the Self-same (*ὁ αὐτὸς*) both God and man, a reality that Justinian expresses with a concise expression: 'both [God and man] exist as one, and still each one of them exists in its integrity'.⁹²⁴

For Justinian, the identification of the Logos with Christ is necessary in order that the supreme character of Christ's sacrifice be preserved. It was not a man or God through a man who suffered and died for us but God himself.

⁹²⁰ CF, Schwartz, p. 150.

⁹²¹ CF, Schwartz, p. 132, 4-7.

⁹²² CF, Schwartz, p. 132, 1.

⁹²³ Ad Succensum II, ACO, I, 1, 6, p. 161, 4-8. CF, Schwartz, p. 138, 2-4.

⁹²⁴ τὸ συναμφοτέρον ὡς ἓν, ἑκάτερον ὡς μόνον. CF, Schwartz, p. 132, 14. The translation of the word *μόνον* as 'integrity' I owe to Wesche, *On the Person of Christ*, p. 165.

Nor was it a man who gave up himself for our sake. Rather the Selfsame Logos gave up his own body for our sake, so that our faith and our hope is not in a man but we have our faith in the very same God-Logos.⁹²⁵

This last point brings us to a very important aspect of Justinian's thought. As with Athanasius, the Cappadocians, Cyril and Leontius of Jerusalem, Justinian's christology departs from a very strong soteriological basis. God becomes man because only he could save us through his direct action. As we have noticed, for the Emperor, the God-Logos assumes human body and soul and becomes everything man is save sin, so that through the intimacy of the union he might cleanse like through like. He 'empties himself' so that we might partake in his fullness.⁹²⁶ He shares our life so that we might share his. The Logos, says Justinian, took a mother on earth and gave us a Father in heaven. He assumed our mortal father, Adam, and, in return, he gave us his immortal Father and, thus, made us children of God. The Logos' love for us is such, that he, the Son of God, experienced death 'according to flesh' for the sake of his father 'in the flesh' so that the sons of man, become sons of his Father 'in the spirit', and thus partake in his divine life.⁹²⁷ 'He who is the true Son of God,' says Justinian, 'puts on all of us so that we might put on the one God.'⁹²⁸ The dispensation involved not only the Logos' second birth but ours too:

The Logos who was ineffably, inexpressibly, incomprehensibly born from above, from the Father, the Self-same is born of the Virgin Mary, here below, so that those who were born before, from below, may be born, for the second time, from above, that is of God.⁹²⁹

The interpretation of Cyril's 'one physis' formula

For Justinian, the Chalcedonian definition adequately formulated the christological doctrine: Christ is one prosopon or hypostasis in two physes.⁹³⁰ The incarnation of the Logos' hypostasis resulted not in one physis, but in one 'synthetic' Christ who is at the same time God and man.⁹³¹ However, Justinian does not reject the 'one physis' formula as was meant by Cyril. Cyril's writings are accepted by the Church in their entirety, emphasises Justinian. Yet by 'one physis', Cyril did not teach what the Monophysites

⁹²⁵ CF, Schwartz, p. 132, 7-9.

⁹²⁶ CM, Schwartz, p. 8, 15-16.

⁹²⁷ CF, Schwartz, p. 134, 19-23.

⁹²⁸ CF, Schwartz, p. 134, 28-29.

⁹²⁹ CF, Schwartz, p. 134, 16-18.

⁹³⁰ CM, Schwartz, p. 54, 22-25.

⁹³¹ ἡ τοίνυν ὑπόστασις τοῦ λόγου σαρκωθεῖσα οὐ μίαν φύσιν, ἀλλ' ἓνα Χριστὸν σύνθετον ἀπετέλεσεν, τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον. CF, Schwartz, p. 136, 12-13.

think he did. Justinian attempts to show that by the controversial formula Cyril meant to show that Christ is one hypostasis in two natures.

In particular, Justinian claims that when Cyril says 'one nature' he does not mean that divinity and humanity formed one physis in Christ, as the Monophysites believe. In fact, he teaches two natures in Christ: the 'one physis of the God-Logos' (μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου) refers to the divine physis, the physis of the 'bodiless' (ἄσαρκος) Logos, whereas the 'incarnate' (σσεσαρκωμένη) denotes the second physis, i.e. the humanity.⁹³² We have already seen that this is the interpretation of the formula put forward by Flavian, Basil of Seleucia, and by some 'neo-Chalcedonians'.

It is interesting that on this crucial question of the interpretation of the Cyrillian formula, Justinian offers two slightly different points of view. In his *CM*, as we have just seen, he suggests that the formula indicates the existence of two physes: the 'one physis of the God-Logos' indicates the divine physis, whereas the 'incarnate' the human physis. In his *CF*, however, Justinian gives another, more accurate in our view interpretation, that of the identification of physis and hypostasis (although he still refers to the *Second Letter to Succensus*⁹³³ as an evidence that, by 'incarnate', Cyril meant 'perfect humanity'⁹³⁴). He teaches that the use of the Cyrillian formula is permissible as long as one physis is interpreted as one Christ, i.e. one hypostasis who exists in two physes. This, says Justinian, is how Cyril himself meant the 'one physis' formula, i.e. in the sense of 'one hypostasis'.⁹³⁵ As proof of this Justinian points to the father's practice of often attaching to the formula either the term 'Son', or 'Logos' or 'only-begotten' 'which designate not a physis but a hypostasis or a prosopon'.

In any case what is essential for Justinian is to understand 'one physis' in the sense of one Christ who exists in divinity and humanity. Thus in the ninth anathema of the *CF* Justinian makes this clear:

If anyone says 'one incarnate physis of the God-Logos' and does not understand it to mean that one Christ was formed from the divine and human natures, who is homoousios with the Father according to His Divinity and homoousios with us according to His humanity, but [he understands to mean] that one nature or ousia of Christ's Divinity and flesh was formed, according to the heresy of Apollinarius and Eutyches, let him be anathema. For the

⁹³² *CM*, Schwartz, p. 12, 24-27.

⁹³³ *ACO* I, 1, 6, p. 160, 19-24.

⁹³⁴ *CF*, Schwartz, pp. 136, 27-138, 4.

⁹³⁵ ἀμέλει τοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πατήρ ὁσάκις μίαν φύσιν εἶπεν τοῦ λόγου σσεσαρκωμένην, ἐπὶ τούτου τῷ τῆς φύσεως ὀνόματι ἀνθ' ὑποστάσεως ἐχρήσατο. *CF*, Schwartz, p. 136, 8-10.

catholic Church dislikes and anathematizes those who divide, or rather split, as well as those who confuse the mystery of Christ in the divine Dispensation.⁹³⁶

To prove further that Cyril did not teach one physis — in the sense of one ousia — in Christ Justinian refers to a passage from the *First Letter to Succensus* where the one Christ is confessed to be seen through the 'eyes of the soul' in two physes:

If we want to explain how the Only-Begotten became man, as regards thought and contemplation through the eyes of the soul, we say that the natures are two, yet [we confess] one Christ and Lord and Son, the Logos of God who become incarnate and was made man.⁹³⁷

To the monophysite objection that Cyril speaks here of two natures only 'in contemplation', Justinian replies that if things seen only in contemplation should not be confessed 'by mouth', then Christ's divinity should not be confessed either since it is invisible and can only be contemplated upon.⁹³⁸

Does then Justinian see the difference of two physes in the same way as Cyril did? He certainly does, as it is shown in his eighth anathema:

If anyone, with regard to our one Lord Jesus Christ who is the incarnate God-Logos, while acknowledging the number of the physes out of which [the one Christ] was constituted, does not perceive their difference in contemplation (*τῇ θεωρίᾳ*) — for this difference was not abolished by the union — but uses this number in order to divide [the one Christ] into separate parts, let him be anathema.⁹³⁹

Other evidence that in Christ there is not one physis but one hypostasis is the attribution of both impassibility and passibility to Christ. Justinian quotes Cyril again:

Very correctly and prudently your excellence expounds the matter of the salvific suffering, because you do not contend that the only-begotten Son of God [...] suffered in his own nature what befits the body; rather [you say] that he suffered in his earthly (*χοϊκῇ*) nature. For it is necessary that we preserve that the one and true Son both did not suffer in his divinity and suffer in his humanity. Because it was flesh which suffered.⁹⁴⁰

The co-existence of both passibility (*πάθος*) and impassibility (*ἀπάθεια*) in Christ is sufficient to show that there are two natures in him. To attribute both impassibility and passibility to the one and the same nature is impossible, says Justinian. It is however possible to attribute them to one hypostasis or prosopon.⁹⁴¹

⁹³⁶ *CF*, Schwartz, p. 150.

⁹³⁷ ACO I, 1, 6, pp. 153-154.

⁹³⁸ *CM*, Schwartz, pp. 12, 34-15,3.

⁹³⁹ *CF*, Schwartz, p. 150.

⁹⁴⁰ *Ad Succensum* II, ACO I, 1, 6, p. 161, 4-8.

⁹⁴¹ *CM*, Schwartz, p. 14, 20-29; *CF*, Schwartz, p. 136, 14-17.

Justinian also quotes a passage from Cyril's *Scholia* making his doctrine very clear: 'Therefore it is not right to define the one Lord Jesus Christ as being separately man and separately God, but we say that there is one and the same Lord Jesus Christ while at the same time we acknowledge the difference of the physes and hold them unconfused.'⁹⁴² If, then, argues Justinian, Cyril is so clear as to the difference of the physes, it is wrong-headed to still say that there is one physis or ousia in Christ. For if this was the case then Christ would not be homoousios both with the Father and with us.⁹⁴³ In fact, what would happen is that Christ would be either 'bodiless' (*ἄσαρκος*) (if he is homoousios only with the Father), or a mere man (*ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος*) (if he is homoousios only with us), or something of a third physis (*ἑτεροφυές τι*), a *tertium quid* (if either of the physes suffered mutation) which of course would be neither God nor man.⁹⁴⁴

The human analogy

The Monophysites often used the example of man to defend the 'one physis.' Man, they say, despite having being constituted of two elements, body and soul, is still one physis. On the other hand, they argue that those who say that Christ is God and man confess not two, but three physes in Christ, that of the Logos, that of the body, and that of the soul.⁹⁴⁵ Justinian responds that if this is so then they have to admit 'two natures' since they say that Christ is 'out of two'. Unless they teach that Christ assumed a soul without a body or a body without a soul. In any case, the example of man does not apply in the case of Christ, argues Justinian.

The Monophysites have misunderstood the terms again. The name 'man' (*ἄνθρωπος*) without the idioms (*ἰδιώματα*), says Justinian, signifies the (human) ousia or physis and can be predicated of many hypostases. This is why man is said to be one physis. When, however, the idioms are added to the common property (*τὸ κοινόν*) then the hypostasis of the individual man is formed.⁹⁴⁶ E.g. Peter and Paul are two different individuals, with different idioms, who share the same physis or ousia, but they are not physes or ousiai themselves. Similarly, the name 'Christ' is indicative of a hypostasis or prosopon and not of a physis as the Monophysites would have it, for it does not signify any common property, nor is it predicated of many hypostases, nor can

⁹⁴² ACO I, 5, 1, p. 222, 31-33. *CF*, Schwartz, p. 138, 8-10.

⁹⁴³ Here Justinian uses an argument already put forward by John the Grammarian. See Part Two, Chapter I.

⁹⁴⁴ *CF*, Schwartz, p. 140, 2-8.

⁹⁴⁵ *CM*, Schwartz, p. 14, 30f.

⁹⁴⁶ *CM*, Schwartz, p. 14, 41-42.

it exist without the idioms.⁹⁴⁷ If the name 'Christ' denoted the ousia, i.e. the common property, then there would have been many 'Christs'.⁹⁴⁸ Furthermore, man is composed of created elements (body and soul) whereas Christ is composed of a created and an uncreated one.⁹⁴⁹

The use of the example of man to show that Christ is one physis is wrong for one more reason. As every creature has one physis, given to it by God in its creation, so man also has one physis which consists of soul and body, the two elements out of which God brought him from non-being into being and without either of which there cannot be man. Obviously this is not the case with Christ because he was not composed from the beginning of divinity and humanity, so that this could be his physis. Rather, the Selfsame existed before his incarnation and after it he remains what he has always been, the eternal Logos.⁹⁵⁰

Justinian admits that the fathers too used the example of the union of body and soul, but only to show that Christ was one person or hypostasis and not one physis.⁹⁵¹ Cyril used it to oppose the heresy of Paul of Samosata and Nestorius who were separating the two physes and taught two persons and hypostases.⁹⁵²

In fact, the analogy of body and soul, has also been used by the fathers to show the duality of the physes. Justinian quotes Gregory Nazianzene who says that Christ consists of two physes like man consists of body and soul (*φύσεις μὲν γάρ δύο θεός καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ἐπεὶ καὶ ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα*).⁹⁵³ This duality does not divide the one Son into two, but only shows the difference of the natures.⁹⁵⁴

'In two natures'

The difference of the natures, clearly proclaimed by Cyril, is best proclaimed when one confesses Christ as one hypostasis and prosopon 'in two natures' as Chalcedon decreed. Justinian attacks the rejection by the 'heretics' (i. e. Monophysites) of the preposition 'in' (*ἐν*). He maintains that, far from introducing division in the one Christ, the preposition preserves the union undivided and unconfused. For that he refers again to Phil. 2. 6-7 where Paul, says Justinian, uses the same preposition ('in the form of the

⁹⁴⁷ *CM, Schwartz*, p. 16, 3-5.

⁹⁴⁸ *CM, Schwartz*, p. 16, 10-14.

⁹⁴⁹ *CM, Schwartz*, p. 16, 15-19.

⁹⁵⁰ *CF, Schwartz*, p. 138, 18-36.

⁹⁵¹ *CF, Schwartz*, p. 140, 8-13.

⁹⁵² *CM, Schwartz*, p. 16, 28f.

⁹⁵³ *Ad Cledonium I*, PG 37, 180A.

⁹⁵⁴ *CF, Schwartz*, p. 140, 15f.

servant' and 'in the form of God') to indicate that Christ exists in two physes.⁹⁵⁵ This is also how Cyril understands the passage says Justinian.⁹⁵⁶ If one does not accept the preposition 'in,' argues the emperor, one risks suggesting confusion of the natures. It is self-evident that when two or more things are united into one being they are confused, unless they remain after the union what they were before it. This is why the only way to preserve the oneness of the subject and the difference of the physes, which the Monophysites also confess, is to proclaim that the one Christ is not just 'out of two' but also 'in two physes'.⁹⁵⁷ After the incarnation there are two unconfused physes in Christ, yet one hypostasis.⁹⁵⁸ 'The Logos of God is still one hypostasis, even after his incarnation, being seen in each of the two natures' proclaims Justinian.⁹⁵⁹

The number 'two', says Justinian, is not used to show division as the Monophysites claim, but the 'difference' of the physes. It would have meant division if it had been said of prosopa or hypostases. But with regard to things united into one (in which case the duality exists only theoretically (*λόγω μόνῳ καὶ θεωρίᾳ*)), as with the one hypostasis of a single man, the number 'two' does not denote division but 'difference'. For if there is no 'difference' there is confusion. Just like in man, where the existence of body and soul does not prevent him from being one being, in the *mysterium Christi* the two physes, although different, are not separated from each other.⁹⁶⁰

Justinian's criticism of the Monophysites is severe. Since they do not accept 'two physes or ousiai' in Christ they obviously follow Apollinarius who taught that there is one ousia in Christ.⁹⁶¹ Therefore like him they deny that Christ was perfect man as well.⁹⁶² In particular, he accuses Dioscorus and Timothy Aelurus of holding the doctrine of Mani and Apollinarius in the sense that they taught that Christ's human physis was not real.⁹⁶³ As to the *Acephaloi*, since they identify physis and hypostasis, they hold that in Christ two hypostases were united which is the doctrine of Nestorius. In fact, says

⁹⁵⁵ CM, Schwartz, p. 10, 4-10.

⁹⁵⁶ 'Having assumed the form of servant, the God-Logos who is co-eternal with the Father is perfect both in his divinity and in his humanity. He who is one Christ and Lord and Son is not perfect only in his divinity or his humanity; rather out of two perfect things, i.e. divinity and humanity, one and the same person is formed in an extraordinary manner.' Cyril, *Ep. ad Theodosium*, ACO I, 1, 1, p. 57, 15-18. CM, Schwartz, p. 10, 13-14.

⁹⁵⁷ CM, Schwartz, p. 10, 29-37.

⁹⁵⁸ CF, Schwartz, p. 146, 22-24.

⁹⁵⁹ CF, Schwartz, p. 144, 33-34.

⁹⁶⁰ CF, Schwartz, pp. 140, 15-142, 12.

⁹⁶¹ CM, Schwartz, p. 70, 23-27.

⁹⁶² Justinian quotes Apollinarius: 'If the perfect God had been united to a perfect man they would have been two; therefore only an imperfect thing united to a perfect one does not constitute a duality.' Lietzmann, frg. 81, p. 224. CM, Schwartz, p. 72, 3-4.

⁹⁶³ CM, Schwartz, p. 46, 22-24.

Justinian, they prefer to profess worse doctrines than that of Nestorius rather than accept the truth.⁹⁶⁴

Justinian says that Severus, 'the successor of Apollinarius,'⁹⁶⁵ himself admitted that the fathers taught 'two natures' in Christ. He however claimed that, since the emergence of the Nestorian heresy, they stopped proclaiming that for fear of being misunderstood. This is why one should not confess 'two natures'. This, says Justinian, is a laughable argument.⁹⁶⁶ Justinian tries to prove that Cyril continued to speak of 'two natures' even after Nestorius had made his heresy known.⁹⁶⁷ Severus, says Justinian, did not realise that the fathers condemned Nestorius not because he taught 'two natures' but because he rejected the hypostatic union and taught 'two Sons'.⁹⁶⁸

Justinian makes another interesting accusation against Severus: he held that the *Trisagion*⁹⁶⁹ did not refer to the whole Trinity but only to the Son. This for Justinian is the same heretical teaching as that of Arius who claimed that the Son was not of the same substance as the Father and the Holy Spirit. It was also akin to the Nestorian idea that Christ was not God and one of the Holy Trinity.⁹⁷⁰

In all, one should say neither 'out of two physes' in the sense that there were two physes before the union, for this introduces the concept of the 'pre-existent man' which is the heresy of Theodore and Nestorius, nor that there is only one physis after it for this introduces the confusion of Apollinarius and Eutyches.⁹⁷¹ The true faith is that 'the two physes concurred (*συνδραμεῖν*) in one hypostasis and formed one Christ who is known in both physes unconfusedly and indivisibly.'⁹⁷²

The Three Chapters

Throughout his writings Justinian argued against the Nestorian understanding of the incarnation advocated by the Three Chapters. The letters of the supporters of the Three Chapters gave Justinian the chance to expound once more his Cyrillian understanding of the Chalcedonian doctrine and refute the arguments of those who support the Three Chapters and especially Ibas' Letter to Maris.

⁹⁶⁴ CM, Schwartz, p. 52, 6-10.

⁹⁶⁵ CM, Schwartz, p. 54, 27-28.

⁹⁶⁶ CM, Schwartz, p. 56.

⁹⁶⁷ CM, Schwartz, p. 58-62.

⁹⁶⁸ CM, Schwartz, p. 58, 12-13.

⁹⁶⁹ See Part One, Chapter IV.

⁹⁷⁰ CM, Schwartz, pp. 74, 3-76, 10.

⁹⁷¹ CF, Schwartz, p. 146, 17-21.

⁹⁷² *Eleventh Anathema*, CM, Schwartz, p. 78.

The unidentified supporters of the Three Chapters considered Ibas's letter orthodox, because in their view it was fighting Apollinarius and not Cyril. Justinian says that the letter attacked Cyril and the orthodox faith directly since it considered the main Cyrillian tenet, 'the Logos became man,' an Apollinarian idea. For Justinian, Cyril proclaims nothing else but the evangelical teaching that 'the Logos became flesh' and the teaching of all the prophets who taught Logos' becoming flesh.⁹⁷³ Christ is not a mere man (*ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος*) as Nestorius and Theodore taught, but the Logos made man. This is clearly proclaimed by authorities such as Gregory Nazianzen, Athanasius, Basil, Augustine and Leo.⁹⁷⁴

Justinian then reproaches the radical Antiochene idea of the distinction between the 'temple' and the 'one who dwells in the temple' which is also upheld by Ibas and the recipients of the emperor's letter. He says that there is not one father who ever taught such a thing. The Church always distinguished between the two physes out of which the one Christ was formed 'unconfusedly' and 'indivisibly' but never between the 'temple' and the Logos. Of course the term 'temple' was used in the Scriptures and by the fathers but by them always the body of the Logos was meant. This is exactly what the Evangelist means when he says: 'But he spoke of the temple of his body' [John 2.21]. A distinction between the 'temple' and the 'one who dwells in it' clearly divides the one person of Christ into two.⁹⁷⁵ Furthermore, if one interprets the 'temple' as signifying the man Christ then one makes all of us equal to Christ since the Scriptures use this name with regard to the faithful as well.⁹⁷⁶

Justinian defends Cyril who is accused in the Letter to Maris of teaching a mingling or confusion of the divinity and humanity in Christ in his Twelve Chapters. Cyril's 'natural union' does not mean that there is one physis for both the divinity and the humanity in Christ. What the Alexandrian father taught, reiterates Justinian, is that there is one hypostasis or prosopon.⁹⁷⁷

Nor is it correct to say the Cyril did not distinguish the 'names' or attributes (*φωνῶν διαφοράν ἀπαρνούμενον*) of the two natures. The Patriarch clearly distinguished between the lofty 'names' which belonged to the divinity and the lower ones which belonged to the humanity. However he predicated them all of the same

⁹⁷³ *CM, Schwartz*, pp. 84-86

⁹⁷⁴ *CM, Schwartz*, pp. 86-88.

⁹⁷⁵ *CM, Schwartz*, p. 88.

⁹⁷⁶ Justinian refers to 1 Cor. 3.16: 'Do you not know that you are God's temple and that God's spirit dwells in you?'

⁹⁷⁷ *CTC, Schwartz*, p. 92, 11-21.

subject which is the Logos made man. Justinian says that the defenders of the Three Chapters are complaining because they want to predicate the 'names' of two persons.⁹⁷⁸

The heterodoxy of the Letter to Maris is shown in its treatment of the title Theotokos. Mary gave birth to God the Logos in flesh and not to a mere man, says Justinian. Hence she is called Theotokos. The refusal of the Letter to Maris' author to accept that is a clear evidence that he teaches the existence of two persons in Christ.⁹⁷⁹

In the *CTC*, Justinian attacks the radical Antiochene interpretation of certain biblical passages:

a) 'For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels' [Ps. 8.5]. In the Letter to Maris it is claimed that this verse cannot refer to the God-Logos.⁹⁸⁰ The recipients of Justinian's letter must have used the same argument. Justinian says that this is again derived from Theodore's 'impious' teaching. The passage, says the emperor, is said of the Logos because man is anyway lower than the angels. If it had been the man Jesus who was made lower than the angels then he would have been the one who suffered death, for Paul says: 'but we see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour' [Hebr. 2.9]. But such a claim contradicts the same Apostle's utterance: 'for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory' [I Cor. 2.8.].⁹⁸¹ Here Justinian makes use of a *locus classicus* for the Cyrillian theologians who identify the Lord of glory with the Logos incarnate.

b) 'Who, though he was in the form of God...emptied himself, taking the form of a servant' [Paul's Phil. 2. 6-7]. This is again for Justinian a reference to the Logos. As in the *CM*, he interprets the 'form of a servant' as the human physis and, of course, not an already formed man (*οὐ προδιαπλασθέντι ἀνθρώπῳ ἡνώθη*).⁹⁸²

c) 'For my Father is greater than I' [John 14.28]. This passage should not be interpreted as implying the existence of an 'assumed man'. What the Lord teaches here is his 'reduction' in the 'economy' (*τὴν δι' ἡμᾶς οἰκονομικῶς γενομένην ἐλάττωσιν δηλοῖ*).⁹⁸³ Whereas when the passage 'I and my Father are one' he signifies Christ's equality with the Father according to his divine physis. But both the 'equality' and the 'reduction' are predicated of the one Lord and God Jesus Christ who

⁹⁷⁸ *CTC*, Schwartz, p. 92.

⁹⁷⁹ *CTC*, Schwartz, p. 94, 5-8.

⁹⁸⁰ See Appendix.

⁹⁸¹ *CTC*, Schwartz, p. 100, 14-27.

⁹⁸² *CTC*, Schwartz, p. 100, 28-37.

⁹⁸³ Cf. Cyril, *Ad Theodosium*, ACO I, 1, 1, p. 60, 23-25.

is the incarnate Logos. Wrong interpretation of the former passage led to the Arian heresy and now to the Nestorian-Theodorene one.⁹⁸⁴

The Letter to Maris, claims Justinian, follows Nestorius and Theodore, since it confesses two physes, one person and authority, but refuses to identify this one person with the Logos and therefore, say that the Logos was born of the Virgin. This means that — as with Nestorius and Theodore — there is not a real union in Christ and, therefore the two physes mean two persons. What the author of the letter really means by 'one person' is the person of the man-Christ, not that of the Logos. The former person is the one who enjoys the dignity and honour and grace of the adoption and is worshipped in the Logos' place. As evidence of this Justinian points to the idea expressed in the Letter that the two physes share the same authority. But, argues the emperor, authority can only refer to persons (as in the Trinity) and not to physes.⁹⁸⁵

In the *CTC* Justinian makes two important points: a) Cyril's Twelve Chapters were orthodox and in accordance with the faith of Ephesus, Celestine, Leo and Chalcedon,⁹⁸⁶ and b) Cyril did not 'repent' for his earlier faith by subscribing to the Formulary of Reunion (433). If he had 'repented', says Justinian, he would not have been accepted at Chalcedon as a father, 'for he who repents is not considered a teacher but is allowed back in as returning from error.'⁹⁸⁷

The defence of Chalcedon against its Nestorian interpretation is the climax of *CTC*. Chalcedon is in full agreement with Cyril including his Twelve Chapters which were endorsed by Rome and in particular by Pope Sixtus III (432-440),⁹⁸⁸ whereas it is in direct contrast to the doctrines of Theodore and the Letter to Maris. It is foolish to believe that Chalcedon is repudiated if one condemns the Letter to Maris. The faith of the former is in direct contrast with the Letter as well as with the teaching of Theodore.⁹⁸⁹ Because Chalcedon taught indeed that Christ and the incarnate God-Logos are one and the same subject. Clear evidence of this is that Chalcedon confessed that Mary was Theotokos, a doctrine fiercely opposed by Theodore and Nestorius. Chalcedon spoke indeed of two physes, but decreed the union according to hypostasis which safeguards the oneness of the person and hypostasis of Christ. The fathers at

⁹⁸⁴ *CTC*, Schwartz, p. 102, 14-25.

⁹⁸⁵ *CTC*, Schwartz, p. 106, 23-35.

⁹⁸⁶ *CTC*, Schwartz, pp. 110, 30-36; 112, 27-30.

⁹⁸⁷ *CTC*, Schwartz, p. 112, 10-13.

⁹⁸⁸ Justinian cites excerpts from Sixtus' letters to Cyril in which he was congratulating him for his efforts to bring the Orientals back to ecclesial unity and piety and deliver them from the 'illness' of their former doctrine. *CTC*, Schwartz, pp. 112, 36-114, 19.

⁹⁸⁹ *CTC*, Schwartz, p. 114, 24-25.

Chalcedon were not only in agreement with all the previous Ecumenical Councils and Cyril but also endorsed the Twelve Chapters.⁹⁹⁰

For Justinian, the assumption that a condemnation of the Letter to Maris would damage Chalcedon's authority (since it was included in its minutes) is fundamentally wrong. One cannot accept Ephesus, Celestine, Cyril, Leo and Chalcedon in clear conscience and good intent (*καθαρῶ συνειδήσει καὶ ὀρθῶ σκοπῶ*) and at the same time receive the 'abominable' Letter.⁹⁹¹

Ibas and Theodoret were accepted as coming back from error, i.e. their rejection of the christology of the Twelve Chapters. Justinian says that this was exactly why Ibas and Domnus of Antioch were excommunicated.⁹⁹² Obviously the emperor puts the whole controversy down to the question of the Twelve Chapters. Then he makes a daring conclusion: the confession of faith that the two bishops were asked to give at Chalcedon, on the grounds of which they were rehabilitated, was in effect a subscription to the Twelve Chapters.⁹⁹³

Furthermore, Justinian expresses doubts as to whether Ibas was the real author of the Letter. At the council of Tyre (448) Ibas claimed that since the Reunion of 433 he had not said anything against Cyril. Justinian points out that the Letter was clearly written after 433. Similarly at Chalcedon, Ibas did not subscribe to the content of the Letter.⁹⁹⁴ The Council, still unconvinced, demanded that Ibas clearly accept the faith of Cyril and Ephesus I and anathematise Nestorius.

Justinian contends that the fact that references to the heretics are included in minutes does not mean that they are approved even though there is a chance that the Letter was not included in the original corpus.⁹⁹⁵ More important perhaps is his remark that not everything which is said by individuals in a council is authoritative and binding, but only that which is agreed by everybody.⁹⁹⁶

⁹⁹⁰ *CTC, Schwartz*, pp. 114, 37-39; 116, 4-11.

⁹⁹¹ *CTC, Schwartz*, p. 116, 12-21. Justinian wonders at the fact that the supporters of the Three Chapters defend the Letter to Maris while Ibas himself denied he was its author. *CTC, Schwartz*, p. 118, 18-22.

⁹⁹² *CTC, Schwartz*, pp. 120, 37-122, 10. It is interesting that Justinian does not mention that Domnus was excommunicated by the 'Robber Council'. That Domnus was excommunicated because he did not accept the Twelve Chapters was also the view of Theodoret. *Letter to John of Germanicia*, in Y. Azéma, ed., *Théodoret de Cyr: Correspondance*, 3 vols, SC 40 (Paris: 1955-1965), III, p. 94, 8-10.

⁹⁹³ *CTC, Schwartz*, p. 122, 10-12.

⁹⁹⁴ *CTC, Schwartz*, pp. 116, 22-118, 22. Grillmeier attributes this idea of the inauthenticity of the letter again to Theodore Ascidas and rejects Justinian's arguments that Ibas denied the authorship of the Letter both in Tyre and Chalcedon. *Christ*, II, 2, pp. 421; 423.

⁹⁹⁵ *CTC, Schwartz*, p. 120, 13-18.

⁹⁹⁶ *CF, Schwartz*, p. 158, 6-9.

As regards the other objection of the defenders of the Three Chapters, i.e. that it is not permissible to anathematise the dead (Theodore), Justinian tries to prove the legitimacy of his proposal. If the argument of his opponents held true, he says, then Judas should still be considered to be one of the apostles and the latter should be blamed for condemning him after he was dead and electing somebody else in his place.⁹⁹⁷ Justinian also mentions Valentinus,⁹⁹⁸ Basilides,⁹⁹⁹ Marcion,¹⁰⁰⁰ Cerinthus,¹⁰⁰¹ Eunomius, Apollinarius, Bonosus¹⁰⁰² as examples of heretics who were anathematised posthumously but he is not entirely convincing since some of them, at least, were clearly condemned during their lifetime. More helpful for Justinian's cause is a quotation of Augustine who shows willingness to issue a posthumous anathema if need be,¹⁰⁰³ and the 80th Canon of the council of Africa which rules that a bishop who bequeaths his property to a non relative or to a relative who is a heretic or to a pagan, instead of the Church, should be anathematised even if he is dead.¹⁰⁰⁴ Also interesting is his reference to Dioscorus, who although he was not condemned for his faith, was posthumously anathematised by the Church of Rome.¹⁰⁰⁵

The supporters of the Three Chapters should be ashamed, says Justinian to defend Theodore who refused the double consubstantiality of Christ.¹⁰⁰⁶ Theodore's refusal to accept this truth clearly makes him a heretic.

Therefore it is not right to say that Theodore died in communion with the Church. Only those who keep the right faith until their death die in communion with the Church, says Justinian. Theodore, because he died without changing his mind, was expelled from every Church.¹⁰⁰⁷

Justinian's stance towards Theodore sounds very uncharitable indeed. He says that the fathers ranked Theodore among the Greeks (pagans), the Jews and the Sodomites. One, however, has to bear in mind how important for the Byzantines the purity of doctrine was, and how seriously a Byzantine ruler took its role in protecting this purity.

⁹⁹⁷ *CTC*, Schwartz, p. 122, 18-22.

⁹⁹⁸ An important Gnostic theologian of the 2nd century, leader of the Valentinians. He lived in Rome for some time and attempted to become its bishop.

⁹⁹⁹ A Gnostic theologian who taught in Alexandria in the early second century.

¹⁰⁰⁰ A heretic of the 2nd century. He was excommunicated in 144.

¹⁰⁰¹ A Gnostic theologian of the end of the first century.

¹⁰⁰² He was bishop of Naissus. He denied the perpetual virginity of the Virgin Mary. His teaching was condemned at the council of Capua in 391.

¹⁰⁰³ *CTC*, Schwartz, p. 124, 14-17.

¹⁰⁰⁴ *CTC*, Schwartz, p. 124, 22-26.

¹⁰⁰⁵ *CF*, Schwartz, pp. 166, 35-168, 3.

¹⁰⁰⁶ *CTC*, Schwartz, p. 94, 25-36.

¹⁰⁰⁷ *CF*, Schwartz, pp. 160, 35-162, 5.

More specifically, to understand why Justinian attacked Theodore and the Three Chapters in general, one has to appreciate that Theodore's teaching was abolishing the soteriological basis of his thought. For the Emperor, as we have seen, Christ could only save us if he was God. This is why Theodore's distinction between the 'assuming' God-Logos and the 'assumed' Jesus amounts to a denial of our salvation. If Christ is not God the Logos himself in the flesh, but a mere man who himself was in need of salvation by the indwelling Logos, as Theodore teaches, then how could he save us?¹⁰⁰⁸ If the one who was born of the Virgin was not 'truly' and in a 'proper sense' the Son of God, how could he grant us the adoption?¹⁰⁰⁹ Also in eucharistic terms: whose body and blood, asks Justinian, do those who believe like Theodore think that they receive, that of the 'one who receives the benefit' or of 'the benefactor'? If the former is the case then their hope is in vain, for they worship a man (*ἀνθρωπολατρεία*).¹⁰¹⁰

It is then understandable why for Justinian it is not enough to anathematise Nestorius alone; one should anathematise Theodore too, because he was the teacher of Nestorius and because his heretical writings have deceived many.¹⁰¹¹

Justinian's view of the Three Chapters is summed up in the following anathemas:

If anyone defends Theodore who said that the God-Logos is one person and Christ is another, and that Christ was disturbed by the passions of the soul and the desires of the flesh, and that he became better by the progress of his deeds and was baptised in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and that through the baptism received the grace of the Holy Spirit and became worthy of the adoption, and that He is worshipped equally with the God-Logos in the way we honour the image of a king, and that after the Resurrection He became immutable with regard to his thoughts and completely sinless. And again he said that the union of the God-Logos to Christ was effected in the same way as the Apostle said of man and woman 'They two shall be one flesh' [Eph. 5.31]. And, among his other numerous blasphemies, [the same Theodore] has dared to say that after the Resurrection when the Lord breathed upon his disciples and said 'Receive the Holy Spirit' [John, 20.22], he did not give them the Spirit but He did that only as a sign. He also said that the confession of Thomas 'my Lord and my God' [John, 20.28], which the latter said after the resurrection, when he touched the hands and the side of the Lord, was not said in reference to Christ (for he [Theodore] does not call Christ God), but that Thomas, surprised at the extraordinary event of the Resurrection, praised God who had raised Christ from the dead. And what is worse, in his supposed interpretation of the Acts of the Apostles, comparing Christ to Plato, Manichaeus, Epicurus and Marcion, says that as each of these men having discovered their own doctrine, gave his name to his disciples, who

¹⁰⁰⁸ CTC, Schwartz, p. 90, 31-36.

¹⁰⁰⁹ CTC, Schwartz, p. 98, 13-20.

¹⁰¹⁰ CTC, Schwartz, pp. 90, 36-92, 10. Cf. Ludwig, 'Neo-Chalcedonism', p. 134.

¹⁰¹¹ CTC, Schwartz, pp. 125, 39-126-11.

were called accordingly Platonists, Manicheans, Epicureans and Marcionites, in the same way, Christ having discovered his own doctrine, his disciples are called Christians after him. If, then, anyone defends Theodore who has said such blasphemes, and does not anathematise him and his writings and all those who believed or believe like him, let him be anathema.¹⁰¹²

If anyone defends the writings of Theodoret which he wrote in support of Nestorius and against the true faith, the first holy Council of Ephesus and St. Cyril and his Twelve Chapters, in which impious writings the same Theodoret says that the God-Logos was united to a certain man in a relative manner, and blasphemes that Thomas touched the resurrected one [Christ] and worshipped the one who resurrected him [the God-Logos], on account of which he calls the teachers of the Church who confess the hypostatic union of the God-Logos with the flesh impious, and in addition to this he refuses to call the holy, glorious and ever-Virgin Mary Theotokos; therefore, if anyone defends the aforementioned writings of Theodoret and does not anathematise them, let him be anathema. Because it was on account of these blasphemies he was excommunicated and afterwards, in the Council of Chalcedon, he was compelled to do the opposite of what his writings taught and to confess the true faith.¹⁰¹³

If anyone defends the Letter which Ibas is said to have written to Maris the Persian, the heretic, which denies that the God-Logos was made man and says that the God-Logos was not incarnate of the holy Theotokos and ever-Virgin Mary, but that she gave birth to a mere man, whom it calls temple, as if the God-Logos was one person and the man another; in addition to this, it calumniates the first Council of Ephesus that it condemned Nestorius without investigation and trial, and it calls St. Cyril a heretic and his Twelve Chapters impious, whereas it praises and defends Nestorius and Theodore and their impious writings. Therefore, if anyone, given what has been said, defends the above mentioned impious letter or says that it is right in its entirety or in part, and does not anathematise it, let him be anathema.¹⁰¹⁴

Conclusion

Justinian's contribution to the christological debate was a positive one. His thought is clear and if one thing was needed in the sixth century theology, that was clarity. Drawing on the work of contemporary Cyrillian Chalcedonians, especially Leontius of Jerusalem, he clarifies the Chalcedonian Definition in the light of the challenges of his time.

In particular Justinian stresses that the one person and hypostasis in Christ proclaimed at Chalcedon ought to be identified with that of the pre-existent Logos. This is the core of his christology. Whereas in Christ Theodore and Nestorius saw the 'prosopon of the union' of the Logos with the hypostatised 'form of a servant', Justinian

¹⁰¹² *CF, Schwartz*, pp. 150, 26-152, 13.

¹⁰¹³ *CF, Schwartz*, p. 152, 14-24.

¹⁰¹⁴ *CF, Schwartz*, pp. 152, 25-33.

recognised the Logos himself in the flesh. The divine and human actions of the Lord are not predicated of the respective physes independently but of the one and the same person, the God-Logos, who acted here as God and there as man, being truly both.

In Justinian's thought 'hypostatic union' or 'union according to synthesis' comes to prominence. The idea of the 'synthetic Christ', who is the Logos in his new state of being, is Justinian's solution to the 'christological question'. Of course, for Justinian such a question existed only in the minds of those outside the patristic tradition. For those adhering to it, Christ has always been the Logos himself made man. This is exactly what Chalcedon meant when it spoke of one *prosopon* and one *hypostasis*.

Also Justinian offers a great service to the post-Chalcedonian christology by clarifying the terms *hypostasis* and *physis*. The former is identified with person whereas the latter with *ousia*. As we have seen, the great misunderstanding between Chalcedonians and Monophysites lay in different understandings of *physis*. Justinian's unequivocal identification of *hypostasis* and *prosopon* on the one hand, and *physis* and *ousia* on the other, ought to have facilitated the rapprochement of the two parties. This however has never happened owing to — among other reasons — the theological rigidity of the non-Chalcedonian Churches.

Justinian's christology is clear but not simplistic. It has a deep ontological and soteriological dimension. His interest is not just to protect God's immutability but also to do justice to the Christian belief in a God who is compassionate to the point of appropriating human suffering. Salvation is not seen as a reward for moral achievements but as a result of real communion between God and men. God participates in our life and sanctifies it and we participate in his and become his sons by grace.

Grillmeier has argued that the condemnation of the Three Chapters had no historical basis.¹⁰¹⁵ He says that the lack of a 'profound understanding of the unity in Christ' of the Antiochene christology is explained by the historical context the latter was developed in. In particular it was the need to fight Apollinarius which gave rise to an emphasis on the completeness of Christ's humanity. Hence their cautiousness towards expressions such as 'one *physis* of the Logos incarnate' or 'union according to *hypostasis* and *physis*' advocated by Cyril and his followers. Therefore, according to this historian, it is not fair to judge a christology conditioned by certain historical factors by the standards of a later more developed system of thought.

¹⁰¹⁵ *Christ*, II, 2, p. 429.

What comes to the surface again is the major issue of whether and to what extent theology is conditioned. We cannot aspire to deal with this major question in this study. What we can say however is that the same argument for 'conditioning' could be applied to other heretics, universally condemned. One could argue that Apollinarius himself, for example, developed his emphasis on the divine element in Christ out of his polemic against not only the rejection of the Logos' divinity by the Arians but also against the dualism of the Antiochenes.¹⁰¹⁶ Most importantly, the battle against the Apollinarian heresy was undertaken not only by Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, but also by the Cappadocians without this undermining their basic principle of the identification of the one and only subject in Christ with the Logos. Further, the radical Antiochenes — especially Theodoret and the author of the Letter to Maris who attacked Cyril's 'theopaschism' — had every chance to realise that Cyril's doctrine was far from Apollinarian as it is shown not only in the writings of his 'maturity'¹⁰¹⁷ as are his letters to Succensus and Acacius and, of course, his *Laetentur Coeli*, but also in his earlier writings.¹⁰¹⁸ Yet they still insisted on their radical dyophysitism as is shown particularly by the attitude of Theodoret at Chalcedon.

In our view Theodore's doctrine and to a lesser degree that of Theodoret was fundamentally wrong, as it failed to do justice to the fundamental doctrine of Christ as the Son of God. It was then properly condemned by Justinian. In fact, all heresies were examined on the basis of the distortion they caused to the authentic faith without the — legitimate — question of how much they were the product of the circumstances ever being taken into consideration. This is because the fathers at the councils were concerned not about the intent of a controversial theology but about the actual effect that its formulation might have on the purity of faith and therefore the faithful's prospect for salvation.

Justinian emerges from his writings as an able theologian who not only had a sure grasp of the issues at stake but also the ability to discern what is essential for the faith and what is relative. The last paragraph of the *CF* is remarkable in this respect. Concluding this last of his major theological treatises, Justinian makes an appeal to the Monophysites (although he does not mention them by name) for union. He says that

¹⁰¹⁶ Kelly, pp. 290-291.

¹⁰¹⁷ A number of scholars see in Cyril's thought a development towards a less radical Alexandrine christology (e.g. Quasten, *Patrology* III, pp. 136-137; Grillmeier, *Christ* I, p. 415-417, 473-483).

¹⁰¹⁸ C. Dratsellas, *Questions on Christology of St. Cyril of Alexandria* (Athens: [no. pub.] 1974) (repr. from *Abba Salama* 6 (1974), 203-232).

after his stating of his doctrine with such clarity showing that the Chalcedonians share nothing with the Three Chapters, the Monophysites have no excuse to remain separated from the Church:

If anyone, after such a right confession [of faith] and condemnation of the heretics, which preserves the essence of the orthodox doctrine (*τῆς εὐσεβοῦς ἐννοίας σωζομένης*), separates himself from the holy Church of God fighting about 'terms' (*ὀνόματα*), 'syllables' (*σύλλαβαί*), or 'words' (*λέξεις*), as if our orthodoxy lies only in terms or words and not in 'real things' (*ἐν πράγμασι*), he, as one who rejoices in schisms, will have to defend himself and those whom he deceived or will deceive in front of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ in the Last Judgement.¹⁰¹⁹

Just like Leontius of Jerusalem, Justinian calls upon the Monophysites to look at the essentials of the faith and not cling to terms which are only relative. In Justinian's mind as well as in the mind of the great fathers of the Church and those of the Fifth Ecumenical Council, every definition serves a particular purpose (to fight a particular heresy) but cannot express the ultimate truth of the faith in its fullness.

¹⁰¹⁹ *CF, Schwartz, p. 168, 34-38.*

CHAPTER III

THE FIFTH ECUMENICAL COUNCIL

3.1 THE THREE CHAPTERS CONTROVERSY

Before examining the proceedings of the Fifth Ecumenical Council and its doctrinal definition, it is necessary to provide a brief account of the controversy that surrounded it.

As mentioned, in 544 Justinian issued an edict against the Three Chapters. The edict was received in the East with reservation owing to the fear that a condemnation of the Three Chapters, although theologically sound, might be understood as undermining the authority of the council of Chalcedon. Nonetheless, once the Patriarch of Constantinople, Menas (536-552) and the other eastern bishops who were residing in the capital were convinced that such a condemnation was by no means to undermine the authority of Chalcedon, they subscribed. The signatures of Zoilus of Alexandria and Peter of Jerusalem proved to be more difficult to obtain. Justinian had to call them to Constantinople and persuade them to subscribe by means unknown to us.¹⁰²⁰

The attitude of the western Church was completely different. The papal legate in Constantinople, Stephen, broke communion with Menas, whereas two other Western bishops who happened to be in the capital, Datius of Milan and Facundus of Hermiana, also strongly opposed the imperial initiative. Their example was followed by the majority of the Latin bishops and in particular those from the North Africa. As the African deacon, Fulgentius Ferrandus, points out the Western bishops were worried that a condemnation of the Three Chapters would imply a dispute of the decisions of Chalcedon, since the great council had restored them.¹⁰²¹ Also the condemnation of persons who had been long dead could be a bad precedent for the future.¹⁰²²

Nonetheless, this explanation of the Western position does not seem to have been the sole motive for the Latin reaction against Justinian's initiative. By studying the works of the spokesmen of Justinian's opposition on this issue, such as Facundus' *Pro Defensione* and Liberatus' *Breviarum*, one can discern a sympathy for the Three Chapters not merely regarding their persons, but also their theology. These Latin theologians seem to consider the strict Antiochene ideas of the Three Chapters as more akin to the Leonine-Chalcedonian doctrine and thus could hardly welcome a revival of

¹⁰²⁰ Facundus (*Pro Defensione*, PL 67, 626AB) and Liberatus (*Breviarum*, ACO IV, 5, p. 141) speak of coercion; Schwartz, *Kyrillos*, p. 193.

¹⁰²¹ Fulgentius Ferrandus, *Epistola ad Pelagium et Anatolium diaconos urbis Romae*, PL 67, 922B.

¹⁰²² Ibid., PL 67, 927D.

Cyril's dominance now attempted by Justinian and his advisors. Facundus not only disagrees with the condemnation of the Three Chapters on the grounds of it being contrary to ecclesiastical practice (the dead should not be anathematised and the decisions of an ecumenical council cannot be changed) but he also considers the letter of Ibas orthodox, since it was ratified at Chalcedon,¹⁰²³ and defends the orthodoxy of Theodore of Mopsuestia.¹⁰²⁴

Pope Vigilius (537-555), of whom we spoke in the Introduction, asked the emperor to withdraw the edict for the sake of peace.¹⁰²⁵ The emperor refused to accept this insisting on the soundness of his initiative.¹⁰²⁶ Thus, conflict became inevitable. As Harnack remarks, the weakest ever Pope was to confront the most powerful-ever emperor.¹⁰²⁷

During the controversy Vigilius vacillated doing harm to the authority of the Roman See. At Justinian's demand, he left Rome for the capital to discuss the issue.¹⁰²⁸ His suffragans did not allow him much room for flexible negotiations though. Before his departure from Rome, his own clergy made it clear that they would not be happy if a condemnation of the Three Chapters was agreed in the capital. The same mood was prevalent among the bishops of Africa and Sardinia who urged Vigilius not to succumb to the imperial demand.¹⁰²⁹ Upon his arrival to Constantinople and despite the magnificent reception that he was given, Vigilius proceeded to the daring move of excommunicating Menas,¹⁰³⁰ initiating the first temporary schism between the Western and Eastern Churches during the Three Chapters controversy.¹⁰³¹ The schism did not last long, as Vigilius soon changed his mind and accepted the condemnation of the Three Chapters.¹⁰³² At the same time he resumed communion with Menas.¹⁰³³ The emperor in

¹⁰²³ Facundus maintains that Chalcedon declared the Letter catholic (*catholicam judicavit*) (*Pro Defensione*, PL 67, 527B) and orthodox (*pronuntiavit orthodoxam*) (Ibid., PL 67, 561C).

¹⁰²⁴ Ibid., PL 67, 527B; 737ff.

¹⁰²⁵ Ibid., PL 67, 623B.

¹⁰²⁶ Facundus, *Libera contra Mocianum Scholasticum*, PL 67, 862A.

¹⁰²⁷ *History of Dogma*, IV, p. 248.

¹⁰²⁸ It is usually maintained that Vigilius was abducted by imperial troops. This impression is given among other sources by Facundus' phrase: *adductus est Romanus episcopus* (*Pro Defensione*, PL 67, 527B). Chrysos challenged this view. According to him, Vigilius left Rome in agreement with the emperor, to save himself and his throne from the imminent fall of the Italian capital to the Goths (17 October 546). Accordingly, Vigilius' journey to Constantinople should not be associated with the Three Chapters issue (*Ecclesiastical*, pp. 44-57).

¹⁰²⁹ Facundus, *Pro defensione*, IV, 3, 5. See Grillmeier, *Christ*, II, 2, p. 426.

¹⁰³⁰ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. by Carolus de Boor, 2 vols (Lipsiae: 1883-1884), I, p. 225, 13-17.

¹⁰³¹ Theophanes tells us that Menas reciprocated (*Chronographia*, p. 225, 18).

¹⁰³² As Justinian revealed later on in his letter to the fifth council, Vigilius assented to the condemnation of the Three Chapters but he asked the emperor to keep this secret in order that the reaction of Latin

turn accepted that a small council should be summoned which would consist of the bishops who were temporarily residing in the capital and had not subscribed to the edict. The emperor's aim was achieved; the bishops, mostly coming from the eastern provinces, agreed — according to Facundus, coercion was used¹⁰³⁴ — with the exception of the strong opponent of the imperial policy Facundus. At this point Facundus composed a draft (*Responsio*) of his later treatise *Pro Defensione Trium Capitulorum*.¹⁰³⁵

Despite the reaction of his bishops, Vigilius proceeded to write a declaration, known as *Iudicatum*¹⁰³⁶ (12 April 548). This condemned the Three Chapters, explaining, however, that this did not aim at disavowing Chalcedon. The *Iudicatum* caused a storm in the West which culminated with the decision of the African bishops to break communion with the Pope (550).¹⁰³⁷ Under the pressure of the events, Vigilius withdrew the *Judicatum* and, in accordance with the emperor, decided to convoke a general council which would aim at winning over the dissidents. Until such a council was summoned, however, it was agreed that nothing should be said or done by either side concerning the Three Chapters. To make sure that Vigilius would not change his mind again, Justinian made him promise in writing that he would not stop working toward the condemnation of the Three Chapters (15 August 550).¹⁰³⁸

In implementing the plan for the general council, Justinian invited the bishops of Africa and Illyricum to come to the capital, but only four African deputies accepted the invitation. Their initial refusal to sign is reported to have been overcome by means familiar to the imperial court. Reparatus, the bishop of Carthage, was accused of treason during the war against the Vandals and was sent to exile. In his stead there was appointed the deacon Primosus, after he had given promises that he would not oppose the imperial policy.¹⁰³⁹ Firmus, the bishop of Numidia is said to have been bribed to join the imperial party,¹⁰⁴⁰ whereas Primasius, the bishop of Adroumetium of the province of

bishops be avoided. Vigilius, said the emperor, expressed his consent in letters to him and Theodora. ACO, IV, 1, p. 184, 7-9.

¹⁰³³ According to Theophanes, Vigilius was persuaded by Theodora to reconcile with Menas (*Chronographia*, p. 225, 25).

¹⁰³⁴ Facundus, *C. Mocianum*, PL 67, 860D.

¹⁰³⁵ Hefele, IV, pp. 247-248.

¹⁰³⁶ The text of the 'Judicatum' has not survived in its entirety. Fragments of it are preserved in the Acts of the Fifth Ecumenical Council. ACO, IV, 1, pp. 11-12.

¹⁰³⁷ Facundus, *C. Mocianum*, PL 67, 863C.

¹⁰³⁸ This secret agreement was read out at the Fifth Ecumenical Council. ACO, IV, 1, pp. 198, 30-199, 20.

¹⁰³⁹ Hefele, IV, p. 268.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 268-269.

Byzacena, at first persistent on his refusal, later on exchanged his consent for the position of the primate of Byzacena.¹⁰⁴¹ Finally, the last of the deputies, Verecundus of Iounnum, also of the province of Byzacena, being the only one to remain steadfast to the African policy, was along with Pope Vigilius maltreated by the imperial authorities, and forced to take refuge in the Church of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon where he died.¹⁰⁴²

At the same time, Justinian took care to firm up his arguments against the Three Chapters. As we already saw, one of the main reasons the followers of the Three Chapters opposed his anathema against Theodore of Mopsuestia in particular (as we have seen Theodore was the only one of the Three Chapters who was personally anathematised by Justinian) was that the ecclesiastical canons disallowed the condemnation of persons who had died in ecclesiastical communion. To overcome this argument, Justinian summoned a local council in Cilicia II of Mopsuestia (May 550) with the task to investigate whether Theodore's name was on the diptychs of that Church.¹⁰⁴³ The result of the investigation was that Theodore's name had been struck out from the diptychs more than eighty years ago and had been replaced with that of Cyril of Alexandria.¹⁰⁴⁴ By the same token Justinian showed that Theodore had long been considered a heretic in his own see, and also that there is a precedent of a posthumous condemnation.

This result strengthened Justinian's position. He now tried anew to refute the arguments of the supporters of the Three Chapters and, in particular, those of Facundus. The whole of Christendom was again addressed with a new imperial edict (551)¹⁰⁴⁵ by which Justinian repeated the Cyrillian christological view and the need for a condemnation of the Nestorianizing Three Chapters.

This new initiative on the part of the emperor renewed the tension between the parties as it broke the agreement of no further action until the council was summoned. Theodore Ascidas and his colleagues helped the already delicate situation get out of control by striking from the diptychs the name of Zoilus of Alexandria and replacing it with that of his successor Apollinarius who was more willing to comply with the

¹⁰⁴¹ Ibid., p. 269. Chrysos rejects the correctness of this report arguing that while Primasius allegedly changed his mind in 552, in fact, he remained faithful to his refusal until the 14 May, 553 when Vigilius issued his *Constitutum* (of this we speak below). *Ecclesiastical*, p. 72.

¹⁰⁴² Hefele, loc. cit. According to Chrysos, Verecundus was eventually persuaded by Vigilius to join him as long as the *Judicatum* was withdrawn. *Ecclesiastical*, p. 72., n. 4.

¹⁰⁴³ For the minutes of that council see ACO, IV, 1, pp. 117, 5-130, 4; Mansi IX, 274-289.

¹⁰⁴⁴ ACO, IV, 1, p. 122, 21-29. Of course, Cyril was never a bishop of Mopsuestia, so this inclusion of his name in the diptychs must have been meant to show the complete rejection of Theodore by his own see.

¹⁰⁴⁵ See Part Two, Chapter II.

imperial policy. Subsequently, the Pope immediately excommunicated Ascidas (July 551).¹⁰⁴⁶ After this escalation of the conflict between the two parties, Vigilius fearing for his safety proceeded to a move with obvious symbolism. He fled his official residence in the Palace of Placidia and sought refuge in the basilica of St. Peter inside the Palace of *Hormisda*.¹⁰⁴⁷ There dramatic scenes took place when imperial soldiers tried to remove Vigilius by force. The Pope resisting grasped the pillars of the Holy Altar and, big and strong a man as he was, demolished them endangering his own life. It was only after the people who in the meantime had gathered inside the Church and appalled by this sight, shouted in anger against the soldiers that the latter abandoned their operation.¹⁰⁴⁸ Vigilius returned to his palace only to abandon it again a little later. The new refuge was again a symbolic one: the Church of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon. From that Church the Pope declared the excommunication of Ascidas and the Patriarch Menas (January 552), an act which amounted to the beginning of a new schism between the Greek and Latin Churches, the second during the Three Chapters Controversy.

The schism was healed only when Menas, Theodore Ascidas and a great number of Eastern bishops submitted to the Pope a confession of faith in which they declared their adherence to the decisions of the four ecumenical councils, agreed to withdraw what had been written with regard to the Three Chapters and, finally, asked Vigilius to forgive them for what had happened to him even though they denied that they were responsible for that.¹⁰⁴⁹

After the two parties were reconciled, it was to time for them to decide how there were going to solve the problem of Three Chapters. In a letter to Vigilius, the new Patriarch of Constantinople Eutychius (552-565, 577-582), took the initiative of asking for the convocation of a general council which would be presided over by the Pope.¹⁰⁵⁰ Vigilius responded joyfully. In his letter to Eutychius, he expressed his approval of the Patriarch's faith and his consent for the proposed council.¹⁰⁵¹ However, he set out one condition which would prove to be decisive for the course of the events: not only would he preside but also the members representing the Roman Church (i.e. he and his suffragans) would be as many as the rest of the participants (i.e. the other three

¹⁰⁴⁶ Vigilius, *Damnatio Theodori episcopi Caesareae Cappadociae*, Mansi IX, 58-61.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Vigilius, *Encyclica ad universam ecclesiam*, Mansi IX, 51.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Ibid., Mansi IX, 52.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Mansi IX, 62ff; Hefele, IV, pp. 285-286.

¹⁰⁵⁰ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 235-236; ACO, IV, 1, pp. 15-16; Mansi IX, 185A-188C.

¹⁰⁵¹ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 16-18.

Patriarchs and their suffragans).¹⁰⁵² That was against the Eastern conception of the equality of the five senior Patriarchates (Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem),¹⁰⁵³ and naturally Justinian insisted that each Patriarch be accompanied by equal number of bishops (3-5).¹⁰⁵⁴ As the two sides remained adamant to their proposals, the Pope decided not to take part in the council.

Fresh attempts to persuade Vigilius to change his mind, even after the council had started its business, were also unsuccessful. In particular, Vigilius was officially visited and invited to partake in the council twice by delegations consisting of the three Eastern Patriarchs participating in the council and a number of bishops (5th and 6th of May) and state officials (1st and 7th of May). The account of the bishops is interesting. According to them the Pope refused to participate in a council where Eastern bishops would be the majority.¹⁰⁵⁵ To that the delegates replied that it is not right on the part of the Pope to divide the one Church into 'Eastern' and 'Western'. Besides, in all the previous councils the papal throne was represented by few legates.¹⁰⁵⁶ The Pope insisted on his proposal for equal representation, in the sense, that from the Latin side it would be him and three of his bishops, whereas from the Eastern side the three Patriarchs and one bishop. The commission replied that apart from the fact that in Constantinople there were many bishops who would support the papal cause, it would be unfair to the three Eastern Patriarchs to be accompanied by only one bishop whereas the Pope alone by three. Besides, it would be improper to exclude so many bishops who are in the capital from a conference which wishes to have the authority of a general council. Moreover, they added, it is not becoming for the Pope to refuse to co-operate when he himself had condemned the *Three Chapters* both in writing and orally. Vigilius, again, was not convinced; yet, he committed himself to give his view on the whole issue in writing in

¹⁰⁵² The Pope uses the expression 'servata aequitate' (ACO, IV, 1, p. 18) which in the Greek version of his letter was translated rather vaguely as 'preserving the justice' (τοῦ δικαίου φυλαττομένου) (ACO, IV, 1, p. 238, 24). Chrysos maintains that the Pope was specifically asking for equal representation of the East and West in the council (*Ecclesiastical*, p. 93). This suggestion is challenged by Kalamaras who translates 'servata aequitate' as 'with calmness' or 'impartiality'. Thus he justifies Justinian's accusation against the Pope of being inconsistent on the grounds that Vigilius later asked for equal representation. (*Fifth*, p. 182, n. 55).

¹⁰⁵³ Justinian was the first Christian Roman ruler to legislate that the five senior Patriarchates are the supreme ecclesiastical authorities responsible for the protection of faith (Preface of the 109th *Novella*). See Chrysos, *Ecclesiastical*, p. 98.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Mansi IX, 64, 182.

¹⁰⁵⁵ ACO, IV, 1, p. 25.

¹⁰⁵⁶ *Ibid.* Here the commissioners deliberately overlook the fact the situation is now totally different than in the previous councils where the Catholic Church had to fight unanimously rejected heresies.

twenty days time. He added that should he fail to do so he would accept whatever the council will decide.¹⁰⁵⁷

Indeed, Vigilius explained his position in a treatise known as *Constitutum I*.¹⁰⁵⁸ In it, he examines most of the excerpts from Theodore's writings examined at the fifth council, and finds them heterodox indeed. However, he refuses to anathematise Theodore in name since none of the fathers has done so. Similarly he does not want Theodoret to be condemned because this would be an affront to the council of Chalcedon. However, he is willing to condemn the heretical doctrines attributed to him. As regards Ibas, the Pope says that he attacked Cyril because he had misinterpreted his Twelve Chapters, a mistake which he rectified later. Moreover, since Chalcedon rehabilitated him, his memory should remain unaffected. The *Constitutum* was ignored by both the council and the emperor.

The Pope's absence was in itself a canonical problem for the authority and catholicity of the council. However, the eastern bishops considered that since they had formally invited the Pope several times and he refused to participate, it was legitimate for them to continue the proceedings without him. In fact, in a second letter to the council (Act VII),¹⁰⁵⁹ Justinian asked the bishops to excommunicate the Pope for his refusal to condemn the Three Chapters (despite his initial promise that he would do that) and participate in the council. He made it clear, however, that this excommunication should not affect the respect which is due to the Church of Rome and the unity of the Church. The council agreed with this proposal and removed the name of the Pope from the diptychs. It is interesting, however, that the council, in its response to this intervention of the ruler in purely ecclesiastical matters, accepts the spirit of the imperial letter but does not excommunicate the Pope in name. Instead, the council says that it will do anything that it can to maintain the unity of the eastern Patriarchates with Rome.¹⁰⁶⁰ However, the conciliar anathema against those who defend the Letter of Ibas (Anathema XIV) is very likely to have been directed against Vigilius too.

Eventually, and after the council had finished its business the Pope changed his mind again. He wrote to Eutychius that Christ made him realise his mistake and now he subscribed to the condemnation of the Three Chapters.¹⁰⁶¹ We cannot be certain whether

¹⁰⁵⁷ ACO, IV, 1, p. 26.

¹⁰⁵⁸ *Constitutum de tribus capitulis*, Mansi, IX, 61-105.

¹⁰⁵⁹ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 201-202.

¹⁰⁶⁰ ACO, IV, 1, p. 202.

¹⁰⁶¹ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 245-247.

he was coerced to do so or convinced that the emperor was correct. His new position was made public through a new discourse, known as *Constitutum* II (24 February, 553).¹⁰⁶²

The decisions of the council, and Vigilius' inconsistent attitude exacerbated the situation in the West. Many bishops refused to accept the fifth council. Worse even, the bishops of Aquileia and Milan broke communion with Rome despite the efforts of Vigilius's successor, Pelagius I, to convince them for the orthodoxy of the fifth council. While opposition in other areas in the West was eventually overcome, the schism in Italy would not be healed before the time of Gregory the Great (d. 604).

Concluding this brief account of the Three Chapters Controversy, we must address the claim that the whole affair was set up by the emperor in order to achieve his aims, theological and political.¹⁰⁶³ It is true that the emperor, willing to solve the problem of the acceptance of Chalcedon, encouraged the ecclesiastical figures to condemn the Three Chapters. It cannot be proven, however, that he intimidated them, and, in particular, that he was personally responsible for the violent incident against Pope Vigilius.

It is also true that, to a great extent, he had pre-empted the decisions of the council. However, it usually escapes the attention of Justinian's critics that: a) unlike his predecessors, Basiliscus and Zeno, Justinian did not attempt to regulate the faith through imperial edicts, but referred the issue to an ecumenical council. b) Unlike his predecessors Constantine the Great at Nicaea (325) and Marcian at Chalcedon (451), Justinian did not take part in the council that he convened. In fact, he did not even allow his representatives to participate. When they had to convey a message to the council, they had to ask for permission to enter and when they had finished they were asked to leave before the council resumed its business.¹⁰⁶⁴ c) The influence he exerted was certainly not greater than that of Marcian and his representatives at Chalcedon (as we have seen Marcian did not accept the initial decision of the vast majority of the bishops, and warned them, that unless, Leonine terminology was used in the Definition the council would move to the West). And d) Justinian did not impose his doctrine on the

¹⁰⁶² *Constitutum pro damnatione trium capitulorum*, Mansi, IX, 455-488. O. de Urbina questions the authenticity of Vigilius' letter to Eutychius and the *Constitutum* II ('Quali sententia Tria Capitula e sede romana damnata sunt?' *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 33 (1967) 184-209). Chrysos refutes his arguments (*Ecclesiastical*, pp. 139-140).

¹⁰⁶³ See Introduction.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Chrysos, *Ecclesiastical*, p. 103.

Church. As Harnack observes, he simply satisfied the majority in the Church which was in favour of the Cyrillian interpretation of Chalcedon.¹⁰⁶⁵

Now we shall turn to the proceedings of the council emphasising on its theological work.

3.2 THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL

The Fifth Ecumenical council commenced its proceedings in the Church of St. Sophia, on the 5th of May 553. The list of its members includes the names of 152 bishops of whom 16 belonged to the Patriarchate of Rome (9 from Eastern Illyricum and 7 from Africa), 82 to that of Constantinople, 10 to that of Alexandria, 39 to that of Antioch, and 5 to that of Jerusalem. Present were the Patriarchs Eutychius of Constantinople, Apollinarius of Alexandria, and Domninus of Antioch, whereas Eustochius of Jerusalem was represented by legates. From the position of his name in the list of the members (1st) it can be assumed that, in the absence of Vigilius, Eutychius was the president of the council. However, all four Patriarchs must have been responsible for the process of the discussions.¹⁰⁶⁶

The first act of the council was to read Justinian's letter to the conciliar fathers (*Θεῖος Τύπος*).¹⁰⁶⁷ This letter is very interesting as it shows the emperor's motives for convening the council. After a brief mention of the previous councils and their importance, Justinian presents himself as a successor of the emperors who summoned them in caring or rather guarding the faith and the well being of the Church. Then he stresses that the main aim of his ecclesiastical policy is the restoration of the unity of the Church whose priests have been divided from the East as far the West because of the antipathy that was caused by the followers of Nestorius and Eutyches.¹⁰⁶⁸ He makes clear that he adheres to the decisions of Chalcedon which he tried to impose all over the Christian Empire, outlawing at the same time all those who opposed it. But, the Nestorians, Justinian goes on, remained active and this time they tried to introduce their doctrine through the writings of the *Three Chapters*. They refer to the letter of Ibas, in particular, which according to them was approved by Chalcedon, in order to prove that Nestorius and Theodore — so much praised by Ibas — were innocent.

¹⁰⁶⁵ *History of Dogma*, IV, p. 247.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Chrysos, *Ecclesiastical*, pp. 108-110.

¹⁰⁶⁷ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 8-14; A shorter Greek version of the letter is found in Georgios Kedrinis, *Synopsis Historion*, PG 121, 724C-729C, and Mansi IX, 581-588.

¹⁰⁶⁸ ACO, IV, 1, p. 10.

In order to halt this development, Justinian explains, he asked the bishops whether they would agree with a condemnation of the *Three Chapters*. Their response was positive and this applies to the Pope Vigilius as well. Then he gives an account of what had been said between him and the Pope and how the latter had changed his mind and decided not to take part in the council. According to Justinian, the Pope is answerable to the council, as taking an inconsistent stance towards the issue, one time condemning the *Three Chapters* and those who defend them¹⁰⁶⁹ and another refusing to participate in a council that would judge them.

Finally, Justinian concludes by urging the bishops to examine the problem of the *Three Chapters* properly and issue a verdict that would comply with the faith of the Catholic Church as proclaimed by the four Ecumenical councils and the Church fathers. It is interesting to note here that Justinian, suggests — as he did in his *Confessio* — that the Letter to Maris was not written by Ibas, and therefore Chalcedon, by exonerating him, did not endorse its blasphemous content.

Justinian's letter was the basis for the council's confession which was read in the third session. In it the fathers declared that they followed in all the faith that the Lord revealed to his disciples and that was preached and interpreted to the whole world by the fathers and especially those who gathered at the four councils. Whatever the latter along with the fathers have taught is to be held dear whereas whatever is contrary to them is to be condemned. In particular, and as regards the issue in question the fathers declared their adhesion to the teaching of Athanasius, Hilary, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, Augustine, Theophilus, John Chrysostom, Cyril, Leo, and Proclus. Those who do not agree with this faith of the Catholic and Apostolic Church rank themselves among the heretics and are justifiably anathematised.¹⁰⁷⁰

The Case of Theodore

In the fourth session (13 May) the council turned to the main business, the examination of the teaching of the *Three Chapters*. The first to be examined was Theodore of Mopsuestia. The main evidence against him was a florilegium consisting of 71 extracts from Theodore's *De incarnatione*, *Contra Apollinarium*, *Ad Baptizanos*, his commentaries on John, Acts, Luke, the Psalms, the Twelve Prophets etc. The compiler

¹⁰⁶⁹ In particular Pope Vigilius is supposed to have deposed the deacons of the Roman Church Rusticus and Sebastian as well as other clergymen of his jurisdiction. This piece of information comes from Justinian's letter to the council and was never challenged by the Pope. ACO, IV, 1, p. 12.

¹⁰⁷⁰ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 36-37.

of this collection was probably Eutychius of Constantinople, a fact which as we saw was enough for Theodore's supporters to discard the florilegium as fabricated.¹⁰⁷¹

The extracts (a characteristic sample of which we have examined in Part One, Chapter III) depict a radical duophysite christology, a christology of the 'assuming God' and the 'assumed man', the 'temple' and the 'one who dwells in it'. It is beyond the scope of this study to examine to what extent the extracts represented Theodore's doctrine. However, as they stood they certainly represented Nestorianism in its classic form and deserved to be condemned.

After the presentation of the 71 extracts the council studied a confession of faith attributed to Theodore.¹⁰⁷² The confession gives an orthodox exposition of the 'theologia' but its 'oikonomia' sounds Nestorian. Thus, the God-Logos, in order to save humankind, is said to have assumed a perfect man from the seed of David (ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος ἄνθρωπον εἴληφε τέλειον ἐκ σπέρματος ὄντα Ἀβραάμ καὶ Δαβίδ) with whom he is inseparably worshipped. This man who the God Logos conjoined (συνῆψε) to himself was the one who was born of the woman by the Holy Spirit, was subject to the law and experienced death. This assumption should not lead to the idea of two sons, for the man, though he is perfect and subsistent, partakes in the divine nature and, thereby, participates in the Sonship of the Logos who is the only proper Son:

We do not confess two Sons and two Lords, because there is one Son according to essence, the God-Logos, the only-begotten Son of God. With him is he [the man] united and as he partakes in the Sonship he shares in the Son's name and honor.

Commenting on Paul's conception of Christ as 'second Adam' Theodore remarks that this is said because Jesus of Nazareth — the assumed man — was of the same nature as the latter, although there was immense moral difference between them (ὅς [Ἰησοῦς] καὶ δεύτερος Ἀδὰμ κατὰ τὸν μακάριον καλεῖται Παῦλον, ὥς τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως ὑπάρχων τῷ Ἀδάμ). Jesus is also called 'second man' for he became the beginning of the 'second settlement' (δευτέρα κατάστασις), whereas the 'first man' was the cause of the previous settlement that is the state of pain, corruption and mortality. This *δευτέρα κατάστασις* is a *terminus technicus* in the doctrine of Theodore as representing the ultimate spiritual life, a life without pain and passibility.

¹⁰⁷¹ For the debate over the authenticity of the compilation see Part One, Chapter III.

¹⁰⁷² ACO, IV, 1, pp. 70-72 (Latin); ACO, I, 1, 7, pp. 97-100 (Greek). This confession of faith was sent by Nestorius a little before the council of Ephesus to a group of Quartodecimanists of Philadelphia in Lydia who wanted to return to orthodoxy. The same Creed was presented and condemned at the council of Ephesus. Facundus refuses that the Creed is Theodore's (PL 67, 588 CD). Cyril, however, had no doubt about that. *Ad Proclum*, PG 77, 345A.

The 'Theodorene Creed' was met with indignation by the conciliar fathers who shouted that it was a composition of the devil and declared their adhesion to the only Creed accepted as holy and infallible, that is the Nicene one. The council seemed ready to anathematise Theodore, but they undertook to examine the rest of the evidence before a final decision be made.

In the fifth session, the fathers focused on examining: a) how eminent fathers of the Church treated Theodore and his teaching, b) whether it is right to anathematise people who have departed in communion with the Church and especially a bishop who was considered by many as orthodox, and c) whether he is still in ecclesiastical communion.

The first patristic evidence brought against Theodore was, quite expectedly, from Cyril of Alexandria. From his *Against Theodore* nine passages were read, which contained first Theodore's position and then Cyril's answer. The two theologians persist with the basic ideas of the tradition they represent in a most manifest way: Theodore proclaims the idea of the 'assumption' of the human nature by the Logos without the latter appropriating any attributes of the former and *vice versa*. Cyril, on the other hand, attacks the idea of the two elements existing independently for this abolishes the foundations of his thought: that the Logos, in order to save humankind, and without ceasing to be what he was, 'became' man. Let us follow this 'dialogue' in some characteristic passages:

I. Theodore: 'If one wants to call by abuse the Son of God Son of David — because the temple where the Logos indwelt was from David — let him do so. And [if one also wants to call] the one who is from the seed of David Son of God by grace (*χάριτι*) and not according to nature (*φύσει*) let him do so...' ¹⁰⁷³

Cyril: '...He [Theodore] ends up speaking clearly of a duality of Sons... because if one gives something a name by abuse then that is not truly what is called to be...Therefore, if the Son of God is called man by abuse then he never became truly man. And if the one who is from the seed of David is Son and God by false acceptance, then he is neither God or Son naturally and truly...' ¹⁰⁷⁴

II. Theodore: '...When talking about the natural births, one should not consider the God-Logos as the Son of Mary. For the mortal gives birth to a naturally mortal;... The God-Logos did not undergo two births: one before ages and another in the last days; because from God he was born according to the nature, whereas from Mary he built his temple who was born of her...

¹⁰⁷³ ACO, IV, 1, p. 74.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Loc. cit.

When it comes to the Dispensation, it is possible to call God a man. Not because something like that has really happened, but because [God] assumed [the human nature]...¹⁰⁷⁵

Cyril: '...He turned against the Holy Writ clearly and unashamedly... Indeed he abolishes the Incarnation as a whole. And more or less like the Jews he says to Christ the Saviour of all: 'It is not for a good work that we stone you but for blasphemy; because you, being a man, make yourself God'[John 10, 33]'¹⁰⁷⁶

III. Theodore: The man who was born of Mary is Son by grace, whereas the God-Logos is Son by nature... It is sufficient for the body which came out of our nature — the one which participated to the Sonship by grace, and which also enjoyed glory and immortality — that it became the temple of the God-Logos...¹⁰⁷⁷

Cyril: 'If what is something by grace it is not so by nature and what is something by nature it is not so by grace, then, according to you, there are not two Sons, because, certainly, the one which is Son by grace, and not by nature, is not really Son. But he [the Son by grace] still has the possibility to exist in him — the Son by nature and not by grace, i.e. the God-Logos who is from the father — through the appropriation of the glory of the true adoption. But, in this case,... Jesus Christ ceased to be and to be called Son of God, through whom we are saved... Therefore, our faith is a faith in a man and not in the Son of God by nature and truth... Accordingly, if the one who says that Christ received the Sonship by grace is right, then [Christ] should be reckoned among the multitude of the sons, i.e. among us to whom the sonship... is granted by Christ himself according to his infinite mercy...'¹⁰⁷⁸

After the passages were read there followed the reading of a letter that the clergy of Armenia and Persia had sent to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Proclus, complaining about the spread of Nestorianism through Theodore's writings in their country.¹⁰⁷⁹ The feelings of these clerics towards the bishop of Mopsuestia are expressly shown at the outset of the letter where they call him 'a beast in human form'.¹⁰⁸⁰ Further down, Theodore is considered an 'offspring' of Paul of Samosata and is charged with ranking Jesus as equal to us men, the only difference being that he was granted special grace by God by which he was glorified.¹⁰⁸¹

From Proclus' answer to that letter, two passages were read, where the Patriarch condemns Theodore's teaching and warns the Armenians to keep away from missionaries who promote it.¹⁰⁸²

¹⁰⁷⁵ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 74-75.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Loc. cit.

¹⁰⁷⁷ ACO, IV, 1, p. 76.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Loc. cit.

¹⁰⁷⁹ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 83-85. This is the letter which caused Proclus to write his famous *Tomus ad Armenios*.

¹⁰⁸⁰ ACO, IV, 1, p. 83.

¹⁰⁸¹ ACO, IV, 1, p. 83.

¹⁰⁸² ACO, IV, 1, pp. 85-86.

Severe judgements against Theodore were also presented from letters of Cyril¹⁰⁸³ and Rabbulas,¹⁰⁸⁴ from Hesychius'¹⁰⁸⁵ Church History,¹⁰⁸⁶ from two laws of the emperors Theodosius and Valentinian,¹⁰⁸⁷ from letters of Theophilus of Alexandria¹⁰⁸⁸ and Gregory of Nyssa.¹⁰⁸⁹ Also passages from Theodoret of Cyrus' works were used to show that Theodore was indeed the heretic Cyril had described.¹⁰⁹⁰

Another issue that occupied the council was whether Cyril of Alexandria and Gregory of Nazianzus praised Theodore in their writings. A passage from Cyril's *Quod unus sit Christus* was read, where the Alexandrian, indeed, uses the phrase *bonus Theodorus* (καλὸς Θεόδωρος)¹⁰⁹¹ in praise of the latter's struggle against the Arians and the Eunomians. But the whole context of the passage makes clear that Cyril uses this expression in an effort to single out a positive aspect of a theologian whose christological doctrine is at large 'full of extreme impiety' (*ultimae impietatis plena*)¹⁰⁹² Of Gregory, also, six letters were read supposedly addressed to Theodore where he was praised and invited to a local Church festivity at Nazianzus.¹⁰⁹³ The Metropolitans who produced the letters to the council claimed that the letters were addressed to another Theodore, bishop of Tyana, whose jurisdiction Nazianzus belonged to.¹⁰⁹⁴ That was confirmed by Euphrantas, the bishop of Tyana at the time of the council — also one of its members — who read the names of his predecessors from the diptychs of his metropolis.¹⁰⁹⁵

Then, a crucial question was examined: Is it right to anathematise the dead? As we already saw, that was among the main arguments of the opponents of the imperial policy. Deacon Diodore, the spokesman of the committee responsible for the collection of necessary material produced two passages from Cyril's *Quod unus sit Christus* and *Letter to Martinianus*. In the first passage Cyril urges Christians to avoid those who

¹⁰⁸³ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 86-89.

¹⁰⁸⁴ ACO, IV, 1, p. 89.

¹⁰⁸⁵ A fifth century priest of Jerusalem.

¹⁰⁸⁶ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 90-91; also in PG, 86, 1031; 92, 948.

¹⁰⁸⁷ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 91-93. The first law condemns only Nestorius in name, whereas the second adds the names of Theodore, Theodoret, and Diodore. The fact that this second law has been preserved only in the minutes of the Fifth council led Devreesse to deny its authenticity and identify it with the first one. Devreesse, *Essai*, p. 236. Cf. Kalamaras, p. 325, n. 38 and p. 326, n. 39.

¹⁰⁸⁸ ACO, IV, 1, p. 93.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Loc. cit.

¹⁰⁹⁰ ACO, IV, 1, p. 94-96.

¹⁰⁹¹ ACO, IV, 1, p. 96.

¹⁰⁹² ACO, IV, 1, p. 97.

¹⁰⁹³ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 97-99.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Cf. Justinian *CF*, Schwartz, pp. 164, 34-166, 4.

¹⁰⁹⁵ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 99-100.

consider Christ a mere man whether they are alive or not,¹⁰⁹⁶ whereas, in the second, he reminds the recipients that the council of Ephesus condemned, along with Nestorius, all those who taught similarly either before or after him.¹⁰⁹⁷ Further evidence was produced by the African bishop Sextilian, the vicar of Primosus of Carthage. He submitted to the council extracts from letters of Augustine where the bishop of Hippo teaches that those who did not believe aright, if their impiety is proven and they had not been condemned while alive, should be anathematised even after death.¹⁰⁹⁸ Commenting on these passages Venignus, the bishop of Heraclea of Pelagonia, said that there is the precedent of a number of heretics who had been condemned by the Church posthumously (e. g. Valentinus, Markian,, Basileides, Eunomius and Apollinarius).¹⁰⁹⁹ Then, there followed a number of patristic passages affirming the need for an anathema against Theodore.

The next issue the council dealt with was whether Theodore had died in ecclesiastical communion. After they declared that one dies in ecclesiastical communion only if he keeps and proclaims the ecclesiastical doctrines until his death,¹¹⁰⁰ the fathers proceeded to the reading of the minutes of the synod of Mopsuestia (550), which, as we have seen, was summoned by Justinian to examine whether Theodore's name was in the diptychs of his own Church.¹¹⁰¹ From the minutes it was shown that Theodore's name had been struck out of the diptychs more than eighty years ago and had been replaced with that of Cyril.

The foregoing evidence was deemed sufficient for the council to declare an anathema upon Theodore, but it reserved its final decision for a later stage.

The Case of Theodoret

In the same (fifth) session the council examined the case of Theodoret of Cyrus. Of his writings the ones that particularly interested the fathers were those that he wrote against Cyril and his *Twelve Anathemas* and in defence of Theodore and Nestorius.

Again the evidence against this theologian focused on his rejection of the hypostatic union which would allow one to say that the Virgin gave birth to the Logos. The human attributes of Christ are exclusively predicated of his human nature and the divine of his divine nature. Theodoret uses sometimes so strict Antiochene language that

¹⁰⁹⁶ ACO, IV, 1, p. 101.

¹⁰⁹⁷ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 101-102; PG 77, 293C-296A.

¹⁰⁹⁸ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 101-102; Cf. Justinian *CTC*, Schwartz, p. 124, 14-17; *CF*, Schwartz, p. 166, 26-35.

¹⁰⁹⁹ ACO, IV, 1, p. 104. Cf. Justinian *CF*, Schwartz, p. 122, 32-38.

¹¹⁰⁰ Cf. Justinian, *CF*, Schwartz, pp. 160, 35-37.

¹¹⁰¹ See Part Two, Chapter II.

one could justify the accusation that he recognises an independent human subject in Christ.

After quoting Theodoret's answers to the first, second, fourth and tenth Anathema which we have already seen,¹¹⁰² the council referred to Theodoret's letter *Ad eos qui in Euphratesia*.¹¹⁰³ At the beginning of the letter the bishop of Cyrus reproaches the council of Ephesus I for accepting the *Twelve Anathemas*, a work originating 'from the bitter root of Apollinarius' but also akin to the doctrine of Arius, Eunomius, Valentine and Marcian.¹¹⁰⁴ Analysing the main points of Cyril's controversial work, Theodoret launches a bitter attack against the Alexandrian. In particular, commenting on the first Anathema, he accuses him of teaching that the Logos was changed into flesh (*αὐτὸν εἰς σάρκα μεταβληθῆναι διδάσκων*)¹¹⁰⁵ and that the Saviour assumed a man only in belief (*δοκῆσει*) and imagination (*φαντασίᾳ*).¹¹⁰⁶

The council's attention was also drawn to a group of other letters of Theodoret in which he expresses his admiration and support to Nestorius.¹¹⁰⁷ Writing to Nestorius himself he explains why he accepted the *Formulary of Reunion* whereas in a letter allegedly sent to John of Antioch Theodoret reveals an unusual animosity to Cyril which seems to have carried him so far away as to rejoice for his death.¹¹⁰⁸

After the completion of the reading of the evidence, the council expressed its admiration for the accuracy of the council of Chalcedon which on the hand recognised Theodoret's blasphemies, and on the other accepted him after he had anathematised Nestorius and his 'blasphemies'.¹¹⁰⁹

The fifth session was closed with the council arranging that the letter of Ibas, the last of the *Three Chapters* be examined in the next session.¹¹¹⁰

The Case of Ibas

The sixth session started with the reading of the Letter of Ibas.¹¹¹¹ Following that, a letter of Proclus of Constantinople to John of Antioch was brought forward according to which Ibas of Edessa caused discontent among his flock as he promoted Nestorian

¹¹⁰² See Part One, Chapter III.

¹¹⁰³ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 131-132; PG 83, 1416B-1433A.

¹¹⁰⁴ ACO, IV, 1, p. 132; PG 83, 1417A.

¹¹⁰⁵ Loc. cit..

¹¹⁰⁶ PG 83, 1417B.

¹¹⁰⁷ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 132-136.

¹¹⁰⁸ The letter could not have been sent to John of Antioch since he died before Cyril. It is either spurious or was written to Domnus of Antioch. ACO IV, 1, p. 135.

¹¹⁰⁹ ACO, IV, 1, p. 136.

¹¹¹⁰ Loc. cit.

¹¹¹¹ See Part One, Chapter III and Appendix.

ideas. In particular Ibas was accused in front of Proclus to have taught the idea of 'two Sons' (one eternal and one of late), in other words that Christ was different than the Logos. As a result of this accusation, Proclus requested that John of Antioch ask Ibas to declare clearly what his doctrine is and, if he is orthodox, to anathematise the Nestorian doctrine.¹¹¹²

Next, Theodore Ascidas and three other bishops reviewed Ibas' case. They started by mentioning the complaints by clerics and citizens of Edessa that Ibas was teaching the doctrines of Nestorius through the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia. The bishops then gave an account of what happened at the Synod of Tyre where, they pointed out, Ibas denied that the letter to Maris was his. Ibas, according to this account, was asked, when arriving to Edessa, to declare that the council of Ephesus I was of the same authority as that of Nicaea. Having failed to do so, the bishops went on, he was deposed together with Domnus of Antioch.¹¹¹³ Here, it should be noticed, the bishops did not mention that Ibas was not deposed by a canonical body but by the 'Robber council'.¹¹¹⁴

Then an account of what happened at Chalcedon was given, according to which, Ibas tried to avoid responsibility for the letter and the other charges brought against him by appealing to a statement by the clergy of Edessa in which he was commended.¹¹¹⁵ But the council, the bishops explained, was unfavourable to Ibas, despite the opposite opinion of those who maintain that the council accepted his letter.¹¹¹⁶ Ibas' supporters held that among the fathers at Chalcedon there had been voices of support to Ibas which the former take as an approval of the Letter. But those, Ascidas and his committee explained, were very few and not entirely supportive; for even these affirmed the decisions of the council of Tyre which had condemned the Letter to Maris. In particular, the Chalcedonian fathers, Thalassius of Caesarea, John of Sevastia, Seleucus of Amaseia and others spoke in favour of Ibas' restoration, but only on the condition that he would clearly denounce the charges brought against him, including, of course, the primary charge i.e. that he wrote the Letter to Maris. Then the bishops referred to the testimony of the Chalcedonian father, Eunomius of Nicomedia, to whom the opposition particularly referred as one who supported Ibas. According to Eunomius' testimony Ibas proved to be innocent as he had denounced what he had been accused of holding.

¹¹¹² ACO, IV, 1, pp. 140-143.

¹¹¹³ ACO, IV, 1, p. 144.

¹¹¹⁴ Cf. Hefele, IV, p. 312.

¹¹¹⁵ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 144-145.

¹¹¹⁶ Obviously, the bishops mean Facundus and the others who wrote in defense of the *Three Chapters*.

Therefore Ibas was worthy of being reinstated as long as he denounced Nestorius, Eutyches, and accepted the *Tome* of Leo and the council of Chalcedon.¹¹¹⁷

There followed a quotation of the unanimous demand at the council of Chalcedon: 'Let Ibas anathematise Nestorius and Eutyches. Let him anathematise Nestorius. Let him anathematise his doctrine.'¹¹¹⁸

In order to clearly prove that the Letter to Maris was unfair to Cyril and, in fact, heretical, the bishops quoted the following documents:¹¹¹⁹

1. The Second Letter of Cyril to Nestorius (*Obloquuntur*),
2. From the minutes of Ephesus I, the part where the council approves of Cyril's Second Letter as an orthodox confession of faith,
3. The answer of Nestorius to Cyril, where the former refutes Cyril's basic ideas (the Logos' becoming flesh, his two births) and firmly defends his (the difference of the natures, Logos immutability and impassibility, the idea of the human nature being a 'temple').¹¹²⁰
4. From the minutes of Ephesus I, the judgement of the conciliar fathers that Nestorius' faith was contrary to the faith of Nicaea, and their anathema upon him and his doctrine.
5. The letter of Pope Celestine to Nestorius where the former rebukes the Patriarch of Constantinople for his ideas calling them 'infidel innovation'.
6. The third letter of Cyril to Nestorius (*cum Salvator*) together with the attached *Twelve Anathemas*.
7. From the minutes of the second session of the council of Chalcedon they read the demand of the imperial delegates that the bishops declare the true faith,
8. Leo's *Tome*.
9. From the same session of the Chalcedonian council, the bishops quoted the suggestion of Atticus of Nicopolis that, together with Leo's *Tome*, Cyril's *Third Letter to Nestorius* along with the *Twelve Anathemas* should be used as a criterion of orthodoxy for the final declaration of the council. His suggestion was unanimously accepted. This testimony, we think, is very significant as it shows that, despite the strong opposition of the Antiochenes, Cyril's *Twelve Anathemas* were not rejected by Chalcedon.

¹¹¹⁷ ACO, IV, 1, p. 146.

¹¹¹⁸ ACO, IV, 1, p. 146. See Part One, Chapter IV.

¹¹¹⁹ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 147ff.

¹¹²⁰ ACO, I, 1, 1, pp. 29-32.

10. Finally, and after some more testimonies from the Chalcedonian minutes, the committee brought forward the Chalcedonian definition, together with the Creeds of Nicaea and Constantinople.

Having all these important testimonies been presented, it was time for the crucial question: Was Ibas' Letter to Maris compatible with the faith of the Church as stated in the foregoing declarations and, in particular, to the Chalcedonian Definition? For this purpose, deacon and notary Thomas, read a document comparing utterances from the Chalcedonian Definition with statements of the Letter to Maris. The most important of them are as follows:¹¹²¹

1. The Chalcedonian Definition proclaims that the God-Logos was incarnate and became man; and that our Lord Jesus Christ is one of the Holy Trinity (*qui est dominus noster Iesus Christus, unus de sancta trinitate*).¹¹²² The Letter, instead, calls those who confess that the God-Logos was incarnate and became man heretics and Apollinarians.¹¹²³
2. The council of Chalcedon proclaims that the Holy Virgin was Theotokos,¹¹²⁴ whereas the Letter denies that.¹¹²⁵
3. Chalcedon demanded that everyone should follow the Definition of Ephesus I and anathematise Nestorius. The Letter, on the contrary, reproaches Ephesus I and defends Nestorius.¹¹²⁶
4. The council speaks of Cyril as of a man of 'holy memory' and calls him 'its teacher'; the Letter calls him heretic and Apollinarian rejecting his doctrine of the hypostatic union and the *communicatio idiomatum*. But the fathers at Chalcedon declared that they believe as Cyril taught and anathematised those who do not believe the same.
5. The fathers of the Church whom the council of Chalcedon followed spoke of two natures in order to stress the difference between the natures; but at the same they confess their union in one hypostasis, who is the one Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God who was incarnate and became man. The Letter, on the contrary, while speaking of two natures, one power, one person, and one Son, does not confess that the God-

¹¹²¹ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 178ff.

¹¹²² The Definition does not use exactly this expression, but states that Jesus Christ was 'truly God...consubstantial with the Father according to his divinity.' ACO, II, 1, 2, p. 129.

¹¹²³ See Appendix, Letter to Maris, § IV.

¹¹²⁴ 'We confess one and the same Son our Lord Jesus Christ...born of the Virgin Mary, the Theotokos according to his divinity.' ACO, II, 1, 2, p. 129.

¹¹²⁵ See Appendix, Letter to Maris, § IV and V.

¹¹²⁶ See Appendix, Letter to Maris, § VI.

Logos was incarnate and became man, i.e. that the union according to hypostasis took place.

6. Like Nestorius, the Letter urges us to confess the Temple and the one who dwells in it, which clearly introduces *two persons* in Christ.¹¹²⁷ It also, like Theodore and Nestorius speaks of one common 'power' in Christ which unites the two natures. But this is denounced by the fathers who accepted only a natural union of the Logos to the rational flesh in one hypostasis.

This evidence was deemed sufficient by the bishops to declare the Letter contrary to the Chalcedonian Definition. This is why, the bishops said, the Chalcedonian fathers demanded that Ibas should anathematise Nestorius and sign the Definition, thus, rejecting what the Letter defended. Ibas was accepted only after he had repented and accepted the Chalcedonian Definition.

The session ended with the bishops exclaiming: 'We all say so; the letter is heretical; we all anathematise it; the letter is contrary to the Definition (of Chalcedon); whoever accepts it does not confess that the God-Logos became man; whoever accepts it rejects the holy fathers of Chalcedon.'¹¹²⁸

The Definition of the Council

In the eighth and last session the council declared its sentence which had been already prepared probably by Eutychius of Constantinople and Theodore Ascidas.¹¹²⁹ After declaring their adhesion to the previous three ecumenical councils, the bishops quite expectedly, condemned the *Three Chapters*.¹¹³⁰ At the end of their sentence they attached their confession of faith in the form of fourteen anathemas. As we shall see, the fathers accepted almost as a whole the thirteen anathemas of Justinian but this does not necessarily mean that they obediently submitted to his will as is usually maintained. The meticulous work of the council showed the appropriateness of the emperor's initiative. However, they made slight but important amendments to Justinian's proposal.

The Fourteen Doctrinal Chapters of the Council

Anathema I:

If anyone does not confess that the physis or ousia of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit is one, as also the power and the authority; [if anyone does not confess] a consubstantial Trinity, one Godhead worshipped in three

¹¹²⁷ See Appendix, Letter to Maris, § IV and V.

¹¹²⁸ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 181-182.

¹¹²⁹ Hefele, IV, p. 326.

¹¹³⁰ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 208-215.

hypostases,¹¹³¹ 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; and one Holy Spirit in whom are all things.¹¹³²

The fathers start their Definition by stating the true faith regarding the trinitarian doctrine as a presupposition for understanding rightly the christological one. Like Justinian and the other 'neo-Chalcedonians', they clarify the meaning of terms: *physis* is identified with *ousia*, and *hypostasis* with *prosopon*. The two terms, according to the Cappadocian teaching, should be clearly distinguished, the former denoting the common property of the persons of the holy Trinity whereas the latter their distinctive way of being. This distinction is very important for describing the existence of the two natures yet one hypostasis in Christ.

Anathema II:

If anyone does not confess that the God-Logos had two births; the one before all ages from the Father without time and without body; and the other in the last days when the Self-same [the Logos] came down from heaven and was made man of the holy and glorious Theotokos and ever Virgin Mary and was born of her: let him be anathema.¹¹³³

The second anathema touches probably the most crucial issue of the Nestorian and the Three Chapters controversy. Theodore and Nestorius rejected the double birth and the double consubstantiality of the God-Logos. The one who was born of Mary in the last days was the assumed man, i.e. Christ. As we have seen, according to Theodore it was impossible for God to be born of Mary.

The fathers here fully endorse the title Theotokos (*dei genetrix*) with all its christological implications. It is also interesting that they also give Mary the name Ever-Virgin (*Ἀειπάρθενος*, *semper virgin*). The idea that the Virgin was Virgin before, during, and after the Incarnation had already been proclaimed by Athanasius¹¹³⁴ and — as Kalamaras has pointed out¹¹³⁵ — the council of Chalcedon in its address to the emperor Marcian.¹¹³⁶

¹¹³¹ The Latin text of the minutes translates 'hypostasis' by *subsistentia* ('subsistence') and not *substantia* ('substance') as it had been customary before. This very important clarification removed the ambiguity that existed in Latin Triadology where *substance* had been the term for both 'essence' and 'hypostasis'. Even more importantly, for the first time in an ecumenical decree the whole Trinity is called consubstantial. Nicea had called the Son consubstantial with the Father; the Fifth Ecumenical Council completed the work of the Second — which had declared the Divinity of the Holy Spirit — by proclaiming the consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit with the Father. See Margerie, Bertrand de, *The Christian Trinity in History I*, trans. by Edmund J. Fortman (Still River, Mass., 1982), pp. 130-31.

¹¹³² ACO, IV, 1, p. 215, 9-13 (Latin); Ibid., p. 240, 3-7 (Greek).

¹¹³³ ACO, IV, 1, p. 215, 15-18 (Latin); Ibid., p. 240, 8-11 (Greek).

¹¹³⁴ *C. Arianos*, PG 26, 296B.

¹¹³⁵ *Fifth*, p. 587.

¹¹³⁶ ACO, II, 1, 3, p. 112.

Anathema III:

If anyone says that the God-Logos who performed miracles is one and the Christ who suffered is another; or [if anyone] says that the God-Logos coexisted with Christ who was born of the woman or was in him as one person in another, but that he was not the one and the same our Lord Jesus Christ the God-Logos incarnate and made man, and that his miracles and sufferings which he voluntarily endured in the flesh were not of the same person: let him be anathema.¹¹³⁷

This is a *verbatim* reiteration of Justinian's third anathema (CF).¹¹³⁸ The affirmation that Christ is the Logos himself is the greatest contribution of the fifth council to christological doctrine. In Christ there is only one hypostasis or prosopon, that of the Logos. The bishops defending the oneness of the person or hypostasis of Christ anathematise the Theodorene/Nestorian division of the one Christ into two subjects of attribution: the God-Logos and the man Christ. Therefore, like Cyril, they predicate all names and actions, both divine and human, mentioned in the Bible about Jesus, of the Logos. Gregory Nazianzen's antithesis between 'one person' and 'another person' (*ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος*) on the one hand, and 'one thing' and 'another thing' (*ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο*) on the other, so often employed by Justinian and the other 'neo-Chalcedonians' is used here too.

Anathema IV:

If anyone says that the union of the God-Logos to man was effected according to grace (*κατὰ χάριν*) or energy (*κατ' ἐνέργειαν*) or equality (*κατ' ἰσοτιμίαν*) or authority (*κατὰ αὐθεντίαν*) or relation (*κατὰ σχέσιν*) or effect (*κατὰ ἀναφοράν*) or power (*κατὰ δύναμιν*) or good will (*κατ' εὐδοκίαν*), in the sense that the God-Logos was pleased with the man because the latter believed rightly about Him, as says the senseless Theodore, or [if anyone says that this union was effected] according to the likeness of the names (*καθ' ὁμωνυμίαν*) as the Nestorians understand, who call the God-Logos Jesus and Christ and the man [they call] separately Christ and Son, and thereby they evidently name two persons, only disingenuously confessing one Person and one Christ as far as the title [naming], the honour, the dignity and the worship are concerned. If anyone also does not confess as the holy Fathers taught, that the union of the God-Logos was made to flesh animated with rational and intellectual soul by way of composition (*κατὰ σύνθεσιν*), that is according to hypostasis (*καθ' ὑπόστασιν*), and that therefore the Logos' hypostasis is one, that is the Lord Jesus Christ, one of the Holy Trinity: let him be anathema. For as the union is understood in various ways, those who follow the impiety of Apollinarius and Eutyches, believe in the union according to confusion, proposing, thus, the elimination of the parts which came together. On the other hand, those who hold the ideas of Theodore and Nestorius

¹¹³⁷ ACO, IV, 1, p. 215, 20-24; Ibid., p. 240, 12-16.

¹¹³⁸ CF, Schwartz, p. 148, 24-28.

rejoicing in the division of the natures introduce a relative union. Nevertheless, the Holy Church of God rejecting the impiety of both heresies, confesses the union of the God-Logos to the flesh according to composition which means according to hypostasis. For the union according to composition, with regard to the mystery of Christ, not only preserves the coming together parts unconfused, but also allows no separation.¹¹³⁹

In the fourth anathema, the council explains its understanding of the union. Almost all the modes of the union proposed by Theodore¹¹⁴⁰ are condemned. The Apollinarian and Eutychian union of confusion is also condemned. Instead, the 'holy Church of God' confesses that the Logos was united to flesh ensouled with rational and intellectual soul 'according to synthesis' that is 'according to hypostasis'. The union 'according to synthesis', developed by the 'neo-Chalcedonians' and Justinian, is here proclaimed a doctrine of the Church. Almost repeating Justinian's words, the council proclaims that the advantage of the union 'according to synthesis is that it preserves the two united elements unconfused and at the same time excludes division.'¹¹⁴¹ This is why Christ is one hypostasis, that of the Logos and therefore, one of the Holy Trinity.

Anathema V:

If anyone understands the expression 'one hypostasis of our Lord Jesus Christ' in this sense, that it may imply the existence of many hypostases, and [if that person] attempts, thus, to introduce into the mystery of Christ two hypostases, that is two persons, and he calls these two persons one person according to dignity and honour and worship, as Theodore and Nestorius insanely wrote, and calumniate the Holy council of Chalcedon that it allegedly made use of the expression of the one hypostasis in that impious sense; and if that person does not confess that the God-Logos united himself to flesh according to hypostasis, and therefore that his hypostasis is one, that is his person is one, and also that the holy council of Chalcedon professed in the same way that the hypostasis of our Lord Jesus Christ is one: let him be anathema. For since one of the Holy Trinity has been made man viz.: the God-Logos, the Holy Trinity has not been increased by the addition of another person or hypostasis.¹¹⁴²

The fifth anathema clarifies the Chalcedonian Definition. Chalcedon's one hypostasis should be understood in a very strict sense: it is the one hypostasis of the incarnate Logos who is Christ. It is the same one hypostasis of the Logos who was united to human flesh. In Christ, then, there cannot be two hypostases or prosopa. Because Christ's hypostasis and prosopon is the hypostasis and prosopon of the Logos, no other hypostasis or prosopon was added to the Trinity.

¹¹³⁹ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 215, 26-216, 15 (Latin); Ibid., pp. 240, 17-241, 15 (Greek).

¹¹⁴⁰ Cf. Theodore, *Ad Domnum*, PG 66, 1012C.

¹¹⁴¹ Cf. Justinian, *CF*, Schwartz, p. 134, 32-33.

¹¹⁴² ACO, IV, 1, p. 216, 17-27 (Latin); Ibid., p. 241, 16-26 (Greek).

Anathema VI:

If anyone calls the holy glorious and ever –Virgin Mary Theotokos not truly but in a false acceptation (*καταχρηστικῶς*) or in a relative sense (*κατὰ ἀναφοράν*) as if a mere man was born and not that the God –Logos was incarnate of her; and [if anyone does so] believing that the birth of the man is referred to the God –Logos as he was united to the man who was born; and if anyone calumniates the holy council of Chalcedon as though it had called the Virgin Theotokos in this impious sense of Theodore; or if anyone calls her the mother of a man (*Ἀνθρωποτόκος*) or the mother of Christ (*Χριστοτόκος*) as if Christ was not God, or does not confess that she is exactly and truly Theotokos, because the God-Logos who was born of the Father before all ages in the last days was incarnate of her, and that in the same sense the holy council of Chalcedon reverently acknowledged her to be the mother of God, let him be anathema.¹¹⁴³

Theodore's idea that Mary can be called Theotokos only 'in a relative sense' (*τῇ ἀναφορᾷ*) is clearly condemned as implying that Christ was not God. Since Christ is the Logos himself, Mary can be called Theotokos 'exactly' (*κυρίως*) and 'truly' (*κατ' ἀλήθειαν*). In other words, by 'Theotokos' one should not understand that Mary gave birth to a mere man to whom the Logos united himself, but that the eternal God-Logos himself became incarnate of her. Very importantly the council states that it was in this sense that Chalcedon called Mary 'Theotokos'.

Anathema VII:

If anyone using the expression in two natures (*ἐν δύο φύσεσιν*), does not confess that our one Lord Jesus Christ has been revealed in divinity and humanity defining thereby the difference of the natures, out of which the ineffable union was effected unconfusedly, without the Logos having turned into the nature of the flesh, nor the flesh having changed into the nature of the Logos; for each remains what it is according to its nature as the union is hypostatic. But if that person uses this expression with regard to the mystery of Christ so as to divide into parts; or if that person, referring to our one Lord Jesus Christ the incarnate God-Logos, professes the number of the natures [two], out of which he was composed, without understanding their difference as existing only in contemplation (*τῇ θεωρίᾳ μόνῃ*) — although the difference is not abolished because of the union for one is composed of the two and the two are in one — but that person uses the number [two] in the sense that the natures are separated and self-existent, let him be anathema.¹¹⁴⁴

In the seventh anathema, Chalcedon is clearly affirmed: the one Christ exists 'in two natures', divinity and humanity. The difference of the natures was not abolished because of the union but both remained unchanged. Yet this 'in two natures' does not mean that the natures should be construed as separated (*κεχωρισμέναι*) and 'idihypostatic'

¹¹⁴³ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 216, 29-217, 5 (Latin); Ibid., p. 241, 27-37 (Greek).

¹¹⁴⁴ ACO, IV, 1, p. 217, 7-16 (Latin); Ibid., p. 242, 1-11 (Greek)

(self-existent, *ἰδιοὑπόστατοι*) which obviously divides the one Christ into two. Rather, this number 'two' means to show the difference (*διαφορά*) of the two natures in which Christ exists. As a safeguard against a division of the one Christ the council demands that this 'difference' should be seen in the sense of Cyril, i.e. only 'in contemplation' (*τῇ θεωρίᾳ μόνῃ*).¹¹⁴⁵

Anathema VIII:

If anyone confessing that the union was made out of two natures or that [after the union] there is one nature of the God-Logos incarnate does not understand them in this sense, that of the divine and the human nature being united hypostatically, one Christ was accomplished, as the holy fathers have taught; but if that person using these expressions tries to introduce the idea that in Christ there is one nature or essence [ousia] for both the divinity and his flesh, let him be anathema. For when we say that the only-begotten Logos was united [to humanity] according to hypostasis, we do not mean that there was made any confusion of the natures, but rather each nature remaining what it was, we understand that the Logos was united to flesh. This is why there is one Christ, both God and man, the same being consubstantial with the Father according to divinity and the same being consubstantial with us according to humanity. They are also rejected and anathematised by the Church of God, who divide into two parts or separate the mystery of Christ, that is the mystery of the divine dispensation, or who introduce confusion into that mystery.¹¹⁴⁶

The eighth anathema clarifies the formula 'out of two physēs' and 'one physis'. The council does not reject them as long as they are properly understood. The two formulae do not mean that the union resulted in one physis in the sense of one ousia. They rather mean that from the hypostatic union of the two ousiai one Christ was formed. Obviously it is implied that when Cyril said 'one physis', he meant 'one hypostasis'. Yet the council says 'one Christ' for reasons of clarity, since earlier it decreed that physis and hypostasis be not used synonymously. Significantly the council does not demand a simultaneous use of the 'one physis' and 'in two physēs' formulae as a condition of orthodoxy.

The fathers also explain that the hypostatic union which they proclaim does not imply a confusion of the natures. Because of the hypostatic union both one Christ was effected and the natures remained unchanged. In the same anathema, the council proclaims the Cyrillian and Chalcedonian doctrine of Christ's double consubstantiality.

Anathema IX:

If anyone says that Christ should be worshipped in two natures, meaning thereby to introduce two adorations, one especially for God and another

¹¹⁴⁵ Cyril, *Ad Acacium*, PG 77, 193D.

¹¹⁴⁶ ACO, IV, 1, p. 217, 18-29 (Latin); Ibid., p. 242, 12-23 (Greek).

especially for the man,¹¹⁴⁷ or if anyone worships Christ in such a way as to imply the abolition of the flesh or the confusion of the divinity and the humanity speaking thus monstrously of one nature (physis) or essence (ousia), and does not worship the God-Logos incarnate along with his own flesh by one veneration, as the Church of God inherited from the beginning, let him be anathema.¹¹⁴⁸

In the ninth anathema, the council applies its doctrinal faith to the worship of the Church:

Anathema X:

If anyone does not confess that our Lord Jesus Christ who was crucified in his flesh is true God and Lord of Glory and one of the Holy Trinity, let him be anathema.¹¹⁴⁹

In the tenth anathema, the council sanctions the 'theopaschite' theology of the 'neo-Chalcedonians'. The wording of this formula, however, is careful and does not provoke as much as the *unus de (ex) trinitate crucifixus est* would do.

The expression 'Lord of Glory' refers to the biblical foundation of the council's 'theopaschism' ('for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory;' [1 Cor. 2. 8]). This 'theopaschism' is also founded in the Nicene Creed: 'the Son of God...who was crucified (σταυρωθέντα) for us under Pontius Pilate and suffered (παθόντα) and was buried.' This idea is also found in the writings of fathers such as Gregory Nazianzen: 'We needed a God made flesh and put to death' (ἐδεήθημεν Θεοῦ σαρκουμένου καὶ νεκρουμένου ἵνα ζήσωμεν).¹¹⁵⁰ As we have seen, it is also central in the teaching of Cyril¹¹⁵¹ and Proclus of Constantinople.¹¹⁵²

Cyril in his *Second Letter to Nestorius (Obloquuntur)* clearly explains what he meant by saying that the God-Logos 'suffered in the flesh'. The key to understanding the Logos' 'suffering' is Cyril's hypostatic union. As the God-Logos united the human nature (τὸ ἀνθρώπινον) in his own hypostasis, he appropriated what was proper to his own flesh. Thus, we can say that he was born, died or resurrected because he appropriated the birth, the death or the resurrection of his own flesh. That, Cyril explains, does not mean that the Logos ceased to be impassible; but since he was the only subject in Christ and as the human element was naturally his, what was happening

¹¹⁴⁷ Nestorius specifically denied the charge that he divided the worship: 'I distinguish the natures but I unite them in worship' (Loofs, *Nestoriana*, p. 262).

¹¹⁴⁸ ACO, IV, 1, p. 217, 31-218, 3 (Latin); Ibid., p. 242, 24-29 (Greek).

¹¹⁴⁹ ACO, IV, 1, p. 218, 5-6 (Latin); Ibid., p. 242, 30-31 (Greek).

¹¹⁵⁰ *In sanctum Pascha*, PG 36, 661C. Cited by Meyendorff, *Christ*, p. 71.

¹¹⁵¹ *Twelfth Anathema*.

¹¹⁵² See Part Two, Chapter I.

to the latter can be said of happening to himself.¹¹⁵³ As Meyendorff remarks, this 'theopaschism' did not presuppose a different doctrine 'from what is implied by the title of Theotokos applied to Mary: only somebody (not 'something') can be born of a woman, and only somebody (not 'something') can suffer and die'.¹¹⁵⁴

The council also fully employed the teaching of Leontius of Jerusalem on how in the one hypostasis of the Logos the flesh could suffer whereas the divine nature remained impassible.¹¹⁵⁵ Because of 'synthesis' the Logos suffers in his own human nature (not in the human nature of another subject) without his divinity being affected.

Anathema XI:

If anyone does not anathematise Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Apollinarius, Nestorius, Eutyches and Origen, along with their impious writings, and all other heretics who were condemned and anathematised by the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church and the four Holy Councils that were mentioned above, and those who held or still hold the same as the above mentioned heretics and remain in their impiety to the end, let him be anathema.¹¹⁵⁶

Along with the old heretics the council anathematise those who still hold their doctrines, a clear reference to the contemporary Monophysites as well as the defenders of the Three Chapters. The expression 'remain in their impiety to the end' is probably a reference to Theodore, who is condemned posthumously.¹¹⁵⁷

The twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth anathemas condemn the Three Chapters:

Anathema XII:

If anyone defends the impious Theodore of Mopsuestia, who said that the God-Logos is one person and Christ is another, who was disturbed by the passions of the soul and the desires of the flesh and was gradually freed from the lesser passions, and thus became better by the progress of his deeds and irreproachable by the way he lived. [If anyone defends the impious Theodore of Mopsuestia, who also said] that Christ was baptised as a mere man in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit and that through the baptism he received the grace of the Holy Spirit and became worthy of the adoption, and that he is worshipped equally with the God-Logos in the way we honour the image of a king, and that after the Resurrection he became immutable with regard to his thoughts and completely sinless. And again the same impious Theodore said that the union of the God-Logos to Christ was done in the same way as the Apostle said of the man and woman 'They two shall be one flesh' [Eph. 5.31]. And [the same Theodore], among his other numerous blasphemies, has dared to say that after the resurrection when the Lord breathed upon his disciples and said 'Receive the Holy Spirit' [John

¹¹⁵³ See Part One, Chapter II.

¹¹⁵⁴ *Imperial*, p. 219.

¹¹⁵⁵ *AN*, PG 86, 1768^dD. See Part Two, Chapter I.

¹¹⁵⁶ *ACO*, IV, 1, p. 218, 8-13 (Latin); *Ibid.*, p. 242, 32-37 (Greek).

¹¹⁵⁷ Grillmeier, *Christ*, II, 2, p. 451.

20.22], he did not give them the Spirit but he did that only as a sign. The same Theodore also said that the confession of Thomas 'my Lord and my God' [John 20.28], which he said after the resurrection, when he touched the hands and the side of the Lord, was not said in reference to Christ, but that Thomas, surprised at the extraordinary event of the Resurrection, praised God who had raised Christ from the dead. And what is worse, the same Theodore in his supposed interpretation of the Acts of the Apostles, comparing Christ to Plato, Manichaeus, Epicurus and Marcion, says that as each of these men having discovered their own doctrine, had given his name to his disciples, who were called accordingly Platonists, Manicheans, Epicureans and Marcionites, in the same way, Christ having discovered his own doctrine, his disciples are called Christians after him. If, then, anyone defends the above mentioned most impious Theodore and his impious writings, in which he pours out the blasphemies mentioned above and countless others besides against our Great God and Saviour Jesus Christ and does not anathematise him and his impious writings and all those who accept or defend him or who say that his teaching was orthodox and those who wrote in favour of him and of his impious works and those who share the same opinions or those who have shared them and insisted on this heresy to the end; let him be anathema.¹¹⁵⁸

Anathema XIII:

If anyone defends the impious writings of Theodoret, directed against the true faith and against the first holy council of Ephesus and against St. Cyril and his Twelve Chapters, and [defends] all that he wrote in favour of the impious Theodore and Nestorius, and in favour of others who share the same opinions as the mentioned above Theodore and Nestorius and who accept them and their impiety. If anyone defending the above mentioned gives the name of impious to the doctors of the Church, who profess and confess the hypostatic union of the God-Logos and does not anathematise the above mentioned impious writings and those held or still hold the same opinions and those who wrote against the right faith or against St. Cyril and his Twelve Chapters and who died holding this impiety, let him be anathema.¹¹⁵⁹

Anathema XIV:

If anyone defends the Letter which Ibas is said¹¹⁶⁰ to have written to Maris the Persian, which denies that the God-Logos was made man of the holy Theotokos and ever-Virgin Mary, but says that She gave birth to a mere man, whom it calls temple, as if the God-Logos was one person and the man another; he also reprehends St. Cyril, who taught the right faith of Christians, as a heretic and accuses him of having written things like the impious Apollinarius. He also accuses the first council of Ephesus that it deposed Nestorius without trial and investigation, and calls the Twelve Chapters of St. Cyril impious and contrary to the right faith, and defends Theodore and Nestorius and their impious doctrines and writings. If anyone, then, defends the above mentioned Letter and does not anathematise it and those who defend it and who say that it is right or a part of it is right and who wrote or write in

¹¹⁵⁸ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 218, 15-219, 11 (Latin); Ibid., p. 243, 1-30 (Greek).

¹¹⁵⁹ ACO, IV, 1, p. 219, 13-21 (Latin); Ibid., pp. 243, 31-244, 6 (Greek).

¹¹⁶⁰ The council shares Justinian's doubt about the authenticity of the Letter. Cf. Part Two, Chapter II.

favour of it or in favour of the impieties which are contained in it, and who dare defend it or defend the impieties which are contained in it in the name of the holy fathers or of the holy council of Chalcedon, and remain in these impieties to the end, let him be anathema.¹¹⁶¹

Conclusion

The doctrinal work of the fifth ecumenical council can be summarised in the following points: a) it identified the one hypostasis and prosopon of the Chalcedonian definition with the hypostasis and prosopon of the eternal Logos, b) clarified the terms physis, ousia, hypostasis, prosopon. Physis is the same as ousia, and hypostasis the same as prosopon, c) sanctioned the christology of 'synthesis' which enabled theologians to speak of one subject in Christ, both passible and impassible, both divine and human without affecting the integrity of the natures, and d) showed that the controversial Cyrillian formulae, 'out of two physes' and 'one physis', are orthodox when properly understood, i.e. when by them *one* Christ in two natures is meant.

This christology freed the Chalcedonian doctrine from a possible Nestorian interpretation by showing the coherence between Cyril and Chalcedon. It also showed that the Church can express its doctrine in more than one way as long as the essence of the faith is preserved. Like Leontius and Justinian, the conciliar fathers expressed the Cyrillian Chalcedonian faith in a way that preserved all its basic tenets without falling into the trap of inflexible formulae.

Many maintain that from the point of view of the ecclesiastical unity, the council failed: not only were the Monophysites not persuaded by the alleged concessions to return to the Catholic church, but also another schism, in Italy, was caused. In my view this approach is wrong. Although the council was — as it ought to be — interested in bringing the Monophysites back to ecclesial communion, its decisions were not taken with the intention of pleasing one party or another (the fourteen anathemas condemn both Nestorians and Monophysites). The conciliar fathers were faced with real doctrinal issues and tackled them by expressing their faith. Chalcedon was misinterpreted by both Nestorians and Monophysites and its true mind ought to be manifested. This is what the fifth council did and in this sense it was a success, giving priority to dogmatic rectitude.

¹¹⁶¹ ACO, IV, 1, pp. 219, 23-220, 5 (Latin); Ibid., p. 244, 7-21 (Greek).

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

The two great christological deviations of the early Church, that of Nestorius with its anthropological maximalism, and that of Eutyches with its anthropological minimalism, distorted the traditional ecclesial faith in Christ as God himself who truly became man to save the world. Ephesus I (431) tackled the problem of Nestorius successfully, but did not provide safeguards against a devaluation of Christ's humanity. Ephesus' great father, Cyril, was the author of the most complete and profound exposition of the christological doctrine, but also — inadvertently — the source of a lasting division. His obscure language and in particular his use of the problematic formula 'one incarnate physis of the God-Logos' was the cause of great misunderstanding in the ensuing years. In some circles, Christ's perfect humanity was in doubt. Eutyches' abuse of Cyril's doctrine gave Chalcedon the chance to restore the balance: Christ is the Self-same perfect God and perfect man.

The great achievement of Chalcedon, despite its careful formulation, was misunderstood. The strict Cyrillians or Monophysites saw in its Definition the vindication of Nestorius. The 'in two natures' of Leo and the Chalcedonian *Horos* was, for them, splitting the one Christ into two and was certainly in opposition to the Cyrillian 'one physis' formula.

Interestingly, the view that Chalcedon abandoned Cyril is not exclusive to the Monophysites. A great number of modern scholars believed the same. As we have seen this is far from true. The Chalcedonian fathers, Cyrillians in their vast majority, clearly felt that their duty was specifically to correct the canonical errors of the 'Robber Council' and not to define the faith beyond the boundaries that Cyril had set. It was with great reluctance that they proceeded to draft a definition. The document that they almost unanimously approved included the Cyrillian formula 'out of two natures'. It was under pressure that they agreed to scrap it in favour of the present Definition which contains Leo's 'in two natures'. And that they did only after they had tested the orthodoxy of the *Tome* by comparing it with Cyril's *Twelve Anathemas*.

The strict duophysites, on the other hand, although formally denouncing Nestorius, still did not appreciate the unitive character of its Definition. Conducive to this was a degree of vagueness in Chalcedon's language. It decreed that the two natures were united in one prosopon and one hypostasis, but did not make clear whether this prosopon or hypostasis was that of the Logos or of the Theodorene/Nestorian Christ

(prosopon of the union). Thus, the radical duophysitism of Theodore of Mopsuestia, alien both to Cyril and Chalcedon, continued to be popular in some formally Chalcedonian circles. It was time for a clear exposition of the christological doctrine which would show — in terms understood by all — that Cyril and Chalcedon believed alike. This was undertaken by a group of Cyrillian Chalcedonians, the so called 'neo-Chalcedonians'.

The 'neo-Chalcedonians' aimed to show that, just like Cyril, Chalcedon taught that Christ was the Logos himself in the flesh. Chalcedon's one hypostasis or prosopon was the one hypostasis or prosopon of the eternal Logos. On the other hand Chalcedon's 'in two natures' was also intended by Cyril, if not expressly proclaimed. Cyril's 'one physis' was not necessarily a monophysitic statement. What it meant was that Christ was one in two physes or ousiai.

This doctrine became the doctrine of Justinian and the fifth council which was the climax of the attempt of the Cyrillian Chalcedonians to clarify their doctrine.

The terminological confusion required a clear definition of the terms physis, ousia, hypostasis, prosopon. Chalcedon had initiated the process of the identification of prosopon with hypostasis. Justinian and the Fifth Council would complete it. This identification did not intend to weaken the concept of hypostasis but to strengthen that of prosopon. So now prosopon means what hypostasis has always meant, i.e. the individuated being, the concrete personal existence. Also physis, clearly dissociated from hypostasis, is identified with ousia.

The basis of the christology of Justinian and the fifth council is the union according to hypostasis or synthesis. This was a great advance on both the Cyrillian and the Chalcedonian formulation of the hypostatic union. After the incarnation, the eternal hypostasis of the Logos became synthetic, since not only the divine, but also the human nature subsists in him. The union according to hypostasis or synthesis enabled the Cyrillian Chalcedonians to maintain the duality of the elements in Christ and to identify his hypostasis or prosopon with that of the Logos. As Justinian and the fifth council explained, synthesis excludes both confusion and division.

In the teaching of Justinian and fifth council, the union according to hypostasis or synthesis, as opposed to union according to nature which based the union on the level of physis, regards the hypostasis as the meeting point of the two natures. Humanity becomes part of the eternal hypostasis of the Logos. It is not a union between physes but

a union of the hypostatised nature of the Logos with the anhypostatic humanity. Thus, both the difference of the natures and the oneness of the subject in Christ are secured.

In clarifying Chalcedon, Justinian and the fifth council explained how the 'in two natures' ought to be understood. By it, one should not infer that the natures are self-existent but that the one Christ exists in two natures, divinity and humanity. Christ is a single subject of attribution, that of the Logos, of whom all of Christ's actions are to be predicated.

Thus, Justinian and the fifth council produced a christology which preserved the strong unitive character of the Cyrillian faith without harming the Chalcedonian emphasis on Christ's perfect humanity. Christ is the Logos, but the Logos became truly man so he is at the same time perfect God and perfect man.

At the same time and, perhaps even more importantly, this christology shows a profound soteriological concern. With Christ being the Logos himself, one of the Trinity, human salvation is wrought directly by God. He saves the world because he makes everything man is — except sin — his own. He bestows men with immortality, because he makes their death his own. It could not have been otherwise. The death of a mere man or even Christ's impersonal human nature could not have saved the world. By endorsing the most complete and profound, in my opinion, christological system, that of Cyril of Alexandria, the fifth council, abolished any idea of the God-Logos being a remote, heavenly Creator and Ruler who expresses his love to his creatures indirectly, through his grace or 'good will'. Cyril's God-Logos is the God of *kenosis*, the God who really became flesh by making our nature *his own* in order to save it. And salvation for Cyril and the ecclesiastical tradition that he represents cannot be accomplished otherwise than through 'deification'. According to this tradition, humankind is saved not so much by Christ's atonement, but mainly by his uniting our nature to his divinity and, thus, healing it. The establishment of the latter idea is one of the greatest contributions of the Byzantine theologians, and, in particular of the Fifth Council, to christology and soteriology.

This kind of christology was in direct opposition to the one proclaimed by the Three Chapters. Whether they (mainly Theodore and Ibas) taught two persons and 'two Sons' or not, the undisputed fact is that their doctrine lacked both the unitive character and the soteriological dimension of that of Cyril as well as Chalcedon. The view that their duophysitism was that of Chalcedon was wrong and for this reason Justinian and the fifth council did well to disassociate them from the fourth council.

The work of Justinian and the fifth council was significant not only on the doctrinal level but also on the ecclesiastical. Although in my view the objective of the fifth council was primarily to clarify Chalcedon and not to tempt the Monophysites back, its doctrinal formulation is a true ecumenical document that could accommodate the moderate Monophysites. Without compromising the integrity of the faith, Justinian and the fathers of the fifth council formulated the christological doctrine in such a way as to include both orthodox duophysitism and orthodox (Cyrillian) monophysitism.¹¹⁶² The fact that of Theodoret's works, only those written against Cyril were condemned, shows that the fifth council was careful not to exclude the Antiochian christology from the tradition of the Church.¹¹⁶³

It is very unfortunate that the unrest which was caused by the Three Chapters issue and the passions it raised has blurred the view of the theological developments themselves. Thus the contribution of the Fifth Ecumenical Council has not been adequately appreciated. The fathers of Constantinople II protected Chalcedon from a disastrous Nestorian interpretation and thus made sure that today's Western (Roman Catholic and Protestant) and Eastern (Chalcedonian Orthodox) Churches are orthodox in their christology. On the other hand, they also protected Cyril from an equally disastrous monophysite interpretation of his thought (without, however succeeding in convincing the anti-Chalcedonians for the latter).

All in all, despite the obscure moments during the Three Chapters controversy, the theological work of the Fifth Ecumenical Council represents decisive progress towards a more complete manifestation of the faith that the Church has always held regarding the mystery of the Person of Christ and his salvific work. In doing this the fifth council integrated in its definition the true faith of the previous two christological councils. It was a reflection of this truth and a big step towards unity that the anti-Chalcedonian and Eastern Orthodox Churches in a joint statement at their meeting in Aarhus, Denmark (1964), proclaimed: 'The Council of Chalcedon (451), we realize, can only be understood as reaffirming the decisions of Ephesus (431), and best understood in the

¹¹⁶² Cf. Meyendorff, *Imperial*, p. 247. Frank, 'The Council of Constantinople II' (*passim*).

¹¹⁶³ Cf. Meyendorff, *loc. cit.*

light of the later Council of Constantinople (553).'¹¹⁶⁴ This in fact sums up the thesis of this study.

¹¹⁶⁴ P. Gregorios-W. H. Lazareth-N. A. Nissiotis (eds.), *Does Chalcedon Divide or Unite? Towards Convergence in Orthodox Christology* (Geneva: 1981), p. 3.

APPENDIX

I. ST. CYRIL'S TWELVE ANATHEMAS AGAINST NESTORIANISM

(From his *Third Letter to Nestorius*, PG 77, 120-124; ACO, I, 1, 1, pp. 40-42; En. tr. from J. Stevenson (rev. W. H. C. Frend) *Creeds, Councils and Controversies*, SPCK, London 1989, pp 307-308.)

- I. If anyone does not confess Emmanuel to be very God, and does not acknowledge the Holy Virgin consequently to be Theotokos, for she brought forth after the flesh the Word of God become flesh, let him be anathema.
- II. If anyone does not confess that the Word which is of God the Father has been personally united to flesh, and is one Christ with his own flesh, the same (person) being both God and man alike, let him be anathema.
- III. If anyone in the one Christ divides the personalities [hypostases], i.e. the human and the divine, after the union, connecting them only by a connection of dignity or authority or rule, and not rather by a union of natures let him be anathema.
- IV. If anyone distributes to two Persons or Subsistences (*ὑποστάσεις*) the expressions used both in the Gospels and in the Epistles, or used of Christ by the Saints, or by him of himself, attributing some to a man conceived of separately, apart from the Word which is of God, and attributing others, as befitting God, exclusively to the Word which is of God the Father, let him be anathema.
- V. If anyone dares to say that Christ is a man who carries God (within him), and not rather he is God in truth, as one Son even by nature, even as the Word became flesh, and became partaker in like manner as ourselves of blood and flesh [Heb. 2. 14], let him be anathema.
- VI. If anyone dares to say that the Word which is of God the Father is the God or Master of Christ, and does not rather confess the same to be both God and man alike, the Word having become flesh according to the Scriptures, let him be anathema.
- VII. If anyone says that Jesus as a man was actuated by God the Word, and that he was invested with the glory of the only-begotten, as being other than he, let him be anathema.
- VIII. If anyone dares to say that the man who was assumed ought to be worshipped jointly with God the Word, and glorified jointly, and ought jointly to share the name of God, as one in another (for the word 'jointly' which is always added obliges one to

understand this), and does not rather honour Emmanuel with one worship, and offer to him one ascription of Glory, inasmuch as the Word has become flesh, let him be anathema.

IX.If anyone says that the one Lord, Jesus Christ, was glorified by the Spirit, as though the power which he exercised was another's received through the Spirit, and not his own, and that he received from the Spirit the power of countervailing unclean spirits, and of working divine miracles upon men, and does not rather say that it was his own Spirit by whom he wrought divine miracles, let him be anathema.

X. Divine Scripture says, that Christ became High Priest and Apostle of our confession [Heb. 3,1], and that he offered up himself for us for a sweet-smelling savour to God the Father [Eph. 5, 2]. If then anyone says that it was not the very Word of God himself who became our High-Priest and Apostle, when he became flesh and man as we, but another than he, and distinct from him, a man born of a woman; or if anyone says that he offered the sacrifice for himself also, and not rather for us alone, for he who knew no sin had no need of offering, let him be anathema.

XI.If anyone does not confess that the Lord's flesh is life-giving, and that it is the own flesh of the Word of God the Father, but affirms that it is the flesh of another than he, connected with him by dignity, or as having only a divine indwelling, and not rather, as we said, that it is life-giving, because it has become the own flesh of the Word who is able to quicken all things, let him be anathema.

XII.If anyone does not confess that the Word of God suffered in the flesh, and was crucified in the flesh, and tasted death in the flesh, and became the first-born from the dead [Col. 1, 18], even as he is both Life and Life-giving, as God, let him be anathema.

II. THE LETTER OF IBAS TO MARIS

I. I hastened to let your bright wisdom - who can understand many things through little information - know, in brief, what happened here before and what is happening now. [I did so] because I know that by writing to your Godliness what is happening here, this [the events] will be known to everybody there through your promptness [to let them know]. [What you should tell them is] that the God - given Scriptures have not changed in any way. Now, I should start the story by mentioning things that you also know.

- II. There has been a quarrel (on account of which your Godliness was here) between these two men, namely Nestorius and Cyril, who wrote against each other harmful words that scandalised those who heard them.
- III. Nestorius said in his sermons, as your Godliness knows well, that the blessed Mary is not the Mother of God, to the effect that many came to believe that he [Nestorius] is from the heresy of Paul of Samosata who held that Christ was a mere man.
- IV. Cyril, on the other hand, willing to counter Nestorius' arguments he slipped and found himself fallen into the doctrine of Apollinarius. For, he, like the latter, wrote that the God - Logos Himself became man, as if there was not any difference between the temple and the one who lives in it. He wrote the Twelve Chapters, which I think your Godliness knows well, and which proclaim that the nature of both the divinity and the humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ is one, and that we should not, he [Cyril] contends, divide what has been said of Christ either by Himself or by the evangelists.
- V. How much impiety these [the Twelve Chapters] are filled with your Holiness knows very well even before my telling you. How can one take the Logos who is from the beginning for the temple who was born of Mary, or apply that 'for thou hast made him a little lower than the angels' [Ps. 8.5] to the divinity of the Only Begotten? For the Church so teaches, as your Godliness knows well and has been taught from the beginning, and was supported by the divine teaching that comes from the words of the blessed Fathers, [that there are] two natures and at the same time one power, one person which means that there is one Son Lord Jesus Christ.
- VI. For this quarrel the victorious and pious kings ordered the leaders of the bishops in Ephesus to gather and judge the words of Cyril and Nestorius.¹¹⁶⁵ But before all the bishops who were called came to Ephesus, the same Cyril rushed and prejudiced the bishops with the poison that makes the eyes of the wise blind; and the reason for doing this was his hatred towards Nestorius. And before His Holiness the Archbishop of Antioch John came [to the Council], they [the bishops] discharged Nestorius from his bishopric without having studied his case.
- VII. Two days after the excommunication of Nestorius we [the bishops of the Oriental Diocese] arrived at Ephesus. When we learnt that during Nestorius' judgement the

¹¹⁶⁵ This is the third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus (AD 431).

bishops confirmed Cyril's Twelve Chapters that are against the true faith and accepted them as being in line with the true faith, all the bishops of the East discharged Cyril and abstain from communion with the bishops who accepted the Twelve Chapters. After this disorder everybody returned to his own see while Nestorius was unable to return to Ephesus as he was been hated by the people and the leaders of the city. Thus, the Council of the Easterners remained there without communicating with those who supported Cyril.

VIII. Because of this there was sorrow between them and the bishops were quarrelling with one another and the people alike. Thus, there was fulfilled what is written in the Bible, that "man's domestics became his enemies." For this reason the Greeks [i.e. the Gentiles] and heretics mocked us and nobody dared move from one city or land to another but everybody was persecuting one another.

IX. Many, for not having the fear of God before their eyes, or with the pretext that they have zeal for the benefit of the Church, rushed to materialise the hatred they had hidden in their hearts. One of them is the tyrant¹¹⁶⁶ of our city, whom you know as well, and who fights not only against those who are alive but also against those who have long departed to the Lord.

X. Among the latter is the blessed Theodore the herald of the truth and teacher of the Church, who not only slapped the heretics with his right faith during his life time but also after his death he left through his treatises a spiritual weapon to the children of the Church. This your Godliness came to know when you met him and you were convinced [about his right faith] by reading his writings. This man the one who dares to do everything [i.e. Rabbulas] dared to anathematise publicly in the Church, [this man] who out of zeal for God not only his own city brought from error back to the truth, but also edified by his teaching the far away Churches. And there has been much search for his books everywhere, not because they were alien to the true faith (behold, he [Rabbulas] constantly used to praise him [Theodore] when he was alive and read his books), but because of the hidden hatred that he had against him as he had criticised him at the Council.

XI. As all these bad things were happening and everybody was leaving as he wished - according to what is written in the Bible - our venerable God who out of His

¹¹⁶⁶ This is Rabbulas the bishop of Edessa.

philanthropy always takes care of His Churches, prompted the heart of the most faithful and victorious king to send a great man, who was known to him from his palace, to make His Holiness the Archbishop of the East John reconcile with Cyril, for he [John] had excommunicated him.

XII. Then, [John] after he received the letters from the King, sent His Holiness the bishop of Emisa Paul [to Cyril] with a confession of the true faith. He ordered him that, if Cyril subscribed to that faith and anathematised those who say that God suffered and those who say that there is one nature for both the divinity and the humanity, he would communicate with him.

XIII. Thus, the Lord, who always takes care of His Own Church which he redeemed by His Own blood, wished to soften the heart of the Egyptian [i.e. Cyril] so that he agrees the faith without mutilation and everybody accepts it and anathematises those outside it. So, everybody having communicated with one another the strife was removed from their midst and peace was made in the Church. Thereby, there was no longer schism in Her [the Church] but [there was] peace as in the past.

XIV. As far as the confession of His Holiness the Archbishop John and the answer he received from Cyril is concerned, I have send to your Godliness the relevant texts attached to my letter, so that after you have read them you know [about the issue] and spread the good message to all our brothers who love peace. You should tell them that the strife is over and the barrier of the hatred was lifted and those who improperly attacked the alive and the dead are ashamed, being confessing for their own wrong doings and teaching against what their prior teaching. For, now, nobody dares say that there is one nature for both the divinity and the humanity, but they confess their faith in the temple and the one who dwells in it, who is the one Son Jesus Christ.

XV. I wrote this to your Godliness out of much good disposition that I have towards you, convinced that your Holiness will train yourself in God's teaching night and day, so, that you may help many.

III. A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE ANATHEMAS OF JUSTINIAN (CF) AND CONSTANTINOPLE II

Justinian

Constantinople II

I. If anyone does not confess Father

I. If anyone does not confess that the

and Son and Holy Spirit, Trinity consubstantial, one divinity or nature or ousia and one power and authority worshipped in three hypostases or persons, let him be anathema.

II. If anyone does not confess that the God-Logos who was born before all ages timelessly, and who, in these last days, came down from heaven and was incarnate of the holy and glorious Theotokos and ever-Virgin Mary and became man, was born of her and, because of this, the two births are the God-Logos' own births, that is, the one which happened in a bodiless manner before all ages and the other in these last days according to the flesh, let him be anathema.

III. If anyone says that the God-Logos who performed miracles is one and the Christ who suffered is another, or [if anyone] says that the God-Logos coexisted with Christ who was born of the woman or was in him as one person in another, but

nature or ousia of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit is one, as also the power and the authority; [if anyone does not confess] 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; and one Holy Spirit in whom are all things.

II. If anyone does not confess that the God-Logos had two births; the one before all ages from the Father timelessly and in a bodiless manner; and the other in the last days when the Self-same [the Logos] came down from heaven and was made man of the holy and glorious Theotokos and ever Virgin Mary and was born of her: let him be anathema.

III. If anyone says that the God-Logos who performed miracles is one and the Christ who suffered is another; or [if anyone] says that the God-Logos coexisted with Christ who was born of the woman or was in him as one person in another, but

that he was not the one and the same our Lord Jesus Christ the God-Logos incarnate and made man, and that His miracles and sufferings which He voluntarily endured in the flesh were not of the same person: let him be anathema.

IV. If anyone says that the union of the God-Logos to man was effected according to grace (*κατὰ χάριν*) or energy (*κατ' ἐνέργειαν*) or equality (*κατ' ἰσοτιμίαν*) or authority (*κατ' αὐθεντίαν*) or effect (*ἀναφοράν*) or relation (*σχέσιν*) or power (*κατὰ δύναμιν*) or according to the likeness of the names (*καθ' ὁμωνυμίαν*) like the Nestorians who call the God-Logos and the man — as if they were separate — Christ and, thus, confess one Christ only in name (*κατὰ μόνην τὴν προσηγορίαν*) or if anyone says that the union was effected 'according to good will' (*κατ' εὐδοκίαν*), like Theodore the heretic says using the same words, in the sense that the God-Logos was pleased with the man because the latter believed rightly about Him, but does not confess the hypostatic union of the God-Logos with flesh animated with rational and intellectual soul, and therefore one

that He was not the one and the same our Lord Jesus Christ the God-Logos incarnate and made man, and that His miracles and sufferings which He voluntarily endured in the flesh were not of the same person: let him be anathema.

IV. If anyone says that the union of the God-Logos to man was effected according to grace (*κατὰ χάριν*) or energy (*κατ' ἐνέργειαν*) or equality (*κατ' ἰσοτιμίαν*) or authority (*κατὰ αὐθεντίαν*) or relation (*κατὰ σχέσιν*) or effect (*κατὰ ἀναφοράν*) or power (*κατὰ δύναμιν*) or good will (*κατ' εὐδοκίαν*), in the sense that the God-Logos was pleased with the man because the latter believed rightly about Him, as says the senseless Theodore, or [if anyone says that this union was effected] according to the likeness of the names (*καθ' ὁμωνυμίαν*) as the Nestorians understand, who call the God-Logos Jesus and Christ and the man [they call] separately Christ and Son, and thereby they evidently name two persons, only disingenuously confessing one Person and one Christ as far as the title [naming], the honour, the dignity and the worship are concerned. If anyone also does not

[does not confess] His one composite hypostasis, let him be anathema.

confess as the holy Fathers taught, that the union of the God-Logos was made to flesh animated with rational and intellectual soul by way of composition (*κατὰ σύνθεσιν*), that is according to hypostasis (*καθ' ὑπόστασιν*), and that therefore the Logos' hypostasis is one, that is the Lord Jesus Christ, one of the Holy Trinity: let him be anathema. For as the union is understood in various ways, those who follow the impiety of Apollinarius and Eutyches, believe in the union according to confusion, proposing, thus, the elimination of the parts which came together. On the other hand, those who hold the ideas of Theodore and Nestorius rejoicing in the division of the natures introduce a relative union. Nevertheless, the Holy Church of God rejecting the impiety of both heresies, confesses the union of the God-Logos to the flesh according to composition which means according to hypostasis. For the union according to composition, with regard to the mystery of Christ, not only preserves the coming together parts unconfused, but also allows no separation.

V. If anyone understands the expression 'one hypostasis of our Lord Jesus Christ' in this sense, that

it may imply the existence of many hypostases, and [if that person] attempts, thus, to introduce into the mystery of Christ two hypostases, that is two persons, and he calls these two persons one person according to dignity and honour and worship, as Theodore and Nestorius insanely wrote, and calumniate the Holy Council of Chalcedon that it allegedly made use of the expression of the one hypostasis in that impious sense; and if that person does not confess that the God-Logos united Himself to flesh according to hypostasis, and therefore that His hypostasis is one, that is his person is one, and also that the holy Council of Chalcedon professed in the same way that the hypostasis of our Lord Jesus Christ is one: let him be anathema. For since one of the Holy Trinity has been made man viz.: the God-Logos, the Holy Trinity has not been increased by the addition of another person or hypostasis.

V. If anyone calls the holy glorious and ever –Virgin Mary Theotokos not truly but in a false acceptation (*καταχρηστικῶς*) or in a relative sense, or [calls Her] the mother of man (*Ἀνθρωποτόκος*) or the mother of Christ (*Χριστοτόκος*) as

VI. If anyone calls the holy glorious and ever –Virgin Mary Theotokos not truly but in a false acceptation (*καταχρηστικῶς*) or in a relative sense as if a mere man was born and not that the God –Logos was incarnate of her; and [if anyone does

if Christ was not God, or does not confess that She is exactly and truly Theotokos, because the God-Logos, who was born of the Father before all ages, in the last days was incarnate and was born of Her, let him be anathema.

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

VII. If anyone using the expression in two natures (*ἐν δύο φύσεσιν*), does not confess that our one Lord Jesus Christ, the incarnate God-Logos consists of divinity and humanity nor does he mean to indicate the difference of the natures, out of which He was

so] believing that the birth of the man is referred to the God –Logos as he was united to the man who was born; and if anyone calumniates the holy Council of Chalcedon as though it had called the Virgin Theotokos in this impious sense of Theodore; or if anyone calls her the mother of a man (*Ἀνθρωποτόκος*) or the mother of Christ (*Χριστοτόκος*) as if Christ was not God, or does not confess that she is exactly and truly Theotokos, because the God-Logos who was born of the Father before all ages in the last days was incarnate, and that in the same sense the holy Council of Chalcedon reverently acknowledged her to be the mother of God, let him be anathema.

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

VII. If anyone using the expression in two natures (*ἐν δύο φύσεσιν*), does not confess that our one Lord Jesus Christ has been revealed in divinity and humanity defining thereby the difference of the natures, out of which the ineffable union was effected unconfusedly, without the

composed, but he uses that expression with regard to the mystery of Christ in order to divide them, as if they were separate and each of them had its own hypostases (*ἰδιοὑποστάτους*) as Theodore and Nestorius blaspheme, let him be anathema.

VIII. If anyone, with regard to our one Lord Jesus Christ, that is, the incarnate God-Logos, who confesses the number of the natures, out of which Christ was composed, does not understand their difference — which was not abolished by the union — as existing ‘in contemplation’ (*τῇ θεωρίᾳ*), but he uses the number in order to divide the natures, let him be anathema.

IX. If anyone saying ‘one nature of the God-Logos incarnate’ does not understand it to mean that one Christ was formed from the divine and human natures, who is homoousios with the Father according to His Divinity and homoousios with us according to His humanity, but [he understands to mean] that one nature or ousia of Christ’s Divinity and flesh was formed, according to the

Logos having turned into the nature of the flesh, nor the flesh having changed into the nature of the Logos; for each remains what it is according to its nature as the union is hypostatic. But if that person uses this expression with regard to the mystery of Christ so as to divide the two parts; or if that person, referring to our one Lord Jesus Christ the incarnate God-Logos, professes the number of the natures [two], out of which he was composed, without understanding their difference as existing only in contemplation (*τῇ θεωρίᾳ μόνῃ*) — although the difference is not abolished because of the union for one is composed of the two and the two are in one — but that person uses the number [two] in the sense that the natures are separated and self-existent, let him be anathema.

VIII. If anyone confessing that the union was made out of two natures or that [after the union] there is one nature of the God-Logos incarnate does not understand them in this sense, that of the divine and the human nature being united hypostatically, one Christ was accomplished, as the holy Fathers have taught; but if that person using these expressions tries to introduce

heresy of Apollinarius and Eutyches, let him be anathema. For the catholic Church dislikes and anathematizes those who divide, or rather split, as well as those who confuse the mystery of Christ in the divine Dispensation.

the idea that in Christ there is one nature or essence [ousia] for both the divinity and His flesh, let him be anathema. For when we say that the only-begotten Logos was united [to humanity] according to hypostasis, we do not mean that there was made any confusion of the natures, but rather each nature remaining what it was, we understand that the Logos was united to flesh. This is why there is one Christ, both God and man, the same being consubstantial with the Father according to divinity and the same being consubstantial with us according to humanity. They are also rejected and anathematized by the Church of God, who divide into two parts or separate the mystery of Christ, that is the mystery of the divine dispensation, or who introduce confusion into that mystery.

IX. If anyone says that Christ should be worshipped in two natures, meaning thereby to introduce two adorations, one especially for God and another especially for the man, or if anyone worships Christ in such a way as to imply the abolition of the flesh or the confusion of the divinity and the humanity speaking thus monstrously of one nature (physis) or essence (ousia), and does

X. If anyone does not anathematise Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Apollinarius, Nestorius, Eutyches and those who believe or believed like them, let him be anathema.

XI. If anyone defends Theodore who said that the God-Logos is one person and Christ is another, and that Christ was disturbed by the passions of the soul and the desires of the flesh, and that He became better by the progress of his deeds and was baptised in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and that through the baptism received the grace of the Holy Spirit and became worthy of the adoption, and that He is worshipped equally with the God-Logos in the way we honour the

not worship the God-Logos incarnate along with his own flesh by one veneration, as the Church of God inherited from the beginning, let him be anathema.

XI. If anyone does not anathematise Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Apollinarius, Nestorius, Eutyches and Origen, along with their impious writings, and all other heretics who were condemned and anathematised by the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church and the four Holy Councils that were mentioned above, and those who held or still hold the same as the above mentioned heretics and remain in their impiety to the end, let him be anathema.

XII. If anyone defends the impious Theodore of Mopsuestia, who said that the God-Logos is one person and Christ is another, who was disturbed by the passions of the soul and the desires of the flesh and was gradually freed from the lesser passions, and thus became better by the progress of his deeds and irreproachable by the way he lived. [If anyone defends the impious Theodore of Mopsuestia, who also said] that Christ was baptised as a mere man in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit

image of a king, and that after the Resurrection He became immutable with regard to his thoughts and completely sinless. And again he said that the union of the God-Logos to Christ was effected in the same way as the Apostle said of man and woman 'They two shall be one flesh' [Eph. 5. 31]. And, among his other numerous blasphemies, [the same Theodore] has dared to say that after the Resurrection when the Lord breathed upon his disciples and said 'Receive the Holy Spirit' [John, 20. 22], He did not give them the Spirit but He did that only as a sign. He also said that the confession of Thomas 'my Lord and my God' [John, 20. 28], which the latter said after the resurrection, when he touched the hands and the side of the Lord, was not said in reference to Christ (for he [Theodore] does not call Christ God), but that Thomas, surprised at the extraordinary event of the Resurrection, praised God who had raised Christ from the dead. And what is worse, in his supposed interpretation of the Acts of the Apostles, comparing Christ to Plato, Manichaeus, Epicurus and Marcion, says that as each of these men having discovered their own doctrine, gave his name to his

and that through the baptism he received the grace of the Holy Spirit and became worthy of the adoption, and that He is worshipped equally with the God-Logos in the way we honour the image of a king, and that after the Resurrection He became immutable with regard to his thoughts and completely sinless. And again the same impious Theodore said that the union of the God-Logos to Christ was done in the same way as the Apostle said of the man and woman 'They two shall be one flesh' [Eph. 5.31]. And [the same Theodore], among his other numerous blasphemies, has dared to say that after the resurrection when the Lord breathed upon his disciples and said 'Receive the Holy Spirit' [John 20. 22], He did not give them the Spirit but He did that only as a sign. The same Theodore also said that the confession of Thomas 'my Lord and my God' [John 20.28], which he said after the resurrection, when he touched the hands and the side of the Lord, was not said in reference to Christ, but that Thomas, surprised at the extraordinary event of the Resurrection, praised God who had raised Christ from the dead. And what is worse, the same Theodore in his supposed

disciples, who were called accordingly Platonists, Manicheans, Epicureans and Marcionites, in the same way, Christ having discovered his own doctrine, his disciples are called Christians after him. If, then, anyone defends Theodore who has said such blasphemes, and does not anathematise him and his writings and all those who believed or believe like him, let him be anathema.

XII. If anyone defends the writings of Theodoret which he wrote in support of Nestorius and against the true faith, the first holy Council of Ephesus and St. Cyril and his

interpretation of the Acts of the Apostles, comparing Christ to Plato, Manichaeus, Epicurus and Marcion, says that as each of these men having discovered their own doctrine, had given his name to his disciples, who were called accordingly Platonists, Manicheans, Epicureans and Marcionites, in the same way, Christ having discovered his own doctrine, his disciples are called Christians after Him. If, then, anyone defends the above mentioned most impious Theodore and his impious writings, in which he pours out the blasphemies mentioned above and countless others besides against our Great God and Saviour Jesus Christ and does not anathematise him and his impious writings and all those who accept or defend him or who say that his teaching was orthodox and those who wrote in favour of him and of his impious works and those who share the same opinions or those who have shared them and insisted on this heresy to the end; let him be anathema.

XIII. If anyone defends the impious writings of Theodoret, directed against the true faith and against the first holy Council of Ephesus and against St. Cyril and his Twelve

Twelve Chapters, in which impious writings the same Theodoret says that the God-Logos was united to a certain man in a relative manner, and blasphemes that Thomas touched the resurrected one [Christ] and worshipped the one who resurrected him [the God-Logos], on account of which he calls the teachers of the Church who confess the hypostatic union of the God-Logos with the flesh impious, and in addition to this he refuses to call the holy, glorious and ever-Virgin Mary Theotokos; therefore, if anyone defends the aforementioned writings of Theodoret and does not anathematise them, let him be anathema. Because it was on account of these blasphemies he was excommunicated and afterwards, in the Council of Chalcedon, he was compelled to do the opposite of what his writings taught and to confess the true faith.

XIII. If anyone defends the Letter which Ibas is said to have written to Maris the Persian, the heretic, which denies that the God-Logos was made man and says that the God-Logos was not incarnate of the holy Theotokos and ever-Virgin Mary, but that she gave birth to a mere man, whom it calls temple, as if the

Chapters, and [defends] all that he wrote in favour of the impious Theodore and Nestorius, and in favour of others who share the same opinions as the mentioned above Theodore and Nestorius and who accept them and their impiety. If anyone defending the above mentioned gives the name of impious to the doctors of the Church, who profess and confess the hypostatic union of the God-Logos and does not anathematise the above mentioned impious writings and those held or still hold the same opinions and those who wrote against the right faith or against St. Cyril and his Twelve Chapters and who died holding this impiety, let him be anathema.

XIV. If anyone defends the Letter which Ibas is said to have written to Maris the Persian, which denies that the God-Logos was made man of the holy Theotokos and ever-Virgin Mary, but says that She gave birth to a mere man, whom it calls temple, as if the God-Logos was one person and the man another; he also

God-Logos was one person and the man another; in addition to this, it calumniates the first Council of Ephesus that it condemned Nestorius without investigation and trial, and it calls St. Cyril a heretic and his Twelve Chapters impious, whereas it praises and defends Nestorius and Theodore and their impious writings. Therefore, if anyone, given what has been said, defends the above mentioned impious letter or says that it is right in its entirety or in part, and does not anathematise it, let him be anathema.

reprehends St. Cyril, who taught the right faith of Christians, as a heretic and accuses him of having written things like the impious Apollinarius. He also accuses the first Council of Ephesus that it deposed Nestorius without trial and investigation, and calls the Twelve Chapters of St. Cyril impious and contrary to the right faith, and defends Theodore and Nestorius and their impious doctrines and writings. If anyone, then, defends the above mentioned Letter and does not anathematise it and those who defend it and who say that it is right in its entirety or in part and who wrote or write in favour of it or in favour of the impieties which are contained in it, and who dare defend it or defend the impieties which are contained in it in the name of the holy Fathers or of the holy Council of Chalcedon, and remain in these impieties to the end, let him be anathema.

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